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Spotlight

AN
ANALYSIS
OF CURRENT
GREEK
AFFAIRS

No 12 A FORTNIGHTLY PUBLICATION OF THE INSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL STUDIES, NOVEMBER 15, 1984 30 DRS.

Turkey to Demand Weapons Page 2

"The Aegean Is Greek" said C. 16th Turkish geographer Piri Reis Pages 4-5

Greek Weaving - Living History Page 7

PREMIER IN MIDDLE EAST

Premier Andreas Papandreou, who returned from official visits to Syria and Jordan, pledged that Greece would request the European Community to adopt new decisions on the Middle East, at the EEC summit in Dublin early next month.



Syria's President Assad with Greek Premier Andreas Papandreou

Speaking after a meeting with King Hussein of Jordan, the Premier said in Amman that his government intended that the Dublin summit

should formulate proposals on the Middle East to be adopted by the Community, which would result in a declaration on the subject.

After a two-day visit to Jordan and before departing for Greece, Mr Papandreou explained that although a Community declaration

might not be decisive, it would certainly be significant, and would "aid the struggle for a peaceful, just and permanent settlement of the problems of the region."

He said he had requested the Syrian and Jordanian governments to submit "notes" which could be used as a basis for the formulation of specific proposals on which the European Community would take a position. He said he felt the Community was ripe for such a step.

The Greek Premier briefed the Syrian and Jordanian leaderships on the problems created by Turkish policy in the Aegean and on the Cyprus issue.

Mr Papandreou met with his Jordanian counterpart Ahmad Obeidat on 10 November for talks on the situation in the Middle East and the Mediterranean, and the development of economic, commercial and cultural relations between the two countries.

Mr Papandreou, heading a delegation, arrived in Amman on 10 November following a two-day official visit to Syria, during which he had talks on bilateral and international issues with the Syrian leadership.

En route from Damascus

to Amman, Mr Papandreou said the Syrian visit had been more successful than expected, adding that the talks in Damascus had been of substance.

He said bilateral relations would be promoted, not only through commercial transactions but also with the establishment of mixed capital enterprises in Syria, for a market which, he said, would be broader than just Syria or Greece.

Mr Papandreou said that the "green light" had been given for the Volos - Latakia rail-ferry link, which would make Greece a "bridge" between Europe and the Middle East.

Mr Papandreou said he would propose "certain decisions and statements for the 10 states to adopt over the issue" at next month's Community summit in Dublin.

"They (the Syrians) really consider us as the European country that can project the concerns not just of Syria but of the whole Arab nation," he said.

Amman visit: press release

In a press release issued after
(Continued on page 3)

IN THIS ISSUE

Richard Haas:
Some Comments
Page 2



Asia Minor
Studies
Page 6



International Day
of the Child
Page 8



Interview with
Senator Tsongas
Page 7

TALKS ON THE 'VOICE OF AMERICA'

Talks between Greek and US delegations concerning the Voice of America entered their second phase on October 29, with the resumption of negotiations between the two sides. A great deal has appeared in the Greek and international press regarding the talks, but reliable sources stress that any speculation about their outcome is premature, given that negotiations are still continuing. However, it does appear that talks are in a calm and friendly atmosphere and with a spirit of equality between the two sides.

No matter what agreement is reached at the end of this, the final phase of the negotiations, Greek public opinion attaches great significance to the fact that they are being held on equal terms — a situation which was evident earlier with the US-Greek talks on the future of American bases in Greece.

Of the Voice of America stations operating in Greece, that in Kavala is among the

network's largest in the world. The stations broadcast in 17 different languages, and cover almost all the globe from Greece eastwards. The range of countries covered includes the Soviet Union, Eastern European countries, Turkey, the Arab world, East Africa and India.

The facilities provided by Greece constitute a major political question, and also

affect matters of radio communications as these are governed by international regulations. It is true that for a few hours each day certain radio programs of the Greek Radio and Television network are broadcast through VOA transmitters. However, this is seen as being a long way from constituting an acceptable counterbalance to the facilities provided, and the Greek government aims to insist on strict enforcement of the principle of reciprocity; that is, that the benefits arising from any agreement reached should be shared equally between the two sides.

Of course, the safeguarding of Greek sovereign rights continues to be a basic condition for success of the

talks, and certain sensitive and politically delicate questions remain to be solved. Among these is the problem of control of the content of the programs broadcast by the VOA, although this will in no way mean censorship in advance or interference with the free broadcasting of news and information with the objectivity which exists in every democratic country.

These questions give an idea of the seriousness of the issues involved in the talks, which have to date twice required the personal intervention of the heads of the two delegations, Deputy Foreign Minister Yannis Kapsis and US Ambassador Stearns. Private meetings

between the two men were able to provide high-level solutions to problems over which talks between the delegations had run into difficulties.

At the moment, nothing regarding the outcome of the talks can be foreseen with certainty. The possibilities for the future range from a continued presence of the VOA in Greece — for a varying number of years — to complete suspension of its activities. But if, as the Kapsis - Stearns meetings would seem to indicate, both sides have the will to arrive at a mutually acceptable agreement, optimism and a positive spirit towards the talks would appear to be in order.

**NEWS
IN
BRIEF**

Visit of French Youth Expert

French Premier Laurent Fabius' adviser on youth issues and coordinator of the interministerial committee for the entry into, employment and society of young people with difficulties, Professor Bertrand Schwartz, has been in Athens for a six-day visit at the invitation of the Center of Studies and Self-Education (KEMEA).

The Center, in an announcement, said the French official had been invited for briefing on the social, career and educational problems of young people in Greece, and efforts being made to solve them on the Center's experimental program of career orientation in publishing and printing careers for unemployed youths.

While in Athens, the Professor met with Education Undersecretary Petros Moralis, KEMEA President and Ahaia Deputy George Papanreou and other officials.

Aid for Earthquake Areas

The European Commission has approved 100,000 ECU (approx. 9.1 million drs) for restoration of damage caused by the recent earth tremors in the prefecture of Messinia.

The grant was approved following a request by Foreign Undersecretary for EEC Affairs Theodore Pangalos to the European Commission and the Council of EEC Foreign Ministers.

Meanwhile, Mr Pangalos, on November 1, hosted a lunch for the Ambassadors in Athens of Greece's nine EEC partners. Informed sources said that matters of general Community interest and special Greek interest were discussed during the lunch.

Greek-Egyptian Economic Talks Open

Greek-Egyptian talks on the further development of bilateral economic relations began on November 1, it was officially announced.

The talks, opened with a meeting between National Economy Minister Gerassimos Arsenis, and the Egyptian Minister of External Trade, Mr El-Said.

Spotlight

A fortnightly publication of the Institute for Political Studies.

Publisher: Yiannis Stamiris, 46, Sevastis Kallisperi, Halandri, Athens, Greece.

RICHARD HAAS: SOME COMMENTS

On 25 October the political adviser to the Directorate for European Affairs of the State Department, Richard Haas, spoke to reporters and members of the public on Greek-American relations and the Cyprus issue. The occasion was a public discussion organized by the Greek-American newspaper PROINI at the New York Astoria. In view of the official character both of the speaker and of his views, which reflect the position of the State Department on critical issues of vital importance to Greece, it is worth examining Mr Haas's remarks in some detail.

■ In connection with Mr Haas's assertion that the arms embargo on Turkey "had produced results which were the opposite of those expected" and that the Reagan Administration is against any measure designed "to punish an ally", the following must be said:

In the first place, the embargo was not imposed as a measure designed to "punish" Turkey, but was the direct result of the violation by Turkey of the relevant American legislation on military aid.

If the embargo has "produced the opposite results", then this is due to the fact that the Administration opposed from the start the decision of the House of Representatives and the Senate on the matter. From the moment that the embargo was imposed it is no secret that the Administration did its best to weaken its effect, politically by publicly condemning the embargo and effectively by continuing to arm Turkey through third countries.

However, even though undermined and whittled down by the Administration, the embargo was far from ineffective. For four years it undoubtedly restrained and discouraged Turkish expansionism and provocation, which today have reached unprecedented levels, as a result of the continuing — and increased — arming of Turkey from every quarter.

Furthermore, the embargo operated as a "moral" rebuff to Turkey in the eyes of the international community — a constant reminder of the crime of the invasion and occupation of northern Cyprus.

■ As to Mr Haas's view that the two sides (Greek Cypriot and Turkish) "interpret history differently and draw their own conclusions," it should be noted that:

The application of arbitrary "historical conclusions" on the part of Turkey is entirely in keeping with its expansionist policy and the line it has faithfully followed of distorting the distribution of nationalities in the area (wiping out of the Greek presence in Asia Minor, genocide of the Armenians and Kurds, annexation of Syrian territory in the Alexandretta area, seizure and occupation of northern Cyprus, illegal claims in the Aegean etc.)

However, should any doubt remain in the mind of Mr Haas as to the age-old Greekness of Cyprus, he has only to consult the whole of the decisions and resolutions of the international community, speaking through the UNO, which has vindicated, historically and morally, the justice of the cause of the people of Cyprus.

■ As to Mr Haas's assurances that at the conclusion of the negotiations Turkey will withdraw all its troops from occupied Cyprus, even in the event of this actually happening, it would be an empty gesture, since it is clear that the

negotiated settlement which Turkey currently seeks on the Cyprus issue means the legitimizing of faits accomplis and the rendering permanent of the partition of the island with the recognition, at the same time, of rights of joint sovereignty of the Turkish Cypriot minority throughout Cyprus. Consequently, the presence of the Turkish troops on the island serves as a "Damocles' sword" under the threat of which the Turks are attempting to impose their own terms.

■ Mr Haas maintained that there is no proof of American complicity in the events of 1974. It also has to be said that neither was there any effort made on the part of the US to prevent the Turkish invasion.

It is worth recalling that during the 1964 crisis the firm intervention of President Johnson, in the form of his famous letter to the then Turkish premier Inonu, had the effect of averting a Turkish attack on Cyprus.

There was no repetition of such vigorous American intervention ten years later.

On the contrary, the American reaction was characterized by an inertia which amounted, in effect, to giving the "green light" to Turkish invasion plans.

■ In connection with Mr Haas's assertion that Turkey is making great efforts to return to democracy and that its critics apply "double standards", one is bound to point out just how little conviction such an argument carries.

To express such a view immediately after the hanging of a political prisoner, thus bringing the total of those executed solely for their political convictions to 27 in the last three years, and immediately after the publication of Amnesty International's damning report, which charges Turkey with the use of torture and every manner of violation of human rights

and of having 25,000 political prisoners, shows that the "double standards" are being employed not by Turkey's critics, but rather by some of its admirers — such as Mr Haas.

It is as a result of such wilful self-deception that the United States, the protector and pioneer in the field of human rights, is led into alliances with and support of morally indefensible regimes which will not stand the test of time. Thus it comes about that the great American democracy often has unpleasant surprises, as was the case with the regimes — internationally condemned — of the Shah of Persia and of South Vietnam, which collapsed chiefly because of popular resistance at home and their own lack of freedom.

■ Mr Haas, finally, made an attempt to convince his audience that there is no truth in the assertion that Turkey is using American military aid for the arming of

the Aegean, rather than for the strengthening of its frontiers with the Soviet Union and for NATO defense purposes.

So, do the 450,000 troops of the Aegean Army, based on Smyrna, their installation and equipment and the 151 landing craft facing the Greek Islands serve NATO defense purposes? And who is one to say about the occupation forces in Cyprus and the 450 tanks which took part in the operation?

Might it not be better for the diplomatic advisers of the State Department just occasionally to acknowledge American errors made at the expense of tried and trusted allies in two world wars — rather than to allow themselves to be drawn into hypocrisy in support of newly-found friends unscathed by the common sacrifices made by the free peoples of the world that they should continue to be free?

TURKEY TO DEMAND NEW WEAPONS FROM U.S.



The Turkish government has warned the Pentagon that for 1986-1987 it will be asking for a significant amount of military and telecommunications equipment, rockets and other supplies. It will also be asking for "a considerable sum" for the speeding up of infrastructure projects agreed in the Turkish-US agreements of 1981 and 1982.

According to American sources, the Turkish military are interested in obtaining supplies of the following:

- Rockets of the "younger generation", chiefly ground to sea and sea to sea.
 - At least one high seas frigate, two floating platforms for rocket launching and two missile systems auxiliary vessels.
 - Complete equipment for at least one remote-control naval operations center (comparable with the equipment supplied by the US to Britain in 1981 and used in the Falklands operations).
 - Automatic space link telecommunications equipment, possibly to come into operation before 1990 (apart from the equipment and know-how, the United States will have to train Turkish officers in the whole space link system, — American observers note).
- The Turks are also asking for the infrastructure projects

being carried out with US technology and planning to be speeded up by an increase in the relevant budget of between 60 and 80 million dollars for 1986-

1987. They are particularly keen on the speedy completion of three projects spread over what they call "critical areas" of the country.

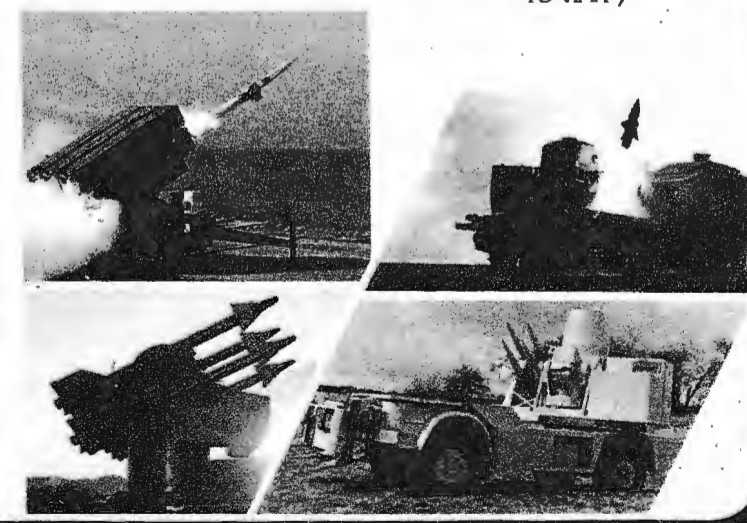
These are: one in Western Thrace, near Andrianoupolis (Edime), one 140 kilometers from the Soviet frontier in the Van region and another at the source of the Euphrates, deep in the homeland of the Kurds.

Work began on these projects in 1980-81, but has

been slowed down because Congress has repeatedly cut back the sums asked for by the Reagan administration.

Washington has already been made aware of Turkey's demands through diplomatic channels and has known of them at least since the beginning of October. Their finalization and expression in the form of a memorandum is expected very shortly, according to Washington's information from Ankara.

(From the newspaper "TO VIMA")



Elliott Abrams

12/3/84

-D Talked about religious issues

- Patriarchate in Constantinople.

- ① Turks give permission to repair Patriarchate
- ② Seminary is closed, Seminary would come from Greece.
- ③ Fakhros not allowed to Turkey.

Elliott is drafting letter to Ankara.
U.S. Embassy.

Tone - good.

Archbishop - 12:30 - 3:00. → Can we produce.

→ Andy Memos.

① Visa for archbishop.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 2, 1984

TO ✓ LINAS KOJELIS AND DOUG HOLLADAY

FROM: **FAITH R. WHITTLESEY**
*Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison*

Information

Action

WOULD THE TWO OF YOU PLEASE WORK TOGETHER
AND SET UP A MEETING WITH MEMBERS OF
THE GREEK-AMERICAN AND GREEK SHIPPING
COMMUNITIES AS WE DISCUSSED --- AND
STAY IN TOUCH WITH COSTA CARRAS. THANK YOU.

5 AUBREY ROAD,

OCT 30 1984

LONDON, W8 7JJ.

TEL: 01-221 5413

22nd October 1984

Dear Mrs. Whittlesey,

It was a pleasure meeting you together with Doug Holladay and Dean Overman last Monday, and especially to receive your courteous and sympathetic attention on one of the many issues in today's world that tends to attract less notice than it should. Such a lack of attention is of course very understandable given the constantly pressing nature of three or four major world problems on those who take the decisions and yet, as we agreed, these seemingly second-rank issues would, if justly resolved, greatly strengthen the Western Alliance, just as indeed by their non-resolution they unnecessarily weaken it.

You were good enough to say you would arrange for a meeting in the Roosevelt Room with members of the Greek-American and Greek shipping communities in attendance,

- 2 -

and also, of course, for another such meeting with members of the Turkish-American community. The purpose of these meetings would be to bring such problems as that of Cyprus, as well as potential acceptable solutions, closer to the attention of those who might then be able to coordinate a policy initiative on them.

Allow me to say that I am indeed grateful for the opportunity you have given of such a meeting - and I shall be happy to work with you and Doug Holladay regarding it in any way you may request.

Yours sincerely,

Costa Carras

COSTA CARRAS

c.c. Doug Holladay

Papandreou calls Jaruzelski patriot

ATHENS — Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, speaking to reporters during his flight from Poland, where he had been on an official state visit, first by any NATO leader to that country since the imposition of martial law and the outlawing of the independent trade union Solidarity in 1981, described Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, Polish leader, as "a patriot" and Solidarity as a movement which was both "negative and dangerous."

Papandreou's Socialist government had been the only NATO member to reject economic sanctions imposed by the alliance in retaliation to the martial law declaration.

The prime minister told reporters that the United States and other Western countries were seeking to "destabilize" the Soviet bloc through their support of Solidarity. He singled out the U.S. as the principal force in the destabilization effort, adding the sanctions "are part of the specific, conscious aim of the United States especially, which in some ways is also accepted in the West — not always and not totally — to destabilize the political structure of the Eastern countries, the countries of the Eastern bloc."

Papandreou recalled that in its early stages he had praised Solidarity as the most important movement since the October Revolution.

He said, however, that "Solidarity had all the elements that could lead to peaceful reform, which would have required considerable time. Both persistence and patience were necessary. For reasons that I cannot judge or know, the pace of the confrontation proceeded so rapidly as to create the great showdown. Movements that are revolutionary, that aim for change of great scope, should know when to do what."

"If the progressive, radical movements are not in a position to operate within the existing framework of historical possibilities," he said, "then they become negative and dangerous, because then there is regression."

"Unfortunately," he added, "that is my opinion of Solidarity. . ."

"Jaruzelski is a patriot who within the historical framework at his and at Poland's disposal is promoting as far as humanly possible a change" that "will gain ground step by step if it is not sabotaged from any quarter."

State Dept. Faces Greek-American Panelists

A First for the Greek-American Community

In its efforts to begin a new dialogue between the Greek-American community and the U.S. government regarding U.S. policies, Proini Daily has sponsored the first in a series of panel discussions on important issues concerning Greece, Turkey and Cyprus.

The event, which took place October 25th, 1984, at the Crystal Palace in Astoria, N.Y., was attended by over 300 members of the Greek-American community and press.

Speaker of the evening was Richard Haass, Deputy for Policy, and Special Cyprus Coordinator, Bureau of European Affairs, U.S. Department of State. The panel included the distinguished Dr. Phoebus Dhrymes, professor of economics at Columbia University, Christopher Hitchens, British journalist and author, and Professor Basil Vlavianos, formerly of New York University, publisher, author and journalist. Moderator was Dr. Amelia Augustus, President of the Women's Economic Round Table of New York.

Fannie Petalides, president and publisher of PROINI and WEEKLY REVIEW PROINI, opened the session.

The following is a transcript of the discussion that took place.

F. Petalides: ... This is the first time we are privileged to have a public panel discussion with a prominent representative of our government. We wish to assure you, Mr. Haass, that every remark or criticism made here tonight about the policy of the United States government is entirely due to our desire to support the interest of the United States, as well as those of Greece, Cyprus and... why not, Turkey itself. Unfortunately, our time is very limited but we hope to have more of

these discussions in the near future.

I would now like to introduce our moderator, who has distinguished herself in the field of human rights, national and international economic policy, Dr. Amelia Augustus.

Dr. Augustus: My reason for being here is purely as a facilitator/moderator. Let me say that I, as many of you here today, am of Greek heritage and keenly aware of the exuberance that can explode at times. ... Now the format which has been agreed upon is

as follows: Mr. Haass will present his position and enlighten us about the State Department's point of view. This will take approximately 25 minutes. At that time we will then move into the next segment of the program, which will be totally monopolized by our panelists. They will ask questions, and discussions will follow.

Our panelists are experts with various areas of expertise. Phoebus Dhrymes is professor of economics at Columbia University; Christopher Hitchens, who has just written a book

entitled *Cyprus* is the Washington correspondent for *The Nation* and *The London Spectator*; and Professor Basil Vlavianos, who is somewhat known in the Greek and Cypriot communities. In fact, he is one of the wonders of our community, if I might say that. And I have heard people say that when we speak with Professor Vlavianos it is like speaking with the Parthenon in the Western world. Many people may not have seen it; but they have all heard of it. He will be the last panelist, and we will continue in succession.



Richard Haass of the U.S. State Department

The Topic: U.S. Policy towards Greece, Turkey and Cyprus

R. Haass: Let me just say, that I for one am very glad to be here tonight and that Fannie Petalidis talked with me a year ago at a Greek Embassy reception and out of that grew a conversation where I said I would someday like to come to Astoria. I grew up only a few miles from here in Valley Stream. I looked forward to coming back here. I thought I might learn a lot. That's one of the problems, I think, of all of us who work in Washington—exactly that. And while the taxpayers get their money's worth, and we work our twelve and

fourteen hours a day, often six days a week, the problem is we don't get out of Washington enough. And we don't get the opportunity to hear what people have to say. So I probably will not use my full 25 minutes, not because I probably don't have 25 minutes worth of things I could say, but I would actually rather save as much time as possible for our discussion afterwards. So if you will forgive me I will actually be rather brief in my remarks, so we can get on to the

(Continued on page 10)



(L. to R.) Speaker Richard Haass, Moderator Dr. Amelia Augustus, Prof. Phoebus Dhrymes of Columbia University, author-journalist Christopher Hitchens, Prof. Basil Vlavianos of New York University (ret'd.)

State Department

(Continued from page 9)

questions, which is really for me—if you can forgive some self interest—what I am most interested in. What I'd like to do is very quickly to discuss American policy towards Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, which collectively, as you know, tends to go by the title of the Eastern Mediterranean or South-eastern Europe from Washington's perspective. For us it is a terribly important part of the world. Both, not only for its own sake, but because of US and Western interests in Europe and because of US and Western interests in the Middle East. I know also that for many of you here it is



RICHARD HAASS

particularly important for more personal reasons, in that many of you are of Greek heritage.

I'd like to think all of us are, in one way or another, of Greek heritage in a country in which democracy is the political system we all cherish. But I know, for you it does have a special meaning. And again it is one of the reasons I am glad to be here. As a result, let me begin by saying a few things about American foreign policy towards Greece. As I just said, we are all descendants of Greece. And that is a fact. And that is something that I for one am very proud of. There is a long history of ties between the American people and the Greek people, between our governments. And these are ties that have been formalized for more than a generation now, in that we are both members of the NATO Alliance, the NATO treaty organization. What this says, I think, is that we have traditionally recognized that we have important common interests that bond us together. At the same time we recognized that we live in a world in which there are important threats and adversaries which threaten those interests. And based on the principle that in unity there is strength, Greece, the U.S., and 14 other countries are now members of NATO. Greece is also important to the U.S. because of our facilities there. By that I mean our military facilities. And these are terribly important not simply to the

U.S., but for both countries. They serve important interests of the two countries. And I am pleased to say that I was a part of the American effort which brought about an agreement, a basic agreement, between our two countries not that long ago, working with R. Bartholomew, who is now the American Ambassador in Beirut.

One of the demonstrations of just how important Greece is to the U.S., and the Reagan Administration, can be found by looking at our aid policy, at our security assistance policy. Greece is one of the leading recipients of American aid. To be somewhat more specific, although I've learned recently that using numbers in debates is not always an advantage, Greece is, at the moment, the fifth leading recipient of American security assistance. And if one then takes out his pocket computer or a slide rule, Greece is the second leading recipient on a per capita basis—with only Israel ahead of it—of the leading countries, in terms of American aid. And I think that tells you something about just how important Greek security is, and how important the facilities in Greece are, and indeed the entire relationship.

That said, I would be less than honest if I traveled these few hundred miles

somehow destabilize the government of Poland, when it is not true. When we are ourselves have been in the forefront, together with the Catholic Church, together with Solidarity, together with the Polish people, and together with trade unions around the world in urging national reconciliation in that country. So, yes, we do have our disagreements sometimes on things that are said.

Greece is, at the moment, the fifth leading recipient of American security assistance.

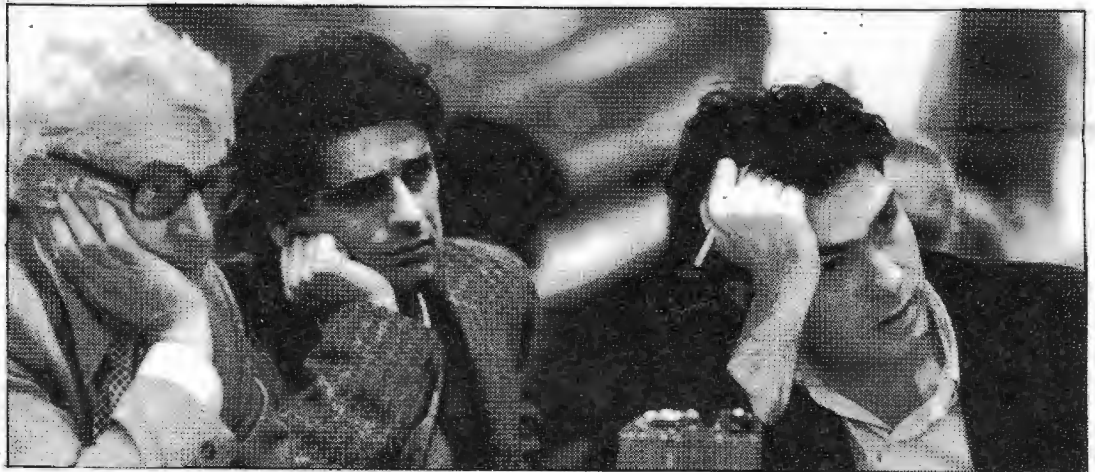
... R. Haass

Secondly, we also have some consideration on a bilateral basis. On this I mean the security of our bases, where up until recently, we had many difficulties with the people trying to get in and out of work—American soldiers, and servicemen who were harassed, which fortunately, I will

in a world in which safety, unfortunately, can no longer be taken for granted.

And there is a third area in which I am troubled. And that is an area that is somewhat difficult for me to talk about, but I will all the same, and for reasons that I would like to explain. And that is what I see as the growth of anti-American sentiment in Greece. And this worries me not only for this week or this month or this year, but this worries me about the future.

When I grew up, Greece was one of the countries one most respected. And I would like to think that in Greece, America was one of the countries most respected. And I worry about the impact of regular criticism of the U.S., and what I think is a kind of unfair criticism. Again, I do not want to paint an overly rosy or unrealistic or inaccurate picture of this country or of this country's foreign policy, but I, for one, am very proud of it, and think its record stands very well. I also think our record compares very favorably to that of the Soviet Union, in virtually any meaningful category of comparison. So, yes, I do take umbrage quite often at what I see as a steady stream of rather one-sided criticism of the U.S. And I worry about that, and its future



A general mood of somberness prevailed throughout the audience. Above (L. to R.) Stavros Papaeliou of the AHEPA Cyprus Committee; journalists Anastasis Vitsonikis of *Protoni* and Alexis Papadimas of the *Athens Avgi*.

from Washington and simply painted a rosy picture of American relations with Greece. In all candor, although I would like to do that, I cannot. We do have our difficulties, and we do have our problems. And let me just point out three areas where I am troubled by the relationship between the U.S. and Greece. The first statement that had been made, in particular by the Prime Minister of Greece, I believe does not contribute to the overall interests of the West. By this I mean, statements such as those recently made during his visit to Libya, by this I mean the recent statements of Greece that the Korean airliner 007 which the Soviet Union shot down just over a year ago was on a spy mission for the U.S. and the West, when we know it was not. And just this week, the comments made, in Poland, that the purpose of American policy is to



Weekly Review Editor Athena Dallas-Damis, with Christakis Katsambas, Editor of the Cyprus *Fileleftheros* newspaper.

point out, has come to an end. And also the safety, in general, of Americans in Greece. I think that is a very important thing. And something to worry about

impact over time, on the ability of the Greek people and the American people to sustain the kind of positive relationship, that I think, for more than



(L. to R.) Thanasis Zisiopoulos, Editor of the N.Y. *National Herald*, Mirela Georgiades, correspondent of the Athens News Agency, Chris Nicolopoulos, correspondent of Athens *Ritospasts*.

a generation now has served the interests of both people and both countries.

Let me just end my discussion of Greece with making one thing very, very clear—that despite these differences—there is nothing that I, nor the Secretary of State, nor the President, would rather see or like to see more than a very positive and constructive relationship between the U.S. and Greece. We derive no satisfaction whatsoever from these differences I have just pointed out. To the contrary, the only satisfaction we would derive would be when these differences somehow fade away, and for the U.S. and Greece to once again become close in virtually every aspect of our relationship.

Let me make it clear that we, for our part, are willing to meet the Greek government halfway, and to do whatever is necessary for this. And what I would like to do is simply point

... the U.S. stand favors... that the solution is to be found among Cypriots alone. Now, the presence of a very substantial Turkish army in Cyprus seems... to belie this premise.

... P. Dhrymes

out that we look forward to the day when the Greek government and Mr. Papandreou accept our offer and meet us halfway. And I think we will find that both countries will benefit as a result.

Let me now say a few things about Turkey. Turkey, as I expect many of you have heard before, and are well aware of, is also an important ally of the U.S. It is also a member of NATO. It also enjoys a terribly important strategic location which serves American and indeed Western interests, again both Europe and in the Middle East. Also, in Turkey, the U.S. enjoys access to terribly important military and other facilities. I think the U.S. benefits from Turkey's unique standing and its ability to carry out forceful diplomacy in the Middle East. Turkey is the only Islamic member of NATO, and has a unique entree to the vital Middle East, that for obvious reasons other countries do not. And this importance of Turkey is manifested in many ways, among them being American security

assistance. And Turkey, too, is one of the leading recipients of U.S. security assistance. I think that when I look back at the last few years over American policy towards Turkey, and at developments in Turkey, I for one, see reasons to be pleased. And I think that most Americans should be pleased.

We have seen Turkey take major strides from military rule to the implementation of full democracy. It is not here completely yet, but clearly the direction is good, the trends are good, and the accomplishments are impressive. One can criticize the human rights in Turkey today, and one could no doubt find abuses here or incidents there, but I only ask people to think back to three or four years ago when approximately 20 people a day were being murdered by terrorists. That was hardly a human rights paradise, then. And I think the strides that have been made are impressive and deserve our respect and our support.

I similarly find much to be pleased about in Turkey when I look at what is going on there economically. Indeed,



Fannie Petalides (RIGHT), publisher of *Profit* and *Weekly Review Profit*, sponsored the evening's panel discussion. To her right, Cyprus Consul General Andreas Kakouris; Theodoros Mitides, President of the United Cypriots of America; behind, Bobby Makafouris.

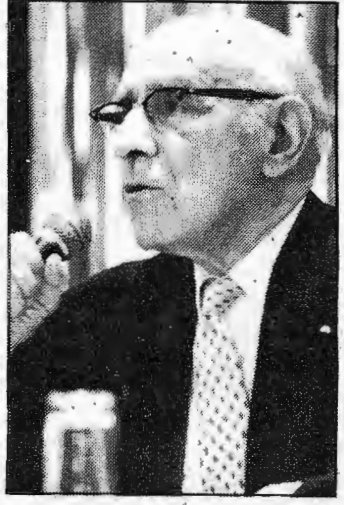
Turkey is one of the countries which I think, is showing the way to development. It is fascinating to read today's *Wall Street Journal*, where there is a front page article about China and some of the directions that the People's Republic of China has chosen to take economically. And what one notices are things that look nothing so much as they do except like free enterprise, where you have the beginnings of decentralized decision-

making, and much more flexibility with prices, reduced collectivization and so forth.

And if one looks at the economic reforms in Turkey, again one sees the institution of free enterprise very, very boldly, and very, very decisively. And I believe that is something to be applauded, because, I think, historically there is a strong connection between free enterprise and the freedom to make economic decisions, and political freedom to sustain a democracy. So I, for one, am very pleased by what I see there. I think our goal with Turkey must be to support them so that these gains economically and politically are consolidated. I think that it is in the interests of not only Turkey, but all of the U.S. and the West, that Turkey be a stable country closely associated with the Western community. And this Administration has done its best to help bring that about. And that is something we can look back upon with some pleasure, because in the process, we not only contribute to Turkey's stability, but to the stability of NATO. It is important to remember that Turkey has one of the largest armies in NATO, and it does contribute quite a bit to the overall defense of the West.

Let me now turn to Cyprus, which although not an ally like Greece and Turkey, is a very, very important country, and also a very good friend. And one thing that I would like to say on a personal note, is—I think many people in the U.S. and particularly those in the government who have worked for the last few years in Lebanon, as I have off and on, and have worked very closely with our people there, who have been living in conditions that are as uncomfortable and difficult as virtually anything imaginable — that is the support of the

and the problem of a divided island. Let me just say one other thing personally, if I may—this is not a new concern of mine. I was first there nearly fifteen years ago, and my first job in the U.S. government turned out to be the summer of 1974, when as a young man, I worked for Senator Claiborne Pell, and my first foreign policy crisis some ten years ago was the crisis of 1974. Now ten years later, I find myself as the Secretary of State's special Cyprus Coordinator. So it is a part of the world that I myself have followed with some closeness for



PROF. BASIL VLAVIANOS

more than a decade now. It is also a part of the world and a country that receives high level attention, not only from my immediate boss, but the Secretary of State and the President as well, who as you know recently discussed it not only with the Secretary General when he came to New York, but also highlighted it in his speech before the U.N. General Assembly.

Quite simply our policy there is to do whatever we can to reunite that country on terms that are acceptable to all the people of Cyprus. The way we have tried to implement this objective is by consistent support of the UN Secretary General, Pérez de Cuellar, as he goes about fulfilling his mandate, given him by the UN Security Council. What we have done, often behind the scene, often quietly, is try to use our influence to promote flexibility and compromise on the part of all the parties involved. We may not be as visible as some would like, we may not be as loud or vocal, but believe me, let me try to reassure you we are involved. One of my laws of diplomacy, though, is that at times if one tends to be more public, one tends to be less effective in private. I think the U.S. has tried to maintain an active role but to do so quietly, and to do so in support of the UN Secretary General.

As we meet here now, tonight, we are obviously at a key juncture in the diplomacy of Cyprus, and potentially, in the history of Cyprus. It is too soon to say where exactly this current initiative of the Secretary General will come out. All I can say is that we in the U.S. government, and speaking personally for myself, will do whatever we can

(Continued on page 12)

State Department

(Continued from page 11)

to see that this initiative has every chance of progressing and ultimately succeeding. In the process, though, do not expect or look for signs that we are favoring one community over the other. I think if we did that, that would simply spell the end of our effectiveness. Again, we must maintain access to both communities and to all the parties to this dispute, if the U.S. is to have any chance of playing a helpful and constructive role.

Let me just say one other thing, which is that the U.S. can play a helpful role, we can assist the Secretary General. We can, behind the scenes if need be, at times publicly say things that will help. But the U.S. cannot deliver a settlement of the Cyprus problem. The U.S. is indeed a great power in the contemporary world, but even great powers have their limits. I think it is probably unrealistic but also ultimately self-defeating to look to Washington to provide all the answers to the Cyprus problem. I believe that there are answers to the Cyprus problem, but ultimately those will have to be answered, produced and accepted by the Cypriots themselves. Washington is not the answer. We can facilitate, yes, but we cannot produce an agreement. Only the Cypriots themselves can do that.

Let me just reiterate that this is a terribly important part of the world, and it is a part of the world that gets a great amount of attention. Just as we are not interested, and indeed we must continue to avoid taking sides, in the Cyprus dispute, so we will continue to avoid taking sides in the tensions between Greece and Turkey. We need good relations with both, in order to have a strong and stable southern flank of the Atlantic Alliance. We need, as well, progress on Cyprus. Certainly, for its own sake, I can think of no island more deserving of peace, nor any people more deserving of a better life, but also for the sake of Greece and Turkey. Cyprus is obviously a tremendous source of friction and tension between the two countries, and perhaps if the Cyprus problem were solved today, Turkey and Greece would not find all of their problems solved, but I think that, and no one can deny, that progress on Cyprus would certainly go a long way towards improving the atmosphere between Greece and Turkey. It's one of the many reasons that I would like to see progress there. I do as a result hope the Secretary General is successful. At the same time though, whether or not, or as he goes along, I would also like to see improved relations between Greece and Turkey. I realize that progress in Cyprus could contribute to that process. All the same I would hope that good relations between Greece and Turkey would not depend upon progress in Cyprus alone. There are too many other issues between them; and too many other potential sources of tension, that I think must be addressed.

I think that if this ever came to pass, that if there were progress on Cyprus, and if there were reconciliation



An evening of frustration: (Clockwise from above) Christopher Hitchens, Professor Dhrymes, and a member of the audience.



between Greece and Turkey, I don't think anyone in this room would dispute that those three countries would all benefit, as would this country.

The reason I came down here tonight was to get your view on what we could do more or differently, to perhaps foster this process. I urge you to be as frank and as candid as you will, and don't worry about treating a guest from Washington too politely.

Prof. Dhrymes: Listening to Mr. Haass has been quite an interesting experience and I don't quite know how to take his opening remarks. One way might be that offense is the best line of defense, another is perhaps a more kindly way of looking at values, that is to say that he has failed to make the connection between Greek policies today and what has happened on Cyprus, and other aspects of the Greece-Turkey relationship in the last decade. It is not accidental that the government of Greece today operates the way it does operate vis-a-vis the U.S., given that they feel that somehow

or other, over the last decade, their interests have been neglected by U.S. policy makers, and Turkish interests have been given more than their due weight. Whether this is right or wrong I don't vouch at this stage. Nor do I appeal on behalf of the Greek government, I just want to remind Mr. Haass that there is a historical continuity, and we are not to be acting like Rip Van Winkle.

Now, instead of rehashing the past, as may be the temptation to do, I would like to put the Cyprus issue in a certain perspective and ask him whether, in context, of that perspective, the U.S. is doing whatever it could to facilitate the solution.

First, it is undeniable that the Turks have invaded Cyprus in 1974. Secondly, it is undeniable that their armies were largely equipped with weapons furnished by the U.S. for purpose other than invading Cyprus. Thirdly, as I understand it, it is a violation of U.S. law for such use of weapons. Fourth, the Turkish authorities—not the Turkish Cypriots—but the Turkish authorities in Turkey,

occupy and hold approximately 40% of the land area of the Republic of Cyprus. And in the process, both deliberately, and by the use of frightening methods, have managed to convince 200,000 people to leave their homes in the north of Cyprus and take refuge in the south. During the period of Turkish invasion, which is about two weeks roughly, about 5,000 out of a population of 450,000 have either been killed, or their fate is unknown today. That is, about 1% of the Greek population of the island has disappeared in two weeks. Now these are traumatic experiences by anyone's standards. And to think that the Cyprus problem is now a question of negotiations—such as General Motors and the United Auto Workers sit at the bargaining table and arrive at some future plan that determines a solution—this is not quite the proper perspective.

The position that Mr. Haass has enunciated is that the U.S. stand favors neither one side nor the other side, that it wishes to expedite the negotiations, that the solution is to be found among Cypriots alone. Now, the presence of a very substantial Turkish army in Cyprus seems, on the face of it, to belie this premise. Is the U.S. acting merely on the presumption that there are negotiations teams from both sides and out of their own free will will hatch an agreement, that this agreement is to come from them and them alone, without any help on the part of the U.S.? Or does the U.S. have in mind at this date, an acceptable or a moral solution or a humane solution or whatever, that it would like to urge, however discreetly, on the participants?

R. Haass: As an academic before I entered government, I have some appreciation of the power of history. That the Cyprus dispute cannot be understood simply by looking at the newspaper from Oct. 25, 1984, nor that U.S.-Greek nor U.S.-Turkish, nor indeed much of anything can be understood simply by looking at today's newspaper. I couldn't agree more. Indeed one of the problems that makes the realization of progress in Cyprus so difficult is that there is so much history. And it is not only, in a sense, a uniform history on Cyprus. But rather history, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder. And if one travels around northern Cyprus, such as I have, with Mr. Denktash, one, not surprisingly, gets a different account of the history of Cyprus, then one would say, in my meetings with President Kyprianou in the south. Indeed, it is one of the tremendous problems, that one does not simply confront different views of the past. But each community derives different lessons from what happens, and as a result wants different things for the present and future. I am aware, all too well, of the history of Cyprus. Every time one has a meeting with anyone dealing with Cyprus, one usually begins with a very long introduction, in which history is laid out for you in intricate detail. And all I will say is that it can be as much an impediment as it can be a source of enlightenment. As to the question of the Turkish army presence, yes it is there on Cyprus quite obviously. All I

(Continued on page 13)



Some 300 people attended the first meeting between a representative of the U.S. State Department and members of the Greek and Cypriot communities.

State Department

(Continued from page 12)

will say is something that the Turkish government has said, which is that at the end of the diplomatic process, the Turkish government is willing to withdraw all troops except those permitted by treaty. I think that should be our goal—to bring about a diplomatic process that will hasten the withdrawal of those forces. But I think we have to be realistic. The diplomatic process must produce an agreement that is acceptable to all Cypriots, Greek and Turkish Cypriots alike. Lastly, the question about the U.S.: I'll be honest. Although I am Special Cyprus coordinator, I don't think that what Cyprus necessarily needs is new ideas. We do not need the Gary Hart of Cyprus to somehow come along and suggest that what is required is somehow a new plan. I think that after all these years, the ideas have been produced, and thought about, and hashed over, and rehashed, and there is very little new that is under the sun. I think that you, more than I, are probably familiar with the intricate history of all these plans and these ideas that have been put forth. As a result, I don't think what we need are new plans from the U.S. I think what we really need are some new demonstrations of some political will, and political courage, and political vision on the part of all those concerned, and I think then we will see the progress we would all like to see.

Prof. Dhrymes: Well, this is a certainly a very sanguine view of the world that says if there were no problems there wouldn't be any problems. However, the Turkish army is in Cyprus, and it is not clear that the Turkish-Cypriots make decisions. Let me put it to you this way. Supposing that the government of Turkey had its army in Cyprus, and the opinion that the only solution is ultimately annexation to Turkey, and barring that, are prepared to stay there and hold about half of Cyprus in their grasp. If that were a given what would your position be?

R. Haass: I'm sorry to disappoint you or frustrate you, but my mother, Mrs. Haass, did not bring up a stupid boy. And one of the things she taught her son was not to get into snarls and hypothetical questions of that sort. I think the important point to make is that obviously it behooves everyone to move towards a settlement of this problem so we don't have to grapple with questions such as that in the future.

C. Hitchens: In Mr. Haass's position I would wish to have conducted myself just as he did. And it's a refreshing change for me to be, for once, having the sense of a majority opinion on my side, just as it is salutary for him to be out of Washington and in a minority.

I will say that the Socratic method of questioning is hypothetical, and not stupid at all. There is nothing dumb about a hypothetical question. I will, all the same, make my questions practical, brief and to the point. I will elaborate them as little as humanly

possible. I asked the ladies and gentlemen of the press to make a note of them and look at them tomorrow and see if Mr. Haass answered them or not.

To the Secretary, which is that hearing him I honestly did wish it was indeed the State Dept. that made Cyprus policy in this Administration and not the Defense Dept. But that is not something that either of us can control, and I dare say that in some moments Mr. Haass is as sorry about the Defense Dept.'s controlling Cyprus policy as I am.

Will Mr. Haass deny for the record that American military aid to Turkey, in any respect, is connected to the building of a 500 million dollar airport at the occupied village of Lefkoniko in Northern Cyprus? Would he say for the record that no American dollar, that no American policy, is involved in that airport, despite the one billion dollars of aid given to Turkey, and despite the fact that 500 million dollars is a great deal larger than the budget of the pseudo-state of Mr. Denktash? Will he admit, having commented on by-gones and by-gones, to any of the charges made in my book about American complicity in the dismemberment of Cyprus in 1974? Will he admit that the State Dept. knew in advance, first of the Greek military fascist putsch in Nicosia against the elected government of Archbishop Makarios. Second, will he admit the foreknowledge of the State Dept. of the first and second Turkish invasions of the island? Will he also comment on these in the light of an established 20 year commitment of the State Dept. to the partition of the island, which dates back to 1963, to Dean Acheson and George Ball. Third will he, as one who stressed human rights and American concerns—and indeed he stressed the safety of American citizens in Greece—find, on the absence from our lives of some six American passport holders, who are among the missing of the 1974 Turkish invasion? Will he explain why that is so low on the State Dept. human rights totem pole?

Five, will he as proclaimed defender of human rights in Turkey, and the upholding of those rights by the current Turkish military dictatorship, and as one who said "One may criticize the human rights in Turkey, and the upholding of those rights by the current Turkish military dictatorship, today," comment on the article in the *N.Y. Times* by the Human Rights Secretary of the U.S. State Dept., E. Abrahams, who said that those who did find anything to criticize in the human rights situation in Turkey were consciously acting on behalf of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. I don't believe that both these statements made by the State Dept. spokesman can simultaneously be true.

Finally, when there was a press conference started by the President of the U.S. last year, for what was called by the White House press office as specialist press, he was asked two questions. One was, what did he think about providing a just solution for the 200,000 Cyprus refugees. His answer was: "Oh dear, I wish the Secretary of State were here." He was then asked

whether he had any position to take on the Armenian question and the commemoration by the U.S. of the genocide of the Armenian population of Anatolia, and said by-gones can be by-gones, and after all no one was still alive who remembered that episode. This is a man who on other occasions has told us that he remembers four wars. I wonder if I can ask Mr. Haass what it feels like to work for a President who knows absolutely nothing at all about the subject on which he specializes.

R. Haas: Will I deny Mr. Hitchen's first question for the record—Yes. Simple. Indeed I have been somewhat dismayed by articles appearing in responsible journals which have asserted all these facts without what I can see is a shred of evidence.

Turkey is in a position militarily to tie down a large number of Soviet forces. It is difficult to do that when you have Korean War vintage equipment. Yes, the U.S. does provide an awful lot of security assistance to Turkey, but I also think that the returns are quite good on it. In 1974, as I said I was not in the executive branch, I was working for the Congress. All I can say is that in my conversations and my selective reading of what happened that summer, and to the best of my own recollection at the time, I have not seen any evidence that the U.S. knew in advance or abetted or supported or encouraged what happened that summer. Indeed, one only has to look at the consequences of that summer to realize that the difficulties that we now face in the Eastern Mediterranean do not necessarily help the U.S. Indeed, I for one do not see how we benefit from the fact that relations between two very important countries, Greece and Turkey, have soured over Cyprus. Nor do I see how we derive any benefit from the fact that Cyprus is a divided island. And again I have seen no evidence that the U.S. had any part in that.

The question of missing Americans: when I knew I was coming here I asked about that. Again I have no information or evidence and no light to shed on that subject. This is not a State Department cover-up. I'm just telling you what we don't have. The question of human rights in Turkey—I don't think there is any difference between Eliot Abrahams and myself. I think what Eliot is pointing out is something that I actually agree with, that there seems to be an awful lot of double standards in this world, that a lot of people are terribly critical of the human rights situation as it now stands in Turkey. All I ask for there, without trying to say that it is a record without blemishes, all I ask for there is a bit of perspective—to look at where Turkey has come from, to acknowledge the progress that's made, and to point it out in constructive ways that, yes, improvements can take place. I also wish that some of those who are so enthusiastic about pointing out the failure of human rights in Turkey, would spend a few minutes pointing out the failure and shortcomings in human rights in several other countries that happen to border Turkey—whether it's the Soviet Union

or Syria or Iran.

Lastly, I am tempted to say I won't dignify Christopher's last comment. I actually expect better from him about the President. He (Hitchens) wrote a serious book about Cyprus. I read it and learned some things from it which I didn't know. I agreed with some things, and disagreed with others. All I can say is that I expect better from him about the President. It seems to me that as his speech showed the other week at the UN, and as his performance in debate showed the other night, I think he has nothing whatsoever to apologize about in the conduct of foreign policy. And it seems to me that the record of this Administration on foreign policy will be an asset rather than a liability coming into the election.

Prof. Mavianos: I'd like to emphasize that we are not yet into the essence of the problems. What benefits did we derive by having a divided Cyprus according to the U.S.? This is what we ask. The fact is that all the U.S. has done for the last 30 years is support the idea of a divided Cyprus. If this is true then it is up to you to tell us why the U.S. is doing that. Why does the U.S. support criminal Turkey? I use that word because actually what Turkey did in 1974 has generally been recognized as an international crime, not to speak of the other crimes of common law, the various attacks on property, on the lives, the honor, the dignity of the people of Cyprus. That criminal has been strongly supported until today by the U.S. Now, our question is, why in the world is the U.S. doing that? And we would be delighted if we could have an answer to that question by such a prominent person and representative of the government as Mr. Haass. Now, another point that I'd like to raise is that magic word of realism. We should be realists, words which are usually used in cases like this. Very well, let us be realistic. Therefore, I'm asking what is the reason for still having the Turkish army in Cyprus? This is a very realistic question, unless you think this is mythology. The army is there. The army is supported by American money. Not only has the army used American weapons when it invaded and attacked Cyprus, but it is still financed by the U.S. If tomorrow the U.S. stopped financing Turkey, Turkey would certainly be in a very difficult position. Now, what is the secret?

Secondly, I think that this is also a very realistic point of view. Would Mr. Haass bear me out if I would say that in the domain of international relations, credibility of a country and conformity of its actions with its professed ideals and principles is a real and valuable asset? Could you tell me if that is an asset?

R. Haass: I will admit to being a bit puzzled by your first question, which is why the U.S. supports a divided Cyprus. We don't. There is nothing I would rather see than a reunified Cyprus on terms that are acceptable to all Cypriots. The question is obviously

(Continued on page 18)

Cover story photos by P. Papanicolaou

Ten years have passed since the Center for Byzantine and Modern Greek was established on a trial basis at Queens College in 1974. During that time, with the continuous effort of its director, Professor Harry J. Psomiades, the Ikaros Greek Club, countless students and "friends," the Center has weathered some very trying periods of fiscal crises and academic uncertainty. It has, however, always managed to be resurrected, and can take pride in its many achievements. This semester brought the realization of a dream held by many for the Center — the final approval of the major of Bachelor of Arts in Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies. This is indeed a "first" in achievements by Greek Studies Centers in the United States, and congratulations are in order to all those who made this dream a reality. In addition to expanding its program and sponsoring educational events, one of the goals of the center is to inspire other programs like this in other university systems in the United States.

The Center was established on a trial basis in 1974 due to a growing student interest in studying the language, history, institutions, customs, and culture of the Greek people from the late Byzantine times to the present. The program is supported by a student body composed of over 1,500 students of Greek ancestry. This large concentration of Greek and Greek-American students in the university insures a bright future for the program.

Going Nowhere— The College Graduate's Dilemma

By Fotine Z. Nicholas

Donna X is a 1984 graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, and a *file clerk* for a large medical organization. Near the top of her class at the prestigious private high school which she attended, Donna also did well at college. Now, seven years after she was first hired to work on medical records, she is doing the same work she did as a high school sophomore on summer vacation.

Another young woman got a master's degree in business administration after graduating from a college in Virginia. She has sent out dozens of resumes, but has not gotten even one bite. What went wrong?

For one, despite optimistic statements to the contrary, much of the American economy has been slowing down. As a result, though some jobs still go begging, the average college graduate without specific skills is having a harder time finding a job. Today 20% of college graduates are accepting jobs that do not require a college degree. Even an MBA is no longer the answer, because there are simply too many young people with graduate degrees in business administration.

Another field where employment prospects are fading is dentistry. As the demand for dental services has declined (partly because of the good work accomplished by dentists), the

number of dentists has grown steadily. Water fluoridation and better nutrition have resulted in "Look, ma, no cavities!" and the dental "business" is down. It takes at least \$60,000 to open the average office, and more than that to buy a retiring dentist's list of patients; therefore, dental school graduates, who may owe up to \$50,000 for their schooling and who lack capital, are opting for jobs rather than private practice.

Did you love learning? Did you get your doctorate? Were you interested in a prestigious position with relatively short working hours? Then academia was for you. But a Ph. D. is no longer the answer for those who hope to teach at the college level. Fifteen years ago American colleges began churning out nearly 30,000 doctors of philosophy annually. Now that college job opening are disappearing, it is expected that by 1995 the chance of getting an academic job will be *one in seven*.

And that is why Donna X, who got her bachelor's degree in art history, has not found a job in her field. She has been advised to take courses in elementary education and try for a job teaching art and the common branches. It may not be an ideal solution, but at least in the fields of elementary and secondary education, the jobs are there.

BA Program Approved for Queens College Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies Center

By Susan Kiesel Klerides



At a Center-sponsored reception (L. to R.) Mrs. John Koufakis, Dean Betsy Kaufman, Ms. Suzanne Heim, Asst. Provost Marvin Taylor, Provost Hamovitch, Dean James Jordan, Mr. John Linakis, Hon. Yorka Linakis, Prof. Harry Psomiades, Prof. Alice Scourby, President of Queens College Dr. Saul Cohen, Dean John Reilly, Dean Ernest Schwarcz. Members of the Ladies Philoptochos of St. Demetrios in Jamaica, Queens also attended.

In 1977, the college allocated a renovated building to house the Center. The Center later acquired a neighboring building which was renovated largely by funds raised by

the Advisory Council and the Pontion Society "Komninoi" of Astoria. At that point, the Center began to expand in several directions, and in recognition of its many achievements, the C.U.N.Y. Board of Higher Education officially recognized the Center in 1982. In 1983 a fully developed major in Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies was developed, and an application was made for approval. The Fall semester brought the fruition of the combined efforts of the students and faculty with the official approval of the major by the Commissioner of High Education in Albany. The Center has recently been moved to a more convenient, on-campus location, Jefferson Hall, Room 301.

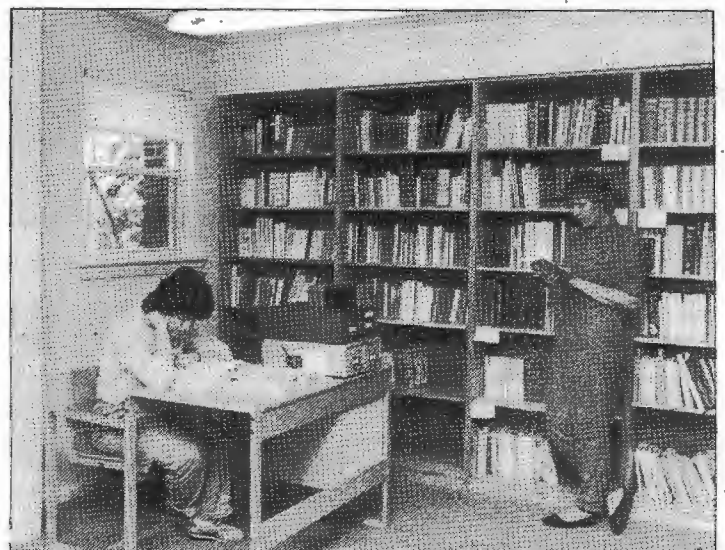
Some of the achievements of the Center include: the initiation and sponsorship of over a dozen major conferences and exhibits; the

sponsorship or funding of numerous scholars from Greece and elsewhere to participate in these activities; the sponsorship and funding of several special annual lectures, including the Constantinos D. Paparrigopoulos lectures (featured at annual commencement dinners); the offering of advice, information, and assistance to the community, students, scholars,

and administrators of other institutions; the providing of funds and facilities to support research and part-time employment for student aides; the joint publication of four monographs with the Greek section of the Center for Mediterranean Studies of the American University. The most recent, *The Greek American Community in Transition*, edited by Harry J. Psomiades and Alice Scourby, was published in 1982.

The Center recently published (jointly with Hellenic College), its first journal, which is available at the Center for \$5.00. Currently underway is a journal which will be comprised of papers submitted by Queens College students written in Greek. The Center also welcomes

(Continued on pg. 18)



Students take advantage of the Greek Studies Center's library facilities.

State Dept.

(Continued from page 13)

getting from here to there. And that at times wise men and not-so-wise men can differ. The question of why the U.S. supports Turkey is an important one. Let me just say that we do so for several reasons: It is an important country, it is an ally, first of all, with whom we have entered treaty commitments. It is an important country in terms of defense of the West. I could go on along those lines, but let me give a more philosophical answer in the context of Cyprus. I think there are different approaches that people have suggested that the State Department take vis-a-vis Turkey. To the extent that we have influence at all, and that is perhaps another form of debate, what is the degree of influence that the U.S. actually has in Ankara, and what is the degree of influence that Ankara has with Mr. Denktash, and what is the degree of influence that the U.S. has with Mr. Denktash, and so on, and so forth. All of these are questions we could debate.

We probably have, maybe, some range of opinion. To the extent that there is influence to be had, the question is, how can influence best be exercised? The Congress, after 1974, had an approach to the exercise of influence. It was called the embargo, for four years through 1978. This is what I would call a punitive exercise in influence. The Congress basically mandated a shutting down of American security assistance to

Turkey, saying that we disagreed with Turkey's behavior on Cyprus, and until that behavior changed, security assistance would not be forthcoming. It seems to me that this embargo resulted in two things: one, a weakening of Turkish military so that it could not fulfill its NATO mission; second, the reduction of American influence in Ankara. I, for one, have strong doubts about calling either of those an accomplishment. The U.S. is likely to have more influence as an ally if we are seen as an ally, if we are seen to be supportive and encouraging rather than acting punitively. As a result that is one of the reasons why we have the kind of relationship we do with Turkey.

I'm not quite sure I understand your point about credibility. I think the most important thing or objective for the U.S. in Cyprus should be an objective of effectiveness. I think that what we really want is for the U.S. to be able to assist this diplomatic process. Less important than someone such as myself standing on a mountaintop and shouting certain political slogans and principles or certain positions, is the fact that the U.S. is able to carry out an effective diplomatic role and assist the Secretary General. Even if we don't always seem to say, as clearly or as loudly, things that people would perhaps like to hear us say, I do think that diplomacy, and pardon me if I do sound traditional, often takes place best when it is quiet and private.

(Continued next week)

Turkey may determine Greek vote

If Turkey is the cause of a Greek American defection to Walter Mondale in 1984, it won't be the first time that Turkish actions have influenced a presidential election. In 1976, the Greek American vote, solidly in the Republican column since Richard Nixon selected Greek American Spiro Agnew as his running mate in 1968, switched to Jimmy Carter largely as a result of President Gerald Ford's opposition to a Turkish arms ban passed by Congress.

Greek American disaffection with the GOP began with the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974. An independent nation since 1960, Cyprus had a population that was 80 percent Greek and 18 percent Turkish. It was headed by Greek Orthodox Archbishop Makarios who presided over a fragile coalition of Greek and Turkish Cypriots who were at peace despite violent interludes under earlier British rule. An ill-advised coup engineered by a military junta in Athens seeking enosis (union with Greece) overthrew Makarios in 1974 replacing him with Nicos Sampson, an enosis supporter. Turkey invaded the island ostensibly to restore its "independence and territorial integrity." During the invasion, however, some 10,000 Greek Cypriots were killed, 200,000 were driven from their homes, and 1,619 persons simply disappeared. Invading from the north, Turkey eventually occupied 40 percent of the island.

Angered by the brutality of the Turks, Greek Americans were outraged when it was learned that the Turkish offensive was accomplished with the aid of American supplied arms in direct violation of U.S. foreign aid law which stipulates the U.S.-supplied ordnance could be used only for defensive purposes. The American Hellenic Institute (AHI), a coalition of Greek American organizations, was quickly established to lobby for an arms embargo against Turkey. Spearheaded by Eugene Rosides, an assistant treasury secretary in the first Nixon administration, and aided by influential members of the powerful American Hellenic Educational and Progressive Association (AHEPA), the Greek lobby succeeded in its mission. When President Ford signed the Foreign Aid Act on December 30, 1974, it contained an amendment setting a Turkish arms embargo on February 5, 1975. Turkey retaliated by ordering the closing of American bases on its soil.

The Cyprus action brought about the collapse of the Greek military junta and the creation of a Greek republic headed by Constantine Karamanlis. Makarios was restored to power but the Turkish invasion army remained. Greece then announced that henceforth Greek military units within NATO could no longer be relied upon to respond to a unified NATO command which in that part of the world was headed by a Turkish general.

Concerned that the NATO alliance (which included both Greece and Turkey) was threatened, the Ford administration pushed for repeal of the arms ban, an effort that was defeated by the House of Representatives in July of 1975. In September, however, the House reversed itself and conditionally restored some arms sales (but not military aid) to Turkey. During the interim, another, more representative

coalition was formed by the United Hellenic American Congress (UHAC). Headed by Chicago industrialist Andrew Athens and supported by the Greek Orthodox Church in America, UHAC soon became the most influential Greek American organization in Washington.

The Ford administration made every effort to convince Greek Americans to remain patient regarding Cyprus. AHEPA and UHAC leaders listened but were unmoved by the appeal. Invited to address an AHEPA banquet in 1976, President Ford arrived minutes after Illinois Rep. Martin Russo delivered a scathing denunciation of Turkish brutality in Cyprus. To the relief of White House aides in the audience, Ford was warmly welcomed despite a momentary lapse when a guest raised a banner saying "Ford is a turkey." A scuffle ensued and the banner bearer was swiftly removed by AHEPA ushers posted strategically throughout the hall.

Taking advantage of Greek American disillusionment with Ford, Jimmy Carter promised to make the Cyprus issue one of the "first priorities" of his administration. Believing that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger had known about the Turkish invasion in advance and had done nothing to prevent it, Greek Americans voted for Carter in record numbers.

Makarios died in 1977 and was succeeded by Spyros Kyprianou as president of Cyprus. Turkey, however, remained obdurate, refusing to remove its troops from Cyprus and frustrating United Nations efforts to negotiate a just reunification settlement. Still occupying 40 percent of the island, Ankara moved to increase the Turkish Cypriot population on Cyprus with thousands of new settlers from Turkey. All Greek signs, place names, and memorials were torn down in Turkish occupied Cyprus and Turkish currency was adopted as the legal tender. Even the time zone was altered by one hour so that Turkish Cypriots would live by mainland Turkey's time. Greek Americans, meanwhile, argued that Turkey's ultimate aim in all of these actions was the partition of Cyprus into two separate nations.

The Carter administration only exacerbated the Cyprus problem in the minds of Greek Americans. Arguing that a conciliatory approach would convince Turkey to react more positively towards efforts aimed at the reunification of Cyprus, Carter convinced Congress to lift the Turkish embargo entirely. Carter's ploy failed. The Turks refused to evacuate their invasion forces from Cyprus following repeal of the arms ban and in 1980, the Greek American vote went to Ronald Reagan.

Today, Cyprus is once again a campaign issue. On November 15, 1983, Turkish Cypriots led by Rauf Denktash, proclaimed the independence of the new Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, a move recognized by Turkey only days after President Reagan had signed a bill granting Turkey \$700 million for the next fiscal year. President Reagan met with Cypriot President Kyprianou to discuss the new crisis and according to a White House spokesman, "deplored the unilateral declaration of a separate political entity

in northern Cyprus." Resolutions introduced by Greek American legislators condemning the action received the unanimous approval of both houses of Congress. The House version was especially strong warning that any nation that recognized the new republic risked losing U.S. aid. Thus far, Turkey remains alone in its recognition of the Turkish Cypriot declaration.

Adding fuel to the Greek-Turkish conflict is the Turkish government's oppressive policies towards its own Greek minority, a population that has dwindled from 100,000 in 1960 to less than 10,000 today. According to Andrew Kopan, UHAC Ethnic Liaison, and a DePaul University professor, Turkey is determined "to bring about the extinction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Greek Orthodox community." Patriarchal newspapers and printing facilities in Istanbul have been shut down, the world famous Halki Orthodox Theological School has been closed, and Greek high school and elementary schools owned by the Greek community have been forced to consolidate and to appoint Turkish principals. Other discriminatory measures against Greeks, according to Kopan, include oppressive taxation, the prohibition of certain banking and credit privileges, restrictions against entering certain professions, and the confiscation of property and businesses for alleged "back taxes owed."

Some Greeks have urged that the patriarchate move out of Turkey in order to function freely as the center of world Orthodoxy. According to Father

Leonidas Contos, however, such a move from the historic "Second Rome" in Christian history, would strengthen the Russian Orthodox Church's claim that Moscow is the "third and final Rome" for the world's Orthodox population. Today, the patriarchate in Istanbul has the same significance for the Orthodox as the Vatican has for Roman Catholics.

Although the 1980 census counted less than a million Americans of Greek ancestry, the Greek American community is affluent, well organized, and still wields a powerful influence in Washington. Today, there are six U.S. representatives and two senators of Greek ancestry in Congress.

"Greek Americans have exemplified most dramatically the realization of the American dream through the application of the work ethic in a society devoted to individual liberty," declared UHAC president Andrew Athens at a July luncheon sponsored by the American Jewish Committee and the Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education. "The Greek American community is deeply rooted in the traditional values that have made this country of ours great."

We "view with alarm," continued Athens, "the conduct of a foreign policy which we feel does not always reflect the principles by which this country of ours has been guided."

Greek American supporters of Ronald Reagan are extremely disappointed with his policy towards Turkey, claims Andrew Manatos, UHAC's Washington representative and a former aide to Missouri Democratic Senator Thomas Eagleton. If the vote were taken today, 70 percent of the Greek American vote would go to Mondale,

Manatos claims. "We're especially impressed with Geraldine Ferraro," Manatos adds. "Her first speech in Congress was on the Cyprus issue and she understands what's at stake."

The question is one of what is best for America, argues Manatos. A recent poll taken in Greece indicated that 55 percent of the population thought U.S. policies were a threat to Greece as compared to only 22 percent who had similar reservations about Soviet policies. "This suggests we're pushing Greece out of our tent," says Manatos.

Arguing for Reagan's policies is Michael Sotirhos, a Greek American heading up the ethnic voters division for Reagan-Bush '84. "This administration hasn't recognized the Turkish Cypriot declaration of independence and Reagan has urged other world leaders to ignore it as well," claims Sotirhos. "The average Greek American is deeply concerned with the Cyprus impasse but understands that three administrations haven't been able to find a solution."

"This year, the Greek American vote

will be split," says George Karcazes, UHAC executive board member. "I don't sense as much anger towards Reagan as there was towards Ford and Kissinger in 1976."

Joining Greek Americans in their condemnation on Turkey are America's Armenians. Although a relatively small community (a little over 200,000 according to the 1980 census), Armenian Americans are also well organized, affluent and influential in such states as California (where the governor is of Armenian ancestry) and Michigan.

Armenian sentiments against the Turks date back to 1915 when some 1.5 million Armenians were massacred by the Turkish government in a wanton act of genocide. Although the Turkish government has consistently denied any involvement in the genocide, evidence is on the side of the Armenians.

"Armenian Americans are concerned with Turkey's violation of human rights," says Laurens Ayvazian, as-

sistant director of the Armenian Assembly of America. "We are not opposed to American aid to Turkey per se but we think Turkey should be held accountable for its continued abuse of human rights. We hold El Salvador accountable, why not Turkey?"

Arguing that Armenian American thought spans the political spectrum from conservative to progressive, Ayvazian was reluctant to predict how his community would vote in 1984.

Mondale recognized the reality of the Armenian genocide, Ayvazian says, and Ferraro will no doubt attract many Armenian women.

President Reagan issued a presidential proclamation condemning the Armenian genocide in 1981, according to Ayvazian, but the State Department has not followed suit. A footnote in an article entitled "Armenian Terrorism: A Profile" which appeared in the August 1982 Bulletin, an official publication of the U.S. State Department, read: "Be-

cause the historical record of the 1915 events in Asia Minor is ambiguous, the Department of State does not endorse allegations that the Turkish government committed a genocide against the Armenian people."

"We find the State Department article very puzzling," says Ayvazian, "especially since it seems to contradict the President's proclamation. It leads us to wonder what the official U.S. position on this matter really is."

Regardless of how America's Greeks and Armenians vote in November, it is obvious that the United States needs to take a firmer stand with Turkey regarding Turkish occupied Cyprus (which has all of the makings of a future Northern Ireland) and violations of human rights which Turkey, as a Helsinki Accords signatory, is pledged to uphold. Continued U.S. vacillation can only lead to a further weakening of relations with Greece and that will be the Soviet Union's gain.

By Nick Pappas

As the presidential campaign kicked off officially over the Labor Day weekend, *Weekly Review Proini*, in exclusive interviews, reached out for thoughts to the Greek-American leaders of both parties who are advising President Reagan and Walter Mondale on how to sell their respective tickets to America's Greek-American community.

That the Republican and Democratic parties take the Greek vote seriously was shown by the fact that, in a matter of hours, the heads of both

ethnic divisions—Republican Michael Sotirhos and Democrat Rick Reidy—very quickly arranged interviews with one governor, one senator and two

congressmen, all of whom gave their party's view as to why they deserved the Greek-American vote.

Not surprisingly, the general issues and values stressed coincided, to a great degree, with those voiced by the men at the top of the tickets—President Ronald Reagan and challenger Walter Mondale. For the Republican, spokesmen, it was an improved economy, renewed prestige in the world, and peace through strength.

The Democratic spokesmen stressed

reduction in inflation, unemployment and prime interest rates.

"Also, speaking as the son of Greek-American immigrants who passed on Greek values of family and community pride—and as a Greek-American who started with little and overcame that disadvantage by individual labor—I am a strong proponent of individual initiative. These are the values President Reagan encourages for all Americans."

Democratic Governor Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts feels that the Democratic Party is the party of openness. "It's the party," he says, "that reached out to my mother and father and to other immigrants to welcome them to this country and offer them an education, opportunity, and a future for their children. It's the party that cares about this big deficit because of what our forefathers taught us about 'economia,' and about our obligation to educate our families and ensure the protection of others in our community."

On the all-important Cyprus issue, Democratic Senator Sarbanes says, "It is clear that Mondale and Ferraro, in strong contrast to Ronald Reagan's failure to apply effective diplomacy in Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean, will act decisively to achieve a policy that will bring a resolution of the Cyprus dispute. As president and vice-

sed the dangers of the large deficit, the proven government skills of Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro, and, most importantly, the historic identity of the immigrant with the values and aims of the Democratic Party.

In addition, spokesmen for both parties had much to say about the issue that touches Greek-Americans most—the Turkish occupation of a large part of Cyprus.

On the general issues, Republican Michael Sotirhos, Chairman of the

(Continued on page 3)

Courting the Greek-American Vote

(Continued from page 1)

Ethnic Voters Division for Reagan-Bush '84, said, "Greeks should vote for Ronald Reagan because he represents the philosophy they have always lived by; a good education for the young, freedom to practice our Greek Orthodox faith, a firm anti-communist stand, and a belief in the power of the individual to improve his life by his own labors, with the government off his back."

Sotirhos's counterpart, Rick Reidy of the Democratic National Committee, said "We are so attuned to the needs of the nation's Greek-American community that we appointed three of our highest Greek-American public officials to advise Fritz Mondale on issues of importance to citizens of Greek origin. We've had a Greek Division for decades, while the Republicans started just a few years ago."

Republican Congressman George Dekas of Pennsylvania said that the reelection of Reagan-Bush was important for three reasons; "... to continue the rebuilding of the economy, to strengthen and maintain our ties to NATO, and, by that strengthening, to help bring about a speedy resolution of the Cyprus

problem. Also, the traditional immigrant ties between Greece and America should be maintained within the historic friendship of the two countries."

Democratic Senator Paul Sarbanes of Maryland stressed the personal qualifications of both Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro. He says, "Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro are public servants of outstanding character and ability, and they will provide strong and responsible national leadership. I have worked closely with both of them, and have observed their extraordinary skills in governing, and the strength of their commitment to responsive and progressive government."

Of Geraldine Ferraro, Senator Sarbanes said, "As a congresswoman from Queens, she has represented thousands of Greek-Americans in the Congress, and has been a leader in the effort to bring peace to the suffering people of Cyprus."

Republican Congressman Michael Bilirakis of Florida emphasizes President Reagan's economic and philosophical leadership. "I urge support for President Reagan and the Republican policies, giving credit to the President for the dramatic

president, Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro will utilize all available foreign policy instruments to secure implementation of the UN resolution on Cyprus—the return of refugees, reestablishment of the integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, and respect for the human rights of all citizens."

In rebuttal, Republican Ethnic Chairman Sotirhos, who has appointed Greek-Americans as overall ethnic chairmen in five states, says, "Of all recent presidents, Ronald Reagan has been most successful in putting the spotlight on Cyprus, and not just by rhetoric, like Jimmy Carter, who promised much when he was a candidate and did nothing. President Reagan, by applying strong pressure on the governments of the world through the UN and our embassies, has kept every country but Turkey from recognizing the illegal Turkish government on Cyprus. This great success prevents that government from becoming entrenched, and provides the foundation for the solution of the Cyprus problem."

Nick Pappas, a free-lance writer based in New York, was formerly Chairman of the Greek Division of the Democratic State Commission, and led Greek-American campaigns for Presidents Johnson and Carter, N.Y. Mayors Wagner, Beame and Lindsay, and Senator R. Kennedy.

Ferraro Cheered at Astoria Rally

Vice Presidential Candidate Cites Lack of Progress on Cyprus

NEW YORK, N.Y., Sept. 26— Democratic Vice Presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro came home to Queens Monday night to a tumultuous rally organized by Greek-Americans for Ferraro at the Crystal Palace.

Estimates put the crowd gathered to hear the first woman vice presidential candidate of a major party at about 500. Unlike recent campaign

Congress was about the Cyprus problem.

Responding to the warm reception of the crowd, Ferraro greeted them with outstretched arms. "I've come home," she said. "You are my family."

The vice-presidential candidate recalled that in 1978, when she first ran for the House of Representatives from Queens, she made certain pledges



Democratic Vice Presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro speaking at the Greek-Americans for Ferraro rally. At left are Nikos Marinakis, Director of Greek-Americans for Ferraro, and Sen. Paul Sarbanes (D-Md.) (second from left).

appearances that have been disrupted by Reagan supporters and pro-life activists, the crowd at the Crystal Palace had come not to heckle but to cheer. And cheer they did.

Ferraro was introduced by Senator Paul Sarbanes (D) of Maryland, who reminded the audience that she had supported the Greek-American community in every difficult Congressional battle on Cyprus and aid to Greece.

"It is our duty," he said, "to work together to elect this ticket." He referred to Ferraro as a "good friend" of the Greek-American community and pointed out that her first speech in

to the Greek-Americans, whose votes she sought. "I remember the pledges I made to you," she said. "I remember I promised to work hard for the solution of the problems that troubled you. And I remember very well what you did for me."

Ferraro told the crowd that the summer after she was elected to Congress she went with her husband and children—at their own expense—to visit Greece and Cyprus "to find out what's really going on in your beautiful islands."

"I went back to Cyprus recently and
(Continued on page 18)

Friday, September 28, 1984

Ferraro at Astoria Rally

(Continued from page 3)

met with President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktash. I was distressed to learn that no progress has been made to date."

The candidate went on to state that in reality the situation has become considerably worse in the past few months. "I must tell you," she said, "that the Reagan administration has done little, if anything, toward helping the 200,000 refugees return to their homes in the occupied zone.

"As the years go by, the chances of finding the missing decrease, but the

pain of their loved ones does not decrease," she said.

Ferraro stressed that the United States, as a superpower, can use its influence to get Denktash to negotiate the return of Famagusta and other occupied areas to their inhabitants and to give an accounting of the 2,000 missing persons.

"I won't promise you more than I promised six years ago," Ferraro continued. "I will work hard. I'll push for solutions to the problems that concern us. . . I envisage a strong America, an America in which we can all believe. . . ."

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 4, 1984

Linas

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER III
ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM: FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY *JRW*

SUBJECT: Accusation of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu
New York Times - October 4, 1984

I suggest that we demand an apology from the Greek Prime Minister for his statement that the KAL plane was on a spying mission for the United States, or recall our Ambassador. To allow such a charge to go unanswered at the highest level will appear to be an admission of guilt and will have a serious negative impact on our efforts to counter Soviet disinformation generally.

The conservative leadership has urged the President to act immediately.

Attachment: NYT article

GREEK SEES PLOT IN K.A.L. DOWNING

Papandreou Charges Korean Passenger Jet Was on Spy Mission for the U.S.

ATHENS, Oct. 3 (UPI) — Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou charged today that a Korean Air Lines Boeing 747 that was downed over Soviet territory by a Soviet warplane last year was on a spy mission for the United States.

"It is now a fact that it was carrying out a spying mission for the American C.I.A. and that it had actually violated Soviet airspace to spy on targets," he told members of Parliament from his ruling Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement.

The speech was made public by the Greek Information Ministry. In it, Mr. Papandreou did not offer proof for the accusation, which was similar to one that has been made by the Soviet Union and that the United States has denied.

Last year, Mr. Papandreou refused to join Greece's Western allies in condemning the downing of the Korean airliner on Sept. 1, 1983, in which 269 people were killed.

"On all points where we differed with our allies in NATO and the E.E.C., we were justified. We did not succumb to hysteria," Mr. Papandreou said, referring to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Economic Community.

Accuses Allies of Double Standard

He accused Greece's allies of using a double standard in imposing sanctions on Poland following the declaration of martial law in that country in December, 1981, but not acting against the military regimes in Turkey or Chile.

Mr. Papandreou is scheduled to visit Poland on Oct. 22, when he would become the first NATO head of government to do so since the proclamation of martial law there in December, 1981.

"We condemned the regime in Poland but we stressed the need not to have sanctions," Mr. Papandreou said.

"Turkey did not suffer any sanctions while it was an oppressive military regime, but Turkey belongs to the West. Chile suffers no sanctions imposed by the democratic West. Does Poland suffer only because it belongs to the other side of the dividing line?"

The Prime Minister reiterated that Greece would only resume discussions with Turkey if the Turkish Cypriot declaration of independence issued last November is withdrawn and if Turkey

July 9, 1984

U.S. Blocks Sale of F5 Planes to Greece

By Norman D. Atkins
Washington Post Staff Writer

The United States has blocked the sale of second-hand F5 warplanes to Greece, Pentagon and Greek Embassy sources said yesterday.

A Pentagon source said transfer of the jet fighters from Norway was canceled after the Greek government released without charges a suspected terrorist linked by U.S. officials to a plot to blow up a civilian airliner. The Pentagon source said the F5s probably would be sold to Turkey instead.

The Greek Embassy source charged that the United States withdrew delivery of the planes "as a ploy to give them to Turkey without consideration of military balance in the region" and Greek defense needs.

The incident comes at a time when the Greek government of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou has criticized American foreign policy and U.S. officials have accused Greece of unwillingness to stamp out terrorism. But the U.S. and Greek sources disagree about the nature of the arms sales in the first place.

Turkey asked for the planes long before Greece expressed an interest in them, according to the Pentagon official, who asked that he not be identified. He said that about a year ago Turkey requested U.S. permission to buy 15 or 16 surplus warplanes from Norway since U.S. consent is required by a NATO Military Assistance Program contract.

Several months ago, Greece requested the same planes, and for a time State Department officials suggested the United States split the sale, making some available to both countries.

But, the Pentagon official said, "we are exceedingly unhappy with Greek treatment of terrorism." Greece's release of the suspected terrorist, a Jordanian whom western intelligence sources in Athens had linked to as many as seven planned terrorist attacks, tipped the United States to Turkey's side on the sale, the Pentagon official said.

The Greek Embassy source here called the

decision a "serious act" especially given the current Greek-Turkish and Greek-American relations.

Greek and U.S. officials denied other reports yesterday that the United States froze delivery of 15 surplus American F14 jets to Greece. Greek officials said they had never ordered those more advanced aircraft.

Western intelligence sources in Athens said that the suspected terrorist who was arrested but released by Greece may have been linked to seven planned terrorist attacks using suitcases rigged with explosives.

Two weeks ago State Department officials who asked not to be identified accused Greek authorities of letting the Jordanian go despite evidence against him submitted by the United States. Greek officials named the man as Fuad Hussein Shara, a Jordanian citizen, who was arrested when he entered Greece on April 16.

U.S. sources in Athens said a major piece of evidence against Shara was a suitcase with a high-altitude explosive device concealed in the lining, discovered by U.S. and British security agents in the Athens apartment of Diane Codling, a British woman who allegedly knew Shara. According to the Americans, the suitcase was examined and then handed over to the Greeks, who, nonetheless, released Shara.

Western diplomats in Athens, commenting on the Shara case, expressed concern last week that the close ties of the Socialist government of Papandreou to radical Arab states such as Syria, Iraq and Libya may be turning the Greek capital into a terrorist haven.

"It's becoming the sort of place where terrorists seem to feel at home," one diplomat said.

Some diplomats in Athens said Greek unwillingness to cooperate with western security agencies in sharing information on terrorism was also a contributing factor.

Greek Public Order Minister Yiannis Skoularikis, in an interview with Washington Post special correspondent Andriana Ierodiaconou, denied accusations of lack of cooperation. "We are mem-

bers of Interpol, and cooperate on a daily basis. We also work with a special security agency against terrorism within the European Community," he said.

The Papandreou government has increasingly angered Greece's western allies, particularly the United States, by its approaches to the Soviet Union and its allies. Anger peaked in May when Papandreou, in a speech to the Socialist Party congress, accused the United States of imperialism and praised Moscow as an agent of détente.

Increased terrorist activity has produced a spate of killings in recent months in Athens, starting with the assassination Nov. 15 of U.S. Navy Capt. George Tsantes by the shadowy November 17 group, about which little is known. That group had claimed responsibility for the killing here in 1975 of CIA station chief Richard Welch.

In March, a gunman suspected of being an Arab shot and killed Kenneth Whitty, a British Embassy official. Four Libyans were killed over a two-week period, at the end of June and beginning of July.

Skoularikis said Shara went to Algeria after his release by Greece. He and other Greek officials contend that the U.S. and British agents produced only photographs of the suitcase, which would not constitute sufficient evidence in a Greek court. Western intelligence sources in Athens say there was information that there were six other suitcase bombs in Athens, connected with the Shara case, but they gave no details.

The sources said the suitcase allegedly found in Codling's apartment traveled from Athens to Tel Aviv aboard an El Al flight, but failed to explode, and that it then went to London before ending up back in Athens.

Codling, who, according to Greek officials, cooperated with Shara in importing religious artifacts from the Middle East, was aboard the El Al flight and was presumed to have been a dupe of the Jordanian. Codling is free in Athens and does not face charges.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 24, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MARY SPAETH

FROM: MARY ANN MELOY

SUBJECT: Release of Cable to American Greek Media

Attached is a proposed press release to be sent to the above.

This cable was delivered in Greece to President Karamanlis today, July 25, 1984 and its' release to the American Greek media cleared by Peter Sommers of NSC.

Thanks for your help.

Attachment

cc: Faith Ryan Whittlesey
Linas Kojelis ✓

SAMPLE RELEASE

President Reagan sent the following cable to President Karamanlis of Greece on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of that country's return to a democratic form of government: Text follows.

"I extend to you personally and to the people of Greece our sincere best wishes as you celebrate the tenth anniversary of your country's return to democracy. In 1974, Greece, the birthplace of democracy, reaffirmed for the world its commitment to liberty. The American people, proud of their democratic heritage, greatly value the historic ties between our two countries. We wish all citizens of Greece continued peace, freedom, and prosperity."

Peter Sussman
EXSC
5232
5732

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

map
9/23/11

EUR:SE:GR:WMCGLYNN
07/23/84 EXT. 20330 WANG 5389M
EUR:RBURT

EUR:RHAASS
C:EDERWINSKI
S/S:

EUR/SE:WROPE
MSC:TI0BB

IMMEDIATE ATHENS

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPDC, GR

SUBJECT: CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT REAGAN
TO PRESIDENT KARAMANLIS

1. PLEASE CONVEY THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT
REAGAN TO PRESIDENT KARAMANLIS. THERE WILL BE NO
SIGNED ORIGINAL.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

I EXTEND TO YOU PERSONALLY AND TO THE PEOPLE OF GREECE
OUR SINCERE BEST WISHES AS YOU CELEBRATE THE TENTH
ANNIVERSARY OF YOUR COUNTRY'S RETURN TO DEMOCRACY. IN
1974, GREECE, THE BIRTHPLACE OF DEMOCRACY, REAFFIRMED
FOR THE WORLD ITS COMMITMENT TO LIBERTY. THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE, PROUD OF THEIR DEMOCRATIC HERITAGE, GREATLY
VALUE THE HISTORIC TIES BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. WE
WISH ALL CITIZENS OF GREECE CONTINUED PEACE, FREEDOM,
AND PROSPERITY. END TEXT. YY

GRB
WMM
ORH
ED
TC

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 5/24/84

TO: *Linus K*

FROM: **Frank J. Donatelli**
Deputy Assistant to the President

SUBJECT:

The attached is for:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Information | <input type="checkbox"/> Review & Comment |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Direct Response | <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate Action |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Draft Reply | <input type="checkbox"/> Per Request |
| <input type="checkbox"/> File | <input type="checkbox"/> Signature |

Comments:

Very good letter. Thanks

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 21, 1984

Dear Andy:

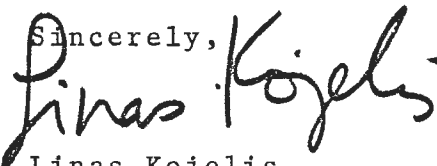
I appreciate your forwarding to me the comments and concerns of some of the members of the Greek-American community regarding the briefing my office arranged for the Association of Turkish Americans (ATA) last week.

As you know, my responsibilities at the White House include maintaining ethnic contacts with all European and Asian ethnic communities in the United States. The Office of Public Liaison believes that a good way to inform our constituencies of current Administration policies on current issues is by sponsoring periodic briefings. Briefings for business, labor, religious, women's, ethnic and other groups occur almost daily. Thus, it would not be correct to suggest that in preparing such briefings, we are paying special attention to one group or another. We feel that all responsible representatives of private institutions have the right to visit the White House and be informed in this manner.

At our briefings, we try to cover major subjects of concern to both the visiting group and to the White House. Subjects which were covered at the ATA briefing were: U.S.-Turkish relations, the current status of NATO and Administration policy toward Central America. As at all our briefings, the briefers gave 15 to 20-minute presentations, and then responded to questions. Attached, for your information, is a copy of the program.

In general, I believe this Administration's relations with the Greek-American community have been very good. Top Greek-American leaders have had the opportunity to meet with the President, the Vice President, the Secretary of State and other senior Administration officials, both to discuss current issues and to be recognized for their important work and achievements. It would be unfair to suggest that the briefing for the ATA was meant to be an affront to the Greek-American or any other ethnic group.

I hope this information will be useful to you and, again, I appreciate your bringing your concerns to my attention.

Sincerely,


Linas Kojelis
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison

Mr. Andrew E. Manatos
Manatos & Manatos, Inc.
1750 New York Ave., N.W.
Suite 210
Washington, D.C. 20006

bcc: Frank Donatelli

United States of America, including Title III of the Trade Agreements Act of 1979 (19 U.S.C. 2511 *et seq.*) and Section 301 of Title 3 of the United States Code (3 U.S.C. 301), the Annex to Executive Order No. 12260 is amended as follows to reflect changes in the name or the status of agencies to which the Agreement on Government Procurement applies:

Section 1. "8. Community Services Administration" is deleted and the subsequent items are renumbered.

Sec. 2. "National Tool Center", in the parenthetical expression in renumbered item 31, is replaced by "Tools Commodity Center".

Sec. 3. "54. The Peace Corps" is added to the list.

Ronald Reagan

The White House,
April 17, 1984.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:07 p.m., April 17, 1984]

The Cyprus Problem

Letter to the Speaker of the House and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. April 17, 1984

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

In accordance with Public Law 95-384, I am submitting herewith a bimonthly report on progress toward a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus question.

Since my last report to you of January 24, 1984, President Kyprianou met with the U.N. Secretary General in Paris on February 4. Shortly thereafter, State Department Counselor Edward Derwinski and Special Cyprus Coordinator Richard Haass paid separate visits to the region to discuss developments with the governments of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus and to urge their cooperation with the Secretary General. In March, Turkish Cypriot community leader Denktash visited New York for discussions with the Secretary General and with

Messrs. Derwinski and Haass. Also in March, Cypriot Foreign Minister Iacovou met with both the Secretary General and with Secretary Shultz.

These meetings have been held to discuss the proposal made by the two sides in early January, as described in my previous report, and to support the efforts of the Secretary General to promote negotiations between them in accordance with his Security Council mandate.

We are pleased to report at this time that the Committee on Missing Persons has met and agreed on the procedure it will follow at future meetings. We expect the committee to begin its first working session shortly.

We are encouraged by the Secretary General's active involvement in seeking common ground for progress, and we continue to offer him our support. We are hoping for positive results from this intensive diplomatic activity.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

Note: This is the text of identical letters addressed to Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Senator Charles H. Percy, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

United States-Costa Rica Treaty on Extradition

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Treaty. April 17, 1984

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty on Extradition between the United States of America and Costa Rica, signed at San Jose on December 4, 1982, together with a related exchange of notes signed on December 16, 1982.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the Report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty will facilitate United States efforts to prosecute narcotics conspiracies by expressly providing that conspiracies and

the interior, as we have been able to see tonight, installed a new lighting and a sound system, and added a whole new building four stories high for dressing rooms and storage. And they did it all without a penny of government money. [Laughter]

And tonight we're among the lucky first to enjoy the results. A special thanks to J. Adams, the chairman of the National Theatre, to the Schuberts, Gerald Schoenfeld and Bernard Jacobs and, of course, to Carol Laxalt and Betty Wright, the cochairman of tonight's gala. I know we want to applaud everyone who had a hand in this wonderful restoration. With this reopening, downtown Washington will be able to hear "The Lullaby of Broadway."

And speaking as two who live in the neighborhood—[laughter]—we're all delighted. One more thing: Now that the National has reopened, even those of us in Washington will be able to hear "The Lullaby of Broadway."

Thank you. God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at approximately 9:25 p.m. at the theater.

The Cyprus Problem

Letter to the Speaker of the House and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. January 24, 1984

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

In accordance with Public Law 95-384, I am submitting herewith a bimonthly report on progress toward a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem.

Since the previous report (November 7, 1983) the Turkish Cypriot community declared its statehood. The declaration of November 15, 1983 was condemned by the Administration as unhelpful to the process of finding solutions. We urged reversal of the Turkish community's moves and called on all states of the world not to recognize the self-proclaimed entity. On November 18, 1983 we joined a nearly unanimous U.N. Security Council in passing resolution 541 which also called for reversal of the declara-

tion and for no international recognition of the self-proclaimed entity.

Following the November 18, 1983 Security Council action, Cypriot President Kyprianou came to Washington where Secretary Shultz and I met with him to assure him of our opposition to the Turkish Cypriot move and of our continuing determination to see the Cyprus question settled fairly and finally. We also met with (then) Turkish Foreign Minister Turkmen to whom we explained these same points. With both the Cypriot and Turkish government officials we urged flexibility in reacting to any opportunities for progress which may present themselves. The Secretary of State made a similar presentation to Greek Foreign Minister Haralambopoulos.

In early December, 1983 State Department Counselor Edward Derwinski visited Greece and Cyprus to meet with Government leaders and private individuals for discussions of the situation on Cyprus. Several additional visits to Cyprus by members of the Congress took place during the period.

On December 15, 1983 the U.N. Security Council renewed the mandate for the U.N. Forces in Cyprus (UNFICYP) for another six months. (Secretary General's report of December 1 is attached.) The Turkish Cypriot community did not support the terms of this renewal but its leaders have said they will continue to cooperate with U.N. forces in their peacekeeping role.

On January 2, 1984, the Government of Turkey announced its intention to remove 1500 of its troops from Cyprus. On the same day Mr. Denktash, leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, announced a series of "goodwill" measures designed to settle some of the outstanding issues between the communities. Included among these were proposals to turn over the city of Varosha and the Nicosia airport to U.N. administration, reactivation of the Committee on Missing Persons, and several other confidence-building measures. The Administration welcomed these proposals as being movement in the right direction.

On January 9, 1984, President Kyprianou again visited Washington during a private visit to the U.S. and discussed with Secretary Shultz and others his Government's

ideas on how to achieve progress toward a comprehensive settlement.

The Secretary of State's Special Cyprus Coordinator Richard Haass and other Department officials have maintained close liaison with U.N. officials involved with the Cyprus question. We continue to support the Secretary General's good offices role.

During the period, the Administration has encouraged the parties to the Cyprus question to be forthcoming with new ideas for progress and not to reject out of hand any proposals for progress. We believe the January 2, 1984 proposals from the Turkish side and the plans discussed with President Kyprianou in November and in January constitute positive results. We intend to continue our strong support for the U.N. Secretary General's role in the search for solutions to the Cyprus problem.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

Note: This is the text of identical letters addressed to Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Charles H. Percy, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Senate Republican Policy Committee

Remarks at a Luncheon Sponsored by the Committee. January 24, 1984

It's a pleasure for me to be here this afternoon. This is the third time that I've had lunch with you, and today's occasion, I know, will be just as informative and enjoyable as the first two.

By the way, Howard Baker and Senator Tower called to remind me to bring \$5. [Laughter] Leave it to them to make sure we show the rest of the Congress there's no such thing as a free lunch. [Laughter]

But I want to thank Howard and John and all of you for your vital work in the Senate. Howard is not only the first Republican majority leader in more than a quarter of a century; I think we all agree he's one of the most effective majority leaders in history.

If I was still in the business I used to be in, I'd sit down now. [Laughter]

But your chairman, John Tower, has always advocated discipline for government and freedom for the individual. And in all the long history of our Republic, no one has ever done more to see that America has the defense that she required.

Time and again, Howard and John have given me the benefit of their knowledge, judgment, and understanding of the Senate. And whatever successes our administration has enjoyed, these two Senators deserve a big slice of the credit.

This January makes it 36 months since our party won the Senate and regained the White House. Thirty-six months—that's just a short span in the life of a nation, but I deeply believe that together we've changed American history.

Think back to that crisp January day, back 36 months ago: inflation in double digits, prime interest rates at the highest level since the Civil War, economic growth disappearing. At the same time our defenses were weak. As John has pointed out so often, from 1970 to 1980 real defense spending dropped more than 20 percent. Military equipment was growing obsolete; real military pay was too low; and morale among our uniformed men and women was sagging.

In foreign policy America had become known the world over for hesitation, vacillation, and self-doubt. And our great nation stood by as if paralyzed while the Soviets amassed a vast military might, then began to intimidate our allies, fuel regional conflicts, and prop up tyrannies. And when Americans looked to their leaders for encouragement, they only heard about a so-called national malaise.

Well, in the past 36 months, the world has seen an American miracle. Time has marched on, but instead of growing older and more tired—I'm not talking about me now—[laughter]—our country has recaptured the vitality, self-confidence, and courage of the youthful nation that she still is.

Last month the Producer Price Index increased by only two-tenths of 1 percent, and by only six-tenths of 1 percent for all of 1983. That's the best record in 19 years. And just this morning we had more good

Situation in Cyprus

Statement by the President. May 8, 1984

At the end of this month I will meet with the Foreign Ministers of all the NATO countries to mark the 35th anniversary of NATO's founding. The alliance is sound. But continuing disagreements between two vital members of the alliance, Greece and Turkey, are of great concern. Because our friendship with each country is so important, and because their need for one another is so great, special efforts must be made to reduce disagreements and promote harmony—particularly on the island of Cyprus, which has become a focal point of tension.

Successive administrations have tried unsuccessfully to solve the painful dispute which has divided Cyprus into separate Greek and Turkish communities. Over the last several years the Secretary-General of the United Nations has worked painstakingly to keep the parties talking to one another. In November, after the Turkish Cypriot declaration of independence, the United States condemned the action and called for its reversal, while also working to encourage the parties to move forward in making real progress. On January 2 the Turkish Cypriots responded by proposing a series of good will measures, offering among other things to turn over part of the coastal city of Varosha to the United Nations for eventual Greek settlement. A few days later the Government of Cyprus proposed new guidelines for a comprehensive settlement. Turkey itself announced the removal of 1,500 troops from northern Cyprus. And the Secretary-General of the United States was preparing to meet with the parties to discuss his own plan. We welcomed these developments as positive steps. Movement was at last occurring.

At this point, less than 2 months ago, Secretary Shultz wrote leaders of the Congress to caution that cuts in the Turkish assistance program could risk endangering this progress. Unfortunately, important NATO-related funding for Turkey was nonetheless cut in committee, no doubt in the mistaken hope that this would somehow stimulate

progress on Cyprus. As a result, diplomatic efforts quickly ground to a halt.

We are now working to get diplomacy back on track. We have assured U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar of our continuing support for his efforts to bridge the gaps between the Greek and Turkish communities of Cyprus.

I understand the frustration in the Congress and elsewhere about the need for progress. Indeed, I believe the time has come to try a new and more positive approach. Rather than punishing Turkey, let us focus constructive energy on ways of encouraging the parties on Cyprus itself—for it is here, ultimately, that differences must be resolved.

The administration and the Congress need to work together to re-create conditions conducive to successful diplomacy. We ask the Congress to work with us by supporting my request for security assistance for our Greek and Turkish allies, and by removing punitive conditions on that assistance. In return, I am prepared to work with the Congress in committing now to a special Cyprus Peace and Reconstruction fund of up to \$250 million. Specific authorizations would be requested at such time as a fair and equitable solution acceptable to both parties on Cyprus is reached, or substantial progress is made toward that end. I intend this commitment to be a symbol of the shared concern of the administration and the Congress for promoting genuine results on Cyprus.

Peace cannot be bought. But peacemakers should know that the United States is prepared to go to great lengths to ensure that their labors are transformed into an enduring achievement. A reunified, stable, and secure Cyprus would be such an achievement.

We need to recognize, however, that our security assistance to Greece and Turkey is not given as a favor, but rather to deter aggression upon NATO. U.S. national interests are at stake. Greek security needs deserve to be fully met. And Turkey—working to strengthen democracy, curb terrorism, and defend NATO along its vast common border with the Soviet Union—also deserves every penny we have requested.

May 8 / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1984

The path ahead will not be easy. But bringing harmony to NATO's southern flank and to the troubled island of Cyprus is a goal worthy of our most special efforts.

Department of Housing and Urban Development

Nomination of June Q. Koch To Be an Assistant Secretary (Policy, Development, and Research). May 8, 1984

The President today announced his intention to nominate June Q. Koch to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (Policy, Development, and Research). She would succeed Emanuel S. Savas.

Since 1981 she has been serving as Deputy Under Secretary for Intergovernmental Relations. Previously she was president of Koch & Associates in 1976-1980; director of Federal liaison for the Philadelphia Bicentennial Corp. in 1973-1975; and assistant professor of English, Bryn Mawr College, in 1967-1973.

She graduated from Brooklyn College (B.A., 1958), Temple University (M.A., 1959), and Columbia University (Ph. D., 1965). She is married, has five children, and resides in Potomac, Md. She was born January 18, 1933, in Brooklyn, N.Y.

Agency for International Development

Nomination of Mae Neal Peden To Be an Assistant Administrator (Bureau for Private Enterprise). May 8, 1984

The President today announced his intention to nominate Mae Neal Peden to be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development (Bureau for Private Enterprise). She would succeed Elise R. W. du Pont.

Since 1981 she has been director of administration for the Republican National Committee. Previously she was comptroller of the Reagan-Bush transition in 1980-1981;

deputy treasurer for the Reagan-Bush campaign and administrative assistant to the national political director, Reagan for President, in 1979-1980; and administrative assistant to the political director of the Republican National Committee in 1977-1979.

She attended Mississippi State College for Women. She has one son and resides in Alexandria, Va. She was born June 20, 1930, in Leakesville, Miss.

Copyright Royalty Tribunal

Nomination of Marianne Mele To Be a Commissioner. May 8, 1984

The President today announced his intention to nominate Marianne Mele to be a Commissioner of the Copyright Royalty Tribunal for the unexpired term of 7 years from September 27, 1982. She would succeed Katherine D. Ortega.

Since 1978 she has been an associate professor at Northern Virginia Law School. She also serves as a trust business development officer for NS & T Bank. Previously she was an equal employment specialist for Riggs National Bank in 1979-1980; a member of the general counsel staff for the Copyright Office, Washington, D.C., in 1977; campaign cochairman for the New Jersey 9th congressional election in 1976; and a special services agent for Eastern Airlines in 1972-1975.

She graduated from Northeastern University (B.S., 1972) and Rutgers School of Law (J.D., 1978). She has one child and resides in Falls Church, Va. She was born July 8, 1950, in New York City.

White House Staff

Appointment of V. Kim Hoggard as Assistant Press Secretary to the President. May 8, 1984

The President today announced his intention to appoint V. Kim Hoggard to be Assistant Press Secretary to the President.

Bryant won more college football games than any other coach in history, and he made legends out of ordinary people. Only 4 weeks ago, we held our breath, then cheered, when the "Bear" notched his final victory in a game named, fittingly, the Liberty Bowl.

He was a hard, but loved taskmaster. Patriotic to the core, devoted to his players, and inspired by a winning spirit that would not quit, Bear Bryant gave his country the gift of a life unsurpassed. In making the impossible seem easy, he lived what we strive to be.

Note: Mr. Bryant, 69, died in Tuscaloosa, Ala., following a heart attack. He had recently retired as head coach of the University of Alabama football team.

On January 28, the White House announced that the President asked Coach George Allen to be his personal representative at the January 28 funeral services for Mr. Bryant in Tuscaloosa.

Convention on International Expositions

Message to the Senate Transmitting an Amendment to the Protocol of the Convention. January 27, 1983

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith an amendment to the Protocol of November 30, 1972 (TIAS 9948) to the Convention of November 22, 1928 concerning International Expositions (TIAS 6548, 6549) with a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to its acceptance.

The purpose of the amendment is to permit France to commemorate the French Revolution in a universal exposition at Paris in 1989, and the United States and Spain to commemorate the discovery of the Americas in a two-site universal exposition at Chicago and Seville in 1992. The present provisions of the Protocol do not permit the holding of a universal exposition in 1992 and another universal exposition only three

years earlier in 1989. A minimum interval of seven years is required by the Protocol.

I submit herewith the Report of the Secretary of State on the amendment.

I strongly support the holding of a universal exposition to commemorate the discovery of the Americas and have previously designated Chicago as the site in the United States for that purpose. I recommend that the Senate give prompt consideration to the amendment and advice and consent to its acceptance.

Ronald Reagan

The White House,
January 27, 1983.

The Cyprus Problem

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. January 27, 1983

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

In accordance with the provisions of Public Law 95-384, I am submitting the following report on progress made during the past 60 days toward reaching a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem.

The intercommunal negotiations between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot representatives recessed from December 4 until mid-January, a period during which the United Nations Secretary General's Special Representative, Ambassador Gobbi, visited New York and Geneva on U.N. business.

On December 1, U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar submitted his latest semi-annual report on Cyprus to the Security Council. In the report, a copy of which is attached, the Secretary General reviews progress in the peacekeeping operations of UNFICYP and in the parallel humanitarian assistance programs. He also reports the intercommunal negotiations continue to focus on the "evaluation" previously submitted by Ambassador Gobbi to the two sides. This approach, the Secretary General reports, is the best means available to provide a "structured, substantive" method of discuss-

ing the differences. He states further that the discussions "remain cooperative and constructive" and that the interlocutors, having essentially completed discussion of constitutional issues, will now focus on territorial matters. Perez de Cuellar observes that the task of developing "an overall package deal" should be undertaken soon in the talks and that he is confident that, "with the political will" on both sides, such a package can be accomplished.

Subsequent to the Secretary General's report, on December 14, the Security Council voted unanimously to extend the mandate of the U.N. forces in Cyprus until June 15, 1983.

We fully concur with the Secretary General's assessment. We remain in very close touch with him, his staff, and, in particular, with Ambassador Gobbi. During the period the Special Cyprus Coordinator, Christian A. Chapman, visited New York twice to discuss the situation with senior U.N. officials. At present we, the U.N. officials, and the parties to the negotiations doubt much progress can be made during the present electoral campaign in Cyprus. The possibilities for progress should improve, however, after the February 13 election.

This Administration continues strongly to support efforts to find just and lasting solutions for the serious problems facing the people of Cyprus.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

Note: This is the text of identical letters addressed to Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Charles H. Percy, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea

*Message to the Congress Transmitting Amendments to the Regulations.
January 27, 1983*

To the Congress of the United States:

Consistent with the International Navigational Rules Act of 1977 (Public Law 95-75;

33 U.S.C. 1602), I transmit herewith Amendments to the International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea, 1972, adopted at London November, 1981. The International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea, 1972 (72 COLREGS), done at London October 29, 1972, were signed by over 50 contracting parties to the International Maritime Organization (IMO). The 72 COLREGS entered into force worldwide on July 15, 1977, and replaced the 1960 Collision Regulations. During the past five years, the 72 COLREGS have served well to avert collisions at sea. Nevertheless, experience indicated that some clarifications were desirable. Consequently, rather than formulate new regulations, the Sub-Committee on Safety of Navigation of IMO's Maritime Safety Committee proposed a group of 55 amendments to clarify the existing regulations. While the amendments do have substance there are no major changes to the regulations. Many of the amendments relax lighting requirements, particularly for smaller vessels. Other amendments simply clarify wording.

The same year that the 72 COLREGS entered into force, the Secretary of Transportation formed the Rules of the Road Advisory Committee (RORAC).

The primary purpose of this committee was to formulate unified rules for our inland waters. Rule 1(b) of 72 COLREGS states:

"Nothing in these Rules shall interfere with the operation of special rules made by an appropriate authority for roadsteads, harbors, rivers, lakes or inland waterways connected with the high seas and navigable by seagoing vessels. Such Special Rules shall conform as closely as possible to these Rules."

With this goal in mind, RORAC recommended that the rules be enacted into law by the Inland Navigational Rules Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-591). Four very important accomplishments of this Act were:

- A. Our inland rules were modernized;
- B. they were unified;
- C. they were brought into conformity with 72 COLREGS; and

a loss of self-respect. Some and hopeful. Some are con- y. But I think the most per- se letters from displaced of these men and women ne industry, if not one com- etter part of their working or the plant had always been even since their father's or er's day, and they assumed it e that way. Their employers merica's strength and vitality ic power. How could the r in the town, the very e town, close its gates and This was as inconceivable as losing down.

w the plant can close no ential it is to the employees eople. We know that Ameri- rengths change and grow in tions, sometimes without eople who serve the old in- called the free market, and our children and their chil- ic future.

we as a nation owe an obli- s a helping hand to those rice of economic readjust- ent—Federal, State, and ovide support for job train- oyment assistance. Business ng in partnership, also have to ease this transition and ployees and members for icators, as well, are chal- r their curriculums to the eds of the future. In one we all have a positive role

today to tell you I support leheartedly, and I'm trying ake real changes in Wash- help get our people back to en said, we want real work not make-work. We want ure based on growth, not smaller pieces of prosper- a what you're doing and, rtantly, I know those that elieve in it. Together, we erica and the American iration they were always

I thank you for inviting me, letting me participate even in this little bit in your conference. And God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:32 p.m. in the International Ballroom of the Hilton Hotel, following remarks and an introduction by Gov. Richard L. Thornburgh of Pennsylvania.

The 2-day conference was sponsored by the National Alliance of Business and 12 other organizations and was attended by approximately 500 policymakers and leaders from private and public organizations with an interest in labor market transition efforts.

Prior to his participation in the conference, the President attended a Republican leadership reception at the hotel. Following his remarks at the conference, the President returned to Washington, D.C.

The Cyprus Problem

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. April 6, 1983

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

In accordance with Public Law 95-384, I am submitting the following report on progress made during the past sixty days toward reaching a negotiated settlement in Cyprus.

There was little progress in the intercommunal negotiations between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots during the period. The talks were delayed due to the presidential elections held by the Government of Cyprus in February. In those elections President Kyprianou was returned to office for a second five-year term.

Following the elections the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General, Ambassador Hugo Gobbi, reconvened the talks on March 8. That meeting was described as cordial by the participants.

Following these discussions there was an additional recess for the meeting of the Nonaligned Movement in New Delhi. The UN General Assembly is likely to take up the Cyprus problem in late April or early May. After that meeting the talks can proceed to address the substantive issues separating the two communities.

President Kyprianou and Turkish leader Denktash remain supportive of the intercommunal talks as the best vehicle for progress toward eventual solution of the Cyprus problem. Ambassador Gobbi is positive about the Secretary General's good offices role in the talks and will attempt to move the discussions forward as soon as possible.

Our Embassy in Nicosia as well as our officers in the State Department remain in close contact with both parties to the intercommunal talks and continue to urge efforts for progress. Visits to the island by our diplomatic officers and by Congressmen emphasize the interest residing both in this Administration and in the Congress in seeing a fair and lasting settlement to the problem.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

Note: This is the text of identical letters addressed to Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Charles H. Percy, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Civil Rights Commission Reauthorization Act of 1983

Message to the Congress Transmitting Proposed Legislation. April 6, 1983

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting herewith the "Civil Rights Commission Reauthorization Act of 1983".

We Americans have come to share a vision of the Nation we want to be: A Nation in which sex, race, religion, color,

June 16 / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1983

United States-Norway Agreement on Social Security

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Agreement. June 16, 1983

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to section 233(e)(1) of the Social Security Act as amended by the Social Security Amendments of 1977 (P.L. 95-216, 42 U.S.C. 433(e)(1)), I transmit herewith the Agreement between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Norway on Social Security, the Final Protocol to the Agreement, and the Administrative Agreement for the Implementation of the Agreement, all signed on January 13, 1983.

These United States-Norway agreements are similar in objective to the social security agreements already in force with Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Switzerland. Such bilateral agreements, which are generally known as totalization agreements, provide for limited coordination between the United States and foreign social security systems to overcome the problems of gaps in protection and of dual coverage and taxation for workers who move from one country to the other.

I also transmit for the information of the Congress a comprehensive report prepared by the Department of Health and Human Services, which explains the provisions of the Agreements and provides data on the number of persons affected by the Agreements and the effect on social security financing as required by the same provision of the Social Security Act.

The Department of State and the Department of Health and Human Services join with me in commending the United States-Norway Social Security Agreement and related documents.

Ronald Reagan

The White House,
June 16, 1983.

The Cyprus Problem

Letter to the Speaker of the House and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. June 16, 1983

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

During the period since my last report, there has been considerable international focus on Cyprus. The Cyprus question was debated in the U.N. General Assembly which adopted a Resolution on May 13 calling for "meaningful, result-oriented, constructive and substantive negotiations" between the two communities. Approximately 50 countries spoke in the Assembly and supported continuation of the intercommunal talks under the aegis of the Secretary General. We reaffirmed our commitment to the success of the Secretary General's good offices role although we abstained on the Resolution, believing it contained elements potentially unhelpful to the intercommunal talks.

Now that the U.N. General Assembly session is past, we anticipate a period of re-evaluation by both communities. We expect, nevertheless, representatives of the two communities to return to the intercommunal talks. We continue to believe those talks hold the best prospect for finding answers to the problems of Cyprus.

On May 6 the U.N. Secretary General issued a report (a copy of which is attached) on the question of Cyprus in which he notes that the intercommunal talks, although recessed for the Greek Cypriot elections, reconvened in April in "a cooperative and constructive atmosphere."

The Secretary General, within his Security Council mandate, has pledged to "make every effort to give fresh impetus to the process" of the talks, an effort we fully support.

Assistant Secretary of State Richard Burt visited Cyprus during the period for in-depth discussions with leaders of both communities and with U.N. officials. Other diplomatic representatives also remain in close contact with all parties to the problem.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

Week Ending Friday, August 26, 1983

The Cyprus Problem

Letter to the Speaker of the House and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.
August 18, 1983

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

In accordance with Public Law 95-384, I am herewith submitting a report on progress made in the past sixty days toward a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem.

Since my last report to you there has been little progress toward settlement. It has been a period of reevaluation by both sides and the intercommunal talks have not resumed.

On June 15 the United Nations Security Council renewed the mandate of the UN Forces in Cyprus (UNFICYP). The report issued at that time by the Secretary General on UNFICYP's activities and on general Cypriot developments is attached.

On July 4 UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar met in Geneva with Turkish Cypriot leader Denktash. Two days later the Secretary General's Special Representative, Ambassador Gobbi, returned to Nicosia where he remained until August 10 attempting to reconvene the intercommunal talks.

Our position continues to be one of full support for the Secretary General and his Special Representative. We support their efforts to reconvene the intercommunal talks as the best vehicle for an eventual settlement of the Cyprus problem.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

Note: This is the text of identical letters addressed to Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Charles H. Percy, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Budget Deferral

Message to the Congress. August 18, 1983

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report a new deferral of budget authority for the Railroad Retirement Board, totaling \$165,000.

The details of the deferral are contained in the attached report.

Ronald Reagan

The White House,
August 18, 1983.

Note: The attachment detailing the deferral is printed in the Federal Register of August 23, 1983.

White House Staff

Appointment of John A. Svahn as Assistant to the President for Policy Development.
August 19, 1983

The President today announced the appointment of John A. (Jack) Svahn, of Maryland, to be Assistant to the President for Policy Development. The appointment will be effective September 12, 1983.

Mr. Svahn, who has served since March as Under Secretary of Health and Human Services and, concurrently since May 1981, as Commissioner of Social Security; will be responsible to Edwin Meese III, Counsellor to the President, for issue analysis and policy development in all areas of domestic policy. He succeeds Edwin L. Harper.

Mr. Svahn, 40, also served as Director of the U.S. Office of Child Support Enforcement during his service as Social Security Commissioner until his appointment as HHS Under Secretary. In these positions, as

down to a fraction of what it was. We've cut our interest rates in half—we have much further to go in that. And our unemployment is dropping rapidly. As a matter of fact, just last month our unemployment reached a point that in our most optimistic predictions we had thought we wouldn't reach for another year or more. And I believe that the United States recovering that much can have an effect worldwide in the other countries where recession has prevailed, so that I'm optimistic that we are on our way to a solid recovery and it will be worldwide.

Mr. Jung. Thank you, Mr. President, and please have a nice trip.

The President. Thank you very much. I'm looking forward to it.

Note: The interview began at 11:50 a.m. in the Library at the White House. It was taped for later broadcast in the Republic of Korea. Mr. Jung is the chief Washington correspondent of the Korean Broadcasting System.

The Cyprus Problem

Letter to the Speaker of the House and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. November 7, 1983

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

In accordance with Public Law 95-384, I am herewith submitting a bimonthly report on progress toward a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem.

Since my last report (August 18, 1983), the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots have responded privately to an initiative undertaken by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar in early August to promote the resumption of the intercommunal talks which have been suspended since May of this year. At the same time, Turkish Cypriot leader Denktash proposed a meeting between himself and President Kyrianiou with the Secretary General. The Secretary General is examining the responses and proposals with a view toward bringing both sides back to the conference table.

The Administration's policy throughout the period under review has been one of continued active support for the Secretary General's role, including his August initiative. We have assured the Secretary General and the two Cypriot communities that we support the early resumption of the talks to focus on the substantive issues separating the two communities.

Our activities over the period have included high-level meetings between senior State Department officials and leaders of both the Government of Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriot community. In addition, we have reiterated to both the Government of Greece and Government of Turkey our strong desire to see substantive progress in the intercommunal negotiating process.

During the period since my last report, Secretary Shultz's Special Cyprus Coordinator, Christian A. Chapman, retired from the Foreign Service. Richard Haass was appointed by the Secretary to replace Mr. Chapman. Assistant Secretary Burt and Mr. Haass will appear before the House Foreign Affairs Committee soon to outline the present situation on the island and to describe the Administration's Cyprus policy.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

Note: This is the text of identical letters addressed to Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Charles H. Percy, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

United States-Sweden Convention on Taxation and Fiscal Evasion

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention. November 7, 1983

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith, for Senate advice and consent to ratification, the Convention between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Sweden for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with Respect to Taxes on Estates, Inherit-

meet the gender-specific health care needs of women veterans.

There are, however, provisions in this bill which greatly concern me—provisions which would give the VA special personnel authorities and property disposal procedures not available to other agencies. These provisions are unnecessary and costly and continue a recent, disturbing trend of giving the VA special treatment and exempting it from generally applicable executive branch rules.

Despite my reservations about the bill's compensation and property management provisions, I am approving this measure because of my strong commitment to the welfare of America's veterans.

Note: As enacted, H.R. 2920 is Public Law 98-160, approved November 21.

Meeting With President Spyros Kyprianou of Cyprus

*Statement by the Principal Deputy Press Secretary to the President.
November 21, 1983*

In his meeting with the President, President Spyros Kyprianou of the Republic of Cyprus deplored the unilateral declaration of a separate political entity in northern Cyprus and urged U.S. support for a Cyprus settlement which included a reversal of this unilateral act.

The President noted our deep distress at the unilateral action by the Turkish Cypriots and that we had supported a British resolution at the United Nations deploring the Turkish Cypriot action and urging cooperation with U.N. efforts to promote a peaceful settlement. The President said that the United States stands foursquare behind the U.N. Secretary General's good offices effort and emphasized the importance of reestablishing a dialog between the two communities on Cyprus.

The President also noted that he had personally spoken with the U.N. Secretary General on Friday about his difficult task and offered to help in any way possible. In recognizing that the situation is complex,

the President asked that the Government of Cyprus not let this ill-advised unilateral act preclude consideration of any opportunities that may emerge for progress towards a settlement.

Centennial of the Birth of Eleanor Roosevelt

Statement on Signing S.J. Res. 139 Into Law. November 21, 1983

I have signed today S.J. Res. 139, a joint resolution which is designed to commemorate the centennial of the birth of Eleanor Roosevelt.

This centennial offers an opportunity to honor one of the great First Ladies of this country whose contributions to humanity were not limited to her stay in the White House but continued thereafter on a worldwide basis.

I have been advised by the Attorney General that in view of the requirements of the appointments and the incompatibility clauses of the Constitution, a majority of the members of the Commission, and therefore the Commission itself, may perform only ceremonial and advisory functions.

Note: As enacted, S.J. Res. 139 is Public Law 98-162, approved November 21.

20th Anniversary of the Death of President John F. Kennedy

*Statement by the President.
November 22, 1983*

On November 22, 1983, we mark the 20th anniversary of the death of President John F. Kennedy. This young and vibrant man was struck down by an assassin's bullet in one of the most tragic episodes in our nation's history.

The events of that day in Dallas ushered in a wave of universal mourning that led people of all races and religions to fill their churches, temples, and mosques to pray for

been appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, in such order as the Secretary of State may from time to time prescribe, shall act as Secretary. If no such order of succession is in effect at that time, then such officers shall act as Secretary in descending order of rank, as established by the listing of their offices in Sections 5314 or 5315 of Title 5 of the United States Code, and at each level of the Executive Schedule in the order in which they shall have taken the oath as such officers.

Sec. 2. The President may at any time, pursuant to law but without regard to the

foregoing provisions of this Order, direct that an officer specified by the President shall act as Secretary of State.

Sec. 3. Executive Order No. 10839 is revoked.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
January 27, 1982.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:34 a.m., January 28, 1982]

Note: The text of the Executive order was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on January 28.

Letter to the Speaker of the House and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Reporting on the Cyprus Conflict January 28, 1982

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

In accordance with the provision of Public Law 95-384, I am submitting the following report on progress made during the past sixty days toward reaching a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem.

Following presentation of the United Nations "evaluation" of the intercommunal negotiations on November 18, 1981 the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots have begun to discuss the "evaluation" and identify points of agreement. The negotiators met on December 2 and 8, 1981, and following a recess at the end of the year, on January 6, 13 and 20, 1982. While doubtlessly the issues are complex and will require the best efforts of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots to resolve, we hope that continued negotiations will lead to a mutually acceptable resolution of the Cyprus problem.

As you recall, resolution of the Cyprus problem is a priority of this Administration. In this regard, I met with Cypriot President Kyprianou on December 8, 1981, for a useful and productive exchange of views. The United States remains fully committed to assisting in achieving a just and lasting

Cyprus settlement and will continue to give its full support to the United Nations and the UN Secretary General's Special Representative on Cyprus, Ambassador Hugo Gobbi, in their efforts to secure solutions to the negotiating differences separating the parties.

The United Nations has continued to pay close attention to developments on Cyprus. In his December 12, 1981 report on Cyprus, the Secretary General hoped the introduction of the UN "evaluation" would "mark the beginning of a new and fruitful phase in the long search for a negotiated settlement." He stressed the need for a "concrete and effective" negotiating process and expressed the opinion that the UN "evaluation" embodies a "determined effort to lend structure and substance" to the negotiating process.

I am also pleased to note that on December 14, 1981, the Security Council passed unanimously a resolution extending the mandate of the UN Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) to June 15, 1982. We share with other Security Council members the conviction that UNFICYP's presence

Jan. 28 / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1982

aids in maintaining an atmosphere conducive to productive intercommunal discussions.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Note: This is the text of identical letters addressed to Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Charles H. Percy, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Statement Announcing the Establishment of a Federal Anticrime Task Force for Southern Florida January 28, 1982

During the past few years, the once tranquil area of south Florida has become a landing area for hundreds of thousands of refugees and the Nation's major terminal for the smuggling of illegal drugs into the United States.

Many of those who fled to our land came out of desperation—a desperation inflicted upon them by a dictator who tolerates no freedoms nor allows human rights. The overwhelming majority of these refugees are freedom-loving, peaceful people. Most have resettled in new homes and in new communities in order to build a better life for themselves and for their families. In the years to come they will take their place alongside the millions of others who came before them in making ours a greater land. Unfortunately, a very small percentage pursued a life of crime and violence that victimized their neighbors in their homeland and even today continue this intolerable behavior in south Florida. Combined with the related criminal activities of drug trafficking, the nearly 2 million people of south Florida are unfairly burdened financially in addition to being denied their constitutional right to live in peace without fear and intimidation.

Massive immigration, rampant crime, and epidemic drug smuggling have created a serious problem. Therefore, it is my belief that the Federal Government has a special responsibility to fill in temporarily and do what it can to reduce and, hopefully, elimi-

nate these problems.

The effort to ameliorate this problem will require the full cooperation and support of many Federal departments and agencies. To coordinate this effort, I am today announcing the establishment of a special task force, headed by Vice President George Bush, to analyze the problems and determine what steps we must take during the period of aggravated crime incidence. This task force will be similar to the one we established for the city of Atlanta. During the period of maximum need, it will coordinate the efforts of the Federal Government and make recommendations and decisions regarding our course of action.

Secretaries Haig, Weinberger, Regan, Lewis, Attorney General Smith, and Presidential Counsellor Edwin Meese will serve as members of the task force. A working group will be headed by Adm. Daniel Murphy, the Vice President's Chief of Staff, and personal representatives of these principals.

The current situation in south Florida is unique. With hundreds and hundreds of miles of coastline, and as the southernmost point of our country located in the Caribbean, it has experienced difficulties that no other community could ever anticipate.

The work of the task force begins today. We seek to assist the people of this region in their efforts to achieve an early restoration of their community and their lives to the normalcy they deserve.

Remarks to t in Davos, Sw January 28, 19

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Letter to the Speaker of the House and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Reporting on the Cyprus Conflict
March 25, 1982

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

In accordance with the provision of Public Law 95-384, I am submitting the following report on progress made during the past 60 days toward reaching a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem.

In the course of continuing discussion of the United Nations "evaluation" of the intercommunal negotiations, the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot negotiators met on February 1, 8, 18, and 22 and March 3, 10, 17 and 22. The negotiators are examining the ideas and concepts postulated by the "evaluation" seeking agreement on "points of coincidence" among the issues under discussion between the communities. Meetings have been serious and businesslike focusing on detailed analysis of specific points.

The United Nations deserves our high praise for its rare combination of patience and energy in working to resolve the Cyprus problem. United Nations Secretary General Perez de Cuellar has repeatedly expressed his interest in working to resolve the Cyprus issue. This commitment combined with his unique background on the Cyprus problem reinforces hopes for progress. Likewise, the Special Representative of the Secretary General on Cyprus, Ambassa-

dor Gobbi, is proceeding with remarkable diplomatic skill to promote an environment congenial to substantive negotiation.

I wish to reemphasize the concern of my Administration over Cyprus and the commitment of the United States to assist the United Nations in its effort to foster a just, fair and lasting settlement to the Cyprus problem. Resolution of the Cyprus problem is a priority for the United States and, as evidenced by the United Nations sponsorship of the intercommunal talks, an international priority as well. We believe that the intercommunal negotiations, as epitomized by the ongoing discussion of the United Nations "evaluation," provide the best course for resolving the Cyprus dilemma. Doubtlessly, the negotiating path will be protracted with obstacles to be overcome. With patience, energy and innovative effort, however, mutually acceptable solutions to outstanding differences are possible.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Note: This is the text of identical letters addressed to Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Charles H. Percy, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Toast at the State Dinner Honoring President Alessandro Pertini of Italy
March 25, 1982

President Pertini and distinguished guests:

While looking over President Pertini's schedule, I noted that, consistent with his interest in the arts, he'll be attending the theater while in San Francisco. Now, Mr. President, if I could be so bold as to make a personal suggestion: In a few years when your term of office is coming to a close, you

might consider making the theater a second career. [Laughter] For an energetic man like yourself, there are interesting opportunities. I know that it works one way, and it might work in reverse. [Laughter]

But seriously, all of us wish you a wonderful tour on this, your first visit to our country. We only regret that we've had to wait so long to be your host.

Executive Order 12366—Presidential Commission on Broadcasting to Cuba

May 25, 1982

By the authority vested in me as President of the United States of America, and in accordance with the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (5 U.S.C. App. 1), in order to permit an increase in the membership of the Presidential Commission on Broadcasting to Cuba by one member, Section 1(b) of Executive Order No. 12323 of September 22, 1981, is hereby amended to read as follows:

“(b) The Commission shall be composed

of twelve members appointed by the President from among citizens of the United States.”

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
May 25, 1982.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:03 a.m., May 26, 1982]

Letter to the Speaker of the House and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Reporting on the Cyprus Conflict

May 25, 1982

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

In accordance with the provisions of Public Law 95-384, I am submitting the following report on progress made during the past 60 days toward reaching a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem.

In the course of continuing discussion of the United Nations “evaluation” of the intercommunal negotiations, the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot negotiators met on April 14, 21, and 30 and May 4, 6, 11, 13, and 18. The negotiators have continued to focus their discussion on elements of the United Nations “evaluation” of the intercommunal negotiations. Having completed their initial review of many of the “points of coincidence,” the communities are now beginning examination of “points of equidistance” including such issues as the freedoms of movement, settlement and property ownership in any future agreement. The negotiating sessions continue to be useful and constructive discussions with good relations between the participants.

United Nations Secretary General Perez de Cuellar met in Rome on April 4 with Cypriot President Kyprianou and in Geneva on April 9 with Turkish Cypriot leader

Denktash. These meetings provided a thorough review of the status of the negotiations and both sides agreed to accelerate the pace of the talks and hold two meetings per week. The negotiating parties also agreed to meet again with the Secretary General in New York in June for a further review of the negotiating process.

We believe that the intercommunal negotiations are firmly established as a strong and effective tool to promote progress toward resolving the Cyprus problem. I wish to congratulate both the United Nations Secretary General and his Special Representative on Cyprus, Ambassador Hugo Gobbi, for their commitment to bringing the Cyprus problem to a just and lasting settlement. They have my full support for their efforts. We hope that the negotiators will seize the opportunities offered by the United Nations “evaluation” to make progress toward resolving outstanding differences between the communities.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Note: This is the text of identical letters

May 25 / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1982

addressed to Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Charles H. Percy, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Remarks in Los Angeles at a California Republican Party Fundraising Dinner

May 25, 1982

Reverend clergy, Senator Hayakawa, our party chairman, our dinner chairman and host, our toastmaster, all the distinguished ladies and gentlemen up here, and you ladies and gentlemen, all distinguished, out there:

Nancy and I thank you for a very great and warm California welcome. You know, it's always a pleasure to get home, if only for a short visit. And one of the best things about getting home is seeing old friends, and we've been doing that tonight.

Many of us in this room have been toiling together in the political vineyards for more than 20 years. We've shared victories and defeats, good times and bad. I made it 20 years and not more than that, because any more than that I wasn't a Republican. [Laughter] But we've shared the good times and bad and, what's most important, I guess, is that we've never become complacent. This magnificent display of unity and commitment will undoubtedly be remembered as one of the good times. And I think we all owe a round of applause to David Murdock and the others for what they've done to make this evening the success that it is.

I remember not too long ago when a big fundraiser like this was only \$100 a plate—[laughter]—and I know the material cost of your being here tonight. It's lucky we've got inflation under control, or who knows how much you'd be paying? [Laughter]

Tonight we kick off the 1982 campaign season for the California Republican Party. Only a few years ago our party registration was dropping, our coffers were empty, and we were in retreat. If the Dodgers had been doing that poorly, Vin Scully would have been placing side bets on the visiting teams. [Laughter]

Thomas Edison once said, "I never did

anything worth doing by accident, nor did any of my inventions come by accident; they came by work." Well, the current strength and vitality of our party didn't happen by accident, either. It took work. And each of you should be congratulated for what you've done. Obviously, many of you have been working extra hard. But accomplishments also require leadership, and tonight I'd like to take this opportunity to thank Tirso del Junco for the fine job that he's doing here in California.

Now, there is one other person who should be singled out for all that he has done to inspire and unite the California Republican Party. I'd ask him to stand and take a bow, but unfortunately Jerry Brown couldn't be with us tonight. [Laughter] He wants to raise taxes. We left him a half-a-million-dollar surplus. Well, easy come, easy go. [Laughter]

Seriously, though, we've got tremendous candidates for the Senate, and I can't see a reason why any one of them will not be able to keep Jerry Brown right here where he belongs—here in California swatting medflies. Or do I have that wrong? Does he raise them? [Laughter]

The sad thing is that come January, a Republican Governor is going to have an awful time straightening things out in Sacramento. It won't be easy; I've had some experience in cleaning up after a Brown. [Laughter]

But in a few days, Californians will be going to the polls and, along with determining the party nominations, you'll be given a chance to register your opposition to a blatantly unfair redistricting plan. The way to vote against backroom political manipulation is to vote no on Propositions 10, 11, and 12.

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Dec. 8 / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1981

accordance with a federal proposal dated November 13, 1981.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
December 8, 1981.

Note: The 3-volume study is entitled "Chugach Region Study Report—November 1981."

White House Statement on a Meeting Between President Reagan and President Spyros Kyprianou of Cyprus

December 8, 1981

President Reagan and Cypriot President Spyros Kyprianou met in a working visit today and held discussions on recent developments on Cyprus and the intercommunal talks. Vice President Bush and Secretary Haig also attended the meeting along with Cypriot Foreign Minister Rolandis and Ambassador Jacovides. President Reagan stressed U.S. hopes for a just and lasting

settlement of the Cyprus problem and emphasized his support for the United Nations-supervised intercommunal talks. The United States believes that recent developments in the negotiations, including presentation of a U.N. "evaluation" of the talks, suggest the potential for progress toward a mutually beneficial agreement.

Statement on Federal Employment of Discharged Air Traffic Controllers

December 9, 1981

For the past 4½ months we have kept the airways safe and the Nation's air traffic moving despite a strike by members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization.

We faced a choice last August: concede to the demands of a union engaged in an illegal strike—or dismiss the controllers who violated their oath and walked off their jobs, and keep the airways operating with the resources available to us.

We made the only choice we could. While we regret the loss of an experienced work force, we have an even greater commitment to the people of America to uphold the principles on which this country is built—principles of law, due process, and respect for the public trust.

Those principles have been honored, and our commitment to them remains firm. But at the same time there is another principle we honor in America—the tradition that individuals deserve to be treated with com-

passion. In that spirit, I am today extending to the air traffic controllers discharged because of their actions in striking against the Federal Government, an opportunity to reapply for Federal employment, in departments and agencies other than the Federal Aviation Administration. I do not believe that those who forfeited their jobs as controllers should be foreclosed from other Federal employment. I am sure that many of those who were misled or badly advised regret their action and would welcome an opportunity to return to Federal service.

So, today I am issuing this directive to the Office of Personnel Management.

First, when the Office of Personnel Management receives applications for Federal employment from former FAA controllers terminated by their strike action, it will apply the same suitability standards as it applies to all other candidates for jobs with the Federal Government. This means that

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 21, 1984

Dear Andy:

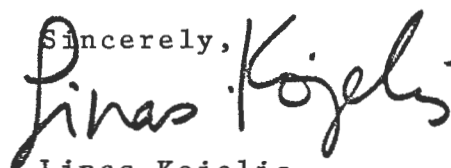
I appreciate your forwarding to me the comments and concerns of some of the members of the Greek-American community regarding the briefing my office arranged for the Association of Turkish Americans (ATA) last week.

As you know, my responsibilities at the White House include maintaining ethnic contacts with all European and Asian ethnic communities in the United States. The Office of Public Liaison believes that a good way to inform our constituencies of current Administration policies on current issues is by sponsoring periodic briefings. Briefings for business, labor, religious, women's, ethnic and other groups occur almost daily. Thus, it would not be correct to suggest that in preparing such briefings, we are paying special attention to one group or another. We feel that all responsible representatives of private institutions have the right to visit the White House and be informed in this manner.

At our briefings, we try to cover major subjects of concern to both the visiting group and to the White House. Subjects which were covered at the ATA briefing were: U.S.-Turkish relations, the current status of NATO and Administration policy toward Central America. As at all our briefings, the briefers gave 15 to 20-minute presentations, and then responded to questions. Attached, for your information, is a copy of the program.

In general, I believe this Administration's relations with the Greek-American community have been very good. Top Greek-American leaders have had the opportunity to meet with the President, the Vice President, the Secretary of State and other senior Administration officials, both to discuss current issues and to be recognized for their important work and achievements. It would be unfair to suggest that the briefing for the ATA was meant to be an affront to the Greek-American or any other ethnic group.

I hope this information will be useful to you and, again, I appreciate your bringing your concerns to my attention.

Sincerely,


Linas Kojelis
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison

Mr. Andrew E. Manatos
Manatos & Manatos, Inc.
1750 New York Ave., N.W.
Suite 210
Washington, D.C. 20006

bcc: Frank Donatelli