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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	Re: manifest (1 page)	03/26/1996	b(7)(E)
002. report	Church Visit Biographies (partial) (3 pages)	03/23/1996	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
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FOLDER TITLE:

Greece, Turkey and Germany [binder] [2]

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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: Meeting with
Ecumenical Patriarch

Istanbul, Turkey: Visit to the Ecumenical Patriarchate

Context of the Event:

St. Andrew brought Christianity to Istanbul (Constantinople) in the year 27 A.D. The Eastern Orthodox Church was recognized as distinct from the Church of Rome in the year 451 A.D., following the fourth Ecumenical Council. It continued in that form until the conquest of Constantinople by Mehmet the Conqueror in 1453. In that year, Mehmet selected Gennadios Scholarius to be the first Ecumenical Patriarch, granting him all the rights of Mehmet's predecessors over the Christian community.

Today, the Ecumenical Patriarchate is presided over by His All Holiness, Bartholomew I, the 270th Ecumenical Patriarch. The Patriarchate has moved location five times in Istanbul, beginning at the Aya Sofya, and ending up in 1599 at its present location in the Fenner district of Istanbul. The main patriarchal building was destroyed in an accidental fire in 1941, and after many years, rebuilt in 1989 (thanks in part of the personal intervention of President Jimmy Carter).

Bartholomew I, a Turkish citizen, is spiritual leader of 200 million Eastern Orthodox Christians around the world, and is considered first among equals among all the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchs. Once representing as much as 25 percent of Istanbul's population, the number of Greek citizens living here dropped from 110,000 in 1923 to about 2,500 today (out of a total population of 12 million people). The diminishing population, and the Turkish government's closing of the Halki seminary in 1971 (which trained priests for the Patriarchate) threatens the continued vitality of this historical center of Christianity.

Objective:

- o To demonstrate continued U.S. support to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and for guaranteeing the equal rights of the Turkish citizens of Greek origin in Istanbul.

Talking Points:

- o The existence of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul today is a testament to the enduring values espoused by the Christian faith.
- o After more than 1,500 years here, the Patriarchate remains a beacon of faith and hope to millions around the world.
- o It is my sincere hope that, working together, we can find a way to reopen the Halki seminary to ensure the continued vitality of the Church.
- o At a time in the history of the world when many forces are working to divide humanity, I commend your continuing work to build bridges and find commonality among the great religions of the world.

MEMORANDUM

TO: MELANNE VERVEER
FROM: PETER MARUDAS *P.M.*,
RE: FIRST LADY'S VISITATION WITH
ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH BARTHOLOMEW
DATE: MARCH 21, 1996

I am sending by separate cover several categories of materials which I hope you will find helpful in preparing for the First Lady's visitation to Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew. The categories are as follows:

1. Remarks and speeches by the Patriarch on issues and questions of special concern to him. Such as the need and importance for religious and ethnic tolerance, world peace, respect for individual freedom, the impact of nationalism on religion and world civilization, and the environment, which is contained in the packet on the environmental summit he sponsored last fall, "Revelation and the Environment AD 95-1995."
2. Fact sheets on the Patriarch and the Patriarchate.
3. Some materials on Orthodoxy in the Modern World.
4. A brief on the interaction between John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, and early Orthodox Christian thinkers. As Mrs. Clinton is a Methodist, I thought this might be of some interest.
5. An article retrieved from my files on women in Turkey, which is recent and thoughtful.

Patriarch Bartholomew is the spiritual leader of one-quarter billion Orthodox Christians throughout the world with about five to seven million -- depending on one's estimate -- living in the United States. Six members of Congress are Orthodox Christian: Senators Paul Sarbanes, Olympia Snowe, and Spencer Abraham, and Representatives Mike Bilirakis, George Gekas, and Ron Klink. Orthodox Christians are active in every sphere of American life; and, just as an historical footnote, they constitute the majority religion of the American Eskimo community, having received their faith from Russian settlers.

Most Orthodox in America are descended from immigrants who came from Eastern and Southern Europe and from the Middle East. But that profile is changing rapidly as older generations pass away and the church increasingly takes on an American identity. As an example, nearly 90 percent of the marriages in the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese -- the largest Orthodox group in America -- are interfaith; and the same holds for the other Orthodox jurisdictions.

Consequently, Orthodox Christians in America increasingly reflect our nation's rich diversity; and they view the Patriarch in Istanbul with respect and reverence as the spiritual symbol of their faith. The Ecumenical Patriarch, unlike the Roman Catholic Papacy, is a leader of independent Orthodox Churches, although he does exercise administrative jurisdiction over millions of Orthodox Christians in all of the continents, including Australia. Despite having to exist under difficult conditions in Turkey, the Patriarchate has exercised considerable and positive influence on world religious affairs. The call for Christian unity -- the so-called, "Ecumenical movement" -- was first initiated in the 1920's by the then Patriarch who was appalled by the hatred and violence of World War I. After World War II, this call finally resulted in the World Council of Churches in which the Ecumenical Patriarchate played and continues to play a leading role.

Patriarch Bartholomew has taken these activities an additional step by calling for dialogue and reconciliation with Muslims, Jews, and all people of faith and goodwill. His significance as a dynamic, intelligent, and sensitive religious leader -- despite the modest surroundings in which he resides, is increasingly recognized as the Orthodox peoples in East Europe re-emerge from years of totalitarian oppression.

Some considerations as to who benefits from this visit. The First Lady's visit to the Patriarch conveys to Orthodox Christians in America that she and the administration respect and are aware of their faith. Mrs. Clinton represents all Americans and therefore brings to the Patriarch the greetings of the entire nation. For the Clinton White House, a courtesy call by the First Lady provides favorable coverage in the best non-political fashion in the Greek-American press and the community at large.

For the Turkish government there are also some positive and constructive elements to this visit. Inasmuch, as the rise of Islamicist parties threatens the vision of Ataturk, the peaceful and unimpeded visit of the First Lady reinforces the vision of diversity and religious tolerance, especially since the First Lady is also meeting with representatives of the Islamic, Jewish, and Armenian Christian communities. Some people may raise concerns that the First Lady's visit might offend certain sectors of Turkish opinion. It might bother certain extreme religious and nationalist

groups, but it also would strengthen those forces of tolerance and openness who are seeking to make Turkey a modern and democratic state. Also in the American and international context, it would be awkward and embarrassing if the First Lady was in Istanbul and did not pay a courtesy call on a religious leader with many adherents in the U.S. and worldwide.

Some scripting suggestions: It would be an error to view this visitation like a visit to the Vatican; this would not be appropriate for the institution of the Ecumenical Patriarchate nor make the Turkish government happy. The Ecumenical Patriarchate is neither a sovereign state nor a centralized authoritarian structure. The Ecumenical Patriarch is a spiritual and moral authority in a worldwide hierarchal structure. He lives in a hostile society that is conflicted and ambivalent about his presence in modern Istanbul (Constantinople), even though this presence is guaranteed by international treaties but whose provisions have not always been honored by Turkey. The less politicized this visitation is, the better for all parties. And thus it should be since the First Lady, while not an office holder, is herself an important moral figure who represents the nation's important values.

What should be the character of the visitation? As mentioned, simple and non-political. If the First Lady and the Patriarch were comfortable, it might be good for him to greet her at the doors of St. George, the Patriarchal Cathedral (it is not that large) and possibly have a short service devoted to world peace, then proceed to the Patriarchal offices for conversation, photos, and gift exchanges.

The First Lady does not need to wear a veil or any head covering, but when she enters the church, if that is a scenario, she could unobtrusively pull one of her famous scarves over her head for the duration of the church visit. This would be appreciated and noted. To reiterate, this is not a Vatican-like visit. Patriarch Bartholomew is a spiritual leader, contemporary in his view of the world and, like the U.S., desirous of good and improved relations with the Turkish government. What is needed is a depoliticized scenario where greetings and messages are given and received but in a subtle and non-offensive manner for all parties.

CURRENT ISSUES CONCERNING THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE

Other briefing materials probably have touched on these issues, but I thought that briefly reviewing them might be helpful. They are:

1. Strained relationship with the Moscow Patriarchate. This dispute over the independence of the Estonian Church has strained the relationship between these two Patriarchates. The attached New York Times article accurately describes the dispute which will eventually involve the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, as its adherents want to be free of the Moscow Patriarchate as did the Estonians. These national churches want to be free of Russian domination; so they have applied for communion and recognition from the canonical center of Orthodoxy, the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. These religious disputes are and will probably have political implications as former Soviet bloc nations seek political and religious independence.

2. The Turkish government's shutdown twenty-five years ago of Halki, the Patriarchal School of Theology. This is a very sensitive question for both the Patriarchate and the Turkish government. Turkish authorities claim that their secular constitution and/or policies require Halki to be closed down just as are similar Islamic theological institutions. Orthodox leaders, both lay and clergy, maintain that the free and unimpeded operation of Halki is guaranteed under the treaties between Greece and Turkey after World War II and that its reopening is a real test of Turkey's commitment to pluralism and religious freedom. (See the Patriarch's attached speech.)

3. Selection of a new Archbishop for the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. Archbishop Iakovos, 83, has served as Greek Orthodox Archbishop for 37 years; and he will retire at the end of July. It will be the responsibility of Ecumenical Synod, under the guidance of Patriarch Bartholomew, to select his successor. Archbishop Iakovos was a hierarch of substantial public prominence, and replacing him will be no easy task, given the transitional nature of the Greek Orthodox Church in America.

ADDRESS BY
HIS ALL HOLINESS BARTHOLOMEW,
ARCHBISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE, NEW ROME
AND ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH
DURING THE 150 ANNIVERSARY OF THE THEOLOGICAL
SCHOOL OF HALKI
(Halki, 28 August 1994)

(Now closed for 25 yrs)
closed: N 1971

Glory to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the holy and one in essence and life-giving Trinity, for the joy and excitement of this blessed congregation today, of all the alumni of this School "from the west, and the north, and the south, and in the east, in its glorifying Christ unto the ages".

With one mouth and one heart, and with our hearts throbbing with justified emotion, we have gathered to celebrate the completion of one and a half century since the famous Holy Theological School of Halki - our School - opened its doors and began its momentous and priceless contribution to the Church and the Nation, to humanity and to the world.

What if during the last twenty three years the School has ceased operating "due to misfortunes of our times"? We are obliged to remember the beginnings of its historical undertaking... From the beginning, Halki was destined to become a beacon emitting "the light of Christ" to the ends of the earth, wherever all of you, friends and brothers "fully decorated with ecclesiastical ranks", and from your many positions and bastions, are doing the work of an Evangelist.

Today we are not Patriarchs, Archpriests, Priests and Teachers, we are the School's students, the graduates who emigrated abroad and now return to the bosom of the Mother, to the paternal home.

This moment of reunion between teachers and students, living and deceased children of the School, would undoubtedly be a lot more significant, if the School wasn't forced to keep its doors closed for almost a quarter of a century.

During this time, successive steps have been taken by the Church, which unfortunately to date have had no effect. We are now in the process of preparing a meeting between us and His Excellency the Minister of Education of the Country, in order to inform him about the new views and proposals of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. We hope that these will facilitate the solution of the problem. We are now conveying to you what we said in this very room a few days ago on the occasion of the opening of the V International Conference of Orthodox Theological Schools: "We pray and hope that the honorable and democratic Turkish Government will soon issue the requisite permit for the re-opening of our School. It is inconceivable on the one hand to accept the active presence of the first Throne of Orthodoxy in the territory of our Country and not to provide this Throne with the potential and means to educate its members and renew its blood as a living organism. Such a thing would be an inconsistency, incompatible with the notion of religious freedom.

"We hope therefore that the existing legal and bureaucratic obstacles will soon be overcome and that this beautiful building will again become a living hive which will produce the sweet honey of the wisdom of God and prepare preachers of peace and universal love and reconciliation."

Today, on behalf of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Greek Orthodox Community living here, all of you Halkites gathered for the anniversary, and our Modesty in person, we add with emphasis that we are extending an appeal to the honorable Government of the Turkish Republic so that it allows the re-opening of this historical Theological School, the admission of students and the invitation of visiting Professors from abroad.

Knowledge, the sciences, ideas, wisdom, and letters must circulate freely and without restrictions.

It is inconceivable that this School was allowed to operate during the Ottoman Empire and is deprived of this right in modern Democratic Turkey, the Turkey of the great Reformer Kemal Atatürk, the Turkey which is a co-signatory of all the human rights declarations of the UN.

The opening of the School will not cause any harm or damage to our Country; on the contrary, it will be beneficial since it will produce ambassadors of good will.

Turkey is the bridge between Asia and Europe, the East and the West, Islam and Christianity. From this point of view, since Turkey is a secular state in which religion and the state are separate, all religions and dogmas must be allowed the same potential to prepare and educate their leaders, according to the needs and demands of our times, on the verge between the 20th and 21st century.

How is it at all possible for the numerically superior religion in this country to have a great multitude of Theological and Hieratical schools, while at the same time our one and only Theological School, and the respective School of the Armenians are not allowed to operate? “have we not power - the same applies to us - to eat and drink?” (I Cor. 9:4).

Here we wish to mention point 6.2 of the conclusions of the European Council Presidency which convened in Brussels last December: “..... The variety of civilizations, languages, religions, traditions and descent should be regarded as a source of enrichment and a factor of unity, and it should cease constituting a cause for tensions and antagonisms”.

We too have repeatedly declared that the Patriarchate and the minority surrounding it, should and is able to constitute a bridge and a bond between Turkey and Greece. Not a cause for division, friction and antagonism.

A religious and spiritual foundation, rooted in this great and holy city seventeen centuries now, can in many ways prove useful in the building of peace, stability, reconciliation and prosperity in humanity. Hence, it should be given every possibility and means to fulfill its political and spiritual mission, and not to be subject to restrictions, or attacks by part of the Press and terrorists. It definitely deserves better treatment, since it has, by general consent, inestimably and greatly contributed to world civilization.

Anyhow, according to today's Apostle: “being reviled, we bless; being defamed, we intreat” (I Cor. 4:12-13). “Our strength is made perfect in weakness” (II Cor. 12:9).

More specifically, regarding the re-opening and free operation of our School, we will continue praying and working without retreat “until the day dawn, and the day star arise in the hearts” (II Peter 1:19) of the state and political rulers, and they provide us with the much desired permission. Then all

together we will ascend this holy hill to glorify our Father in the Heavens, giving the opening benediction and bless the "pure youthful bee-hive of Orthodoxy".

We have the feeling, or rather the conviction that this will happen in the not too distant future. Justice will triumph! Reason will prevail! And the saying that "enmity does not know how to appreciate that which is beneficial" will not be valid any more. And again, the School will serve as the "capital of true glory of the Ecumenical Throne". And then, we will say: "Glory to the righteous and saving God". And the prayer and doxology to the Triune God of our fathers and to this ancient Monastery of His, will once again be uttered by thousands of mouths. At the left aisle of the small church, there exists the chapel and the icon of the **Theotokos Glykophilousa** (Virgin of Tenderness), or "**Paphson Lypi**" (Cease Sorrow). This **Panayia Paphsolypi** will cease our sorrow and transform it to joy. "Great joy which shall be to all people" (Luke 2:10) of God, to all Orthodox and all Christians, to all the civilized world; spiritual foundations and centers like our School cannot be monopolized; they belong to the many, they belong to all.

We bring to mind the words of the celebrated Belgian Byzantinologist Gregoire about the universal radiance and the beneficial effect of our School: "The School of Halki is not just the Theological School of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, it is the Theological School of the entire Orthodoxy. It is not just the Theological School of the entire Orthodoxy, it is the Theological School of the entire Christianity. It is not just the Theological School of the entire Christianity, it is the School of the Oikoumene". (16-17).

God save the Church and the School!

Excerpted Copy

Russian Church Breaks Off From Its Historic Center

NY Times

2/28/91

By PETER STEINFELS

The Russian Orthodox Church has severed ties with the historic center of Eastern Orthodoxy, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, in a dispute over the independence of the church in Estonia.

The action sets the largest Orthodox church, with more than 100 million members, against the traditional and symbolic center of Eastern Orthodox leadership.

The breach is the product of the same national conflicts that have barred the political life of Russia and East Europe since the collapse of Communism. The rift became official on Sunday when Patriarch Aleksy II of Moscow, celebrating a Divine Liturgy at the Cathedral of the Epiphany with 50 other Russian Orthodox bishops, omitted the name of Patriarch Bartholomew I of Constantinople from the list of Orthodox leaders normally commemorated in the rite.

It was the first time since the origins of Russian Orthodoxy in 988, a statement from the Moscow Patriarchate said, that the Russian church had refused to commemorate the Patriarch in Constantinople, now Istanbul. In addition, Russian Orthodox clergy were forbidden to celebrate liturgies with clergy directly under Constantinople Patriarchate's jurisdiction.

The steps were taken in response to Constantinople's recognition a few days earlier of an autonomous Orthodox Church of Estonia under its own supervision rather than Moscow's.

The conflict could set back a general revival of Orthodoxy in formerly Communist nations and elsewhere, and it could become an issue in the presidential election in Russia this year.

Although the statement from Moscow spoke of "a shattering of the ages-long Orthodox unity," Orthodox church leaders in the United States said the action fell short of a formal schism.

They noted that the Russian Orthodox Church had declared its relations with Constantinople to be "suspended" rather than definitively cut off and that the two quarreling centers of Orthodoxy were indirectly linked as long as other Orthodox churches still professed union with both.

That could change, they said, if Moscow and Constantinople enlisted the support of other national churches and divided the Orthodox world into two camps.

Orthodox Christianity is organized into independent national churches that share a common doctrine and ritual but are "autocephalous," or self-governing, bodies. The church in Estonia is one of several "autonomous" Orthodox churches — internally self-governing but still answerable, especially in the choice of their leading bishop, to the oversight of an autocephalous mother church, usually the one that originally established Orthodoxy in that territory.

All these churches recognize the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople as a "first among equals" who takes the lead in Orthodox affairs and in resolving disputes between sister churches. That leadership is primarily one of initiative and persuasion, however, and its exact reach has often been contested.

The Russian church, in particular, has tended to become a competing center of Orthodoxy as Constantinople, over the centuries, passed from being the center of the Byzantine Empire to being an outpost of Christianity in an Islamic Turkey.

The status of the Estonian church has been the subject of fruitless negotiations between Moscow and Constantinople for two years. On Feb. 20, Patriarch Bartholomew declared that Constantinople was taking charge of the Orthodox church in Estonia at the request of both the Estonian Government and 67 percent of the Orthodox members there, who wished separation from the Russian Orthodox leadership in Moscow.

He was reactivating, he said, a measure of 1923. At that time, with the acquiescence of the Moscow Patriarchate, then virtually paralyzed by Communist persecution, the Constantinople Patriarchate had brought the church of then-independent Estonia under its own wing.

But after World War II and the Soviet annexation of Estonia, control of the church reverted de facto to Moscow, a fact that Constantinople recognized in 1978 by suspending its 1923 decree. Now, Constantinople said, Estonian independence had canceled the basis for the 1978 action.

The Russian church denounced this step as a completely unjustified incursion into its own historic jurisdiction. For Moscow, the 1923 arrangement was exceptional, justified only by the emergency faced by the Russian church; for Constantinople the 1923 arrangement appears to be the norm and the 1944 reversion to control by the Russian church seen as exceptional.

Orthodox Dispute Heats Up

Greek American
3/9/96

TALLINN, Estonia, AP - Only the crackle of candles and the shuffling of worshipers break the silence in the Alexander Nevsky church. But the icon-covered sanctuary is at the center of a thundering international battle of power and faith.

A long-simmering dispute involving Orthodox faithful in several countries exploded last week when the top Orthodox authority agreed to take control of the Estonian Apostolic Orthodox Church, which for five decades had been under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church.

The Patriarchate of Constantinople said it was righting historical wrongs by restoring the status of the Estonian church, which was purged and forcibly placed under the Russian church's control after the Soviet army occupied the Baltic nation in 1940.

Russian faithful counter that it was a power-grab by a church that has hardly any Estonian members left. They want to remain under the auspices of the Russian Orthodox Church.

"We're shocked," said Pavel Mashkov, curator at the Nevsky church, with its all-Russian congregation. "We can't believe this is happening." Added Mr. Mashkov, whispering in a dark corner of the cathedral: "You know, this is all a very dangerous game."

If Moscow's fury is any measure, Mr. Mashkov might well be right. The Russian church blasted its mother church in Istanbul, Turkey and broke off relations.

A statement from the Russian church said the Patriarchate of Constantinople had "shattered ages-long Orthodox unity, which has become a tragedy for millions of Orthodox believers."

Constantinople shot back, accusing Moscow of intransigence. "You have not wanted to comprehend the truly peacemaking intentions of the Most Holy Mother Church," it said in a statement. "Instead, you accuse the Ecumenical Patriarchate of transgressing the Holy Canons and hurl uncharacteristic threats at it and us."

The feud is another legacy of the Soviet Union's collapse. Since winning independence in 1991, Estonia has moved to erase the conse-

quences of Soviet rule. Many Estonians, who are mainly Lutheran, say Moscow has used the Russian Orthodox Church to maintain a foothold in their country.

"The mission of the Russian Orthodox Church has always been to protect Russian power in neighboring countries," Estonia's *LUUP* magazine wrote this week. "That is more true today than ever."

The Estonians also maintain that the pro-Moscow wing of the Estonian church is infiltrated with old KGB agents -- a claim the rival faction denies.

But if the Estonians insist they could never find salvation under Moscow's domain, Russians say they can never find salvation outside it.

"We feel our mother church is in Moscow," said Mr. Mashkov, the curator. "And you can't change your mother, can you?"

After the Soviet takeover, the number of ethnic Estonian believers dwindled from 200,000 to 10,000. Thanks to Soviet-era immigration, the tally of ethnic Russian believers has grown to more than 100,000.

That, pro-Moscow Russians argue, has changed the equation. The pro-Russian faction is especially furious that church property expropriated by the Soviets is now being handed over almost exclusively to the Estonian-dominated wing of the church.

Courts have ruled that the Estonian branch, whose leadership went into exile in Sweden after the Soviet takeover, is the sole legal heir to scores of Orthodox churches and buildings across the Baltic nation.

Estonians say it's a straightforward question of law, and they insist that no Russian congregations will be evicted from any property or churches. Russians say the property dispute is an example of outright anti-Russian discrimination.

For his part, the curator at the pro-Moscow Nevsky church refuses to pin the blame for his congregation's troubles on either the Estonian government or Constantinople.

"These things have befallen us because we haven't been good enough," said Mr. Mashkov. "It's all simply a message from God. We'll just have to pray more."

The Orthodox Church gains power in a post-Marxist world

By PETER STEINFELS

For many Americans, Eastern Orthodox Christianity, with its bearded bishops and solemn rituals, its Byzantine iconography and ornate churches, is the very model of an ancient, other-worldly rite. But for all its traditionalism, Orthodoxy has become an important new force in Christianity as East and West stumble into the post-Communist era.

After decades of persecution, Orthodox Christianity has emerged in much of the former Communist world as an alternative, though by no means the only one to a badly discredited Marxism. From Russia to Romania, Orthodox churches are being called upon to serve as sources of moral teaching and national identity.

And for some Westerners, Orthodoxy keeps alive a liturgical and mystical sensibility that Roman Catholicism and Protestantism often lost in their Reformation-era polemics and struggles with modern rationalism.

Whether Eastern Orthodoxy can meet its new challenge depends in great measure on two people: His All Holiness Bartholomaios I, enthroned a week ago in Istanbul as Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, and Patriarch Aleksy II of Moscow, who arrived recently for a 10-day visit to the United States.

Bartholomaios wields no organizational authority over the 14 national Orthodox churches, which follow the same beliefs and practices but are otherwise self-governing. But he still retains the place of honor—first among equals—in the ranks of Orthodox leaders, a primacy deriving from the role of Constantinople, the "second Rome" founded by the Emperor Constantine in 330 as the new Eastern capital of the Roman Empire.

From this Eastern Greek-speaking half of the Empire, Orthodoxy's theology, liturgy and spirituality spread to the Balkans and Russia. After the Turks conquered Constantinople in 1453, renaming it Istanbul, Orthodoxy's center of gravity shifted to Russia, where theologians began to hail Moscow as a third Rome.

A New Vigor

Now both of these Romes, which have frequently been rivals themselves, are entering a time of renewed vigor. Bartholomaios is 51 years old, a widely traveled veteran of interfaith discussions, well-versed in theology and fluent in several languages. Aleksy, barely a year in office, challenged the legality of the attempted Soviet coup in August, breaking the Russian Orthodox Church's long habit of political submissiveness.

A chief aim of Patriarch Aleksy's American visit will be to organize humanitarian aid to the Soviet republics and to mobilize support for a church that is rich in faith but stripped of material resources and trained leaders. In Moscow, there have been additional appeals for the church to teach religion in thousands of schools and provide chaplains for hospitals, prisons and army units beyond such immediate concrete needs. Orthodox Christianity must help Russia and other republics come to terms with the Communist past—including the church's own spotty record of collaborating with government officials and endorsing government policies.

The Pluralist Threat

Orthodoxy will also have to deal with religious pluralism, certainly less painful a condition than persecution but perhaps as threatening for churches that have enjoyed a special cultural status in their societies but are now experiencing the proselytizing of Western evangelicals and Eastern sects.

At the same time, Orthodoxy may be in danger of further splintering by nationalist rivalries. In the Ukraine, two rival Orthodox churches and a Catholic church that follows Orthodox liturgy but recognizes the Pope vie for dominance and often for the same church property. Like the shooting war in Yugoslavia between Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats, the conflict strains relations between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism. Patriarch Aleksy, who is also unhappy about the recent naming of Catholic bishops for regions of Russia, has emphatically rejected an invitation to bishops to attend a "Eurosynod" of Eastern and Western European Catholic bishops at the end of November in Rome.

Relations between Orthodoxy and the largely Protestant World Council of Churches are also shaky. Last February at the Seventh Assembly of the World Council in Canberra, Australia, Orthodox participants were disturbed by political presentations that seemed to equate the Holy Spirit with the spirits of nature, of ancestors or of social movements. The Orthodox warned that they might withdraw from the body if it deviated from basic Christian beliefs, ending an important encounter between two very different forms of Christianity.

Patriarch Bartholomaios, who has a degree from the Jesuit-run Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome and many years of experience working with the World Council of Churches, is well prepared for this kind of religious diplomacy. But his greatest challenge may be diplomacy with the Turkish Government. Over the centuries there have been repeated conflicts between Turkish rulers, whether Ottoman Sultans or modern regimes, and the Patriarchate, which has historically led the Greek Orthodox community and has borne the brunt of Greek-Turkish conflicts, including the current one over Cyprus.

Today, the Patriarchate operates out of a small enclave in Istanbul and faces an uncertain future because of Turkish nationalism, Muslim fervor and a dwindling Orthodox population in Turkey. Under international treaties only Turkish citizens can be chosen Patriarch and Turkish authorities can veto candidates.

Orthodox fears that Turkey would veto Bartholomaios proved unfounded. But Turkey continues to bar the Patriarchate from running a seminary and theological faculty for foreigners, from expanding its operations from publishing and from traveling freely.

Many Orthodox Christians find it strange that Patriarch Aleksy should have more freedom of action in Moscow than Patriarch Bartholomaios has in Istanbul. Periodically there is talk of moving the Patriarchate to Switzerland or another neutral site. Chambessy, just outside of Geneva, is already the site of a Patriarchal liaison office to the World Council of Churches. There a small staff is laying the groundwork for the first ecumenical council of the Orthodox church to meet in over a thousand years; this could be for Orthodoxy what the Second Vatican was for Roman Catholicism.

Disagreements and obstacles have caused so many delays that some Orthodox leaders speak as though they don't expect this Great Council to convene any time soon. "But we need to have it done," said George Karczas, a Chicago lawyer and former head of Orthodox Christian Laity, a group pressing for reform and unity in Orthodox churches. "As young a man as Bartholomaios could breathe new life into that process."

—New York Times

Eastern Orthodox Prelates Name Ecumenical Patriarch

By PETER STEINFELS

Metropolitan Bartholomew of Chalcedon, a 51-year-old veteran of international religious affairs, has been elected Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, spiritual leader for the world's nearly 200 million Eastern Orthodox Christians.

The new leader, who will be known as Patriarch Bartholomew I, was chosen unanimously on Tuesday by the Holy Synod, 15 prelates who head Turkish dioceses or serve the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. For many years he has been chief adviser and administrator for Patriarch Dimitrios I, who died Oct. 2 at the age of 77. Although not possessing the jurisdictional authority that the Pope exercises in the Roman Catholic Church, the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople holds a position of spiritual primacy — "first among equals" — over the heads of the self-governing national and ethnic churches that make up Eastern Orthodox Christianity.

He is a symbol of unity for all those churches whose liturgy and doctrine are rooted in the Byzantine rite and that developed in the Eastern Roman Empire and then Central and Eastern Europe before a series of schisms from the 9th to the 14th centuries ended in its split with Western Christianity.

Role May Be Enlarged

With the revival of Orthodox churches in nations where they were suppressed by Communist governments, the Ecumenical Patriarch may play an enlarged role in the future among Orthodox churches and between Orthodoxy and other religious groups.

But the new Patriarch, who will be formally installed on Nov. 2, will also have to strengthen the institutional basis of the Patriarchate itself, which operates out of a small enclave in Istanbul and has seen its influence dwindle under a Turkish republic in which 98 percent of the population is Muslim.

Metropolitan Bartholomew is viewed as a contrast to his predecessor, Dimitrios I, a retiring man who was elected as a compromise in 1972 after the Turkish Government vetoed the election of Metropolitan Mileton of Chalcedon, who was regarded as a more forceful figure. Mileton went on to serve as a kind of "shadow patriarch," a role that Bartholomew, carried on in Mileton's footsteps.

Born on Imbros

The conflict between the Turkish Government and the Patriarchate has been exacerbated in recent years by the conflict between Turkey and Greece over Cyprus. Many Orthodox leaders feared that Turkish authorities might block Bartholomew's election as they did Mileton's in 1972. No such intervention occurred.

Metropolitan Bartholomew was born Dimitrios Archontonis in a Greek family on the Turkish island of Imbros. He



Associated Press

Metropolitan Bartholomew of Chalcedon after his election on Tuesday as Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople.

graduated from the Halki Theological School in Istanbul, and then went on to earn a doctorate in church law from the Pontifical Institute in Rome. He also pursued studies in Switzerland and Germany.

The new Patriarch is said to be fluent in seven languages, including English. In July 1990, he accompanied Patriarch Dimitrios on a 27-day visit to the United States. This year he headed the Orthodox delegation to the World Council of Churches General Assembly in Canberra, Australia.

At the Canberra meeting, Bartholomew took a leading role in framing Orthodox objections that the World Council was departing theologically from essential Christian beliefs. But unlike some Orthodox churchmen, he has been a strong advocate of maintaining extended contacts with other churches.

Before the election of Bartholomew, the only other Orthodox leader frequently mentioned as a possible choice was Archbishop Iakovos of the Archdiocese of North and South America. But the Patriarch of Constantinople is supposed to hold Turkish citizenship, and although the 80-year-old Iakovos was also born on the island of Imbros, he is now an American citizen.

In 1948, this requirement was circumvented for the election of Patriarch Athenagoras, who had also taken American citizenship. Nonetheless, Archbishop Iakovos's name was reportedly not among possible candidates submitted for approval by Turkish authorities.

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Istanbul Journal

In Vastly Changed World, Patriarch Sees Chances

By ALAN COWELL

Special to The New York Times

ISTANBUL, Turkey — From his vantage point above the often-smoggy waterway called the Golden Horn, Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew, spiritual leader of the world's 270 million Orthodox Christians, surveys a world that sometimes seems just as murky.

His patriarchate — dappled with rare crosses in a city whose myriad minarets betoken another faith — has been stoned. Christian graves have been desecrated. Adversaries have accused him of building a "second Vatican" at the heart of a country that, though secular by law, is overwhelmingly Muslim.

And, looking beyond the boundaries of a land that regards him with a strange blend of pride, unease and hostility, the 53-year-old Patriarch discerns a troubling disarray in his own church, from Ukraine to Bulgaria and even to the United States.

Yet, as religion seeks to revive in the post-Communist world, as much a marker of conflict as a font of solace, Patriarch Bartholomew is seeking to bring new prominence, strength and unity to his church.

Since the Patriarch took office, it has been tempting to compare his travels to those of the Pope John Paul II. Last year he visited the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, Russia, Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria, in addition to other travels. This year, he plans trips to Georgia and Greece. Next year is earmarked for meeting leaders of other Christian denominations — the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury, head of the Anglican Church, among them.

'First Among Equals'

Three years after his election to office, the Orthodox leader — "first among equals" within the Orthodox Church rather than overall commander of its divisions — is pressing his case for unity, spiritual revival and the cessation of what he sees as hostilities by other churches against his own.

"To find a way of reconciliation through religion, this is the most important challenge now for the Orthodox Church after the collapse of Communism," he said in an interview. "This spirituality is something needed in the present situation of the world in which there are so many vacuums and so many people in despair," he said. The Patriarch will be host at an interreligious gathering of Christians, Muslims and Jews here in February to "show that religion is a factor which can play an important role in bringing together people and nations." But that gathering is only one sign of the new active role he has brought to his church.

The Orthodox Church in the former Soviet bloc has yet to recover fully from charges of collaboration with



Patriarch Bartholomew, right, the spiritual leader of the world's 270 million Orthodox Christians, reading letters brought to him by a priest. The Patriarch is seeking to give his church new prominence and unity.

the Communist authorities. A surge of nationalism in the former Yugoslavia has left the Serbian Orthodox Church powerless to calm its followers.

And the rush of competing faiths to gather souls where Communism once held sway has set the Orthodox, the Roman Catholics and Evangelical Protestant groups, some of them American, fighting over the faithful of the former East Bloc as a whole.

Patriarch Bartholomew's agenda seems ambitious. He seeks, first, to reconcile the feuding within Orthodoxy — a body distinguished by the independence of its member churches, each of which chooses its own patriarch — so as to

be able to convene the first full synod of the entire Orthodox Church since the year 787 before the century is out. "If we do not unify among ourselves, it's quite difficult to reach for unity with other Christians," he said.

Nine centuries after the great schism of the 11th century divided Christendom, Patriarch Bartholomew plans a voyage to Rome to meet the Pope to pursue the long-running effort toward reconciliation and debate some of the issues that divide them.

He wishes, too, to resolve the distinctions among the Orthodox diaspora in the United States, where believers of different ethnic backgrounds fall under the jurisdiction of different

In their taste for travel, Orthodox leader and Pope are akin.

branches of the Orthodox Church. "This division of the Orthodox into different jurisdictions weakens their weight and their presence," he said.

And, just as energetically, he seeks to repulse Roman Catholic and Protestant efforts to win converts in the traditionally Orthodox lands of eastern and southeastern Europe. "It is not at all a Christian and brotherly attitude to try to convert them to another Christian denomination," he said.

None of that cloaks the inherent uneasiness of the Patriarch's position here.

Turkish authorities have long insisted that the Patriarch must be a Turkish citizen, drawn, like Patriarch Bartholomew, from the ethnic Greek minority, which has been whittled down this century by expulsions, migration and attrition from 150,000 to around 5,000. The Turks, moreover, have traditionally exercised an effective veto over the selection of the Patriarch.

Tombs Desecrated

Yet, when he was elected in 1991, "the Turkish authorities were not involved," Patriarch Bartholomew said. And in recent years, the authorities have permitted the reconstruction of patriarchal buildings for the first time since fire destroyed them in 1941.

"The Turks kind of like having the patriarchate as an advertisement of their religious tolerance," said a European diplomat who follows Orthodox affairs, speaking in return for anonymity. "But you also get Turkish nationalists and Islamic fundamentalists — nothing to do with the authorities — who throw rocks at the patriarchate because of events outside Turkey, particularly Bosnia."

After tombs were desecrated last year, the Patriarch himself took strong exception to the pressures.

"Have we not suffered enough without being at all to blame, except that we are Greek by origin and Orthodox in faith, and because of this — being a minority, that is — we are regarded as a negotiable crowbar in the relations between neighboring and allied countries? Is it not enough that so few of us have remained here because of this last point?"

Look for Science Times on Tuesday.

**WELCOME
BY HIS ALL HOLINESS
ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH BARTHOLOMEW
TO THE EVANGELICALS FOR MIDDLE EAST UNDERSTANDING
Phanar, March 10, 1996**

Beloved friends in Christ Jesus, we greet you today with the words of the Apostle: Grace and peace from God be with you.

We are most pleased to welcome you in our midst, here at the heart of Orthodox Christianity. You have come with the express purpose of making a sacred pilgrimage to the seven Churches of the Apocalypse; to bear witness to the Pauline Doctrine by tracing the footsteps of the Apostle to the Nations; to see this evangelical land where thousands upon thousands of early Christian martyrs were slaughtered; and to refresh your memories regarding the Seven Ecumenical Councils, the codifying of the New Testament and the formulations of the Christian Creeds and Confessions we hold so dear.

We are honored by your presence at the venerable and historic Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople! Here, in Istanbul, you are standing at the crossroads of civilizations. Open your minds, hearts and souls and you will be inspired by some of the greatest world faiths: Christianity, Islam and Judaism, which for centuries have co-existed, and which, at the threshold of the third millennium, are determined to co-exist here for many more.

Among these great world religions is our own Orthodox Christian Faith which took root here since apostolic times when Saint Andrew, the First Called by our

Lord and brother of Saint Peter, brought the Gospel of Jesus Christ to these seven hills and founded the Church on this soil. The Holy Great Church of Christ, now housed in these humble but friendly surroundings, remains the beacon of Orthodoxy and the Mother Church to Orthodox Christians throughout the world.

We fervently pray that you will enjoy your pilgrimage to this sacred center; that you will be spiritually filled with the inspiration and inner peace which these hallowed walls and grounds have brought to so many. We further pray, as you follow the journey of Saint Paul, that you will grow from your experience here at the Ecumenical Patriarchate, on your visit to our beautiful City, but particularly that you will receive new revelations from among those yet-to-be revealed by God while praying and remembering at the ancient sites of the seven Churches of the Apocalypse. May these experiences add a new dimension to your ministry.

Like our beloved Apostle to the Nations, we Christian servants, we evangelists of the Good News, must remain alive in the Holy Spirit of Pentecost to proclaim as did St. Peter "that whoever calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved." (*Acts 2:21*). We Christians are reminded that we have evangelical roots in the Church which was established by our Lord Christ whose peace "surpasses all understanding" (*Phil. 4:7*). A Church which "pursues what makes for peace" (*Rom 14:19*). A Church that believes that "God is love" (*1 Jn. 4:16*), which is why we as Christians are not afraid, for "perfect love casts out fear" (*1 Jn. 4:18*).

The world longs for God's peace and love. That is why we must answer the fratricide and fragmentation of the current age with brotherly love and intergration

taught by our Christian tradition. We must renounce and condemn violence and we must teach our faithful the blessing of peace, which is ultimately based on respect for the sanctity and rights of mankind, created in the image and likeness of God. Indeed, if there is one place where the spiritual and the secular universes converge, it is in the human person.

Christians believe that God "made from one every nation of men to live on all the faces of the earth" (*Acts. 17:26*) and does not accept the notion of racial discrimination in any form whatsoever, since this would suggest a marked difference among the human races and would encourage a graduated classification of rights. After all, "there is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female; for all are one in Christ Jesus" (*Gal: 3:28*).

There has never been a greater need for spiritual leaders to leave their cloisters, come together and take action. Too many crimes are committed in the name of faith. "Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing but inwardly are ravenous wolves" (Matthew 7:15).

We shepherds cannot ignore the tragedies that continue in the world today. However, amid the rubble of our tragic century, the heart of humanity still beats: We must not fail to hear it. Amid the gravestones the human spirit is emerging: We must not fail to see it. The world is growing weary of bloodshed; it is tiring of fanaticism. We must build on this. There is a great hunger for spirituality, for transcendent meaning. We must satisfy it.

To satisfy this hunger for peace we convened an International Conference on Peace and Tolerance which was also attended by our mutual good friend, Burnett Thompson. We proclaimed in The Bosphorus Declaration that a crime in the name of religion is a crime against religion.

Beloved brothers and sisters, the spiritual gift of peace depends on our willingness to be co-workers in Christ's vineyard. Today, fear is giving way to hope and our worst pockets of despair have become our greatest sources of inspiration. Let our fellowship this day mark yet another turning point in this age of miracles. We have within our grasp the vision of the Psalmist: "Behold, how good and pleasant it is when brothers dwell together in unity."

Again, we welcome you as peacemakers and commend the Rev. Dr. Donald Wagner and the Evangelicals For Middle East Understanding for promoting peace and understanding between Christians from different parts of God's oikoumene and thank him personally for leading all of you to our home.

Beloved new found friends, we appreciate this time together, when we've looked into each other's eyes and pierced each other's soul with love and understanding. It is a love and understanding which is inspired by the Cross of Golgatha and the empty tomb of Jerusalem. Yes, it is a love and understanding reflected in the ministry of Saint Paul, the Seven Churches of the Apocalypse and the millions of martyrs who have preceded us. It is a love and understanding confessed in Nicaea in 325 and Constantinople in 381, for we Christians are real brothers and sisters because we believe in one God, the Father Almighty; because

we believe in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God; and because we believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and the Giver of Life.

It is our patriarchal prayer that all of us will continue to be worthy of the authority and admonition given us by our Lord at the time of His Ascension to "go out and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (*Matt: 28:19*). As you leave, we ask that you take our heartfelt greetings to your loved ones and friends back home along with our Apostolic and patriarchal blessing upon one and all.

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**ADDRESS BY
HIS ALL HOLINESS BARTHOLOMEW,
ARCHBISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE, NEW ROME
AND ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH
DURING THE 150 ANNIVERSARY OF THE THEOLOGICAL
SCHOOL OF HALKI
(Halki, 28 August 1994)**

(Now closed for 25 years)
closed : N 1971

Glory to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the holy and one in essence and life-giving Trinity, for the joy and excitement of this blessed congregation today, of all the alumni of this School "from the west, and the north, and the south, and in the east, in its glorifying Christ unto the ages".

With one mouth and one heart, and with our hearts throbbing with justified emotion, we have gathered to celebrate the completion of one and a half century since the famous Holy Theological School of Halki - our School - opened its doors and began its momentous and priceless contribution to the Church and the Nation, to humanity and to the world.

What if during the last twenty three years the School has ceased operating "due to misfortunes of our times"? We are obliged to remember the beginnings of its historical undertaking... From the beginning, Halki was destined to become a beacon emitting "the light of Christ" to the ends of the earth, wherever all of you, friends and brothers "fully decorated with ecclesiastical ranks", and from your many positions and bastions, are doing the work of an Evangelist.

Today we are not Patriarchs, Archpriests, Priests and Teachers, we are the School's students, the graduates who emigrated abroad and now return to the bosom of the Mother, to the paternal home.

This moment of reunion between teachers and students, living and deceased children of the School, would undoubtedly be a lot more significant, if the School wasn't forced to keep its doors closed for almost a quarter of a century.

During this time, successive steps have been taken by the Church, which unfortunately to date have had no effect. We are now in the process of preparing a meeting between us and His Excellency the Minister of Education of the Country, in order to inform him about the new views and proposals of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. We hope that these will facilitate the solution of the problem. We are now conveying to you what we said in this very room a few days ago on the occasion of the opening of the V International Conference of Orthodox Theological Schools: "We pray and hope that the honorable and democratic Turkish Government will soon issue the requisite permit for the re-opening of our School. It is inconceivable on the one hand to accept the active presence of the first Throne of Orthodoxy in the territory of our Country and not to provide this Throne with the potential and means to educate its members and renew its blood as a living organism. Such a thing would be an inconsistency, incompatible with the notion of religious freedom.

"We hope therefore that the existing legal and bureaucratic obstacles will soon be overcome and that this beautiful building will again become a living hive which will produce the sweet honey of the wisdom of God and prepare preachers of peace and universal love and reconciliation."

Today, on behalf of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Greek Orthodox Community living here, all of you Halkites gathered for the anniversary, and our Modesty in person, we add with emphasis that we are extending an appeal to the honorable Government of the Turkish Republic so that it allows the re-opening of this historical Theological School, the admission of students and the invitation of visiting Professors from abroad.

Knowledge, the sciences, ideas, wisdom, and letters must circulate freely and without restrictions.

It is inconceivable that this School was allowed to operate during the Ottoman Empire and is deprived of this right in modern Democratic Turkey, the Turkey of the great Reformer Kemal Atatürk, the Turkey which is a co-signatory of all the human rights declarations of the UN.

The opening of the School will not cause any harm or damage to our Country; on the contrary, it will be beneficial since it will produce ambassadors of good will.

Turkey is the bridge between Asia and Europe, the East and the West, Islam and Christianity. From this point of view, since Turkey is a secular state in which religion and the state are separate, all religions and dogmas must be allowed the same potential to prepare and educate their leaders, according to the needs and demands of our times, on the verge between the 20th and 21st century.

How is it at all possible for the numerically superior religion in this country to have a great multitude of Theological and Hieratical schools, while at the same time our one and only Theological School, and the respective School of the Armenians are not allowed to operate? “have we not power - the same applies to us - to eat and drink?” (I Cor. 9:4).

Here we wish to mention point 6.2 of the conclusions of the European Council Presidency which convened in Brussels last December: “..... The variety of civilizations, languages, religions, traditions and descent should be regarded as a source of enrichment and a factor of unity, and it should cease constituting a cause for tensions and antagonisms”.

We too have repeatedly declared that the Patriarchate and the minority surrounding it, should and is able to constitute a bridge and a bond between Turkey and Greece. Not a cause for division, friction and antagonism.

A religious and spiritual foundation, rooted in this great and holy city seventeen centuries now, can in many ways prove useful in the building of peace, stability, reconciliation and prosperity in humanity. Hence, it should be given every possibility and means to fulfill its political and spiritual mission, and not to be subject to restrictions, or attacks by part of the Press and terrorists. It definitely deserves better treatment, since it has, by general consent, inestimably and greatly contributed to world civilization.

Anyhow, according to today's Apostle: “being reviled, we bless; being defamed, we intreat” (I Cor. 4:12-13). “Our strength is made perfect in weakness” (II Cor. 12:9).

More specifically, regarding the re-opening and free operation of our School, we will continue praying and working without retreat “until the day dawn, and the day star arise in the hearts” (II Peter 1:19) of the state and political rulers, and they provide us with the much desired permission. Then all

together we will ascend this holy hill to glorify our Father in the Heavens, giving the opening benediction and bless the “pure youthful bee-hive of Orthodoxy”.

We have the feeling, or rather the conviction that this will happen in the not too distant future. Justice will triumph! Reason will prevail! And the saying that “enmity does not know how to appreciate that which is beneficial” will not be valid any more. And again, the School will serve as the “capital of true glory of the Ecumenical Throne”. And then, we will say: “Glory to the righteous and saving God”. And the prayer and doxology to the Triune God of our fathers and to this ancient Monastery of His, will once again be uttered by thousands of mouths. At the left aisle of the small church, there exists the chapel and the icon of the **Theotokos Glykophilousa** (Virgin of Tenderness), or “**Paphson Lypi**” (Cease Sorrow). This **Panayia Paphsolypi** will cease our sorrow and transform it to joy. “Great joy which shall be to all people” (Luke 2:10) of God, to all Orthodox and all Christians, to all the civilized world; spiritual foundations and centers like our School cannot be monopolized; they belong to the many, they belong to all.

We bring to mind the words of the celebrated Belgian Byzantinologist Gregoire about the universal radiance and the beneficial effect of our School: “The School of Halki is not just the Theological School of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, it is the Theological School of the entire Orthodoxy. It is not just the Theological School of the entire Orthodoxy, it is the Theological School of the entire Christianity. It is not just the Theological School of the entire Christianity, it is the School of the Oikoumene”. (16-17).

God save the Church and the School!

Excerpted Copy

A D D R E S S
OF HIS ALL HOLINESS ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH
BARTHOLOMEW
TO THE CONFERENCE ON PEACE AND TOLERANCE
ISTANBUL, TURKEY, FEBRUARY 8TH, 1994



Thank you, Rabbi Arthur Schneier, for the great impetus you provided for this conference, and for all your work to make it come to pass. Your efforts to promote peace, tolerance, and intergroup understanding are deeply appreciated. May God bless you

Greetings to all of our brothers and sisters from around the world who have come together for this very timely Conference on Peace and Tolerance.

Although we will focus our remarks on problems in Central Asia and the Caucasus, let us keep in mind that no member of the human family has a monopoly on malice -- we are all sinners and stand in desperate need of God's grace in our quest for a better world. But while some have pointed to a modern "clash of civilizations" as inevitable, the representatives of many of those civilizations have gathered here today in a spirit of brotherhood and harmony. May our Heavenly Father grant us the strength to maintain that fraternal spirit in the years to come.

Since the beginning of recorded history, Eastern Europe has been a great crossroads of cultures and civilizations -- a vast meeting ground for many different tribes, faiths, and peoples. Sometimes it seems as if our only constants have been conflict and conquest.

But paradoxically, conflict and conquest have also been the agents of peace. Over the millennia, the greatest intervals of peace were brought by the empires that took over large portions of the region. From the Macedonian conquest, with its Hellenistic civilization, through the Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman, Habsburg, Russian, and Soviet empires, peace in Eastern Europe has come, ironically, at the tip of a sword or the barrel of a gun.

Tolerance did not always come arm-in-arm with peace. For every example of tolerance, there are many more examples of intolerance. The peace imposed on Eastern Europe by the conquering empires was relative -- and it was always given on the terms of the conqueror. We must understand it, not idealize it.

Those empires were shattered with the arrival of western nationalism during the 19th century -- and Eastern Europe and the world have not been the same since. Nationalism began as a positive force -- it offered a new logic for the construction of democratic states. But nationalism turned out to be a double-edged sword; in the hands of tyrants, it has been destructive -- indeed, the most destructive force in human history, killing 75 million human beings between 1914 and 1945 alone. We must ask ourselves boldly and honestly: Is it not time to rein in the excesses of nationalism?

We are not immune to the forces of history -- but neither are we helpless before them. We cannot lament paradise lost, but must find hope in the kingdom at hand. We must answer the fratricide and fragmentation of nationalism, with the brotherly love and integration of ecumenicism. We must teach our people tolerance, which is ultimately based on respect for the sanctity and rights of individual human beings. Indeed, if there is one place where the spiritual and secular universes converge, it is in the individual, in the human person.

Among those of us who place our faith in spiritual institutions, this means that of all the precepts of our diverse religions, the first principle must be the divinity of each and every one of God's children. Among those who place their faith in temporal institutions, this means that of all political principles, primary emphasis must go not to collective but rather individual human rights.

Indeed, this is one of many areas in which we as people of faith have something to teach our secular colleagues. In recent years we have heard some say that human rights are relative -- an unfortunate and potentially catastrophic idea. Man was created in the image and likeness of God -- and there can be no different standard of treatment for those human beings who happen to be Asian, another for Africans, and yet another for Europeans. Culture may be relative -- but humanity is not.

The Holy Orthodox Church has searched long for a language with which to address nationalism, amid the strife and havoc this new ideology created in the Orthodox lands of Eastern Europe for much of the 19th century. In 1872 a great Synod, held in our Patriarchal Cathedral at the Phanar, in the name of the Prince of Peace, issued an unqualified condemnation of the sin of phyletism, saying, "We renounce, censure, and condemn racism, that is, racial discrimination, ethnic feuds, hatreds, and dissensions within the Church of Christ..."

Today, more than a century later, extreme nationalism remains one of the central problems of our ecumenical Church. We must answer with deep and uncompromising ecumenicism.

That is why the Mother Church has done everything in her power to support, morally and materially, the re-emerging Orthodox Churches in Russia and throughout Eastern Europe, especially since the collapse of Godless communism. Although these churches are self-governing, they are the daughters of the See of St. Andrew the Apostle.

That is why we convened an unprecedented Pan-Orthodox Council or Synaxis of the heads of the world's Patriarchal and Autocephalous Orthodox Churches in March of 1992 -- an unusual display of Christian solidarity, and a return to the ecumenicism of centuries past. During this truly historic gathering, the spiritual heads expressed deep sadness over "fratricidal confrontations and for all its victims" calling on all religious leaders to offer "particular attention, pastoral responsibility and wisdom from God, in order that the exploitation of religious sentiment for political and national reasons may be avoided."

Integration must be our watchword -- in Eastern Europe as in Western Europe. Today, we must follow the Helsinki accord principle of the inviolability of borders. But tomorrow, our vision not only for Eastern Europeans -- not only for all Europeans -- but for all people -- is of a world without borders.

There is no good reason why people and goods should not be able one day to move freely between Bitolja and Bucharest, between Trikala and Tirana, between Sofia and St. Petersburg, between Alma-Ata and Ankara. And there is no reason to continue the hatreds that have made Eastern Europe, and especially the Balkans, the world's caricature for ethnic conflict.

It was not always that way. Let us remember that less than two centuries ago, there were Greek businessmen in Odessa and Bucharest, and Albanian enterprises in Egypt. Serbian merchants conducted a lively trade with their Habsburg counterparts. Thessaloniki had a thriving Jewish community. And so on.

We must put behind us the divisions and feuds brought about by excessive nationalism. We were once united by the great empires -- but the peace that comes at the tip of a sword is no longer acceptable. As St. Paul exhorts: "If it is possible, so far as it depends on you, live peaceably with all." (Rom. 12:18). The modern way to bring about unity and peace is to extend the European Union -- to open our borders to one another, and let people, capital, ideas, and products flow.

Much has already been achieved in the political world -- the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and the Partnership for Peace proposed by American President Bill Clinton. But politicians alone cannot heal the rifts brought about by extreme nationalism. Religious leaders have a central and inspirational role to play -- it is we who must help bring the spiritual principles of ecumenicism, brotherhood, and tolerance to the fore.

Indeed, this is a way that we of the cloth can help our colleagues in government. Our deep and abiding spirituality stands in stark contrast to the secularism of modern politics. The failure of anthropocentric ideologies has left a void in many lives -- the frantic pursuit of the future has sacrificed the stability of the past. As the Council of 1992 stated, these ideologies "have created in men of this century a spiritual void and an existential insecurity and have led many people to seek salvation in new religious and para-religious movements, sects, or nearly idolatrous attachments to the material values of this world."

The famous psychologist C.G. Jung once said that "Among all my patients in the second half of life -- every one of them fell ill because he had lost what the living religions of every age have given their followers, and none of them has been really healed who did not regain his religious outlook." He knew this in 1959; in 1994, who does not know it? Communities of faith can balance secular humanism and nationalism with spiritual humanism and ecumenicism -- and we can temper the mindless pursuit of modernity with our own healthy respect for tradition.

But we can only do this if we are united in the spirit of the one God, "Creator of all things visible and invisible." Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant, Jew and Muslim -- although we cannot deny our differences, neither can we deny the need for alliance and teamwork to help lead our world away from the bloody abyss of extreme nationalism and intolerance. For it is precisely when we disagree that we have the greatest opportunity to demonstrate tolerance.

We, at the Ecumenical Patriarchate, will continue our efforts to be peacemakers and to light the lamp of the human spirit. We, as the Bride of the Resurrected Bridegroom, wish only to remain a Church - a Church, however, that is free and respected by all. We, like all of you who have gathered here in peace and tolerance, wish to be a religious and spiritual institution, teaching, edifying, serving pan-anthropic ideals, civilizing, and preaching love in every direction. We assure you, fellow travellers on the road to peace, that we will always work with you - not only in the spirit of peace and tolerance, but moreso, in the spirit of divine love itself. The Ecumenical Patriarchate belongs to the living Church that was founded by the God of love, whose peace "surpasses all understanding" (Phil. 4:7). We "pursue what makes for peace" (Rom. 14:19). We believe that "God is love" (1 Jn. 4:16), which is why we are not afraid to extend our hand in friendship and our heart in love, as we proclaim that "Perfect love casts out fear" (1 Jn. 4:18).

Beloved friends, there is more that unites us than that which divides us. Let this conference mark a turning point in our history. We have within our grasp the vision of the Psalmist: "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!" We pledge to you today that the Orthodox Christian Church will do everything in her power to fulfill that vision. "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth, peace and goodwill toward men "

Thank you very much.

HOMILY
OF HIS ALL HOLINESS THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH
B A R T H O L O M E W
IN THE CHURCH OF THE VIRGIN MARY
AT NEOHORION ON THE BOSPHORUS
(September 5, 1993)

Beloved children in the Lord,

We have come today as your archbishop and spiritual leader and we have presided in this holy church of the Virgin Mary Koumariotissa and we have prayed together with you for two reasons: a) the annual feast-day of this holy Church, at which time we also wished to bless in person, as is customary, the faithful of this parish, and b) to express first to them, but also, more broadly, to our entire beloved community here, our paternal sympathy and the moral support of the Mother Church following the recent desecration of the graves of our beloved deceased, who held faith in common and who repose in the picturesque cemetery of the parish of Neohorion.

Are they reposing? -- In a manner of speaking. They are reposing only euphemistically, because there are those who dared to disturb the peace even of our dead. Even in their graves they did not leave them in peace. Rather, they smashed the crosses -- symbols of our expectation and faith in the Resurrection of the dead -- and dug out and profaned their remains.

And the question is raised: Why? For what reason? What fault was it of our dead? To what extent did "we who are alive, who are left" (1 Thess. 4:15) insult them, if, in fact, they did this uncivilized -- to use a milder expression -- act in order to seek revenge against us?

Are we not, in every way, law abiding citizens of this country? Do we not perform our obligations towards our country to the best of our ability? Do we not honour the name of our country in which we live with honesty, diligent work, our high degree of civilization, our beautiful customs and traditions, and with our rich history? Have we not suffered enough without being at all to blame, except that we are Greek by origin and Orthodox in faith, and because of this -- being a minority, that is -- we are regarded as a negotiable crowbar in the relations between neighbouring and allied countries? Is it not enough that so few of us have remained here because of this last point? Should we be expected to endure more?

Indeed, should this be expected of our deceased who "are asleep" awaiting the common resurrection?

We are certain that the official state authorities of the country are not in any way involved in this recent sorrowful episode. The government is aware that we never create instances in this land, but, on the contrary, we are a factor of civilization and peace. The government, ultimately, will apply the laws if we give cause and never will it resort to unacceptable and uncharacteristic acts, such as that which is being denounced today.

But those who have contrived and dared such acts must know that they offer the worst service to Turkey; that they expose her internationally; that her interests at the highest level are harmed while -- perhaps -- serving their own interests; that they expose their own selves. Thus, we call on them to sober up and come to their senses and at least to leave in peace our dead, who are lying awaiting the Second Coming of the Lord, unable to react and defend themselves. Unfortunately, it is not the first time the dead have suffered such a cowardly assault.

On the other hand, we, as law abiding citizens, demand that the esteemed government of our country protect all we hold as sacred and holy, our lives and property; and not to allow every adventurer or every hateful fanatic to release his frustrations by destroying Orthodox cemeteries. This avenue, this method, leads nowhere, but only to impasse and vicious circles.

If fanaticism in general blinds, religious fanaticism degrades man and his dignity and stands against freedom, a divine gift, as well as against democracy.

But, taking this opportunity, let us come to the babble written by a part of the Press against us and against our Ecumenical Patriarchate, which, allegedly, cooperates towards the actualization of a "terrible plan"! Indeed! How easy it is for exaggerated and impressive adjectives to be employed! How easy it is for one to be fooled when maintaining things totally without basis and totally unprovable! - especially when speaking on behalf of a non-existent Church, which took over and unlawfully possesses and reaps the benefits of houses of worship which our fathers founded by the sweat of their brow and hard earned contributions. For someone to say or write whatever comes from his imagination -- so as not to say out of dishonesty -- is very easy and very simple. However, fundamental self-respect and fundamental respect for truth is demanded; and it is the truth which will make us free (Jn. 8:32).

Not only have we not envisioned the Ecumenical Patriarchate as a second Vatican or tried to transform it into such, but, on the contrary, we have stated on numerous occasions, that even if such an idea were proposed to us we would reject it as being contradictory to the ecclesiology and tradition of the Orthodox Church. The Ecumenical Patriarchate does not wish to become a state. It wishes to remain only a Church -- a Church, however, which is free and respected by everyone -- only a religious and spiritual institution, teaching, edifying, serving pan-anthropic ideals, civilizing and preaching love and peace in every direction. The Ecumenical Patriarchate belongs to the Church which was founded by the God of love, whose peace "surpasses all understanding" (Phil. 4:7). We "pursue what makes for peace" (Rom. 14:19). We believe that "God is love" (1 Jn. 4:16), which is why we are not afraid: "perfect love casts out fear" (1 Jn. 4:18)/

We close with the admonishment of the Apostle Paul, which we heard in the beginning of today's epistle reading: "Brethren, be watchful, stand firm in your faith, be courageous, be strong. Let all that you do be done in love" (1 Cor. 16:13-14).

Address by His All Holiness
Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I
"Mnemosyne and the Children of Memory"
British Museum, London
12th November, 1993

Thank you, Sir Stephen, for your kind words. We deeply appreciate them as they come from a great churchman, historian and scholar of the Eastern Roman Empire. From one who has made the world more aware of the glorious history and legacy of the Orthodox Christian Church.

We express our sincerest gratitude to Dr. Robert Anderson, director of the British Museum, for offering this great Mouseion or "seat of the muses" for our discussion of "Mnemosyne and the Children of Memory".

Greetings to all the children of God who have come together for this conference.

In Greek mythology, Mnemosyne, or Memory, had several children - Clio, Euterpe, Thalia, Melpomene, Terpsichore, Erato, Polymnia, Urania, and their leader, Calliope. Collectively known as the Muses, they came to be associated with the liberal arts or sciences.

But our expertise lies not so much in the liberal arts as in the spiritual arts. There is one child of Mnemosyne that is no stranger to the Church, and that is Clio, the muse of history. In the Church, Clio appears in two forms: spiritual history, the incarnation of the eternal Logos, the Word of God, revealed in the Bible, expounded in Holy Tradition, and immune

from time; and secular history, the words of man, offered in books whose interpretation changes from generation to generation.

The Church protects and defends our spiritual history. But the Church has somehow been marginalized and excluded from secular history - at great cost not only to Greek Orthodoxy but to the entire human family. This is what we wish to talk to you about today. Not just about Mnemosyne, but also about its counterpart, Lethe, the River of Oblivion.

You could be forgiven, after speaking to the average person, for thinking that the history of Christianity starts with Jesus Christ, moves on with St. Paul at Corinth and Ephesus, continues with the Bishop of Rome and ends with the Protestant Reformation.

Mnemosyne has forgotten Romiosyne! The history and life-giving legacy of Orthodox Christianity has been lost in the waters of oblivion.

The reasons for this are complex. They have to do with the miraculous predominance of the West since the Renaissance. We must remember that it is the victor who writes history - and Western historians by and large believe the Roman Empire fell in 476 A.D. They play down the fact that Constantine the Great moved the capital of the Empire to New Rome, Constantinople, in 330 A.D. How many of us realize, for example, that all seven Ecumenical Councils of undivided Christianity were held not in Greece or Rome, but in the East, in what is now Turkey?

What really happened in 476, was that the West was overrun by barbarians, and the Greco-Roman civilization that once extended throughout the Empire was shattered. To give some measure of how distant we grew over the centuries, consider the unusual names Western historians gave the Eastern Roman Empire when they "rediscovered" it in the sixteenth century - Byzantium - the pagan, pre-Roman and pre-Christian name of what was then Constantinople, and is now Istanbul.

This was perhaps a logical step for these historians. For centuries after Rome fell, barbarian kings, whose claim to authority was based on force, grabbed at the glorious mantle of Rome to confer legitimacy upon themselves - so powerful did the idea of Rome remain in the popular imagination. The Renaissance was supposed to be a "rebirth" of classical civilization - and to some degree, it was. Western scholars created a different name for the New Rome that had not only survived, but flourished another millennium in the East - thus was born the term "Byzantine Empire".

We live in a world dominated by the West and by Western ideas. We admire those ideas and admit to their power. But there must be a way for us to do so, without betraying our own history. We must summon Cleo to speak her truth, which is stronger than any power.

There is another factor at work here. Besides writing history, the West has also long dictated preferences. The interest taken in the Eastern Roman Empire and its Church by Renaissance scholars may have been lop-sided even condescending - but at least we were considered a legitimate field of study. But then came the Enlightenment, which made it fashionable to look down on anything "eastern" or "spiritual".

Voltaire called Byzantine history "nothing but declamations and miracles..... a disgrace to the human mind" - while Gibbon described the later Roman Empire as the "triumph of barbarism and religion". The Enlightenment set the stage for the national revolutions of the nineteenth century, and its Anti-clerical tone influenced all of them.

Our Western civilization found it difficult to comprehend the mysticism of the East, which felt the presence of our Lord Christ, the Theotokos, the myriad angels and thousands of saints.

We must also decry the simplification of Byzantium as "Greek". The Roman Empire was ecumenical. Whether Latin or Greek predominated in Constantinople, ours was a multiethnic empire, with the church willing to use the local language to convey the word of God. Thus were the Slavs and others converted to Orthodoxy and brought into the orbit of our Roman civilization.

And the ecumenical idea, the notion that held together the diverse Christian communities under the rubric of Rome, was reinforced under the Ottomans - whose own empire, let us remember, was also multiethnic and often tolerant. It was Mehmet II, the Conqueror of Constantinople, who sought out the greatest ecclesiastical personality of the time, George Scholarios, and enthroned him as Ecumenical Patriarch Gennadios - head of the Rum Millet and spiritual leader of the entire Orthodox world.

The Mother Church was the repository of memory - our Mnemosyne, if you will - during those difficult centuries, and we who continue that tradition today are her children. But let us be clear about this: the memory preserved by the church during the Ottoman years was not of a single ethnic group, whether Greek or otherwise. As shown in Dr. Runciman's great books, the memory preserved by the Mother Church throughout the centuries was the memory of an Orthodox ecumenical civilization.

But in the early 19th century Mnemosyne smiled upon individual ethnic histories while Lethe swallowed up ecumenical Orthodoxy. And almost two centuries later, as the chief representative of the Orthodox oikoumene stands here amid some of the greatest monuments of ancient Greece, we have yet to reconcile nationalism and Orthodoxy.

The Mother Church believes that before this reconciliation can occur, Mnemosyne must reclaim ecumenical orthodoxy - the wayward child we gave up early last century. We must recover our Orthodox faith and heritage and proclaim its virtues.

At this point, we must mention the similar treatment accorded our Muslim neighbors. They, too, have seen their faith dissected and their history disfigured. For this reason, the Ecumenical Patriarchate is a sponsor of "a dialogue of loving truth" between Muslims and Orthodox Christians. We hope to put behind what is unpleasant while putting forward the best values of humankind. We have a sacred duty, especially in light of our 540 years of co-existence in a predominantly Muslim milieu, to affirm the Christian gospel that we must "love God with all our heart and our neighbor as ourself".

As leaders, we must stand prophetically, and work for brotherly and sisterly co-existence among those of different faiths, for the benefit of all. We must set aside our differences and learn to "speak the truth in love", as persons created in the image of the one, true God.

Entire libraries have been written about nationalism. But a curious element of most nationalisms is the way they combine distant memories with new ideas. In art, this combination of old and new is called "post-modernism", and state-builders are certainly "artists" in the most literal sense of the word. The genesis of nationalism involves selective memory; and in the case of the Orthodox countries, nationalism has favoured past periods of ethnic glory over the combined splendour of Orthodox civilization.

We lament this imbalance. Without the church, we of the Orthodox tradition can never have more than a lop-sided, skewed, and incomplete view of who we are.

The emphasis on national or ethnic heritage has had the effect of fragmenting the family of our ecumenical civilizations - from Russians and Georgians to Albanians and Romanians. This is particularly disturbing because nationalism is a phenomenon, with disastrous consequences.

The holy Orthodox Church searched long for a language with which to address nationalism, amid the strife and havoc this new ideology created in the Orthodox lands of Eastern Europe and for much of the 19th century. In 1872, the Holy Synod issued a definitive condemnation of the sin of phyletism, saying "We renounce, censure and condemn racism, that is, racial

discrimination, ethnic feuds, hatreds, and dissensions within the Church of Christ....."

Today, more than a century later, nationalism remains the bane of our ecumenical church. It is time for us to begin to reconcile nationalism and ecumenism. They are not mutually exclusive.

That is why the Mother Church has done everything in her power to support, morally and materially, the re-emerging Orthodox Churches in Russia and throughout Eastern Europe, especially since the collapse of Godless communism. Although these churches are self-governing, they are the daughters of the See of St. Andrew the Apostle.

That is why we have spoken out in no uncertain terms against the proselytism by Roman Catholics and Protestants among Orthodox Christians in Ukraine, Slovakia, Romania, and other nations of Eastern Europe - as if these lands had never been Christianized.

That is why we convened an unprecedented Pan-Orthodox Council or Synaxis of the heads of the world's Patriarchal and Autocephalous Orthodox Churches in March of 1992 - an unusual display of Christian solidarity, and a return of the ecumenism of centuries past.

That is why we also convened an Assembly of the Hierarchs of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in August 1992 - some eighty bishops came from throughout the world to the Phanar to discuss the current status of the Great Church.

And, finally, that is why the Ecumenical Throne, in co-operation with the other sister Orthodox churches, has been preparing energetically for the convening of the Great and Holy Synod of the entire Orthodox Church - the first such gathering of bishops since the last Ecumenical Council, which took place at Nicea in 787.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate must play a crucial role in our return to ecumenism. Because the Patriarchate, as the first among equals, is the repository of the memory of "the One, Holy Catholic, and Apostolic Church". Within our walls, Mnemosyne jealously guards the candle of Orthodox Christianity from Lethe - and in that flickering flame lies the promise of our redemption. As long as that candle continues to burn, there is the possibility that some day, the flame will again pass outside the patriarchal church of St. George and will cast its redeeming light throughout the oikoumene.

But that will not happen until lay members of the Orthodox Church - academics, artists, business persons, writers, and intellectuals of all ethnicities - also begin to re-evaluate the place of their Orthodox heritage in their identity. And in this, the Orthodox diaspora can lead the way - for the diaspora lives constantly on the borderline of civilizations, and is forced to reconsider questions of identity all the time.

There are obvious benefits in the re-evaluation for all of us - we will end up with a more balance and more accurate view of our past and our future. But the benefits extend far beyond ourselves.

If we respect our Greek Orthodox inheritance, others will likely respect it, too. We may yet rescue our inheritance - our parakatatheke from the oblivion to which it seems to have been doomed in the West.

And in Eastern Europe, we have everything to gain by restoring a more ecumenical view. Those countries, just now emerging from decades of totalitarianism, desperately need the help and leadership of the rest of us. They, too, are the children of the Great Church of Christ, and if we open our hearts and minds to them and include them once again in our oikoumene, great things will happen. Fragmentation will give way to unity, Orthodox will greet each other as brothers and sisters, and we will echo the words of the Psalms, "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!"

Allow us to reiterate that we do not envision the Ecumenical Patriarchate as another Vatican, nor are we trying to transform it into such. On the contrary, we have stated on numerous occasions that even if such an idea were proposed to us, we would reject it as contradictory to the ecclesiology and traditions of the Orthodox Church. The Ecumenical Patriarchate does not wish to become a state. It wishes to remain only a church - a church, however, that is free and respected by all - only a religious and spiritual institution teaching, edifying, sharing philanthropic ideals, civilizing, and preaching love in every direction. The Ecumenical Patriarchate is the fullness of the church that was founded by the God of love, whose peace "surpasses all understanding" (Phil. 4:7). We "pursue what makes for peace" (Rom. 14:19). We believe that "God is love" (1 John 4:16), which is why we are not afraid; "Perfect love casts out fear" (1 John 4:18). Indeed, our philosophy can be summarized

neatly in the famous words of the Apostle Paul, "Brethren, be watchful, stand firm in your faith, be courageous, be strong. Let all that you do be done in love" (1 Cor. 16:13-14).

This is our faith - this is our hope - and this is our prayer. May the Lord bless all of you.

**Background Facts and Information
on The Ecumenical Patriarchate
and His All Holiness The Ecumenical Patriarch**

The Ecumenical Patriarchate

To understand the Ecumenical Patriarchate's great historical/political preeminence one should view the Holy See of Constantinople through Hagia Sophia. This Great Church of Christ, the center of Orthodox Christianity, was built in 537 AD approximately 1,000 years before St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. During that period of time Hagia Sophia was the largest structure in Christendom while the Ecumenical Patriarchate was at the epicenter of Christianity's development and expansion.

Most people are aware of Asia Minor/Constantinople through the seven Churches of Apocalypse and journeys of Saint Paul, but few realize that:

1. the Seven Ecumenical Councils centered around Constantinople;
2. there the Nicene Creed was first pronounced; and
3. the codifying of the New Testament was ratified there.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate is also the Mother Church to the Church of Russia (1589), the Church of Greece (1850), the Church of Serbia (1879), the Church of Romania (1885), The Church of Albania (1937), the Church of Bulgaria (1945) and the Church of Estonia (1923/1995).

The Patriarchate's Greek Orthodox population in Istanbul is now down to less than 5,000. Although it remains as the first Patriarchate of world Orthodox Christianity and serves millions of Orthodox believers around the world, it requires genuine interest and support. Under the leadership of His All Holiness the Patriarchate is attempting to serve as a bridge for Turkey to stay westward and into the European Union.

The Ecumenical Patriarch

His All Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew was born on February 29, 1940. He is 56 years old. He was elected patriarch on October 22, 1991 and enthroned on November 2, 1991. (President Bush sent an official delegation for his enthronement) He speaks/writes seven languages fluently.

The Patriarch loves children. In fact, when the Cross gets heavy he pulls out photos of smiling children from his desk's middle drawer. He remembers the Lord's

words about the Kingdom and he also feels hope in a new world where children's smiles can make a difference.

The Ecumenical Patriarch is a fearless fighter who is not afraid to promote dialogue with Muslims and Jews, peace between Greece and Turkey, theological discussions with the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches, and yes, choosing right over might when it came to two daughter Churches, i.e. Russia and Estonia.

His All Holiness has extended his pastoral outreach in Turkey and has been warmly embraced by many Turkish businessmen, diplomats, educators and journalists. He was an outspoken supporter of Turkey entering the Customs Union and a strong advocate of Turkey's admission into the European Union. He also supported Turkey's bid for the Olympics in 2000 and is an advocate for the 2004 Games in Turkey.

Problems

Halki: The renowned Theological School of Halki has now been closed for 25 years, an infamous anniversary. We need it to open and to allow students from the world over to attend. Many prominent Turkish Muslims support the re-opening of the School.

Employment: As the Turkish Government gives work permits to foreigners they should grant the same rights to the Patriarchate which requires the best and brightest to serve the worldwide Church.

Love of America

USA: The Ecumenical Patriarch is the "first among equals" and is the foremost voice of world Orthodoxy. He is recognized as the spiritual Father of All Orthodox Christians in America. His All Holiness is the one who will appoint the new Greek Orthodox Archbishop upon the retirement of Archbishop Iakovos on July 29 1996. He has a deep love for the U.S. having visited here many times and having met Presidents Carter and Bush (By the way he displays an autographed photo of President Clinton whom he truly likes).

President Jimmy Carter visited the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1985 and was instrumental in having the Patriarchal Offices rebuilt (the offices were burnt down in 1941) by appealing to then Prime Minister Ozal. President Carter is considered a dear friend and for this effort he was given the Onassis Prize and the Patriarch Athenagoras Human Rights Award.

THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

HISTORY AND SACRED MISSION

The Ecumenical Patriarchate is the foremost ecclesiastical center of the Orthodox Christian Church worldwide. The Orthodox Church traces its history to Pentecost and the early Christian communities founded by the apostles for the purpose of bearing witness to God's saving action in history through Jesus Christ. As the Church grew, certain cities developed significant Christian centers whose bishops were recognized as pre-eminent in spiritual authority. Five major centers acquired the status of Patriarchate: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The Orthodox Church exists today as a communion of independent administrative jurisdictions united by a common faith and worship.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate is Christ's great Church founded in 38 A.D. by Andrew, the first-called Apostle and brother of Saint Peter. It is also referred to as the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Great Church of Christ. It is the spiritual center of the great Orthodox Christian Church world wide and the official headquarters of the Ecumenical Patriarch, the highest spiritual authority of Orthodoxy, first among equals, of all the other Orthodox Patriarchs.

After Constantinople became the capital of the entire Roman Empire, a series of ecclesiastical events elevated the status of the Bishop of New Rome, as Constantinople was called, to its current position. The second Canon of the Second Ecumenical Council (381), held in Constantinople, raised the city to the rank of Patriarchate. Less than a century later, Canon 28 of the Fourth Ecumenical Council (451), held in Chalcedon, placed the Bishop of Constantinople second in ecclesiastical order following the Bishop of Rome. Following the Great Schism dividing Rome and the Eastern Patriarchates (1054), the church of Constantinople became first in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Orthodox Churches.



Laudatio for His All-Holiness, the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomeos

Leuven, February 2, 1996 by
Professor Dr. J. Delobel, promoter

Dear Rector,
Your Excellencies,
Dear Colleagues,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Every visitor to Istanbul must certainly have admired the impressive bridge which spans the Bosphorus. Long before that bridge was built, however, the city of Byzantium, Constantinople, Istanbul was itself a bridge spanning two continents. To build a bridge between East and West has long been a major concern of His All-Holiness, the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomeos. The fact that he himself is such a bridge is the main reason why the "Katholieke Universiteit Leuven" has decided to honour him on this unique occasion.

The Patriarch's entire life and career has been one of preparation for the task of bridge-builder. He was born on the Island Imvros on the 29th of February, 1940, and later graduated in theology at the famous theological school at Halki. The foundations for his international and interconfessional contacts were laid in the Sixties when he was preparing for his doctorate in Canon Law at the Oriental Institute of the Gregoriana in Rome, and during his studies at the Ecumenical Institute in Bossey (Switzerland) and at the University of Munich (Germany).

In 1968, after returning home from his studies abroad, he was appointed Assistant Dean of the Theological School at Halki and was ordained to the priesthood in 1969. In 1972 he was appointed as director of the Patriarchal Office and was elected a year later as Metropolitan of the ancient see of Philadelphia. He became Metropolitan of Chalcedon in 1990. In his function as director of the Patriarchal Office, which he fulfilled for about twenty years, as the immediate collaborator of Patriarch Demetrios, he came into contact with the numerous Orthodox churches, with the World Council of Churches, with ecclesiastical and political leaders the world over. His linguistic skills were and, of course, continue to be of great assistance in fostering such international contacts. Given his rich talents and broad formation, it was not surprising that he was elected to succeed Patriarch Demetrios and was elevated to the ecumenical see in 1991, a position which brought with it the status of *primus inter pares* of the Orthodox Patriarchs worldwide.

The many-sided task to which Patriarch Bartholomeos has devoted himself is complex, delicate and reaches far beyond the tiny but faithful Christian minority in his native country.

The Phanar, the Patriarch's residence, is situated in the heart of the old city of Istanbul, a fact which at first sight might seem only natural, but much has changed since Constantinople became the New Rome in the 4th century and the cradle of Orthodoxy in the 11th century. It now means that the spiritual head of 250 million Orthodox Christians lives in the midst of an overwhelming Moslem majority. Religious freedom is guaranteed by the law. Nonetheless, dialogue, co-existence, tolerance continue to be a daily challenge. But Constantinople is and remains the historical centre of Orthodox Christianity and it is from there that new bridges have to be built.

The first of these bridges is one which reaches out to the various Orthodox churches. It is true that as Roman Catholics we sometimes envy the mutual independence of the Orthodox churches, yet maintaining a balance between Christian unity, and legitimate pluriformity is a delicate task. Recent and dramatic changes in Eastern Europe, with so many religious communities in search of their identity, have created new opportunities for Orthodoxy, but new opportunities often imply new problems. Patriarch Bartholomeos has taken several unprecedented initiatives to strengthen the *koinônia* between the Orthodox communities.

The second bridge is one which reaches out to Europe, a bridge which has been given form in the Patriarch's vigorous plea for the extension of the European Union to the East and South-east of Europe. The Union is, of course, a matter of economic and political agreement, but it is the Patriarch's firm conviction that the body of Europe cannot survive without a soul. In its widest sense that soul might be described as culture and Eastern Europe is an integral part of that culture. On a deeper level, however, that soul is spirituality. This feeling has always been the particular genius of Orthodox Christianity. Spirituality could and should be its contribution to Europe. It is hard to express such a value in "Ecus" or "Euros", but the truth is that Euros alone cannot build a really human European Union. In light of this, Patriarch Bartholomeos remains ever open to contacts with Western Europe; his visits to many of its capitals, his encounters with several heads of states and governments, and his visit to the European Parliament in April 1994 are a clear witness to this fact. In the midst of current hesitation concerning the future of the Union, his unremitting plea for a complete European Union and his concern for the protection of the environment is a guiding light for both East and West.

The third bridge to be built is one which will facilitate the dialogue between all the Christian churches. In the Seventies and Eighties, Metropolitan Bartholomeos has been a member and vice-president of the well-known commission for "Faith and Order" of the World Council of Churches. Ecumenism has become his priority. Since his election on the see of Constantinople, he has met with the leaders of all the major churches, visits which culminated in last year's historical encounter with Pope John Paul II. The lasting division among Christians remains one of the major scandals of our time. The second Vatican Council contributed greatly to a change in the approach of many ordinary Christians. The kiss of peace between Pope Paul the VI and Patriarch Athenagoras in 1967 was indeed a milestone and a confirmation of the new mentality. Nevertheless, only a few years later, many Christians have become disappointed with the lack of progress, believing as they do that the expected changes have not materialised. As a consequence, many have lost their interest in ecumenism altogether and appear to be taking the scandal of the division for granted. It is all the more important then, that a church-leader such as Patriarch Bartholomeos continues patiently and courageously to travel all over the world to meet his Christian brothers and sisters, to pray with them, to encourage mutual understanding, to face the problems and to create solutions. There is no other way. Such bridge-builders are desperately needed.

These are the reasons why the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven wishes to honour his All Holiness today.

Om al deze redenen, mijnheer de Rector, verzoek ik u, op voordracht van de Academische Raad, het eredocoraat van de Katholieke Universiteit Leuven te willen verlenen aan zijn Alheiligheid de Oecumenische Patriarch Bartholomeos.

**HIS ALL HOLINESS
THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH
BARTHOLOMEW**

His All Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew was born on February 29, 1940, on the Island of Imvros (Gökçeada). After completing his elementary and secondary education on Imvros and in Istanbul, he entered the renowned Theological School of Halki from which he was graduated in 1961 with highest honors. On August 13, 1961, he was ordained into the holy diaconate by his spiritual father, the late Metropolitan Meliton, and was given the name Bartholomew. From 1961-1963 he fulfilled his military obligation as a reserve officer in the Turkish Army.

From 1963-1968 he was awarded a scholarship by the Ecumenical Patriarchate to study in Rome at the Pontifical Oriental Institute, the Ecumenical Institute at Bossey, Switzerland, and at the University of Munich, specializing in Canon Law. He was awarded a doctorate from the Oriental Institute (of the Gregorian University). His thesis is entitled "The Codification of the Holy Canons and the Canonical Constitutions in the Orthodox Church."

Upon completing his studies in 1968, he returned to Istanbul and was appointed Assistant Dean of the Theological School of Halki. He was ordained to the holy priesthood in October 1969. Soon after, the late Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras elevated him to the rank of Archimandrite.

The late Ecumenical Patriarch Dimitrios, upon his election to the Patriarchal Throne in 1972, established the Private Patriarchal Office and appointed Archimandrite Bartholomew its director. The following year (Christmas 1973) Patriarch Dimitrios elevated him to Metropolitan of the ancient see of Philadelphia in Asia Minor. Metropolitan Bartholomew remained as head of the Private Patriarchal Office until his election as Metropolitan of Chalcedon (January 1990).

A founding member of the "Society of Canon Law of the Oriental Churches," he has served as its vice president for several years. He was a member of the "Faith and Order" Committee of the World Council of Churches (W.C.C.) for fifteen years, eight of which he served as its vice-president. He participated in the Fourth General Assembly of the W.C.C. (Uppsala 1968), the Sixth (Vancouver 1983) and the Seventh (Canberra 1991), where he was elected a member of the Executive and Central Committees of the W.C.C.

His All Holiness has represented the Ecumenical Patriarchate at numerous inter-Orthodox and inter-Christian meetings, to the Turkish Government, to Orthodox and non-Orthodox Churches, to the eparchies of the Throne and to Mt. Athos. In 1990 he presided over the Preparatory Inter-Orthodox Committee for the Holy and Great Synod, which dealt with the subject of the Orthodox Diaspora.

Toward the promotion of pan-Orthodox unity, he convened his brother Primates of the Autocephalous Orthodox Churches at the Phanar and concelebrated with them on the Sunday of Orthodoxy 1992, and on the Sacred Island of Patmos in 1995 commemorating the 1900 anniversary of the recording of the Book of Revelation by St. John the Evangelist.

He is fluent in Greek, Turkish, Latin, French, English, Italian and German and has published numerous articles, studies, and addresses.

THE PATRIARCHATE

The Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople is the headquarters of world Orthodoxy. In the Byzantine era the Ecumenical Patriarchate, established next to the church of Hagia Sophia, was in fact a vast organization of many persons and varied services occupying a great many buildings. After the fall of Constantinople, the Great Church of Christ was forced to confine itself only to the buildings that were absolutely necessary for its survival.

Today the Patriarchal compound houses the Cathedral of St. George, the Patriarchal residence and offices, the Patriarchal Reception Room, the Holy Synod Chamber, the Patriarchal Library and administrative offices. Though the building specifications are modern, the edifice has retained the old architectural aspect it had before the destructive fire of 1941.

The present-day Patriarchate, built on a site enclosed in Byzantine times by the ramparts of the Pertain Castle, has the appearance of a monastic complex. The outer walled enclosure has a monumental triple gateway in the shape of the letter U. The central gate leading up to the Mother Church of Orthodoxy remains sealed since April 1821, a memorial to Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory V who was hanged in retaliation for the Greek Revolution.

The Ecumenical Patriarch has sponsored missionary work throughout the centuries, from the conversion of the Kievan Rus in the tenth century to South Korea and the far east in this century. As a result of its pastoral guidance to the Orthodox world, both ancient and newly established, the Ecumenical Patriarchate stands as "the golden beacon of Orthodoxy, preserving the unwaning brilliance of Christianity."

The Ecumenical Patriarchate continues today, as in the past to be spiritual center and beacon of the Orthodox Christian Church. It is looked upon as the Mother Church by the churches of Cyprus, Sinai, Russia, Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Georgia and Poland.

Currently, the Ecumenical Patriarchate is actively engaged in diverse ecclesiastical activities. The Patriarchate is a dynamic leader in the ecumenical movement, fully participating in the World Council of Churches, of which it is a founding member, through its permanent representative in Geneva, Switzerland. The Patriarchate also oversees and directs the many ongoing dialogues with other Christian Churches, including the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglican communion, and the Lutheran Churches, and with the monotheistic religions Judaism and Islam.

The Orthodox Christian Church comprises more than 250,000,000 communicants. It is the sacred ark that has preserved through the centuries the purest source of Christian doctrine given to us by Christ and his Apostles.

The mission of the Ecumenical Patriarchate is to bear witness to the mystery of Orthodox unity. Its primacy among the Orthodox is a "primacy of service" and never one of authority over the other Orthodox churches. His All Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew, the 270th successor to the Apostle Andrew, was enthroned on November 2, 1991.

Before the Patriarchal Cathedral and Center was finally moved to the Church of St. George at the Phanar in 1600, successive changes of location had taken place. The Ottoman conquerors, after the Fall of the Byzantine Empire, converted the stone and brick church buildings into mosques.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate in the course of the centuries was centered at the following locations:

1. Hagia Eirene: the "Old Patriarchate".
2. Hagia Sophia: from the reign of Constantine the Great 315 to the Fall of Constantinople 1453.
3. Church of the Holy Apostles in Nicaea: during the period of the Latin Catholics occupation of Constantinople 1205-1262.
4. Church of the Holy Apostles: from 1453 to 1456.
5. Monastery of the Pammakaristos: from 1456 to 1587.
6. Church of the Theotokos Paramythia (Palace of the Wallachians): from 1587 to 1597.
7. Church of St. Demetrios by the Xyloporta: from 1597 to 1600.
8. Church of St. George at the Phanar: from 1600 to the present.

The St. George Cathedral contains the throne of the Ecumenical Patriarch, the column of Christ's flogging, the relics of three female Saints, Euphemia, Solomone and Theophano as well as the famous icon of the Theotokos from the Byzantine Church of Pammakaristos (All Blessed).

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Bruce Clark follows the trail of western diplomats to an Orthodox Christian enclave in Turkey

Hosanna in oasis

An unusual number of black limousines with diplomatic plates have been spotted recently in the winding alleyways of Fener, a rundown stretch of waterfront on the Golden Horn of Istanbul.

Travelling in these august vehicles have been foreign ministers, or top diplomats, from France, Italy, the US and Greece; and the man they visited is Patriarch Bartholomew I, senior spiritual figure among the world's 160m Orthodox Christians.

For a churchman who keeps a low profile, at least in his native Turkey, the 27th Patriarch of Constantinople is receiving an impressive flow of callers.

At the same time, the 55-year-old prelate - a shrewd, genial and erudite figure who speaks six languages - is getting some less desirable sorts of attention.

The windows of his residence, a wooden mansion where the scent of floor-polish and fresh flowers mingles with more pungent odours from the street, are continually broken by stones, apparently cast by local boogymen.

Attacks on him in the Turkish press have increased since the

March elections, when an Islamic-leaning party captured the municipality of Istanbul. In May, three small bombs were discovered on his doorstep.

There is a growing threat to the delicate compromise that allows the Patriarchate, a 1,600-year-old legacy of Byzantium, to remain on the soil of mainly Moslem Turkey.

That in turn explains why he is getting so many high-level visitors: for the importance of the Patriarch, and his right to remain in Istanbul, is increasingly clear to the governments of the world. With the parting of the Iron Curtain, a much older division - between eastern and western Christendom - has recovered its relevance in the affairs of Europe.

The ancient rift between Orthodox Christians (who include most Serbs, Russians, Greeks, Romanians and Bulgarians) and Roman Catholics (who include most Croats, Slovenes and Slovaks) is now an issue in modern geopolitics. It is stoking passion in former Yugoslavia and threatening to divide western

and eastern Ukrainians.

So for diplomats as well as theologians, it matters more and more what the Patriarch says; and also where he resides.

His existence as a tiny island of Christianity in a Moslem Turkish sea is precarious; and for that reason, he has a vested interest in advocating ethnic and religious tol-

For diplomats as well as theologians, it matters more and more what the Patriarch says

erance. Interviewed in his dignified but far from luxurious quarters, he presented the Orthodox view much more conciliatory than is generally heard in countries where his flock are the majority.

On the future of Turkey, a country of which he is legally obliged to be a loyal citizen, he is a strong advocate of the liberal, pro-western

ideals of Kemal Ataturk, the state's founder.

"There are obstacles to Turkey's full entry into Europe, but they should be overcome. Turkey should become a full member of the European family, where she has so much to offer." He welcomes the fact that some fundamentalists have been purged from Turkey's army and education system; but he is alarmed by the sight of women wearing Islamic dress, and by calls for Islamic law. "The fundamentalists have become better organised, more emboldened... it will be harder now for anyone to rein them in."

Yet the Patriarch - in contrast with the frank intolerance of many churchmen in Greece and Russia - is an advocate of dialogue with the "great monotheistic traditions" of Islam and Judaism as well as with the other branches of Christianity.

Patriarch Bartholomew is unequivocal in denouncing the anti-Jewish prejudice which informs the public comments of some hardline Russian bishops. "It is to be condemned, because it runs

counter to religious freedom."

He acknowledges that links between the Orthodox world and the Vatican have deteriorated, because of jostling for souls in Romania and Ukraine. For three years, the Orthodox side has suspended talks about theological matters until quarrels over believers and buildings can be settled.

Yet he continues to make conciliatory gestures, even at the risk of appearing "soft on Rome" to his flock. This week he sent an envoy to the Vatican who was warmly greeted by the Pope.

As for the Anglican churches, he predicts, with a certain mischievous relish, that they will soon accept the Eastern view on the key theological dispute, concerning the significance of the Holy Spirit, which divided East and West in 1054.

"We say that the truths of the undivided Church are as follows: alpha, beta, gamma, delta... You have added certain things - where do you get them from?"

But as he speaks, his measured Greek phrases are almost drowned out by another sound, carried across the sweltering air: a muozzin is calling the Moslem faithful to prayer.

Loving God—A Woman's Service in the Church

EFTHALIA MAKRIS WALSH

AS I BEGIN MY TALK ON WOMEN AND THEIR SERVICE—DIAKONIA—IN the church, I want to emphasize what everyone here this morning knows—the enormous contribution women have made. I don't think I am exaggerating to say that the church in this country, would not be what it is today, but for women.

I make a particular point of this because, looking at St. Andrew's anniversary publication a few years ago, I was struck by the fact that very few—if any—women were listed as founders and benefactors of the church. Yet in my recollection, growing up in South Bend, at Saint Andrew's Greek Orthodox Church, South Bend, Indiana, women were the most visible and instrumental people in the parish. For it was women who taught us in Sunday School classes, rehearsed us for recitations and performances at parish celebrations, prepared the food, and performed prodigies of fundraising as well. It was women who organized and sang in the choir, brought their children to church, and often dragged their husbands to worship.

Today, Orthodox women are still involved in the same enterprises. Married and single, widows—all shapes, sizes, women continue to serve the church, their families, and the larger community in which they live.

But many things have changed. We are no longer an immigrant community of often poorly educated women, uprooted from their homeland, with limited knowledge of English, struggling to survive in an alien land. Greek Orthodox women are, as a group, well educated

*A paper read at Saint Andrew's Greek Orthodox Church, South Bend, Indiana.

and privileged, blessed with the fruits of their parents' and grandparents' faith and devotion to the Church, and with their success. But with this privilege has come an even greater challenge on this eve of the twenty-first century, how to continue this devoted service to Christ and his Church using these gifts—God's gifts—and their talent wisely?

Maybe it is appropriate here in the vein of "advice from one's mother" to recall a comment mine made some twenty-five years ago when I asked her what she thought about the liturgical use of English—a topic under discussion at the time. And her sage response: "Whatever we knew and were able to do for the Church, we did, Now you must do the same." Incidentally, my mother was then the age I am now. And it reminds me that as I speak, my contemporaries and I are in some ways passé—already there is a new generation with new hopes, new aspirations, new energies, and new problems. As my mother wisely said, every generation has its problems and they must solve them.

The great changes of the last decades and the success of our people has often made us forget the path to Christian virtue that the Church asks us to follow requires great physical, mental, and spiritual effort. Of course, there is a problem in knowing how to serve. In the years I've taught in my church, Saint Sophia in Washington, D.C., I've been constantly reminded of how shallow our knowledge is of her tradition. We know a lot of things, but we know little about our faith. But having correct knowledge about the Church has never been as important as it is now. The Church, once again, as she has often in the past, calls for defenders.

The Church is under attack today. Whether we like it or not, many people see the Greek Orthodox Church as reactionary, archaic, out of touch. The feminist accusation that the Orthodox Church has a patriarchal outlook and masculine concerns, has been widely disseminated—even by people within the Church. They claim the Church has historically suppressed women. And they blame the Old Testament Genesis account of Adam and Eve as establishing and preserving an anti-female, mentality in the Church. The influence of these modern critics has permeated our universities and the society as a whole.

Even our young children are aware of these discussions. I cite

for example, a letter in a fall issue of *The Orthodox Observer*, where a thirteen year-old Orthodox girl from Stockton, California, accuses the Church of being paternalistic. The fact that the only way women are allowed into the sanctuary is to clean it, is demeaning, she says. And she advocates that women be ordained and fill the empty altars. What should we say to this?

The answer is that the tradition limiting the priesthood to men was handed down from the Apostles to us and it probably will not change. But if it does, first, people must be prepared and ready to accept the change universally and secondly that it must become a law of the Church at an Ecumenical Council. However, there is currently serious discussion on the restoration of the diaconate for women which would allow women to serve in that capacity and young women as altar girls.

But it is not only thirteen-year-olds who make such accusations. Concern about the Church's attitude toward women is being raised by college-aged daughters and sons. Listen to what they are saying, listen to what the non-Orthodox and Orthodox mates your children marry are saying about the Church. Let's take these comments seriously.

Now, I want to make perfectly clear that I'm not advocating that women be ordained. I personally find the historical fact that the Church did not ordain women to the priesthood a compelling argument. And for me that is enough of an explanation.

I refer to these issues on women and their place in the Church and society, because they are being raised with a vengeance by our younger people.

Orthodox lay women and men must know what the Church has taught about women, and men, why, where, and when and by whom. We are woefully ignorant of this tradition.

And as we all know, what distinguishes the Orthodox Church is its loyalty to its holy tradition—and its trust in this tradition as its guide. We must have a ready defense drawing on that tradition—a considered informed and welcoming response. Not only theologians and priests, but all believers, male and female must know.

I speak from my own experience, because when I married a non-Orthodox, some thirty-five years ago, I had to think of my faith in a new context. Today most marriages in the Church are to non-

Orthodox. We must do a better job of bringing them into our faith than we've done in the past. This is a critical issue.

So the question is how we become more knowledgeable, more prayerful, more willing and able to discourse and to witness to what we believe—not to impress people, but to enrich ourselves and communities spiritually, and to discover how best to serve God as defenders, evangelizers and preservers of our faith.

Let's be certain about one thing. We have nothing to be ashamed of when it comes to women and sexuality in the Orthodox Church and much to be proud of. We have a rich tradition and record documenting the importance and high valuation placed on women in the Church and in society. After some ten years of intensive study of the first 500 years of the early Church, I am impressed by the feminine presence and more important of the centrality of women in the mission of the Church—the salvation of mankind. Christ spoke very directly and lovingly to women. The Church, his bride, and our mother, has continued in that tradition. It has been adaptable, and durable and we can learn much from it.

Our holy tradition—theological, liturgical and spiritual—is rooted in the full equality of women with men. The anti-female, anti-sexual, anti-body perspective that we are accused of is antithetical to everything that is basic to our Orthodox Christian faith.

My own experience, as a writer, a theology student at a Protestant seminary and a Roman Catholic university, a teacher, and Archdiocesan and Philoptochos representative to ecumenical groups, has made me see how easy it is—and how dangerous—to let others tell you what your Church believes and teaches. I don't mean to sound anti-ecumenical, but it is rather ironic that we permit ourselves to be labeled misogynist by Protestant denominations which since the Reformation era have virtually ignored women in their tradition and teaching. And the Roman Catholics, too, have offered on the whole, a restricted anti-sexual perspective on marriage and women.

What I want to do now is to explore that tradition with you. And to show the many women's roles and the diakonia that they have performed in our Church's sacred history. In today's world of equal rights and opportunities, the word diakonia and service have a derogatory connotation. But in the language of the Church we are all *diakonoi* and *douloi*—servants of God—and it is a glorious responsibility to

imitate the life and behavior of Lord, who out of his love for mankind, became a human being and sacrificed himself so that we might live.

Women have been among the first in their love and diakonia to God from the beginning of the Church. From the Panagia, first chosen and worthy to bear God, to Mary Magdalene, equal to apostles, first chosen to witness the resurrected Christ. With respect to the Adam and Eve story, church tradition gives women and the Panagia, especially, the credit for turning away from the old evil ways and starting the new Christian pattern. The Panagia is depicted in many of our hymns and services as the new Eve, one whose actions void, repudiate, and supersede those of the original Eve. The line of thinking will be familiar to you. The virgin Eve listened to the word (of the serpent) and was led into disobedience and death; the new virgin, Mary, listened to God and in her obedience gave birth to the Word, and led us to everlasting life.

Our church tradition and history offers us countless examples of women saints from Old and New Testament times and later, who themselves followed this new pattern and way of life and led others to it. When one considers the restricted roles that pre-modern societies offered women, the range of activities the saints engaged in is truly remarkable. Orthodox women of virtue and wisdom exhibited qualities of unconditional love and devotion expressed in their lives as mothers, wives, widows, spiritual guides and teachers, deaconesses, healers, protectors of orphans, the sick, the poor and downtrodden, evangelizers, converts of pagans and unbelievers, and many other areas. And the Church has unstintingly glorified them.

It is true that some extreme ascetic writers in the history of the church have disparaged the female sex. But these are not dogmatic teachings of church belief, but exaggerated exhortations to people to refrain from sinning. In some cases, they are simply rhetorical flourishes used often in pagan Greek and Roman, and Jewish literature, which made points of the perceived weakness of women—for example their love of clothes, make-up, jewelry, and other luxuries, etc. Some are the kind of jokey, if objectionable, comments made about women, daily on TV sitcoms and in other walks of life, including medical and law schools and practice. And let's face it, people do silly things at times and the church writers chastise them for that, too. Many of these writings are homilies and sermons comment-

ing on daily life.

But let me back up and be specific about the fundamental truth of the Church with respect to gender: what the church has taught and will continue to teach about men and women.

Much of the material I have drawn on is from the Patristic writers who more than any other theologians shaped the theology and thinking of our Church. Having spent the last few years immersed in the writings of the period, the subjects and people written about have come to life for me, and especially those of Saint John Chrysostom, whose views on women and marriage are the subject of my doctoral dissertation. Chrysostom had been a deacon, priest, and eloquent preacher for more than fifteen years in Antioch, when he became archbishop and patriarch of Constantinople in 397, a time of continuing church turmoil. These theologians were not just scholars sitting in their monastic cells, but actively involved and concerned with the lives of their parishioners, the running of the Church, and in defining and defending the major dogmas of the church. Marriage, sexuality, and the role of women were major issues of their time and important church battles were fought over them.

From these writings we can learn that there is nothing second class about the treatment women receive at the baptismal font, nor the eucharistic table, nor at the "fearsome judgement seat of the Lord," as the liturgy warns us. Our baptismal hymn is unequivocal that men and women are spiritually equivalent "All who have put on Christ are baptized in Christ. ... In Christ there is no Jew, nor Greek, no male or female, etc." Men and women alike are made in the image and likeness of God. Gender distinctions had and have no place in the salvation promised us by the Church and the Church has been adamant about this. And our tradition is full of examples maintaining the *homoioteta*, the sameness of being, and *homotimia*, the sameness of honor, merit, nature, glory, etc.

Saint John Chrysostom goes to some lengths to explain that John the Evangelist's comment (Jn 1.12), "As many as received him, to them gave he power to become sons of God," does not refer simply to males. "Whether bond or free, whether Greeks or barbarians or Scythians, unlearned or learned, female or male, children or old men, in dishonor or in honor, rich or poor, rulers or private persons—all, he says are deemed worthy of the same privilege. For faith and the

grace of the Spirit, removing the inequality—*anomalian*—caused by worldly things has molded all to one form and has stamped them with one impress—*charaktera*—the King's."

When women are spoken of as having different qualities than men, in these sacred writings, what is most striking is the depiction of women as great lovers of God. Saint John Chrysostom, for me, singles them out for this quality and others. "Women surpass men in their solemn dignity—*semnoteta*, their fervency, their devotion—*eulavia* (which means holding fast) their love for Christ." Elsewhere he notes in detail the great spiritual achievements of women, adding that men so often fall behind. In another work, he comments on the particular quality of feeling, "Full of feeling somehow, is the female sex—and more inclined to compassion."

He gives the highest marks for the outstanding *ἐλεημοσύνη* of women, that is their charity and almsgiving and concern for the needy. This is high praise, indeed, because for Chrysostom, the "Ambassador of the Poor," as he has been called, *ἐλεημοσύνη* rates as the highest virtue without which one could not enter the kingdom of Heaven, however praiseworthy they might otherwise be.

In many of his other works about women, he speaks of another major virtue they exhibited—*sophrosyne*, that is soundness of mind, moderation, discretion, or moderation in desires, self-control, temperance. A modern classicist has defined this word as meaning something akin to the two great delphic sayings "Know thyself," and "Nothing in excess." *Sophrosyne* is the exact opposite of arrogance, insolent self-assertion. It means accepting the bounds which excellence lays down for human nature, restraining impulses to unrestricted freedom to all excess, obeying the inner laws of harmony and proportion.

I cite Saint John Chrysostom so extensively because his practical theology has been so incredibly influential on subsequent Church tradition. There are more manuscripts of his works than of any other Father. They are copied and read throughout the centuries even by non-Orthodox, like Martin Luther and Saint Thomas Aquinas, who claimed he'd rather have all of Chrysostom's homilies on Saint Matthew's gospel than all of Paris. I am going into such detail because I'd like to refute—and for you also to refute—the recent critics outside, and even inside, the Church who claim that Chrysostom was a

misogynist—a woman hater. If it is the only thing you remember from my remarks today, I hope it is my vehement denial and even denunciation of that assessment. It is completely anachronistic to blame the Church and people of ancient society for their practices and attitudes and expect them to think and act like people of today.

No single theologian of our Church has written such a vast quantity of work that is so positive about women, and about the goodness of sexuality and marriage, as did Chrysostom. His work merits a close reading and rereading by our generation, and it is being translated by our Orthodox presses. Bible study classes should read and discuss the Bible with Chrysostom's biblical commentaries in hand.

And if we are Greeks, it is because of him and the other Greek church theologians that I shall mention. Their ideas have shaped our Church for the past 1600 years.

Let me speak now of the strong identification of women with the love relationship as a central idea pervading church worship services. A large part of the services are the most familiar to everyone—the Holy Week Services—which feature Christ as the Bridegroom and the parable of the ten virgins who hope to enter the bridal chamber—services in which the dominant metaphor is feminine. “I see thy bridal chamber adorned, O my Savior, and I have no wedding garment that I may enter therein; O Giver of Light, make the vesture of my soul and save me.”

And there is also extensive use of the bride and bridegroom metaphor in the spiritual writings of the Church which depict the individual soul—and the Church as the bride.

Of course, these passages and the many thousands of similar ones which deal with the marriage theme, are not intended only for females. In explaining the use of the feminine metaphor in such passages, Saint Gregory of Nyssa, known as the “Father of Fathers” says “No one can adequately grasp the terms pertaining to God. For example, mother is mentioned in the place of father. Both terms mean the same. There is neither male nor female in God . . . when we are one in Christ, we are divested of the signs of this difference. . . .” And he goes to develop these themes of loving relationship to God in the context of a marriage and sexual metaphor for those who enter Christ's bridal chamber and banquet.

The great familial and maternal presence of God is also expressed in the services and devotion to the Theotokos. Our Good Friday

services, for example, poignantly elaborate on the Panagia's great maternal love for Christ "Oh my sweet springtime, my sweetest child, where has your beauty fallen. . . . Oh, Light of my eyes, my beloved Child how art thou now hidden in the grave . . . I glorify you, oh my son; because of your deep compassion you suffer these things . . ." And the theme of the Church as our loving mother, as well as virgin, is also a dominant theme throughout our Church writing.

Chrysostom's large body of work about marriage, sexuality, and family also offers ample evidence that the Church never considered women inferior beings and that married men and women had the same potential for salvation as ascetics—a big issue at the time. Chrysostom makes explicit that the Church regarded marriage as the primary manifestation of the unity of humankind. His depiction of the family as a church is an indicator of the stress he put on the harmonious, sanctifying relationship of husband and wife. And he says band and wife together are made in the image and likeness of the Holy Trinity. No church writer has written as forcefully about the sacramentality of the sexual relation in marriage, and the great potential for conversion of the non-believing spouse by a faithful wife. His repeated concern and extensive guidelines for the Christian rearing of children is remarkable and applicable today.

Chrysostom also presents detailed depictions of the model biblical married women, Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, Anna, and Solomina, in his numerous homilies on these women, homilies and examples written for the women of his time that can serve as paradigms for us also, so that we, too, can live lives of holiness. Their wisdom, faith and loyalty to God surpassed that of their husbands, the Old Testament patriarchs. He lauds Anna who promised and gave her son Samuel to the service of God, and Solomina, the Maccabean mother who saw her seven sons martyred for their refusal to deny their faith in God.

Saint Gregory the Theologian also tells us of the outstanding diakonia of married women. His mother and sister, Saints Nonna and Gorgona he describes as spiritual guides and teachers and fully equal to their husbands. And he presents a truly equalitarian model for Christian marriage. His father, who became a bishop, was a pagan when he married Nonna. She was instrumental in his conversion and led him and all who knew her to spiritual perfection and virtue. And his sister, Gorgona, too, Gregory says is a figure of great wisdom "who

surpassed in her intellectual fortitude not only women, but the most brilliant men, and in her intelligent chanting of the psalms, in her reading, explanation, and timely recollection of the divine oracles." Gregory knew from his own experience that it is women who most often convert their husbands and children to the faith.

Widows are another category of women Church theologians rated highly. Chrysostom speaks of them as the highest exemplars of how we should lead a Christian life. He had a special sensitivity to widowhood and its implications since his mother was widowed at a very young age. He calls widows patrons—*prostates*—of other Christians with special access to God. And he ranks their service to the Church as equal to, and sometimes surpassing that of the priests. He notes that the requirement for being enrolled as a widow was even stricter than that for becoming a bishop. The Old Testament widow of Serapetha of Sidon, and the New Testament widow of Luke who gave her last two coins to the church collections for the poor are referred to many, many times throughout his work—more than any other example of Christian piety.

Both Christian and pagan sources reveal how important this charitable activity of Christian widows was considered by the people of that time. They believed that the truth and veracity of a religion was proved by the kinds of lives its practitioners lived. Widows were living example that the Orthodox Christian faith was the best.

Especially noteworthy was the widows' hospitality to strangers the rearing of their own orphaned children and other abandoned and orphaned children, their care for the poor and downtrodden and their love and devotion to God. Most of these widows were poor. Other wealthier widows, like the deaconess Olympia, Chrysostom's great friend and supporter, established hospitals and homes for virgins who had no other source of support, and they otherwise served the poor and infirm. The order of deaconesses began to flourish in the late 4th century and these women played the kind of roles I have mentioned. Chrysostom regarded highly the institution of deaconesses and thought it to have originated in apostolic times. They were his staunchest allies and helpers in his years as Archbishop of Constantinople, and interceded on his behalf during his exile. Much modern comment has focused on the liturgical role these women played, but it seems to me that their major responsibility was in the philanthropic

and teaching areas.

Another similar example of loving service to the Church is Makrina, the ascetic sister of Saint Gregory of Nyssa. Her spiritual teaching and Christian philosophy greatly influenced him and his brothers, among them St. Basil the Great. Her life of prayer and chanting in the Church, her rearing of abandoned children and support of widows and her healing powers, Saint Gregory describes with great emotion. These are not simply eulogies of favorite family members. They were written to instruct and to guide people in an era when women had little status, power and authority in the society, but a great deal in the Church.

The martyrs glorified by the Church also offer us plenty of insight and inspiration for emulation. Through them Christianity was spread through the empire and the world. Thekla, Catherine, Irene, Barbara, and numerous others, women of the ruling class, wealthy, well educated, leading a life of intellectual and spiritual combat with the forces of destruction, resisting marriage to pagans, arguing with the greatest philosophers of the time about the merits of their faith and winning by converting thousands of people.

But the saints weren't all wealthy, educated and eloquent, nor engaged in charitable ventures. The women neo-martyrs of the Turkish period, for example, were simple peasant girls whose sanctifying behavior was that they would not marry or be seduced into sexual liaisons with Muslims. And though tormented to death, they held firm to their mother's teachings that they not betray Christ and renounce their Orthodox Christian faith. It may sound strange that not marrying a Muslim could make one a martyr, but it was not insignificant to the Church of the eighteenth century whose monks and intellectuals had earlier fled the Ottoman onslaught to the West, and left the Church in the hands of the poor and faithful, many of them illiterate women. The Church has recognized them and glorified them for their loving contribution in perpetuating our faith.

And the ascetic Mother Mary of Egypt, the repentant prostitute, honored during the Lenten period, who knew nothing of the Bible and hymns, as her biographer Zosimos tells us, but received the grace of God through the Holy Spirit and Holy Communion. She was glorified for her repentance and her radical withdrawal from her sinful life. A model for all, and especially those of us addicted to destruc-

tive patterns of life.

And the women of our own parishes that I mentioned before, who left their homeland and families, many never to return again, will be glorified. And the women of our great philanthropic society, the Philoptochos and here in South Bend, the Good Samaritans. They are the evangelizers, the missionaries, the lovers of Christ and the defenders of our faith, in the home, the Church and society. There is nothing second rate about how the church has described, honors and reveres these women, these wise virgins, mothers, widows, and brides of Christ.

But while we study and understand the past, let us be aware that the church has offered these models and ideas as a guide to the future and for our salvation. And let us keep in mind the warnings of some women graduates of Orthodox seminaries that "the Church today not have an ambivalent attitude that . . . disregards or minimizes the witness and experience of women's encounter with and relationship to God." and that "we not remain in the kind of frozen spirituality in which we follow things that never were the Holy Spirit."

Let us seriously consider their comments, because if they are at all applicable to the status of women in the Church today, well that is definitely not in the holy tradition of the Greek Orthodox Church.

In concluding, I would like to briefly review my remarks. I have spoken of the positive theology of femaleness and sexuality the Church has espoused. And I have noted that our worship services are greatly attuned to a female experience and ethos. Finally, I have reviewed, the ways women have served the Church in their *leitourgia* as wives and mothers; often converting their husbands and families and teaching the faith in their homes—making the home a small church, as Saint John Chrysostom expressed it.

I have noted how vital a role married women, widows and virgins played in perpetuating and defending their faith through their teaching and philanthropic efforts, both in the Church, which as the body of Christ is our larger family—and to the greater community in which we are increasingly involved as evangelizers. The task of love, the *diakonia* that faces Greek Orthodox women in our parishes today, must be more of the same—much, much, more of the same. Women have always responded to this challenge and God willing they always will.

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Russia's Army in Transition

Richard F. Staar

1

Dealing with Dictatorships: Lessons from Ceaușescu's Romania

Roger Kirk and Mircea Raceanu

25

The Roots of Croatian Extremism

Davor Glavas

37

America in Egypt's Press

Alvin Z. Rubinstein and Pauline Soliman

51

The Belief System of Constantine Karamanlis

Constantine Arvanitopoulos

61

The Mafia and the Lega Nord in Italian Politics

Franco Zucchelli

84

Reflections on Yugoslavia

Joan McQueeney Mitric

102

Toward an Understanding of Eastern Orthodoxy and
Democracy Building in the Post-Cold War Balkans

Elizabeth H. Prodromou

115

Reviews

Dimitris C. Constan and Athanasios G. Platias, Editors: *Diasporas in World Politics:*

The Greeks in Comparative Perspective

Reviewed by Joseph E. Harris

139

Harry J. Psomiades and Stavros B. Thomadakis, Editors: *Greece, the New Europe
and the Changing International Order*

Reviewed by Walter John Silva

142

Joseph Kostiner: *The Making of Saudi Arabia, 1916-1936:*

From Chieftaincy to Monarchical State

Reviewed by Oussama K. Safa

148

Toward an Understanding of Eastern Orthodoxy and Democracy Building in the Post-Cold War Balkans

Elizabeth H. Prodromou

Just as the transitions from dictatorship to democracy in Latin American and southern European countries stimulated a large literature on the nature of regime change, the demise of communism and the end of the Cold War have provoked an interest in the patterns and prospects for democracy building in the former state-Socialist societies of east-central Europe and the Balkans. This article explores one aspect of regime transition in the former Communist societies of the Balkan Peninsula: how the integration of politics and religion, specifically Eastern Orthodox Christianity, may affect the processes of crafting modern democracies in the region.¹

Because crafting democracy implies choice and discretion in fashioning institutional and cultural bases of democracy, policymakers should think about how to assist state and societal actors in those tactics and strategies necessary for negotiating the role of Orthodoxy in the emergent Balkan democracies. Indeed, this article is deliberately written with policymaking considerations in mind and has two main goals. The first objective is to provide policymakers with a basic understanding of those dimensions of Eastern Christianity qua religion, in doctrinal and institutional terms, that may affect the transition to democracy in the Balkan countries. The second goal is to inform policymakers of ways in which the history of interpenetration

1. "Crafting democracy" is a construct developed by Giuseppe Di Palma in *To Craft Democracies* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990).

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between Orthodox churches and nondemocratic states in the region may affect current proposals and choices in developing a public role for Orthodoxy in a democratic Balkans.

This article is divided into three parts. First, I briefly discuss the importance of civil society to democracy building, where civil society is understood as a dynamic, fluid "non-state sphere comprising a plurality of public spheres . . . which are legally guaranteed and self-organizing."² I follow with analysis of critical doctrinal and institutional aspects of Eastern Orthodoxy that suggest there is nothing a priori essential to Orthodoxy that makes it incompatible with democracy as supported by the conception of civil society articulated at the outset. By proposing the absence of incompatibility, I do not deny a historical record that underscores the failure of the Orthodox churches in the Balkans to assume an activist stance in favor of democratic politics.

The second part of the article undertakes an explanation of a historical record that stands in stark contrast to the potential compatibilities between Eastern Christian and pluralist, democratic politics. Central to such an explanation is the conflation of secular and religious forms of collective identity occurring in Balkan societies with an Eastern Orthodox religious tradition. Historically grounded in pre-nation-state Byzantine and Ottoman experiences, the fusion of religious and national identities continued as part of the postwar totalitarian strategies of the various Communist regimes in the Balkan states of Albania, Bulgaria, and Romania and, of comparative interest, as part of the Cold War ideological program of successive governments of the Right and, more recently, the Left in Greece. (I omit the Serbian case, despite important comparative similarities with the others, given that the civil war in the former Yugoslavia makes a discussion of democracy building practically irrelevant for the moment.) I explore ways in which the legal-formal arrangements between the states, on the one hand, and their respective national Orthodox churches, on the other, undermined the legitimacy of each institution and contributed to a pervasive disarticulation between state and civil society.

The concluding part of the article deals with policymaking options and

2. John Keane, *Democracy and Civil Society: On the Predicaments of European Socialism, the Prospects for Democracy, and the Problem of Controlling Social and Political Power* (London: Verso, 1988), xi.

offers some tentative suggestions on ways policymakers in the United States and Greece might strengthen the current window of opportunity for crafting democracy in the Balkans by engaging the potential—and recognizing the historical challenges—of Orthodoxy in remaking both civil society and the state.

Why Eastern Christianity and Democracy?

Despite the widespread recrudescence of nationalist politics and religiously defined conflicts in the post-Cold War Balkans, Eastern Christianity has remained terra incognita in most analyses dealing with religion and political transformation, particularly with regard to the Balkan societies of the former Soviet bloc.³ In contrast to the diverse literature on religion and social change in Latin America, the Middle East, North Africa, and Asia, similar analysis of the former state-Socialist societies is very limited and deals almost exclusively with the Roman Catholic and Protestant Christian traditions in east-central European countries. Furthermore, the expanding literature on democratization in the former Soviet bloc generally neglects regime change in the Balkan Peninsula and tends simplistically to lump the region into the category of late-late developers with few prospects for successful democratic modernization.

The U.S. policymaking establishment has issued an unrelenting commentary about the recidivist influence of religion in the democratization process in the Balkans and has largely ignored the possibly constructive ways in which the Orthodox churches might be worked into the project of democracy building. More disturbing, however, is Washington's recent propensity to use a pejorative "Balkanist" discourse that explains the putative non-European-ness of the Balkan Peninsula societies in terms of the Byzantine Orthodox legacy and categorizes this religious tradition as inherently nondemocratic.

I work from the premise that policies formulated on the basis of scant knowledge of the historical links between Orthodoxy and politics are likely

3. For a representative treatment, see Sabrina Petra Ramet, "Priests and Rebels: The Contributions of the Christian Churches to the Revolutions in Eastern Europe," *Mediterranean Quarterly* 2 (fall 1991): 96–110; and, by the same author, "The New Church-State Configuration in Eastern Europe," *East European Politics and Societies* 5 (1991).

to lead to miscalculations and oversights that will jeopardize the prospects for democratic consolidation in the post-Cold War Balkan Peninsula and might destabilize bilateral relations between Greece and Turkey. There is an especially compelling need to consider Eastern Christianity, as opposed to other religious traditions, in the context of policymaking issues related to ongoing regime changes in the Balkans.

Notwithstanding inconsistencies in available statistical data, the Balkan Peninsula includes at least 43 million Orthodox Christians who, along with the Muslim population, comprise the single largest religious community in the region. Furthermore, the historical record points to a continuous, if ideologically controversial, link between Eastern Orthodoxy and political development in the Balkans. Despite the modernization and secularization of Balkan societies under Communist and, in the Greek case, non-Communist regimes, Orthodoxy has not become a marginal factor in public life but, instead, has played an integral role in defining communal and national identities. The religious dimensions of culture, therefore, must be appreciated as a variable in remaking civil society in the post-Cold War order, particularly since conflicts framed in Orthodox-versus-Muslim terms hold the potential to create tensions between the region's two largest Orthodox and Muslim powers, Greece and Turkey, respectively.

Greece provides a useful referent for policymakers interested in the links between Orthodoxy and the project of crafting democracy. With an overwhelmingly Orthodox Christian population, Greece represents the earlier postwar experiment in democracy building in the region, albeit with a transition from authoritarianism rather than totalitarianism. The place of Orthodoxy and the Orthodox church in Greek public life has exerted an important effect on the nature and quality of the country's democracy. In both respects, the Greek experience constitutes a learning curve for crafting the legal-constitutional mechanisms and cultural context that will shape the place of Eastern Christianity in a pluralist Balkan Peninsula.

Orthodoxy, Civil Society, and Democracy: Theory and Ideal-Types

Civil Society and Democracy. The centrality of civil society to the definition and crafting of democracy has long been a point of consensus among scholars.

ars across the ideological and philosophical continuum, from the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century discussions among European political philosophers to the renewed debates following the defeat of European fascism in the mid-twentieth century and in response to nearly a half century of totalitarian rule in the former Soviet bloc. Yet, as much as scholar-practitioners agree on the importance of civil society to democracy, they differ over the precise meaning of civil society with respect to its institutional and cultural composition and to its economic and political dimensions. For example, social scientists have focused on analyzing the sociopolitical impacts of the totalitarian destruction and ideologically determined reconstruction of civil society. In contrast, the political opposition in Eastern Europe was preoccupied with the practical regeneration of civil society as a *sine qua non* for creating a moral, democratic way of life.

Despite the diversity of perspectives on the meaning of democracy and the definition of civil society, certain common themes do allow for the working definition of civil society advanced at the outset of this article: the "non-state sphere comprising a plurality of public spheres . . . which are legally guaranteed and self-organizing." The multiple "refolutions"⁴ across the former Soviet bloc that signaled the end of the Cold War sparked a renewed scholarly interest in democratic theory and civil society, with a consistent emphasis on the fluidity of political organizational identities in both the state and societal spheres; the distinction between regime (state) and opposition (civil society); and the relative strength of civil society derived from the degree of social and economic autonomy, political organization, and civic culture.⁵ Echoing the academics' points of emphasis were the views of East European opposition leaders, including Vaclav Havel in Czechoslovakia and Adam Michnik in Poland. Drawing on the model of the ancient Greek *polis* and on Jürgen Habermas's notion of the public sphere, these dissidents defined civil society as a political community and as the "public

4. I use here Timothy Garton Ash's by now well-known term coined to capture the elements of reform and revolution which, in differing degrees, informed all of the regime transitions in Eastern Europe. See Ash, *The Uses of Adversity: Essays on the Fate of Central Europe* (New York: Vintage, 1990), particularly the chapters titled "Reform of Revolution?" and "Refolution."

5. See Laszlo Bruszt and David Stark, "Remaking the Political Field in Hungary: From the Politics of Confrontation to the Politics of Competition," in *Eastern Europe in Revolution*, ed. Ivo Banac (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992).

space where citizens discuss politics and form public opinion, [and which] acts as a control upon the ruling structure organized in the form of the state."⁶

The above conceptions underscore three constitutive features of civil society: (1) autonomy from the state; (2) emphasis on the public rather than the private, on the social community instead of the unit of the individual; and (3) self-conscious pluralism, or a toleration of a multiplicity of organizations and interest groups representing a range of worldviews. Civil society constituted according to these three criteria presumes a direct, positive correlation between civil society and democracy, whether the latter is defined in minimalist terms focusing on elections and procedure or in maximalist terms emphasizing sources of authority and purposes of government.⁷ If "democracy means . . . a pluralistic system of power wherein decisions of concern to collectivities of various sizes within civil society and the state are made directly or indirectly by all their members,"⁸ then crafting democracy means "expansion of the political rights of citizens . . . [and a] revitalized democracy [means] a revitalized civil society."⁹

Assuming that civil society is of preeminent concern for democracy and taking the above three elements as necessary for the construction of a vital civil society, it is possible to explore the question of whether or not there exist any inherent incompatibilities between Eastern Christianity as a religious system, on the one hand, and civil society and democracy, on the other. I have already stated the policymaking relevance of the "compatibility question." It bears emphasizing that careful consideration of this issue might generate some useful alternatives to Samuel P. Huntington's increasingly cited civilizational paradigm that, despite its negligible attention to

6. See David Ost, *Solidarity and the Politics of Anti-Politics: Opposition and Reform in Poland since 1968* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 20–21.

7. An excellent synopsis of the origins of, distinctions between, and policy implications of what he calls the procedural versus classical definitions of democracy is provided by Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 5–30. Yet another well-developed approach to the alternative conceptions of democracy is that by P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, "Prospects for Democracy in Southeastern Europe: Comparative and Theoretical Perspectives," in *Festschrift in Honor of Juan Linz: Comparative Essays, Politics and Society*, ed. Alfred C. Stepan and Houchang E. Chehabi (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, forthcoming).

8. Keane, ix.

9. Ost, 21.

stern Christianity, still manages to locate societies with an Orthodox tradition on the negative side of the democratic-nondemocratic fault line.¹⁰

Indeed, the negative response to the compatibility question proffered by the civilizational paradigm fails to recognize that Orthodoxy is not monolithic but, as an ideal-type, is a composite of two components: doctrinal and institutional. The doctrinal component of Orthodoxy comprises the religious message of the faith, whereas the institutional component, or the Eastern Orthodox church, encompasses both ordained (hierarchy and clergy) and popular strata. Disaggregating Eastern Christianity is absolutely essential for identifying the origins of the historical performance of Orthodox churches in the Cold War era, and even more so for developing policies designed to encourage these churches as sponsors of democracy in the post-Cold War era.

The Doctrinal Ideal-Type of Eastern Christianity. The starting point for an analysis of the doctrinal ideal-type of Eastern Christianity is Orthodox anthropology and the conception of personhood developed in theology.¹¹ The concept of personhood both draws on and informs all other elements in 'hodox theology. The Orthodox approach to personhood expresses the /s in which Eastern Christianity as a way of life simultaneously transcends historical limitations and is immediately relevant for contemporary historical contingencies and multiple cultural contexts. The notion of personhood is critical to understanding how Orthodox doctrine is relevant to the emphasis on public community and pluralism as constitutive aspects of civil society.

10. See Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* (September–October 1993), and "If Not Civilizations, What? Paradigms of the Post-Cold War World," *Foreign Affairs* (November–December 1993). Articles written in a similar vein include George F. Kennan, "The Balkan Crisis," *New York Review of Books*, 15 July 1993, meant to introduce *The Other Balkan War: A 1913 Carnegie Endowment Inquiry in Retrospect with a New Introduction and Reflection on the Present Conflict* by George F. Kennan (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1993). See also Theodore A. Couloubis and Thanos Veremis, "In Search of New Barbarians: Samuel P. Huntington and the Clash of Civilizations," *Mediterranean Quarterly* 5 (winter 1994): 36–44.

11. The fullest and most formative English-language accounts of Orthodox anthropology and the doctrine of personhood are found in John D. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion: Studies in Personhood and the Church* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1993), and Christos Yannaras, *The Freedom of Morality* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984).

The defining features of personhood are relationality (being in communion) and dynamism (growth). Personhood is experienced and realized only through the individual's relationship with others. Because "man is an existential fact of relationship and communion,"¹² Orthodox doctrine is axiomatically concerned with the individual as part of the social community (in Greek, *koinonia*) that is the public realm of civil society.¹³ Georges Florovsky explicitly formulated the doctrinal concern with communion in the public sphere, arguing that Eastern Christianity is an "essentially . . . social religion whose reference point is society."¹⁴

Orthodox anthropology complements the emphasis on being-as-part-of-the-social-community as a necessary condition for full personhood, with an equal emphasis on *dynamis*, or growth, as essential to personhood. Kallistos Ware claims that personhood and community imply movement, since the actualization of the potential for personhood occurs as the individual constantly transforms himself through willful participation in relationality and community.¹⁵ Eastern Christian doctrine is grounded in a dynamic understanding of personhood, given that

the Orthodox conception of Tradition is not static but dynamic, not a dead acceptance of the past but a living experience of the Holy Spirit in the present. Tradition, while inwardly changeless, is constantly assuming new forms, which supplement the old without superseding them.¹⁶

12. Yannaras, 20.

13. Orthodox anthropology does not equate the person with the atomistic individual, since among other things, the nature of the individual articulated in Western political philosophy fails to recognize what Orthodox theologians and philosophers insist is the uniqueness of each and every person. Hence, although I use the terms *individual* and *person* interchangeably in this article, I do so for purposes of convenience and not as a means of engaging the distinctions between Orthodox theology and other philosophical traditions. For an excellent synopsis of the distinctions between individual and person, see *ibid.*, 21–27, especially the point that *person* and *individual* are opposite in meaning.

14. See Pedro Ramet, "Autocephaly and National Identity in Church-State Relations in Eastern Christianity: An Introduction," in *Eastern Christianity and Politics in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Pedro Ramet (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1988), 3.

15. For a discussion of personal transformation, see Kallistos Ware, "Personhood" (Paper delivered at the conference "Deepening the Connections between Body, Mind, and Soul," sponsored by Hellenic College and the Orthodox Christian Association of Medicine, Psychology, and Religion, Brookline, Mass., November 1993).

16. Kallistos Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1983), 206.

Just as the Eastern Orthodox conception of personhood as relational and dynamic does not suggest any inherent incompatibilities with the emphasis on the public sphere and the societal collectivity characterizing civil society, the absolute certainty of freedom to personhood underscores a lack of a priori incompatibility between Eastern Christian doctrine and the pluralist dimension of civil society. The very dynamism that grows out of the individual's participation in community is driven by the freedom that constitutes the essential mode of existence for each individual. Indeed, Eastern Christian doctrine assigns primacy to freedom as that condition reflecting an entire range of possibilities for personhood. Without freedom, personhood is unattainable. Personhood presumes the individual's conscious decision, by free choice and grace, to transform himself and the temporal community into the image of the divine, Christian kingdom.¹⁷ Freedom and conscious choice as the primary conditions of personhood also imply a distinctiveness that rejects the ordering of human existence according to putative objective universals negating choice. As Yannaras explains:

Communion or society—personal relationships which go to make up a community of life—cannot possibly exist when truth is an objective datum, when there are no distinct personal approaches to the truth which permit the *distinctiveness* and *freedom* of persons—the [dynamic] potential for relationship—to become apparent.¹⁸

While some argue that the choice for belonging to a community imagined exclusively according to Orthodox eschatology constrains the possibilities for social transformation in authentically pluralist terms, such reasoning fails to recognize that the choice for communion and growth demands respect for the undeniable freedom of each individual to choose a distinctive way of life. In other words, Orthodox anthropology's emphasis on freedom implicitly includes the possibility of choosing not to define one's personhood according to the existential matrix of Christianity. Of course, the freedom to reject the organization of one's existence according to such a conception of personhood leads to a definitive outcome according to Ortho-

17. Ibid., 243. Ware notes that "the Orthodox Christian is vividly *conscious* of belonging to a community" (emphasis mine).

18. Yannaras, 203.

dox eschatology. Yet, insofar as pluralism rests on respect for and toleration of a multiplicity of interests and ideas, the doctrinal emphasis on the individual's free will—on choice as an outgrowth of respect for one's self and the other—is not inconsistent with the pluralist dimensions of civil society and democracy.

The Institutional Ideal-Type of Eastern Christianity. The Trinitarian prototype at the heart of Orthodox anthropology also defines the institutional ideal-type of the religion. The institutional profile of the Eastern Orthodox church rests on the notion of unity in diversity, whereby its organizational composition as a whole rests on a number of independent or autocephalous churches—for example, those of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Russia, and Cyprus. These churches function autonomously and are internally self-governing. This decentralized system of local churches is intended to allow for flexibility in the face of historically contingent, local differences in politics and culture. No one prelate can claim to wield absolute power over the rest. Ideally, the church retains its unity under a consensual hierarchy of honor that places the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople as first among equals and that calls for doctrinal decisions to be reached through a collegial system of ecumenical councils in which all churches participate. The collegial and decentralized features of the Eastern Orthodox church are meant to be replicated within each autocephalous church, reinforcing notions of individual ecclesial participation, choice, and dynamic contribution to the collective whole.

The participatory, consensual features of the Eastern Orthodox institutional ideal do not negate the undeniably hierarchical structure of the Orthodox churches. Based on the prerogatives of ruling, teaching, and liturgics, canon law entrusts fundamental decision-making authority in the church to the episcopacy. However, the preeminence of the hierarchical stratum is not intended to allow for decision making by fiat. Instead, the relational-communal aspect of Orthodox anthropology is replicated in the ideal-typic ecclesiastical structure, which posits the church as an organic unity comprised of hierarchical, clerical, and lay strata.

Further, the essentiality of freedom to personhood ensures that the place and decisions of the hierarchy in the ecclesiastical structure are a function

of the acceptance of the other two strata. "Proclamation of the truth is not the same as possession of the truth: all the people possess the truth, but it is the bishop's particular office to proclaim it."¹⁹ Where the episcopal hierarchy constitutes the leaders of the faith, the clergy and laity are guardians of the faith. Built on this organic vision, the institutional ideal-type for Eastern Orthodoxy is meant to be an

example of the . . . democratic spirit governing the Orthodox Church, which . . . combines the two perquisites of all deliberate ecclesiastical activity—freedom and authority: freedom of expression during the discussions, and authority, that is reverence and submission to truth, to the holy canons, to history, and to the ancient ecclesiastical and canonical establishment and order.²⁰

Even in the summary form imposed by the practical constraints of this article, the doctrinal and institutional ideal-types of Eastern Christianity do not suggest an inherent incompatibility between Eastern Christianity and democracy built on civil society defined by an emphasis on the social community and a self-conscious pluralism. Yet, the above discussion also raises two logical questions, both of which demand a response in order to substantiate the tentative conclusion that there is no a priori incompatibility between Eastern Christianity and democratic civil society.

First, how is it possible to explain a historical record that, with few meaningful exceptions, runs counter to the argument I have just made in favor of the lack of a priori incompatibility between ideal-typic Orthodoxy and democracy?

Second, what is the primary constraint that operates to prevent a break with the historical trajectory and a move toward the construction of a practical reality representative of the aforementioned theoretical ideal? In other words, what explains a postwar history in which Orthodoxy and democracy were not engaged synergistically in the Balkans, and what are the options available for negotiating those circumstances in which Orthodoxy, through

19. Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, 255.

20. Maximos, Metropolitan of Sardes, *The Oecumenical Patriarchate in the Orthodox Church: A Study in the History and Canons of the Church*, trans. Gamon McLellan (Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1976), 16.

its role in the public domain, may contribute to a smooth transition to pluralist, democratic regimes in the Balkan Peninsula?

Church-State Interpenetration and Cultural Confusion: The Historical Record of Eastern Christianity and Politics

A response to the above questions begins with consideration of the third defining feature of civil society, its autonomy from the state. More specifically, it is necessary to explore the impact on civil society resulting from the historical pattern of interpenetration between Orthodox churches and non-democratic states in the Balkans from the close of the Second World War until the end of the Cold War. The church-state interpenetration is a key issue in the Greek case as well, both prior to and following the regime change in 1974.²¹ Just as the nature of the transition from authoritarian rule—violent or peaceful, abrupt or negotiated—constrains the scope of policy choices open to political elites crafting democracy, the nature of the regime is an important consideration in thinking about the historical performance question related to Orthodoxy and politics in the Balkans during the Cold War, as well as for trying to negotiate new patterns of church-state relations at the branching point of the post-Cold War period.

In no other aspect will the weight of the past bear more directly on the capacity of the Orthodox churches to participate in remaking civil society in the post-Cold War Balkans than regarding the legal-formal arrangement of church-state relations. The historical record is marked by a striking interpenetration of church-state relations, based on legal-formal mechanisms almost always associated with the cultural projects of nationalism and ide-

21. The circumscribed nature of democracy in Greece from the end of the Second World War until the demise of the authoritarian regime in 1974 had an important impact on the role of the Orthodox church in Greek public life, particularly in terms of how the formal and informal interpenetration of church and state affected the church's capacity to contribute to a deepening of civil society as a public sphere of activity autonomous from the state. The importance of the church-state relationship to the strength—or weakness—of civil society is reflected in long-standing, unresolved discussions about the place of Orthodoxy in public life in Greece and, more specifically, about the proper legal-constitutional relationship between church and state since the transition to democracy in 1974. For more on these issues, see Elizabeth H. Prodromou, "Democracy, Religion and Identity in Socialist Greece: Church-State Relations under PASOK, 1981–1989" (Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1993).

ology, which contributed to the development of weak civil societies with minimal autonomy from the state and, equally important, which weakened the capacity of the states to respond to the political-economic and cultural exigencies of modernity. Furthermore, the nature of the relationship between Orthodox churches and states in the Balkans, regardless of the ideological persuasion of individual regimes, generated a legitimacy crisis for both institutions.

A detailed elaboration of the historical roots of this church-state interpenetration is beyond the scope of this article, since the institutional and cultural links between the Eastern Orthodox church and the state can be traced as far back as the elaboration of the Byzantine *symphonia* in the fourth century. However, some basic observations on the historical origins of the interface between Orthodoxy and politics in the Balkans help to illustrate the emergence of a particular form of political and cultural interpenetration that weakened the legitimacy of the state and circumscribed the impact of Orthodoxy in civil society.

As a framework for church-state relations, *symphonia* was a theocratic model that bound the state and church in a collaborative effort to build a Byzantine, Christian commonwealth. By virtue of combining the Byzantine and Christian universalisms, the *symphonia* model fostered a conception of political community imagined according to the ideas, beliefs, and values of Christianity. Belonging to the Byzantine political collectivity was synonymous with belonging to the Christian *oecumene*. As the institutional representatives of this vision of collective identity and social organization, the Christian church and the state were linked in a symbiotic relationship that, in balance-of-power terms, foreclosed the prioritization of one institution over the other and, therefore, made the legitimacy of both conditional.

The conflation of religious and political conceptions of community, as well as the institutional legitimacy questions associated therewith, was reinforced during the era of Ottoman imperial control over the Balkans. The Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 meant that the Eastern Orthodox church survived the Byzantine state and entered into a new relationship with the Ottoman colonizing state within the framework of the *millet*, in which the church was granted special religious rights and powers by an Islamic government. The *millet* as a model of church-state relations marked

a turning point in the evolving nature of the legitimacy of the Eastern Orthodox church, whose new legal-formal status as institutional representative of the Orthodox Christian nation meant that the church's religious legitimacy was supplemented by political legitimacy, and that religious and political identities had become inseparable.

By virtue of its political status under the Ottomans, the Eastern Orthodox church, for its believers, emerged as an alternative to the state as the purveyor of collective identity. With the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the formation of nation-states throughout the Balkans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the mixed nature of the Ottoman legacy became clear in constitutional arrangements and paraconstitutional mechanisms devised by Balkan state makers precisely to manage the role of Orthodoxy in society.

Regardless of cross-national differences in the legal-formal construction of relations between Orthodox churches and states in the Balkans, the interpenetration of churches and states was in all cases defined by the latter's efforts to manipulate Orthodoxy as part of the political-cultural project of nation building. Throughout the Balkans, autocephalous and autonomous Orthodox churches were proclaimed in the interests of nationalism, based on the notion that statehood required a church of one's own. For example, the genesis of the Greek nation-state was quickly followed by the establishment of the autocephalous church of Greece in 1833. Similarly, the Albanian autocephalous church was proclaimed in 1922, a decade after the proclamation of independent Albania in the wake of the Balkan Wars and the First World War. Likewise, the Bulgarian exarchate, established in 1870, was given privileged religious status by the Turnovo Constitution of 1879, and the territories that were recognized as administratively controlled by the exarchate reflected the nationalist idea of a Greater Bulgaria.

Yet the proclamation of national churches was usually accompanied by the construction of a constitutional format that, even while making Orthodoxy the state religion in certain cases, carefully subordinated the church to the state by means of various economic and administrative measures. The autonomy of the church as an actor in civil society was severely circumscribed because of its institutional dependence on the state. The degree of ecclesiastical autonomy became a function of the willingness of the churches—represented by the hierarchical leadership that had regular,

direct interaction with persons in the state apparatus—to cooperate with state ideological and political objectives in both the domestic and foreign policy domains. In short, the legal-formal arrangements that regulated interactions between Orthodox churches and states in the pre-Cold War Balkans laid the foundations for a kind of codependence. State legitimacy was undermined by reliance on religious beliefs and norms and by appeal to the historical role of Orthodoxy in creating a modern national imagery. Church legitimacy was compromised as the religious message and ecclesiastical developments were subordinated to secular political prerogatives and ideological considerations.

The Eastern Orthodox Churches in the Cold War Balkans

The onset of the Cold War exacerbated the above trend. Indeed, the institutional arrangements between the Orthodox churches and the Balkan states of Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, and Greece reveal that church-state relationships were shaped primarily by two factors: (1) ongoing state efforts to manipulate Orthodoxy in the service of nationalism in general or of discrete nationalities policies in particular, and (2) state efforts to utilize church control over the religious message—the hierarchical stratum of the churches was critical in this respect—as part of the ideological agenda of both intra-Soviet bloc and East-West divisions during the Cold War.

Attempts by postwar state-Socialist regimes to use the Orthodox churches in line with the aforementioned objectives varied according to the national context, but issues of power, legitimacy, and identity shaped the nature and pattern of church-state relationships across national cases. Greece's membership in the Western alliance created a different sort of church-state relationship during the Cold War period, but the questions of power and legitimacy embedded in ideological and nationalist priorities were consistent with the state-Socialist cases.

A summary profile of the relationships between Orthodox churches and states in Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, and Greece (prior to the wave of democratization beginning there in 1974) helps to illustrate the above points. Capitalizing on conflicts among the Orthodox ecclesiastical leadership with regard to the church's nationalist mission, the state-Socialist regime in Bulgaria

passed the Law of Confessions in 1949 as a means of restricting the autonomy of the Orthodox church in society, of allowing for state control over ecclesiastical development, and, overall, of restricting the church's capacity for standing as a nationalist alternative to state-sponsored Communist ideology.²²

Furthermore, the Sofia regime dealt with the Orthodox church as part of a nationalities policy designed to reinforce ethnic homogeneity, so that the state framed and justified its efforts to coopt the Bulgarian Orthodox church as a function of the defense of national culture defined as Orthodox and Bulgarian: that is, as non-Muslim and non-Turkish. In short the Communist state viewed the Orthodox, religious dimensions of Bulgarian culture as a threat to be defused, first by directly intervening in the organizational life of the Orthodox church, and second by incorporating Orthodoxy into a nationalities policy that deliberately played on historical enmities between the Orthodox and Muslim communities and constructed contemporary Bulgarian national identity in religiously exclusivist terms.

As in the Bulgarian case, the centrality of Orthodoxy to the historical formulation of culture and to the capacity of the Orthodox church in Romania to stake its claim as the historical repository of national values transcending secular communism led to a policy of state repression designed to co-opt the church into the project of the Bucharest regime.²³ However, the highly personalized brand of Romanian nationalism constructed by Nicolae Ceaușescu, the intra-Soviet bloc politics beginning in the immediate post-Stalinist period and culminating in the so-called Romanian road to socialism, and the nationalities policy grounded in the regime's desire to limit the potential for social disintegration inherent in the country's ethnically and religiously diverse population all combined to produce significant inconsistencies in state policies toward the Orthodox church.

On the one hand, Ceaușescu insisted that the state's single legitimate interest was the creation of a scientific Marxist-Leninist society and a

22. For the fundamental clause in the Law of Confessions, see Spas T. Raikin, "Nationalism and the Bulgarian Orthodox Church," in *Religion and Nationalism in Soviet and East European Politics*, ed. Pedro Ramet (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1989), 358.

23. A useful summary of the historical roots of the overlap of Romanian nationalism and Orthodox collective identity is offered by Trond Gilberg, "Religion and Nationalism in Romania," *ibid.*, 328-35.

Socialist culture in Romania. The result of his ideological vision was a range of state reprisals against the Orthodox church, including seizure of ecclesiastical properties and jailing of nonconformist hierarchs and lay leaders, in order to ensure the latter's acquiescence in a program of social homogenization and ideological indoctrination in all areas of civil society. On the other hand, Ceaşescu's assiduous cultivation of Romanian nationalism as the linchpin for the country's putative distinctiveness vis-à-vis its Soviet bloc neighbors de facto activated the historical residue of Orthodoxy in contemporary Romanian culture and collective identity,²⁴ so that the regime reverted to what has been called

the Romanian solution, a mutual agreement on spheres of influence between the religious and secular parties . . . [with] considerable license . . . granted to the church to develop its life, in exchange for noninterference in domains of the party and in exchange for promotion of Romanian national prestige, especially abroad.²⁵

The Romanian solution notwithstanding, the regime's ability to reconcile Orthodoxy with scientific socialism à la Ceaşescu was a function of the state's capacity to coopt both the message and the institutions of religion and amounted to the conflation of secular and sacred collective images in an unwieldy—and ultimately unsuccessful—formula meant to preserve the legitimacy of the state at the expense of the church.

In contrast to the above two cases, the Communist regime in Albania pursued a consistent policy of outright repression and persecution of the Albanian Orthodox church throughout the Cold War period. State controls over the autonomy of the church escalated over time, based on a series of legislative and informal measures including the nationalization of church lands in 1945, the state's assumption between 1945 and 1950 of formal control over the ecclesiastical appointment and succession process, the informal subordination of the Albanian church to the Moscow patriarchate, the continuing

24. Stephen Fischer-Galati discusses the contemporary representation of the link between Orthodoxy and collective identity in Romania as a historically grounded "principle of double fidelity." See Fischer-Galati, "Autocracy, Orthodoxy, Nationality in the Twentieth Century: The Romanian Case," *East European Quarterly* 18 (1984).

25. Alan Scarfe, "The Romanian Orthodox Church," in Ramet, *Eastern Christianity*, 220.

imprisonment of hierarchy, the deliberate encouragement of dissension between hierarchical and clerical strata, and the constitutional outlawing of all religions in 1967.²⁶

Whereas interpenetration of church and state in both Bulgaria and Romania was deliberately designed by the regimes to undergird state control over the doctrinal and institutional features of Orthodoxy, such control presumed an interpretation of nationalism that incorporated Orthodoxy. The Albanian case stands apart from its other Balkan cohorts in terms of the position of Orthodoxy vis-à-vis the regime's conception of nationalism, although it is significant that the Albanian state's direct offensive against the Orthodox church was framed in the same political and cultural discourse used by neighboring state-Socialist regimes. The Hoxha regime attacked Orthodoxy precisely on the basis of nationalism, proclaiming that Orthodoxy—and all other religious dominations for that matter—was antithetical to an Albanian national identity that was inherently atheistic and Socialist and maintaining that the church, as the institutional representative of a “nonindigenous” culture, was an antagonist to the Albanian state as the only legitimate representative of the nation.

The relationship between the Orthodox church and the state in Greece during the Cold War until the 1974 transition was grounded in a legal-constitutional arrangement dating back to the country's first constitution and ecclesiastical charter of the early nineteenth century. The guiding principles and framework of these documents have, with minor changes, remained largely intact until the present and defined the constitutional model of church-state relations in Greece for over a century prior to the onset of the Cold War.²⁷ The

26. Useful discussions of the regime's systematic policy of repression are Trevor Beeson, *Discretion and Valour: Religious Conditions in Russia and Eastern Europe*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982); and Bernhard Tonnes, “Religious Persecution in Albania,” *Religion in Communist Lands* 10 (winter 1982). The scope and intensity of the regime's opposition to all religions and the resultant weakening of civil society were reiterated in discussions at a recent conference cosponsored by the Hellenic Foundation for Defense and Foreign Policy, the Speros Basil Vryonis Center for the Study of Hellenism, and the Institute for Balkan Studies on “Eastern Orthodoxy in a Post-Communist World.” See the unpublished paper from the conference by Gramoz Pashko, “Christian Orthodoxy in Albania” (Porto Carra, Greece, September 1993).

27. The 1833 ecclesiastical charter, the patriarchal decrees of 1850 and 1928, and, later, the ecclesiastical charters of 1923 and 1936 set out the general organizational guidelines and mechanisms of church-state relations in Greece. The origins of the incongruities between the doctrinal and institutional dimensions of Orthodoxy in Greece, up until the present, lie in the political and ecclesiastical

constitutional model used a range of political and administrative mechanisms to ensure the legal-formal subordination of the Orthodox church to the state and to circumscribe the church's ability to challenge state legitimacy on the basis of cultural and political prerogatives accrued over historical time.²⁸ However, by the same token, this model fused religious and non-religious constructs by enlisting the church in nation-building projects in both the foreign policy domain (with regard to the Meghali Idea, for example) and the domestic arena (as in the use of *katharevousa* as the official language of the nation-state).

The ambiguities of church-state relations in Greece were largely eliminated by the state's agenda during the Cold War, although the form of church-state interpenetration contributed to the deepening of contradictions and ambivalence within the national imagery. The ideological orientation, organizational weakness, and infrastructural needs of the church in the aftermath of the Second World War and the Greek Civil War facilitated the anti-Communist state's policy objectives toward the church.

The state was largely successful in employing a combination of constitutional mechanisms, paraconstitutional pressures, and economic incentives to interfere in the organizational life of the church and to foreclose opposition by the ordained strata to the domestic project of anticommunism and to the foreign policy priorities of Greece's front-line status against the Soviet bloc. Indeed, the state treated the church much like all other institutions in civil society, by determining ecclesiastical autonomy according to the absolute dictates of ideology. The ideologically motivated penetration of the church by the state reached its apogee under the dictatorial regime of 1967 to 1974. The junta interfered at will in the organizational life of the church. The colonels explicitly appropriated Orthodox symbolism in an authoritarian culture that defined the national community in terms of an unwieldy

considerations informing these documents. See Charles Frazee, "Church and State in Greece," in *Greece in Transition: Essays in the History of Modern Greece, 1821-1974*, ed. John T. A. Koumoulides (London: Zeno, 1977); and Theofanis Stavrou, "The Orthodox Church of Greece," in Ramet, *Eastern Christianity*.

28. A detailed elaboration of this argument is found in Prodrômou, 79-109. An excellent historical treatment of the politics of the first constitutional model of church-state relations in Greece is the pioneering work of Charles Frazee, *The Orthodox Church and Independent Greece: 1821-1974* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

amalgam of classical Greek ancestry, Eastern Christian heritage, and reactionary anticommunism, all under the slogan of "A Greece of Christian Greeks" (*Ellas Ellinon Christianon*).

The outlines of the pre-1974 pattern help explain the nature and results of church-state interactions in Greece following the transition to democracy. The controversies between church and state under the PASOK governments of the 1980s offer the most interesting example of the challenges associated with redefining the public role of Orthodoxy under democratic conditions, particularly given that the country's successful movement along the democratization trajectory from transition to consolidation to persistence has been accompanied by an uninterrupted—if irregular—debate over the public role of Orthodoxy and the church in Greece.²⁹

While some have argued that the PASOK religious policy amounted to a policy of nonpolicy, careful analysis shows that the party's approach to Orthodoxy and the church turned consistently on the distinction between the need for church-state separation and the preservation of the identification of church and nation. The dualist nature of this approach helps to explain the party's initial legislative steps around civil marriage, adultery, and abortion and also underlies the status quo outcome of the legislative centerpiece of PASOK's religious policy, the controversial Bill 1700. The PASOK distinction of church-state and church-nation dyads represented an unsuccessful attempt to resolve the legitimacy questions embedded in the history of church-state interpenetration in Cold War Greece within the context of building an authentic, pluralist democracy.

The PASOK policy was articulated using the discourse of democratization to justify the proposed organizational restructuring of the church along decentralized, participatory lines. Although the above legislation was formulated with substantial input from lay intellectual elites, the popular stratum was largely marginal to the discussion and hierarchical and party elites effectively determined the ultimate form of the legislation.

29. For an account of the debates over the articles and provisions on religion in the country's first constitution of the transition period (June 1975), see Ioannis M. Konidaris, *O nomos 1700/1987 kai i prosfati krisi stis skheseis ekklesias kai politeias* (Athens: Sakkoulas, 1988). For a discussion of these debates as part of the resolution of cultural contradictions through the process of regime transition, see Prodromou, 187–356.

Space constraints prevent further analysis, but two aspects bear emphasizing as a point of departure for some conclusions about Orthodoxy and democracy in the Balkans as a whole. First, the PASOK distinction between church-state and church-nation reflects an understanding that the public place of Orthodoxy in democratic Greece has been constrained by historical experience and has encompassed both institutional and cultural considerations. Second, the multiple agendas of state and religious actors involved in developing PASOK policies suggest not only the centrality of legitimacy (power) issues *between* church and state but also power considerations *within* the institutional church that turn on conflicting interpretations of the best strategy for making the Orthodox message meaningful to the demands of modern, secular, and pluralist democracy.³⁰

Some Tentative Conclusions for Policymakers

What conclusions emerge from the exploration of the links between Eastern Christianity and democratic politics? The logical starting point is a general word on process and methodology, in anticipation of the dismissive response of skeptics in the policymaking and scholarly ranks.

To those policymakers who point to historical events to justify cavalier dismissal of an examination of the theoretical issues of compatibility-incompatibility between Orthodoxy and democracy, I would point out that the interminable position papers on democracy building are not devalued simply because formal democracies tend to fall short of the theoretical ideal of the rule of the many. The prospects for successful democratic crafting in the Balkans rest on creative policies built on accurate knowledge of the theoretical as well as practical factors that may shape the role of Orthodoxy in the multiple processes of social repluralization. In other words, policymakers should recognize that social transformation depends as much on subjective as on objective constraints. The Orthodox dimensions of culture in Balkan societies—beliefs and attitudes toward power, authority, participation, and cooperation—must be appreciated as key factors in

30. For a full treatment of church-state relations under PASOK, as well as an extensive bibliography of relevant English- and Greek-language sources, see Prodromou.

developing the cultural matrix necessary to support democracy. Policymakers should not ignore the potential for drawing out Orthodoxy's emphasis on freedom, community, and choice as values compatible with democratic culture. At the same time, they should be aware of the hierarchical aspects of Orthodoxy that may pose a cultural challenge toward developing the participatory aspects of civil society.

To those scholars who interpret the history of Orthodoxy and politics in the pre-Cold War Balkans in one-dimensional terms, I would point out that scholars from Max Weber to Juan Linz have argued for the kind of methodological rigor and discerning analysis usually absent in sweeping generalizations about the traditional, non-Western, nonsecular, nonmodern nature of Orthodoxy. Further, just as the development of refined methodological frameworks has led scholars to revise initial prognostications about the inherent incompatibilities of Catholicism and democracy, methodological disaggregation of Eastern Christianity and careful dissection of institutional Orthodoxy is the only means for offering informed conclusions about the real and potential interactions between Orthodoxy and democracy.

The call for procedural and methodological clarity should be of particular interest to scholar-practitioners in both Washington and Athens. That Washington will play a key role in any efforts to support long-term democratization of the former state-Socialist countries of the Balkans is undeniable. The real questions are what sort of and how successful a role Washington will play.

That Athens may play a role in the post-Cold War Balkans is a logical consideration for a variety of reasons, not the least of which are geographical proximity and the attendant security considerations. The establishment of stable democratic regimes in the region can only strengthen Greece's political, economic, and security situation. Not incidentally, the same argument can be made for Turkey, where the current experiment with pluralist democracy reflects a number of problems that certainly would be aggravated by regional instability. However, on the basis of a shared Orthodox religious tradition, political commonalities derived from the historical experience of Ottoman colonization, and cultural similarities grounded in the conflation of Orthodox religious and secular national conceptions of society, Athens is

faced with a unique opportunity to work constructively with Washington in formulating a Balkans agenda based on "a forward-looking democratic politics with eyes in the back of its head."³¹

Washington can only gain by looking to Athens for insights on the links between Orthodoxy and politics within the context of successful democratization. Viewing Greece as a learning curve, however, requires that American policymakers be willing to develop a historically sensitive policy in support of democracy by recognizing religion as a permanent feature of the Balkan political landscape, where political elites and publics in Tirana, Sofia, and Bucharest will factor the frequently conflict-laden religious history of the region into many of the practical choices associated with building democracy. Washington should take care to develop policies crafted to the national specificities of each Balkan democratizer, rather than work from an assumption that the public role of Eastern Christianity will be one and the same across different national cases.

In order to convince Washington that a public role for Orthodoxy is not axiomatically antidemocratic, one need only point out that the United States itself is a prime example of a democratic system in which religion is very much involved in civil society and, in this respect, reinforces the very notions of pluralism meant to be the hallmark of American democracy. This reality at home should convince policymakers in Washington to devote their energies to supporting Balkan leaders in the formulation of new constitutional frameworks and legal-institutional structures that allow religion to enhance the prospects for successful democratic transition.

The centrality of legal-constitutional measures in crafting a new relationship between Orthodoxy and democracy, and in particular, negotiating a role for Orthodoxy and other religions that strengthens civil society, opens a key window of opportunity for Greek policymakers in the Balkans. This article has demonstrated that formal institutional arrangements between the Orthodox churches and states in the Balkans have exerted an overwhelming impact on Orthodoxy's role in civil society as well as on the capacities of states to stand as legitimate defenders of the national community. Policymakers in Greece can offer vital tactical experience to neighboring transi-

31. Keane, xi.

tion managers—and to Washington as a sponsor for democracy in the region—regarding the challenges and reasons associated with attempts to redesign the constitutional relationship between the Orthodox church and the state. The current government in Athens should be especially careful in assessing its own successes and failures on church-state issues in the 1980s when offering advice related to the cultural, nationalist, and state-society issues embedded in efforts to negotiate institutional adjustments that change the role of the Orthodox church in civil society. The Athens government is a resource base relevant to regional policy design concerning issues of democracy and public religion.

Finally, this article has shown that the capacity of the Orthodox churches to play a constructive role in efforts to remake civil society in a democratic Balkans will be constrained by the nature of relations between ecclesiastical leadership and the predemocratic regime. Similar considerations apply to the Catholic churches in former state-Socialist societies. Policymakers in Washington and Athens can pool their efforts in analyzing the credibility of ecclesiastical leadership and the infrastructure at their disposal, in order to determine the viability of Orthodox churches as promoters of democratic learning, participation, and socialization. In other democratizing contexts in Latin America, Asia, and, in limited cases, the former state-Socialist societies of east-central Europe, policymakers have tried to enlist the support of religious elites and the popular strata in a web of functional tasks and interest articulation necessary to strengthen civil society. A similar approach may be worth considering as a means of encouraging the wave of democracy in the Balkans.

ily life, throwing parents and children at the mercy of credentialed experts and unscrupulous advertisers. "Increasingly, the same forces that have impoverished work and civic life invade the private realm and its last refuge, the family," Lasch wrote.

But Lasch also attacked the militant wings of the women's and gay liberation movements, both of which stood then for the restructuring, even the abolition, of the traditional family. Lasch argued that these movements were reinforcing the worst trends in American capitalism, leading to the neglect of children and the fear of intimacy. Lasch was also one of the first left-wing academics to defend then-professor Daniel Patrick Moynihan's work on the decline of the black family.

In *The True and Only Heaven*, published in 1991, Lasch drew away from Marxism toward what he called "populism": a concern with reinvigoration of family, neighborhood and work and with a "more strenuous and

morally demanding definition of the good life." By then, he was scorned by the left and adored by the right. But he remained outside either camp. While he was critical of liberal support for abortion, affirmative action and busing, he was contemptuous of conservatives who supported "family and neighborhood" while championing "unregulated business enterprise, which has replaced neighborhoods with shopping malls and superhighways."

Kirk, Hess and Lasch typified the best in American intellectuals: independent, immune to commercial success and popular favor. They also bore out the superficiality of political classifications. Kirk's conservatism, Hess's libertarianism and Lasch's populism were virtually identical in their regard for what Burke termed "the little platoon we belong to in society." They stand as reminders that even the most liberal or progressive philosophy must be anchored in a thoughtful conservatism. •

Russia's new—and divided—Iodestar.

THE CASE FOR ORTHODOXY

By James H. Billington

Chudo ("a miracle") was the word everyone used on the morning of August 21, 1991, when it became evident that the Communist coup attempt was unraveling. The largest armed force and most ruthless political machine of modern times had just been faced down by an eclectic crowd defending Yeltsin's White House with no more than 150 armed professional soldiers at its core. It *was* a miracle—in part of modern communications. But the new technologies called up older, more powerful ideals in a culture based on a pictorial theology as much as the West is based on a verbal theology.

I felt this in Moscow already on August 19, the first day of the coup attempt, when there was almost no sure information about what was happening. In Russian icons, the face and hands are the only parts of holy figures left uncovered. And Russians immediately contrasted the weak expression and trembling hands of coup leader Vice President Gennadi Yanayev at his televised press conference with the widely reproduced picture of Yeltsin's warm smile and firm but beckoning fist at his first appearance on the balcony of the White House.

The symbols continued. St. George slaying the dra-

JAMES H. BILLINGTON's most recent book is *Russia Transformed: Breakthrough to Hope* (The Free Press).

gon provided the first and most prevalent image to appear among the defenders of Yeltsin's White House during the forty-eight hours of resistance to the coup. After the putsch collapsed, Russians were brought together emotionally by the quasi-religious burial procession for the three young men killed during the coup attempt. Memories were evoked of the first native Russian saints, Boris and Gleb, young medieval princes who voluntarily accepted death in order to prevent dissension in the Russian land. And the classic totalitarian avoidance of individual responsibility seemed to end with the moving words addressed to the parents of the three fallen martyrs: "Forgive me, your president, that I was not able to protect and defend your sons."

"Forgive me" is what Russians say to each other before taking communion. They are the last words uttered by an earlier Boris in Russia's greatest national opera, *Boris Godunov*. "Forgive us" were the words of many of the bouquets sent to Andrei Sakharov's funeral in December 1989. Almost with those words alone Yeltsin seemed to reinvest power with higher authority. Someone blameless was assuming responsibility in a society where people in power never used to accept responsibility for anything. And he did it in the language of faith.

With the collapse of the world's first atheist state, the

historic religion of Russia has emerged as the central cultural force in the country's new national self-consciousness. As a cohering ideology, Orthodoxy has replaced communism as the lodestar of Russian society. Along with the army, the Church is one of the few national institutions that is still respected. Articulate priests are in demand on television talk shows. In last autumn's clash between executive and legislature, both sides turned to the Church for arbitration. Politicians of all stripes are now as reflexively deferential to the Church as they were once contemptuous of it.

Yet this very increase in prestige and visibility has exposed a split that has always existed in Russian Orthodoxy between its historic alliance with state power and its spiritual connection with ordinary believers. This conflict between the priestly and prophetic side of Christianity has been particularly intense in Russia—ever since the clash of the more wealthy monastic “possessors” with the ascetic and spiritual “nonpossessors” at the beginning of the sixteenth century. This conflict now has added salience. Whether the Orthodox Church can wrest itself from the state and become the conscience of the nation will be important in determining whether Russia can discover a new, democratic and civil culture or will return to a dark and threatening authoritarianism.

The battle between power and spirituality within the Orthodox Church deepened under communism. The Soviet state confronted the Church with both a more crippling stick and a more poisoned carrot than the state had ever met before. As more archival material comes to light, it becomes clearer that no other Christian community in modern times suffered a greater martyrdom than Russian Orthodox believers endured during the Soviet era. The destruction of religion was a central, early fixation of Lenin—not just a Stalinist aberration. One of a large number of bloodthirsty orders of Lenin that have recently emerged includes, for example, the reluctance of a local church to hand over its religious treasures to the state. Lenin ordered that 100 priests be rounded up immediately, hanged and left to putrify in public as a lesson to the nation. The church, which had re-established an independent patriarchate during the 1917 revolution, was subjected to prolonged humiliation. Nearly every major Russian religious thinker or leader was either exiled in the 1920s or killed in the 1930s. Old women in the gulags who wanted to conduct Easter services were forced to hold them knee-deep in water that was freezing around them.

The Russian Church defeated early Bolshevik efforts

to supplant it by a puppet “renovationist” church, but made its Faustian bargain with communism in 1927, accepting a narrowly liturgical survival in return for docile support of Soviet policies. A young believer wrote a farewell letter (much discussed in recent months) to his parents explaining why he was going off into the woods rather than accept the Church's new Babylonian captivity: “I will not come again out of the wilderness . . . until the wrath of God passes over our country. Forgive me for leaving you, and repent before it is too late. Later on you will not be able to break free.”

After a brief revival during the war, the Russian Church was brutalized anew by Khrushchev, who shut half of the remaining churches and most of its surviving seminaries between 1959 and 1962. The survivors were forced into a firmer support of Soviet political positions in the World Council of Churches.

Recently released archival materials show that there were links between the KGB and many members of the ruling synod of the Church during the last quarter-century of communism. Metropolitan Yuveneri of Krutitsy and Kolomna, the main episcopal see for the Moscow area, and Metropolitan Pitirim of Volokolamsk and Yur'ev, head of the patriarchal publishing house, were given KGB code names of “Adamant” and “Abbat,” respectively. The former metropolitan Filaret of Kiev (code name “Antonov”) was a particularly compliant state servant since he was hiding the fact that he had secretly fathered a family by his housekeeper. The Church made a pact with power

under late communism that rendered it a partial handmaiden in the continued persecution of believers. The hierarchy that collaborated is still largely in place, and has since added to its ranks even more reactionary figures, such as Metropolitan Ioann of Petersburg, an openly anti-Semitic extremist. The ruling body of metropolitans is described by reformist journalists as “our last surviving Soviet institution” and by young seminarians as the *Mitropolitburo*.

Happily, however, there is another powerful current in the post-Soviet Orthodox Church. I vividly remember a passionate late-night conversation with a parish priest in Moscow in 1987. It took place at the scholarly conference with which the Church hierarchy was opening its year-long celebration of 1,000 years of Russian Christianity. The priest called me up in order to tell me how misplaced the atmosphere of triumphalism was for a church that had never had the courage to pray publicly for those in the camps and that needed to repent before it could celebrate. This thirst for purification is



strong among new young converts to Christianity. A recent poll by the University of Chicago's National Opinion Research Center shows that 30 percent of Russians under 25 have converted from atheism to a belief in God; and there has been enormous growth in religious activity. Between 1988 and 1993 the number of active churches in greater Moscow grew from fifty to 250. As the aging hierarchy above is faced with a resurgence of youthful faith from below, there are not enough trained priests to serve the new clientele (a shortage made acute by the independence of Ukraine, which traditionally supplied a high percentage of Russian Orthodox priests).

A number of new (and some old) Russian parishes have sought to transfer their episcopal allegiance to the émigré Russian Orthodox Church, which never accepted Soviet authority and always honored the "new martyrs" of the Communist era. There have also been enough converts to Catholicism and to Protestant fundamentalism to have caused the hierarchy to press for discriminatory legislation against foreign-based faiths (laws passed by the old Supreme Soviet, but never signed by Yeltsin).

The two factions in the Church—nationalistic hard-liners seeking authoritarian discipline and new-style believers attempting to reform Orthodoxy from within—also hold different views of the role of the Church in society. One sees the Russian Church providing a unifying national identity for a rejuvenated traditional state. The other sees the Church providing the moral basis for building a responsible society independent of state structures.

The partisans of an authoritarian re-establishment of Orthodoxy range from pious, moderate monarchists (a recent poll found 30 percent of Russians sympathetic to a restoration of royalty) to crypto-fascists, such as Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, who seem to want a purely ethnic Orthodoxy cleansed of Christian content. The authoritarian wing of the hierarchy has adopted the theory that the present Westernizing reforms, like the earlier changes under the Bolsheviks, are products of a Jewish-led international conspiracy to undermine the essential identity of the Russian people. Their faith, like that of Dostoyevsky's Grand Inquisitor, is to be maintained by mystery and authority. It attaches extraordinary importance to venerating the remains of past saints newly exhumed (St. Seraphim at Deievo, St. Ambrose at Optina) and to maintaining the liturgy in Church Slavonic.

The partisans of reform base their faith more on Christian witness at the local, parish level. They have martyrs such as Father Aleksandr Men, the most gifted Christian teacher of his era, who was murdered with an ax in September 1990; prophets such as Father Aleksandr Borisov, founder of the ecumenical Russian Bible Society; evangelists such as Father Georgi Kochetkov, a dynamic preacher who created in the first two years of his new Moscow parish a higher Orthodox theological school with 1,300 enrollment and a children's Sunday

School for 350. And there are saints, such as the monk Zinon from Pskov, who has revived the art of painting icons as an act of worship and has written movingly about the need to assume individual responsibility for moral behavior and for the stewardship of private property. Perhaps the leading lay Orthodox thinker is the great Byzantinist, Sergei Averintsev, who will soon publish a major book reconciling the new reformism in political and economic life with Russian Orthodox faith and culture.

Both sides of this conflict see Orthodoxy as a bulwark against the corruption and decadence the new freedoms permit, and see the Orthodox liturgy as the pearl of great price that the Church preserved throughout the Soviet era and now offers as the pathway to salvation. The reformers are not doctrinally liberal; but they are more concerned with the traditions of spiritual counseling by "elders" proven in sanctity and with the moral example set by the "new martyrs" of the Soviet era than with old-style hierarchical discipline. They give more prominence to sermons and Scripture (a children's Bible published in 1991 soon became Russia's best-selling book among adults), and follow the recommendations of the Church Council of 1917-1918 to sing the liturgy in the vernacular rather than in unintelligible Church Slavonic.

In a sense, the conflict within the Church is only the latest version of the old struggle between the possessors and the nonpossessors. The authoritarians want to build on the privileged position that Orthodoxy obtained in the late Soviet period to become a force for social discipline and for the periodic purging of corrupting foreign influences. For them, Russia itself is a martyred nation—victimized by a series of materialistic Western ideas: liberalism in the late Tsarist period, Marxism in the Soviet period and now market economics.

The reformers, on the other hand, want to renew the nation's Orthodox commitment by internal, individual moral revival and a total catharsis of the Soviet legacy. They tend to see past hierarchical collaboration with Soviet authorities as an argument not so much for selective purges of the Church leadership as for some kind of cleansing corporate act of ecclesiastical repentance by the Church as a whole. For many of the newly converted young Orthodox, both within and without the clergy, the need for a totally fresh start is so profound that they are increasingly willing to seek individual spiritual rebirth in conversion to Catholicism or (more often) to evangelical Protestantism and Pentecostalism because of official Orthodoxy's perceived indifference to genuine institutional rebirth.

The movement for deeper renewal draws strength from a small but growing body of fellow Christians who seek to support rather than convert the Orthodox—particularly among the relatively liturgical Lutheran and Anglican communions, but also among some Calvinists anxious to re-establish conciliar methods of church governance. Theological power has been provided by other Orthodox communions, particularly

from the United States and from the ancient Church in Georgia. American Orthodoxy produced or sheltered the three most respected recent Russian Orthodox theologians, Aleksandr Schmemman, John Meyendorff and Georges Florovsky. The lay ranks of Georgian Orthodoxy produced the most important and influential artistic accomplishment of the late Soviet era, the great Christian movie *Repentance*. It made the destruction of a Church the central image of totalitarianism and ended with an old lady asking for the road to that church and being told that the church no longer existed. The last line of the film (and the last publicly spoken by Georgia's most celebrated actress, who died shortly thereafter) was "What is the use of a road if it doesn't lead to a church?"

The question today is not so much whether or not the road will lead to a church, but to *what kind of church* is Russia's road leading? Much depends on the Patriarch Alexis. There seems little doubt he had the usual amicable relations with high Soviet authorities, particularly during his long ecclesiastical career in his native Estonia (where he was made bishop at the earliest possible age of 32 in 1961, at the height of the Khrushchev persecution of the Church). And he continues to be embarrassed by a description of him in 1974 by the then-vice president of the Soviet government's Council for Religious Affairs as one of the most loyal Russian bishops, who accepted a "lack of interest" in strengthening religion. In fact, however, the Church in Estonia fared reasonably well under his long stewardship; and since he became metropolitan of Leningrad in 1986 and patriarch in 1990, he has shown two qualities that are essential if there is to be an inner transformation rather than just an imperial revival of the Orthodox Church in Russia. Patriarch Alexis seems to be both authentically pastoral and deeply committed to education.

The London-based Metropolitan Anthony Bloom, the leading Russian Orthodox clergyman in the English-speaking world, described Alexis, before he was patriarch as "an excellent parish priest"; and in several conversations I have had with him since he became patriarch he always seemed most animated when speaking of his unprecedentedly heavy schedule of visits to grass-roots parishes all over Russia. His first pronouncement after he was named patriarch was not the usual bland expression of pieties, but a confrontational demand for the full right of the Church to be a popular teaching institution as well as a place of worship. And he brought with him from Leningrad to Moscow, as his "secretary for research," Konstantin Logachev, who was, like the Church's foreign minister, Metropolitan Cyril, a protégé of the late Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad, the leading apostle of enlightenment within the Church during the dark last days of Brezhnev. Logachev published the popular new children's Bible and other new works designed to give a higher pedagogic content to the Church's long moribund publication program. The patriarch himself took an active part in the formal founding of the Russian Bible

Society in October 1991. In several subsequent trips abroad, Patriarch Alexis also seemed receptive to pluralism and ecumenical openness, and he dissociated himself and the Church from anti-Semitism.

As the entire political center of gravity in Russia has moved to the right in recent months, the patriarch seems to be trimming his reformist sails. He has moved to discipline not only the most prominent reformist activist among Orthodox clergy, Gleb Yakunin, but also the apolitical, modernist Father Kochetkov. There has been no comparable discipline—or even public repudiation—of the increasingly nationalistic rhetoric of Metropolitan Ioann from the patriarch's former diocese in Petersburg or of the many others who seem sympathetic to either Zhirinovskiy or the leader of the October violence, Aleksandr Rutskoi. The latter's popular appeal is in part based on his public embrace of Orthodoxy and his claim to have been guided by visions of the Mother of God at crucial points in recent history.

Particularly remarkable was the recent public signing of a concordat between the patriarch and Defense Minister Pavel Grachev urging the creation of a kind of ecclesiastical chaplain corps in order to restore moral teaching in the armed forces. Leading clerical reformers have expressed relief that Russia's leading public reading room for religious literature of all kinds is located in Moscow's public Library for Foreign Literature, run by a strong Orthodox democrat, Ekaterina Genieva, rather than in a hierarchy-controlled institution where "so much Western writing might no longer be acceptable to our chauvinists in cassocks."

Russians describe the current period as a *smuta*, or "time of troubles": a chaotic interregnum like that of the early seventeenth—and twentieth—century, when anarchy ended only with the establishment of yet another autocracy. Today's struggle between a repressive and a responsible political future for Russia is waged within the Church to which Russians have always tended to turn in times of trouble. Father Zinon, the monastic icon painter, has warned that Russian Orthodoxy is at a crossroads: it will either lapse again into a state religion or become the leaven in a new life of prayer, hard work and Christian education that will renew local communities in which private property and individual rights will be respected. Such a vision is not just compatible with, but conducive to, democracy.

The Orthodox believe that God's all-permeating presence gives to each person everywhere an uplifting vertical dimension for his or her life. Seeking to go forward and Westward in search of new human freedoms, more and more Russians are simultaneously turning back and looking East to rediscover their older, half-forgotten sense of theological responsibility. Would-be prophets and politicians alike are proclaiming once again in the midst of Russia's present darkness, *ex oriente lux*. But there is still no clear answer to the question posed by Russia's greatest modern religious thinker, Vladimir Solovyev, just a century ago: "Which East shall we become—the East of Xerxes or of Christ?" •



A SERMON PREACHED AT GREAT ST. MARY'S THE UNIVERSITY CHURCH · CAMBRIDGE

'Freedom and the Annunciation'

The Rt Revd Bishop KALLISTOS of DIOKLEIA

Sunday 4 March 1990 at 8.30 p.m.

1 Cor.8.9 : 'We are fellow-workers with God'.

This morning in the Orthodox Church, being the first Sunday of Lent, we celebrated the Feast of Orthodoxy, the Feast of the Holy Icons. In my own church at Oxford we went round the outside of the church in procession, and then returning we sang what is known as the Great Prokeimenon - Who is so great a God as our God? You only are the God who does wonders.

In these last three years, and particularly in the last twelve months, we have indeed seen wonders, developments that none of us three years ago even in our wildest moments would have imagined possible. I am thinking of the changes that have occurred in Russia, East Germany, recently in Rumania, and in the other countries of Eastern Europe. We have seen the collapse in one country after another of hard-line repressive regimes. We are seeing a new openness, a new respect for human diversity and for human freedom. These are changes which particularly affect Orthodox Christians. Some 85% of the members of the Orthodox Church live in what were formerly Communist countries, behind what we used to call the Iron Curtain. And so for the great majority of our church members a new future is suddenly opening up. Take for example the Soviet Union. It's reckoned that in the last two to three years over two thousand churches have been re-opened, on some estimates three thousand. That is to say twenty new churches being opened every week. In these last three years the number of seminaries for the training of priests has been doubled. Certainly the winds of freedom are blowing through Eastern Europe with an astonishing force, setting before Christians there fresh opportunities, unexpected challenges.

Freedom is basic to our personhood. The most tremendous thing granted to humans, says Kierkegaard, is choice, freedom. If you want to save this gift of freedom, and to keep it, there is only one way. In the very same second give it back to God, and yourself with it. Freedom is basic but it is also ambivalent. Freedom from what? Freedom for what? How will the newly-acquired freedom be used in Russia and in Rumania? I remember a few years ago in Oxford we were visited (this was before the days of glasnost) by one of the bishops of the Russian Church, Metropolitan Philaret of Minsk. And in the discussion following the service a member of our congregation used the phrase, referring to us in the West, 'We in the free world'. And Metropolitan Philaret said, 'You speak about the free world, but there are many different kinds of freedom. Coming to Britain for the first time I'm not so sure whether you are so very free here. I notice wherever I go advertisements, subtle, often offensive, often influencing your choice at sub-conscious level, appealing indirectly to motives you may not be aware of. We in the Soviet Union are at least free from that.' We learn that Macdonalds are now established in Russia, but will freedom mean not only the entry of hamburgers to the Soviet Union but of other more pernicious aspects of the way we in the West use our freedom?

Later, in this month of March, we shall be keeping a feast in celebration of our human freedom, the Feast of the Annunciation. The Blessed Virgin Mary is an icon of human freedom. She was chosen by God, but she herself made a choice. In the account that you have just heard from St Luke, God waits for the voluntary consent of her whom he had chosen to be his Mother. He asks for her permission. He waits for her reply. 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord, here am I. I am the Lord's servant, let it be to me as you have said.' And that reply of hers is freely given. It is not a foregone conclusion. She could have refused. She was

not merely the pliant instrument of God's plan, but an active participant in the mystery. What we see in Mary at the Annunciation is not passivity but engagement, not subordination but partnership, not submission but mutuality of relationship. Mary at that moment is a decision-maker. She's taken into dialogue with God and she makes on her own behalf a courageous choice. In the words of St Irenaeus Mary co-operates with the economy. We are fellow-workers, co-operators with God, says St Paul, and the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, is the supreme fellow-worker with God.

Is it not a striking fact that while the creation of the world was brought about solely by the Divine Will, the re-creation of the world depended not only on God but on the freely-given decision of a young girl betrothed to a carpenter? The freedom of the Mother of God is a theme very much emphasised by Orthodox writers, for example by St Nicholas Cabasilas in the fourteenth century. The Incarnation of the Word, he says, was not only the work of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the first consenting, the second descending, the third overshadowing, but it was also the work of the will and the faith of the Virgin. Without the three divine persons this design could not have been set in motion. But likewise the plan could not have been carried into effect without the consent and faith of the all-pure Virgin. Only after teaching and persuading her does God make her His Mother, and receive from her the flesh that she consciously wills to offer him. Just as he was conceived by his own free choice, so in the same way she became his Mother, voluntarily, with her own free consent, only after teaching and persuading, says Cabasilas. In the words of the early Christian writing known as the Letter to Diognetos God persuades, he does not compel, for violence is foreign to the divine nature. 'Behold, I stand at the door and knock. If anyone opens I will come in.' Christ knocks but he does not break the door down. He appeals to our freedom, waits for our voluntary agreement.

Looking further at the story of the Blessed Virgin Mary, we can see three things in particular about freedom. What is the first action of Mary after the Annunciation? She goes in haste to the hill country to visit her cousin Elizabeth. She cannot keep the good news to herself. She feels that she must share it. So there is the first thing about freedom. Having exercised her freedom in welcoming God's plan, she then makes an act of solidarity, of relationship. Freedom involves community, freedom involves working with others. If I am to be truly free I must learn to share my freedom with those round me, to work with them. Freedom then is not individualism, but community. The word for 'person' in Greek is 'prosopon'. And that means a face. I am only truly personal, and only truly free, if I face other people, look at them, and let them look at me.

Many of you may well be familiar with the peasant story in Dostoevsky's novel The Brothers Karamazov, about an old woman and an onion. (It is my all-purpose anecdote!) There was an old woman, very respectable, very regular in her attendance at church. She died, and woke up to find herself in a lake of fire. She was surprised at this. Looking out, she saw, walking on the bank, her guardian angel. There has been some mistake, she said. 'I'm a very respectable old lady. I should not be here in this lake of fire.' 'Can you ever remember', said the angel to her, 'a time when you helped somebody else?' She thought for some time and then she said, 'Yes, once I was gardening, a beggar came, and I gave her an onion'. 'Excellent', said the angel, 'I happen to have the onion with me now'. He reached into his robes and took it out. 'Let us see', he said, 'what this onion will do'. So he took one end, she took the other, and he began to pull her out. But she was not the only person in the lake of fire, and when the others saw what was happening they crowded round and hung on in the hope of being pulled out as well. This did not please the old lady at all. She began to kick and to cry out. 'Let go', she said, 'Let go! It's not you who's being pulled out, it's me. It's not your onion, it's mine!' When she said 'It's mine' the onion split in two and she fell back into the lake of fire and there, so I'm told, she still is.

That is Dostoevsky's story. Personhood, freedom, means, after the model of the Virgin Mary, to share our onion with other people. Freedom is not isolation, but solidarity.

And then a second thing. Freedom involves other people. If we are to be really

free, then we must be willing to listen. Only the one who listens to others, who possesses the dimension of receptivity and silence, is capable of making free
sions. And how very hard we find it to listen. I always remember a conversation that I heard many years ago on the Goon Show. The telephone rings, and one of the characters, I think it's Harry Secombe, lifts the receiver. 'Hello', he says, 'Hello, who's speaking? I can't hear you. Hello, who's speaking?' And a voice the other end of the line says 'You are speaking'. 'Oh', he says, 'I thought the voice sounded familiar'. And he puts the receiver down. No, those who cannot listen to the voice at the other end of the telephone, who can hear their own voice in everything, they are in a deep way un-free. One of the features that we note in the Virgin Mary is exactly that she listens. 'Let it be to me', she says, 'according to your word'. Mary listens to God's word, and that is a master theme running through the early part of the gospel. After the birth of Christ, after the visit of the shepherds, St Luke comments, 'Mary kept all these things, pondering them in her heart'. And again, after the occasion when Jesus was twelve years old and taught in the Temple, we're told 'His mother kept all these things in her heart'. Listen. Once more, at the first of Christ's miracles, in Cana in Gallilee, the changing of water into wine, Mary says to the servants 'Do whatever he tells you'. And those are her last recorded words in the New Testament. 'Do whatever he tells you'. Listen. Wait on God. Listen to others round you. That's the way to freedom.

Surely this has a vital relevance to us today. Mary, the one who listens, who is silent, is a model for our age. An age when words can be multiplied with dangerous facility through the word processor, the photocopier, the recorder. I often wish that my colleagues on University committees had to write out every word they were going to send me by hand with a quill pen. They would choose their words more carefully and more sparingly. So many words, but we have lost the art of silence, hesychia. Mary, the hesychast, teaches us that only the person who listens is able truly to choose.

So freedom means sharing and it means listening. Also a third thing. It means suffering. Freedom can often be arduous, sacrificial, tragic. And this is emphasised to Mary herself by Simeon at the Presentation in the Temple. 'A sword will pierce your own soul'. Mary's free choice involves her in suffering. This is a point much emphasised by the Russian philosopher Nicholas Berdyaev, who was once called the Captive of Freedom by one of his critics, a title in which he took great pleasure. 'Man', says Berdyaev, 'came forth out of freedom and issues into freedom. Freedom is a primordial source and condition of existence. God is truly present and operative only in freedom. Freedom alone can be recognised as possessing a sacred quality.' And then he goes on, 'I always knew that freedom gives birth to suffering, and the refusal to be free diminishes suffering. Freedom is not easy as its slanderers allege. Freedom is hard, it is a heavy burden. People often renounce freedom to ease their lot.'

This theme of freedom as a heavy burden, that people seek to avoid, is underlined also by Dostoevsky, in the tale of the Grand Inquisitor, also in his novel The Brothers Karamazov. You will recall that in that story Christ comes back to earth in sixteenth century Spain, and begins to do what he did in Palestine at his first coming: to preach the good news, to heal. This alarms the ecclesiastical authorities and the Grand Inquisitor has him arrested, and goes to see him in prison. 'Why have you come back?' says the Grand Inquisitor. 'You made people free. But freedom was too difficult for them. It brought them too much pain. We have taken away the freedom you gave so that humans may be at peace, so that they may be spared pain. We have corrected your work.' That is true in a way. And yet if we renounce our own freedom we cease to be authentically human. And if we deny others their freedom we de-humanise them. Without freedom there can be no love. And we humans, created in the image of God the Trinity, are created for mutual love.

Let me add one last word. What is a University? Here we are in a University Church, but what is the purpose of a University? When my students ask me, as a University teacher, what are you trying to do for us, how should I answer? One answer that I would give is this. A University is a place where we learn to be

free. Learn to be free. We are to note that freedom cannot simply be assumed. It has to be learnt. Suppose you ask me, 'Can you play the violin?' And I reply 'I'm not sure, I've never tried', you would find something odd in that answer. I am not free to play the sonatas of Beethoven on the violin unless I have passed through a rigorous discipline. Freedom has to be learnt. And we are here in a University to learn freedom through the exact discipline of observation and reasoning, through the cultivation of our creative freedom, the cultivation of our imagination. The Blessed Virgin Mary as an icon of freedom is a fitting patron for University work. It is no coincidence that in Cambridge as in Oxford the University Church is dedicated to St Mary.

* * * * *

For £3.50 for one term (£6.00 for two terms and £8.00 for three terms) these sermons can be posted to you fortnightly in term time. Please apply to The Sermons Secretary, Great St Mary's, The University Church, Cambridge, CB2 3PQ.

Re: John Wesley and the Orthodox Church
For more information, see Albert C. Outler's, "John Wesley."

When John Wesley went to Oxford in 1725 as a student of the classics (and ultimately as a fellow at Lincoln College) he became involved with a group started by his brother Charles, the Holy Club, a semi-monastic group that was greatly influenced by the Patristic revival occasioned by many translations of the Fathers of the Early Church, the ancient liturgies and the writings of the fourth century desert fathers. It should be noted that some of these Fathers were archbishops or patriarchs of Constantinople or played important roles in theological and church discussions there. Constantinople was the hub of the important fourth century thinkers Wesley read.

John Wesley's total theological world view was shaped by this experience and he continued to become a great proponent of the early church as the repository of the true way of explaining scripture and Christian theology, as compared with the Reformation views that were prevalent in his day. i.e., his emphasis on the resurrectional aspect of Christ's atonement rather than the crucifixion-sacrificial emphasis since Augustine in the West. Included in this was the emphasis on the social spirit of the religious community, to love God and to the love one's fellow human being, which was expressed according to the diversity of the gifts of the Holy Spirit found in different individuals, and in the importance of service and practical work.

Although Wesley's intention was not to reform the church, by resuscitating the personal reform theology of the Greek Fathers he did just that. Most important for understanding Wesley's Methodism was his acceptance of the Eastern idea of personal reform for all Christians, rejecting any idea of an elect. He read and adopted Saint Gregory of Nyssa's theory of perfection or sanctification as a lifelong process of development into the image of God. At that time the work "De Instituto Christiano," was considered to be that of Macarius or Ephraim, but was later identified as the work of the great fourth century Church hierarch, Saint Gregory of Nyssa, considered to be the "Father of the Fathers." In Gregory's vocabulary this process of sanctification or perfection was spoken of as teleiosis or theosis. This quest was through devotion as the way and perfection, teleiosis, as the goal, skopos, of the Christian Life.

Wesley also adopted the patristic idea of personal reform growing out of man's love for God and God's love for man as a way

of explaining Christ and his way of salvation. And that it is man's true nature to be Godlike.

Wesley rejected the Reformation faith vs. work distinction and controversy and assumed the Early Church view of faith and good works--without faith no good works can be done. St. Didymus the blind's idea that "For inasmuch as faith without works is dead, it is not faith--as a dead man is not a man." Wesley also accepted Saint Gregory of Nyssa's (and the other fathers') ethical notion of divine-human synergism. He rejected the pietist views of the Moravians and others and subscribed to those of the great Patriarch of Constantinople, St. John Chrysostom, and other fathers on the importance of active service on behalf of the poor and needy.

Wesley wrote that the church was best defined or understood in action--in witness and mission and in understanding what this meant he relied on the paradigms of polity in the Patristic church, as Outler has written.

Wesley was also very interested in the liturgical texts of the Early Church and studied them and commented on them. He practiced fasting and also urged frequent Holy Communion, and infant baptism, as was done in the Early Church.

CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITY

RELIGIOUS VISION AND CULTURAL CHANGE

Ted A. Campbell

This important study offers a new and critical way of understanding Wesley and the larger phenomenon of the eighteenth-century evangelical revival. Campbell argues that Christian antiquity functioned for Wesley as an alternative cultural vision for religious renewal, much in the same way that classical antiquity served as a cultural model for secular Enlightenment thinkers of the eighteenth century.

Campbell examines the thought of John Wesley against the background of classical and Christian revivalism in the eighteenth century and shows how "classical antiquity" had become a focus of controversy in British religious conflicts of the mid-seventeenth century, as well as a source of renewal for the Church in the later seventeenth century. After examining the influence on and development of Wesley's vision of Christian antiquity, Campbell outlines Wesley's conception of early Christian history and examines Wesley's uses of Christian antiquity as a pattern for individual and communal life.

Avoiding conventional notions of cultural conservatism and radicalism, Campbell articulates a vision of Wesley as a complex figure who consciously sought for cultural change by appeal to his own culture's most distinctive roots.

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Divider Title: _____

**Meeting with
Religious Leaders**

**Istanbul, Turkey: Inter-Faith
Religious Leaders Meeting**

Context for the Event:

Turkey's Constitution establishes a secular state and provides for freedom of belief, worship, and private dissemination of religious ideas. The Government generally observes these provisions, although there have been serious violations in past years. Turkey is 99% Muslim, yet Istanbul is the international center of two important Christian faiths: the Eastern and Armenian Orthodox.

The center where this inter-faith meeting will occur is a 19th century Ottoman palace, now the Organization of the Islamic Conference -- a culture, art and history research center. Your host today, Professor Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, founded the center in 1980 and has been its director since then. He is a leading intellectual in the Muslim World and is on the board of many universities, including Harvard.

In organizing the meeting, we worked closely with an American foundation headed by Rabbi Sohnier and with the Ecumenical Patriarch, Bartholomew I, who sponsored a major conference on peace and tolerance in Istanbul in 1994. He has invited the leading Muslim, Christian and Jewish Religious leaders in the city to meet with you for an exchange of views.

Professor Ihsanoglu will escort you from his office to the reception room of the palace, where the Sultans once received foreign ambassadors. There you will meet with the Grand Mufti of Istanbul, two leading Turkish theologians, the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs, the Grand Rabbi of Turkey and several archbishops. After a brief welcoming speech by the director, you will respond, you will exchange gifts. The media will leave the reception room and, over tea, an informal discussion of issues of the day will take place.

Objective:

- o To emphasize the importance we place in the United States on religious tolerance.

Talking Points:

- Earlier in this trip I had the opportunity to talk with another group of religious leaders who lived through the horror of the war in Bosnia.

- 2 -

- They too are working for tolerance and greater understanding among ethnic and religious groups to end a conflict that has brought death and suffering to so many people.
- I know that many of you here today worked, with the help of American religious leaders, to make a success of the Conference on Peace and Tolerance that took place here in Istanbul two years ago. I understand representatives from many countries participated in that conference.
- At a time when forces throughout the world are working to divide mankind, I commend all of you for your continued efforts to find common ground among the great faiths of the world, and thus contribute to efforts to bring peace throughout the world.

**SUGGESTED GUEST LIST
FOR INTERFAITH RECEPTION
March 28, 1996**

Professor Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu	Host
H.E. the Grand Mufti of Istanbul	
H.E. the Grand Rabbi of Turkey	
H.E. the Ecumenical Patriarch	
H.E. the Armenian Patriarch	
H.E. the Metropolitan of the Syrian Orthodox	
H.E. the Latin Archbishop of Istanbul	
H.E. Dr. Tayyar Altikulac	
H.E. Prof. Dr. Mehmet S. Aydin	
Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton	
Miss Chelsea Clinton	
Ambassador and Mrs. Marc Grossman	

His Eminence Grand Rabbi David Asseo

The Grand Rabbi is a Turkish citizen and was born in Istanbul in 1914. His religious training began at age six and included a stay from 1927 to 1933 on the Greek island of Rhodes. He returned to Turkey in 1933 and taught Hebrew at the Jewish School in Haskoy and the Istanbul Jewish Lycee. In 1957 he became the secretary of then Grand Rabbi Saban. He became Grand Rabbi in 1961. The Grand Rabbi speaks Hebrew, Italian, Spanish and Greek.

His All Holiness The Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I

The Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I is a Turkish citizen and was born on the Turkish island Gokceada in 1940. He was ordained to the Holy Diaconate of the Greek Orthodox Church and given the name Bartholomew in 1961 after graduating from the Theological School of Halki. From 1961 to 1963 he served as a reserve officer in the Turkish Army. After his army service he attended the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome and earned a doctorate in Canon Law. He became the Ecumenical Patriarch in 1991. He is fluent in English, French, German, and Italian.

His Beatitude, Karekin II (Karekin Kazanciyan)

His Beatitude, Karekin II, 83rd Patriarch of the Armenians in Turkey, was born in Istanbul in 1927. He is a graduate of the Theology and Philosophy faculties of King's College, Cambridge, U.K. and was ordained a priest in 1950 with the name Karekin. After completing his Turkish military service as a reserve officer in 1957, he attended the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. and received a master's degree in theology and philosophy. He then served as Archbishop of Australia and New Zealand for 15 years and as Custodian in Charge of Holy Places in Jerusalem. In 1990, he was elected the 83rd Patriarch of Armenians in Turkey. An Australian citizen since 1972, he speaks Turkish, English and Armenian.

His Excellency The Apostolic Vicar of Istanbul Archbishop Louis Pelatre

Archbishop Pelatre was born in Pance, France in 1940. He completed his theological studies at French catholic universities in Lyon and Lille from 1965 - 1969. In 1969 he became a priest of the Congregation of the Augustines of the Assumption. Monseigneur Pelatre first came to Turkey in 1970 to complete his religious training at the Church of the Assumption in Istanbul. Since 1970 he has served in a variety of positions, including as a member of the Pontifical Council in Rome for Interreligious Dialogue, and became The Apostolic Vicar of Istanbul in 1990. He speaks Turkish, some English and French.

Dr. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, Director of the Research Center for Islamic History, Art and Culture in Istanbul

Dr. Ihsanoglu was born in 1943 and is a Turkish citizen. He earned his B.S. and M.S degrees at universities in Cairo, Egypt and a Ph.D. from the University of Ankara, Turkey. In addition to his duties as the Director of the Organization of the Islamic Council's Research Center in Istanbul, he is also a professor of history and science at Istanbul University. Dr. Ihsanoglu has published many scholarly books, articles and papers on the relations between Islam and the Western world. In 1994, the American Biographical Institute awarded him their International Cultural Diploma of Honor for his promotion of cross-cultural intellectual relations. He currently is a member of the advisory board of Harvard University's Center for Middle Eastern Studies. Dr. Ihsanoglu speaks fluent English, Turkish, French and Arabic.

Dr. Tayyar Altikulac, Member of Parliament

Dr. Altikulac was born in Kastamonu, Turkey in 1938 and graduated from the Higher Institute of Islamic Theology in Istanbul in 1963. In addition to an academic career as an associate professor at the Higher Institutes of Islamic Theology in Istanbul and Kayseri, he has served as the Director General of Theology in the Turkish Ministry of Education (1976-77) and the President of the Turkish Directorate of Islamic Affairs (1978-86). He has also been the Chairman of the Turkish Theology Foundation. Dr. Altikulac was elected to represent Istanbul in the Turkish Parliament in the 1995 general elections. He is fluent in English and Turkish.

**Dr. Mehmet S. Aydin, Dean of the Faculty of
Theology at Dokuz Eylul University, Izmir**

Dr. Aydin was born in 1943. He received a Ph.D. from Edinburgh University in Scotland in 1971. From 1972 to 1984 he was an associate professor in the faculties of Islamic theology at Ataturk and Ankara Universities. He was appointed full professor at Dokuz Eylul University in Izmir in 1984 and is currently the Dean of the Faculty of Theology. He is fluent in English and Turkish.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	Re: manifest (1 page)	03/26/1996	b(7)(E)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
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OA/Box Number: 15622

FOLDER TITLE:

Greece, Turkey and Germany [binder] [2]

2013-0534-S
ry1722

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

**THE TRIP OF THE FIRST LADY
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TO
ISTANBUL, TURKEY**

EVENT: Visit to Bakirkoy SSK Hospital and Family Planing Discussion
(SSK is Social Security Administration)

DATE: Thursday, March 28, 1996

TIME: 2:20 pm - 3:30 pm

TOUR PARTICIPANTS: HRC
CVC
Interpreter
Minister of Labor Mustafa Kul, (Moo-stah-fa Kool)
SSK Director Kemal Kilicdaroglu, (Keh-mahl Klich-dar-o-loo)
Director of Bakirkoy Hospital, Dr. Berk Arsan, (Bark Ahr-sahn)
Dr. Topuz Ozkan, Hospital Manager (To-pooz Ooz-kahn)

NOTE: Staff should remain on first floor where they will be escorted to hold or family planning discussion room.

**DISCUSSION
PARTICIPANTS:**

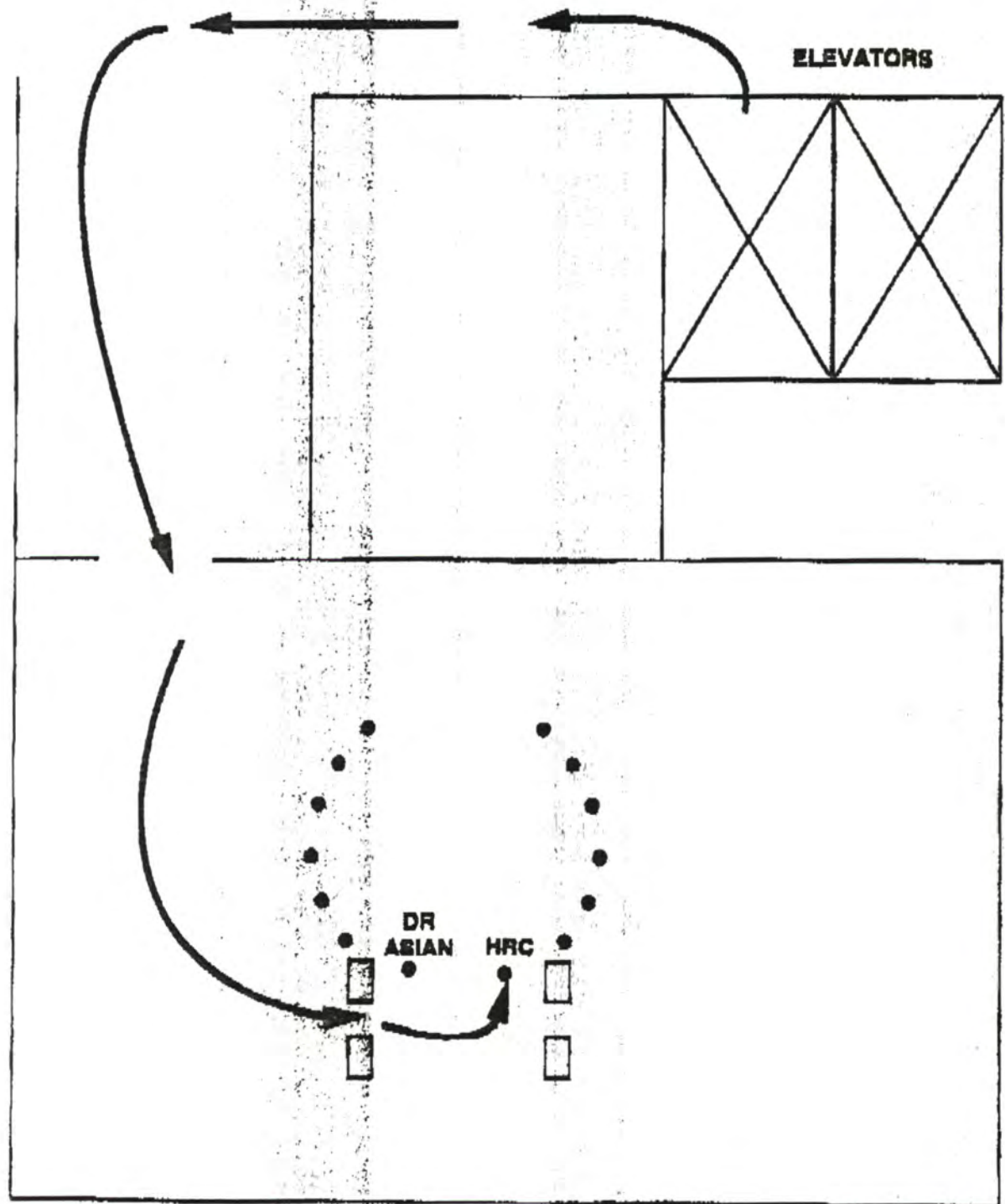
HRC
Interpreter
Minister of Labor, Mustafa Kul
SSK Director, Kemal Kilicdaroglu
Bakirkoy Hospital Director, Dr. Berk Arsan
FP Clinic Director, Dr. Kirac Yalcindag (Kir-ach Yal-chin-dah)
FP Counselor/Midwife Nuray Tugrul (Noo-rye Too-rule)
2-3 Turkish couples TBD who have used FP services

SCENARIO:

The FIRST LADY will be met by the Minister of Labor Mustafa Kul, SSK Director Kemal Kilicdaroglu, Hospital Director, Berk Arsan, (CLOSED PRESS). The FIRST LADY proceeds to the fourth floor to tour the pediatric oncology unit. The tour will begin in the school classroom at the end of the hallway. The FIRST LADY will meet the children in the classroom, who are undergoing long-term treatment at the hospital (POOL PRESS). The FIRST LADY will then proceed back down the hall and will visit other children in their hospital rooms (POOL PRESS).

Following the tour of the oncology unit, the FIRST LADY will proceed to the second floor for a discussion on family planning. Dr. Arsan will serve as the moderator. (POOL SPRAY at top, print reporters will stay throughout discussion). At the end of the discussion, the director of the hospital will give the FIRST LADY a small rug. The FIRST LADY will then proceed to the motorcade.

FAMILY PLANNING DISCUSSION
BAKIRNEY HOSPITAL
Istanbul, Turkey
Wednesday, March 27, 1996



26-MAR-1996 19:34

CIRAGAN PALACE KEMPINSKI

90 212 2590354 P.01/01

THE TRIP OF THE FIRST LADY
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TO
ISTANBUL, TURKEY

EVENT: VIP Reception
LOCATION: Ciragan Palace
DATE: Wednesday, March 27th, 1996
TIME: 4:20 - 5:40 p.m.

PARTICIPANTS: HRC
Mr. Erkut Yucaoglu (Air-koot U-jaw-oh-lu)
Mrs. Nilgun Yucaoglu (Neelgoon U-jaw-oh-lu)
AMB and Spouse
DCM and spouse
(Guest list not yet finalized)

SCENARIO: The FIRST LADY is met at the lower level entrance to the Ciragan Palace Hotel by Mr. Erkut Yucaoglu, member of the Foreign Economics Relations Board (DERK), and his wife. The FIRST LADY is escorted to Ballroom B on the second level of the hotel. The FIRST LADY proceeds to the reception line area near the entrance to the ballroom for greetings and photographs with fifty community leaders. Mr. Yucaoglu will introduce The FIRST LADY to the guests.

On completion of the reception, the FIRST LADY is then escorted through partition in rear of Ballroom B to Ballroom A by Mr. Yucaoglu. The FIRST LADY, Mr. Yucaoglu, and the Ambassador proceed to the platform. The FIRST LADY sits on chair behind podium while Mr. Yucaoglu introduces The FIRST LADY to the audience of 300-350 (OPEN PRESS). After completing the speech, The FIRST LADY will leave platform and be escorted by Mr. Yucaoglu through hotel to lower level entrance where The FIRST LADY departs via M/V Halas (OPEN PRESS).

225-6058

LIST OF INVITEES TO THE RECEPTION

MARCH 27, 1996 - 3.45 p.m., ÇIRAĞAN PALACE

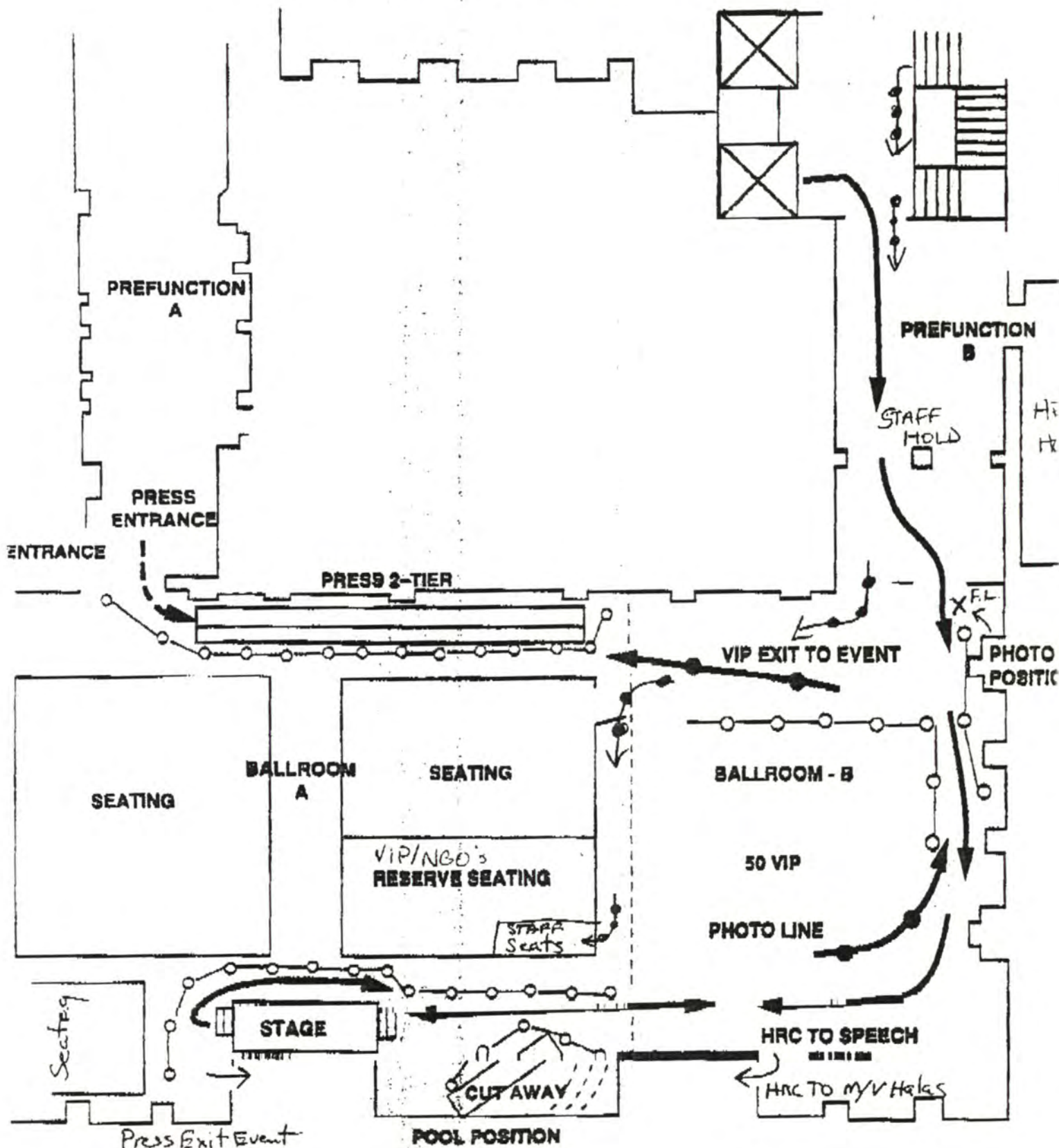
Name	Firm
✓ Ali Talip Özdemir	State Minister
✓ Arıl Seren	IKMB (Istanbul Stock Exchange)
Aslı Başgöz	White & Case
Aydan Kodaloğlu	Turkish-American Association
✓ Aykut Duraman	Foundation for the Development of Human Resources
Aynur İlyasoğlu	Women's Library
✓ Besim Tibuk	Net Holding
✓ Bülent Akarcalı	Turkish Democracy Foundation
Bülent Eczacıbaşı	Europalia Commissioner
✓ Bülent Şenver	TABA (Turkish American Businessman Assoc.)
✓ Cefi Kamhi	Profilo
Ceylan Orhun	Women's Library
Doğan Kasaroğlu	Turkish Education Foundation
Dr.Hakan Çankatan	The Futures Group
✓ Dr.Yılmaz Argüden	Turkish-US Business Council
✓ Ertürk Değer	Degere
Etül Onursal	Istanbul Women's Bar Association
✓ Feyyaz Berker	DEİK
✓ Fikret Evliyagil	Rotarians
Fikret Toksöz	MBBB (Union of Municipalities of Marmara Region)
✓ George Roundtree	American Hospital
Güler Sabancı	TUSİAD
Gürel Tüzün	HABİTAT Coordination Unit
Halis Komili	TUSİAD (Turkish Industrialist & Businessman Association)
✓ Hayrettin Karaca	TEMA (The Turkish Foundation for Combatting Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats)
Hüsamettin Kavi	Istanbul Chamber of Industrials
✓ İnci Mübarek	Mother Child Education Foundation
✓ İsak Alaton	Alarko
İsak Antika	Alarko
✓ Jak Kamhi	Profilo
Jale Toker	Turkish Women's Council
✓ Leyla Alaton	TUGİAD (Young Businessman Assoc.)
✓ Mehmet Yıldırım	İTO (Istanbul Chamber of Commerce)
Melih Fereli	Istanbul Culture & Art Foundation
Meral Gezgın	İKV (Economic Development Foundation)
✓ Murat Bekdik	TUGİAD (Young Businessman Assoc.)
Nazan Moroğlu	Turkish Jurist Women's Association
Nazan Ölcer	Ibrahim Paşa Museum
Necmettin Tanyolac	Turkish Journalist's Association
Nergis Yazgan	DHKD (Association for the Protection of Wildlife)
Nihat Gökyiğit	Tekfen
Nuray Fincancıoğlu	Foundation for the Development of Human Resources
Orhan Silier	History Foundation
Prof.Aysel Eksi	Association for the Support Contemporary Living)

✓ P. Dr. Cemil Kıvanç	ISTEK Foundation
Prof. Dr. Reha Oğuz Türkkan	Turkish 2000 Foundation
Prof. Memduh Yasa	SISAV (Social & Political Research Foundation)
Prof. Necia Arat	Women's Studies Association
Prof. Rona Aybay	Aybay Legal Studies Foundation
✓ R. Tayyip Erdoğan	Mayor of Istanbul
Rahmi Koç	TURMEPA (Turkish Maritime Environmental Protection Association)
✓ Sakıp Sabancı	Hacı Ömer Sabancı Foundation
Salih Saylam	Atatürk Foundation
Seha Tınıç	Rector - Koç University
✓ Selçuk Nazıllı	
Semahat Arsel	KOÇ Foundation
✓ Gemra Özal	Support for Women Labor Force Association
Sevgi Gönül	Koç Holding
Sezer Aksby	3G Foundation for the Development of Entrepreneurship
Sinan Gökçen	HABITAT Host Committee
Solü Özel	TESEV
Sülün Falay	Beyaz Nokta (White Point Assoc.)
Suna Güven	ODTÜ
✓ Suna Kırıç	KOÇ Foundation
✓ Şarik Tara	Enka
Şengül Akcar	Foundation for the Support for Women's Work
Thomas Christopher	White & Case
Timur Erki	Lions
✓ Turgut Kazan	Istanbul Bar Association
Üstün Ergüder	Rector - Bosphorus Univ.
Vahit Halifoğlu	
✓ Yavuz Cahevi	YASED (Foreign Investment Association)
✓ Yaşar Yeşer	Turkish Famil Health & Planning Foundation
Yurdakul Fincancıoğlu	TUSES (Turkish Social & Economic & Political Research Foundation)
Yılmaz Arıdoğan	UEA (Foreign Economic Relations Council)
Zekai Baloğlu	TUSEV (Turkish Third Sector Foundation)
✓ Zeynep Gorbun	Contemporary Education Foundation

✓ Temiz Üstün
 ✓ Şerif Eğeli
 ✓ Ayşe Ülgen

(✓) positive confirmation
 (-) negative confirmation

**FIRST LADY SPEECH
CIRAGAN PALACE
Istanbul, Turkey
Wednesday, March 27, 1996**



**THE TRIP OF THE FIRST LADY
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TO
ISTANBUL, TURKEY**

Event: Breakfast with Mrs. Ciller
Date: Thursday, March 28, 1996
Time: 09:00 - 09:30 a.m.
Location: Mrs. Tansu Ciller's Villa in Yenikoy

Participants: HRC
Mrs. Tansu Ciller (Ton-sue Chil-ler)

Scenario: Mrs. Clinton arrives at Mrs. Ciller's seaside villa in Yenikoy. Mrs. Ciller meets her at the door and escorts her into the living room, where they will be seated. The press enters the living room for a photo opportunity. The press leaves and Mrs. Ciller escorts Mrs. Clinton downstairs to the pool-side dining room, where they have a coffee, finger-food, and conversation. Mrs. Ciller escorts Mrs. Clinton back upstairs and bids her farewell at the gate. Mrs. Clinton departs the residence by motorcade.

**The Trip of First Lady
Hillary Rodham Clinton
to
Istanbul, Turkey**

EVENT: Visit to Blue Mosque
DATE: Thursday, March 28, 1996
TIME: 10:20 - 10:50 am

PARTICIPANTS: HRC
CVC
Professor Filiz Ozer (Feh-leez Er-zahr)
Interpreter
Iman Halit Yilmaz (pronounced Hah-leet Yil-mahz)

SCENARIO: The FIRST LADY is met at the curb by Iman Halit Yilmaz, the head cleric of the Blue Mosque. The FIRST LADY will take off her shoes and put on slippers and should place a scarf over her head to enter the mosque. (a bench will be provided)(CLOSED PRESS). The FIRST LADY will enter the mosque with Iman Yilmaz and he will give her a brief tour of the mosque. (OPEN PRESS)

NOTE: All personnel entering the mosque must remove their shoes before entering. Slippers may be donned or you may stay in stocking feet. Women should wear scarves over their heads.

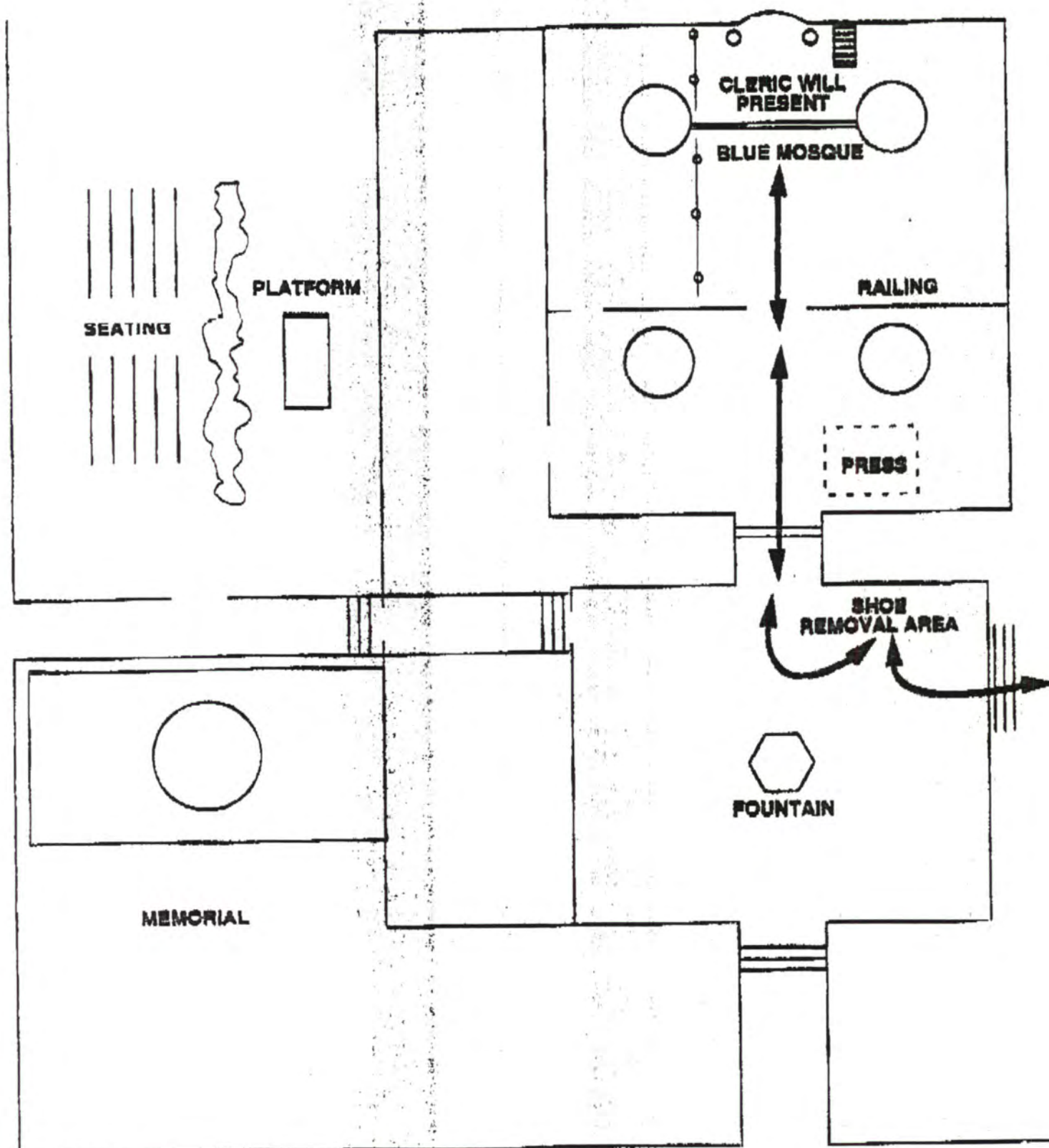
At the end of the tour, the cleric will present the FIRST LADY with a Koran and some other religious books.

MAR-26-1996 12:11

STAFF ADV OFFICE

P.009/010

BLUE MOSQUE
Istanbul, Turkey
Thursday, March 28, 1991



**The Trip of the First Lady
Hillary Rodham Clinton
to
Istanbul, Turkey**

EVENT : Tour of the Aya Sophia
DATE : Thursday, March 28, 1996
TIME: 11:00 - 11:30 a.m.

PARTICIPANTS: HRC
CVC
Professor Filiz Ozer (Phylis ur-zahr)
Veysel Donbaz (Vay-sell Don-bazz), Director

SCENARIO:

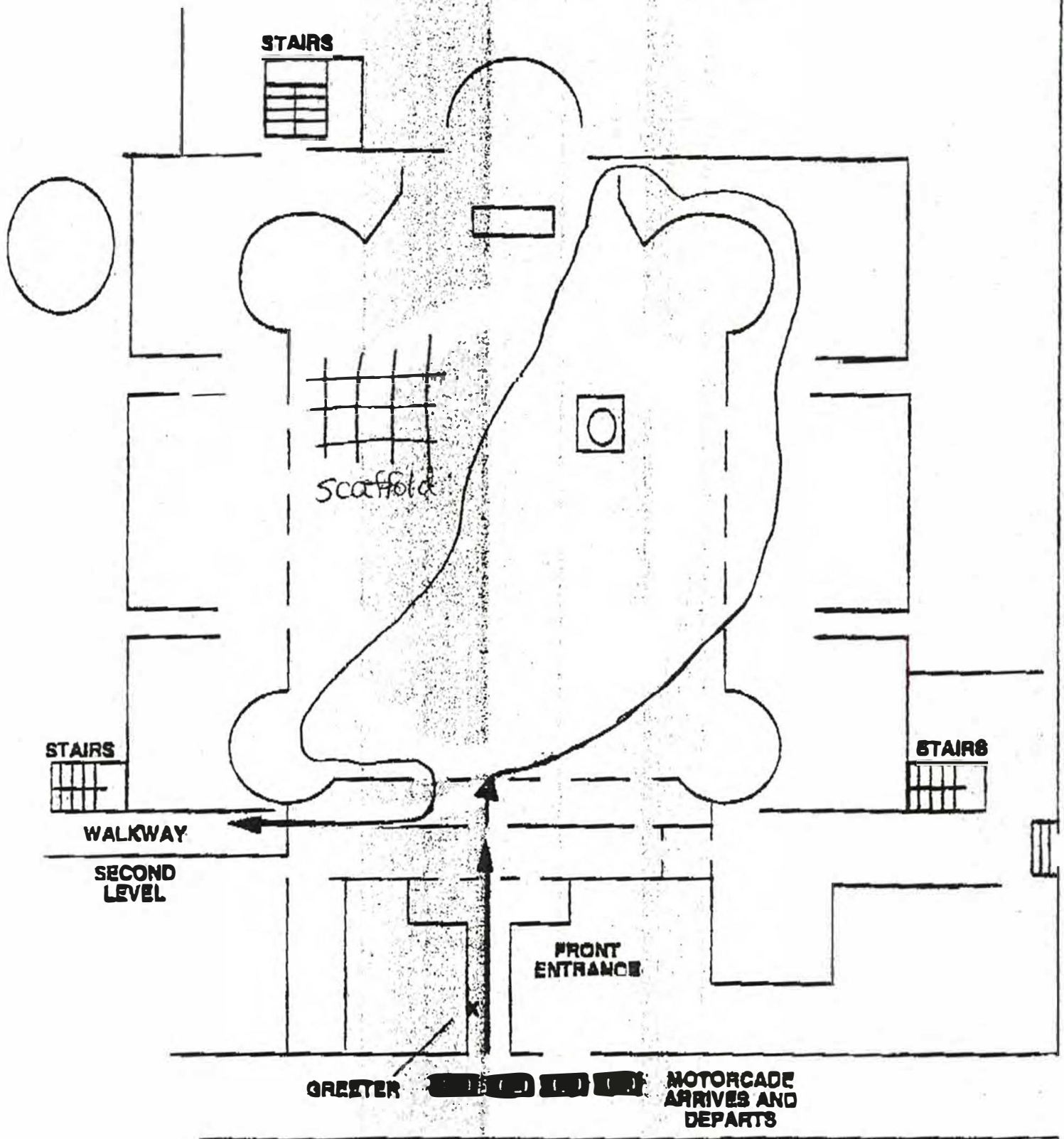
The FIRST LADY arrives at the front door and is met by the Director (POOL SPRAY). The FIRST LADY tours the first level of the building. The FIRST LADY accompanied by party proceeds up the walkway to the second level to view mosaics. FIRST LADY descends walkway, stops on the first level to sign guest book and receive gifts. FIRST LADY departs for Topkapi Palace.

NOTE: Mrs. Clinton should wear flat shoes, the surface of the walkway is uneven.

Mrs. Clinton will need a warm coat, gloves, and kleenex. The building is extremely cold

Press and staff will take a separate simultaneous tour.

HAGHIA SOPHIA
Istanbul, Turkey
Thursday, March 28, 1996



**THE TRIP OF THE FIRST LADY
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TO
ISTANBUL, TURKEY**

EVENT : Consulate Meet and Greet
LOCATION: Hyatt Regency, Polo Lounge
DATE: Thursday, March 28, 1996
TIME: 03:00 - 03:20

PARTICIPANTS: HRC
DCM Frank Riccordone

SCENARIO: The FIRST LADY and the DCM enter the room and proceed to the stage.
The DCM makes brief remarks and introduce The FIRST LADY.
The FIRST LADY makes remarks, exits stage left and works the ropeline from right to left and departs.

**Istanbul, Turkey: Meeting with U.S. Consulate Staff
Hyatt Hotel Ballroom**

Context for the Event

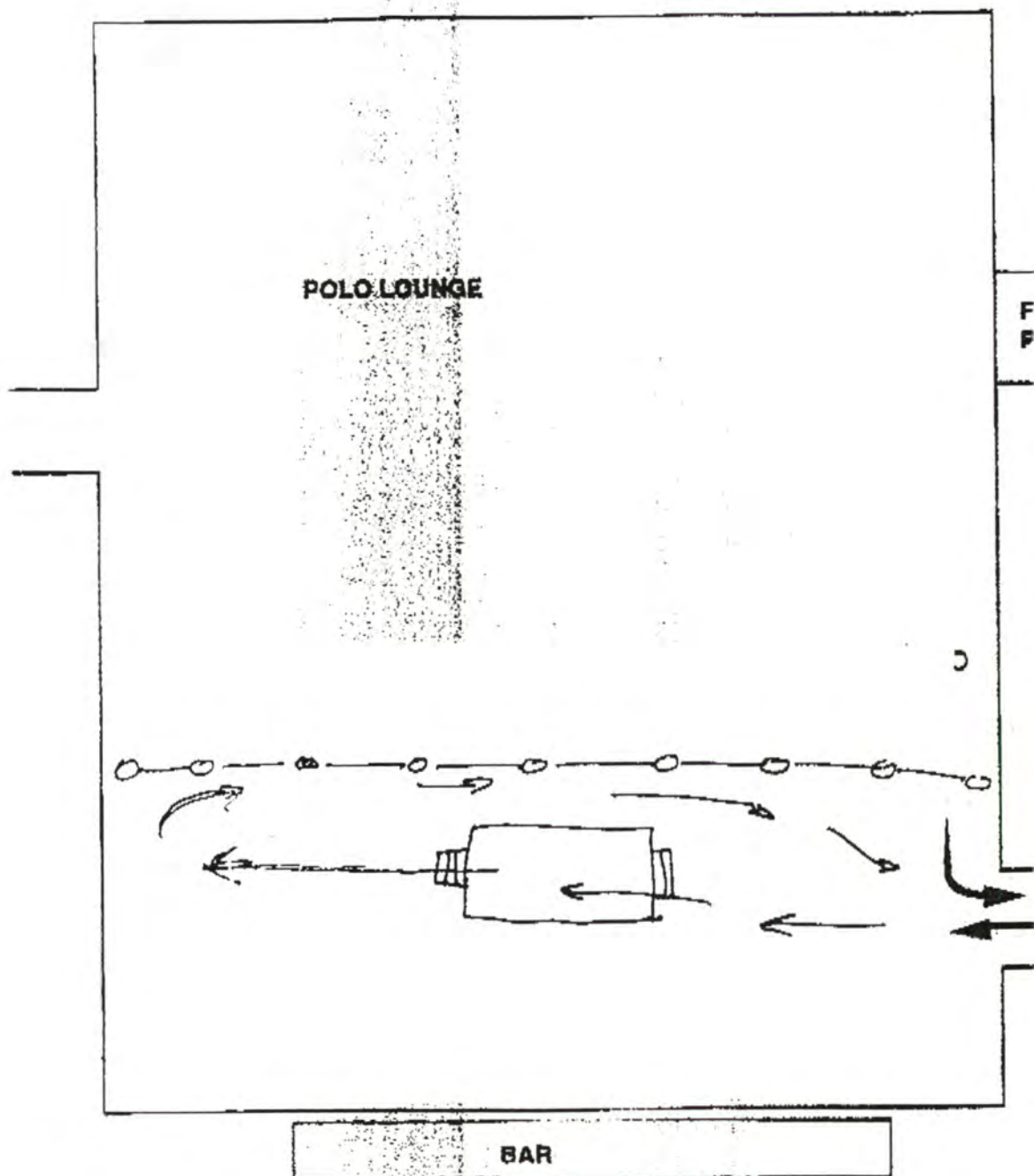
You will speak to the staff, both American and Turkish, of the American Consulate in the Hyatt Ballroom. The U.S. Consulate in Istanbul was established in 1882, and was the first government-owned diplomatic building in Europe. Thirty-five direct hire U.S. government employees and 168 Turkish national employees work here. Numerous agencies are represented, including: The Department of State, U.S. information Service (USIS), Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), The Office of Defense Cooperation (ODC), and the Foreign Commercial Service (FCS).

The Consular section processes approximately 27,000 non-immigrant visas and 4,000 immigrant visas per year. As well as working with Turkish counternarcotics police elements, DEA oversees an ambitious demand reduction program aimed at heightening public awareness of a growing drug abuse problem in Turkey. FCS supports a number of Fortune 500 companies, as well as a number of smaller firms to develop business opportunities in Istanbul the commercial heart of the country.

Talking Points

- o It is a great pleasure for me to be here in Turkey, a country that is so strategically and diplomatically important to the United States. Our relations with Turkey continue to be vibrant and mutually beneficial, and will grow even closer in the future.
- o The employees of this consulate, both American and Turkish, are critical to maintaining this positive relationship. Our country values your service.
- o I know that the last months have been difficult for U.S. government employees worldwide, with the uncertainties caused by the furlough and budget cuts. I assure that my husband's Administration is working hard to avoid further shutdowns.
- o In addition, I understand that in Istanbul you have additional concerns: the heavy press of official visits and the threat of terrorism. I appreciate your dedication and service under these conditions. Foreign service members, their families, and our foreign service national employees are dedicated to the great causes of peace and understanding among peoples.

**MEET AND GREET
HYATT HOTEL
POLO LOUNGE, FIRST FLOOR
Istanbul, Turkey
Thursday, March 28, 1996**



**The Visit of Hillary Rodham Clinton
to Istanbul, Turkey**

Event: Meeting with Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I

Location: Ecumenical Patriarchate, Darul

Date: Thursday, March 28th

Time: Arrive 3:45 p.m. Depart 4:15 p.m.

Greeters on

Arrival: His Eminence Metropolitan Dimitrios of Sebastea
His Eminence Metropolitan Filipos of Tyana
Second Deacon Tarasios

**Ecumenical
Patriarchate**

Greeters: His All Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I
(Upstairs) His Eminence Metropolitan Chysostom of Ephesus
His Eminence Metropolitan Joachim of Chalcedun
TBD

U.S. Delegation

Greeters: Hillary Rodham Clinton
(Upstairs) Chelsea Clinton
Melanne Verveer
Frank Ricciardone
Carey Cavanaugh
Lisa Caputo
Mildred Patterson
Kelly Craighead

Scenario:

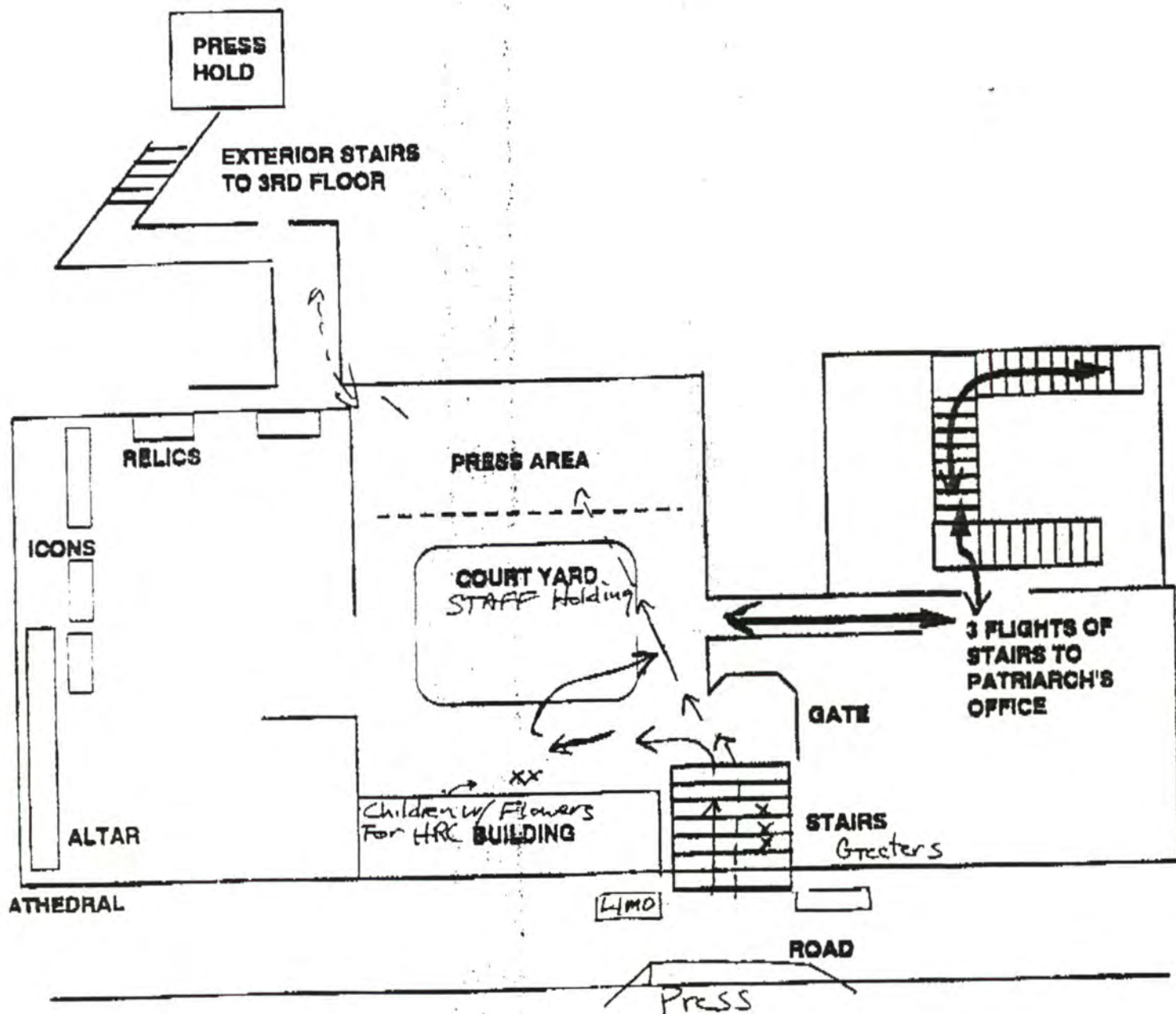
FIRST LADY arrives. Metropolitan Filipos of Tyana ("Your Eminence"), Metropolitan Dimitrios of Sebastea ("Your Eminence") and Deacon Tarasios ("Deacon") meet FIRST LADY on the steps and escort her into inner courtyard where FIRST LADY and Chelsea will receive flowers from two children. (POOL SPRAY). FIRST LADY and official delegation are escorted up stairs to 3rd floor throne room. FIRST LADY is welcomed to throne room by Patriarch Bartholomew I and introduced to assembled members of the Holy Synod (all referred to as "Your eminence"). FIRST LADY then introduces members of her delegation to Patriarch Bartholomew. Patriarch Bartholomew, FIRST LADY and TBD proceed to private office of Patriarch. (POOL SPRAY). The FIRST LADY is served traditional teaspoon of sugar in glass of water, followed by herbal tea. After talks, there is an exchange of gifts. Time permitting, Patriarch Bartholomew will give FIRST LADY a brief description of the Synod room (where the Holy Synod - Bishops - meets). Patriarch Bartholomew then escorts FIRST LADY down stairs. At bottom of stairs, Patriarch describes important mosaics on either side of stairs (OFFICIAL PHOTO) and bids farewell to FIRST LADY. Time permitting, Deacon Tarasios and Metropolitan Dimitrios give FIRST LADY a brief tour of the cathedral, and then escort her to motorcade.

MAR-26-1996 12:09

STAFF ADV OFFICE

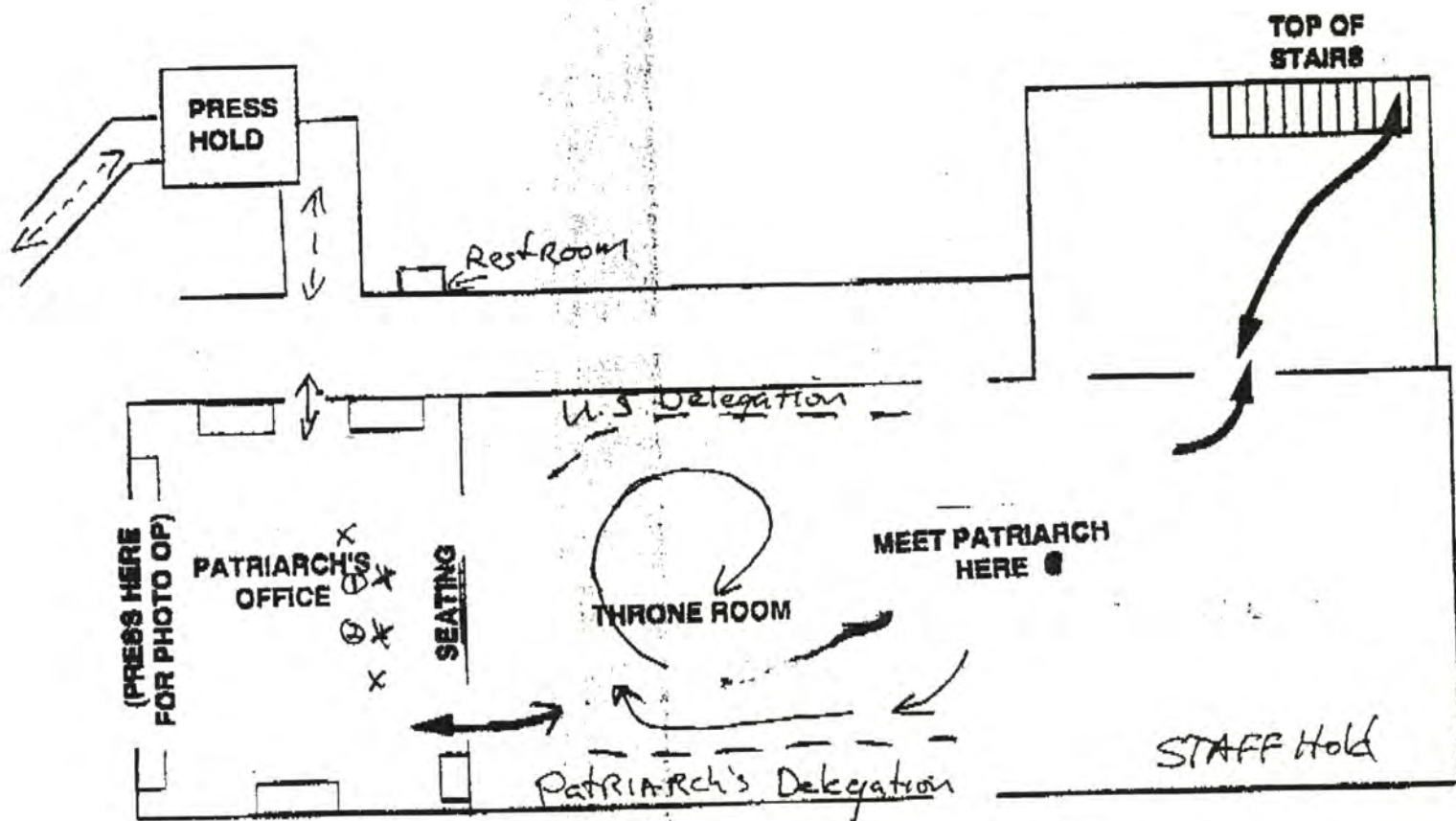
P.005/010

ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH
GROUND FLOOR
Istanbul, Turkey
Thursday, March 28, 1996



First Lady

ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH OFFICE FLOOR Istanbul, Turkey Thursday, March 28, 1996



- ① His all Holiness The Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I
- ② The First lady

First lady

STAFF

**The Visit of the First Lady
Hillary Rodham Clinton
to Istanbul, Turkey**

EVENT: Meeting with Religious Leaders
LOCATION: Islamic Cultural Center, Yildiz Palace
DATE: Thursday, March 28, 1996
TIME: 4:45 - 6:15 p.m.

PARTICIPANTS:

HRC
CVC
His Eminence Grand Rabbi David Asseo
His All Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I
His Beatitude, Karekin II Karekin Kazancian (Kara-kin Cah-zan-ji-on)
Monseigneur George Marovitch
Deputy of the Latin ArchBishop
His Excellency the Metropolitan of the Syrian
Orthodox Archbishop Filuksinos Yusuf Cetin (Fee-luk-see-nos U-suf Chet -in)
His Excellency the Grand Mufti of Istanbul
Selahattin Kaya (Sayla-hot-tin Ka-ya)
Dr. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu (Ek-mel-leddin Ich-sun-o-lu),
Director of the Research, Center for Islamic History,
Art and Culture in Istanbul
Dr. Tayyar Altikulac (Ty-yar Alta-ku-latch), Member of Parliament
Dr. Mehmet S. Aydin (Meh-Met I-din), Dean of the Faculty of
Theology of Dokuz Eylul University, Izmir
Monseigneur Paul Karatas (Paul Kara-tosh), Chaldean Archbishop

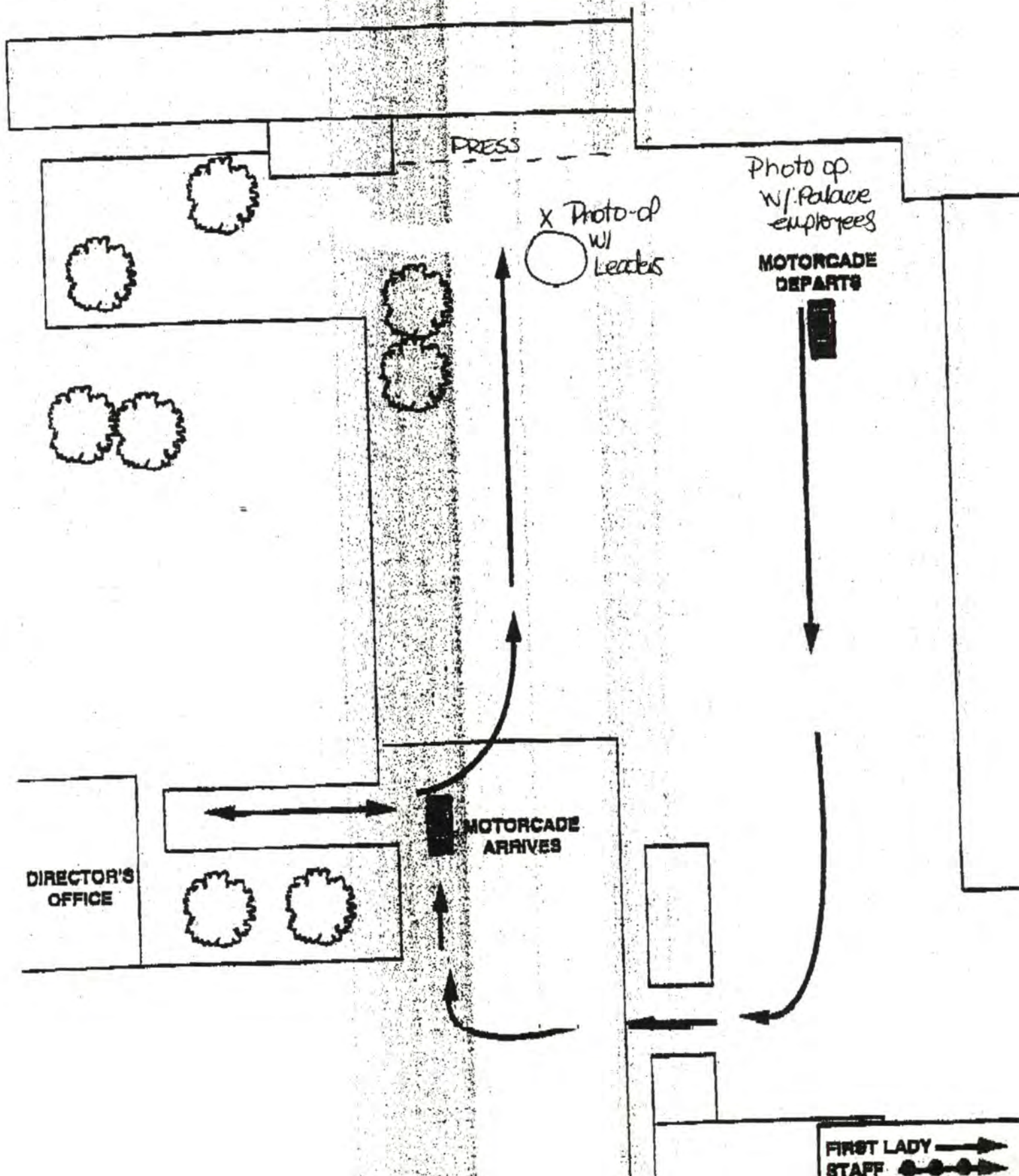
SCENARIO:

The FIRST LADY arrives and is greeted by the Director Dr. Ihsanoglu, and is escorted to his office for photos and gift presentation. The FIRST LADY, and the Director proceed outdoors across the Courtyard to Cit Kasri Conference Hall. (POOL SPRAY) is assembled in Conference Hall). The FIRST LADY enters the building, stops to sign guest book in outer room (inscription and signature). The FIRST LADY is introduced by the Director to each of the religious leaders and then seated. Program begins with welcome remarks by the Director and gift presentation. The FIRST LADY's remarks are followed by a brief Turkish music presentation. (PRESS EXITS). Participants have tea and talks begin. The FIRST LADY, and the director exit Conference Hall, religious leaders follow. (OPEN PRESS OUTSIDE) All participants gather for photo op. The FIRST LADY SHOULD BE PREPARED TO TAKE QUESTIONS FROM THE PRESS. The FIRST LADY says good-bye to the religious leaders and proceeds to the end of the Cit Kasri building for a group photo with employees of the cultural center. Motorcade enters the Cit Kasri courtyard The FIRST LADY departs.

Note: * Interpreter needed for Mrs. Clinton's remarks.
* Only Dr. Ihsanoglu, Dr. Tayyar Altikulac, Dr. Mehmet Aydin, and
The Ecumenical Patriarch speak fluent English.
* Staff Hold is in Librarians office.

MEETING WITH RELIGIOUS LEADERS

Istanbul, Turkey
Thursday, March 28, 1991



Religion and Secularism

Our religion is the most reasonable and natural of all and that is the reason why it is the latest of religions. For a religion to be natural, it must conform to reason, science, technology and logic. Our religion fully conforms to all of these.

(1923)

..

Like for so many centuries, the existence even to this day, both in our country and abroad, of those who, by taking advantage of the ignorance and fanaticism of peoples, try to use religion as an instrument and means to serve all manner of political and personal purpose and gain, unfortunately, does not yet cause us to remain indifferent in speaking on the subject. Until such time as the sentiments and the knowledge of Mankind in regard to religion are purified and cleansed of all myths and superstition, under the light of genuine

science and technology, one will encounter players of religious histrionics everywhere.

(1923)

..

Sermons to be pronounced must be and shall be entirely in Turkish; and in conformity with the current needs.

(1923)

..

Now Turkey is far from being the scene of religious or shariat schemes. If there are any who desire such schemes they would be well advised to seek other stages for themselves.

(1924)

..

The truest of guides is science and technology. And this is valid for civilization, for life, for success and for everything in this World of ours. To search for guides outside of science and technology is nothing but gross aberration, ignorance and blunder.

(1924)

..

The Caliphate is nothing but a myth of the past having no place in modern times.

(1924)

..

The Republic of Turkey has no official religion. In the administration of the state, all laws and regula-

tions are enacted and applied in accordance with the basis, the form and the mundane needs as science provides to contemporary civilization. Since the concept of religion relates to personal conviction, the Republic considers the separation of religious ideas from state and world affairs and from politics, as the principal factor in the success of the contemporary progress of our nation.

(1930)

..

The Turkish State is secular. Every individual reaching majority is free in choosing his or her religion.

(1930)

..

The closure of convents of dervishes and of cloisters, individual tombs, as well as, the suppression and abrogation of all sects and all titles such as sheik, dervish, disciple, occultist, sorcerer, tomb-warden etc., were accomplished during the era of the "Law concerning the Reinforcement of Peace and Order". It should be granted that the implementation of this Law was of utmost necessity from the standpoint of showing that our society actually was not a superstitious and primitive nation.

Can one consider as a civilized nation, a mass consisting of people subjecting themselves to some sheiks, dedes, masters, disciples, fathers, emirs, or, entrusting their lives to all sorts of fortune-tellers, occultists, sorcerers, healers, soothsayers? Should one

have kept in the new Turkish State, in the Turkish Republic such elements and institutions which could misrepresent and which, indeed, have misrepresented our nation for many centuries? Would it not have been the gravest and most irreparable of mistakes in the cause of progress and renovation, not to attach any importance to this? If we did take advantage of the Law concerning the Reinforcement of Peace and Order, we did so in order to avoid such a historical mistake and to show the visage of our nation as it really is and that it is not bigoted nor of a Middle-Ages mentality.

(1927)

★ ★

The principles that we follow in the administration of our state should never be confused with the dogmas in certain books which are believed to have been heaven-sent. We have received our inspiration neither from the heavens nor from the invisible, but directly from life itself.

What has set our course for us has been the land in which we live, the Turkish Nation from whose bosom we have sprung and the conclusions we have extracted from the pages of the history of nations, recording a thousand and one types of calamities and sufferings.

(1937)

★ ★

★ ★

★ ★

Women and Their Rights

Conclusion: Let us be brave in this subject, let us drop all scruples and let us allow women to be enlightened and let us grace their minds with serious science and technology.

(1918)

★ ★

Great accomplishments are realized thanks to eminent sons and daughters who are brought up by worthy mothers.

(1923)

★ ★

Our current level is insufficient to meet current requirements and basic wants. We are in need of men of a different mentality and maturity. And such men shall be raised by future mothers.

(1923)

★ ★

6475087 P.05
TO
FROM TURKISH EMB WASH
MAR-20-1996 12:25

There is another path which we can follow more securely and straightforward: to let the great Turkish women participate in our work; to conduct our life jointly with them, to make the Turkish woman a partner, an associate, an assistant and supporter of the man in the scientific, moral, social and economic domains.

(1923)

It is scientifically improbable and even impossible for a society to progress, if it does not march toward the same goals together with all its men and women.

(1923)

It is true that it was our men with bayonets on hand who faced the invader and his bayonets. However the vital sources of the Army which comprised of our men were maintained by our women. Those who have prepared the way for the very existence of the country have been and will continue to be none other than our womenfolk.

(1923)

Turkish women will also become imbued in science and technology and will go through all levels of education which men undergo. Thereafter, in social

life, the women will march along with men and will support and help one another.

(1923)

If a society is content with the acquisition of modern ways for only one of the sexes, such society is enfeebled by more than one half. A nation which is resolute on progress and civilization must particularly accept this basic truth.

(1923)

All we see on the face of this Earth is the creation of women.

(1923)

The foundation of civilization and the base of progress and power rest on family life. All derailment in this life inevitably leads to social, economic and political incapacity. It is necessary for the man and woman who form the family, to enjoy their natural rights and to be capable of fulfilling the family duties.

(1924)

The starting point in social life is the family.

(1925)

In sum, the women must acquire the right to elect and be elected. Because:

- The logic of democracy dictates this,
- There are specific interests to be defended by women,
- There are specific duties which the women must perform towards the society, and finally,
- It will be beneficial for the women to exercise their political rights.

(1930)

In expressing their desire to join in the political group which directs the destiny of the nation in its name, The Turkish women will not consider themselves exempt from any of the duties imposed by the nation on its citizens. Because there is no right which does not correspond to a duty.

(1931)

I am convinced that the exercise of political and social rights by women is necessary from the standpoint of the happiness and prestige of mankind.

(1935)

The modern Turkish society, with its women and men being equal in every right, is a creation of recent years. (*)

(1937)

(*) The Turkish women acquired suffrage in municipal elections, in 1930, and in general elections, in 1934.

Law and Justice

The right to jurisdiction is the primary condition for independence of nations. A nation whose judiciary is not independent cannot be considered a state.

(1920)

All is not simply to legislate. Quite to the reverse, all consists of implementing and have implemented those laws. Those who must apply and execute are always in a much stronger position than those who legislate.

(1921)

The fundamental principle of our judiciary policy is the irrefutable rule that with the change in times the provisions too must be changed.

(1922)

The goals to follow in our judiciary policy are, firstly, to deliver justice without tiring the people, swiftly, accurately and securely. Secondly, taking into account that contacts between our society and the rest of the World are necessary and natural, we must have our justice on a level with that of all civilized societies. To achieve this, we are in the process of improving, renewing and reforming our laws and procedures conformant to these views, and we shall continue to do so.

(1922)

Our laws shall be renewed, improved and completed in accordance with national needs and precepts of the science of Law. In the preparation of all our laws and in all our reorganization, we shall take action within the framework of national sovereignty.

(1923)

The important point is to rid, as soon as possible, our judiciary concepts and our judiciary organization, of the anachronistic ties which have until now influenced us, consciously or unconsciously, and which do not conform to the requirements of our century. The nation wants civilized procedures which assure speedy and decisive justice.

(1924)

The time has now come to take action for the creation of new juridical bases and a new body of

jurists who will respond to the concepts and satisfy the needs of this great work.

(1925)

We are attempting to efface completely the ancient juridical bases by legislating new laws. We are inaugurating this institution^(*) for the purpose of bringing up a new generation for jurists who will begin their studies with the basics of new principles of law.

(1925)

(*) From the speech he gave during the opening of the Ankara School of Law.

PEACE AND HUMANISM

No nation has more respect than we do for the beliefs and customs of foreign elements, Mehmet the Conqueror left the religious and national institutions which he found in Istanbul untouched. Such leaders of Christian religion as the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs, and the Bulgarian Exarch were granted concessions and all sorts of liberty. The wide concessions enjoyed by non-moslem elements since the fall of Istanbul, are the clearest proof of the fact that our nation is one of the most tolerant and munificent of the world.

(1919)

Towards the middle of this year, our Army had already attained the power and the might necessary to defeat and rout the enemy's army. However, I appreciated very well that the preference of our Assembly

6475087 P.09

which comprised of the real representatives of the entire nation was to achieve our national goals, if possible, without any bloodletting. Therefore, gentlemen, it was another of our duties to attempt to resolve the problem peacefully and in bloodless manner, before we put our military forces in use. All measures were taken to attend to this duty and all political démarches were made.

.....

But, Gentlemen, all these attempts were negatively interpreted. These peaceful attempts which we had initiated, merely, as resulting from our humane sentiments were mistaken for our weakness. They thought that our Army was feeble. They thought that our Army was hardly able to move, let alone to mount an offensive and pursuit. They thought that our Assembly and our Government were weak and in despair. Undoubtedly, on all these points they were in grave error and aberration. Perhaps some situations and certain appearances had given rise to this sort of a hope in our enemies. However, I was not too sorry over their being misled as such. If I had wished, I could have corrected this wrong impression at that moment. But, Gentlemen, I preferred to effect this correction not by words but by action.

.....

And only then, did I issue orders for preparations on the final offensive. (*)

(1922)

(*) The final offensive which resulted in the total defeat of the enemy.

There is no reason anymore to continue the battle. I definitely desire peace. I had no desire to mount the final offensive. However there was no other means to chase the enemy off Anatolia. (**)

(1922)

Mutual security and safety should be the principle for happiness desired by all nations of the World.

(1925)

Relying on the assurances given by Mr. Franklin Bouillon on behalf of the Allied Powers and on expectation of an immediate opening of negotiations for the speedy establishment of a just peace, we have ordered the cessation forthwith of our military action in hot-pursuit of the enemy towards and into Istanbul and the Dardanelles. (**)

(1922)

Recent world events and the Great War... brought about great awakenings in the minds of the entire Mankind. True that the despotic types who rule nations which are astir with such awakenings are striving to perpetuate their tyranny by resorting to force. However, within a short time the whole World will recognize on whose side justice is and.... societies will be transformed into noble human masses. Then

(*) To the Daily Mail correspondent following the evacuation of Izmir by the defeated enemy.

(**) In a message to Mr. R. Poincaré, The French Prime Minister.

and only then, the total goal of nations will evolve into humanism and mutual affection.

Strong indicators of this intellectual movement are observable not only in the East, in Asia, but in Africa, as well. During a campaign lasting one year, I lived among the people of Africa waging this sort of a struggle. (*) I had close contacts with them and I know profoundly what their ideas are. The men of Africa, perhaps, had come to know personal liberty much earlier. However, they never were given a chance to express it. The invaders and their conquering armies never ceased their pressure on them. But whatever its severity, this pressure shall not succeed in containing this great intellectual movement. Sooner or later the forward movement towards the idea of humanity will succeed. All oppressed nations will one day do away with and destroy the brutes. Then the words oppressed and brute will disappear from the face of this Earth and Mankind will enjoy a social order as befitting it.

(1922)

All men are members of a social organism and hence are bound to each other.

(1930)

Mutual bonds render us tolerant towards others. Because they help to show that in others' faults often we too are culpable, though perhaps unintentionally. In brief, solidarity imposes the substitution of the idea

(*) The Tripoli Campaign (1911).

of "everybody for his own" with "everybody for everybody".

(1930)

Peace at home, Peace in the World.

(1931)

Is it not worth to examine to what degree are reassuring the results of the paths followed and the means employed for centuries in trying to make the hapless Mankind happy?

The concept of humanity has, at present, reached so exalted a level as to assist us in purging our conscience and in dignifying our sentiments.

If we observe and consider the existing situation and its requirements as civilized men and with perfectly clear conscience, we should arrive at the following conclusions:

To have men slaughter each other, ostensibly to lead them to happiness is an inhuman and extremely deplorable system.

The only way to render Mankind happy lies in action and energy aimed at securing their mutual physical and moral wants by having them draw closer to and love each other.

The real happiness of Mankind in world-wide peace shall be realized only through the increase in numbers and success of individuals subscribing to these high ideals.

(1931)

6475087 P.11
TO
TURKISH EMB (WASH)
FROM
12:29
MAR-20-1996

In linking the continents, you are also helping nations draw closer. Heroes like yourselves do cause the nations to become members of the same family who are concerned over the happiness and destinies of one another. (*)

(1931)

You, the valiant heroes who have shed their blood on this soil! You are now lying in the soil of a friendly country. May you rest in peace. You are side by side with our dear Mehmeds. You, the mothers who sent their sons from countries afar, wipe away your tears; your sons are now in our midst and they are sleeping in peace. Having lost their lives on this land, they have become our sons, as well. (**)

(1934)

It is impossible not to feel distress over the deterioration of peace. At any rate, the elimination of the grave conflicts of our day should be the fervent wish of civilized Mankind.

It goes without saying how attached we are to the ideal of peace and how fundamental is our wish to see this ideal guaranteed.

(*) His remarks to Polando and Boardman, the American aviators who flew non-stop from New York to Istanbul in 49 1/2 hours.

(**) From an address dictated by Atatürk and delivered by his Interior Minister, Mr. Şükrü Kaya, at the military memorial in Çanakkale, before members of the Turkish and foreign press. This text now also appears on a monument erected in Brisbane, Queensland, Australia in memory of the Anzac units which had participated in the Dardanelles Campaigns under the flag of the British Empire.



"Nations are bound more by sentiments than treaties."

(1937)

It is our sincere wish that the League of Nations which dwells on this issue will develop its principles, duly profiting from experiences, and, increase its strength in the protection of Peace.

(1935)

..

If lasting peace is wanted, international measures to improve the lot of masses should be taken. The prosperity of Mankind as a whole should replace famine and oppression. The citizens of the World should be brought up in such way as to discourage sentiments of jealousy, avarice and hate.

(1935)

..

Today the nations on earth have become or are fast becoming members of the same family. Therefore, men should think of the peace and prosperity of all nations, as well as, the existence and the happiness of the nation to which they belong. They should strive towards the happiness of all nations, as best as they can, and with just as much value they attach to the happiness of their own. Because to strive for the happiness of all nations means striving to ensure, although in a circuitous way, one's own peace and prosperity. If tranquility, clarity and good relations are lacking as between World nations, a nation will not enjoy peace, even when it does whatever it can for its own account.

(1937)

.. ..

The White House
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 29, 1995

Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
to the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation
New Delhi, India

(Applause) Thank you so much Mrs. Gandhi, Ambassador Wisner, Ambassador Hussain. I have not seen Mrs. Gandhi's introduction, but I must say after hearing it, she and I have been thinking very much alike as you will notice. (Applause)

It is a great honor for me to join you here today, to be in New Delhi, in the company of men and women who keep alive the high ideals for India and the world that Rajiv Gandhi helped to sustain. (Applause)

I would like to thank the people of India for extending a warm and gracious welcome to me and my daughter who is here with me. To President Sharma and Prime Minister Rao, I owe special thanks for their warm hospitality. The Prime Minister's visit to Washington 10 months ago opened a new chapter in Indian-American relations, one that promised to build on the many values and aspirations our peoples share. We greatly appreciate the energy and wisdom he has lent to strengthening the friendship between our nations.

Although my journey here is far too brief, it is the culmination of a life long desire to visit India. I hope these days will be the first of many I spend in this country, learning about your extraordinary past and your vibrant and exciting future; and exploring the shared dreams we hold to the future of the human family.

I can think of no more fitting setting in which to reflect upon these shared dreams than here at the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation--an institution dedicated to the realization of Rajiv Gandhi's dream of a better life for all people of India.

Programs of this foundation such as assisting children orphaned by terrorism, or promoting literacy and health among women and children in rural areas or providing fellowships for women entrepreneurs are inspiring examples of how to translate dreams into reality.

Our meeting today occurs at an historic moment. As we

MORE

NGOs can give voice to the aspirations of people who are left out of the modern economy and whose influence on government may otherwise be small. The Prayas School which I visited yesterday embodies the idea that health, education, and economic development go hand in hand, and that learning must begin at the earliest stages of life and progress throughout it.

NGOs, where their members must debate and implement programs and elect their officials, are among the most effective training grounds for democracy. Their activism strengthens democracy by holding governments accountable for the way their policies and practices affect people.

As Alexis de Tocqueville observed in the last century, voluntary citizen associations are one of the vital foundations of American society and democracy. That is equally true of India where the long experience and success of NGOs inspires us.

America recognizes in our partnership with India, our NGOs and yours must play a central role. Our bilateral aid program relies on NGOs to implement programs and projects, and we are committed to increasing that partnership.

We recognize, that in no area are NGOs more important than in efforts to educate and empower women. At the Social Summit in Copenhagen two weeks ago, I announced a new ten year, \$100 million USAID Girls and Women's Education Initiative. I am happy to announce today that India will be the first country to benefit from this program. (Applause) We will soon provide an initial grant to support NGOs--US and Indian--to expand girls' education in this country.

The fourth area for concern is that of the family, for it is the family that determines primarily how daughters are treated. Deeply rooted attitudes about the value of girls are hard to change, but we must try to persuade mother and father to invest love, attention and resources in their girls, starting with education and health care. The success of that persuasion will rest on a new vision of a world in which the distinctions between men and women are not viewed as reasons to demean each other, but as complementary parts of a greater whole.

In this new world, both boys and girls are loved and cared for, first by the family they are born into--by parents who want them and invest in them; then by their extended family; then by the families they build as adults and by the children whom they, in turn, invest with love; and finally by societies that value every child as a gift to be nurtured and remember, in the words

MORE

of Rabindranath Tagore: "Every child comes with the message that God is not yet discouraged of man."

Finally, women have to be responsible for our own lives and our own futures and work together to provide opportunities for themselves and other.

All of us must participate in a conversation about how to shape the changes we seek in the world we share. It is particularly important that women find their own voice and become participants and decision-makers in the home, the work place, community, and nation. We must develop a new language to replace the deafening silence that still sounds too often when women's concerns are raised.

I have never seen a better description of the reason why women's silence must end than in a poem I received yesterday. This was not how my speech was to end, but when I was handed it by Meenakshi Gopinath, the principal of Lady Sri Ram College in New Delhi. (Applause) A poem entitled, "Silence" written by a student, Anasuya Sengupta of the Class of 1995. I wanted to share the words of this young woman who speaks for countless other young women here in India and throughout the world. Because if we listen to the voices of women and pay particular heed to the voices of young women, the goals we have for women will be more likely achieved. And this is the poem I received, it is entitled "Silence":

"Too many women in too many countries speak the same language-of silence. My grandmother was always silent--always aggrieved--only her husband had the cosmic right (or so it was said) to speak and to be heard.

"They say it is different now. (After all, I am always vocal and my grandmother thinks I talk too much) But sometimes, I wonder.

"When a women gives her love, as most do, generously--it is accepted. When a woman shares her thoughts, as some women do, graciously--It is allowed. When a woman fights for power, as all women would like to, quietly or loudly, it is questioned.

"And yet, there must be freedom--if we are to speak. And yes, there must be power--if we are to be heard. And when we have both (freedom and power) let us not be misunderstood.

"We seek only to give words to those who cannot speak (too many women in too many countries) I seek only to forget the

MORE

sorrows of my grandmother's silence." (Applause)

As we work together on behalf of our grandmothers, mothers, sisters, daughters, and ourselves-let us avoid the false debate that says, on the one hand, only powerful institutions like government or business, or on the other, only individuals, are responsible for solving their own problems that we confront. In fact, we all know we need partnerships to achieve social changes. Governments, businesses, NGOs, families, and women themselves can either support or undermine people as they face the moral, social and economic challenges of our time. Individuals can either take initiative and responsibility or fall into hopelessness and despair. Simply put, no government, no businesses, no NGO, no person can remain idle given the magnitude of the challenges we face and the uncertainties of the world we live.

If all of us could take our responsibilities seriously. If we use our voices to seek ways to achieve the goals that really underlie the political and economic aspirations that are now being sought around the world and women and men will create a better world-for boys and girls-and that ultimately is what the point of political and economic activity should be here, in America, and around the world. Thank you all very much.

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of takes

respons. does not rest just w/
families, or govt, or business,
a

GERMANY, BOSNIA, ITALY, TURKEY AND GREECE BRIEFING BOOK

TABLE OF CONTENTS

BACKGROUND ON RAMSTEIN/BAUMHOLDER

- Family Readiness Issues for Operation Joint Endeavor
- Discussion points
- Rest & Recuperation (R&R) Leave for Operation Joint Endeavor
- Entertainment Bios

EVENTS IN RAMSTEIN/BAUMHOLDER

- Church Services
- Families in Baumholder
- Meet and Greet with Local Community Leaders
- American School Children

BACKGROUND ON BOSNIA

- Background on American accident victim in Bosnia
- Bios
- Scope paper
- Key Provisions of Dayton Accords
- Status of Civilian Implementation Under Dayton Accords
- "Quick Impact" Assistance Package for Bosnia
- Political and Social Overview
- War Crimes
- Status of the Bosnian Federation
- Women's/Children's/Education Issues
- Women in Bosnia
- Health Issues
- USAID Programs in Bosnia
- Activities of NGOs in Bosnia
- Refugees
- Human Rights
- Bilateral Issues
- Regional Stability

Military Background

- Bios
- NATO Implementation Force (IFOR)
- US Operations in Bosnia
- Typically asked Questions
- Landmines

EVENTS IN TUZLA AND AVIANO

Arrival

- Meeting with General Nash
- Bios
- Emina Bicakcic Poem Presentation

Meeting with Acting President Ganic

Notables Roundtable

Meeting with NGOs

Press Availability/USAID Grant Announcement

Troop Visits

Families in Aviano

BACKGROUND ON TURKEY

- Bios
- Background notes
- Scope paper
- U.S./Turkish Relations
- Political and Social Overview
- Economic overview
- Human Rights
- Education
- Women's Status and Issues
- Population and Family Planning
- Beijing Conference
- Children and Education
- Health Issues
- U.S. Assistance
- Regional and Security issues
- U.S. Mission in Turkey
- Etiquette
- U.S.-Turkey: Habitat Conference Background

EVENTS IN TURKEY

Wreath Laying

Meet and Greet Turkish-American Women's Association

American Embassy Event

Meeting/Lunch with President Demirel

Discussion with Prominent Women

Meeting with Prime Minister Yilmaz

Tour Ephesus

Bakirkoy Maternity Hospital

Meet and Greet (List to be provided)

Speech at Ciragan Palace

Ride on Yacht (TENTATIVE)

Private Meeting with Mrs. Ciller

Tour Sultan Ahmet (Blue Mosque)

Tour Aya Sofya
Tour Topkapi Palace
Meeting with Ecumenical Patriarch
Meeting with Religious Leaders

BACKGROUND ON GREECE

- Announcement on Athens Airport
- Bios
- Scope paper
- U.S.-Greek Relations
- Political and Social Overview
- Economic overview
- Human Rights
- Women's Issues
- Population and Family Planing
- Greece - Participation at the Beijing Women's Conference
- Children's Issues
- Health Issues
- Education
- US Assistance to Greece
- Regional and Security issues
- American Embassy
- Etiquette

EVENTS IN GREECE

Tour Acropolis & Agora
Speech at Zappeion
Lunch with Prominent Women
Embassy Meet and Greet
Discussion with Greek Family (to be provided)
Olympia Speech and Events (additional background in back pocket)
Private Meeting with President Stephanopolous
Meeting with Prime Minister Simitis
Delphi

REMARKS

Arrival/Departure statements
Speech at Ciragan Palace
Speech at Zappeion

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This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

**Background on
Ramstein/ Baumholder**

Divider Title: _____

INFORMATION PAPER

SUBJECT: Family Readiness Issues for Operation JOINT ENDEAVOR

DISCUSSION:

- Family Centers provide family members with mobility/deployment assistance, relocation assistance, employment assistance, volunteer coordination, information and referral, financial counseling, community outreach, and crisis assistance.
- Since Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, the Military Services have strengthened their family support programs to ensure deployed personnel (whether active duty or Reservists called to active duty) and their families are ready for deployment. Family Centers located on each major installation will be providing enhanced support to service members and their families for the duration of Operation JOINT ENDEAVOR.
- Each servicemember with children or dependent family members is required to maintain a Family Care Plan which designates who will care for their family members in the event of a long or short term separation. (The Department encourages and assists its civilian and contractor employees who are subject to deployment to also have Family Care Plans.) These plans greatly relieve the stress on deployed personnel and their families.
- Since Operation JOINT ENDEAVOR commenced, each Military Service has taken steps to ensure service members' families have the support they need to successfully cope with deployment. These efforts have extended beyond family centers.
 - Family Center staffs have been augmented with Reserve personnel, volunteers, and part time employees. These personnel conduct counseling and facilitate support groups.
 - The Army established five 24-hour hotlines in Germany to assist family members in obtaining support and getting information.
 - DODDS schools have increased the number of counselors to help students deal with the long-term separation of the parent(s).
 - The Air Force has made its unique family support electronic communication system available to all families.
 - Family members and officials of units who have personnel deployed can gather at base dining facilities for reduced price meals and to share information.
 - Red Cross personnel have deployed to Bosnia and maintain communication with home station personnel in order to assist in cases of family emergencies.
 - The Department has provided strong leadership to fathers in support of the Vice President's initiative to emphasize the role of fathers in their families' lives.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q1. How long do you anticipate this operation will last and when can I expect my husband (wife) to come home?

A1. The Administration anticipates that our role in the Bosnia peacekeeping mission will last about one year. You and your loved ones, and the other nations who are participating in JOINT ENDEAVOR have made a significant difference already. The current plan is for most of the troops to be departing Bosnia in December, although a residual force may be necessary.

Q2. We understand there is a rest and recuperation leave plan for the troops and their families. When will this program start?

A2. The "R and R leave plan" put together by your leadership here in Europe call for up to 15 days leave for the servicemember to spend with families here in Europe or in another place, at their own expense. I'm told that approval of the leave plan will happen any day now, with leave beginning shortly afterwards.

Q3. Many times we feel like we are at the end of the information chain. Help!

A3. I can understand the feelings of isolation that may become overpowering. Your spouse's unit commander, executive officers, first sergeants are valuable information sources. I also encourage you to contact your family centers. Most of you have stayed in Germany because you know that the closer you are to your spouse's unit, the better the chances are of getting information from him or her. Many family centers receive daily updates from Bosnia and many hold monthly meetings to update spouses. When you reach out, there will be people here to assist you.

POTENTIAL DISCUSSION POINTS FOR THE FIRST LADY

ISSUE: Vice President Gore started an effort last fall to place renewed emphasis on the role of fathers in the family. I'm interested in those fathers out there whose spouses are deployed. How have you been coping in the role of service member and father?

ISSUE: Communication between those of you here and your loved ones participating in Operation JOINT ENDEAVOR. How have you been able to keep in touch with your loved ones?

ISSUE: The Department of Defense has numerous support programs for families. How many of you have thought about taking your family home instead of staying here in Germany? What was the one factor that kept you here? What would be the one issue that would make you decide to go back to the United States?

ISSUE: The Department of Defense Dependent Schools have increased their efforts to provide counseling to children who appear to be disturbed by their fathers or mothers being deployed to Operation JOINT ENDEAVOR. For those of you with children at home, what impact has the deployment had on your children? How have you dealt with it?

ISSUE: What is the first thing you are going to do when you and your spouse are reunited?

**NEW TAX BENEFITS FOR DOD
MEMBERS DEPLOYED IN SUPPORT OF
FORMER REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA**

- On March ~~29~~²⁰, 1996, President Clinton signed a new law to provide various tax benefits for deployed service members. The bill was recently unanimously passed in the House and Senate, and for the first time, provides substantive tax relief for members deployed in contingency operations--namely, Operation Joint Endeavor and Able Sentry.
- This law provides for an exclusion of income, waivers of interest and penalties, filing delays, and relief from certain excise and estate taxes. The qualifying areas are:
 - Bosnia and Herzegovina
 - Croatia
 - Macedonia
- DoD individuals(military and civilian), performing services outside the United States and away from thier permanent duty station as part of Operation Joint Endeavor, are entitled to waivers of interest, penalties and extended tax filing delays for at least 180 days after the end of their deployment.
- The new law includes an increase in the amount of the monthly exclusion for officers from \$500.00 to \$4,254.90 per month (all enlisted pay was already tax exempt).
 - For example, this exclusion will cover all the basic pay of O-1's to O-3's, and nearly all the basic pay of senior O-4's.
- The provisions are retroactive to November 21, 1995. Approximately 11,000 service members will receive corrected pay statements (W-2c) for their 1995 returns. DFAS estimates that these W-2c's will be sent by April 12, 1995.

INFORMATION PAPER

SUBJECT: Rest & Recuperation (R&R) Leave for Operation Joint Endeavor

BACKGROUND: The DoD R&R program is a special leave program that provides relief to Service members and DoD civilians performing dangerous duties under arduous circumstances for extended periods of time. In the past, similar programs have been provided to personnel serving in conflicts such as Viet Nam and Desert Storm.

DISCUSSION:

- The plan covers military and civilians serving tours of more than 180 days in support of Operation Joint Endeavor.
- The plan will provide for 15 days of R&R leave. Transportation will be provided free of charge to either Frankfurt Germany or a designated city in the U.S.. The choice of leave location will be at the discretion of the individual.
- Additional travel and recreation packages will be at individual expense. U.S. European Command will make available low cost tour packages to individuals and their families through their Morale Welfare and Recreation program, including stays at the Armed Forces Recreation Center in Garmisch.
- This program will provide a well deserved respite to approximately 25,000 hardworking military and civilians, who have been working long hard hours seven days a week. The R&R program allows for much needed rest and relaxation during extended contingencies where normal leave is not authorized. *IT WILL ALSO PROVIDE DEPLOYED WIVES AND LIVES A CHANCE TO REUNITE WITH THEIR FAMILIES*
- USEUCOM will if at all possible, provide you a more detailed briefing upon your arrival in country.

TALKING POINTS FOR MRS. CLINTON ON R&R POLICY

I KNOW THAT YOU HAVE ALL HEARD THAT GENERAL JOULWAN HAS ANNOUNCED THE R&R LEAVE POLICY FOR SERVICEMEMBERS AND DOD CIVILIANS ASSIGNED TO THE IFOR AREA THIS PROGRAM WILL PROVIDE A WELL EARNED BREAK FROM ARDUOUS CONDITIONS FOR OUR SOLDIERS AND PROVIDE THEM OPPORTUNITIES FOR TWO WEEKS TO SPEND WITH THEIR LOVED ONES.

THE R&R POLICY PROVIDES FOR TRANSPORTATION BACK TO FRANKFURT OR THE UNITED STATES AND A 15 DAY NON CHARGEABLE ABSENCE TO SPEND WITH FAMILY AND LOVED ONES.

April 1994

SHERYL CROW

In Los Angeles, as in most of the country, Tuesday nights offer little in the way of excitement, which helps account for the formation of the Tuesday Night Music Club—a loose-knit community of musicians that came together on those midweek evenings to exchange ideas and bask in the true, organic spirit of rock 'n' roll. For Sheryl Crow, that alliance would provide more than just a title for her A & M debut: the laid-back atmosphere and free-flowing creativity of those sessions pervades every nook and cranny of **TUESDAY NIGHT MUSIC CLUB**.

"It was so refreshing to find musicians who were communal and willing to share ideas," says Crow of fellow TNMC members like producer Bill Bottrell and fellow artists David Rierwald, David Ricketta, Kevin Gilbert (Toy Matinee) and Brian McLeod (Wire Train, Tears for Fears). "It made for a very organic, honest record—the way you think records are made when you're a kid. When I sat there and listened to 'Every Picture Tells a Story,' I thought they were making it up as they went, just getting off on each others' playing."

That's precisely the feeling conjured up by **TUESDAY NIGHT MUSIC CLUB**. Its broad stylistic range—from the greasy-fingered funk of "Leaving Las Vegas" to the Beatle-esque pop of "Run, Baby, Run" to the jazzy "We Do What We Can" (which features her trumpet-playing father Wendell)—is unified by Crow's poignant way with a lyric, and a character redolent of her rural roots.

"I realized about halfway through making this that we'd made a country-flavored record," she says with a laugh. "I had brought in the records that had influenced me the most—Let it Bleed, Derek & the Dominoes, Dylan's Nashville records—and the one thing that runs through all of them is that they're very country influenced. When we figured that out, we celebrated: we rented *Coal Miner's Daughter* and I made all this fried chicken... When we started telling people that, they'd say 'don't say the C word!' but country has always had a profound impact on rock."

The Missouri native—she grew up in the small rural community of Kennett, a stone's throw from Memphis, Tennessee—discovered she could play piano by ear at the age of six. Before too long, that talent, combined with a fascination with the music of artists as diverse as the Rolling Stones, Bessie Smith and Billie Holiday, led Sheryl to pursue her muse full-time—a decision that met with approval from her parents, both of whom were big band musicians.

Piano and organ became her instruments of first choice since she took lessons as a girl. She picked up the guitar during her years of playing in rock bands, starting in high school. Crow also began to develop her songwriting skills early on, drawing from every aspect of her life and times.

Sheryl has been chronicling those experiences in songs for over a decade now—contributing to albums by artists like Eric Clapton and Wynonna Judd, before setting off on her own recording career. On **TUESDAY NIGHT MUSIC CLUB**, Crow's super-realistic slices of life reflect the ups and downs of life in the '90s from



A&M PRESS DE PART MENT

B I O G R A P H Y



Sheryl Says...

"I began writing songs when I was 19. The Beatles, James Taylor, Van Morrison and the Rolling Stones, circa "Let It Bleed," were my obvious favorites and influences. I was also very moved by Beanie Smith and Billie Holiday for the wonderful way that they conveyed emotion and told stories with their singing."

"It's taken me a long time to find the strongest and most direct route to express my music. To make this album, I had to know myself better. I also had to learn how to work with others in a way that got the most out of the collaboration. I was open to input of all kinds, but reserved the position of editor for myself."

"Bill (Boettrell) has this huge, old warehouse with old couches and tapestries on the wall, and right in the middle of the room was this board. We'd show up, drink, smoke, party, play and write until the wee hours of the morning. It had the vibe of a good night at the bar mixed with a group therapy session where we would challenge each other to go a step further, deeper, better. Our object was to finish a song before we went home. It was a very special way to work. The first night I was there, we wrote 'Leaving Las Vegas.'"

"I felt like I was back in one of those sixties recording sessions in Topanga Canyon or something. We were hungry for a theme for each meeting. One night Bill suggested that we were making a country album, just to add fantasy to our creative process. So I rented "Coal Miner's Daughter, which we screened at the studio. I made some fried chicken and brought cowboy shirts for the guys. It was a great way to spice the rock music and the chore of composing and performing for the tape."

"I realized if I let some therapist get a hold of the album, they'd tell me I'm one of those people who moves every time someone gets close, and I guess in some ways, it's probably true. It may be an underlying theme. I do find I write about characters who are strong in nature, but they don't sit still very long."

"I don't usually think of myself as a female rock artist. I tour in a pink bus with a bunch of guys and my main man, Scout, who really is a dog. We play video games, talk about guitar strings, cars, sports, relationships, guys, women, the whole gaunt. We're a band that's fronted by a woman, true. But we're really artists who are looking for those lost notes and the next idea for a song. Women and men seem to find similar things in my songs so I don't need to, nor would I, push some overt sex appeal button."

Crow's Critical Mass

It's a recording of many small pleasures, including Crow's agile and emotive vocals, frequently witty lyrics and hot Hammond organ. Crow is the primary writer of this eclectic material, leaping from cool jazz to '70s pop to white funk. Relationships, the inevitable lies and the almost equally inevitable desire to believe them, are recurring themes. Echoes of the Beatles reverberate through the entire disc, especially in the "Strawberry Fields" cadence and "Hey Jude" - like chorus of "The Na-Na Song," which also features a Dylanesque orgy of wordplay. The wistful "Run, Baby, Run" suggests the price paid for rebellion and endless adolescence; it's an elegiac coda to the '60s, with a catchy chorus.

Crow's sensitive side is best displayed in the softer tracks, like the jazzy "We Do What We Can," languid as a cat lolling in the afternoon sun, and the soft and gently optimistic "No One Said It Would Be Easy." As a forum for her talents as songwriter, singer and musician, *Tuesday Night Music Club* presents a range and level of popcraft rarely on display these days.

— *Chris Rubin, Musician Magazine*

Crow ranges over an impressive chunk of territory — edgy rock, Rickie Lee Jones-style beatnik bop, slinky Talking Head's funk, John Lennonish rapping, moody jazz — without a single misstep. Coupled with lyrics unafraid to look at the underbelly of life in L.A., her multicolored rock 'n' roll coheres into a personal vision — and the kind of debut that rarely comes along.

— *Larry Katz, Boston Herald*

With the smile of a shared secret, Crow, mostly out front on acoustic guitar, rocked harder and way funkier than subtleties of her A&M album "Tuesday Night Music Club," in an impressive 75-minute show with her four man band.

During the grunge-stomp and word-downpour of "The Na-Na Song" she jumped about, digging into a Hammond B-3 organ while her lead guitarist squealed out a solo as the band drifted into the Beatles' "I've Got a Feeling" and her male rhythm player took the vocal. Then she slammed right into the very Lennonesque and seemingly biographical "Run Baby Run." In contrast was "Strong Enough," as honest a love warning and invitation you'll find with its lines of "Lie to me/I promise I'll believe." Though a few numbers overextended into jams, Crow held it all together, displaying a knack for the musical hook and the skill of turning a phrase or dangling an image, then snatching it away.

A definite arrival.

— *Darryl Morden, Hollywood Reporter*

Crow subverts that sound with vocals too real to be "sensitive" and lyrics too twisted to be predictable. The album begins with the line, "She was born in November, 1963, the day Aldous Huxley died," and goes on to describe the daughter of a protest singer who taught her how to "Run, Baby, Run" from town to town. Another song describes a Las Vegas showgirl who knows all too well the "muddy line between the things you want and the things you have to do."

The album grew out of informal Tuesday night co-op studio sessions with L.A. musicians such as David Baerwald, David Ricketts and Bill Bottrell, and they not only co-wrote the songs with Crow but helped to play them, too. The results are impressive.

— *Geoffrey Himes, The Washington Post*



SINBAD BIOGRAPHY

Sinbad's name recalls the literary legend that symbolizes strength, adventure and optimism and is what he strives for. "I renamed myself Sinbad because Sinbad is bad". He could hang with rogues and with kings. He didn't have the strength of Hercules, but he could outwit anyone." Born in Benton Harbor, Michigan, Sinbad grew up telling jokes to his three brothers and two sisters. The Image sticks: Sinbad the wild child, off-the-wall Sinbad who would do anything for attention, acting stupid, free as the wind, an unpredictable force that can't be harnessed, and always willing to pay any price, looking for laughs.

Sinbad's first love was basketball and the Globetrotters were a childhood dream. He won a basketball scholarship to University of Denver. "I had flaming red hair and they called me Red Chamberlain. Had 'Baby Wilt' written on the side of my car. I was on my way to becoming All-American. I thought college ball was going to be the ticket." But basketball's loss was comedy's gain and Sinbad has become one of stand-up's biggest names.

It began in 1983, when he embarked on his "Poverty Tour," going from city to city on the Greyhound, from comedy club to comedy club, working for meals, changing out of hotel restrooms. "I prayed, Please Lord, this is hard work so if I'm not funny let me know right away."

The break was **Star Search** in the mid eighties. He was never a winner, but good enough to get on the show seven times and become a finalist. That led to a TV movie and a role as Redd Foxx's son on *The New Redd Foxx Show* ("If you don't do this right," Redd told Bad, "we'll get a white boy to play the part."). The next break came from Bill Cosby.

SINBAD
Page 2 of 3

Cosby became a fan. He cast him in *A Different World* which along with Sinbad's stint as host of *It's Showtime at the Apollo*, allowed him to eventually do the 1991 *Share the Dream Tour* of historically black colleges - a tour backed by Coca-Cola, United Airlines, and B.E.T. (Black Entertainment Television). That year, Sinbad's first one-hour *HBO Comedy Special: Brain Damaged* became the second highest "Comedy Hour" ever. As executive producer and head writer Sinbad developed an outrageously funny variety show -- "*Sinbad & Friends All the Way Live...Almost.*" Sinbad continued to score with "Necessary Roughness" his first feature film.

Sinbad has received extra exposure in the ad campaign for *Reebok Blacktop* basketball shoes. The Sinbad-Reebok campaign was the recipient of the prestigious 1992 *Grand Effie Award*. Blacktops were also voted *new product of the year* by *Footwear News*. Sinbad is currently celebrity spokesperson for *Polaroid's new Captiva Camera*.

Sinbad never tells jokes - "I don't know any," he admits - but rather stalks the stage, telling real-life stories. He doesn't deliver payoff lines; he slam-dunks them. His comedy is large, physical, impetuous. Psychologically, he jams us, poking holes in our lifestyles. His stories mirror our foibles. His is the explosive energy of the neighborhood, his phrasing is manic, musical and right on time. He doesn't write his material; he relives it as he remembers it. He never curses - "I want people to bring the whole family to my show."

In April of 1993, Sinbad gave us a blast into the past with his one-hour *HBO Special: Afros & Bellbottoms* which aired live from the Paramount Theatre in New York. His style - absolutely improvised, uncompromisingly spontaneous - is a litany of lines about the seventies, a self-styled monologue on dashikis and afros, bell-bottoms and platform shoes, a parody of America past and present. *Afros & Bellbottoms* is currently available for home video rentals.

SINBAD
 Page 3 of 3

The Sinbad Show, based on Sinbad's original idea for Fox Network, received critical acclaim. Sinbad sails into feature films making his starring debut in "Houseguest" which is in the top ten chart for home video rentals. Sinbad recently finished with production on his next feature film release, "First Kid." Sinbad stars in "First Kid" as Sam Simms, a fun-loving Secret Service agent and James Bond-wannabe who has to look after the son of the President of the United States. Sinbad will executive produce with Del la Torre and Riley Kathryn Ellis.

Sinbad's production company "David & Goliath Productions" produced Sinbad's '70 Soul Music Festival taped on Memorial Day weekend in the Caribbean island of St. Martin/St. Maarten, airing last summer on HBO. Also, Sinbad just completed another HBO special entitled, "Son of A Preacher Man," which will air in April 1996. This was part of an agreement with HBO for Sinbad to produce and star in three original specials for the network. The last remaining stand-up comedy special will be shown in 1996. Sinbad appeared in several television commercials in 1995 as the National Spokesperson for Polaroid's new OneStep Talking Camera.

Sinbad finds time for humanitarian and community services. Especially, issues that affect children. He is the 1994 Spokesperson for the *Sickle Cell Research Foundation*. Working with *The Children's Defense Fund* and *Omega Boys Club* has helped him to continue to be more aware of the needs of children. Sinbad is a recipient of the 1994 Candle Award from *Morehouse College* honoring his excellence in Arts and Entertainment. His commitment to AIDS awareness inspired his participation in the "Time Out" video produced by Arsenia Hall Communications with the proceeds benefitting the *Magic Johnson Foundation*. Sinbad performed a concert for *Morehouse College* in which all proceeds benefit the *Endowed Scholarship Fund* in the names of Sinbad's parents, the Reverend Dr. Donald and Louise Adkins.

Sinbad is in the business of working with family- his brothers' Mark (personal manager), Michael (financial consultant), Donald (sound technician/photographer), and sisters' Dorothea (director of development/road manager) and Donna (publicist). Moreover, it is his family ties that encourage his clean, animated and hilariously funny comedy that is well received by audiences everywhere.

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CHURCH VISIT BIOGRAPHIES

Benavides, Colleen

(b)(6)

Spouse B /3-12 IN

[002]

Born on (b)(6) Colleen is the daughter of Cesar and Dolores Vidaurri. She married Corporal Hector G. Benavides on 5 January 1991. Corporal Benavides served in Operation Desert Storm with 3rd Infantry Division. They arrived in Baumholder in March of 1995. Corporal Benavides deployed to Bosnia on 30 January of 1996.

They have one child Hector (19 months) who was born in Fort Carson, Colorado.

Cook, Robyn W.

(b)(6)

Spouse D/3-12 IN

Born on (b)(6) Robyn is the daughter of Robert and Nancy Willingham. She met Roy Cook at the University of Georgia in 1992. They were married on 12 March 1994 in Atlanta, Georgia. 1LT Cook completed the Infantry Officer Basic Course in May 1995. Robyn and Roy reported to Baumholder, Germany in December of 1995. Roy deployed with D/3-12 IN to Bosnia in January of 1996. Robyn currently serves as Assistant Director of the Wetzel Child Development Center.

Although they currently have no children, they do have a dog, "Harley," and two cats, "Freelander," and "CornBread."

Kerwin, Kristen L.

(b)(6)

Spouse B/4-29 FA

Born on (b)(6) Kristen is the daughter of Barbara A. Shiring of Doylestown, PA. Kristen met Bill Kerwin at the University of Delaware in September of 1989 through InterVarsity Christian Fellowship. They were married in Newark, Delaware on 27 February 1994. Bill and Kristen reported to Baumholder in March of 1994. 1LT Kerwin deployed with 4-29 Field Artillery in January 1996. Professionally, Kristen serves as the lead case worker for Baumholder American Red Cross. In addition she also serves as the Parish Council Recording Secretary.

Although, Kristen and Bill have no children, they do have a 1 year old cat named Simba.

2 SOL
Farmer, Jackie D. (b)(6) SGT C/3-12 IN (Air Assault)

Born on (b)(6) Jackie Farmer is the son of Jackie Farmer and Glenda Burgess. SGT Farmer joined the Arkansas National Guard in 1989, where he served as an Air Traffic Control Radar Repairman. He transitioned into the active component in 1993 as a Bradley Fighting Vehicle Infantryman. Currently SGT Farmer serves as Bravo team leader, 1st Squad, 1st Platoon C/3-12 IN, and will deploy to the Balkan theater on 6 April 1996.

SGT Farmer is married to the former Angela Weeks (22), of Jacksonville, Arkansas. They have two daughters, Breeanna (3) and Bianca (11 mths).

Cabanillas, Armando C. (b)(6) SGT A/2-68 AR

Born on (b)(6) Armando Cabanillas is the son of Richard and Martina Cabanillas. SGT Cabanillas joined the U.S. Army in 1988 as a Tank Crewman. He deployed to Desert Storm in April of 1991 while serving with the 2nd Armored Cavalry Regiment. SGT Cabanillas deployed to Bosnia in January of 1996 with the 2nd Battalion, 68th Armor Regiment

SGT Cabanillas is married to the former Lynn Jones (30) of Birmingham England.

Klink, April D. (b)(6) Spouse D/3-12 IN

Born on (b)(6) April is the daughter of Jean and Shirley Honea. April is married to SGT Paul Klink of D Co. 3-12 Infantry. They reported to Germany in June of 1995. April and Paul have one child, John Paul, who was born on April 28th 1991.

Whiteman, Sherri C.

(b)(6)

Spouse B/47 FSB

Born on (b)(6) Sherri is the daughter of Richard and Judy Langston. She met Carl Whiteman while stationed in Hanau, Germany. They were married on 9 June 1991. Sherri graduated from West Point in 1989. She deployed with 207th Military Intelligence Brigade to Operation Desert Storm in 1991. Sherri and Carl moved to Baumholder in January of 1995. SGT Whiteman deployed to Bosnia with 2nd Battalion 68th Armor Regiment in January of 1996. Sherri currently serves as Project Assistance for DEH.

They have two children, Ashley (3), and Paul (1), who were born in El Paso, Texas.

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Divider Title: _____

**Families in
Baumholder**

INFORMATION PAPER

SUBJECT: Scene Setting, Families in Baumholder

DISCUSSION:

- Baumholder Military Community hosts elements of the 1st Armored Division, which is providing the bulk of the U.S. forces who will be part of the NATO implementation force. Nicknamed "Old Ironsides" the 1st Armored Division consists of more than 12,000 soldiers.
- The 2nd Brigade Combat team is headquartered in Baumholder. Its maneuver units are 3rd Battalion, 12th Infantry; 4th Battalion, 12th Infantry; and 2nd Armor; all in Baumholder. About 3,000 soldiers of the 5,200 total assigned to Baumholder are currently deployed, with another 100 from the 12th Infantry due to deploy shortly.
- The First Lady will be greeted by family members at Baumholder as she attends church service, has lunch with senior officials, servicemembers, and family members, and greets some of the many local officials who have been supportive of all U.S. personnel in Baumholder. Finally, the First Lady will meet school children at the Teen Center.
- Potential discussion issues and questions and answers have been provided separately.

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Meet and Greet

Divider Title: _____

BAUMHOLDER: MEETING WITH LOCAL COMMUNITY LEADERS

Context of Event:

You will meet for ten minutes with a small group of local community leaders who have provided strong support for our military personnel based in the area. The commander of the U.S. Army base in Baumholder has commended these individuals for their contribution to keeping up the morale of our servicemen and women. The local German military garrison has provided military police to patrol our base in the absence of our MPs, who are in Bosnia.

Baumholder is located in the state of Rheinland-Pfalz, about forty-five minutes by car from Ramstein. Your host will be the owner of a local inn and his wife, and the guests will include two local mayors and the commander of the local German military unit. There will be about twelve people in the group. No other political officials will be present.

Your Objectives:

- o Acknowledge the support that members of this group have given to U.S. servicemen and women stationed in their communities.
- o Underline the importance of people-to-people contacts in promoting strong and friendly relations between our two countries.

Talking Points:

- o I appreciate this opportunity to thank you for the warm support you have given to Americans stationed at military facilities here over the years.
- o Your personal contribution has had an important effect in reinforcing the strong ties that exist between our two countries.
- o Our military personnel and their families will long remember the friendship you have shown them, and they will return home with fond memories of Germany.

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American School Children

Divider Title: _____
