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HATE SPEECH IN THE GREEK MEDIA: THE MARCH 1996 REPORT

Panayote Elias Dimitras and Vasiliki Neofotistou

Important note: It is noteworthy that despite the official declarations of Greece that Macedonia should be referred to as FYROM, the Greek media, with rare exceptions, persistently use the term 'Skopje', which seems to prevail in the conscience of the Greek people. References of this kind, will not be added in the Hate Speech project, as there are almost no exceptions to the rule.

Print media abbreviations: A=Avgi; A.T.=Adesmeftos Typos; P=Apogevmatini; ETH=Ethnos; E.T.=Eleftheros Typos; EL=Eleftherotypia; K=I Kathimerini; R=Rizospastis; N=Ta Nea; ST=Stohos; V=To Vima; P=To Pontiki; EC.T.=Economicos Tachydromos.

Introduction

The theme which dominated the Greek media in the March hate speech report was the anti-west rage on the occasion of two events: on the one hand the State Department report on human rights in Greece and, on the other, the advisory of the US Department of Transport on the security problems in the Athens Hellenikon airport. The next theme was the continuing references, abundant with hate speech, to the Greek-Turkish crisis in the Aegean.

Reactions Against the State Department Report on Human Rights

The World Report of the State Department for 1995 on human rights, caused "displeasure" (A. 7/3 p.2), "the intense displeasure of political and journalistic circles as well as of the public opinion in Northern Greece" (AP. 8/3 p.6). In the

"despicable report of the State Department on the... oppressed minorities in Greece" (E.T. 8/3 p.4), with the "provocative for our country content of the American State Department report" (A.T. 16/3 p.6) "on human rights which are allegedly oppressed in Greece" (N. 19/3 p.6), in the "State Department report-provocation" (E.T. 7/3 p.19), "Greece [is] on the target" (AP. 10/3 p.10). "Anti-Greek hysteria against our country via the report on human rights" (AP. 10/3 p.10) because "the State Department sees minorities-ghosts" (AP. 7/3 p.7), "They maintain the matter of a 'Macedonian' minority in Greece" (ETH. 7/3 p.10). "A Macedonian committee condemns the dark role of the Consulate (...) of the USA in Salonica. A concurrence of lies" (AP. 10/3 p.10), "Greece, say the agents of Washington, 'denies the existence of Slav-Macedonians in the country' (...) they saw 'Turks' (...) they saw... Arvanites and Vlachs (!)" (E.T. 8/3 p.4). "The extensive reference (...) that Greece did not allow the founding of 'a Macedonian' (!) cultural center in Florina and that she is persecuting (!) the representatives of the pseudo-Macedonians, creates a sensation!" (AP. 7/3 p.7). "With a lot of imagination, they simply plant ghosts in front of us. (...) So, the confusion is perfidious" (A.T. 9/3 p.4). Besides, according to PASOK's MP Mr. St. Papatthemelis, the report is "offensive, inadmissible and all too clear fictitious, as far as Greece is concerned. (...) The gentlemen who prepared the report must understand that there are neither a Turkish nor 'a Macedonian' minority and decide to honor the international conventions the USA have signed" (AP. 8/3 p.6). "Someday, we'll have to take a stand against ignorance, disinformation or treachery which are likely to lead us (...) to visible or even indeterminate ordeals in Macedonia or Thrace" argued ND's MP Mr. Pylarinos, and he suggested "the creation of a committee of great weight (...) that will investigate the pile of the vociferous violations of human rights in the USA" (N. 16/3 p.5). Therefore, "the two million Greeks of Macedonia, are sending the report of the State Department back to Washington declaring it to be 'outrageous'" (AP. 10/3 p.10).

'Anti-Greek' Travel Advisory

The notification of the US Secretary of Transport Mr. Frederic Pena according to which "some

problems on the safety rules of the Hellenikon airport are noted, which concern mainly the checking of the luggage” (ETH. 23/3 p.7), was characterized by the considerable majority of the Greek media as “Torpedo from the USA to tourism. They turn a blind eye to provocations and help Turkey” (ETH. 23/3 p.1 title), “American torpedo in our tourism” (ETH. 23/3 p.7), “sabotage (...) which is indirectly designed to strengthen the Turkish tourist move” (ETH. 23/3 p.6). “The US attack against... Hellenikon” (EL. 23/3 p.1 title), “The USA ‘stroke again’!” (EL. 23/3 p.3), “The US torpedo on tourism” (EL. 23/3 middle pages), “New slap in the face” (E.T. 23/3 p.7), “The US ‘rocket’ on our tourism” (AP. 23/3 p.17), “Air terrorism and US blackmail” (R. 23/3 p.1), “AGENTS of the worst possible kind [ΔΝΆΕΟΪ ΝΈΕΕΕΕ όι ό έάνάοŪ in Greek]...” (ETH. 28/3 p.9), “a wretched text”, “an inadmissible act”, “a provocative notification” (P. 28/3 p.11) “a brutal interference in our domestic affairs” (E.T. 28/3 p.5), “a ridiculous notification” (A.T. 28/3 p.4), “a provocative extortion of the USA” (R. 29/3 p.7), “inadmissible American demands” (E.T. 28/3 p.15), “American malignity at our expense”, “malicious and stupid ‘travel instruction’”, “American dirt”, “a scallywag extortion” (A.T. 29/3 p.3), “an outbreak of an anti-Greek hysteria” (AP. 28/3 p.4), “a brutal and provocative American message” (A.T. 26/3 p.2), “a brutal extortion of the USA” (R. 27/3 p.19), “move against Greece” (EL. 26/3 p.55), “American provocation at the Hellenikon airport”, “measures against Greece which concern the security of Hellenikon airport” (MEGA 23/3), “a provocation on the Greek airport”, “American provocation” (ANT1 24/3).

The “anti-Greek travel advisory” (E.T. 26/3 p.8), resulted in “the parties’ disapproving of Pena” (ETH. 26/3 p.12) and their characterizing the notification as “hostile” (the Parliament’s Speaker A. Kaklamanis, MEGA 24/3), “the second brutal blackmail (...) after 1985 when we had that renowned travel instruction (...) and a hostile act” (Minister of Transportation, Mr. H. Kastanidis, SKY 23/3), “an erroneous and unjust statement at our country’s expense” (ND’s spokesman Mr. V. Maginas, ET1 23/3), “a most provocative attitude of the Americans” (KKE’s spokesman Mr. M. Kopsidis, SKY 24/3), “an act of political terrorism and brutal extortion” (the Coalition’s spokesperson P. Lafazanis, SKY 24/3). In addition, “the reaction of the work-people for the Civil Aviation, who talk about an organized anti-Greek plan, was immediate” (MEGA 23/3): “there is a joint attack against the Greek interests and the Greek tourism” (President of the Civil Aviation Pilot (OSIPA)’s Union, Mr. N. Stamoulis, MEGA 24/3). “It is

about a hostile act of the Americans against our country” (OSIPA’s President P. Alevizopoulos, ET1 24/3).

Moreover, “The USA is an air hostess of Turkey “ (N. 23/3 p.1 title), “They give the neighbors one more helping hand” (EL. 23/3 p.3), “the USA convert themselves once more into an ‘agent’ of the Turkish interests” (AP. 23/3 p.2). The pro-Turkish ‘instruction’ of the Americans (...) ‘plays into the hands’ of Ankara and of all those anti-Greek circles which fervently seek to fatally hurt our tourism” (AP. 26/3 p.4).

“Revelation-shock: American business-men wish to sell security systems! Pirates-traveling salesmen made in the USA behind the torpedo in Hellenikon” (ETH. 27/3 p.18-19), “Light on the backstage of the USA ‘travel instructions’. Hellenikon, target of multinationals” (A.T. 31/3 p.8), “Here is the secret plan of the USA who wish to control the airspace! ‘The skies are ... ours’!” (A.T. 29/3 p.9), “The ... leader was another!” (A.T. 30/3 p.8). “Towards the provocation of the Americans about the alleged lack of safety of the Hellenikon airport, we are entitled to cry out to the Yankees, GO HOME. They were not all of a sudden grieved by the security of our airport, but wished to sell us their systems” (A.T. 29/3 p.11). “These Frankish hens must be ashamed of their attempt to ruin Greece with such an economically perfidious war. Unsafe airports [in Greece]? Out of the question!” (A.T. 29/3 p.18).

Furthermore, “The second blow to our tourism... (...) The international Hellenikon airport was found to be (...), after the investigation of the International Air Transportation Association (IATA), last in the rendering of services” (E.T. 27/3 p.26), “a new blow from IATA as well” (N. 27/3 p.10), “a new blow to our tourism” (A.T. 27/3 p.5), “one more serious blow” (AP. 27/3 p.17), “Torpedo No2 in Hellenikon” (EL. 27/3 p.15). “All right, the Americans played a shabby trick on us with the Hellenikon airport. But what about the European Fellows? Where is the famous community solidarity? Why didn’t they come out to help us with this vile taking place against our tourism?” (A.T. 27/3 p.3).

There were few exceptions. “Not only don’t we do something (...) to improve the main air gate of the country (...) but we also commence the dearest -and so convenient- witch-hunting. They strike us again, they undermine us, they declare war against Greek tourism” (N. 28/3 p.6). “How are we all so sure that our airport is safe? I am aware of the tenet that ‘Americans are always wrong’ but (I whisper) IF

the security services of Hellenikon were on the same level with the others -the most deficient? (Last in IATA's valuation). Should we, by any chance, instead of immediately denouncing Turkish-American conspiracies, do something for the airport?" (EL. 31/3 p.16).

The Greek-Turkish Crisis

Almost one and a half month after the incident between Greece and Turkey in Imia, the exhortation of the Bishop of Alexandroupolis Anthimos "Greeks arise" (E.T. 3/3 p.24) because "the escalation of the Turkish provocativeness is not a seasonal phenomenon" (ETH. 3/3 p.8). This seemed to find its full application in a considerable majority of the Greek media. Towards the "thousands of Turkey's provocations" (EL. 1/3 p.10) "let's not look on while waiting for the barbarians" (AP. 2/3 p.6).

"Ciller's new provocation" (E.T. 2/3 pp. 12-13): "they rammed a Greek warship" (AP. 2/3 p.1), "a hostile ship rams a warship of ours in Imia!.." (A.T. 2/3 p.1). "A new Turkish provocation" (A. 2/3 p.3), "dramatic and extremely dangerous incident" (A.T. 2/3 p.10), "a new incident in Imia" (EL. 2/3 p.5), "a new incident in Imia provoked by the Turks" (K. 2/3 p.5), "new provocation" (MEGA 1/3), "A Turkish patrol boat (...) provocatively violated our territorial waters [and] rammed the Greek gunboat" (MEGA 2/3), "a new incident provoked by the Turks in Imia", "the Turks use provocation in Imia once more" (ANT1 1/3). "The allegedly 'secular' state of Turkey follows faithfully the example of its bloodthirsty founder Kemal Ataturk" (A.T. 3/3 p.10), "Ankara's dirty game (...) for Tigris - Euphrates" (E.T. 3/3 p.32), "Ankara is now preparing provocations in Fanar" (A.T. 2/3 p.7). "Turkey is now opening a front even in Thrace with the agents of Komotini Consulate as the spear-head" (E.T. 3/3 p.18) "Tomorrow [the Turks] will reach Euboea (...) Should by any chance our...infallible finally make a mistake?" (AP. 2/3 p.9). "Even the Turks need intimidation..." (A.T. 3/3 p.20). However, it was also said that "this new Greek-Turkish 'incident' with the warships near Imia looks more like a collision (...) But there must be no complaint. We did not let it ride, mildly, the 'incident' (...) Yes, yes no complaint at all!" (K. 3/3 p.24).

In addition, "new provocations in Imia. A Turkish warship prevented the Greek shepherd, who was accompanied by two of our warships, from getting on the rocky-islet," "a new unprecedented

provocation" (MEGA 16/3), "a new Turkish provocation" (MEGA 17/3), "a Turkish provocation", "a new Turkish provocation in Imia", "Turkish provocativeness" (MEGA 18/3), "incident [which] marks the provocative and aggressive attitude of Turkey in the region" (statement of the Minister of the Press D. Reppas, SKY 19/3), since "every day that goes by, the Turks become more insolent in the Aegean" (statement of PASOK's MP Mr. Karolos Papoulias, E.T. 20/3 p.5). Also, "the Turks continuously provoke" (AP. 18/3 p.10), "new provocation. The Turks "'locked' the ... doors of the Aegean!" (ETH. 18/3 p.1), "new Turkish provocativeness in Imia" (ETH. 18/3 p.6), "a new provocation in the Aegean. The Turks locked Imia's door" (ETH. 18/3 pp. 14-15), "a new provocation by Ankara" (E.T. 18/3 p.11), "Imia 2 set up by the Turks" (N. 18/3 p.1 title), "The Turks set up Imia 2" (N. 18/3 pp. 8-9), "provocations by the Turks against the Greek shepherd" (E.T. 19/3 p.16), "a new provocation" (N. 19/3 p.3). At the same time, "the Navy and the Coast Guard contradict the...hot incident which the shepherd of Imia describes" (EL. 18/3 p.1). "And he should stop deploring us with Imia and his animals because - it is about time he knew it - the country will not get involved in adventures for a barren island just because this is what the bellicose and the channels which directed the crisis want" (EL. 18/3 p.20).

In such a climate and indicative of the aggressiveness cultivated by the media, "new Turkish provocations. (...) Representatives of the informal minority committee which is controlled by the Turkish Consulate in Komotini, met (...) with Turkish President Suleiman Demirel, who expressed, in his statements, Ankara's full solidarity with the 'Turks of Western Thrace'" (E.T. 1/3 p.20). "A new provocation from Demirel. The minority question indirectly raised by the President of Turkey" (AP. 1/3 p.6), "impudence is more than enough in the prospective European neighboring country" (EL. 1/3 p.8) "Demirel [is] provocative" (N. 1/3 p.10), "provocative statements" (AP. 2/3 p.19), "the Turks seem to be determined to escalate the tension" (K. 2/3 p.3), "one more element of tension" (EL. 2/3 p.5). "The Turk agents of MIT who pretend to be the 'offended' Muslims of W. Thrace were received even by ... generals in Ankara! So that there is no doubt any longer about what they are getting at ... And because in Greece the self-explanatory things must not be omitted, we ask: Have we started taking precautions?" (EL. 1/3 p.64) However, the question was asked: "By the way, why is it thought to be exasperating for the leaders of the Muslim minority to go over to Turkey, to be received by

Mr. Demirel and to care about the rights of the minority? (...) Excuse me, but when leaderships of our minorities come to Greece, do we bring into play the same characterizations?" (EL. 2/3 p.24).

At the same time, "continuation of provocations (...) We have provocations or provocative attitude, let's call it like that, at the airport of Constantinople. The employees at the airport scrutinized all the pieces of luggage, insulted and subjected the wife of the Greek Consul in Constantinople to humiliating controls" (SKY 22/3, "the provocations in the Aegean do not cease" (MEGA 22/3), "the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs went far beyond any limit of impudence" (MEGA 23/3), "Ankara heightened (...) the climate with an illegal control of the luggage of a Greek diplomat's wife" (A.T. 23/3 p.7), "A Turkish provocation in Constantinople at the expense of the Greek Consul" (AP. 23/3 p.5), "Ankara intimidates Greek diplomats" (E.T. 23/3 p.1), "A Humiliating control of the consul's wife" (N. 23/3 p.7), "an unprecedented incident" (EL. 23/3 p.4). "So from now on we'll have to guarantee [the Turks' security], by turning their luggage inside out and by stripping the Turk diplomats and their wives to the buff, every time they wish to travel by Turk Havas Yolari..." (AP. 23/3 p.9)

Consequently, "Greece is rudely provoked by the *Tourkalades* [pejorative for Turks]" (E.T. 6/3 p.3). "Our 'friend' and 'ally' neighboring Turkey was a very good student of Hitler (...) Should we by any chance wake up?" (R. 16/3 p.22). [What happened] "to those '*I tan i epi tas*' ['return with your shield or on it' in Ancient Greek] '*Molon Lave*' ['come and grab these from us if you dare' in Ancient Greek] Souli? Alamana? Gravia's inn? 1940's NO? To 'the children of Greece, the children'?" (AP. 14/3 p.22). "We inform [the Turks] that we Greeks, (...) when our country is in danger, unite and become a fist in order to grind the one who plots against us" (ETH. 12/3 p.40). "And I repeat the oath of the ancient Athenian teenager: '... And I shall defend the sanctities by myself and by others' (...) Come on! On your feet! All those who are Greeks!" (comments by ND MP V. Polydoras, AP. 12/3 p.8).

"The Turks play with fire in Imia. They plan to send ...ecologist agents on the rocky islet on 25 March" (AP. 23/3 p.5), "Imia No 2 ... Crisis smolders with the goats!" (A.T. 23/3 p.1), "Turkish agents, dressed up as ecologists this time, may attempt to ... feed the goats" (A.T. 23/3 p.5), "On a standby for the expected provocation in Imia" (ETH. 23/3 p.5), "the Armed Forces are on the alert in the face of provocations in Imia" (E.T.

23/3 p.11), "on a standby for a new hot incident" (EL. 23/3 p.1), "rumors about a hot incident from the Turks in the Aegean" (EL. 23/3 p.5), "as the national holiday of 25 March comes close, the concern that Turkey will move on to new provocations in the area are increasing" (MEGA 23/3), "rumors about a potential new incident in Imia" (ANT1 24/3), "rumors about a potential provocation" (ET1 24/3), "Ankara plans provocations in the area of Imia by landing Turkish civilians, allegedly ecologists" (SKY 23/3).

Moreover, "while we celebrate the National Regeneration, Attila 3 in Thrace, the Dodecanese" (A.T. 24/3 p.1 title), "a possible new Turkish provocation in Thrace..." EC.T. 14/3 p.20), "the Turks, on the pretext of a serious danger for the 'Turkish minority', prepare 'Attila' in Thrace and the Dodecanese" (A.T. 24/3 pp.12-13), "Greece fears Turkish provocation in Imia" (ETH. 24/3 p.9), "it is possible that in the next days an escalation of Turkish provocativeness will emerge" (EL. 24/3 p.14), "Ankara is likely to 'land' on Imia shepherds (in reality 'agents') on the pretext to give aid to the sheep and goats which are on the rocky islet" (V. 24/3 p.14) "a new Turkish ecological provocation in Imia" (ET1 22/3). "Oh ... no this is a provocation! 25 March selected by the Turkish ecologists to feed the goats on Imia" (A.T. 24/3 p.96), a fact that "will constitute one more gradual provocation which will be continuously aggravating until it results either in a general concession on the part of Greece (...) or in a confrontation. And we must get ready for this confrontation without defeatism, with composure and with dash" (statement by PASOK MP, D. Vounatsos, SKY 23/3). On the other hand there was an ironic comment too: "if the goats on Imia are so much of a problem, why don't they put rabbits on it?"

Furthermore, a very important point was made, that the danger-mongering did not reflect any actual fact that happened or was to happen these days: "Radio and television channels during the national three-day festivities were full of: 'the Turkish provocation in Imia is expected exactly on the national holiday' (...) 'Provocations by the Turks on Imia on 25 March' (...) But, when the stories were running, the viewer found out that, especially yesterday [25/3] nothing happened on the rocky-islet" (EL. 26/3 p.8) "Oh, no and again no! This time the Turks went too far (...) To put in doubt the reputable analysts of [the TV stations] 'MEGA', 'Antenna' (...) (as well as of a lot of newspapers) who insisted vehemently all these three days that we were to have a 'hot incident' in

Imia on 25 March? Well, this goes far beyond any limit! (...) Next time I request that the whole Turkish battle plan be 'on air' so that they would know exactly what to do. Let's say that this time

there was ...a lack of coordination" (R. 27/3 p.4) and this is why "the goats on Imia are still waiting for the Turkish ecologists" (N. 26/3 p.3).

HATE SPEECH IN THE GREEK MEDIA: THE APRIL 1996 REPORT

Panayote Elias Dimitras and Vasiliki Neofotistou

Important note: It is noteworthy that despite the official declarations of Greece that Macedonia should be referred to as FYROM, the Greek media, with rare exceptions, persistently use the term 'Skopje', which seems to prevail in the conscience of the Greek people. References of this kind, will not be added in the Hate Speech project, as there are almost no exceptions to the rule.

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Introduction

The main theme which dominated the Greek media was the discussion on the Turkish minority in Thrace that took place in the informal Commission of the US House and Senate on Security and Cooperation in Europe. We also include the anti-Semitic remarks of writer V. Vasilikos and the reaction of the Central Jewish Council. Short references to the accusations of the MP Stelios Papatthemelis against Macedonian activist Father Nikodimos Tsarknias as well as to press accusations against Romanian immigrants as murder suspects are made. In addition, we are reporting on the falsification of the news about the reasons that the widow of Sadik appealed to the European Court. Moreover, there is an extensive report on the attacks on the Greek Helsinki Monitor

and personally on its members by a pleiad of newspapers.

Anti-American Hysteria after the Discussion on Western Thrace Issues in the Informal Commission of the US House and Senate on Security and Cooperation in Europe

The discussion on the Turkish minority of Thrace in the Helsinki Commission of the US House and Senate on Security and Cooperation in Europe which was held on 25/4, was characterized by a considerable majority of the Greek media monitored as "Bombshell on Thrace. The Americans relayed... a dirty trick on us again" (AP. 20/4 p.1 title), "American bombshell on Thrace. The USA... gave in to the pressures of the Turks. (...) unprecedented intervention of the American Congress" (AP. 20/4 p.5), a discussion that constitutes "the theoretical precursor of Greece's mutilation! (...) ignominy and treason are organized at the expense of Greece" (comments of N.D.'s MP V. Polydoros, AP. 20/4 r.8), "a new filthy plan of the USA for Thrace. They try to boss her around! (...) Clockwork bomb in the sovereignty of the Greek state and the stability of all the Balkans" (A.T. 20/4 p.7), "a particularly annoying discussion" (N. 20/4 p.5), "a flat intervention of the Americans within the country's domestic affairs (...), exasperating provocation of the imperialists" (R. 20/4 p.6), "Provocative games of Washington" (R. 20/4 p.7), "a provocation from the USA" (E.T. 22/4 p.9), "a provocation from the Congress of the USA on Thrace" (ETH. 25/4 p.4), "a brutal intervention" (R. 25/4 p.3), "an unpleasant 'surprise'" (K. 24/4 p.5), "a discussion (...) which may open new fronts for Greece" (ETH. 20/4 p.7), "an inadmissible intervention in the domestic affairs of our country" (ETH. 21/4 p.13).

In addition, "even a Thrace issue at the Congress! Unprecedented and flatly unfriendly is the decision of the US House and Senate Commission deal with Western Thrace" (ETH. 20/4 p.7), "A committee of the Congress touches on Thrace" (EL. 20/4 p.4), "The scenarios for destabilization flare up. A discussion at the Congress for Western Thrace!"

(E.T. 20/4 p.9), "The USA: The Congress is sitting for our sovereignty! Hawks with... fez over Thrace" (A.T. 25/4 p.6), "A new attack with a Western Thrace issue from USA-Europe" (ETH. 21/4 p.13), "an ominous concern that the only thing it guarantees is new tribulations" (R. 23/4 p.2), "Towards a national dwindling... " (E.T. 22/4 p.2), "Tactics a la... Imia in Thrace as well! (...) Ankara attempts to set foot via ...Washington. A perfidious approach at the State Department with the minority as a pretext" (AP. 21/4 p.14), "the Turkish lobby in Washington succeeded once more in bringing a non-existent issue to the fore" (MEGA 20/4), "annoyance about the issue on Thrace. On a non-existing issue the discussion at the Congress of the USA" (ETH. 22/4 p.12): "In which other country of the world, do Muslims live better than they do in Greece? (...) Across, in Turkey, Greek schools and Orthodox churches are collapsing and the properties of the Greeks are confiscated!.. " (AP. 20/4 p. 4). "Why doesn't the Congress of the USA deal with the rights of the Greek populations in Imvros and Tenedos? Oh, don't be so wicked now..." (P. 30/4 p.4), "they are blind to pop down to Constantinople to see what extinction of people and respect for their human rights means..." (ETH. 22/4 p.2). "The pseudo-trial of Thrace is neither accidental, nor coincidental. It is a grave and dangerous provocation which is placed among the plans of those who consider Thrace as Achilles' heel of the triangle Aegean-Macedonia-Thrace" (statement of Political Spring's leader A. Samaras, ANT1 21/4). According to the Minister of National Defense G. Arsenis, "Naturally we cannot hide, and personally I cannot hide, my annoyance and my dislike for this American initiative" (ET1 21/4). "We say that there are people of Turkish origin, that there are Roma, there are Gypsies in Thrace, there are Pomaks as well. So, it is not possible for all of them to get under the same umbrella" (statement of the Press Spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs K. Bikas, SKY 24/4).

"But, I don't get it! What is the American Congress? The ...UN or the International Court of The Hague? And how well-based is the information that the USA 'are preparing' a 'package-deal', something like a 'new Lausanne' and with carefully planned moves (like the one of the Congress...) they are setting up the scenery in... a perfect cooperation with Ankara?" (K. 20/4 p.3). "Weren't they afraid that the corridors of the Congress would get stained with the blood reeking from Ankara's spokesperson? They forget the fate of the minorities in Turkey: of the Americans and of the Greeks who were slaughtered at that time. Like the Kurds now. With bombs made in USA"

(N. 27/4 p.39). "Obviously, the fathers of the American confederacy (...) after they had restored the world order, decided to investigate to what extent the Pomaks, the Roma and the Muslims of Western Thrace are equal Greek citizens!.. The provocation is cynical, brutal and coarse" (A.T. 23/4 p.4) given that "the violation of human rights begins and ends in the American Congress" (ETH. 24/4 p.2). Therefore, "NO to the American intervention. OUT WITH AMERICANS FROM WESTERN THRACE, FROM THE AEGEAN, FROM THE BALKANS" (R. 25/4 p.3).

"Now the Americans are opening a debate on the ...situation in Western Thrace in a committee of the Congress. This comes as a continuation of the revealed scenarios of war engagement between Greece and Turkey some months ago after a provocation in Thrace" (A.T. 21/4 p.10). "Why did the Americans discover Thrace? Should we expect a provocation?" (P. 25/4 p.17). According to the Minister of Press D. Reppas "there is a Turkish finger" (K. 26/4 p.5) "about the alleged violations of the human rights" (*inter alia* in a letter of the Archbishop of America Iakovos to the Security Advisor of the US President, Anthony Lake, AP. 25/4 p.7). Besides, "Greece gives -and does not take- lessons in matters of the pursuit of the democratic and human rights" (E.T. 24/4 p.2).

And now the counterpoints. "We consumed another 'national treachery' (...) carried away by the convenient trap, we did not care to inform and to get informed of what this Commission was about, what its competence was, whether it has ever debated on matters favorable to Greece, and finally what the conclusions for the minority were" (K. 30/4 p.1). "Unfortunately (...) the whole issue got unrealistic proportions" (EL. 28/4 p. 14). "... But, why should a country which argues that it guarantees equality before the law for all citizens, fear debates?" (EL. 23/4 p.30). "And surely, the excuse that Turkey did much worse things (...) such a hypocritical attitude" (EL. 25/4 p.10), "cannot constitute a serious argument for the Greek side as far as its politics in Thrace are concerned. Can it?.. (K. 24/4 p.16).

The Anti-Semitism of V. Vasilikos

The article of the writer V. Vasilikos on the people who made the coup d' état of 21 April under the title "The release from prison of the junta people" (N. 16/4 p.11), in which he mentions that "Mose Dayan, the would-be victor of the Arab-Israeli War, was in Athens in the night of the 20 to the 21 [April 1967] by coincidence (...). My mind goes

unconsciously (...) to those who crucified their fellow-countryman" [meaning Jesus Christ], caused the reaction of the Central Jewish Council of Greece: "Vasilikos does not forget to indirectly but clearly involve the Jews in the establishment of the dictatorship as well according to the known principle that 'Jews are to blame for everything'" (N. 24/4 p.18). So, the Central Jewish Council of Greece on the one hand characterizes the presence of Mose Dayan in Athens on the 20 to the 21 April as "an inaccuracy" and the remark about "those who crucified their fellow-countryman" as "a carefully planned fabrication which touches lately the attitude of Israel towards Cyprus." On the other hand it characterizes V. Vasilikos as an anti-Semite: "Mr. Vasilikos has every right to be an anti-Semite and to show it on every occasion." V. Vasilikos in his answer mentions that "I was informed of Mose Dayan's presence in Athens (...) from the texts and interviews of well-known fighters of a period of thirty years against the junta. (...) What I do not understand is the reference (...) to Cyprus". In addition, as far as the characterization of 'anti-Semite' is concerned, he mentions that "it is not valid since I have explicitly declared myself as Semitic" [making a pun on the surname of the Greek Prime Minister, K. Simitis].

Accusations of "Treason" Against Father Nikodimos Tsarknias

On the occasion of the trial of Father Nikodimos Tsarknias, who was indicted for "pretension of authority" because he has become a member of the Orthodox Church of Macedonia and, as a consequence, wears the vestments of his function, PASOK's MP S. Papatthemelis said *inter alia* in a debate in Parliament: "a... queer [in Greek, *kinaidos*: a word for homosexuals, with a highly offensive meaning] priest was sent in Warsaw by Gligorov in order to spread anti-Greek propaganda" (EL. 30/4 p.11).

Presentation of a Falsified Piece of News

The appeal of Ahmet Sadik to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, which is continued by the widow of the deceased, for the use of the term "Turkish minority", for which he had been convicted and served time in the past, was misrepresented in the Greek media. Not only by a part of the press but also by the state Athens News Agency as "a 100 million drachma lawsuit [filed by the widow of Ahmet Sadik] against the Greek state, claiming that the death of her husband last July [July 1995] in a traffic accident was an assassination" (Athens News Agency 10/4). We read: "The Muslims (Greek citizens) do whatever

they can, to aggravate our relations and to present their good face to mama Turkey" (E.T. 6/4 p.36). "They ask for a 100 million compensation for Sadik's assassination" (E.T. 31/3 p.128), "claiming that Sadik was assassinated and did not die in a traffic accident!" (E.T. 27/3 p.11), "Sadik's widow suddenly asks for compensation (...) claiming in her lawsuit that her husband was the victim of a murder plot" (AP. 8/4 p.10). "And while the madam calls us to account, our urban planning services gave her a tacit license to make the huge mausoleum of her husband, in Rodopi prefecture, that is where she wants and as she wants it. But it seems that the *grosia* [old Turkish currency] are not enough for such a work and she wants the Greek state to pay them for her. That's why she's taking us to court and accuses us of ... being assassins. It is strange that God or Allah still keeps his cool!" (EL. T. 6/4 p.36).

Unjust Attacks on Foreigners

A part of the media monitored presented "four Romanians" (MEGA 2/4) as suspects for the robbery and murder of the accountant D. Papadopoulou, in early April. "Four foreigners killed an accountant in his office in broad daylight (...). Perpetrators of the atrocious murder are, according to eye-witnesses, possibly Albanians or Romanians" (A.T. 3/4 p.9): "One of them was fair-haired, with long hair. They were filthy, they were like Albanians" (statement of an eye-witness, MEGA 2/4). "Eight people, among them three Romanians have been brought to the Police Station" (N. 3/4 p.17). "More than eight suspects have been brought, among them three Romanians" (EL. 3/4 p.47). Tens of suspects were brought (...) to the police station (...) most of whom were Romanians and Albanians" (ETH. 3/4 p.14).

However, there was a dissident point of view: "They caught the Romanians, the murderers ran away... (...). The arrest of three Romanians, who were considered - without being- to be the perpetrators of yesterday's [2/4] ferocious crime (...) harmed the efforts for the arrest of the real murderers" (AP. 3/4 p.21). It is noteworthy that the disclaimer of the Romanians' involvement in the robbery and murder, was presented only in a few cases: "As far as the Romanians who were thought to be suspects are concerned, (...) no evidence turned up against them" (EL. 4/4 p.18), "after all (...) the four foreigners (...) had nothing to do with the murder and were released" (MEGA 3/4).

Attacks on Greek Helsinki Monitor and Personally on its Members

The attacks on the Greek Helsinki Monitor's stands and personally on its members, particularly in April, were present in many newspapers. We read:

1. "Panayote Dimitras, while participating in a European committee on human rights, spoke in favor of the operation of Albanian schools in Greece with the argument that a lot of Albanian immigrants dwell in our country and their children are entitled to education in their mother tongue. Such an act however, not only opposes our national interests, but also, if carried out, it constitutes a direct acknowledgment by the Greek state of the existence of an Albanian minority in our country. Such an act forms a straight undermining of our national interests and, what is more, when the official Albanian government denies to grant full rights in the field of education to the people in Northern Epirus" (AP. 7/4 p.2, leading editorial).
2. "Secret school... Albanian! Strange is the activity (...) of the cultural association Philallilia under the roof of which the school operates. (...) We found on the notice board documentation that informs of seminars and talks in relation to the Republic of Macedonia whereas in a leaflet of Philallilia we read that the association's training programs were occasionally helped by the Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church of Greece and the Church of Adventists of Keramikos!!" (A.T. 25/4 p.41).

The association Philallilia and Greek Helsinki Monitor jointly operate these Albanian language classes.

1. "Some native 'flowers' [pejorative ironic term in Greek] which hang around in various fora, like some Pan. Dimitras, were very welcome. On the basis of what the state radio of FYROM broadcast on the meeting of the Helsinki committees in Sarande in Albania, Dimitras probably overdid it in his talk, presenting our country as the biggest minority oppressor in the

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We would also like to note that the attacks on the GHM from the extremist nationalistic newspaper

Balkans. (...) Let's not go nuts. There are much worse things around us. And proposals to exercise international pressure, in collaboration with the organization Rainbow on Greece in order to solve the problems of the minorities and the difficulties that the Macedonians in our country meet with, are more dangerous than constructive" (A. 13/4 p.27).

2. On the occasion of the publication of the article "Thrace and Constantinople" (EL. 20/4 p.18) where it was mentioned that "the minority of Thrace from the Lausanne Treaty has imposingly increased in number and none has left up to the present day", Greek Helsinki Monitor and the Minority Rights Group - Greece with a letter of their spokesperson Panayote Dimitras, noted that "There is nothing more untrue. (...) Unfortunately the members of the minority in Thrace today (...) are less than 90.000: this would be confirmed if someone estimated the population of the minority on the basis of the official results of the census in 1991 as well as the ethnological synthesis of Thrace's municipalities and communities. (...) It is about, a milder of course, silent ethnic cleansing. The newspaper in its reply, *inter alia*, writes that "P. Dimitras ought to be more careful in the use of characterizations, in the evaluation of elements and in calculations, if he wants to serve the truth and not to compromise the organizations he represents. (...) There is nothing more untrue than the claim that, in Thrace, there had been an ethnic cleansing. This is something not even the most fanatical Muslims of Thrace have said. (...) It is disrespect and abuse towards the Greeks of Constantinople, of Imvros and of Tenedos (...) to characterize their extermination as ethnic cleansing. Didn't Dimitras hear anything about the barbarities of 1955? Or is he by any chance straining at a gnat and gulping down the camel? (...) Only devious people and hypocrites would waive the comparisons" (EL. 27/4 p.18).
3. "In a well-governed state, people like Nikos Dimou would have been arrested long ago." (EL. T. 25/4 p.5).

Stohos, where the names of all its members are repeatedly published with abusive characterizations, are not included in the present report, as on their own they constitute an object of a different study.

HATE SPEECH IN THE GREEK MEDIA: THE MAY 1996 REPORT

Panayote Elias Dimitras and Vasiliki Neofotistou

For technical reasons, only the print -and not the broadcast- media were monitored during May 1996, the last month of monitoring the media for this project.

Important note: It is noteworthy that despite the official declarations of Greece that Macedonia should be referred to as FYROM, the Greek media, with rare exceptions, persistently use the term 'Skopje', which seems to prevail in the conscience of the Greek people. References of this kind, will not be added in the Hate Speech project, as there are almost no exceptions to the rule.

Print media abbreviations: A=Avgi; A.T.=Adesmeftos Typos; P=Apogevmatini; ETH=Ethnos; E.T.=Eleftheros Typos; EL=Eleftherotypia; K=I Kathimerini; R=Rizospastis; N=Ta Nea; ST=Stohos; V=To Vima; P=To Pontiki; EC.T.=Economicos Tachydromos.

Introduction

In May 1996, five hate speech themes dominated the Greek Media. The first targeted at Father Nikodimos Tsarknias on the occasion of his trial in the Misdemeanor Court in Edesa where he was acquitted. The second had to do with the accusations against the Satanists, as the usual suspects of acts of vandalism against Orthodoxy. The third concerns the media coverage on the ferocity against three Albanians in Corfu. The case of Vasilikos and the reactions to the accusations of anti-Semitism against him follow. Finally, we mention the comments on the occasion of some statements by the Leader of the Official Opposition Miltiadis Evert, about the immigrants in Greece.

Personal Attacks Against Father Nikodimos Tsarknias

Father Nikodimos Tsarknias joined the Orthodox Church of Macedonia during the procedure of his defrocking from the Greek Orthodox Church. For this reason, he was indicted on 'pretension of authority,' and he was convicted at least twelve times. Eventually, he was acquitted on appeal by the Misdemeanor Court of Edesa on 8/5/96. The acquittal was presented by some print media as "trial (...) of the well known propagandist of Skopje (...) who was defrocked for being queer as well" (AP. 13/5 p.10). "A Greek citizen and defrocked priest from the Church of Greece that ordained him is at the same time an employee of a foreign state, hired to work against Greece! Indeed an unprecedented phenomenon called 'human rights'" (A.T. 27/5 p.4). "An application in order to open a Macedonian church in Macedonia will file the well-known corrupt to ... the extreme Nikodimos Tsarknias, a former priest of the Greek Orthodox Church and now a wandering agent of Skopjan propaganda (...). The essence of this case is that the Skopjans have not got a better spokesperson of their propaganda than a ruthlessly corrupted person. It is natural that he is equally corrupted in other activities as well Corruption is one thing, personal particularities is another..." (A.T. 11/5 p.13).

However, there was the dissident point of view that the acquittal of Father N. Tsarknias constituted "one more indication of smoothing out of the Macedonian problem" (A. 9/5 p.2).

Satanists, The Usual Suspects

The ease with which the responsibility for incidents such as arsons in churches, black magic rituals, graffiti against Orthodoxy etc. is attributed to Satanists is noteworthy, despite the repeated contradictions. During May, two such incidents - acts of vandalism in the cemetery of Heraclion in Lagadas in Salonica as well as a pentacle on the wall of a nursery in Salonica- were dealt with in the same way. We read: "An invasion of Satanists in a cemetery" (E.T. 6/5 p.11), "An invasion of Satanists in a cemetery..." (E.T. 6/5 p.60), "Sacriligious people broke 172 crosses. Satanists 'behind' the sacrilege" (AP. 6/5 p.51), "The vandals are most probably Satanists" (A.T. 7/5 p.9), "Vandalisms on 250 graves. The inhabitants

attributed the fact to Satanist and para-Christian organizations" (A.T. 6/5 p.46). Moreover, "invasion of Satanists in a nursery. Racket knocks about Salonica and organizes rituals" (E.T. 7/5 p.28). "Metropolis of Satanism Salonica. They have their eyes on the children. Nothing is sacred to them" (AP. 7/5 p.16), "Satanists..... off the cuff" (ETH. 7/5 p.16).

When it became obvious that Satanists were not implicated in such acts, the related information was published by newspapers but took up less space in the columns than their alleged implication in the aforementioned incidents did. So: "the vandal of Lagadas was arrested" (E.T. 9/5 p.27), "the vandal of the cemetery has psychological problems" (A.T. 9/5 p.18), "they caught the 'insane' sacrilege" (AP. 9/5 p.24). Moreover, "the Satanists of Toumba are three minors" (ETH. 9/5 p.18), "Juvenile burglars behind the black magic in a nursery in Salonica" (E.T. 9/5 p.27), "Juvenile.... Satanists" (AP. 9/5 p.16), "A game with Satanic symbols" (A.T. 9/5 p.21). "It did not take much for one to realize that the various 'Satanists' who broke into (...) the nursery of Salonica municipality in Toumba, played a joke, moreover it is a gaudy one. (...) Unfortunately [some] newspapers, showing absolutely no scruples, reached the point when they even wrote about the 'panic and agitation everywhere in Salonica because of the Satanists' and other such things" (ETH. 8/5 p.9).

Are Greeks Racists?

"University professors and social institutions (...) stress that Greeks are not racists and emphasize that the recorded cases are unrelated to the people's temperament and to their history" (ETH. 24/5 p.15). At the same time, the news broke that "four hooded people (...) attacked three Albanian illegal immigrants who were sleeping on a building site in the commune of Avlioti in Corfu, abused them and then, according to the victims' testimony, 'enjoyed' their simulated execution with a revolver" (N. 24/5 p.18). The incident "did not get much public exposure" (K. 28/5 p.1). On the contrary, very few journalists condemned the ferocity against the Albanians and "the Sunday Press [showed] an impressive indifference to the atrocious incident in Corfu" (EL. 27/5 p.22) since this did not allow "the usual prattle about 'the Mafia of the foreigners' nor did it facilitate the excessive demagoguery of the public, which is supposed to be hospitable by heritage" (K. 28/5 p.1).

We read: "Lurid revelations about a gang of racists. Ku-Klux-Klan tortures Albanians" (ETH. 24/5 p.1), "Ku-Klux-Klan strikes Albanians!" (ETH. 24/5 p.15), "Youngsters, the zealots of Ku-Klux-Klan" (N. 25/5 p.16), "Investigations for the gang of the racists" (ETH. 25/5 p.15), "Atrocious" (EL. 28/5 p.2), "Hooded people took the law in their hands in Corfu (their first target -the Albanians)" (P. 30 /5 p.5), "so as to see how far human endurance can go and probably remember the action of the neo-Nazi in Germany" (E.T. 26/5 p.98). "The civilians who, according to the relevant reporting, approve of the 'action' of the masked people that copy 'Ku-Klux-Klan' are not few" (K. 28/5 p.16). "Fascist attack from a group of hooded people (...) However the thing that causes greater concern is the covering that our state provided for the perpetrators, as it took care of the deportation of the three Albanians immediately after the incident" (A. 25/5 p.8), "Express deportation 'sweeps' the racists' gang under the carpet" (EL. 25/5 p.18).

"The conspiracy of silence, whose regime is founded on the interests of some people and on the fear of other (...) only favors our lethargy, and so does the haste deportation of the victims" (K. 28/5 p.1). And beyond which limit could we talk of racism in Greece, without making a mistake? In such major issues 'incantations' not only are of no use, but, on the contrary, they contribute to the installation of the evil" (K. 28/5 p.16).

Vasilikos and Anti-Semitism

As a consequence of the article of Mr. V. Vasilikos, in which, referring to the agreement of cooperation between Turkey and Israel, he wrote "my mind unintentionally goes back to the ones who crucified their fellow-countryman" (N. 16/4 p.11), the Jewish Organization Simon Wiesenthal requested UNESCO "not to accept him as an Ambassador" (N. 11/5 p.11). Mr. V. Vasilikos answered by saying "I do not know which alien interests instigate them" (N. 11/5 p.11) and some print media commented on the news. We read: "Attack on V. Vasilikos" (N. 11/5 p.11), "'Hostage' of the Jews Vasilis Vasilikos" (ETH. 11/5 p.18), "the Israelites are upset with Vasilikos" (AP. 13/5 p.29) "and we have to decline this provocation of the Israelites against a writer of ours" (E.T. 13/5 p.4). "He, who is a genuine anti-Zionist, declines Anti-Semitism. The discharge of the Israeli community from this reactionary ideology forms a precondition for its emancipation from the obsession (or obsessions) of the past and its harmonious reintegration, not only of the

Middle East, but also of the contemporary era” (ETH. 11/5 p.27).

In addition, “the international terrorism that Israel exercises against those who (it itself acquires the right to) characterize(s) as anti-Semites, aspires to be analogous to the terrorism it exercises, as a state, against the Arabs with various pretexts on the one hand but on the other -just like the Nazis did against their victims, half a century ago. Enough (...) what do they want? Us not to judge? Not to think? Or maybe not to exist?” (N. 13/5 p.14). In his answer, the Press Attaché of the Israeli Embassy mentions *inter alia*: “After reading the comments of [the caricaturist] Mr. Stathis (...) the majority of the Greek people who is certainly not composed of racists and people hemmed in prejudices will only feel disgusted” (N. 16/5 p.10). Mr. Stathis mentions in his reply *inter alia*: “This intentional effort to characterize as an anti-Semite whomever is not a Zionist is very dangerous -and in the case of my insignificance it is just cheap. However, in the case of ‘Kana’s mistake’ it means innocent dead children! For them did ‘God, who is one and only one for all of us’ exist or is possible that they were ‘children of an inferior God?’” (N. 16/5 p.10) [In addition, the organizations Greek Helsinki Monitor and Minority Rights Group - Greece asked for the recall of V. Vasilikos].

**The Statements of Official Opposition Leader
Miltiadis Evert about
the Immigrants in Greece**

The Leader of the Official Opposition M. Evert said in the Parliament: “The foreigners make up

6% of the workforce at the expense of the unemployed Greeks. In addition, most of them are not insured and thus deprive the insurance system of revenues. This situation cannot and should not go on any longer. It has to be stopped at once. We are determined for that” (A. 10/5, p. 16). In the same context, we read the following comments: “The alarm sounds in the nests of the extra sensitive ‘windfuckers’ [*anemogamides in Greek*] (...). The supposedly progressive windbags have to understand that, after all, Greeks do not owe a thing either to the Albanians or to the Romanians or to the Poles or to the Russians who arrive here for work and food (...) The country is flooded by torrents of foreigners” (E.T. 14/5 p. 4); “most of them choose to join gangs and mafias in big cities. In this way, they earn more money faster.” (E.T. 13/5, p.18).

However, there were some dissident views expressed in a few print media: “At least we know that 6% of the labor force really works” (A. 12/5, p.10). It is an “explosion of the primitive right-wing” (EL. 11/5, p.24) of Mr. Evert who “with the racial attacks against the illegal immigrants [undertook] the role of Le Pen (A. 11/5, p.16). “Let us hope that our various neo-fascists will understand that they were not given a blank order to ‘take the law into their hands’” (V. 12/5, p.17). “Fascism, racism, and populism go hand in hand. They lurk in ‘reliable political and social institutions.’” And then, the -isms are even more dangerous. Because they take the form of both a political stand and an opinion which may carry away the ignorant people. All those who do not know that unemployment is not dealt with with violent exclusions, but with radical changes in the production process” (EL. 11/5, p.24).

ALBANOPHOBIA IN THE GREEK MEDIA*

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With the term Albanophobia we can define the fear which springs from the generalized impression that Albanians in Greece are criminals. The reason for the formation of this impression lies with the way the Greek media present the offenses committed by Albanians and the emphasis put on the people. In consequence, xenophobia is being cultivated and intensified by the presence of the Albanian immigrants within the Greek state as well as by the conduct of the Albanian regime towards the Greek minority in Northern Epirus. Because of the latter and because of the fear of de-Hellenization, Northern Epirus is considered by some Greeks - among them the leader of the opposition in Greece, Mr. Evert- to be an unredeemed territory.

It is also often argued that Albania keeps pace with the logic of Hoxha and when it comes to Greek-Albanian negotiations, as the one that took place in September 1995 between the Greek Foreign Minister Mr. Papoulias and his Albanian counterpart Mr. Sereki about the educational rights of the Greek minority in Albania, the Albanian side always appears to be “particularly provocative”, “intransigent”, “narrow-hearted”, “inflexible if not offensive”, “rigid” with an “attitude of conceit and arrogance”, “inadmissible and totally antidemocratic positions”.

In such a climate, it is not an exaggeration to say that Albanians constitute the scapegoat of the Greek society. Whenever a crime is with unknown perpetrators committed, the blame is put on the Albanians. For example, the death of four people after a fire had broken out in a house in Vyronas on December 11, was considered by the great majority of the monitored Greek media to be a “holocaust by the Albanian Mafia”, “the Albanian Mafia burned them alive! Two were children”, “members of the Albanian Mafia carried out the holocaust”, “mass execution by the Albanian Mafia”, “Albanian mobsters burned a compatriot of theirs, his two young children and his nephew alive”, “the Albanian Mafia gets out of hand”, “the dreams of eight Albanians were trapped in the nets of the Albanian Mafia” as “the way this mass killing was done proves that it was organized by the Albanian Mafia”. However, there was no shred of evidence that the crime was a deed of the Albanian Mafia. The perpetrators who remain unknown could also be Greek.

But even when incidents in which Albanians are implicated occur, the news is presented with contemptuous reference to the people and the whole story is often blown up. For example, “Albanian illegal immigrants hit villages in Imathia” [in Northern Greece], “Albanian gunmen”, “Albanians hit houses in Dilesi”, “Albanians have choked Imathia”, “Albanians steal rotten food from rubbish dumps and sell it”, “Albanians were the murderers in Halkidiki”, “Albanian drug-sellers”, “Terror from the Albanian burglars”, “Albanians kidnapped a 25-year-old woman”, “We are saddled with Albanians”, “Albanians traffic in drugs”, “Albanians blow up the electricity bills”, “Danger of espionage, Albanians work for the Air Forces” and so on.

It is also characteristic that when a Greek who lives in Northern Epirus commits a crime, he is presented as an Albanian by the Greek media. [That was the case of Ioannis Tsimilios and Fotis Panayiotis, both with Greek names, who were yet said to be Albanians].

It is noteworthy that the inmate’s rebellion in the largest prison of Greece in Korydallos in mid-November was presented by the media as “the dominance of both the law of brutal violence as well as the bestiality of the Albanian thugs and the Greek ‘godfathers’ of the night”. We read that, “A look at the statistical facts gives an answer why the Albanian and the Greek ‘godfathers’ clashed. The foreigners, mainly Albanians, are the majority; 60% of the inmates. So, the majority asked for its rights at the power exercised by others in Korydallos”. Therefore, “Albanian and Romanian prisoners caused the uprising by attempting to escape” and “they provoke upheavals” since “in the prison the problems are caused mostly by the Albanians”. “Armed with (...) drills, knives, iron bars and pieces of broken glass the almost 300 Albanians inmates of Korydallos play a leading part in the acts of violence. What is more, most of the juvenile prisoners have fallen victims to outrageous maltreatment, even to sexual one”, because “the Albanians tried the takeover of the Juvenile Correctional Institution”. “They were opening our palms and putting in them dozens of tranquilizers a boy confessed, whereas other

inmates charged that they were beaten up by Albanians, who took all of their belongings by force". "A lot of inmates terrified by the 'powerful Albanians and Greeks', want the shambles to end".. But "the Albanians, brandishing the knives, do not want to hear anything about bringing the uprising to an end" and "they spread fear and panic among the others."

A few weeks later the public prosecutor issued indictments for the unrest. Not even one among those indicted was Albanian and according to the report not even one alien was included among the ringleaders of the rebellion.

Furthermore, the inmates' escape from the prisons of Stavrakio in Volos was treated as a "mass escape of Albanians from the prison", "bloody uprising of the 18 Albanians", "uprising whose ringleaders were considered to be 40 Albanian inmates", "escape whose culprits are considered to be 40 Albanians", "Albanian criminals who will try to flee to their country."

The ferocious beating of the fugitives after their arrest, as it was presented by television stations, was said ironically that allows us "to be proud of the Greek-style conduct [of the ones who staff our penitentiary system] because, let's not overlook it, the mercilessly and publicly beaten up people were nothing but Albanians, that is 'near-people' in accordance with the prevailing stereotypes."

It is evident that Albanians are an object of racism in Greece. Racism which is fueled by the hate speech in the media and is therefore found in every aspect of everyday life: from the chanting of the Greek demonstrators against unemployment, "We are workers from Macedonia and not immigrants from Albania" to the beating up of a Greek oil-mill worker by policemen who thought him to be an Albanian illegal immigrant. Also, a shepherd, who

was rambling around, was shot by a policeman because the latter thought that the former was an Albanian who wanted to steal. In another case, an Albanian was shot during a police operation for the arrest of immigrants who work illegally in Greece as, according to the official police report, a policeman lost his balance, fell down and his gun went off killing the victim. According to the secretary of the organization SOS-Racisme in Greece, from March 1991 to May 1996, the period of the great exodus of Albanians to Greece, 48 foreigners died because of such incidents. Moreover, there were cases where children from Albania were not allowed to register to Greek schools because their parents were Albanian illegal immigrants despite the competent Minister's strict instructions to the contrary. Finally, the Greek government has proudly announced 1,100,000 deportation of Albanians from Greece between 1991-1995. Nevertheless, hardly anyone has mentioned the contribution of the Albanian workforce in the Greek economy; nor that even illegal immigrants and especially their dependents are entitled to human rights and a decent life. Albanians, like all unknown 'others' remain alien elements in Greek society, whose media and intellectual leadership has dismally failed to change the Greeks' such attitude.

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MONITORING HATE SPEECH IN THE BALKAN MEDIA*

Vasiliki Neofotistou

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It would be no exaggeration to begin by saying that the notion of Umberto Eco according to which “when the mass media triumph, man dies” found its application in the era preceding the Yugoslav wars. Nationalistic tendencies found expression in the media of the supposedly coexisting Croatian and Serbian federal republics. In consequence, the distinction between “our people” and “the others”, the latter’s deprecation, the hatred and intolerance produced, played a leading role towards violence and conflict.

However, two NGO monitoring projects have shown that hate speech has not been confined to these two countries. First, the monitoring of Balkan stereotypes and prejudices in the print media was the major goal of the two-year project launched in April 1994 by the ACCESS Association in Sofia and sponsored by the Open Society Institute. The project covered Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia, Serbia and Turkey. In addition, the International Helsinki Federation coordinated a ten-month ‘Media Freedoms and Hate Speech’ project between August 1995 - May 1996, monitoring the hate speech produced by the media (printed and broadcast) in all 12 countries of the region. The primary object of both projects was to advocate tolerance in the Balkans and raise awareness to the power media exercise over regional security and the way democracy functions in each country. We will use here excerpts from the summaries from these two projects prepared our fellow Researcher Mariana Lenkova.

On the basis of these two projects, it became apparent that throughout the Balkan peninsula the media preach intolerance directed particularly towards minority groups, refugees within the country, individuals who speak out on behalf of such groups, and populations of neighboring countries. In such a way, public opinion is motivated to back up any eventual conflict. The phenomenon is so alarming that there is hardly any people in the region which have positive feelings for any of their neighbors. Some even deny the very existence of their neighbor nation in the Balkans.

For example, minorities are treated as the source of never-ending evil. In Bosnia and Herzegovina we read about the Serbs: “All liars. The more they lie, the more they are Serbs. The bigger the lie, the better the Serb”. In Bulgaria about the Roma: “Gypsy boys chopped two Old Men with an Ax for a Lump of Cheese”, “A Gypsy Split the skull of an old woman for Revenge”, “a gang of gypsies rape a youngster; Gypsies will drown the Town of Pernik in Blood”, “a gypsy raped an orphan”, “every third offense in Bulgaria is committed by Gypsies”. In Greece about the Macedonians: “the puppets of the US”, “the Skopjans have put forward an irredentist demand for their minority in our Macedonia when it is known that there are neither Skopjan Macedonians nor any similar minority in Greece”. In Kosova about the Albanians: “groups of pupils, students, teachers and parents of siptarske ethnic minority threatening to take over the school building by force” [*it should be noted that while Albanians call themselves Shiptars they are offended when the various Slav-speakers (Macedonians, Serbs, etc.) use that term for them, which they then perceive as pejorative*]; “Shiptarian nationalists during the Second World War have practiced genocide against the whole family. They have burnt the houses, raped the girls and they continued with tortures up to the 1990s.” In Macedonia about the Albanians: “All Albanians want war in Macedonia”, “Political parties of the minorities (Albanians and Turks) want tax in blood from us”. In Romania about the Hungarians: “a bag of venom on Europe’s body”, “anti-Romanian activities of the Hungarian politicians”. In Romania about the Roma: “the Gypsy bug”, “the Roma who steal, rob and attack Romanians”, “Roma break all records in the field of criminality”. In Serbia about everybody in ex-Yugoslavia: “Albanians, Muslims, Croats and Germans are our enemies”.

As far as neighboring people are concerned, the notion that neighbors have expansionist designs on one’s country seems to prevail. In Albania we read about Serbs: “the Serbian state has doubled its territory by swallowing like a monster Albanian territories”. In Albania about Greeks: “Greece incites the forgetfulness of the Albanian names”. In Bulgaria about the Macedonians: : “Thieves of

History in Skopje also become thieves of territory”, “A whole state is built on falsifications of history and stolen foreign national symbols”. In Bulgaria about Greeks: “Most Greeks are racists, xenophobes and anti-Semites”, “no nation is as deceitful as the Greek”. In Bulgaria about Serbs: “To claim that Serbs are not nationalists or that many of them are free of nationalism would mean that we are not fair enough”; “ethnic bulldozer of Serbian aggression”. In Greece about Albanians: “The tyrants of Tirana, by the most impertinent manner which springs from the obscurantist regime of Hoxha, did not allow after all the teaching of the Greek language”, “Greece is about to come under Albanian occupation” [that is, because of the presence of hundreds of thousand of Albanian illegal immigrants]. In Greece about Macedonians: “bare-footed, professionals of servitude” “smugglers of heroin”, “chauvinists and anti-Hellenes”, “a statelet with doubtful ethnic cohesion and even more doubtful existence as state”. In Greece about Turks: “The Turks are the only Muslim race that has never contributed to progress and civilization and has never created something that the world would like to keep.”, “Turkey does not give up its Ottoman tradition”. In Kosova about Albanians: “Albania has not stopped to mix in domestic questions of our country and to excite Albanian nationalism and separatism”. In Macedonia about Greeks: “Paranoiac Greeks. Vandalism is the mentality of the ordinary Greek”, “liars, dishonest merchants”, “the big Greeks are not stupid; they ask for our symbols in order to prevent us from asking for the rights of the Macedonian population”. In Serbia about Turks: “Turks have rationalized their Ottoman nostalgia”. In Serbia about Bulgarians: “an unstable and poor society, incapable of coming to terms with its own complex problems and underdevelopment”. In Slovenia about Serbs: “We are surprised at the persistency and stubbornness of the Serbs”, “Clean this Country of Southerners. Non-Slovenes to be tested”.

Moreover, hate speech is directed versus the West and the United States. We read: In Bosnia and Herzegovina about “Vatican-Islamic conspiracy”. In Bulgaria: “Amnesty International sobs in vain about beaten gypsies in Bulgaria”. In Greece: “our European partners are masters in Frankish hypocrisy” “NATO is a useless organization of insane politicians and militaristic criminals who have fired their missiles against Bosnian Serb civilians. Which anthropoids are in the end these hot-headed dwarfs of NATO? And how does mankind put up with these worms?” In Kosova: “the Pope and Broz have struggled against the Serbian people, against the Serbian state, culture.

The aim of the USA and their allies is not revenge but is directly annihilation of the Serbian people”. In Romania: “NATO and UN turn into a Mafia gang”.

A characteristic example of hate speech in the Greek media is the Greek-Turkish crisis over a rocky islet in early 1996. I need to underline that the political developments in Greece at the time set the scenery for the media to unfold the crisis. So, events that took place in late December 1995 were presented first by the Greek media only in late January as soon as the present Prime Minister, Mr. Simitis, took office. In essence, the whole thing was the fabrication of a story, the fabrication of a so-called reality and its preservation as a piece of news.

To be more specific, on 26/12, a Turkish merchant ship ran aground in the waters of the rocky islet Imia in the Aegean Sea. Telephone talks about the ship’s detachment followed. The Turkish captain asked for a Turkish tugboat, but after the intervention of the Greek side, a Greek tugboat left Piraeus. Verbal notes were exchanged between Ankara and Athens but no publicity was given to the incident by either the Greek or the Turkish media, as it was one of the tens of routine-incidents that take place in the Aegean on a daily basis.

A month later, however, the incident was presented by Greek opposition media as a “Turkish provocation” in order to embarrass the new Prime Minister who had a reputation of being moderate and not nationalist. Then, the Mayor of Kalymnos, along with other inhabitants, raised the Greek flag on the rocky islet. After 2 days, a crew of the Turkish newspaper “Hurriyet” landed on Imia by helicopter and, before raising the Turkish flag, removed the Greek one. That evening, on the newscasts, we had a repetition to repletion of the scene of the removal of the Greek and the raising of the Turkish flag as well as the triumphant related broadcast of Turkish television stations. For over twenty minutes, in these nightly news, there was an unprecedented abuse of the term provocation. Here are two samples from the two major newscasts: “New provocation”, “provocative action of Ankara”, “provocation from the landing of Turkish commandos”, “unprecedented Turkish provocation as the Turks laughing and exchanging provocative jokes removed the Greek flag”, “provocative mission”, “unprecedented provocation”, “unprecedented event”, “unprecedented provocation”, “Turkish daring provocation”, “new inconceivable provocative action”, “daring provocation”. Remember, all that just from one newscast. In the other major bulletin

of that evening, they spoke of: "provocation of Ankara", "provocation", "unprecedented provocation as they removed the Greek flag in Imia insolently and the Turks overplay their hand dangerously in the Aegean", "Turkish provocation in the Aegean", "Turkish provocation aiming at the islands of the Aegean", "brutal provocation. The Turks humiliated us". The latter was indeed the message the media wanted to send to the public: Greece had been humiliated, therefore she had to react.

Inevitable consequence: on the night of the 30 to 31 January 1996, Greek and Turkish forces stood against each other in the area. A group of Turks landed on the rocky islet opposite Imia. A Greek helicopter crashed into the sea. After a US and UN mediation, the forces of the two countries withdrew from the region of Imia. The Greek media's attitude? Rage, references to glorious past, and primitive anti-Turkish hysteria. "Imia, the new Mantzikert for Europe!" "What? Things got rough? So, what? Like hell we will baulk!" "Let's damn them and stand up at Thermopylae", "the Turks are scabs. They are famished and wretched. Opium-smokers and coward. They are a mob. The most hateful people in the world", "slayers of people", according to PASOK's (the leading party) MP Kedikoglou; "blusterers", "thugs of the region" according to PASOK's MP Drosoyannis, "crooked *Turkalades*" (pejorative for Turks), "poltroons of the Turkish militarism". "The bad thing is that if Turkish blood is shed in the Aegean, Greenpeace will haunt us as well". In addition, "Kolokotronis, Papaflessas, Karaiskakis, Kanaris, Androutsos, Bouboulina, Plapoutas, Nikitaras [all heroes of the Greek War of Independence against the Ottomans]. If only 1821 came again for one evening". "If the *Turkalades* want, they should come and take them. We are ready even for war, how do they humiliate us?", "The animals; the Antichrist. And then you'll see how a landing of Greek frogmen on Tativla (a district of Istanbul) is done!" "Why not? Ciller for Imia? We for Constantinople. Which is beyond any doubt Greek! Do you have an objection?"

In this framework the only reasonable solution for the de-escalation of the crisis, which was the return to the status quo ante, was treated by media as "national humiliation". Consequently, the Greeks felt bitter, humiliated, and the PM's popularity declined rapidly from 80% down to 30%, only two days before getting a vote of confidence in the Greek Parliament.

There were very few diverging voices which condemned that climate against the external enemy, and they were hardly heard: characteristically, a debate organized by ten NGO's, among which Greek Helsinki Monitor and Minority Rights Group - Greece, was treated by Greek media as a non-event. Only a couple of journalists and one politician from the dozens who had been invited to debate on the media's attitude, showed up; the debate itself was covered only by a couple of newspapers in just a few lines.

To conclude, it is obvious that hate speech in the Balkan media is a determining factor in the developments in the Balkan region. That is why, fighting hate speech -by the way, through abundant dissemination of 'anti-hate speech' if the term may be used; through efforts to 'educate' media and politicians, if possible; but certainly not through the introduction of any restrictive legislation- is rendered very important in our time, and in our region where everything still remains fluid. The horrors of Yugoslavia are too recent and happened too close to our homes to be forgotten. It is the NGOs' obligation to contribute decisively so as such atrocities do not happen again, and, in doing so, that one of their causes, hate speech, disappear, if possible, at least from the supposedly responsible and serious mainstream media of all Balkan countries.

* Article presented at the conference "Twenty Years After The Signing Of The Final Act", organized by the French Helsinki Committee, Paris, 14-15 June 1996. In the same conference, Greek Helsinki Monitor and Minority Rights Group - Greece spokesperson Panayote Elias Dimitras made a presentation on "NGO work in human rights in the Southern Balkans." The outline follows: *Human rights work in the Southern Balkan countries (Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia) is more complicated than elsewhere as in these countries minorities are not recognized or recognized only in arbitrarily defined zones; many minorities are suspected of being the agents of the neighboring countries' policy; a tradition of human rights and civil society is absent, even in formally age-old democratic Greece; and, the international community gives the impression that they are not interested in these issues as these countries appear to be 'stable', when compared with the former Yugoslav republics.*

HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS IN THE SOUTHERN BALKANS

INTERNATIONAL HELSINKI FEDERATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

PRESS RELEASE

An Appeal for Regional Security Founded upon Human Rights

Athens, 22 March 1996 Representatives of human rights monitoring groups including seven affiliates of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (IHF) met in Athens on 17-18 March 1996, at a seminar organized by the Greek Helsinki Monitor in the framework of the project "Human Rights and Regional Security in Southeast Europe."

Our organizations, dedicated to the protection and promotion of human rights and to impartial and unbiased reporting on human rights violations, in this joint statement call upon the governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Macedonia and Romania to respect the human rights of each and every person residing within their borders as obligated by their Helsinki commitments.

We note with particular concern, violations of minority rights as contained in Paragraph 32 of the Copenhagen Document of the OSCE participating States. We appeal to our governments to respect the identities of minorities and to respect the enjoyment of linguistic, cultural and religious rights of minorities. In particular, we emphasize the importance of full recognition of the existence of a Macedonian identity and to respect the rights of individuals in Greece and Bulgaria claiming such identity.

We call for full respect for the educational rights of the minority groups in our countries. We deplore attacks on civil initiatives like those of the Greek Helsinki Monitor that seek to provide language classes for Albanian children living in Greece, who have a right to know their ancestral language and culture and we ask the Greek Ministry of Education to stop police investigations which intimidate the participants.

We have observed the wretched conditions under which many Roma must live in Greece. We welcome the efforts of some authorities to help the Roma, but emphasize the need for greater commitment to eliminate discrimination and

institute policies to help them improve those conditions.

We have reviewed the results of research on "hate speech" in the region, and we emphasize the responsibility of the media to cease using incitements to racial hatred and violence which have the effect of demonizing certain groups, which in turn threatens the security of all.

We express solidarity with human rights activists in Cyprus who seek reconciliation between Greeks and Turks, and full compliance with international standards, and we look forward to future cooperation.

We find inexcusable the treatment of Kole Mangov, citizen of the Republic of Macedonia of Greek origin who was denied a visa to Greece to attend the seminar because his passport indicated he was born in "Lerin" not "Florina" according to Greek border officials. After Mr. Mangov was denied the visa, and was turned back to Macedonia, he was instructed to return and was rudely searched by the Greek police.

And we note with deep concern that Bulgarian authorities illegally searched and seized documents of the human rights defender Dimitrina Petrova upon crossing the Bulgarian border in connection with the seminar.

Albanian Helsinki Committee

Bulgarian Helsinki Committee

French Helsinki Committee

Greek Helsinki Monitor

Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the
Republic of Macedonia

Human Rights Project-Bulgaria

Hungarian Helsinki Committee

Romanian Helsinki Committee

Anne Bouvier, Representative of Minority Rights
Group International

**INTERNATIONAL HELSINKI FEDERATION
FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**

PRESS RELEASE

**An Appeal to the Albanian and Greek
Governments for Regional Security
Based on Respect for Human Rights**

26 April 1996 Members of the Albanian Helsinki Committee and the Greek Helsinki Monitor, affiliates of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (IHF), met in Saranda on 5-6 April 1996, at a seminar organized by the IHF in partnership with these two organizations in the framework of the project "Human Rights and Regional Security in Southeast Europe."

Our organizations, dedicated to the protection and promotion of human rights and to impartial and unbiased reporting on human rights violations, in this joint statement, call upon the governments of Albania and Greece to respect the human rights of each and every person residing within their borders as obligated by their Helsinki commitments.

More specifically, we call upon the Albanian and the Greek governments:

1. To assure the immediate, full and continuous implementation of all international human rights instruments (and related documents) that the two countries have signed. Also, to proceed, as soon as possible, to the signing, ratification and implementation of all international agreements that they have not signed and/or ratified.
2. To proceed to the immediate adaptation of the two countries' legislation to the principles of all these international agreements, in order to avoid administrative decisions or court verdicts based on obsolete regulations.
3. To recognize, to their citizens of ethnic characteristics different from those of the majority, in whichever part of the country they live, the right to belong to national minorities. That is, to feel they belong to nations different than the dominant one in the respective country. Also, to discuss and find a reasonable solution to the still pending problems of the minority populations forced to leave Greece at the end of the Second World War or the Civil War.
4. To also recognize the presence of linguistic communities, that is sectors of the populations of Albania and Greece who -without having the feeling that they belong to different nations- have their own mother tongue and cultural traditions (Roma and Vlachs in Albania; Roma, Arvanites, Vlachs and Slavomacedonians in Greece).
5. To secure the state's neutrality towards all religious communities, so they will all be treated equally, without ignoring the contribution of each religion to the country's modern history.
6. Specifically, for the Greek government to recognize the country's need for immigrants, just as other countries in the past have accepted millions of Greek immigrants. As a consequence, to proceed to the immediate legalization of all immigrants present in Greece today, and the development of an official, realistic and humane policy on current and potential immigrants. Within such a policy, to grant five-year entry visas to all Albanian citizens who so wish so that, when they finish their seasonal employment in Greece, they feel they can return to Albania without the risk of being prevented from returning to Greece and therefore they would not need to settle in Greece with their families.
7. To make all necessary adaptations of their educational systems to the multicultural reality in their countries; and to introduce in the curricula all appropriate material to educate the pupils on the cultural traditions of all cultural groups living today in the respective country, as well as to eliminate from the curriculum whatever ethnocentrism, if not outright racism, may still be present.
8. To create -in the case of Greece- and enhance -in the case of Albania- the institution which secures the implementation of minority rights, the development of multiculturalism, the elimination of all forms of discrimination, and the fight against all forms of racism and other intolerance.
9. To proceed to immediately inform and, wherever necessary, train civil servants, and especially those in the areas of the education and the judiciary, on these adaptations and the need of respect in the daily practice of multiculturalism and tolerance, needs which characterize every society that wants to be considered democratic.

10. To launch cooperation with the universities and the media so that, without violating the latter's autonomy and independence, the latter reevaluate their attitude so as to help implement the above principles and abandon all forms of ethnocentrism and intolerance.

Albanian Helsinki Committee

Greek Helsinki Monitor

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH

PRESS RELEASE

An Appeal to Western Governments and International Organizations to Assist Albania's Fragile Democracy

Appeal launched by *Human Rights Watch/Helsinki*; signed also by *Greek Helsinki Monitor* and *Minority Rights Group - Greece* staff members Panayote Dimitras, Spokesperson; Vasilis Sakellariou, Project Coordinator; Lola Kalandrakis, Executive Assistant; Vaso Neofotistos, Researcher; Gabriella Sampsonidou, Executive Assistant; Mariana Lenkova, Researcher.

9 June 1996 On May 26th, 1996, Albania held its third post-communist elections. The elections were marred with massive irregularities, including ballot box stuffing, beatings and harassment, which resulted in a sweeping victory for President Berisha's ruling Democrat Party. These elections seriously threaten the process of democratic reform in Albania, and are a step towards the establishment of one-party rule.

In the following memorandum to Western governments and institutions, twenty-seven independent Albanians - writers, scientists, journalists, and editors - appeal to the "...world conscious to help Albanian democracy." We, the undersigned, in solidarity with these Albanians, call upon our respective governments and international organizations to pressure President Berisha and his government to:

- Declare the Albanian parliamentary elections invalid due to the numerous violations, and assist the government and the political parties in Albania to create democratic conditions under which free and fair elections can occur.
- Guarantee freedom of expression. Specifically, stop the harassment and physical beatings of journalists. Eliminate provisions in the press law that allow for the imprisonment of journalists and editors because of reporting that may be critical of the state.
- End the State monopoly of the radio and television and allow for private ownership of the electronic media.
- Guarantee the independence of the judiciary as outlined in both Albanian and international law that will assure the right to a fair trial in front of a competent and objective tribunal.
- Allow for freedom of assembly.
- End the obstruction of telephone and fax lines of political party opposition leaders, human rights organizations, independent voices, and of the opposition and independent newspapers.

The above human rights violations have been documented by international human rights organizations.

Memorandum On Albania

Tirana, Albania June 9, 1996

To:

- Department of State
- European Union
- OSCE
- Council of Europe
- National and international non governmental organizations
- International public opinion

From:

- A group of Albanian writers, scientists, artists, journalists and editors

(Translated from Albanian)

Because the institutions of democracy in Albania have broken down;

Because the free vote of the people was stolen and violated in the May 26 parliamentary elections in Albania, and a legitimate democratic parliament is nonexistent;

Because a puppet, single-party parliament has replaced the multi-party system as a result of the plunder and violation of free votes;

Because the dialogue between this party, i.e. the President of the Republic on the one hand and the brutally discriminated and demonized parties on the other hand, has reached a dead end;

Because the rule of law has become fictional and citizens are defenseless in the face of the police state;

Because people with parliamentary immunity have been cruelly beaten by the police even in front of television cameras from around the world; We, the signatories of this memorandum, turn to the governments of the democratic countries of the free world, international organizations, democratic-minded Albanians and world opinion to draw attention to the catastrophic consequences of this situation. We appeal to them to commit their energies and influence to help change the situation in our country.

It is already clear for the Albanian and world public opinion that the electoral farce of May 26, 1996, is taking Albania along the first steps toward the restoration of a dictatorship. The few freedoms we still enjoy -won through the struggle of the Albanian people after half a century of totalitarianism- will not be here tomorrow.

Tomorrow will be too late. Tomorrow, the security of the individual will be at stake in the face of an arbitrary state power which has already ignored the political will of its citizens as expressed through their votes; a state power which is not accountable to any organ or law in the face of the rapacious and immoral lackeys of the state.

The old fear of the state is back, and spreading. The most elementary human right, the right to free speech, is already threatened. And tomorrow it may be as remote as it was during the period of obscurity we have all struggled to overcome. The free world should not remain indifferent to the restoration of a dictatorship in the heart of Europe, as it did with the events in former Yugoslavia, which led to a tragedy for millions of people.

The consequences of these events in Albania will be even harsher if the situation does not change. A

dictatorial Albania could turn into a hot-bed of tension for the entire region. In the conditions of poor capitalism, a dictatorship without sufficient financial means easily gives rise to arms and drug trafficking, as well as to other forms of illegal trade, all of which has already started in this country. Albania threatens to become a major link in the network of international crime, as has been the case with other dictatorships in Latin America. The geographic position and topographic configuration of the country would particularly favor this.

Albania could become an open wound with destructive effects on the entire region. With unlimited power devoid of any democratic control, President Berisha could easily break the hypocritical promises he has made regarding international and regional policy, just as he is violating his promise to abide by OSCE standards. He is sacrificing the rights and freedoms of Albanian citizens for his personal power. In the future he could play with the destiny of all Albanians inside and outside of the country for exactly the same motives. The free world should not close its eyes or pretend naiveté in the face of such overwhelming dangers.

Likewise, political forces in the free world should not justify the authoritarianism of Berisha because it presents an alternative to the return of communism in Albania. The last bastion of communism in Albania is the personal power of President Berisha himself. A free Albania oriented toward Europe can only be achieved through the democratic integration of all existing political forces in the country, and not through a ghettoization in the spirit of the Cold War, which runs counter to the European integration process, and keeps alive the ghosts of the past. What a post-communist society badly needs is peace, understanding and dialogue between all political forces, and not political apartheid. It needs mutual tolerance and respect, and not revenge and discrimination. We will either build democracy together, with each person enjoying the space for diversity, or we will never be. This pan-Albanian aspiration should not fall prey to the violence and lies of an authoritarian state power. If this were to happen, it would be our common misfortune, and a shameful burden on the conscience of everyone who can do something to help the young Albanian democracy free itself from the claws of the past.

Signed:

Andi Bejtja, writer and publisher
Andrea Stefani, economist and journalist

Arben Kumbaro, director and professor of arts
Dr. Ardian Klosi, writer, editor and professor
Armand Shkullaku, publisher
Artan Imami, actor
Bashkim Shehu, writer and former political prisoner
Ben Blushi, writer and journalist
Brikena Cabej, translator and editor
Delina Fico, women's rights activist
Daut Gumeni, poet and former political prisoner
Fron Nazi, writer
Gjergj Peçi, poet and former political prisoner
Ilirian Zhupa, poet, publisher and editor
Ass. Prof. Jorgo Balo, historian
Lorenc Vangjeli, writer and journalist
Luan Rama, journalist
Najada Hamza, painter and professor
Mirela Furxhi, lecturer

Petrit Ruka, writer
Ass. Prof. Pellumb Xhufi, historian
Vladimir Myrtezai, painter and professor
Virgjil Muçi, writer and translator
Vjollca Mici, translator
Fatos Lubonja, writer and former political prisoner
Edi Rama, painter and writer
Fatos Baxhaku, historian and journalist

HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS OF THE TURKISH MINORITY

GREEK HELSINKI MONITOR AND MINORITY RIGHTS GROUP - GREECE

PRESS RELEASE

Stripping Minority Greek Citizens Of Their Citizenship. The Ramadanoglou Family Case.

Athens, 12 June 1996 Two Greek citizens -Mr. Hussein Ramadanoglou and his wife, Mrs. Aisse-Gul Fetaoglou, are the latest victims of the notorious Article 19 of the Code for Greek Nationality.

This article provides for the administrative measure of deprivation of citizenship on the grounds of "having left the country with no intention to return" It is in the discretion of the Ministry of Domestic Affairs to interpret the "intention" of individuals, and this discretion has been consistently used against Greek citizens, members of the Muslim minority of Thrace, North-Eastern Greece, composed of ethnic Turks, Pomaks and Roma.

The case of the Ramadanoglou is notable both for its timing -in a period when the new Greek government is publicly committing itself to improve the conditions and respect the rights of the Muslim minority- and for the blatantly senseless application of the above mentioned Article 19.

Indeed, the Ramadanoglou, of the Xanthi region in Thrace, in their petition to the minister of Domestic Affairs of May 14, 1996, present ample evidence to sustain their claim that they are Greek and have every intention to live work and raise their children in this country.

Greece, the two Ramadanoglou and their daughter had absolutely no reason to believe that trouble was forthcoming, when they decided to visit an uncle in Turkey.

On the way back, they were told that their citizenship had been taken away already since November 1992, under Article 19. Notably, their son who did not accompany them to Turkey retains his citizenship!

Mr. H. Ramadanoglou managed to unearth a document, dating November 1991, which claims

Mr. and Mrs. Ramadanoglou, together with their new-born daughter Pelin went to Frankfurt, Germany, in 1990, where Mr. H. Ramadanoglou got himself a job. Their son, Yussuf, was born there in 1992.

Mr. H. Ramadanoglou has twice renewed his passport at the Greek consulate in Frankfurt and was holding a valid passport with date of expiration April 17, 1996. Mrs. Ramadanoglou likewise renewed her passport once in Frankfurt and is holder of one valid till May 4, 1999, while their daughter has a passport valid till March 14, 1998. Their son, whose birth has been registered with the Frankfurt Greek Consulate, has a passport also valid till March 14, 1998.

Moreover, Mr. H. Ramadanoglou holds a social security card in Greece, valid till December 31, 1996, while his wife passed a test in Greece for having license in December 1995. Finally, since September 1996 their daughter is attending school in Xanthi, not living in Germany any more.

The Ramadanoglou family have been visiting Greece almost every year, where their parents live permanently, and have also brought or sent sums of money repeatedly.

Last April they came to Greece again. Since the passport of Mr. Ramadanoglou was due for renewal, he cared to obtain a new one, this time from the relevant Greek authorities in Xanthi.

Thus, holding legal documents in perfect order considering themselves as genuine Greeks, having relatives and property in

that he never renewed his passport since 1991- a claim which is manifestly untrue.

It is a clear case of administrative measures with no discernible connection with any sense of law, taken in the context of discriminatory attitudes against minorities members. As such, they must be immediately stopped. The passports of the Ramadanoglou family must be returned, and article 19 must be repealed.

INTERNATIONAL APPEAL FOR THE ARREST OF INDICTED WAR CRIMINALS KARADZIC AND MLADIC

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH

PRESS RELEASE

*Open Letter
to European Heads of State and
US President Clinton*

Appeal launched by *Human Rights Watch/Helsinki*; signed in Greece by the organizations *Greek Helsinki Monitor* and *Minority Rights Group - Greece*; and the individuals *Nikos Dimou*, writer; *Yannis Tzannetakos*, journalist; *Gregory Vallianatos*, journalist and leading gay activist; *Persa Zeri*, professor of media, Panteios University. The appeal was published in many leading European newspapers.

27 June 1996

Dear Sir:

On behalf of the 194 undersigned persons and organizations, we are respectfully call upon you to demonstrate the leadership needed to ensure the prompt arrest of indicted war criminals in the former Yugoslavia and their surrender to the Hague for prosecution. As we approach the first anniversary of the Srebrenica massacre, the men responsible for the killing and disappearance of some 8,000 Muslims enjoy not only freedom but power. The continued presence in Bosnia of Radovan Karadzic, Ratco Mladic and other indicted war criminals is poisoning the peace process, threatening the forthcoming elections, and undermining the authority and viability of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. Decisive action is urgently needed before the important advances of the past year are lost.

There can be no question that the International Implementation Force (IFOR) is fully authorized to provide active support to the Tribunal. Security Council Resolution 1031 charged IFOR with

ensuring compliance with the Dayton agreement, which includes a requirement that all parties cooperate with the Tribunal. Article 29 of the Tribunal's Statute sets forth the various forms of cooperation that is due, including "the identification and location of persons", "the arrest or detention of persons", and "the surrender or the transfer of the accused to the International Tribunal". Given the Serbian authorities' utter lack of the cooperation with the Tribunal, the task must fall to IFOR to guarantee that this historic opportunity to bring genocidal killers to justice is not squandered.

With the Bosnian government threatening to pull out of the elections if the Karadzic and Mladic are not apprehended and Chief Prosecutor Richard Goldstone expressing increasing concern about the fate of the Tribunal without their apprehension, securing the arrest and surrender of these two mass murderers should be the Western government's top priority in Bosnia. However, Western leaders continued to block the use of IFOR troops to arrest indicted war criminals. While we understand your preoccupation with avoiding unnecessary risk to IFOR, we are confident that the 60,000 IFOR troops in Bosnia, backed by the finest equipment for intelligence gathering and rapid deployment, can find a propitious time and place to seize these two fugitives. Indeed, your failure to bring these men to trial places many more lives at risk, in Bosnia and elsewhere, by sending the signal that there is no price to be paid for genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, whether committed against local civilians or international troops.

The failure of the international community to arrest Karadzic, Mladic and other indicted war criminals is also having an increasingly corrosive effect on the political situation in Bosnia. The presence in office of the very individuals responsible for the massive abuses over the past four years has assured that hundreds of thousands of refugees and internally displaced people cannot return home and that political opportunities for anyone but hard-line nationalists are sharply limited. Freedom of the press and assembly is

severely limited, and violence against ethnic minorities and opposition figures is on the rise. National elections --a key step in the peace progress-- cannot meaningfully take place so long as Karadzic and Mladic remain at large.

Apprehension of indicted war criminals is absolutely required if the Dayton agreement is to be saved and peace and democracy nourished in Bosnia. We respectfully urge you to order the troops under your command to make an immediate and urgent priority of locating these fugitives and identifying circumstances when IFOR can arrest them on favorable terms.

Thank you for your attention to this important matter.

Sincerely,

Co-signers for War Crimes Letters to President Clinton and European Heads of State:

1. Abo Akademi Institute for Human Rights - Finland
2. Action Council for Peace in the Balkans
3. Albanian Helsinki Committee
4. American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee
5. American Committee to Save Bosnia
6. Americans for Democratic Action
7. American Friends Service Committee, Washington Office
8. American Jewish Committee
9. American Jewish Congress
10. Amnesty International U.S.A
11. Anti-Defamation League
12. Article 19
13. Association Sarajévo, France
14. Austrian Coalition for Women's Human Rights
15. Austrian Helsinki Committee
16. Bulgarian Helsinki Committee
17. B'nai B'rith
18. Bosnia Support Committee
19. Canadian Helsinki Watch Group
20. Center for Civil and Human Rights, Notre Dame Law School
21. Center for Civil Society in Southeastern Europe
22. Center for Constitutional Rights
23. Center for Development of International Law
24. Center for Victims of Torture
25. Citoyens-Citoyennes pour la Bosnie-Herzégovine, France
26. Civic Committee for Human Rights, Croatia
27. Coalition for International Justice
28. Collectif Européen pour la Bosnie, France
29. Committee to Protest Journalists
30. Convergences Bosnie-Herzégovine, monthly newspaper-France
31. Council on Economic Priorities
32. Croatian Helsinki Committee
33. Czech Helsinki Committee
34. Dalmatinski Odbor Solidarnosti, Split
35. Danish Helsinki Committee
36. Demilitarization For Democracy
37. Equality Now
38. Fédération Internationale des Ligues des Droits de l' Homme, France
39. Finnish Helsinki Committee
40. Finish League for Human Rights
41. Frauensolidatitat, Austria
42. Friedensdialog/MIROVNI DIALOG (Peace Dialogue), Austria
43. Friends of Bosnia
44. **Greek Helsinki Monitor**
45. Heartland Alliance
46. Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia
47. Human Rights Advocates
48. Human Rights Watch
49. Humanistische Union, Germany
50. Immigration and Refugee Services of America
51. Institut Européen & Communauté des Ecoles Bosniaques en France
52. Institute for the Study of Genocide
53. International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, Austria
54. International Human Rights Law Group
55. International Human Rights Law Institute of DePaul University
56. International league for Human Rights
57. International Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte - Deutsche Sektion, Germany
58. International Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte
59. IZBOR - Défense des victimes de la Purification ethnique
60. Jacob Blaustein Institute
61. Komitee Cap Anamur, Germany (Médecins de secours allemands)
62. Kulturni Centar (Association of Refugees from Bosnia Herzegovina in Austria)
63. Lawyers Committee for Human Rights
64. Lownstein International Human Rights Clinic, Yale Law School
65. Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights, Austria
66. Lutheran Office for Governmental Affairs, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
67. Maryknoll Justice and Peace Office
68. Midwest Coalition for Human Rights
69. Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights
70. **Minority Rights Group - Greece**

71. Montenegrin Helsinki Committee for Human Rights
 72. National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA)
 73. National Confederation of American Ethnic Groups Inc.
 74. National Council of Jewish Women
 75. National Federation of Croatian Americans
 76. National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council
 77. Operation USA
 78. Paris Bosnie-Herzégovine Solidarité, France
 79. Parliamentary Human Rights Group, London
 80. Peace Action
 81. Physicians for Human Rights
 82. Radio Bosnie-Paris
 83. Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Center for Human Rights
 84. The Sisterhood Is Global Institute
 85. Slovak Helsinki Committee
 86. Society for Threatened Peoples, Germany
 87. Solidarité Bosnie-Herzégovine, France
 88. Swedish Helsinki Committee
 89. Swiss Helsinki Committee
 90. Terre des Femmes, Germany
 91. Union of American Hebrew Congregations
 92. Unitarian Universalist Association
 93. United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism
 94. University of Chicago Center for International Studies
 95. US Committee for Refugees
 96. Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation
 97. The Washington Office for Bosnia
 98. The Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children
 99. Women Refugees Project
 100. World Concern
 101. World Federalists Association
 102. Coalition for Intervention Against Genocide
 103. United Nations Association for the U.S.A
 104. Alliance to Defend Bosnia-Herzegovina, Scotland
 105. Ligue des Droits de l' Homme, France
 106. Medica, Germany
 107. Commission juridique des Collectifs contre la Purification Ethnique
- Individuals:**
1. Ivar Amundsen
 2. Bibi Andersson
 3. Niels Barfoed, writer and journalist
 4. Freda Meisser-Blau, President ECOROPA
 5. Danilo Burzan, Editor in Chief of MONTENA FAX - Independent Montenegrin new agency
 6. Dr. Dragosa Burzan, Member of Montenegrin Parliament
 7. David Lord, Co-director of Conciliation Resources
 8. Patrice Canivez - Vukovar - Sarajevo Committee
 9. Sir Patrick Cormack
 10. Andy Carl, Co-director of Consiliation Resources
 11. Alain Destexhe
 12. **Nikos Dimou, writer**
 13. Faik Dizdarevic, Secretary General - Association Sarajevo
 14. Jean-Marie Domenach
 15. Mariapia Finkelkraut
 16. Alain Finkelkraut
 17. Slobodan Franovic, President -Montenegrin Helsinki Committee for Human Rights
 18. Valery Giscard d'Estaing
 19. Marijana Grandits
 20. Pierre Hassner
 21. Quitin Hoare & Branka Magas - Alliance to Defend Bosnia-Herzegovina
 22. Francis Jeanson, President - Association Sarajevo
 23. Jasminka Kavacic, Professor
 24. Lord Kingsland
 25. Christine von Kohl, journalist
 26. Veseljko Koprivica, Editor in Chief of LIBERAL
 27. Branka Kovakovic, Secretary General - Montenegrin Helsinki Committee for Human Rights
 28. Prof. Dr. Wolfram Karl, University of Salzburg
 29. Prof. Lew Kopelew, President d'honneur du Comite CAP ANAMUR
 30. Calum MacDonald
 31. Tadeusz Mazowiecki
 32. Irena Maryniak
 33. Ljubisa Mitrovic, Editor in Chief of MONITOR - Montenegrin independent weekly
 34. Dr. Jakov Mrvaljevic, President of Montenegrin Oen Centre
 35. Prof. Dr. Phil. Ove Nathan - former president of the Copenhagen University
 36. Dr. Rupert Neudeck, President du Comite CAP AMAMUR
 37. Véronique Nahoum-Grappe
 38. Per Norgaard - composer
 39. Milika Pavlovic, writer -President of the organization PUBLIC AGAINST FASCISM
 40. Slavko Perokic, President of the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro and Vice President of Liberal International

41. Dzermal Perovic, Member of Montenegrin Parliament
42. Dr. Miograg Perovic, President of Democratic Civic Forum of Montenegro
43. Godert Posthumus
44. Herbert Pundik, former editor in chief of Politiken (Danish Daily newspaper)
45. Rene Raindorf
46. Zarko Rakcevic, President of the Social Democratic Party of Montenegro
47. Rade Ratkovic, Professor - member of LSCG Executive Committee
48. Prof. Dr. Med. Povl Riis
49. Christian Schwarz-Schilling
50. Karl Johannes zu Schwarzenberg
51. Toger Seidenfaden, editor in chief of Politiken
52. Prof. Dr. Jur. Eric Siesby
53. Mabel Wisse Smit, European Action Council
54. Willemijn Verloop, European Action Council
55. Simon Susskind
56. Philip Spender, Director of Administration - Index on Censorship
57. Ursula Owen, Editor and Chief Executive of Index on Censorship
58. Sue Woodford, Chair of Council, Index on Censorship
59. RH. Sir David Steel KBE
60. Terezija Stoisits, Green Party
61. **Yannis Tzannetacos, journalist**
62. **Gregory Vallianatos, journalist and leading gay activist**
63. Irma Wernhart
64. Simon Wiesenthal
65. Anthony Borden & Jan Williams, International War and Peace Reporting
66. **Persa Zeri, Professor of Media, Panteios University**
67. Mr. Daniel Cohn-Bendit - Forum Européen pour la Prévention active des conflits

68. Mr. Michel Rocard - Forum Européen pour la Prévention active des conflits
69. Mr. Bernard Kouchner - Forum Européen pour la Prévention active des conflits
70. Mr. Jose Maria Mendiluce Pereiro - Forum Européen pour la Prévention active des conflits
71. Mr. Pierre Pradier - Forum Européen pour la Prévention active des conflits
72. Baroness Shreela Flather
73. Baroness Caroline Cox

Members of the European Parliament:

74. Mrs. Anne André-Leonard (B, ELDR)
75. Mr. Jan Willem Bertens (NL, ELDR)
76. Mr. Willy De Clercq (B, ELDR)
77. Mrs. Nel van Dirjk (NL, Green Group)
78. Mrs. Raymonde Dury (B, PSE)
79. Mr. Otto von Habsburg (D, ppe)
80. Mr. Fernard Herman (B, PPE)
81. Mrs. Glenys Kinnock (UK, PSE)
82. Mrs Catherine Lalumiere (F, ARE)
83. Mr. Paul Lannoye (B, Green Group)
84. Mr. Arie Oostlander (NL, PPE)
85. Mr. Poul Schluter (DK, PPE)
86. Mrs Antoinette Spaak (B, ELDR)
87. Sir Jack Stewart Clark (UK, PPE)

Additional names (signatures 195-197):

1. Mr. Mathieu Grosch, MEP (B, PPE)
2. Mr. Alain Joxe, Directeur d' Etudes à l' Ecole des Hautes études en Sciences sociales; Centre Interdisciplinaire de Recherches sur la Paix et d' Etudes Stratégiques; 71 Boulevard Raspail, 75006 Paris; tel: 33-1-42 22 01 07, fax: 33-1-49 54 26 79.
3. Le Collectif de Paris contre la Purification Ethnique (Mr. Philippe Biget); 46 Rue de Vaugirad, 75006 Paris; tel/fax: 33 1 48 03 32 07.

EXTREMISM IN BULGARIA AND GREECE

Mariana Lenkova and Panayote Elias Dimitras

Greek Helsinki Monitor was requested to help update the 1995 annual report on extremism in Bulgaria and Greece, that had been prepared for years by the European Center for Research and Action on Racism and Antisemitism (CERA), an affiliate of the European Jewish Congress. The complete report was published in 1996, in French

and in English, by the French publishing house *L' Aube*. As the updating was done in extremis, in late 1995, many errors were left in the text, including the incorrect affiliation of Mariana Lenkova with the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee. We are reproducing here the related chapters.