



# AHi

## AMERICAN HELLENIC INSTITUTE

# POLICY STATEMENTS

April 7, 2014

Prepared by AMERICAN HELLENIC INSTITUTE

### **Endorsed by**

**American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association (AHEPA)**

**American Hellenic Council of California**

**Armenian National Committee of America**

**Cyprus Federation of America**

**Evrytanean Association of America "Velouchi"**

**Hellenic American Leadership Council**

**Hellenic American National Council (HANC)**

**International Coordination Committee-Justice for Cyprus (PSEKA)**

**Pancretan Association of America**

**Pan-Pontian Federation of U.S.A. and Canada**

**Panepirotic Federation of America**

**United Chios Societies of America and Canada**

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	1
<b>CHAMPIONING THE RULE OF LAW</b> .....	2
<b>POLICY THEMES</b> .....	3
<b>GREECE</b> .....	4
<b>AEGEAN SEA BOUNDARY</b> .....	4
<b>FYROM NAME RECOGNITION</b> .....	7
<b>GREEK MINORITY IN ALBANIA</b> .....	10
<b>CYPRUS</b> .....	12
<b>SUPPORT A SOLUTION BY CYPRIOTS FOR CYPRIOTS</b> .....	12
<b>TURKEY’S NEW THREAT TO PEACE</b> .....	16
<b>ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE &amp; HALKI THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL</b> .....	19
<b>RECOGNIZE THE GREEK PONTIAN GENOCIDE</b> .....	22
<b>TURKEY</b> .....	23
<b>CRITICAL REVIEW OF U.S. POLICY TOWARD TURKEY NEEDED</b> .....	23
<b>ROSTER OF ORGANIZATIONAL ENDORSEMENTS</b> .....	27
<b>APPENDIX A: GREECE VALUED ALLY &amp; STRATEGIC PARTNER FACT SHEET</b> .....	29
<b>APPENDIX B: JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON RESUMPTION OF CYPRUS TALKS</b> .....	32
<b>APPENDIX C: WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT ON CYPRUS</b> .....	33

## INTRODUCTION

Southeastern Europe and the eastern Mediterranean combine to form an important geopolitical region to the United States due to the significant energy, commercial, and communications resources that transit the region. Therefore, it is in the best interests of the United States for the region to be politically, economically, and socially stable and peaceful and that democratic ideals and principles, including adherence to the rule of law, flourish.

The policy positions presented on Greek American issues take into consideration two main criteria: 1) the question of what is in the best interests of the United States, and 2) the application of the rule of law. Primarily, they address U.S. relations with Greece, Cyprus and Turkey as they affect overall U.S. interests. For ease of presentation, each issue's policy statement offers three sections: 1) The Issue, 2) Developments, and 3) Our Position. Where appropriate, we provide the position of President Barack Obama as demonstrated in his actions as a U.S. senator, as a presidential candidate, or as the president of the United States. We also include any statements issued by the Obama administration.

Included in the Appendix section of the policy statements is a Fact Sheet AHI has prepared that provides key data and information demonstrating Greece's contributions to the security interests of the United States and NATO over the many decades. Also included in this section are recent statements in full pertaining to developments with the resumption of Cyprus talks.

Our web site, [www.aheworld.org](http://www.aheworld.org), is a resource for the latest developments impacting U.S. interests in the region. Public statements, federal legislation, or policy papers that pertain to our policy statements are easily found on our web site.

Please contact us with any questions about the Policy Statements. Thank you for your interest in Greek American issues.

Sincerely,



Nick Larigakis  
President

## CHAMPIONING THE RULE OF LAW

Since its founding in 1974, AHI has consistently advocated for the application of the rule of law as being in the best interest of the United States. As the following presidential statements attest, U.S. interests are best served when American values spearheaded by the rule of law are applied in international affairs.

***“There can be no peace without law. And there can be no law if we were to invoke one code of international conduct for those who oppose us and another for our friends.”*** President Dwight D. Eisenhower, condemning the invasion of Egypt by Britain, France, and Israel in his October 31, 1956, television and radio report to the nation on the Suez Crisis. President Eisenhower’s actions halted and reversed the aggression.

***“We are united in the belief that Iraq’s aggression must not be tolerated. No peaceful international order is possible if larger states can devour their smaller neighbors....[W]e are determined to see this aggression end, and if the current steps fail to end it, we are prepared to consider additional ones consistent with the U.N. Charter. We must demonstrate beyond any doubt that aggression cannot and will not pay.”*** Joint Statement by President George H.W. Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on September 9, 1990.

***“We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order, a world where the rule of law, not the rule of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations.”*** President George H.W. Bush, on January 16, 1991, the day the Persian Gulf air war began against Iraqi forces.

***“Most Americans know instinctively why we are in the Gulf...They know that we need to build a new, enduring peace based not on arms races and confrontation but on shared principles and the rule of law.”*** President George H.W. Bush’s January 29, 1991, State of the Union address.

***“This is a victory for the United Nations, for all mankind, for the rule of law and for what is right.”*** President George H.W. Bush’s February 27, 1991 announcement to the nation that “Kuwait is liberated.”

***“We seek for Cyprus a constitutional democracy based on majority rule, the rule of law, and the protection of minority rights....I want to see a democratic Cyprus free from the threat of war.”*** Presidential candidate Vice President George H. W. Bush statement on July 7, 1988 in a speech in Boston.

***“A Cyprus settlement should be consistent with the fundamental principles of human rights and democratic norms and practices.”*** Statement by presidential candidate Governor Bill Clinton in 1992.

***“None of us can know for certain what the coming days will bring in Ukraine, but I am confident that eventually those voices -- those voices for human dignity and opportunity and individual rights and rule of law -- those voices ultimately will triumph.”*** Speech by President Barack Obama, in reference to Russia’s annexation of Crimea, March 26, 2014.

## POLICY THEMES

The following themes provide the basis for AHI's Policy Statements:

- As clearly set forth in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and other U.S. statutes, U.S. foreign policy is required to foster and embody U.S. values, including human rights.
- The United States should have a “special relationship” with Greece, recognizing Greece’s strategic location in Southeastern Europe where the U.S. has important political, economic, commercial, and military interests. Greece’s proven reliability as a strategic ally makes Greece a pivotal nation for the advancement of U.S. interests in southeastern Europe, the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East.
  - The naval and air bases at Souda Bay, Crete, are the key bases for the United States in the eastern Mediterranean.
  - The trilateral naval exercise “Noble Dina 2014” between the U.S., Greece, and Israel, held off of Crete, is a prime example of Greece’s strategic importance to U.S. interests in the region.
- A Cyprus settlement must not reward aggression. A settlement must be based on democratic norms, United Nations (UN) resolutions, the European Union (EU) acquis communautaire and the pertinent decisions of the European Commission on Human Rights, Article 6 of the EU Founding Treaty, the European Court on Human Rights and other European courts.
- Cyprus should be recognized as an important partner for U.S. strategic interests in the eastern Mediterranean. Prime examples include:
  - the evacuation of nearly 15,000 American citizens from Lebanon to Cyprus during the Israel-Lebanon conflict in July 2006.
  - Cyprus being the first EU nation to sign the U.S.’ Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI).
  - Limassol port being used by U.S. military personnel deployed in the region for R&R, and
  - Cyprus’s aim to join NATO’s Partnership for Peace.
- The United States’ use of a double standard on the rule of law regarding Turkey, and its appeasement of Turkey, harms the U.S. promotion of the rule of law, human rights, liberty, democracy and freedom in the eastern Mediterranean, the Middle East, and universally.
- U.S. interests are best served by supporting rapprochement between Greece and Turkey based on the rule of law and democratic norms.
- U.S. interests are best served by promoting Turkey’s emergence as a fully democratic state regardless of whether she accedes to the EU.
- Energy cooperation between Cyprus and Israel has elevated the geostrategic importance of the eastern Mediterranean to the United States.

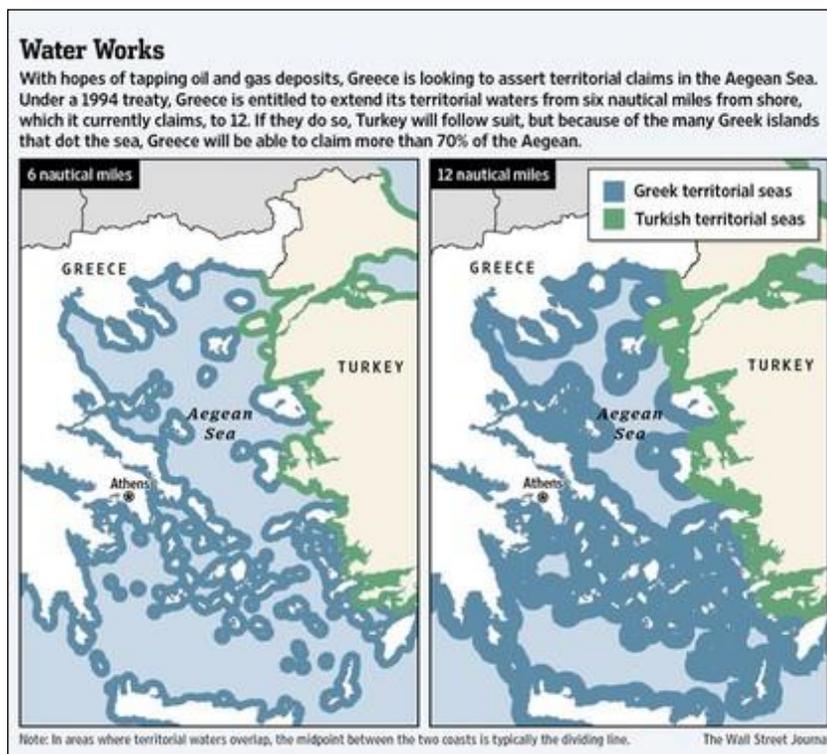
## GREECE

**Greece** is an immensely valuable, proven, and reliable ally for the United States in its region. AHI has always stated that Greece is the strategic, political and economic key for the United States in southeastern Europe and the eastern Mediterranean. We call for a special relationship between the United States and Greece for the mutual benefit of both countries.

### ADHERE TO INTERNATIONAL LAW IN THE AEGEAN SEA

#### The Issue

Turkey has made claims devoid of any legal basis to one-half of the Aegean Sea, disputing Greece's sovereignty over the Dodecanese Islands. Turkey refuses to take its maritime boundary claim to the International Court of Justice at The Hague for a binding ruling. Despite the opening of accession negotiations with the EU, and Greece's efforts to achieve complete normalized relations with Turkey, the latter, as official policy, continues to threaten Greece with war (**casus belli**) and promotes claims that are unfounded and devoid of any legal basis. These claims disregard all relevant treaties and agreements in force.<sup>1</sup>



Graphic appeared in "Greek Maritime Claims Rock Boat with Turkey," *The Wall Street Journal*, March 7, 2013

Also, the United States is a signatory to the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty under which the Dodecanese Islands and adjacent islets were ceded by Italy to Greece. Therefore, the U.S. is obligated by U.S. law to carry out the treaty's provisions. However, the State Department has refused to declare publicly what the law is. As a result, the Turkish military routinely violates Greek national airspace and territorial waters. These violations are numerous and their reach increasingly deeper over Greek insular territories. They also violate the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, the Military Sales Act, and terms of the agreements under which Turkey purchases such aircraft.

#### Developments

- **July 6, 2009:** In an interview with *Kathimerini*, then Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs Philip **Gordon** responded to airspace violations by Turkey, "We have been watching that very closely and frankly we are disturbed by it...it's a dangerous situation which, if it goes on, can lead to an accident...We are disturbed by the recent trend and have engaged already...[we] are asking both [countries] to show restraint and stand down; particularly military over-flights over inhabited islands are something we could do without."

<sup>1</sup> The legal treaties with jurisdiction over this issue are: the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, the Italy-Turkey Convention of January 4, 1932, the Italy-Turkey Protocol of December 28, 1932, and the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty.

- **Nov. 9, 2009:** To provide an example of the excessive violations of Greek airspace by Turkey, on this day alone, a total of 16 Turkish fighters made a total of 20 violations in the northern and central Aegean. There was also one mock engagement.<sup>2</sup>
- **Jan. 25, 2010:** In a letter to Turkish PM Recep Tayyip Erdogan, then Greek PM George Papandreou suggests the two countries approach the ICJ at The Hague to solve the ongoing dispute regarding the delineation of the continental shelf. He also called for a stop to violations of Greek airspace and territorial waters.<sup>3</sup>
- **Feb. 22, 2010:** To demonstrate how Turkey contributes to the instability of the region, three former Turkish military officers are charged with plotting a coup against the Turkish government. *Their plan was to provoke the Greek air force to shoot down a Turkish jet fighter over the Aegean thus demonstrating the Turkish government's inability to guarantee the nation's security.*<sup>4</sup>
- **Jan. 7, 2011:** Then PM Papandreou raises the violations of Greek airspace by Turkish jets before an audience that included PM Erdogan and Turkish ambassadors at Erzurum, Turkey.<sup>5</sup> Two days prior, 8 Turkish planes flew over a Greek island, prompting Papandreou to threaten a pull-out of the event.
- **Nov. 16, 2011:** The Hellenic Air Force announced formation of two Turkish RF-4 fighter – tactical reconnaissance aircraft fly over Kastelorizo at 1,000 feet altitude. This was the fourth time Turkish air fighters fly over Greek territory in 2011.<sup>6</sup>
- **March 21, 2012:** *Associated Press* reports Greece's Foreign Ministry says a Turkish research ship entered an area of the Greek continental shelf in the Aegean Sea without having informed Athens, as it should have under the international Law of the Sea. Greece's Foreign Ministry issued a formal complaint to Turkey's government.
- **Jan. 31, 2013:** Seven Turkish fighter jets violated Greek airspace.<sup>7</sup>
- **Jan.-Mar. 2013:** Greek FM Dimitris Avramopoulos submitted a formal complaint to the UN after Turkey said in April 2012 that it would issue exploration licenses in a disputed area south of Rhodes. In reply to Greece, Turkey filed a note with the UN stating Greece's claims are unfounded under international law. Greek diplomats described Turkey's claim as "riven with inaccuracies" and "legally ridiculous."<sup>8</sup> Greek PM Antonis Samaras raises topic with Turkish PM Erdogan, calling on Turkey to recognize Greece's rights under international law.<sup>9</sup>
- **Mar. 20, 2013:** Athens files an official complaint with Ankara after a Turkish research vessel entered the area between the islands of Rhodes and Kastellorizo in the southern Aegean, encroaching upon Greece's continental shelf, whose boundaries are disputed by Turkey.<sup>10</sup>
- **Jan. 14, 2014:** Turkish helicopter and 12 jets violate Greek air space.<sup>11</sup>

**Greece must invest an estimated \$400 million annually to defend and safeguard its territory in the Aegean from a NATO ally, Turkey.**

The state of Greece's economy has received widespread media coverage and has been a cause of global concern. We note Greece must invest an estimated \$400 million annually to defend and safeguard its territory in the Aegean. If Turkey adhered to international law in the Aegean, and normalized relations with Greece, then Greece would not need to invest nearly as much to safeguard its boundaries.

<sup>2</sup> "Airspace violations heating up." <http://hellenicdefencenews.blogspot.com/2009/11/air-space-violations-heating-up.html>

<sup>3</sup> "Papandreou seeks dialogue with Erdogan," January 26, 2010, *Ekathimerini* ([web page](#)).

<sup>4</sup> "Retired military chiefs held over Turkish coup plot," February 22, 2010, *The Daily Telegraph* ([web page](#)).

<sup>5</sup> "Greek PM criticizes Turkey," January 7, 2011, *Associated Press* ([web page](#)).

<sup>6</sup> "Overflight of Turkish RF-4s over Kastelorizo," *defencegreece.com*, November 16, 2011 ([web page](#)).

<sup>7</sup> "Turkish jets violate Greek air space over the Aegean," *ekathimerini*, February 1, 2013 ([web page](#)).

<sup>8</sup> "Turkish note to UN on Aegean 'riven with errors,' say Greek sources," *ekathimerini*, March 13, 2013

<sup>9</sup> "Greek Maritime Claims Rock Boat with Turkey," by Alkman Granitsas and Stelios Bouras, *Wall Street Journal*, March 7, 2013 ([web page](#)).

<sup>10</sup> "Athens lodges complaint over Turkish research ship entering Greek waters," *ekathimerini*, March 20, 2013 ([web page](#)).

<sup>11</sup> "Turkish helicopter and 12 jets violate Greek air space," *ekathimerini*, Jan. 10, 2014 ([web page](#)).

## **Our Position**

Turkey's use of U.S.-supplied aircraft to infringe on Greek airspace breaches the terms under which Turkey obtained the aircraft and violates U.S. law as it applies to the sale and use of U.S. military equipment to foreign countries.

We call on the U.S. government to:

- publicly state the maritime boundary in the Aegean is the boundary set forth in the treaties listed in Footnote 1 on Page 4 of these Policy Statements;
- urge Turkey to publicly state that it accepts -- as final -- the demarcation of the maritime border between Greece and Turkey in the Aegean Sea as defined by relevant treaties. This will repudiate any challenge by Turkey to the treaty-defined boundary; and
- urge Turkey to adhere to international law and legal procedures with respect to any dispute it has with Greece in the Aegean Sea.

## THE OUTSTANDING NAME ISSUE REGARDING THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA (FYROM)

### Background

Since antiquity the name *Macedonia* has referred to a geographical region and not to a nationality. Macedonia was part of the ancient Hellenic world much like Sparta and Athens. Its population worshipped the same Hellenic Gods, spoke the same Hellenic language and participated in the Olympic Games which at the time were open to Greeks only.

Geographic Macedonia is within the borders of at least three countries. Only a small portion of geographic Macedonia lies within the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), whose population is one-third Albanian and two-thirds Slavic in origin. The largest part of geographic Macedonia lies within Greece in the Greek province of Macedonia.

### The Issue

When Marshal Tito fashioned the puppet "Socialist Republic of Macedonia" from the southern Yugoslav province of Vardarska-Banovina in December 1944, he did so to foment disorder in northern Greece to further his plan to communize the Balkan Peninsula and gain control of the key port city of Thessaloniki. "Macedonian" nationalism was a product of Tito's fabrications.

In December 1944, the United States vigorously opposed the use of the name "Macedonia" by Tito. **Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.**, in a *Circular Airgram* (Dec. 26, 1944) stated:

*"This Government considers talk of Macedonian 'nation,' Macedonian 'Fatherland,' or Macedonian 'national consciousness' to be unjustified demagoguery representing no ethnic nor political reality, and sees in its present revival a possible cloak for aggressive intentions against Greece.*

*"The approved policy of this Government is to oppose any revival of the Macedonian issue as related to Greece."*

U.S. policy was valid then and it should be valid now. The Truman Doctrine and massive financial aid under the Marshall Plan foiled Tito's hopes for communizing Greece.

After the break-up of Yugoslavia, the Interim Accord<sup>12</sup> signed by Greece and FYROM in 1995 required negotiations for a new name for FYROM. However, no breakthrough has been accomplished. Today the negotiations are stalemated because FYROM maintains that the only name that is acceptable to it is its original "constitutional" name of "Republic of Macedonia." In addition, FYROM's demands include the recognition of a Macedonian identity and language, which is problematic for Greece.

"On November 1, 2010, *Kathimerini* quoted Macedonia's deputy prime minister for European affairs, Vasko Naumovski, as saying that Athens would have to recognize the existence of a Macedonian language and identity to settle the name dispute with Skopje....He added, 'The reality that the existence of a Macedonian identity, nation, language and state cannot change.'<sup>13</sup>

Moreover, FYROM promulgates propaganda in which it claims portions of Greek territory and usurps Greek national identity and culture (see examples of provocation listed below). In contrast, Greece has offered a major compromise of accepting a compound name that will distinguish FYROM from both the Greek and Bulgarian part.

<sup>12</sup> The Interim Accord is a UN-brokered Treaty signed in New York (September 13, 1995) between Greece and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. It constitutes the political framework of the bilateral relations between the two countries.

<sup>13</sup> "Macedonia name dispute 'informal' talks set for January 27," *The Sofia Echo*, January 5, 2011 ([web site](#)).

## **Provocations against Greece**

FYROM Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski has followed a long-term policy of extreme nationalism and provocation against Greece in conflict with European values. His actions are a breach of the U.N.-brokered Interim Accord, erode efforts to build trust and good neighborly relations, and do not embrace policies compatible with EU or Euro-Atlantic standards. These acts offend Greece and its citizens.

- **Dec. 2006:** Gruevski renamed Skopje's international airport "Alexander the Great."
- **Jan. 2009:** Gruevski named that nation's main highway after "Alexander the Great" to the dismay of EU officials. *(Note: This highway project is partially financed by Greece, which pledged \$75 million as part of its Hellenic Plan for the Reconstruction of the Balkans.)*
- Gruevski renamed Skopje's main stadium after "Philip II, the Macedon."
- After making a commitment to cease use of the "Sun of Vergina" per the Interim Accord, the FYROM reintroduced this Hellenic symbol as the symbol of its country in television advertising spots currently running internationally, including in the United States.
- Gruevski has been pictured in public ceremonies with a map of his country that included the Greek province of Macedonia all the way south to Mount Olympus as one united political entity.
- **April 2010:** In a display of meddling in Greece's internal affairs, Skopje issued an unprecedented statement on Greek authorities' arrest of four protesters that obstructed a Greek military convoy near the city of Florina in northwest Greece near the Greece-FYROM border. Skopje expressed concern for the protesters while identifying them as so-called "Macedonians" in an attempt to create a "Macedonian minority" in northwest Greece. Greek FM Spokesman George Koumoutsakos rebuked Skopje's statement, calling it another "provocative attempt to blatantly distort reality."
- **April 2010:** FYROM announced plans to use the name "Macedonian Chairmanship 2010" for its chairmanship at the Council of Europe that starts in May 2010. Greek Foreign Ministry identified this act as a "provocative" one.
- Gruevski erected numerous duplicates of Ancient Macedonian Hellenic personalities and renamed streets and squares for them in various places of FYROM. On **June 21, 2011**, FYROM erected a 40-foot statue of Alexander the Great in the center of Skopje. The controversial project cost \$13 million amid a 30 percent unemployment rate.
- In **March 2014**, United Macedonian Diaspora, a pro-Skopje NGO, re-released its Visa affinity credit card with a depiction of Alexander the Great.

The George W. Bush Administration negated previous U.S. policy when it recognized FYROM as the "Republic of Macedonia" on November 4, 2004. The policy change was not in the best interest of the United States. In fact, it has harmed U.S. interests in the Balkans. The decision ignored historical truths recognized by the United States for decades. It was a disrespectful act toward Greece which is a staunch NATO ally. It made FYROM more obstinate in its will to negotiate a new name and emboldened its desire to continue its provocative propaganda against Greece. Furthermore, Greece is the paragon of stability in the Balkans. It has no territorial claims against any of its neighbors. **Moreover, in 2012, Greece was the biggest source of foreign investment in FYROM at 12.3 million euros.**<sup>14</sup>

### **12.3 Million Euros**

**In 2012, Greece was the biggest source of foreign investment in FYROM at 12.3 million euros.**

### **Developments**

- **Oct. 18, 2010:** Then Assistant Secretary of State Philip Gordon stated, "Macedonia will join [NATO] once the dispute over its name is resolved" in a speech at the Center for Transatlantic Relations, Nitze School Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.
- **Sept. 5, 2011:** European Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighborhood Policy Stefan Fule, on a visit to Skopje, stated, "*We are ready to start negotiations with you. However, the name issue needs to be resolved before accession negotiations can begin... Member states in the (European) Council have made it clear that this problem will not be imported into the European Union.*"<sup>15</sup>
- **Dec. 5, 2011:** The International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruled Greece has breached its obligation by objecting to the admission of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to NATO. In response to the decision, Greece stated the judgment did not satisfy FYROM's objective. According to Greece's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the judgment did not address the issue of the difference over FYROM's name, "confirming that this difference should be resolved within the framework defined by the resolutions of the Security Council and through negotiations under the auspices of the UN." Greece contends FYROM filed the suit as a means to circumvent the UN-sponsored negotiations.
- **May 20, 2012:** At the **Chicago NATO Summit**, a declaration by issued by the Heads of the Governments participating stated, "*We reiterate the agreement at our 2008 Bucharest Summit, as we did at subsequent Summits, to extend an invitation to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to join the Alliance as soon as a mutually acceptable solution to the name issue has been reached within the framework of the UN, and strongly urge intensified efforts towards that end.*"<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> "Greece was biggest investor in FYROM last year," March 1, 2013, *ekathimerini* ([web site](#))

<sup>15</sup> "New York talks on Macedonia name dispute 'helpful' but produce no result," *Sofia Echo*, January 16, 2012 ([web site](#)).

<sup>16</sup> "Chicago Summit Declaration," NATO press release (2012) 62, May 20, 2012 ([web site](#)).

- **Apr. 9, 2013:** UN Special Envoy Matthew Nimetz presented a new proposal to resolving the name-recognition issue to Greece and FYROM. The proposal has not been met with initial satisfaction from the Greek government. The proposal contains a geographic qualifier, but its placement in the proposed name is of concern.<sup>17</sup>
- **Feb. 20, 2014:** Greek Foreign Minister Evangelos Venizelos said during a visit to Skopje that he senses an extra urgency among officials in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) to resolve the name dispute with Greece.<sup>18</sup>

### **President Obama's Position**

- While in the Senate, Barack Obama was one of three original lead co-sponsors of S.Res.300 in the 110<sup>th</sup> Congress, which urged FYROM to work with Greece within a UN framework to reach a mutually acceptable official name for FYROM.
- In a campaign statement released in October 2008, presidential candidate Obama stated: "...[He] support[s] the UN-led negotiations and believe[s] that there can and should be an agreement between Skopje and Athens on a mutually-acceptable name that leads to greater stability in the Balkans."

### **Our Position**

The only practical solution is a name which does not imply that FYROM has or could exercise any form of political sovereignty over any portion of ancient or traditional Macedonia which lies outside the present borders of FYROM. In addition, because of the multi-ethnic composition of FYROM, the nationality and language of it should not include the word "Macedonian," or any word that resembles it. Furthermore, the final name must apply for all internal and international uses (*erga omnes*).

We call on the U.S. government to:

- urge FYROM to negotiate in good faith with Greece to resolve the name issue and to cease immediately their propaganda against Greece; propaganda which violates the U.N.-brokered Interim Accord, as stated in Article 7 paragraph 1 of the Accord, signed in New York, September 13, 1995, between FYROM and Greece;
- continue with its position that FYROM will not join NATO until the name dispute is resolved; and
- oppose foreign aid to FYROM for so long as FYROM does not commit to negotiate in good faith with Greece to find a mutually-acceptable solution to the name to be used by FYROM for all purposes.

Furthermore, we call on the U.S. Congress to:

- pass H.Res.477, urging the FYROM to cease its use of propaganda that violates provisions of the UN-brokered Interim Agreement between Greece and FYROM and that further urges FYROM to work with Greece to find a mutually acceptable official name for FYROM under U.N. auspices.

**If FYROM refuses to cooperate, the United States must consider withdrawing its 2004 recognition of FYROM as the "Republic of Macedonia." Once a mutually acceptable denomination for FYROM has been reached in the UN-sponsored talks, we call on the U.S. government to recognize that state by that denomination only.**

<sup>17</sup> "New FYROM name proposal dissatisfies Greece," *ekathimerini*, April 10, 2013 ([web site](#))

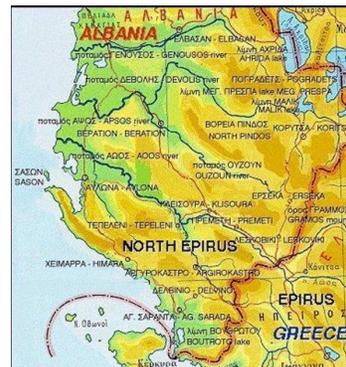
<sup>18</sup> "Venizelos sees urgency to end name dispute in FYROM," *ekathimerini*, Feb. 20, 2014 ([web site](#)).

## PROTECT THE GREEK MINORITY IN ALBANIA

### The Issue

Since the fall of communism in Albania, successive governments have improved treatment of minorities only at the most basic levels but have consistently refused to follow international norms or basic requirements of the European Union even though the stonewalling has hindered Albania's integration into the EU.

At the urging of the European Union, Albania agreed almost a decade ago to draft and enact a specific framework law "on the protection of minority rights" that would certify the legal status of national minorities and clarify their participation in the public administration of the regions where they live, their involvement in the national administration, their representation in the Albanian parliament, their access to the media and their educational and cultural rights. Every year since 2005, Albanian governments have listed the enactment of a law on minorities as one of their annual goals, but no serious effort has yet been made to draft the law, let alone pass it.



Albania has also avoided EU recommendations to adopt the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages, which will help minorities throughout the country preserve their ethnic identities by granting them the right to study their languages at all educational levels and to use them openly in their regions. Under current practice minority affairs are relegated to the State Committee for Minorities in the office of the Albanian prime minister but it has no real powers to protect minorities and promote their rights. It is essentially an advisory committee that cannot propose legislation to parliament or deal directly with ministries to resolve the grievances of minority members. Other countries in the region with significant minority populations have agencies and department with extensive powers to safeguard their rights but Albania regulates them to a powerless committee despite repeated EU urgings to expand its authority and upgrade its status.

As long as Albania resists the EU recommendations to undertake these three basic reforms, its leaders demonstrate to the world that they do not appreciate their country's minorities as part of Albania's cultural wealth and do not intend to grant them basic human rights prevalent throughout the civilized world.

### Developments

- **2004:** The Albanian government leased 70 hectares of land in the Cheimarra province of Albania, which has been inhabited by ethnic Greeks for centuries, to Riviera, a private construction company, for 99 years. There are 120 private individuals, and the Albanian Orthodox Church, that claim ownership of parcels that comprise this property.
- **Nov. 2008:** A series of incidents occurred as truck convoys attempted to bring building and fencing materials into the towns and villages of Cheimarra on behalf of Riviera. Local inhabitants protested, leading to the arrival of the police and a private security squad. Subsequent clashes and arrests followed. Threatened with violence, some inhabitants removed their families for safety reasons.
- **Jan. 9, 2009:** 200 Albanian police riot units raided the town of Kakomaia in the province of Cheimarra in an effort to help Riviera forcibly seize properties claimed by local residents who are ethnic Greeks.
- **Dec. 4, 2012:** Greek FM Dimitris Avramopoulos cancels a planned trip to Albania following references PM Berisha made to a "greater Albania"<sup>19</sup> that included extending Albania's borders to Preveza.
- **Dec. 16, 2012:** A 2011 census reports the number of Greeks living in Albania as 24,360, or .54 percent of Albania's population of 2.8 million. Media and certain officials claim the number of Greeks is closer to 300,000. The Orthodox Church of Albania rejected the official results, and Omonoia requested the Albania government and the international community to not accept the results.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> "Albanian foreign minister accuses Greece of 'naïve' and 'nationalist' rhetoric," *ekathimerini*, December 4, 2012 ([web site](#)).

<sup>20</sup> "Church, Ethnic Greeks Reject Albanian Census," by A. Papapostolou, *Greek Reporter Europe*, Dec. 16, 2012, <http://eu.greekreporter.com/2012/12/16/church-ethnic-greeks-reject-albanian-census/>

- **June 23, 2013:** National elections were held in Albania and the Socialist Party led by Edi Rama scored a landslide victory against the Democratic Party of Sali Berisha. Rama assumed control of the government in September and promised better treatment of minorities but so far has not taken any significant steps to fulfill the pledge.

### **Our Position**

We call on the U.S. government to:

- press the Albanian government to join the European Union and for the Albanian government to enact a law on minorities that will clarify the rights due them under agreements Albania has signed, to adopt the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages, and to enhance the authority and status of the State Committee on Minorities, and
- to call on Albania to enact the reforms on the treatment of minorities that Brussels has urged in order to demonstrate its respect for human rights and enhance Albania's chances for early admission to the European Union.

## CYPRUS

**Cyprus** is an important nation for U.S. interests in the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East. Cyprus shares the U.S.' core values of freedom, democracy and adherence to the rule of law. It is a key partner on counter-terrorism and security issues. Cyprus is also a member of the EU, and the first EU nation to sign the **U.S.' Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)**. It also aims to join **NATO's Partnership for Peace**. Cyprus is a Western-oriented country and it is vital to U.S. interests that it remains so.




---

### SUPPORT A SOLUTION REACHED BY CYPRIOTS FOR CYPRIOTS

#### The Issue

On July 20, 1974, Turkey invaded the Republic of Cyprus with the illegal use of U.S.-supplied arms and equipment in violation of the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, the UN Charter article 2 (4), the preamble and article 1 of the NATO Treaty, and customary international law. Turkey occupied about 4 percent of Cyprus during the initial phase of its invasion. Turkish pilots flying American planes dropped American-made bombs (including napalm bombs) on Greek Cypriot communities.

On August 14, 1974, **three weeks after the legitimate government of Cyprus was restored**, Turkey launched the second phase of its invasion of Cyprus. In the second phase, Turkey grabbed another 33 percent of the island, expanding its land grab to nearly 40 percent of Cyprus's sovereign territory; killed innocent civilians, raped women from the ages of 12-71, forced 170,000 Greek Cypriots from their homes and property, and committed mass destruction of property including churches. The Turkish army continues to occupy this territory. Furthermore, to secure its land grab of Cypriot territory, Turkey has illegally settled northern, occupied Cyprus with more than 180,000 Turks from Anatolia in violation of the Geneva Convention of 1949, Section III, Article 4, which prohibits colonization by an occupying power.<sup>21</sup>

#### Developments

- **July 21, 2009: The U.S. Helsinki Commission** holds a briefing "Cyprus' Religious Cultural Heritage in Peril." As part of that briefing, the Law Library of Congress issued a report that clearly underlined Turkey's legal responsibility as an occupying country for acts committed against cultural property—and Turkey is clearly in violation of international law.
- **Jan. 19, 2010:** UK Court of Appeal upholds lower court's decision (**APOSTOLIDES V. ORAMS**) that a judgment of a court in the Republic of Cyprus must be recognized and enforced by all EU member states. The ruling reaffirmed the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, and the right of all Greek Cypriot dispossessed owners to their properties in occupied Cyprus was validated.
- **Apr. 18, 2010:** Dervis Eroglu, a hardliner, becomes so-called "elected" leader of Turkish Cypriot community.
- **Sept. 28, 2010:** The U.S. House of Representatives passed H.Res.1631, which called for the protection of religious sites and artifacts from and in Turkish-occupied Cyprus as well as general respect for religious freedom.
- **Dec. 7, 2010:** Then-Ranking Member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, U.S. Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL) stated, "**Turkey must fully support a Cypriot solution to reunification of the island and immediately withdraw its troops from northern Cyprus**" following a meeting with Turkish Ambassador to the U.S. Namik Tan.

---

<sup>21</sup> More historical information on this and all policy issues at [www.aheworld.org](http://www.aheworld.org) under "Background & Expanded Discussion."

- **Dec. 25, 2010:** “Police officers” of the illegal Turkish Cypriot regime interrupted and cancelled Christmas Day services at Agios Synesios Church at Rizokarpaso; an egregious act that evoked concern from the **U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom**<sup>22</sup>.
- **Jan. 25, 2011:** **Sen. Ben Cardin** (D-MD), chairman, U.S. Helsinki Commission and senior member of the foreign relations committee, calls for the removal of restrictions on religious freedom in occupied-Cyprus and calls the disruption of Christmas liturgy in Rizokarpaso “appalling.”<sup>23</sup>
- **Feb. 10, 2012:** At an AHI event, then-House Foreign Affairs Chairman Ros-Lehtinen described the “overwhelming military force” used by Turkey in the invasion of Cyprus and emphasized her repeated efforts to press for the withdrawal of Turkish forces from Cyprus in communications with the Obama administration and meetings with Turkish officials, including Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu.
- **July 1 – Dec. 31, 2012:** The Republic of Cyprus held the presidency of the European Union, during which time Turkey “declared that ‘none of the Turkish Republic’s ministries or any institutions will be in contact with the EU Presidency in any of the activities related to the Greek Cypriot Presidency.’”<sup>24</sup>
- **Feb. 24, 2013:** Conservative candidate Nicos Anastasiades wins election to become president of the Republic of Cyprus.
- **Dec. 10, 2013:** Mayor Alexis Galanos and Mayor Oktay Kayalp issue a joint statement in which they express strong support for a reunited Famagusta.

## Readout: Vice President Biden’s Call with Cypriot President Nicos Anastasiades (Feb. 7, 2014)

In a call today with Cypriot President Nicos Anastasiades, Vice President Biden expressed appreciation for the Republic of Cyprus as a key partner in a vital region. The Vice President reiterated our commitment to deepening cooperation with Cyprus to advance our mutual interests. He committed to exploring new opportunities to promote Cyprus’ economic recovery and growth and to bring peace, stability, and prosperity to the island and the region. Finally, Vice President Biden underscored unwavering U.S. support for a just and lasting settlement to achieve the reunification of Cyprus as a bizonal, bicomunal federation, looked forward to successful resumption of the U.N.-led talks in the coming days, and encouraged creative thinking on ways to improve prospects for success.

- **Feb. 10, 2014:** A joint communique<sup>25</sup> is agreed to by both sides to re-start Cyprus reunification talks. (See appendix for full text of the communique.)
- **Feb. 11, 2014:** Excerpt from White House statement on resumption of Cyprus reunification talks: *“The United States welcomes President Anastasiades’ proposal for a package of bold and innovative confidence-building measures and other constructive proposals, which have the potential, when agreed and implemented by the parties, to dramatically enhance cooperation between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities and restore faith in settlement efforts.”*<sup>26</sup> (Full statement in Appendix C.)

<sup>22</sup> “Cyprus: USCIRF Faults Turkish Cypriot Authorities for Closing Church on Christmas.” ([web site](#))

<sup>23</sup> Congressional Record, <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?r112:S25JA1-0031>:

<sup>24</sup> <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=WQ&reference=E-2012-006139&language=ES>

<sup>25</sup> Full text of joint communique: <http://famagusta-gazette.com/joint-statement-on-cyprus-talks-full-text-p22275-69.htm>

White House Readout found at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/02/07/readout-vice-president-bidens-call-cypriot-president-nicos-anastasiades>

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/02/11/statement-press-secretary-cyprus>

- **Feb. 27, 2014:** The chief negotiators, Republic of Cyprus's Andreas Mavroyiannis and Turkish Cypriot community's Kudret Ozersay, simultaneously visit Ankara and Athens, respectively, as part of the peace process. This is historic and unprecedented in any previous settlement talks.
- **Mar. 12, 2014:** The European Parliament's Report on Turkey "calls on Turkey to begin withdrawing its forces from Cyprus and to transfer the sealed-off area of Famagusta to the UN in accordance with UNSC Resolution 550 (1984)"

### President Obama's Cyprus Position

- In a campaign statement released October 2008, presidential candidate Obama stated: "*As president, [he] will show U.S. leadership in seeking to negotiate a political settlement on Cyprus. [He] believe[s] strongly that Cyprus remain a single, sovereign country...within a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation...A negotiated political settlement on Cyprus would end the Turkish occupation of northern Cyprus and repair the island's tragic division while paving the way to prosperity and peace throughout the entire region.*"
- **April 6, 2009:** In his address to the Turkish Parliament, President Obama affirmed the rule of law as the basis for reunifying Cyprus. He did not mention Turkey's continued occupation of Cyprus.
- **Feb. 11, 2014:** White House statement on Cyprus: "*We encourage the sides to work expeditiously to resolve the outstanding core issues and achieve a settlement that reunifies Cyprus as a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation at the earliest possible time.*"<sup>27</sup>

### Our Position

We specifically endorse the following statement by **Vice President George H. W. Bush**, made in a presidential campaign speech in Boston on July 7, 1988:

*"We seek for Cyprus a constitutional democracy based on majority rule, the rule of law, and the protection of minority rights...I want to see a democratic Cyprus free from the threat of war."*

Furthermore, we call on the U.S. government to:

- support a settlement of the Cyprus problem through negotiations based on a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation in a state with a single sovereignty and international personality, incorporating the norms of a constitutional democracy embracing key American principles, the EU *acquis communautaire* and EU Founding Treaty, UN resolutions on Cyprus, the pertinent decisions of the European Court of Human Rights and of other European Courts -- as is the best interests of the United States;
- call for the withdrawal of Turkey's 43,000 occupation troops illegally in Cyprus;
- call for the return of the more than 180,000 illegal Turkish colonists/settlers in Cyprus to Turkey and for a halt to the illegal bringing of more colonists/settlers from Turkey to occupied Cyprus to illegally change the demographics of the island and of the Turkish Cypriot community, all of which is in violation of the Geneva Convention of 1949;
- call for the restoration of property illegally taken in the northern-occupied area of Cyprus to their rightful owners, and payment by Turkey to the owners for deprivation of the use of their property;
- call for the return of the sealed-off section of Famagusta to its lawful inhabitants by Turkey as noted in UN Security Council resolutions 550 (1984) and 789 (1992) and the 1979 High Level Agreement between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, which stated that priority should be given to the resettlement of Famagusta under the UN auspices. This position was recently reaffirmed by the European Parliament in a written declaration issued February 2012;
- urge Turkey to tear down the green line barbed wire fence across the face of Cyprus that makes Nicosia the last divided capital in Europe;
- urge Ankara not to manipulate the direct talks or restrict during negotiations;

<sup>27</sup> <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/02/11/statement-press-secretary-cyprus>

- urge Ankara to normalize relations with the Republic of Cyprus, a member of the European Union (a body to which Turkey aspires to join), and as agreed to by Turkey;
- to monitor the enforcement of the law, 22 U.S.C. sec. 2373(e), which prohibits the transfer to Cyprus of arms which are supplied by United States; and

Furthermore, we call on the U.S. Congress to:

- pass H.Res.187, expressing the United States' commitment to the reunification of the Republic of Cyprus and the establishment of a unified government on Cyprus that guarantees the human rights of all Cypriots, and
- perform a fact-finding investigation to confirm the physical presence of a U.S. State Department office in illegally Turkish-occupied northern Cyprus.

Advancing these positions will underscore support for the rule of law and respect for international law. It will demonstrate that the United States is serious about fostering a solution to the 40-year-old Cyprus problem.

The U.S can play a crucial role by getting realistic with Turkey and eliminating its double-standard policy that has rewarded Turkish aggression and ignored countless violations of the rule of law in Cyprus—a valued ally of the U.S. on counter-terrorism and security issues in the Eastern Mediterranean. It does not serve the United States' best interest to continue with failed policies and the appeasement of Turkey.

## TURKEY'S CONTINUED THREAT TO PEACE

### The Issue

The Cyprus government signed an agreement with Egypt for joint exploration of oil and natural gas in an area 125 miles wide between Cyprus and the Mediterranean's southern coast on February 17, 2003.

On December 17, 2010, Cyprus and Israel signed an agreement delimiting the maritime boundary between the two nations which opens up cooperative exploration of hydrocarbon exploration in the eastern Mediterranean Sea. Exploration began late September 2011.

The Turkish government has threatened to block exploration of Cyprus's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) asserting -- incredibly -- that it has rights in the area and the Republic of Cyprus does not because 1) Turkey does not recognize the Republic of Cyprus, and 2) Turkey has not ratified the Law of the Sea<sup>28</sup> and therefore can maintain that the Republic of Cyprus has no such thing as a continental shelf or EEZ to delimit.

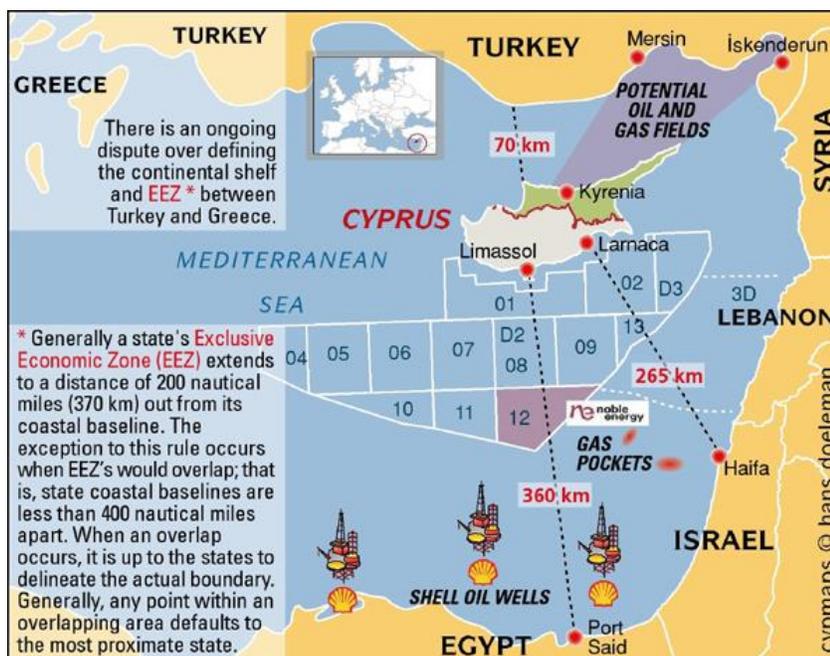
In an interview with *Today's Zaman*, then Turkey's Minister for EU Affairs and Chief Negotiator Egemen Bagis stated, "Doing this [exploration] in waters where they have no jurisdiction is illegal," and in response to a question about sending the Turkish navy he replied, "All options are on the table; anything can be done."<sup>29</sup> Turkey, which is 40 miles from the northern coast of Cyprus, has no rights in the continental shelf of Cyprus or in the area because it has not ratified any of the three treaties on the Law of the Sea. Also, concerns about Turkish threats to block Israel and Cyprus from exploration were shared by Dr. Alon Liel, an Israeli foreign affairs expert.<sup>30</sup>

Former **U.S. Ambassador to Cyprus Ronald Schlicher** made a forthright statement that Cyprus is a sovereign country and has the right to conclude agreements with Lebanon and Egypt. In response to questions regarding Turkey's comments on Cyprus's right to exploit possible oil and gas reserves in its economic zone, Ambassador Schlicher said on March 5, 2007:

*"It is clear that the Republic of Cyprus is the sovereign authority, they have the right to conclude agreements such as the one concluded and anyone who challenges that right should do so finding legal peaceful ways to approach the issue.*

*"Discussion on this issue by all parties concerned should be in the spirit of how can the possibility of this new national wealth be used in a way that is going to facilitate the reunification of the island and not deepen the divisions on the island.*

*"So, that is the position of my government and I hope that the source of discourse that we hear on this issue focuses on that question of reunification."*



<sup>28</sup> [http://www.un.org/Depts/los/convention\\_agreements/convention\\_historical\\_perspective.htm](http://www.un.org/Depts/los/convention_agreements/convention_historical_perspective.htm)

<sup>29</sup> "Turkish minister warns Greek Cypriots about oil exploration in Mediterranean," by Servet Yanatma, *Today's Zaman*, September 4, 2011 ([web site](#)).

<sup>30</sup> Expert deems Turkish threat on Cyprus drilling serious," by Sharon Udasin, *The Jerusalem Post*, September 22, 2011 ([web site](#)).

### *Greece's Potential EEZ Threatened*

Turkey's threats against Cyprus and in effect, Lebanon, Egypt, Israel, and potentially Greece should the latter claim its full exclusive economic zone (EEZ)<sup>31</sup>, regarding the oil and gas exploration agreements puts Turkey in direct violation of the UN Charter preamble and article 2, paragraph 4, and the NATO Treaty Preamble and Article 1. In fact, should Greece assert its EEZ it would constitute a *casus belli*.<sup>32</sup> According to a *Wall Street Journal* article, "An estimated €100 billion (\$130 billion) of undersea hydrocarbon reserves—if proven—could ease the country's crippling debt burden and make Greece a significant energy supplier for Europe..."<sup>33</sup>

Furthermore, a tiny island named Kastelorizion (also called Megisti) is located few miles off the southwestern coast of Turkey in the Mediterranean Sea. That Kastelorizion is Greek sovereign territory is not disputed by any state including Turkey. Turkey acknowledges that Greece has territorial waters which extend from Kastelorizion based on the fact that Kastelorizion is Greek sovereign territory. However, Turkey denies that Greece has either a continental shelf or an EEZ based on its sovereignty over Kastelorizion. This position is unlawful under the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) which states that an island has a territorial sea, contiguous zone, continental shelf and EEZ which are imputed to the state which has sovereignty over that island.

### **Developments**

- **Mar. 29, 2007: Then-Senate Foreign Affairs Chairman Joe Biden (D-DE)**, stated on the Senate Floor: *"The Government of the Republic of Cyprus, ROC, is working to establish partnerships with foreign companies and countries in an effort to bring these energy resources online. This process is being needlessly complicated, however, by individuals in Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot community who are discouraging foreign partners from working with the ROC.... I believe it is important to affirm the ROC's right to search for and develop resources located under Cyprus' continental shelf.*  
  
He added: *"Under international law, there is no question about the legality of the Cypriot Government's activities... There is simply no juridical basis to dispute Cyprus' claims or actions."*<sup>34</sup>
- **Nov. 24, 2008:** Cyprus reported Turkey interfered with an offshore oil-and-gas survey conducted by two Norwegian-owned survey ships, ordering the ships to leave the area.<sup>35</sup>
- **Dec. 17, 2010:** Cyprus and Israel sign an agreement delimiting the maritime boundary between the two nations. Turkey criticized the agreement in part to its diplomatic fallout with Israel and because it was agreed to without the participation of "northern Cyprus."<sup>36</sup>
- **Sept. 22, 2011: House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL)** issues a statement cautioning Turkey on its threats in the eastern Mediterranean and describes Turkey's increased military presence as **"a clear threat"** to U.S. citizens and interests in the region<sup>37</sup>

### **Did You Know?**

The following companies are licensed to explore for hydrocarbons in Cyprus's EEZ:

#### **Blocks 2, 3 & 9**

- Italy: ENI S.p.A
- Korea: Kogas

#### **Blocks 10 & 11**

- France: Total S.A.

#### **Block 12 (Aphrodite)**

- USA: Noble Energy

\*\*Cyprus: Frontier Exploration in the Eastern Mediterranean," Jon Mainwaring, *Rigzone*, Mar. 4, 2013

<sup>31</sup> "Kastelorizo: Mediterranean flash point," by Daniel Pipes, *The Washington Times*, February 8, 2012, ([web site](#)).

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> "Greek Maritime Claims Rock Boat with Turkey," by Alkman Granitsas and Stelios Bouras, *Wall Street Journal*, March 7, 2013 ([web page](#)).

<sup>34</sup> Congressional Record, March 29, 2007.

<sup>35</sup> "Cyprus: Turkey harassed oil exploration," *International Herald Tribune*, November, 24, 2008. ([web site](#)).

<sup>36</sup> "Cyprus and Israel reach agreement for maritime delimitation," Durham University's International Boundaries Research Unit ([web site](#)).

<sup>37</sup> "Ros-Lehtinen Cautions Turkey on Threats to U.S. Commercial Ships in Cyprus Gas Dispute," [http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/press\\_display.asp?id=1983](http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/press_display.asp?id=1983)

- **Sept. 29, 2011: U.S. Department of State Deputy Spokesman Mark C. Toner** stated: *“The United States supports Cyprus’s right to explore for energy. Having a U.S. company involved in developing the energy resources of Cyprus is also positive. The United States continues to support strongly the Cypriot-led negotiation process, conducted under UN good offices, to reunify the island into a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation. That has not changed. We continue to believe that the island’s oil and gas resources, like all of its resources, should be equitably shared between both communities in the context of an overall settlement. And we don’t believe that developing offshore energy resources need hinder those reunification talks.”*<sup>38</sup>
- **Sept. 30, 2011:** As an example of escalated tensions in the region, Israeli jets allegedly “buzz” a Turkish ship that was ordered to explore for gas off the eastern Mediterranean off the coast of Cyprus.
- **Dec. 28, 2011:** U.S.-based firm Noble Energy announces a discovery off the coast of Cyprus that may hold as much as 8 trillion cubic feet of natural gas.<sup>39</sup>
- **Nov. 5, 2012:** Diplomatic tensions rise as Turkey issues a stern warning to those firms willing to partner with the Republic of Cyprus to reach offshore reserves.<sup>40</sup>
- **Apr. 8, 2013:** Turkey announced it will send a seismic vessel off the coast of Cyprus by April 15 thereby elevating its assertiveness in the region. Greek officials are concerned the vessel will attempt to collect data in the area south of Rhodes and Kastellorizo islands and within Cyprus’s EEZ.<sup>41</sup>
- **Feb. 2, 2014:** The Norwegian ship MV Princess, exploring in Cypriot waters, was intercepted by a Turkish warship and forced to leave.<sup>42</sup>

## **Our Position**

We echo the European Parliament’s Progress Report on Turkey (March 12, 2014) which:

- calls on the Turkish Government to sign and ratify the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), which is part of the *acquis communautaire*, without further delay, and recalls the full legitimacy of the Republic of Cyprus’ exclusive economic zone; calls on Turkey to respect the sovereign rights of all Member States, including those relating to the exploration and exploitation of natural resources in territories or waters under their sovereignty.

We call on the U.S. government to:

- condemn Turkey’s threats to all countries in the region; and
- commend Israel and Cyprus for concluding an agreement with Cyprus on the delineation of the Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs) of each nation.

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2011/09/174815.htm#CYPRUS>

<sup>39</sup> “Noble Announces Natural-Gas Discovery Off Coast of Cyprus,” *Bloomberg BusinessWeek*, by David Wethe and Stelios Orphanides, December 29, 2011 ([web site](#)).

<sup>40</sup> “Turkey Issues Warning Against Natural Gas Efforts with Cyprus,” *Forbes*, by Christopher Coats, November 5, 2012 ([web site](#)).

<sup>41</sup> “Turkey to send seismic vessel off Cyprus by April 15,” *ekathimerini*, April 8, 2013 ([web site](#)).

<sup>42</sup> “Gas bonanza for Cyprus hostage to strategic battle with Turkey,” by Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, *The Telegraph*, Feb. 18, 2014 ([web site](#)).

# ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE AND THE HALKI PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

## The Issue

The Turkish government has tolerated assaults against its Greek Orthodox Christian religious minority, the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and continues the illegal closure of the Greek Orthodox Halki Patriarchal School of Theology in Istanbul. **These actions violate U.S. principles and law on freedom of religion as expressed in Section 2804 of the FY98 Omnibus Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act (PL 105-277). This law calls for the Turkish government to safeguard the Ecumenical Patriarchate, its personnel, and its property, and to reopen the Halki Patriarchal School of Theology.**

### **About the International Religious Freedom Act**

The **International Religious Freedom Act of 1998 (IRFA)** obligates the president of the United States to oppose violations of religious freedom in any country whose government “engages in or tolerates violations of religious freedom and promote the right to religious freedom in that country.” The Act further obligates the president to take one or more of 15 enumerated actions with respect to any such country.

IRFA also created the **U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom.**

- In 2012, the USCIRF designated Turkey a “country of particular concern (CPC) nation.
- For the three years previous (2009-2011), the USCIRF placed Turkey on its “Watch List.”
- Visit the USCIRF website for more on Turkey, <http://www.uscifr.gov/reports-and-briefs/individual-country-chapters/3376.html>

His Eminence Archbishop Demetrios, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in North America, led a panel discussion held by the U.S. Helsinki Commission on March 16, 2005, which presented a clear picture of how religious human rights violations by the Turkish government have been working to exterminate the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Orthodox Christian community in Turkey. The briefing “highlighted Turkey’s systemic efforts to undermine the Orthodox Church, violating numerous international treaties to which it has agreed.”

Archbishop Demetrios and Dr. Anthony Limberakis, national commander, Archons of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of the Order of St. Andrew the Apostle, “detailed the severe restrictions on property ownership which have allowed the government to confiscate nearly 7,000 properties from the Ecumenical Patriarchate since 1936,” according to the panel briefing. It added: “Behind them stood placard-size photos of the most recently seized property, an orphanage on Buyukada island which once housed hundreds of homeless children.”

**U.S. Helsinki Commission Co-Chairman Congressman Christopher H. Smith (R-NJ)** stated: *“The concern of this Commission is the protection of religious rights and freedoms. Turkey’s treatment of the Ecumenical Patriarchate violates its obligations under international human rights law.”*

Although Turkey has signaled the need to address the issue of religious freedom among its minorities there is still much more that needs to be accomplished—namely the recognition of the Patriarch’s “ecumenical” title, the reopening of the Halki Seminary, the return of all confiscated properties by the Turkish government, and ensuring the succession of the Ecumenical Patriarch.

## Developments

- **July 2008:** the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), in **FENER RUM PATRIKLIĞI (ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE) v. TURKEY**, issued a unanimous verdict in favor of the Ecumenical Patriarchate which condemned Turkey for improperly seizing property (in this case the historic Patriarchal orphanage located off the coast of Istanbul) without compensation. Moreover, the ruling is extremely important because it confirms that the Ecumenical Patriarchate has an international legal personality, a status which the Turkish government denies. Religious minorities in Turkey are not recognized as legal personalities, and therefore, cannot own property. The unanimous verdict of 7 out of 7 votes included that of the Turkish judge on the ECHR.
- **December 2008:** A Turkish foreign ministry report submitted to the Turkish parliament denigrates the “minority” presence of the Greek Orthodox community in Turkey and refuses to recognize the

“ecumenical” character of the patriarchate. It also excluded the possibility of reopening the Halki Patriarchal School of Theology in the name of state secularism.

- **Mar. 3, 2009:** ECHR unanimously ruled, in **BOZCAADA KIMISIS TEODOKU RUM ORTODOKS KILISESI VAKFI v. TURKEY**, that Turkey violated the property rights of a Greek Orthodox Church on the Aegean island of Bozcaada. The court said Turkish authorities illegally prevented a Greek Orthodox foundation, which is the rightful owner of the Kimisis Teodoku church, from registering its property. Judges ordered Turkey to pay the foundation 105,000 Euros in compensation. The unanimous verdict of 7 out of 7 votes included that of the Turkish representative.
- **Nov. 2-5, 2009:** The Ecumenical Patriarch visits Washington as part of a broader visit to the United States. His All Holiness meets with President Barack Obama at the White House, Nov. 3.
- **Dec. 20, 2009:** The Ecumenical Patriarch is interviewed on *60 Minutes* where His All Holiness states that he personally feels “crucified.”<sup>43</sup>
- **July 21, 2010:** Turkey makes available citizenship to foreign Orthodox archbishops to help with succession. Clerics must have Turkish citizenship to be able to succeed the Ecumenical Patriarch.
- **Aug. 15, 2010:** For the first time since 1922, the Divine Liturgy for the Feast of the Dormition of the Theotokos at the ancient monastery of Panagea Sumela in Trapezounda, Turkey, was held.
- **Oct. 28, 2010:** 78 Christian graves were desecrated in the graveyard of Panagia, the capital of the island of Imvros.
- **Nov. 29, 2010:** Turkey complies with a European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) ruling and returned a 19<sup>th</sup> century orphanage to the Ecumenical Patriarchate.
- **Dec. 7, 2010:** Ranking Member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, U.S. Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL) expressed concern about the “restrictive policies” placed on the Ecumenical Patriarchate by the Turkish government. She stated, “**I asked that these policies be substantially changed to allow the Church to re-open the Halki Seminary and to remove the restrictive criteria for Patriarchal succession**” following a meeting with Turkish Ambassador to the U.S. Namik Tan.
- **Jan. 2, 2011:** Turkish Deputy PM Bülent Arınç, following a meeting with Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew, stated that Turkey is considering the demand to reopen the Halki Theological School by trying to meet the issue from a legal perspective. Arınç is the highest-ranking Turkish government official to visit the Patriarchate since 1952.
- **Dec 13, 2011:** U.S. House of Representatives passes by voice vote H.Res.306, urging Turkey to safeguard its Christian heritage and to return confiscated church properties.
- **Feb. 20, 2012:** Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew said Turkey’s new constitution should grant equal rights to minorities and safeguard religious freedoms when he met with members of a Turkish parliamentary subcommittee.<sup>44</sup>
- **Mar. 20, 2012:** The U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) cites Turkey for “systematic and egregious limitations” on religious liberty and designated Turkey a “country of particular concern.” The USCIRF recommended the Secretary of State to designate Turkey as such. From 2009-2011, Turkey was placed on USCIRF’s “Watch List.”<sup>45</sup>
- **Mar. 25, 2012:** At a press conference with Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, President Barack Obama stated, “I am pleased to hear of his [Erdogan’s] decision to reopen the Halki Seminary.”<sup>46</sup> (Note: To date, no action has been taken.)

<sup>43</sup> The *60 Minutes* interview can be found at <http://www.cbsnews.com/video/watch/?id=6001717n&tag=api>

<sup>44</sup> “Turkey Urged to Allow Greater Religious Freedom,” by Suzan Fraser, *Associated Press* as reported by *ABC News*, February 20, 2012 ([web site](#)).

<sup>45</sup> <http://www.uscifr.gov/reports-and-briefs/annual-report/3706-2012-annual-report.html>

<sup>46</sup> “Remarks by President Obama and Prime Minister Erdogan of Turkey after Bilateral Meeting,” Press Release, Office of the Press Secretary, The White House, March 25, 2012 ([web site](#)).

- **June 7, 2012:** H.Res.506 passes the House Committee on Foreign Affairs by unanimous consent. It calls upon the Government of Turkey to facilitate the reopening of the Ecumenical Patriarchate's Theological School of Halki without condition or further delay.
- **Jan. 10, 2013:** *Today's Zaman* reports the Council of Foundations -- part of Turkey's Directorate General for Foundations (VGM) -- returned 190 hectares of forest to the Halki Seminary. According to the decision, 190 hectares of woodlands near the Halki Seminary will be given to the seminary's owner, the Aya Triada Monastery Foundation.<sup>47</sup>

### President Obama's Position

- In a campaign statement released in October 2008, presidential candidate Obama stated: “[He was] one of 73 Senators who signed a letter to President Bush in 2006 urging him to press Turkey to restore full rights of the Ecumenical Patriarchate...[And that he had sent] Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice a personal letter on the same matter. [He called on] Turkey to respect the Ecumenical Patriarchate’s rights and freedoms, including its property rights. Turkey should allow the reopening of the Patriarchate’s school of theology on Halki Island and guarantee the right to train clergy of all nationalities, not just Turkish nationals.”
- **April 6, 2009:** President Obama stated before the Turkish parliament: “Freedom of religion and expression lead to a strong and vibrant civil society that only strengthens the state, which is why steps like **reopening Halki Seminary** will send such an important signal inside Turkey and beyond. An enduring commitment to **the rule of law** is the only way to achieve the security that comes from justice for all people. Robust minority rights let societies benefit from the full measure of contributions from all citizens.”

### Our Position

We call on the U.S. government to:

- urge Turkey to implement and strictly enforce the guarantees of religious freedom and human and minority rights set forth in the Treaty of Lausanne, the UN Charter, other international agreements, and U.S. laws;
- urge Turkey to grant legal personality to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, recognize the ecumenical role of the Patriarch and the Patriarchate, and safeguard it;
- urge Turkey to immediately reopen the Halki School of Theology with the right to determine its administration, faculty and course of study and lift restrictions on the elections of the Patriarch;
- urge Turkey to promptly return the many illegally confiscated properties from the Ecumenical Patriarchate by the Turkish government since 1936;
- urge Turkey to respect human and minority rights; and
- implement provisions of the IRFA if these actions are not implemented by Turkey.

Furthermore, we call on the U.S. Congress to:

- pass H.Res.136 and H.Res.188, resolutions that urge the Turkish government to respect the rights and religious freedoms of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of the Orthodox Christian Church and call on the government of Turkey to reopen the Halki School of Theology without further delay.

---

<sup>47</sup> “190 hectares of forest given back to Halki Seminary,” *Today's Zaman*, Jan. 10, 2013 ([web site](#))

## RECOGNIZE TURKEY'S GREEK PONTIAN GENOCIDE & MISTREATMENT OF GREEK MINORITY ON IMBROS & TENEDOS

### The Issue

On May 19, 2013, Pontian communities around the world will commemorate the 94<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Genocide of the Pontian Greeks. From 1914-1923 the outright slaughter and expulsion by long death marches to exile caused the death of more than 500,000 Pontian and Anatolian Greeks. These genocidal policies, first ordered by the Young Turk regime and then completed by Mustafa Kemal, later known as Ataturk, brought a tragic and catastrophic end to the three-thousand-year presence of Hellenism in Asia Minor, today's Turkey.

### For Background

We refer readers to Thea Halo's book *Not Even My Name*, a remarkable memoir of her Pontian Greek mother's life, which recounts her ancient way of life in the Pontian mountains, her 10-month-long death march to exile at the age of 10 -- an exile ordered by Mustafa Kemal that took the lives of her family and neighbors and left her bereft, even of her name.

### Specific Example of Turkish Violation of Minority Rights

Dr. Van Coufoudakis, rector emeritus, University of Nicosia, Cyprus and dean emeritus of the School of Arts and Sciences, Indiana University-Purdue University, authored "International Law and Minority Protection: The Fate of the Greeks of Imbros and Tenedos." The article details a long neglected human rights issue in Turkey involving the fate of the population, Greek in origin, of two Turkish islands Imbros (Gokceada) and Tenedos (Bozcaada). Turkey deliberately and systematically ethnically cleansed both islands despite the provisions of the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, an international treaty that Turkey has signed and ratified. The fate of this ethnic and religious minority raises important questions about Turkey's compliance with international law and with the European Convention on Human Rights at a time when Turkey is engaged in accession talks with the EU.

### Developments

In a groundbreaking move, the International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS) voted overwhelmingly to recognize the Greek genocide on December 15, 2007. The IAGS resolution stated: ***"it is the conviction of the International Association of Genocide Scholars that the Ottoman campaign against Christian minorities of the Empire between 1914 and 1923 constituted a genocide against Armenians, Assyrians, and Pontian and Anatolian Greeks."***

In addition to being internationally recognized by Greece and Cyprus, the Pontian Greek genocide has been recognized by the South Australia State Parliament in April 2009 and by the Swedish parliament in March 2010.

Moreover, on October 28, 2010, 78 Christian graves were desecrated in the graveyard of Panagia, the capital of the island of Imbros.

### Our Position

President Obama must affirm his campaign pledge to recognize the Armenian Genocide and to end America's silence on Turkey's denial of this crime of genocide and include the recognition of the Assyrian, Pontian and Anatolian Greek Genocides as defined by the U.N. Genocide Convention.

The Republic of Turkey must acknowledge the genocide committed against Armenians, Assyrians, Pontian and Anatolian Greeks, and call for Turkey to issue a formal apology and to take prompt and meaningful steps toward restitution.

### We call on the U.S. Congress to:

- adopt legislation recognizing the Pontian and Anatolian Greek Genocide as part of the genocides inflicted against the Armenians and Assyrians, which took the lives of more than three million of Turkey's Christian population.

## TURKEY

**Turkey** is the main cause of the problems in its region, the northeastern Mediterranean, the Aegean Sea, the northern Middle East and in the southern Caucasus. Turkey is hardly a model for the Muslim world or for any nation to emulate.

---

### CRITICAL REVIEW OF U.S. POLICY TOWARD TURKEY NEEDED

#### The Issue

Turkey is an unreliable ally. This assertion was proven during the George W. Bush administration when Turkey refused to allow the United States to use bases in Turkey to open a northern front against the Saddam Hussein dictatorship. Turkey's reasoning was that it wanted \$6 billion more -- in addition to \$26 billion irresponsibly offered by the Bush administration through then Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz -- for a total of \$32 billion. A former Bush administration official called Turkey's negotiating tactics "**extortion in the name of alliance.**"<sup>48</sup>

According to a February 2014 report by the **Foundation for Defense of Democracies (FDD)**:

*"Turkey has become a principal financial hub for terrorists under the leadership of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, whose government has helped Iran skirt sanctions, supported jihadi groups in Syria, and provided financial backing to Hamas."*

The United States' successful prosecution of the war against Iraq without access from Turkey proved Turkey's limited value as a strategic military resource in the region. Today, the United States has access to alternative military facilities in the region including countries in the Eastern Balkans, Middle East, Central Asia, Afghanistan, and in Iraq itself.

Turkey's unreliability is not new. During the Cold War, Turkey actively aided the Soviet military to the serious detriment of the United States.<sup>49</sup> Today, Turkey's foreign policy direction has continued to drift away from the United States and the West and has instead taken policy positions in opposition to the United States. For example:

- Turkey voted against sanctions on Iran by the UN Security Council and publically supports its dictator Ayatollah Ali Khamenei,
  - Turkey continues to publically support the genocidal-denying President of Sudan, Omar al-Bashir, who is under indictment by the International Criminal Court for crimes against humanity and war crimes in Darfur, and
  - Turkey has publically attacked Israel for its actions in Gaza, including the flotilla incident, which has led to instability in the Middle East.
- Turkey's Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan branded Zionism a "crime against humanity." Secretary of State John Kerry stated, "We not only disagree with it, but we find it objectionable."<sup>50</sup>
  - Turkey has replaced Iran as Hamas' top financial backer since 2012.<sup>51</sup>
  - Turkey gave Iran the identities of 10 Iranians who met with Israeli Mossad officers inside Turkey.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup> *New York Times*, Feb. 20, 2003; A1; col. 6.

<sup>49</sup> See Exhibit 2 on Page 23

<sup>50</sup> "Israel condemns Zionism comments by Turkey's PM Erdogan," *BBC*, March 1, 2013 ([web site](#)).

<sup>51</sup> "Israelis: NATO Ally Turkey Now Hamas' Top Funder," by John Rossomando, *The Investigate Project on Terrorism*, Jan. 2, 2014 ([web site](#)).

<sup>52</sup> "Turkey blows Israel's cover for Iranian spy ring," by David Ignatius, *The Washington Post*, Oct. 16, 2013 ([web site](#)).

**Former U.S. Rep. Gary Ackerman** (D-NY), then chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia, upon learning that Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu would be the recipient of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars Public Service Award stated:

*“Turkey’s foreign policy under Foreign Minister Davutoglu’s leadership is rife with illegality, irresponsibility and hypocrisy...”*

*“A foreign leader who represents and defends this kind of foreign policy, one who has championed Turkey’s most odious efforts to deny to others the human dignity that Turkey rightly expects for its own people, is not a worthy recipient of the WWC Public Service Award.”<sup>53</sup>*

Turkey’s unreliability as an ally and its wayward foreign policy direction led to a national discussion scrutinizing Turkey’s membership in NATO. Also, at an AHI policy forum held February 6, 2012, Keynote Speaker Daniel Pipes, president, Middle East Forum and Taube Fellow at the Hoover Institution of Stanford University, offered that Turkey’s NATO membership should be “suspended” or “terminated.”

AHI also cites American Enterprise Institute (AEI) Resident Scholar Michael Rubin’s blog entry on the issue titled, [“Was Perry wrong on Turkey?”](#)<sup>54</sup> Rubin points out:

- Prime Minister Erdoğan endorsed an Al Qaeda financier.
- Turkey also helped supply Al Qaeda in Iraq.
- Erdoğan had repeatedly embraced Hamas and acted to supply it.
- Under Erdoğan’s watch, the murder rate of women in Turkey has increased 1,400 percent.
- Under Turkey’s Islamist government, press freedom has plummeted.

Finally, according to a February 2014 report by the **Foundation for Defense of Democracies (FDD)**: “Turkey has become a principal financial hub for terrorists under the leadership of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, whose government has helped Iran skirt sanctions, supported jihadi groups in Syria, and provided financial backing to Hamas.”<sup>55</sup>

### Turkey’s Suppression of Free Speech

Turkey’s suppression of free speech is of grave concern, especially for a country that is purported to be a “model of democracy” for Muslim countries to emulate. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, Turkey is imprisoning more journalists than any other country for the second straight year.<sup>56</sup> In addition, Turkey has blocked social media outlets such as Twitter and YouTube in March 2014. The United States expressed “deep concern” about this development in a White House statement.<sup>57</sup>

### Examples: Turkey’s Disloyalty to the United States

Examples of Turkey’s disloyalty and unreliability as a NATO ally for U.S. strategic purposes include:

1. During the 1973 Middle East War, predating the Turkish invasion of Cyprus by one year, Turkey refused the United States military overflight rights to resupply Israel and granted the U.S.S.R. overland military convoy rights to resupply Syria and Iraq, and military overflight permission to resupply Egypt. A member of the Turkish Foreign Policy Institute in Ankara wrote:

*During the Arab-Israeli War of 1973, Moscow’s overflights of Turkish airspace were tolerated. On the other hand, during the same Middle East conflict, Turkey refused to allow the United States refueling and reconnaissance facilities during the American airlift to Israel.<sup>58</sup>*

<sup>53</sup> “Ackerman Dismayed over Plan to Honor Turkish Foreign Minister,” Statement by U.S. Rep. Gary Ackerman, June 15, 2010. ([web site](#))

<sup>54</sup> “Was Perry wrong on Turkey?” by Michael Rubin, <http://blog.american.com/2012/01/was-perry-wrong-on-turkey/>

<sup>55</sup> “Report: Turkey Financing Top Global Terror Groups,” by Adam Kredo, *The Washington Free Beacon*, Feb. 21, 2014 ([web site](#)).

<sup>56</sup> “Turkey Jailing the Most Journalists,” by Hannah C. Murphy, *New York Times*, Dec. 18, 2013 ([web site](#)).

<sup>57</sup> <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/03/21/statement-press-secretary-blocking-twitter-turkey>

<sup>58</sup> Karaosmanoglu, “Turkey’s Security and the Middle East,” 52 *Foreign Affairs* 157, 163, Fall 1983.

2. In the 1977-78 conflict in Ethiopia, Turkey granted the Soviets military over-flight rights to support the pro-Soviet minority of Ethiopian communist insurgents, led by Colonel Mengistu, who eventually prevailed and established a Marxist dictatorship directly dependent upon the Soviet Union. Giant Soviet Antonov-22 transport aircraft ferried Cuban troops, Soviet weapons and other assorted needs to Ethiopia. During the peak months of the conflict (December 1977 --January 1978), the Soviet Union greatly increased the number of overflights through Turkish airspace with the direct acquiescence of Turkey's regime. The Soviets ferried in 2,000 Cuban troops by the end of the first week in December. By late December, 17,000 Cuban troops were in Ethiopia. The Cuban troops were immediately moved to the fighting front against Somali and anti-Communist Ethiopian forces. They effectively turned the tide in favor of the communists.<sup>59</sup>
3. Over NATO objections, Turkey allowed three Soviet aircraft carriers, the *Kiev* on July 18, 1976, the *Minsk* on February 25, 1979, and the *Novorossiisk* on May 16, 1983, passage rights through the Bosphorous and Dardanelles Straits into the Mediterranean in violation of the Montreux Convention of 1936. The Soviet ships posed a formidable threat to the U.S. Sixth Fleet.
4. In 1979 Turkey refused to allow the United States to send 69 U.S. marines and six helicopters to American military facilities at Incirlik in Turkey for possible use in evacuating Americans from Iran and protecting the U.S. embassy in Tehran.
5. In 1979, Turkey refused a U.S. request to allow U-2 intelligence flights (for Salt II verification) over Turkish airspace "unless Moscow agreed."<sup>60</sup> This position was voiced over a period of months by Turkish officials, the opposition party and the military chief of staff, Gen. Kenan Evren.<sup>61</sup>
6. In January of 1981, President Carter tried to obtain a commitment from Turkey for the use of Turkish territory for operations in cases of conflict in the Middle East. The January 20, 1981, *New York Times* reported that Turkey was not in favor of "the United States using Turkish bases for conflicts not affecting Turkey." In the spring 1983 issue of *Foreign Policy* magazine, Harry Shaw pointed out that Turkey is unlikely to become involved in, or allow U.S. forces to use Turkish territory in a Middle East war that does not threaten her territory directly.
7. As an example, in 1980, Turkey refused to permit the United States to use the NATO base at Diyarbakir in eastern Turkey as a transit point for the purpose of conducting a rescue mission into Tehran, Iran, to free the American hostages held in that city. The distance from Diyarbakir to Tehran is 450 miles as opposed to the actual route taken, which was over 900 miles.
8. In May 1989, Turkey rejected an American request to inspect an advanced MIG-29 Soviet fighter plane, flown by a Soviet defector to Turkey.<sup>62</sup>
9. The Turkish government refused repeated American requests for the installation of antennas in Turkey concerning 11 transmitters whose broadcasts would have been directed primarily at the Soviet Union and its eastern European satellites. As reported in the July 22, 1983, issue of *Newsweek*, the initiative by the State Department sought to improve reception of programs broadcast by Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, and the Voice of America.
10. Turkey further damaged NATO by vetoing NATO's effort to put military bases on various Greek islands in the Aegean for defensive purposes against the Soviet navy.

### **Our Position**

The United States, in its own best interests, should critically review and reassess its relations with Turkey. We call on the U.S. government to consider economic sanctions, an arms embargo, and removing trade and other benefits if Turkey refuses to:

- remove its 43,000 illegal occupation forces illegally in Cyprus;
- end its illegal 40 years of occupation of nearly 40 percent of Cyprus;
- remove the Turkish barbed wire fence across Cyprus;

<sup>59</sup> C. Meyer, *Facing Reality: From World Federalism to the CIA*, pp. 276-80, 1980.

<sup>60</sup> *New York Times*, May 15, 1979, at A1, col. 3.

<sup>61</sup> See *The Washington Post* and *New York Times*, April—September 1979.

<sup>62</sup> *New York Times*, May 28, 1989, at A12, col.1.

- restore the property illegally taken in the northern occupied area of Cyprus to its rightful owners;
- return the 180,000 illegal Turkish colonists/settlers in Cyprus to Turkey and halt the illegal transfer of more colonists/settlers from mainland Turkey to occupied Cyprus the effect of which illegally changes the demographics of the island and of the Turkish Cypriot community;
- open its ports and airports to Cypriot vessels and aircraft as required by documents Turkey signed in order to commence EU accession talks;
- stop its violations against Greece's territorial integrity in the Aegean and in Greek airspace;
- implement and strictly enforce the guarantees of religious freedom and human and minority rights set forth in the Treaty of Lausanne, the UN Charter, other international agreements, and U.S. laws;
- grant legal personality to the Ecumenical Patriarchate and safeguard it;
- immediately reopen the Halki School of Theology and lift restrictions on the elections of the Patriarch;
- promptly return more than 1,000 illegally confiscated properties from the Ecumenical Patriarchate by the Turkish government since 1936; and
- respect human and minority rights in Turkey.

## **ROSTER OF ORGANIZATIONAL ENDORSEMENTS**

### **American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association (AHEPA)**

AHEPA was established in 1922 by visionary Greek-Americans to protect all from prejudice emanating from the KKK. In its history, AHEPA has joined with the NAACP and B'nai B'rith International to fight discrimination. Today, its mission is to promote the ideals of ancient Greece to include philanthropy, education, civic responsibility, and family and individual excellence through community service and volunteerism. It has grown to become the largest membership-based association for Hellenic-Americans and Philhellenes in the world. For more information, please visit [www.ahepa.org](http://www.ahepa.org).

### **American Hellenic Council of California**

Since its inception, the American Hellenic Council has been the focal point of political activities of Greek Americans in California. The AHC has become an effective and respected political lobbying group whose purpose is to lobby the U.S. Congress for the protection and promotion of Greek-American interests. During its existence, the American Hellenic Council has supported numerous Hellenic issues, has made political donations and raised significant contributions for members of Congress who support Hellenic issues.

### **American Hellenic Institute (AHI)**

AHI, founded in 1974 following Turkey's illegal invasion and occupation of 37.3 percent of Cyprus, is an organization with members throughout the nation. AHI's missions are to promote American values and the rule of law in U.S. foreign policy and to strengthen relations between U.S. and Greece and Cyprus as being in the best interests of the U.S. AHI supports legislation to promote American interests in Southeast Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean and is registered with the Congress under Lobbying Act. The AHI Foundation is the first think-tank devoted exclusively to the study of the issues confronting the Greek American community. These organizations sponsor conferences, seminars and publish books and other materials on the issues. For information visit [www.aheworld.org](http://www.aheworld.org).

### **Armenian National Committee of America**

ANCA is a national grassroots advocacy organization representing the views and values of the Armenian American community. The ANCA fosters greater civic awareness among Americans of Armenian heritage, encourages increased Armenian American participation in all aspects of the democratic process, and facilitates increased engagement by Armenian American with their elected officials, the government, media, academia, and the broader public policy community. The ANCA has national headquarters in Washington, DC, regional offices in Los Angeles and Boston, more than local 50 chapters around the country, and dozens of affiliates around the world.

### **Cyprus Federation of America**

The Cyprus Federation of America was founded on April 12, 1951, in New York City in a spirit of brotherhood and benevolence by a group of early immigrants. The Cyprus Federation currently consists of twenty-five chapter members located throughout the United States. Its primary goal is to coordinate and promote the cultural, educational and social activities of the Cypriot American community and to foster the continued friendship between the peoples of Cyprus and the United States. Since 1974, following the Turkish invasion and occupation of Cyprus, the Federation has assumed a key role in keeping U.S. elected officials and the American public well informed of Cyprus' continuing tragedy.

### **Evrytalian Association of America "Velouchi"**

The Evrytalian Association began October 23, 1944 in Charlotte, North Carolina, to assist several fellow Evrytalianians still living in their homeland. The Association's mission includes the preservation of heritage by strengthening ties among the members. The association's efforts fill philanthropic, educational, patriotic, social and cultural goals, by expanding established activities/projects, by increasing its membership/chapters, and by supporting the Evrytalian youth with scholarships both here and abroad.

### **Hellenic American Leadership Council**

The Hellenic American Leadership Council (HALC) is a national not for profit advocacy group established at the beginning of 2012. HALC focuses on grassroots outreach, citizen education, and extensive leadership training in order to build a national network of Greek American citizen advocates from coast to coast. Its mission is to ensure the continuity of a distinct and distinguished Greek- American community; to promote a renewed commitment to civic involvement, human rights and democratic values in the United States and around the world; and to enhance the historic relationship between the United States and worldwide Hellenism. For more information, visit: [www.hellenicleaders.com](http://www.hellenicleaders.com)

### **Hellenic American National Council (HANC)**

The Hellenic American National Council (HANC) was established in 1992 to serve as an umbrella organization for the numerous Greek American federations and associations across the United States. HANC is a nonprofit, nonpartisan education and charitable organization devoted to honoring, protecting and preserving the Hellenic and American ideals. HANC is also dedicated to supporting the interests of the U.S., Greece, and Cyprus in the Eastern Mediterranean and Balkan regions.

### **International Coordination Committee-Justice for Cyprus (PSEKA)**

The International Coordinating Committee "Justice for Cyprus", also known as PSEKA, was founded in 1975 by the late President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios. The organization, with headquarters in Nicosia, Cyprus, has chapters all over the world. Its North American headquarters are located in New York City. Today PSEKA is staffed by professionals and volunteers working together in cities all over the United States and Canada. Over the last years, PSEKA and its Board of Directors has begun a push via the Internet, to raise awareness over the plight of the people of Cyprus. We will never forget, we will never cease. Our mission is to see Cyprus free of occupying forces, and a member of the European Union. This is a fate its people, both Greek and Turk deserve.

### **Pancretan Association of America**

As of its formation on October 14, 1929, The PanCretan Association of America established itself as a leader among ethnic organizations worldwide in its belief that education, cultural preservation and philanthropy were its top priorities. Since those early days, all chapters have followed these guidelines and have distinguished themselves as members of one of the most inspiring and legendary organizations.

### **Pan-Pontian Federation of U.S.A. and Canada**

The PAN-PONTIAN FEDERATION OF U.S.A.- CANADA, with its 14 Chapters, across the U.S. and CANADA, was founded, on December 14, 1980, by American and Canadian Greeks, who trace their origin to Pontos, an area located on the southeastern part of the Black sea. Hellenic presence in the area began with the establishment of coastal cities including Sinope (785 b.c.) and Trapezounta (756 b.c.). Our primary goal is to preserve, protect and promote our unique culture and to strive for recognition of Turkey's Genocide of the Pontian Greeks by Turkey and the international community.

### **Panepirotic Federation of America**

The Panepirotic Federation of America was founded in Worcester in 1942 by Greek immigrants from that region. It was created to improve the economic situation and quality of life of the people living in Epirus as well as to protect the human rights of ethnic Greeks living in Southern Albania. One of the main goals of the Panepirotic Federation has been protecting the human rights of the Greek minority of Albania, a goal that began coming to fruition with the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe.

### **United Chios Societies of America and Canada**

The Chios Societies of America & Canada was organized in December 1939, with a Supreme Lodge opening in Pittsburgh, Pa. in January of the following year. Currently, The Chios Societies of America & Canada consists of chapters in New York, Baltimore, Boston, Cleveland, Warren, Steubenville-Weirton, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and New Orleans. There are also chapters in Montreal, and in Toronto, Canada, and prospective chapters for New Jersey, the Greater Washington DC area, and for the young adults "Next Generation Chapter." Throughout its 72 years, the Chian conventions have reflected social, political and cultural attitudes reflective of their times. In 2006, the 52<sup>nd</sup> National Chian Convention was hosted by the newest chapter of the CSA&C, the Chian Society of California. For the first time in their history, the Chians of North America had finally accomplished the goal of becoming organized and united from coast to coast.

# APPENDIX A

## GREECE: VALUED ALLY & STRATEGIC PARTNER

### A FACT SHEET

# GREECE: VALUED ALLY. STRATEGIC PARTNER.

## Advancing U.S. Interests in the Eastern Mediterranean

Southeastern Europe and the eastern Mediterranean combine to form an important geopolitical region to the United States due to the significant energy, commercial and communications resources that transit the region. The recent discovery of hydrocarbon reserves in the eastern Mediterranean reinforces this position. Therefore, it is in the United States' best interest that the region is politically, economically, and socially stable and democratic principles flourish, including adherence to the rule of law. Greece is a pivotal ally to advance these interests.

### Greece Contributes Significantly to NATO, U.S. Missions

- Greece is only one of four NATO countries (one being the United States) to maintain the 2% minimum standard for military expenditures: (2.3%)
- **US NSA Souda Bay, Crete**, successfully implemented joint USN/USAF reconnaissance missions and air refueling support for **Operations Desert Shield/Storm, Enduring Freedom, and Iraqi Freedom**.<sup>1</sup>
- **Libya**: 400 U.S. Marines deployed at US NSA Souda Bay, Crete, were "part of contingency planning to provide the president flexibility on full range of option regarding Libya" along with the amphibious assault ships USS Kearsarge and USS Ponce.<sup>2</sup> Tens of thousands of civilians were also evacuated to Athens.
- **Afghanistan**: Tens of thousands aircraft use Greek airspace, including 30,000 allied flights during one, two-year period. Greece offered personnel for training and security purposes and donated equipment, transportation services, and millions of Euros.
- **Egypt**: American citizens evacuated to Athens during Arab Spring.
- **Operation Active Endeavor and Ocean Shield**: counterterrorism and counter-piracy missions in the Mediterranean Sea and off the Horn of Africa.
- **Peacekeeping Operations**: Bosnia, Kosovo, and Afghanistan

### America Values Alliance with Greece

**President Barack Obama**: "...let me acknowledge Greece's efforts to extend the security and stability in our time...let me commend Greece, our close NATO ally, for standing up for the security and opportunity of people around the world—from the Balkans to Afghanistan, where Greek service members are helping to give people who have know[n] too much war the chance to live in peace and security." – March 9, 2010

**Bruce S. Lemkin, Deputy Under Secretary of the Air Force**: "From World War II and the Cold War through today, Greece had remained a stalwart NATO ally and friend. [Since 9/11] Greece [has] provided strong political support, the use of Greek airspace, and offered Greek military assets to combat terrorism, including the deployment of a Greek frigate to the Arabian Sea for almost two years...Greece has been resolute in its support of operations in the struggles against terrorism and extremism, through the vitally important use of Souda Bay Air Field as landing base, unrestricted overflights, and providing a continuous rotation of personnel to Afghanistan since 2002." – March 19, 2009

### Greece: America's Historical Ally

- Greece: one of **three** nations allied with the U.S. in every major international conflict of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.
- WWII: Greece provides first major setback for Axis Powers at the **Battle of Crete**.
- NATO ally since 1952.

## 2.3%

Greece is only **one** of **four** NATO countries to maintain the 2% minimum standard for military expenditures.

### GREECE:

## 1 of 3

**Countries Allied with the U.S. in Every Major International Conflict of 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

*"I feel strongly about the strategic value of Greece today and in the future... Greece is the finest strategic partner the U.S. could ever have...Greece stands beside it [the United States] even when it hurts [Greece]."*

**--Capt. J. Stephen Hoefel, U.S. Navy (ret.)**, former Commanding Officer at US NSA Souda Bay (2000 – 2003), May 3, 2011, AHI Policy Forum

### US NSA Souda Bay

Activity in 2012:

- **118** U.S. Navy ships
- **953** USAF aircraft
- **102** NATO vessels
- **148** NATO aircraft

Activity January 2013:

- **9** U.S. Navy ships
- **9** NATO vessels

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.cnic.navy.mil/SoudaBay/About/MissionAndVision/index.htm>

<sup>2</sup> "U.S. troops arrive in Greece in Libya buildup," *USA Today* as reported by the Associated Press, March 3, 2011.

# From U.S. and NATO Missions to International Peacekeeping: *Greece Contributes to American National Security and Interests*

**OPERATION** NATO Maritime Interdiction Operational Training Center (NMIOTC)

**WHERE** Souda Bay Naval Base, Crete

**APPLICATIONS** Maritime Interdiction Training



NMIOTC opened in 2008. Funded by Greece, NMIOTC provides training for allies and partners of NATO, enabling them to better execute maritime interdiction operations. Greece also lends its maritime expertise which includes extensive experience with commercial shipping and port security.

- 30 percent of global maritime traffic passes through waters adjacent to NMIOTC, including 27 percent of oil shipments, making it an ideal locale.

NMIOTC is a cutting-edge training center, improving skills, interoperability, and cooperation among naval units through sea training and simulations. Forty training modules are designed for a whole crew of modern naval vessels from the commanding officer down to the members of the boarding crew.

NMIOTC offers practical training in:

- Container inspection,
- Small arms,
- Suspect and small-boat handling,
- Boarding team tactical sweeps,
- Rigid-hull inflatable boat inspection,
- Fast rope insertion, and
- Operations under multiple-threat conditions.

To reach a broader audience, NMIOTC also deploys Mobile Training Teams (MTT) worldwide to share knowledge and expertise with member nations. As a result, NATO forces are better prepared for counter-piracy, counter-WMD proliferation, counter-illegal trafficking, counterterrorism, and enforcing law at sea.

**OPERATION** U.S. Naval Support Activity (NSA) Souda Bay

**WHERE** Souda Bay Naval and Air Base, Crete

**APPLICATIONS** Operational Support, Forward Logistical Site



U.S. Naval Support Activity (NSA) Souda Bay provides operational support to U.S. and allied and coalition forces deployed within the European Command, Central Command, and African Command's areas of responsibility.

NSA Souda Bay successfully implemented joint USN/USAF reconnaissance missions and air refueling support for **Operations Enduring Freedom, Iraqi Freedom**, and additional joint and multinational operations.

**OPERATION** NATO Missile Firing Installation (NAMFI)

**WHERE** Souda Naval and Air Base, Crete

**APPLICATIONS** Tactical Firing Range for Air Defense Systems



NAMFI is the only ground-to-air/surface missile firing range in Europe that provides missile training for NATO forces. This missile firing station is equipped with large scale firing systems for practicing the use of surface-to-air missiles (SAM), short-range air defense missiles (SHORADS), surface-to-surface missiles, and other systems.

# APPENDIX B

## Full Text: Joint Statement on Cyprus Talks

"The two leaders had their first meeting today under the auspices of the UN Secretary General's Good Offices mission. The meeting was held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere and the two leaders have agreed to the following:

1. The status quo is unacceptable and its prolongation will have negative consequences for the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. The leaders affirmed that a settlement would have a positive impact on the entire region, while first and foremost benefiting Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots, respecting democratic principles, human rights and fundamental freedoms as well as each other's distinct identity and integrity and ensuring their common future in a united Cyprus within the European Union.

2. The leaders expressed their determination to resume structured negotiations in a results-oriented manner. All unresolved core issues will be on the table and will be discussed interdependently. The leaders will aim to reach a settlement as soon as possible and hold separate simultaneous referenda thereafter.

3. The settlement will be based on a bi-communal, bi-zonal federation with political equality as set out in the relevant Security Council Resolutions and the High Level Agreements. The united Cyprus, as a member of the United Nations and of the European Union, shall have a single, international legal personality and a single sovereignty which is defined as the sovereignty which is enjoyed by all members States of the United Nations, under the UN Charter and which emanates equally from Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. There will be a single united Cyprus citizenship, regulated by federal law. All citizens of the United Cyprus shall also be citizens of either the Greek-Cypriot constituent state or the Turkish-Cypriot constituent state. This status shall be internal and shall complement and not substitute in any way the united Cyprus citizenship.

The powers of the federal government and like matters that are clearly incidental to its specified powers, will be assigned by the constitution. The Federal constitution will also provide for the residual powers to be exercised by the constituent states. The constituent states will exercise fully and irrevocably all their powers free from encroachment by the federal government. The federal laws will not encroach upon constituent state laws within the constituent states' area of competences and the constituent states' laws will not encroach upon the federal laws within the federal government's competences. Any dispute in respect thereof will be adjudicated finally by the Federal Supreme Court. Neither side may claim authority or jurisdiction over the other.

4. The united Cyprus federation shall result from the settlement following the settlement's approval by separate simultaneous referenda. The federal constitution shall prescribe that the united Cyprus federation shall be composed of two constituent states of equal status. The bi-zonal, bi-communal nature of the federation and the principles upon which the EU is founded will be safeguarded and respected throughout the island. The Federal constitution shall be the supreme law of the land and will be binding on all the federation's authorities and on the constituent states. Union in whole or in part with any other country or any form of partition or secession or any other unilateral change to the state of affairs will be prohibited.

5. The negotiations are based on the principle that nothing is agreed until everything is agreed.

6. The appointed representatives are fully empowered to discuss any issue at any time and should enjoy parallel access to all stakeholders and interested parties in the process, as needed. The leaders of the two communities will meet as often as needed. They retain the ultimate decision-making power. Only an agreement freely reached by the leaders may be put to separate simultaneous referenda. Any kind of arbitration is excluded.

7. The sides will seek to create a positive atmosphere to ensure the talks succeed. They commit to avoid blame games or other negative public comments on the negotiations. They also commit to efforts to implement confidence building measures that will provide dynamic impetus to the prospect for a united Cyprus."

# APPENDIX C

THE WHITE HOUSE  
Office of the Press Secretary

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
February 11, 2014

## **Statement by the Press Secretary on Cyprus**

President Obama and the United States welcome the meeting today of the two Cypriot leaders, Mr. Nicos Anastasiades and Mr. Dervish Eroglu, and the renewal of negotiations on a Cyprus settlement under the auspices of the United Nations. The Joint Statement agreed by the two leaders reflects a spirit of compromise and lays a solid foundation for results-oriented talks. The United States congratulates the two leaders for the courage and vision that enabled them to reach agreement on this important statement, which embodies key principles to guide their further work. The United States also welcomes the constructive role played in this effort by Turkey and Greece, led by Prime Minister Erdogan and Prime Minister Samaras, as well as other international parties. The division of Cyprus has endured for far too long. Through a settlement, both communities can realize their full potential, with enhanced stability and economic prosperity for all the people of the island. We encourage the sides to work expeditiously to resolve the outstanding core issues and achieve a settlement that reunifies Cyprus as a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation at the earliest possible time.

The United States welcomes President Anastasiades' proposal for a package of bold and innovative confidence-building measures and other constructive proposals, which have the potential, when agreed and implemented by the parties, to dramatically enhance cooperation between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities and restore faith in settlement efforts. The United States will engage in diplomacy with all stakeholders to explore possible initiatives to reinforce settlement negotiations, including measures aimed at the future revitalization of the Famagusta region, when agreed by the two communities. The United States reaffirms its support for the exercise of the sovereign rights of the Republic of Cyprus to explore and develop the resources in its off-shore zones. We continue to believe that the island's oil and gas resources, like all of its resources, should be equitably shared between both communities in the context of an overall settlement. We underscore the importance of upholding peace and security in and around Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean. The United States urges all parties to avoid any threats or other actions or statements that escalate tension.

###



**American Hellenic Institute**

1220 16th Street, NW • Washington, D.C. 20036

Tel. 202-785-8430 • Fax 202-785-5178

Web site: [www.aheworld.org](http://www.aheworld.org) • Email: [info@aheworld.org](mailto:info@aheworld.org)