

The background of the entire cover is a close-up, slightly wavy image of the American flag, showing the blue field with white stars and the red and white stripes.

The Rule of Law Lobby

**Grassroots Mobilization and the
U.S. Arms Embargo on Turkey
1974-1978**

A Chronology and Bibliography

**Van Coufoudakis and Serge Hadji
Editors**

American Hellenic Institute

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Serge Hadji (Hadji-Mihaloglou) is a New York lawyer. He started his career with Rogers Hoge & Hills, a Park Avenue law firm, and went on to become Senior Counsel of TRW Inc., a Fortune 100 multinational company. In 1974, Serge Hadji co-founded the Panhellenic (Emergency) Committee of New York – one of the grassroots committees that sprung up throughout the US to fill the political vacuum in the Greek American Community. Working with AHI, the Panhellenic Committee helped coordinate the mobilization supporting Congress in the Turkish Arms Embargo. In collaboration with the Free Cyprus Coalition of Washington, DC, it took the lead in organizing the 4 National Marches (“Poreies”) in Washington focusing the huge and fractious New York contingents on lobbying for the Rule of Law. In New York, it was involved in contemporizing the national Greek celebrations and organizing mass mailings to Congress. Serge Hadji is the co-editor of AHI's two volume service on *Doing Business in Greece* (AHI, 1999) together with Gene Rossides and Jim Marketos.

***To all those who supported Congress
in the Turkish Arms Embargo
and assured that
the Rule of Law prevailed***

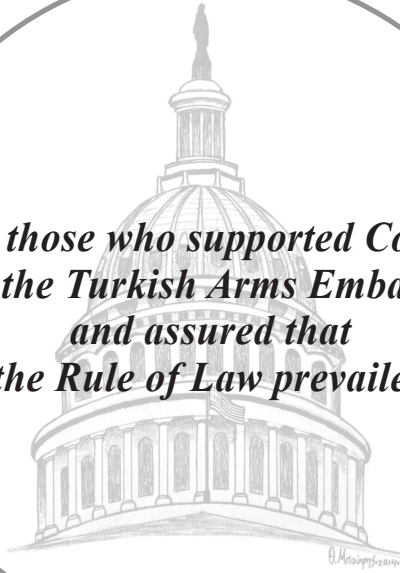


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EDITORS' COMMENTS AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was conceived at the time of the 40th anniversary of the invasion of the Republic of Cyprus (Cyprus) by Turkey in discussions between Van Coufoudakis and Serge Hadji, the editors, and Eugene T. "Gene" Rossides, the Founder of the American Hellenic Institute (AHI) and Nick Larigakis, AHI President. The editors have been affiliated with AHI since 1974 and Van Coufoudakis currently serves on the AHI Board.

The time had come to record how the Greek Americans mobilized to support Congress in imposing the Arms Embargo on Turkey from 1974-1978. The best evidence appeared to be contemporaneous press accounts. The editors were charged with reconstructing the record and chronicling the Greek American Community (Community) efforts with an eye to passing on the lessons learned.

To track and review the mobilization events as closely as possible, the project was structured as a Chronology in tandem with a brief Bibliography, both annotated to clarify and connect the developments. The editors undertook to research and write, editing each other's contributions. The goal was to create an e-book and publication for AHI. Though this Chronology in and of itself gives a true picture of the mobilization, it also allows additional materials to be added.

The Chronology was based on public sources. Greek American Community events covering the 1974-1978 "Rule of Law" mobilization were summarized by Serge Hadji based primarily on the reporting by the New York *Ethnikos Kyrix*, or *National Herald* (referred to as the *National Herald* or *NH* hereafter). Serge Hadji annotated his digests.

The *National Herald* was the only Greek American national daily newspaper in 1974 and the only one publishing throughout this period until 1978 and beyond. It is the oldest Greek American paper in the US and the closest to a Community newspaper of record. (Gene Rossides owned and published it from 1976 to 1979.)

Admittedly, the *National Herald* was during this period primarily New York and East Coast oriented and mainly targeted the traditional Community. Nonetheless, it had correspondents across the country and abroad, a variety of occasional contributors, and published letters from its readers and others supplementing its resources. All of this rounded out its coverage. The daily edition was in the Greek language with exceptions such as some advertisements. The Sunday publication was in English. It will be appreciated that this leads to translation, reverse transla-

tion, and transliteration challenges, particularly in reporting on Greek names with spelling variations.

To provide the broader context on ongoing political developments, these original digests on the Greek American mobilization events were interwoven with those from AHI's *A Handbook on United States Relations with Greece and Cyprus*, edited and annotated by Gene Rossides (the AHI Handbook). This work, first published in 1990, highlights significant political developments in the US, Greece, Cyprus and Turkey based on public sources. The sources such as the *New York Times*, *The Times* (London), and the *Congressional Record*, are identifiable from the citations. These AHI Handbook annotations were picked up with minor updates.

In addition, the editors relied on Gene Rossides' article on the legal violations of the Turkish invasion and occupation as they are detailed in the *Syracuse Journal of International Law and Commerce* (cited in the Bibliography and abbreviated as SJIL&C). The procedural developments in Congress are at times hard to follow and this article also serves as an aid to the press reports.

The brief Bibliography was compiled and annotated by Van Coufoudakis based on his long experience with the subject matter. It is intended to help the reader in understanding some of the issues and reactions involved in the mobilization of the Greek American Community.

The Illustrations were mainly taken from the records that Serge Hadji had gathered in the course of his involvement with the Panhellenic (Emergency) Committee of New York which he co-founded. The records of that Committee are now at the Vryonis Library. Atelier Toxo in Athens produced the jacket and original artwork for it as well as polishing the illustrations for publication under the guidance of Lucy Braggiotti, publisher of many Greek museum editions. The sketch of the Capitol is an original graphic design for this work by Thodoris Boufis of Spetses.

Both of the editors wrote the Introduction to provide an overview of the mobilization, its organizational challenges, and its significance. All annotations throughout the work are in italics.

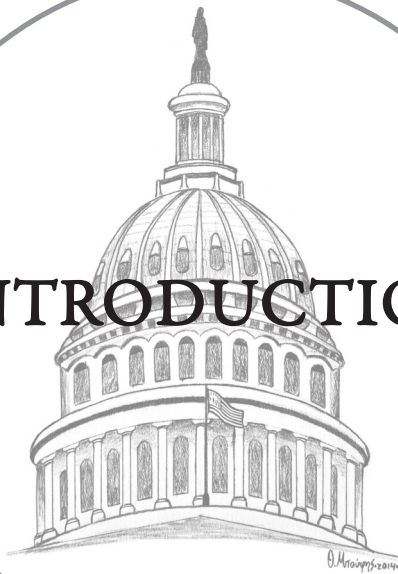
The editors wish to express their appreciation for the encouragement and advice they received from Gene Rossides and Nick Larigakis throughout the course of this project. Nick Karambelas, Esq., AHI Legal Counsel and Board Member, was good enough to read the manuscript and provide useful comments and insights as did Jim Marketos, Esq. of the AHI Board. At AHI, the editors also benefited from the advice and assistance of Yola Pakchanian, the Publications Director, and the support of Georgia Polizos. The research advice and contacts offered by Ambassador Andros

Nicolaides of Cyprus, now retired, were inestimable. Miltos Miltiadou, formerly of the Cyprus Press and Information Office, was very helpful, as always. As was Monique Deliyannides Mezitis in sharing her father's, Dr. Theophilos Deliyannides,' archives.

The editors also appreciate the assistance given by Dionysia Rosgova, Effie Balomenou, Stefanie Varvogli and Yorgos Tsononas to Serge Hadji, in his research. In addition, to Dionysia Rosgova for the laborious and caring preparation of the manuscript for publication under the direction of Yola Pakchanian. The guidance of Spyros D. Petrounakos on Greek publishing resources and the skills of Poppy Alexiou in undertaking the challenging Index, are gratefully acknowledged.

All views expressed in this work are those of the Editors solely and they alone bear the responsibility for any errors and omissions.

INTRODUCTION





Map of the division of the Republic of Cyprus following the two Turkish invasions of July 20, 1974 and August 15, 1974. (Operations Attila and Attila II.) The cease fire (dividing) line shows a remarkable similarity to a Turkish map proposing the partition of the Island in 1955. This map is reproduced courtesy of the Cyprus Press and Information Office.

The mobilization events highlighted in the annotated Chronology record how Greek Americans reacted to the invasion of the Republic of Cyprus (Cyprus) by Turkey in 1974. In addition to protesting vociferously and providing humanitarian assistance, the Greek American Community (Community) gradually coalesced into a lobby under the newly unfurled banner of the “Rule of Law.” This led to the remarkable accomplishment of cutting off military aid to Turkey under an Arms Embargo imposed by the US Congress.

The annotated Chronology summarizes the activities of the “Rule of Law” lobby from its genesis in 1974 following the Turkish invasion to the lifting of the Arms Embargo on Turkey late in 1978. The chronicle is based primarily on political reporting – all from public sources – on the ongoing developments and contemporaneous illustrations. A brief annotated Bibliography supplements the historical record.

Political Context

The summer of 1974 was a turning point in the US as well as Cyprus and Greece. The defining developments continue to reverberate to this day. In the US, President Nixon was forced to resign on August 9 to avoid impeachment and removal from office. The Watergate scandal had rocked the Nation. Cyprus was invaded by Turkey on July 20 following a failed coup by EOKA-B, which was supported by the Greek junta (1967-1974). Turkey, given a pretext, seized the opportunity to pursue its long-standing plan to divide the Island. The numerous UN Resolutions which followed expressed the universal indignation and left no doubt as to the flagrant illegality and the massive human rights abuses. In Greece, the junta fell on July 24, opening a difficult path towards the restoration of democracy and ushering a new age.

Significance of the “Rule of Law”

The banner of the Rule of Law was significant to the 1974-1978 Community mobilization to support Congress in imposing the Arms Embargo on Turkey for several reasons besides its fundamental value to the conduct of civilized nations. This banner was the key to the ensuing Greek American mobilization.

To start with, it unified the Community in a manner consistent with its values and traditions to combat Turkish aggression within the context of American national politics. For the first time, the Community became politically active in shaping US foreign policy and grew beyond its traditional role of organizing humanitarian assistance for Greece. The last time the Community, with its characteristically independent and self-directed constituents, had coalesced was the WWII bond drive. In retro-

spect, the choice of this banner may seem obvious given the extensive Turkish illegalities. The mobilization record indicates, however, that the Greek American reaction was flailing at first and was limited to spontaneous protests and philanthropy. The banner leading to the Arms Embargo provided the direction and marshaled the Community.

Secondly, the resonance of an issue of such national and timely significance facilitated the formation of a broad coalition in Congress. The Constitutional issues for many Members of Congress extended beyond Watergate to the marginalization of the Congressional role in foreign policy. This is not to mention the growing dissatisfaction with Henry Kissinger's worldwide maneuvers in the prior years. The invasion of Cyprus was the stimulus for such a broader coalition. What is more, it was backed by strong constituent support.

In the Greek American case, the "Rule of Law" banner also helped blunt unconscionable yet predictable accusations of dual loyalty. In the decades of the 1970's and 1980's, in particular, the role of ethnic groups in US foreign policy became a major topic of political and academic discussion thanks to the mobilization of Americans of Jewish, Greek and other ethnic backgrounds on foreign policy matters. The activism by "hyphenated Americans" was a major indicator of the Americanization of these ethnic groups and their engagement in the political process. Ironically, when ethnic group interests coincided with US policy, the Administrations sought their support and engagement. However, when policy positions diverged, government officials eagerly criticized ethnic groups for promoting "parochial" and "ethnic" interests rather than the "national" interest to undermine their strength and credibility. Greek and Cypriot Americans faced that harsh and unfair reality from 1974 on following the Turkish invasion and continuing occupation of the northern part of Cyprus. They met that challenge rallying under the quintessential American banner.

The Greek American Community

Diaspora communities are not monolithic. They are often divided by numerous factors including class interests, political and religious affiliations, and longevity of residence in their "host" country. Greek Americans trace their roots in the US to the second half of the 19th century. They assimilated fast in response to anti-immigrant attitudes they encountered particularly in the southern US and the mid-west. Such attitudes were especially directed against immigrants of non-Anglo-Saxon background. By the end of WWII, Greek Americans had become part of the middle class. They were active in business, in the professions and other white collar occupations. The Community was proud of its rich historical and cultural heritage but also of the

fact that they were “loyal” Americans. They took special pride of Greece’s heroic role in WWII.

This conservative Community gave its full support to post-WWII American policy towards Greece and to the objectives of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. In the 1950’s and 1960’s new arrivals from Greece expanded its numbers. However, the new arrivals also created tensions over issues of identity, language, the role of community institutions, and the support extended to the Greek junta by the Community’s traditional leadership. Moreover, the second and third generations were differentiating. Inter-faith marriages and assimilation were advancing and the non-Greek Orthodox numbers were growing.

By the time of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, the Community had developed a strong institutional base. Greek Americans, who were largely Greek Orthodox, though with varying involvement, were served by more than 400 parishes across the US. Most parishes ran community centers which were a local focal point. Their activities ranged from Greek language classes to youth sports and folk dancing. In addition, the largest Greek American lay organization, the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association (AHEPA), founded in Atlanta in 1922 to combat anti-Hellenism, had hundreds of chapters across the US. In the process of seeking a new identity it was transforming into an all-purpose fraternal service organization. There were also other nationwide fraternal federations with membership hailing to common Greek regional roots, such as the Pan-Macedonians, the Pan-Epirotes, and the Chian and the Cyprus Federations with their own local chapters. And lastly, in large metropolitan centers there were numerous professional and cultural associations, such as medical and literary societies.

Membership overlaps were the norm even though each organization prized its independence zealously and leadership frictions were ceaseless in competing for recognition and funding. Significantly, there were no Community national political organizations. The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, which aspired to lead the Community in all matters, was at institutional odds with AHEPA. Neither was experienced in political organizing and lobbying and the traditional deference to government was pervasive. The Greek and Cyprus Embassies in Washington, DC, and their Consulates across the US, as well as the respective Missions to the UN in New York kept to their affairs. They interfaced with their communities mainly at Diaspora gatherings and on ceremonial occasions. The smaller Greek Cypriot community was arguably more integrated and certainly highly engaged as its members were affected directly. Communication and information sharing was facilitated by an active Greek American press serving national and regional audiences, and even

more numerous radio programs across America. For the most part, Greek was used by both the print press and radio.

The Mobilization: Organizing

The 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus created a crisis of conscience in this “loyal” ethnic community. For the first time, Greek Americans rose to oppose the policies of the US Government. The Cyprus Federation stood out for its activism from the start despite the early Makarios-Grivas infighting. In the much larger Greek American Community, all kinds of initiatives were announced in the initial scramble. Numerous regional ad hoc committees were formed by political activists all over the US and filled the political leadership vacuum to help organize their communities. To mention a few, they included the Panhellenic Committee and the Hellenic Council of America in New York City, the Free Cyprus Coalition in Washington, DC, the Minnesota Friends of Cyprus, the Cyprus Council of Southern California, and the various Justice for Cyprus Committees. The American Hellenic Institute (AHI) was formed on August 1, 1974, and patterned after the American Israeli Public Affairs Committee, to facilitate coordination between Community groups and Congress as well as the Administration (Such organizations continued to be founded. For example, the Archdiocese’s political affiliate, the United Hellenic American Congress, ‘UHAC,’ was organized in June 1975.)

The new 1974 groups and organizations, headed by American professionals of Greek descent with many bilingual members, supplemented the traditional Greek American networks. Fraternal societies’ local chapters and parishes were also quick to move on their own initiative. From the initial ad hoc protest and philanthropy initiatives, the grass roots gradually coalesced into the “Rule of Law” lobby. Greek Americans quickly caught on relishing the interaction with their Congressmen and taking pride in their direct involvement and individual initiatives. The released dynamism in this unprecedented mobilization forced the conservative leadership of the Community into action as their primacy was waning. This process can be attributed to many factors.

First, new charismatic political leaders entered the national stage. Through their individual talents and initiative, Greek Americans were starting to attain public office in both major parties. Three pioneers stand out in this case. John Brademas (D-IN) was the first to enter the House of Representatives. His fellow Rhodes Scholar, Paul Sarbanes (D-MD), after joining him in the House, was the first to enter the US Senate. Gene Rossides was the first to go through a US Senate confirmation hearing in being appointed as an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in the Nixon Administration.

They were all to play highly visible leadership roles. Sarbanes had been selected by his Democratic colleagues on the House Watergate Committee to introduce the First Article of Impeachment for obstruction of justice against President Nixon. In 1976, he was elected to the Senate, where he continued to distinguish himself. Brademas, who had testified against military aid to the Greek junta in Congressional Hearings in the name of democracy and the rule of law, led the House on imposing the Arms Embargo on Turkey. In 1976, when the Democrats took control of the House, he continued to lead as Majority Whip. He even opposed President Carter, his party's leader, for whom he was charged with rounding up votes for the legislative agenda. This extraordinary development occurred when the President broke his campaign pledges on Cyprus and human rights and led the Administration in seeking the lifting of the Embargo. Rossides, who founded AHI, was a Columbia University football star, a Republican political leader who had run several campaigns in New York, and a senior partner of Rogers and Wells, a prestigious law firm headed by former Secretary of State Bill Rogers.

The Mobilization: Implementing

In fact, it was Rossides who framed Cyprus as a "Rule of Law" issue in a letter he wrote to Brademas in late August 1974, on the legal violations which affected US political and strategic interests. In brief, US law was clear that it was illegal for American military aid to be used for aggressive purposes. Brademas used this letter right away, joined by other Congressmen including Sarbanes, to ask to meet with Kissinger. On meeting the Congressmen, Kissinger sought to put them off ignoring his own departmental legal advice. This forced Congress to enforce the law by imposing the Embargo.

Secondly, the success in coalition building on the Hill cannot be overemphasized in advancing the issue. Coalitions were built on the basis of the "Rule of Law" with other non-Greek American groups including rule of law advocates from the days of the Vietnam War; Jewish American leaders critical of Kissinger's handling of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war; Armenian Americans particularly on the west coast of the US; and African American legislators concerned with the flow of hard drugs into urban America. These drugs came particularly from Turkey following that country's renunciation of its treaty with the US banning the cultivation of opium. As you look at the record, the names that jump out are Tom Eagleton (D-MO), Edward Kennedy (D-MA) and Claiborne Pell (R-RI) in the Senate, and Ben Rosenthal (D-NY), Mario Biaggi (D-NY) and Ed Derwinski (R-IL) in the House, alongside John Brademas and Paul Sarbanes and the few other Greek American Congressmen in both parties.

Admittedly, the conditions of 1974, in many ways, were unique. They included the violation of law, the post-Vietnam Congressional environment, the spontaneous mobilization and coalition building that united diverse political groups, and the presence of dedicated influential leaders across the political and ethnic spectrum. These coalitions brought about not only the Arms Embargo on Turkey, but also significant Congressional Hearings (listed in the annotated Bibliography) and substantial humanitarian aid to Cyprus that revealed much about the Cypriot tragedy and the role of our Government in it.

The decentralized American political system was another factor opening the door in that it allowed various favorable points of access and influence in the political process. Congress was more amenable to the issues raised by the “Rule of Law” lobby than executive departments like State or Defense. The reversal of preconceptions of the strategic importance of Turkey and its importance as an ally could not be expected without long term lobbying, public relations, media, and think tank campaigns. In 1974, the immediate focus on Congress was necessary for the short term. The systematic AHI work and its AHI-PAC and AHI Foundation affiliates have set the example since then.

Hubris

Coalition building proved vital for the success of the “Rule of Law” lobby. However, excessive pride by Greek Americans allowed the Executive branch to brand it as the “Greek” lobby, undermining its long-term influence and credibility. By the end of 1978, the Congressional Arms Embargo on Turkey was lifted. It had been the great achievement of the “Rule of Law” lobby, though never given a chance by Administration obstruction, circumvention and incremental erosion. It is noteworthy that the Embargo was lost on the last House vote by the three-vote margin of 208-205, and even then, with concessions. This was a moral victory in itself. It has been reported that President Carter, who had reversed himself, has not publicly mentioned Cyprus since leaving office. Cyprus was one of Kissinger’s worst failures by general admission.

The Administration’s success was due to a number of factors, including: the departure of the unpopular Kissinger in 1976; aggressive and concerted lobbying led by the President emphasizing growing cold war tensions and Turkey’s important regional strategic role; promises of active US engagement in the search for a solution to the Cyprus problem once the Embargo was lifted; the understanding that military aid was to be provided to Greece and Turkey in a ratio of 7 to 10, which both Turkey and Greece welcomed; and contradictory policies pursued by the Greek American Community and its allies and, in particular, the Government of Greece. For example,

the minutes of the meetings of the US President and the Greek Prime Minister confirm that the Greek Government deemed it improper to get involved in US domestic politics. This had become quite apparent. Ironically, the socialist opposition won the next Greek elections in 1981 capitalizing on anti-Americanism.

The Embargo also revealed the weaknesses of the Greek American led lobby. Greek Americans were at the core of this grassroots mobilization. In contrast to the “Jewish lobby,” Greek Americans never developed the unity, consistency, continuity and fund raising required for success in the American political arena. Despite promises of active Executive branch engagement in the Cyprus problem and inconsequential bi-monthly reports to Congress by the Administration following the lifting of the Embargo, Turkey has continued its occupation and colonization of 37% of the territory of Cyprus.

More than 250,000 Turkish settlers are now in the occupied areas of the Island, as part of the ethnic cleansing and the attempt to alter the demography. Despite Turkish Cypriot protests, the settlers outnumber native Turkish Cypriots by a ratio of 3 to 1. Over 180,000 Greek Cypriots became refugees in their homeland. Over 40,000 Turkish troops are the dominant feature of the Northern Cyprus pseudo state. What is more, Turkish claims on Cyprus and Greece keep expanding to new areas, such as the Aegean, and now the Mediterranean oil and gas rights.

Various UN and Anglo-American sponsored resolution plans have taken the easy way out by proposing solutions appeasing Turkey and pressing Cyprus to accept the outcome of the invasion. This was best manifested by the presentation of the so-called “Annan Plan,” named after the UN Secretary General, which was rejected in the 2004 Referendum by the Greek Cypriots. Notably, many Greek American organizations actively opposed “Annan” and co-sponsored AHI’s note criticizing the plan.

Nonetheless, the 1974 mobilization was significant in several respects. First, it showed the way in enlisting the Community, it encouraged greater participation in American political life, and it gave birth to Greek American political organizations, not to mention the legend it created. Moreover, AHI’s initiative in 1974 opened the door to \$25M in humanitarian aid to Cyprus which over the years with the continuing support of the Community has grown and is approaching \$500M. Furthermore, the Community mobilization supported significant military aid to Greece starting with the assistance of the 7:10 ratio aid. For Cyprus, it provided immediate leverage and humanitarian assistance. For Greece, the Embargo bought valuable time for the restoration of democracy and helped offset the prevalent anti-Americanism following the junta years. Unrelated to the Embargo, more permanent leverage was gained

by Greece and Cyprus when the Republic of Cyprus became an EU member on May 1, 2004 – days after the failed Annan referendum (April 24, 2004) despite the continuing Turkish occupation. Favorable court decisions in the EU against Turkey provided additional leverage awarding damages for Greek Cypriots whose property had been forcibly taken.

Looking Forward

As we look ahead, the instability in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, the continuing Cyprus stalemate, energy considerations, Turkey's growing Islamization and its subversion of Western interests in the region, as well as its attitudes towards EU norms raise the question whether the "Rule of Law" lobby can be revived or other coalitions formed or joined by the Community. The issues are there. There is also an increasing realization that American foreign policy has not been coherent or successful in meeting foreign policy challenges. Finally, the US political establishment is questioning how valuable of an ally Turkey really is, expressing its disappointment, and admitting that it has been reading Turkey wrong. This is captured in "The Obama Doctrine" article by Jeffrey Goldberg in the April 2016 issue of *The Atlantic*.

There are lessons to be learned from the 1974-1978 experience. The Community clearly needs to look beyond frivolous electoral promises similar to those of the 1976 Carter campaign, if it expects to influence the direction of future administrations' policy. The Community will also need a new generation of leaders to step forward willing and able to build coalitions similar to the ones that made the 1974 activism possible. They will appreciate that one of the key factors for success, as evidenced by the Jewish lobby, is the ability to hold public officials accountable for promises given and actions taken on issues of concern to their community. The quest for political accountability requires persistence, commitment, fund raising and maturity knowing that White House and Congressional photo-ops are not good indicators of political influence.

Many in the Community are now more experienced with the political system and the Community as a whole is in a stronger position. Even though the Community is much smaller and less influential than its Jewish counterpart, it has the dynamism, the education, the wealth, and the presence in all fields of endeavor in this country. Moreover, it is strategically concentrated in key states like New York, California, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts, and Florida, among others.

Many of the organizations active in the 1974-78 mobilization remain in place and new ones are continuously founded. In addition, there is a growing convergence in

the Greek American Community interests with those of the Jewish American Community following the tensions that developed between Israel and Turkey after 2010. However, the rhetoric of the 2016 presidential campaign has not been conducive to the thoughtful discussion of issues affecting US interests in the region and the building of new coalitions addressing these issues in spite of the chaos in the Middle East and growing tensions in the EU.

The Turkish lobby continues to be a formidable adversary. Turkey has systematically built up a professional lobby, unlike Greece and Cyprus who have been relying primarily on the Diaspora. Older geostrategic conceptions and alliance imperatives are rehashed. Sympathetic advocates have held key positions in various Administrations and in Congress and continue to influence policy out of office. Though American experience has grown, US Administrations shamefully continue to appease Turkey in not even recognizing the Armenian genocide and that 25% of Asia Minor used to be Christian as late as 1915.

The Challenge Ahead

In the last four decades, we can talk of the rise and demise of this grass roots “Rule of Law” lobby. It remains that in 1974, the Community through its grassroots mobilization showed its ability to influence policy and to become a major participant in the political process. Forty-two years later, that Greek American rally leading the US to enforce our laws and insist that its allies act in accordance with supposed shared interests, if not values, has been proven right and now seems prophetic. The challenges for US foreign policy and the Greek American role in helping to continue fashioning it remain.

Η ΑΜΕΡΙΚΗ ΧΡΕΙΑΖΕΤΑΙ ΗΓΕΤΕΣ!

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Come and meet two of our best:



Paul Sarbanes of Maryland
will win a seat in the United States Senate!



John Brademas of Indiana
will be Democratic Whip in Congress!

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SARBANES FOR SENATE TO BENJAMIN R. CIVILETTI, TREASURER

AMERICA NEEDS LEADERS!

An ad for the Sarbanes and Brademas campaign rally and fundraiser at Crystal Palace in Astoria, NY, on Oct. 4, 1976. See *National Herald* coverage and Chronology.





A Turkish poster of the invasion of the Republic of Cyprus circulated in the summer of 1974. Greek Cypriot sources comment: “One of the posters currently popular in Turkey is reminiscent of Nazi artwork during World War II. The Turkish boot hurls itself against Cyprus amid the clangour of battle, while a Greek destroyer sinks slowly in the sea. The caption of the Turkish poster reads: ‘The peace-keeping operations in Cyprus are a victory of the Republic and the Turkish Nation Bulent Ecevit, Prime Minister (*top right*).’ At the bottom, there is an inscription: ‘The heroic Turkish soldier in Cyprus.’”

JULY 1974

Saturday, July 20

Turkish land, sea and air forces attack the Republic of Cyprus. Turkey invades the island nation citing the (EOKA-B) coup against Makarios as a justification for its invasion. NYT.

Napalm bombs, machine guns, armored vehicles, aircraft, and other military equipment supplied by the US are used by Turkey in the invasion in violation of the US Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and the Foreign Military Sales Act, and bilateral agreements under those laws, international law, the UN and the NATO Charters. See Rossides article in SJIL&C cited in the Bibliography and AHI Handbook.

Turkey alleges that it is acting in accordance with the London-Zurich Agreements of 1959-1960, and that its goal is to restore President Makarios and the status quo ante. *This was a lie as subsequent events proved and the UN Resolutions condemned.* AHI Handbook.

Turkey terms the invasion "Operation Attila," a term widely recognized among Turkish nationalists as the code name for the long-sought invasion of Cyprus. AHI Handbook. *The London-Zurich Agreements do not authorize the use of force, and any provisions allegedly permitting force are null and void as contrary to the UN Charter.*

UN Security Council passes Resolution 353 by a unanimous vote calling for utmost restraint, a cease fire, an end to current fighting, and for all states to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. The Resolution further calls for negotiations without delay "for the restoration of peace in the area and the constitutional government in Cyprus." NYT.

Sunday, July 21

Turkish General Staff announces sharp naval battle off coast of western Cyprus between Greek and Turkish forces. NYT. *Turkey subsequently revealed that the Turkish Air Force had in fact bombed and sunk one of Turkey's own ships.*

President Makarios arrives in New York. He is greeted at the airport by Amb. Zenon Rossides, Cyprus Permanent UN Representative, Nicos Demetriou, Ambassador of Cyprus to Washington, and Dinos Mousioutas, Cyprus General Consul in New York. Hundreds of Cypriots and Greeks holding placards with Makarios' photograph chant slogans for his return to Cyprus. NH 1.

The reporting is referring to Makarios arrival in New York City on Thursday, July 18. A reliable account is provided by Eugene T. ("Gene") Rossides who greeted

Makarios at JFK, went with him to the Carlyle Hotel and organized the media, and in the following days accompanied him on his Washington visits. See Gene Rossides, Kissinger & Cyprus: A Study in Lawlessness, p. 41 (AHIF, 2014) cited in the Bibliography.

Editors' Note: *The National Herald, in many cases, reports events with brief delays given its reliance on other sources. Generally, the day of the reported event is pointed out. Inevitably, there are repetitions as in all daily news reporting.*

Monday, July 22

The State Department announces that Greece and Turkey have agreed to a cease fire to take place at 1400 GMT. The fighting continues two days after passage of the Security Council Cease Fire Resolution as Turkey continues to violate the Resolution. NYT.

President Makarios visits Washington at the invitation of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee. AHI Handbook.

Kissinger meets with President Makarios in Washington. NYT. *Kissinger does not accord Makarios Head of State status.* AHI Handbook.

New York Times analysis holds that events in Cyprus during the past week were confused by deliberate decision by Kissinger and top US officials to avoid moral judgments about Cyprus coup. NYT.

Spontaneous demonstrations before UN Building in New York by Cyprus Federation of America (Cyprus Federation) and others. *Several minor clashes between Federation members distributing handbills with Makarios photograph and EOKA-B sympathizers passing out handbills with Grivas picture.* NH 1.

Archbishop Iakovos of North and South America calls for a gathering before the UN on Sunday expressing "our obligation to protest to the Nixon Administration, Kissinger, our Senators and Representatives." NH 1.

Archbishop Iakovos had distinguished himself in the Civil Rights Movement. Iakovos had been one of few non-African American clergy leaders who had marched courageously with Martin Luther King at Selma, AL. Iakovos' iconic photograph with Martin Luther King on the cover of LIFE Magazine on March 26, 1965 continues to inspire.

Extraordinary Meeting of all Greek American federations and organizations to discuss the developments called for Wednesday, July 24, in New York by Vasileios Fotos of Chicago, President of Panepirotic Federation of America and Canada. NH 5.

Tuesday, July 23

The Military Government in Greece (*the junta*) collapses; former Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis returns from self imposed exile in France and is sworn in as Prime Minister of the new Democratic Government of National Unity. In Cyprus, Nicos Sampson (*EOKA-B*) resigns and Glafkos Clerides, Speaker of the House of Representatives, is sworn in as acting President restoring the legitimate Government of the Republic of Cyprus, in accordance with the 1960 Constitution. NYT.

Turkey bombs Famagusta two hours after the cease fire officially goes into effect. AHI Handbook.

UN Security Council adopts Resolution 354 which reinforces its previous demand for a complete cease fire. AHI Handbook.

Makarios announces that Glafkos Clerides has taken over on Cyprus with his agreement and that he expects Clerides to return power to him when he returns to Cyprus in a few weeks. NYT.

Large demonstrations at UN continue. NH 1.

Extraordinary Meeting of Cretan Association, Omonoia, on Sunday, July 20, in New York. President Pologioris urges members to send telegrams to the Administration, State Department, and US Congress with their protests. All Community organizations are called to meet with Archbishop Iakovos in the lead. Resolutions are to be broadcast on Greek radio programs and published in the press. NH 3.

The Greek radio programs in New York and across the nation are in the forefront of the rapidly developing news coverage and Community announcements with which the Greek American print press can not keep up. New York City alone has several radio programs covering the tri-state area.

Panepirotic Federation call to extraordinary Community meeting. NH 5.

Formation of Greek American Committee to Support the National Struggle announced by political activist N. Tounas. Meeting to be held on Tuesday, July 23, at 31st St. between 23 Ave. and Ditmars in Astoria, NY. NH 7.

Memorial Services in all Greek Orthodox Churches in Toronto and throughout Canada. At St. George Community Center, fundraising to purchase pharmaceuticals. NH 7.

Wednesday, July 24

United States Supreme Court rules unanimously in *US v. Nixon* that the White House Tapes, including the Watergate recordings, must be released. 418 US 683 (1974) and national media.

New Greek Government officially recognizes Archbishop Makarios as President of Cyprus. Boston Globe.

Clerides says that it would be unwise for Makarios to return to Cyprus now. NYT.

Turkish General Staff confirms that Turkish plane or planes bombed and sank Turkish destroyer Kocatepe, after ship was mistaken for part of Greek forces. About 80 men were killed, 110 are missing, and 42 were rescued. NYT.

Telegrams by Archbishop Iakovos to President Nixon, Secretary of State Kissinger, and UN Secretary General Waldheim protesting Turkish invasion. Emergency Greek Fund established to support Greece. NH 1.

Appeal by Cyprus Federation calling for the return of President Makarios, financial support for the struggle, and blood donations. Contributions to be made to Makarios Fund for Cyprus. NH 4.

Panepirotic Federation Call to open Meeting of all Greek American organizations at the Waldorf Astoria. NH 5.

Spetsai, the Spetsiot Society of America, condemns the Turkish invasion. Information on Calls to Meetings of other Greek American organizations. NH 7.

Thursday, July 25

In accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 353, a six-day general conference is convened in Geneva, Switzerland, with the participation of the Foreign Ministers of Cyprus' three guarantor powers: George Mavros of Greece, Turan Gunes of Turkey, and James Callaghan of Great Britain. NYT.

Greek Foreign Minister George Mavros rejects the idea of a federal system for Cyprus. NYT.

Cyprus Federation appeal. NH 4.

Publication of resolution by Spetsiot Association, Spetsai, condemning invasion. Signed Pres. Ioannis Thymios and Sec. Makis Chalaris. NH 5.

Demonstration at UN on July 24. NH 7.

Friday, July 26

Turkey continues its aggression on Cyprus, using the cease fire as an opportunity to enlarge the area of land under her occupation. NYT.

New York Times article says that US officials share view of Joseph Luns, NATO Secretary General, that while tension between Greece and Turkey temporarily weakened NATO, the Cyprus crisis itself actually strengthened the alliance. NYT. *Note this propaganda from US officials probably inspired by Kissinger. It is an example of press manipulation and Orwellian double think.*

Turkish Minister Ohran Birgit says that 783 Greek and Greek Cypriot prisoners have been brought from Cyprus and are being held in Adana, Turkey. NYT.

Meeting of Supreme Presidents of largest Greek American organizations held on Thursday, July 25, at the New York Statler, following initiative of William Tsaffaras, Supreme President of AHEPA. George Christopher, former San Francisco Mayor, spoke. The Supreme Presidents of GAPA, Ch. Fakaris, Pancretan Association, Con. Tamis, Panepirotic Federation, V. Fotos, PanMessenian Federation, Dan Terzakis, PanLaconian Federation, Pantazes, Federation of Sterea Hellas, I. Michopoulos, and the Presidents of the Independent Greek American Voters of Illinois, D. Poulos, and Federation of Greek American Republican Associations, Dr. Peros, were present.

Meeting resolved to form coordinating committee for the struggle, start fundraising, and send resolution to the White House and State Department. Tsaffaras sent telegrams seeking cessation of hostilities to President Nixon, Secretary Kissinger, Vice President Ford, House Speaker Carl Albert, and Senator Mike Mansfield. NH 1.

Special Meeting of Astoria Hermes Soccer Club on Monday, July 22, resolved to send telegrams, contribute to Emergency Greek Fund, and broadcast resolution on Greek radio programs and publish in the press. Signed Pres. Ioannis Yantzides and Sec. Demetrios Papailiou. NH 4.

Resolution by Evrytania Association of America, Evrytania, condemning Turkish invasion and offering financial support. Signed Pres. Iraklis Abraxis. NH 5.

Cyprus Federation appeal. NH 5.

Resolution of Kalavryta Brotherhood, The Banner of 21, condemns Turkish invasion and offers material support. Signed Pres. Chr. Paraskevopoulos. NH 5.

Call for Panchian Meeting of all boards and members of Koraes, the Chian Association of New York, for Saturday, July 27, at Metamorphosis Greek Orthodox Church, Corona, NY to discuss developments. NH 7.

Saturday, July 27

US House of Representatives Judiciary Committee, in a 27-11 vote, decides to recommend to the House the First Article of Impeachment for obstruction of jus-

tice against President Nixon. Cong. Rec. and national media. *Rep. Paul Sarbanes (D-MD) introduced the First Article of Impeachment.*

Turkey halts its attacks on Greek Cypriot towns one day after the cease fire and four days after passage of UN Security Council Resolution 353. NYT.

Assistant Secretary of State William Buffum is reported to have conveyed strongly worded messages from US Government to Turkish leadership asking them to stop reinforcing its positions and abusing the cease fire. NYT.

UN Security Council meets to discuss cease fire on Cyprus. NYT.

Makarios meets with Kissinger for the second time and then departs for London. NYT.

Sunday, July 28

Foreign Ministers of Greece, Turkey and Great Britain are informed that the USSR has decided to send an observer to the Geneva talks. NYT.

Cyprus Federation appeal. NH 4.

Federation of Dodecanesian Societies of America and Canada Calls members to Special Meeting on Sunday, July 28, at the Crystal Palace in Astoria to condemn invasion and exchange views. Signed Pres. Dem. Papaconstantinou and General Sec. Nick Andreotis. NH 7.

Koraes Call to Meeting. NH 4.

Report on Waldorf Astoria meeting on Wednesday, July 24. The speakers included William Tsaffaras, Supreme President of AHEPA, Bishop Silas of Amphipolis, Haris Karabarounis, Greek Consul in New York, I. Malios, President, Federation of Hellenic Societies of Greater New York, and Nicos Demetriou, Cyprus Ambassador to Washington. Resolution calls for the merger of related activity of all organizations into Pan-American Committee for the Struggle in Cyprus with Tsaffaras of AHEPA as President. Financial contributions were made. *Karabarounis article cited in Bibliography.* NH 15.

Appeal to Greek medical doctors by George Douris, HANAC Chairman, to offer their services to blood donation unit and send telegrams to the Administration – “everyone’s obligation.” NH 15.

New committee formed at Large Meeting on July 27, at the Annunciation Cathedral in Chicago, under President Vas. Fotos, Supreme President Panepirotic Federation, to support the struggle. Resolution to raise funds and gather pharmaceuticals and blood donations. NH 15.

Monday, July 29

US House of Representatives Judiciary Committee, in a 28-10 vote, decides to recommend to the House the Second Article of Impeachment for abuse of power against President Nixon. Cong. Rec. and national media. NH 1.

Turkish troops continue to expand their area of control on Cyprus eastward from Kyrenia. Turks order UN Forces to leave Kyrenia, where they are protecting more than 700 Greek Cypriots cutoff behind Turkish lines. NYT.

Cyprus Federation appeal. NH 4.

A representative of the US Department of Defense stated that military aid to Greece and Turkey continues to be provided. Senators Pell (D-RI) and Jackson (D-WA), who had asked for cessation of military aid to Greece during the junta years, withdrew the bill they had submitted in the US Senate. NH 7.

Large demonstration outside the UN in New York. Several arrests. NH 7.

Tuesday, July 30

US House of Representatives Judiciary Committee, in a 27-11 vote, decides to recommend to the House the Third Article of Impeachment for contempt of Congress against President Nixon. Cong. Rec. and national media. NH 1.

The first phase of the peace talks to implement a cease fire on Cyprus is completed after 31 hours of almost continuous negotiations, with the signing of the Declaration of Geneva by Greece, Turkey, and Great Britain. The Joint Declaration calls for another cease fire and for a halt to the expansion of occupied territory. NYT.

Large numbers volunteered during July 26, 27 and 28 to donate blood in response to call by Cyprus Federation. NH 1.

Cyprus Federation appeal republished. NH 4.

Extraordinary General Assembly of Lacedemonian Association announced for Wednesday, July 31 to fundraise and gather blood. Signed Pres. George Koutsis and Gen. Sec. Eustathios Xanthakos. NH 5.

Appeal by new Federation of Greek American Organizations, Associations and Communities of USA and Canada calling all Greeks to unite and condemn Soviet and English positions. NH 7.

Demonstration at UN on Monday, July 29, organized by the newly formed Battalion of Greek Volunteers. NH 7.

Greek Orthodox Archdiocese Council announcement urging Community associations and organizations to work in "serious" ways. NH 7.

Wednesday, July 31

Acting Cypriot President Clerides complains to the UN charging Turkey with continued military aggression and expansion of the area under its control in Cyprus. Boston Globe.

The House Banking Committee votes, 19-17, to bar Export-Import Bank loans for Turkey until Ankara agrees to stop selling opium poppies. NYT.

Cyprus Federation appeal republished. NH 4.

AUGUST 1974**Thursday, August 1**

The UN Security Council unanimously authorizes the UN Peacekeeping Force In Cyprus (UNFICYP) to undertake new duties as outlined in the 30 July 1974 Geneva Declaration, including patrolling a buffer zone separating the Turkish Army from the Cypriot National Guard and policing villages with mixed Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot populations. NYT.

Despite the Geneva cease fire agreement, sporadic fighting breaks out for the second straight day; Turkish reinforcement of forces on Cyprus continues. Turkey announces that it plans to build permanent energy, fuel storage, and water pipeline facilities on the island. Boston Globe.

Greece reinstates 1952 Constitution with stipulation that power will be vested in the Cabinet and that the Government will rule by decree until the constituent assembly is held. AHI Handbook.

The American Hellenic Institute (AHI) is founded by Eugene T. ("Gene") Rossides as its first President. AHI is modeled along the lines of the American Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and is chartered with pursuing a broad range of activities for the Greek American Community ranging from lobbying to trade association operations. The formation of AHI-PAC and the American Hellenic Institute Foundation (AHIF) in 1975 followed. Gene Rossides is a partner of the prominent law firm of Rogers and Wells and a former Assistant Secretary of the US Treasury Department. AHI site.

Following the formation of AHI, the Community started to rely on it for information on Congress and in order to coordinate activities.

For example, as with other committees, Steve Hartofilis and Dr. Ted Deliyannides of the Panhellenic Committee liaised with the small dedicated AHI core staff starting with Leon Stavrou and Christine Warnke, as they came on board. George Tenet, Tommy Sideris, Marilyn Prasinos and Sam Amos were to join them. Naturally, it took some time for this network to come together. Concurrently, many of the grassroots committee were also talking directly with Congress and top aides such as Pete Marudas in the Sarbanes office.

Coverage of St. Moritz Meeting on Tuesday, July 30 chaired by Archbishop Iakovos. A Coordinating and Executive Committee was formed with George Charles as Chair. Members are: Prodromos Kourides, Archdiocese Board, W. Tsaffaras, AHEPA, Kimon Doukas, Archdiocese Board, and Nikos Fakarivis, GAPA. An Advisory Committee was also formed comprised of Lee Alexander, Mayor of Syracuse, NY and US Senate candidate, George Athanson, Hartford, CT. Mayor, and Babis Marketos, Publisher and Director of the *National Herald*.

The meeting resolution asks the US Congress to cease all military and economic aid to Turkey, pending compliance with UN cease fire recommendations, support the independence of Cyprus, and proposes liaison between the Coordinating Committee and the Senate, House of Representatives, and the Administration. The Coordinating Committee will also fundraise for the Archdiocese Cyprus Relief Fund. Participants pledged to work with the Committee. NH 1.

Special Meeting of Karpathos Association of Voladioton, Saints Anargyroi, on Tuesday, July 23, resolved to send telegrams to President Nixon, Kissinger, and the New Jersey US Senators. Signed Pres. Ioannis Sakellaris. NH 5.

Friday, August 2

Greek and Turkish delegates meet on Aug. 2 to discuss new buffer zones on Cyprus. NYT.

Announcement that Chian Federation of New York is organizing fundraiser for Cyprus. Special fund established named "Concerned Chians for the Preservation of Peace in the Aegean." Executive Committee consists of N. Psaros, President, Th. Kalamatousakis, VP, Ang. Vitela, Secretary, Nikos Michalios, Treasurer, and Christos Stratakis, Legal Counsel. NH 7.

Saturday, August 3

Turkish Forces continue to advance, in contravention of the cease fire agreement. Greece protests violation of the Geneva Declaration. NYT.

Denktash demands federation for Cyprus. NYT.

«ΜΗ ΞΕΧΝΑΤΕ ΤΑ ΠΑΙΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ ΜΑΣ»



ΤΗΛΕΟΠΤΙΚΗ ΕΚΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΑ 30 ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΛΕΠΤΩΝ ΜΕ ΤΟΝ ΤΕΛΛΗ ΣΑΒΑΛΑ ΓΙΑ ΤΟ ΤΑΜΕΙΟ ΓΙΑ ΤΑ ΠΑΙΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ

CYPRUS CHILDREN'S FUND

Καθημερινές εκκλήσεις από τους τηλεοπτικούς σταθμούς. *WTTG* (κανάλι 5) της *WASHINGTON D.C.* *WXIX* (κανάλι 19) του *CINCINNATI OHIO* και από *KRIV* (κανάλι 26) του *HOUSTON, TEXAS*. Μεταξύ 9:00 π.μ. και 11:00 π.μ. Από το *WTTG* (κανάλι 5) της *WASHINGTON D.C.* μεταξύ 12:00 τ.μ. μεσάνυχτα και 2:00 π.μ. και από το *KRIV* (κανάλι 26) του *HOUSTON* μεταξύ 7:00 μ.μ. και 9:00 μ.μ.

Επίσης εκκλήσεις θα γίνουν από το *WXIX* (κανάλι 19) του *CINCINNATI* 31 Ιουλίου και 2 Αυγούστου μεταξύ 9:00 μ.μ. και 10:30 μ.μ. 1 Αυγούστου και 3 Αυγούστου μεταξύ 11:30 μ.μ. και 1:30 π.μ. και στο *KRIV* (κανάλι 26) του *HOUSTON* 2 Αυγούστου 1 και 4 Αυγούστου μεταξύ 9:00 μ.μ. και 10:00 μ.μ.



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“DON'T FORGET THE CHILDREN OF OUR CYPRUS.”

“They're all displaced, they're all suffering, some are crippled, and you can save (one) for 66 ¢ a day.”

One of the numerous Cyprus Children's Fund ads in the media campaign to “adopt” refugee children and orphans. The famous Greek American actor, Telly Savalas, volunteered to be the host presenting the children. The record of this Fund and the affiliated Cyprus Relief Fund, both initiated and supervised by Archbishop Makarios, can be tracked in the numerous *National Herald* and *PROINI* announcements and reports.

March 11, 1975

Dear Mr. Congressman:

In today's newspaper I read an article in which Secretary Kissinger was quoted as saying that he had gone to Turkey to strengthen relations with "our old and trusted ally."

Turkey was never an ally of the United States!

In fact, in the First World War, Turkey fought against the United States. In the Second World War they remained neutral watching Americans getting killed.

Now that the Americans are facing the biggest war of all, that is fighting opium, the Turks with the American taxpayers money, are producing opium and sending it to America to poison the American youth!

I object to our Secretary of State using the phrase that Turkey is an "old and trusted ally!"

In closing, I recommend that you confer with Mr. Kissinger immediately concerning these most disturbing remarks in the Chicago Tribune.

I am anxiously awaiting your reply.

Sincerely,

A form letter refuting the Administration's views on Turkey being "our old and trusted ally" circulated in Chicago. Similar letters and mailgrams were sent from all over the US. See *National Herald* coverage in Chronology.



AHI's Hellenic House Headquarters...a few steps from the White House.

The American Hellenic Institute, Inc. (AHI) was founded in Washington, DC, 42 years ago to establish a professional Greek American lobby organization following Turkey's invasion of Cyprus in 1974. AHI is a 501(c)(6) non-profit organization. AHI and its affiliate organization, the AHI Foundation (AHIF), work together to provide a bipartisan program for strengthening US relations with Greece and Cyprus and within the Greek American Community. The following are some of our activities:

- Operating a think-tank for research and development of policy positions relevant to the interests of the Greek American community;
- Organizing legislative conferences, seminars, public policy forums and luncheons;
- Lobbying on behalf of a stronger US relationship with Greece and Cyprus;
- Initiating legislation with the US Congress on issues such as Cyprus, the Aegean, FYROM, and the Ecumenical Patriarchate;
- Testifying before Congressional Committees;
- Meetings and communications with US Representatives and Senators and their staffs, and the Executive Branch;
- Attracting and developing young, talented people to become our future business and political leaders through our Internship Program;
- Organizing annual US college student foreign policy trip to Greece and Cyprus;
- Sponsoring an annual conference on the "The Future of Hellenism In America;"
- Publishing books pertinent to AHI issues;
- Hosting visitors to Hellenic House from Greece and Cyprus;
- For additional information, visit our Web site at www.ahiworld.org.

BOOK REVIEW

By Dr. Christos P. Ioannides

“*The Rule of Law Lobby* revolves around the unprecedented grassroots mobilization of the Greek American Community and its emergence as a political force in the aftermath of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. This book also chronicles the imposition of the Congressional Arms Embargo on Turkey (1974-1978) based on its illegal use of US military assistance.

The exceptional value of *The Rule of Law Lobby* is based on two critical and complementary factors. First, it is an extensive chronology digesting contemporaneous press and other public record reports as well as an accompanying bibliography and illustrations. Secondly, the editors, Van Coufoudakis and Serge Hadji, were key participants and keen observers of the developments rendering them uniquely qualified to provide a most authoritative compilation of the record and account of the dynamics and logistics of this movement. The annotations include notes by Gene Rossides, a protagonist of this remarkable achievement and founder of AHI, who participated in the structuring of this work.

The Rule of Law Lobby is a seminal book which splendidly portrays the rise and evolution of this quintessentially American lobby spearheaded by AHI and seeking to influence US policy in the region. It is also a timely book since the rule of law is as relevant as ever and remains the guiding principle in the Greek American Community’s striving for the Cyprus and Greek causes. Van Coufoudakis is a political scientist who has published extensively in this field and Serge Hadji is a New York lawyer and community organizer. Both of the editors have been affiliated with AHI since its beginnings.”

Dr. Christos P. Ioannides, Director, Center for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, Queens College, CUNY, and AHI Fellow. Dr. Ioannides is the author of Realpolitik in the Eastern Mediterranean – From Kissinger and the Cyprus Crisis to Carter and the Lifting of the Turkish Arms Embargo (NY: Pella, 2001).



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