



HELLENIC LINK–MIDWEST Newsletter

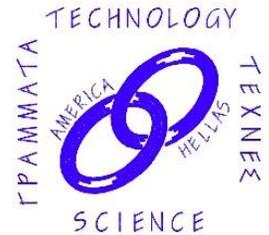
A CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC LINK WITH GREECE

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EDITORS: Constantine Tzanos, S. Sakellarides

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P.O. Box 3, Park Ridge, IL 60068-0003



Upcoming Events

Athenian Democracy and Direct Democracy in Switzerland

On Saturday, April 6, 2019, Hellenic Link–Midwest presents *Professor Robert Wallace*, in a presentation on *The Rise and Elite Defamation of Ancient Greek Democracy, and its Consequences for the American Republic*, and *Bruno Kaufmann*, Director for International Cooperation at the Swiss Democracy Foundation, in a presentation on *Modern Direct Democracy: The Untold Story about Switzerland and How it Became a Global Trend*. The event, funded by *Hellenic Foundation, Chicago*, 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.

Ancient Athens is the mother of Democracy and the mother of the purest form of Democracy, Direct Democracy. Today democratic governments are a form of Representative Democracy, but there are many such democracies with some features of Direct Democracy. In the U.S., a number of State governments have some features of Direct Democracy, with California having the most of them—making of laws by ballot propositions, referendum, and recall. Switzerland has a representative government system with strong direct democratic features both at the national level and at the state (canton) and local levels.

Professor Wallace and Bruno Kaufmann will discuss the practice of Direct Democracy in Ancient Athens and Switzerland. This discussion is of special interest these days—politicians have greatly polarized politics, and democratic discourse and democratic government are greatly suffering.

Professor Wallace will discuss the origins, ideals and principal qualities, and the success of democratic city-state governments across the ancient Greek world, mostly in the teeth of upper-class opposition. He will outline some basic qualities of ancient Greek democracy, in contrast to modern Western governments, and he will comment on the “reception” of Athens’ democracy by the Founders of the US government. During the Peloponnesian War with Sparta after 429, Athens’ elite finally refused to participate in democratic government, withdrawing into conspiratorial political clubs and anti-democratic philosophical schools

where they published vitriol against Athens’ democracy, which by contrast had steadily improved. The Founders of the US government read the vitriol, but did not know Athens’ history. They believed Plato, Thucydides, and other anti-democratic aristocrats that direct democracy was a disaster, and so they fashioned a representative government far removed from the people. We live with the consequences.

After a short break, *Bruno Kaufmann* will offer a historic background into the making of the modern direct democracy system in Switzerland. It was in fact not Switzerland, which invented the initiative and referendum process, but Switzerland was invented by it. The lecture will give insight into the processes, conflicts and solutions of a conversational-orientated political system on three political levels, the local, the cantonal (state) and federal. He will describe the key mechanisms of Swiss democracy, their functionalities and effects in the Swiss context and offer an insight into the main take-aways from it for other societies and jurisdictions. He will conclude by linking the Swiss modern direct democracy practice with the ongoing worldwide trend to transform paternalistic representative government systems (like the federal one in the US) into forward looking participatory representative democracies.

Robert Wallace is a Greek historian and Professor of Classics at Northwestern University. He received a B.A. in ancient Greek from Columbia, a B.A. and M.A. in Classics from Oxford, and a Ph.D. in Classical Philology from Harvard. He has been a visiting professor at the American School in Athens, and at Pisa, Siena, Trento, Urbino, and Siracusa. He is the author of some ninety-five articles on various aspects of Greek history, government, and law. His books include *The Areopagos Council, to 307 BC*, which was awarded the Gustave O. Arlt Award in the Humanities by the Council of Graduate Schools, and *Reconstructing Damon: Music, Wisdom Teaching, and Politics in Perikles’ Athens*. He co-authored *Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece* with Josiah Ober and Kurt Raaflaub, and *Aristotle’s Constitution of the Athenians* with Chloe Balla. His current projects include books on Sophokles, Thucydides, and Plato and the historical Sokrates.

Bruno Kaufmann is a Swiss-Swedish broadcast journalist born in Switzerland and living in Sweden. He studied Eastern European History, Political Science, and Peace and Conflict Studies at Zurich, Hawaii, Uppsala and Gothenburg University, from where he holds an MA in

Social Sciences. He has been reporting on democratic issues globally for the Swiss daily newspaper *Tages-Anzeiger* and the German weekly *DIE ZEIT*, before taking the position of Global Democracy Correspondent for the Swiss Broadcasting Company. In his Swedish home town of Falun he was a member of the City Executive government branch for many years and chaired the Department of Democracy and Elections. Bruno has published many books on and around Modern Direct Democracy including the *Guidebook to Modern Direct Democracy in Switzerland and Beyond* and the *Global Passport to Modern Direct Democracy*. He is the Co-president of the Global Forum on Modern Direct Democracy as well as the Director for International Cooperation at the Swiss Democracy Foundation. He is a research fellow at the Center for Social Cohesion of the Arizona State University and International Advisor to the Korea Democracy Foundation.

Concert of Lyric and Romantic Songs

On Sunday, May 19, 2019, Hellenic Link–Midwest presents *Professor Thanasis Zervas* in a “*Concert of Lyric and Romantic Songs*.” The event, funded by *Hellenic Foundation, Chicago*, will take place at 3 pm at the Assyrian Cultural Center, 4343 W. Touhy Ave, Lincolnwood, Illinois, courtesy of the *Assyrian Universal Alliance Foundation*. Admission is free

Professor Zervas will present a concert of lyric and romantic songs based on poetry of Giorgos Drosinis, Costas Kariotakis, Lorentzos Mavilis, Angelos Sikelianos, Constantinos Theotokis, Costas Varnalis, Nikiphoros Vretakos, and of Chicago poets Lia Siomou and Xenia Stamoudis. The program will also include two hymns of ancient Assyrian poetry. The songs will be in Greek, in English and in ancient Assyrian-Akkadian languages. Professor Zervas will be accompanied by the soloists: Carolina Lo Verde, soprano, Eftyhia Papageorgiou-Dragoumis, mezzo soprano, and Donald Oneal, piano.

Dr. Zervas is a Professor of Music Theory – Music Creation at the University of Macedonia in Thessaloniki Greece, Artist in Residence at the Athens Conservatoire, and chief editor of the electronic music theory/composition journal “*mus-e-journal*.” He studied music at the Athens Music Conservatory, the State Conservatory of Thessaloniki, the Odeion Sychrone Ode, and the Byzantine Odeion in Greece. He holds a Doctor of Music degree in Composition and a Master’s of Music in Saxophone performance from Northwestern University. He is a specialist in pitch-class set theory, contemporary music, composition, orchestration, and improvisation. His compositions are published by Jeanne Inc. (in USA), and by “PANAS” editions (in Greece), and have been performed in the US and in Europe. His post-serial musical language reflects qualities of the so called ‘new

complexity,’ while often fuses elements of Byzantine heterophony, and lyric fragments of traditional Greek themes. As soloist he has performed – to mention a few - in Carnegie Hall in New York, Schubert Theater in Boston, Pick Steiger Concert Hall in Evanston, Ravinia IL, “Megaron” Concert Hall of Athens and Thessaloniki Greece, Herodeion Ancient Theater in Athens, Epidauros Ancient Theater, Roman Theater of Tunis in Tunisia, and Berlin Palace in Germany.

In Brief

First Post-bailout 10-year Bond Issue

On March 15, 2019, Greece, for the first time after its exit from the bailout program, successfully drew from the money markets 2.5 billion euros from a 10-year bond issue at an interest rate of 3.90 percent. The money will be used to pay an equal amount of debt due to the International Monetary Fund carrying a lower interest rate of 3.65 percent and maturing this year.

It should be noted that Greece received last August the last installment of the bailout program at an interest rate of less than 1.00 percent. It is said that in view of the upcoming elections, the government borrowed at the higher rate of 3.90 percent to convince the public that Greece has exited the bailout program with an economy strong enough to face the financial markets.

It should be also noted that Portugal, that also exited from its own bailout program, is borrowing from the markets at 1.4 percent, and Germany is borrowing at 0.14 percent.

On March 1, 2019, Moody’s upgraded Greece's credit rating to B1, which is still judged as being speculative and a high credit risk. Moody’s, in justifying the upgrading, said that Greece has made progress in agreed reforms, and although progress has been halting at times, there are good prospects for further progress and low risk of reversal. Competitiveness has significantly improved, due to a significant reduction in labor costs, and exports have accelerated strongly during 2018 – from 22 percent of GDP in 2010 to 37 percent in the third quarter of 2018. For the past three years employment has been growing by 2 percent or more – last October stood at 18.6 percent.

It has been said that the Greek government set the time of the 10-year bond issue before the March 11 Eurogroup meeting, because it was concerned about the outcome of the meeting. If at this meeting the Eurogroup would not be satisfied with the progress of reforms, the interest rate on the bond issue could go up. On March 11, the finance ministers of the 19-member Eurozone decided to postpone the disbursement of \$1.12 billion to Greece, because Greece had not yet changed, to the EU’s satisfaction, a law protecting debtors’ main housing property from creditors. The disbursement would be reconsidered at the April 5 Eurogroup meeting.

From Our History

The Cyprus Tragedy and the Culpability of the British

(Excerpts from the book: *The Mechanism of Catastrophe: The Turkish Pogrom of September 6-7, 1955, and the Destruction of the Greek Community in Istanbul*, by Speros Vryonis)

The average Turk's access to the Cyprus issue was through the press, which, unfortunately, completely poisoned the atmosphere around the problem with hatred of and hysteria toward the Greek minority in Istanbul. A less sentimental but more instrumental factor in the destruction of the Greek community—although far more hidden (in part because they destroyed their records in Istanbul)—were the local offices of the *Demokrat Parti* (in Istanbul and elsewhere). These were excellently positioned to prepare, lead, and carry out the pogrom, and to identify Greeks, their homes, businesses, churches, cultural organizations, charitable institutions, schools, newspaper offices, cemeteries, and the like, as well as to draw up neighborhood catalogues that would enable the pogromists to concentrate on the Greek minority without mistaking its property for that of Turkish Muslims or of other groups.

The very highest echelons of the government itself were, of course, of great importance in both planning and executing the pogrom: from the prime minister, Adnan Menderes, to the minister of foreign affairs, Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, to the minister of the interior, Namik Gedik, to the former foreign minister, Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, and minister of defense, Ethem Menderes, to other important cabinet members and officials such as the *vali* of Istanbul, Fahrettin Kerim Gökay. The generals who overthrew Menderes in the coup of May 27, 1960, and who subsequently tried almost the entire Menderes government at Yassıada, went to great pains to observe all the necessary and formal legalities in the tribunals in which the 592 individuals were charged. Although the brief time allowed for the defense was a glaring defect—as was the political badgering of the accused by judges and prosecutors—the legal documentation, testimony, and other materials that emerged from this massive trial constitute incredibly rich sources for reconstructing a critical turning-point in the political, social, and economic history of modern Turkey, and in the latter's relations with Greece, Britain, and the United States. The court proceedings and their testimony confirm that the pogrom was organized by Menderes and a number of his senior officials

After his decision to initiate a new policy regarding Cyprus, Adnan Menderes turned to marshalling public opinion and support. Time and money were dedicated to a critical agenda of orchestrating student organizations, groups that supported Turkish minorities abroad, and the

press, as well as artificially stimulating rumors.

The Turkish state's need for foreign-policy support from Turkish public opinion, the continuity of a discriminatory attitude and behavior toward Istanbul's Greek minority, and the various Turkish organizations active on behalf of Turkish minorities in Greece and Cyprus, all came together and generated, during a relatively brief period (late 1954 to late spring of 1955), a nationalistic, religious, racist, and political atmosphere that achieved two goals: it created the appropriate atmosphere for the pogrom; and, given this electrified atmosphere, it allowed the increasingly open emergence of the Turkish government on the Cyprus issue. All this was to lead to the failed London conference among Greece, Turkey, and Great Britain in late August and early September of 1955.

The founding of the *Kıbrıs Türkler Cemiyeti* under prime-ministerial patronage at the end of August 1954 points to Menderes's critical decision to abandon his position of studied neutrality in the diplomatic battle raging between Greece and Great Britain over the issue of Cyprus. Regarding this new policy, Menderes originally hid behind various, and ostensibly "non-governmental," organizations. The government tried to maintain the fiction that, within the context of a democratic polity, it did not interfere in the "independent" life of such "civil" groups. This, of course, was a pretext of rather thin fabrication that deluded neither the Turkish organizations nor the external political world. British pressure on the Turkish government to take an aggressive stand on Cyprus had already begun to bear fruit, and indeed there is a suspicion that the Turkish press, especially *Vatan* and *Hürriyet* (as the latter's circulation had suddenly skyrocketed), enjoyed British subsidies. Bil and Yalman began to travel to London (the former to Cyprus as well), and Bil also assisted in mounting a demonstration of 5,000 Turks living in London at the time of the London conference. Both Yalman and Bil were thus on the scene in London at that critical time, as well as before.

The stages in this transformation of Turkish public opinion and the groundswell of public support for Menderes's change to a more direct policy on Cyprus have been clearly analyzed in a number of studies. Nevertheless, it is necessary at this point to sketch the salient events and stages of this groundswell and general activities that not only gave Menderes his needed public support, but also succeeded in transforming the Turkish view of the Greek minority, which, increasingly, became hopelessly entrapped and without any effective support or defense from any quarter whatsoever. Through its basic representatives—Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras and Alexandros Chatzopoulos, the Greek member of the Turkish parliament—and through part of its local press (especially the fearless stance of the editor of Istanbul's Greek-language newspaper, *Embros*), the Greek minority

tried repeatedly to assure Turks that they were not involved in the Cyprus issue and that they, in fact, sided with Turkey on this matter. They also tried to refute the charges (all of them unfounded), which were beginning to appear in a type of reckless Turkish journalism, of the supposed political treachery of the Greek minority and of its Church, but all to no avail. These charges, which issued out of a seemingly inexhaustible font of ethnic hatred, were to consume the entire Turkish press.

Thus, the anti-Greek demonstrations of the student and other organizations were, in a sense, preceded by the vituperation of the Turkish press from the very beginning of 1954. During the year, rallies and demonstrations gradually increased in tempo and stridency, and finally peaked in what came to be a river of emotion that would overflow into and, ultimately, flood and destroy the Greek community of Istanbul.

From the Riches of Our Cultural Heritage

Ποίηση Διονυσίου Σολωμού

Η ΗΜΕΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΛΑΜΠΡΗΣ

Καθαρώτατον ήλιο επομηνούσε
Της αυγής το δροσάτο ύστερο αστέρι,
Σύγνεφο, καταχνιά, δεν απερνούσε
Τ' ουρανού σε κανένα από τα μέρη·
Και από 'κει κινημένο αργοφυσούσε
Τόσο γλυκό στο πρόσωπο τ' αέρι,
Που λες και λέει μες στις καρδιάς τα φύλλα:
Γλυκειά η ζωή κι ο θάνατος μαυρίλα.

Χριστός Ανέστη! Νέοι, γέροι και κόρες,
Όλοι, μικροί μεγάλοι, ετοιμαστείτε·
Μέσα στες εκκλησίες τες δαφνοφόρες
Με το φως της χαράς συμμαζωχτείτε·
Ανοίξτε αγκαλιές ειρηνοφόρες
ομπροστά στους Αγίους και φιληθείτε·
Φιληθείτε γλυκά χείλη με χείλη,
Πέστε: Χριστός Ανέστη, εχθροί και φίλοι.

Δάφνες εις κάθε πλάκα έχουν οι τάφοι.
Και βρέφη ωραία στην αγκαλιά οι μανάδες·
Γλυκόφωνα κοιτώντας τες ζωγραφι-
σμένες εικόνες, ψάλλουνε οι ψαλτάδες·
Λάμπει το ασήμι, λάμπει το χρυσάφι,
Από το φως που χύνουνε οι λαμπάδες·
Κάθε πρόσωπο λάμπει απ' τ' αγιοκέρι,
οπού κρατούνε οι Χριστιανοί στο χέρι.

Ποίηση Κωστή Παλαμά

ΡΟΔΟΥ ΜΟΣΚΟΒΟΛΗΜΑ

Εφέτος άγρια μ' έδειρεν η βαρucheμωνιά
που μ' έπιασε χωρίς φωτιά και μ' ήβρε χωρίς νιάτα,
κι ώρα την ώρα πρόσμενα να σωριαστώ βριαιά
στη χιονισμένη στράτα.

Μα χτες καθώς με θάρρεψε το γέλιο του Μαρτιού
και τράβηξα να ξαναβρώ τ' αρχαία τα μονοπάτια,
στο πρώτο μοσκοβόλημα ενός ρόδου μακρινού
μου δάκρυσαν τα μάτια.

Poetry by Dionysios Solomos

EASTER DAY

The last bright star of dawn
betokened a sun most clear,
nowhere in the sky
a trace of cloud or mist;
and the slow moving wind
blew so gently on the face,
it seemed to say to the heart's depths:
"Life is sweet and death is darkness."

Christ is risen! Young, old and maidens,
everyone, children and grown-ups, make ready!
Enter the laurel-laden churches,
gather together in the joyful light,
open your arms in peaceful embraces,
before the Saints and kiss each other!
Kiss sweetly lip to lip;
foes and friends say: Christ is Risen!

Each tombstone is covered with laurel,
and beautiful babes in their mothers' arms
stare at the painted icons.
The sweet-voiced choir chants;
the silver sparkles, the gold gleams
in the light of the candles;
each face glows from the holy candle
Christians carry in their hands.

Poetry by Kostis Palamas

ROSE-FRAGRANCE

This year the heavy winter hit me hard;
it caught me without fire, it found me without youth,
and from hour to hour, I expected to crumple, a heap
on the snow-covered road ...

But yesterday, as the laughter of March cheered me, and
I went ahead to find once more the ancient footpaths,
at the first fragrance of a faraway rose
my eyes filled with tears.