

Constantinos Simitis**Από:** Rozakis, Christos [Christos.Rozakis@echr.coe.int]**Αποστολή:** Δευτέρα, 23 Νοεμβρίου 2009 10:26 πμ**Προς:** csimitis@otenet.gr**Θέμα:** Document1.doc<https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=124329>

(1)

The Committee of Ministers reacted firmly under its successive chairmen, Michel Debré, Willy Brandt and Aldo Moro. Threatened with imminent expulsion, the colonels decided to act first and took Greece out of the Organisation - a move noted by the Committee of Ministers on 12 December 1969.

<http://www.osaarchivum.org/files/holdings/300/8/3/text/137-5-44.shtml>

(2)

In January 1969, the Council of Europe's Consultative Assembly recommended that the Committee of Ministers take "appropriate" actions to suspend the Greek government, until "the Assembly is satisfied that freedom of expression is restored and a free and representative parliament is elected in Greece." In early December 1969, the European Commission of Human Rights reported that it found the Greek government violating Article Three of the Council of Europe's Charter, which states "principles of the rules of law" and "human rights and fundamental freedoms" must prevail in member nations. Although Greek Foreign Minister Panayiotis Pipinelis made an eleventh-hour plea to the 12 December meeting of the Council, the nations committed to voting for Greek suspension could not be dissuaded and Greece opted for the face-saving voluntary withdrawal from the Council.

PACE Recommendation 547 (1969):

In this text, adopted on 30 January 1969, the Consultative Assembly, bearing in mind that the present Greek regime is in serious breach of the conditions for membership of the Council of Europe set out in Article 3 of the Statute, declares that Greece should consider its withdrawal in accordance with Article 7 and recommends that the Committee of Ministers take the appropriate measures laid down in Article 8 of the Statute.

<http://www.ena.lu/recommendation-547-1969-consultative-assembly-council-europe-30-january-1969-020004812.html>

(3)

Two CM resolutions:<http://www.ena.lu/resolution-70-34-committee-ministers-council-europe-27-november-1970-020005254.html>

(4)

<http://www.ena.lu/resolution-dh-70-committee-ministers-council-europe-15-april-1970-020005255.html>

(5)

PACE Resolution 361 (1968):

Following the military coup in 1967 that installed the 'Greek colonels' regime', the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe decides to recommend to the Committee of Ministers, at the latest in the spring of 1969, that Greece should be suspended or expelled from the Council of Europe if, by then, an acceptable parliamentary democracy has not been restored in that country.

<http://www.ena.lu/resolution-361-1968-consultative-assembly-council-europe-31-january-1968-020004809.html>

(6)

50 YEARS AND 104 SESSIONS FOR BUILDING A GREATER EUROPE WITHOUT DIVIDING LINES

"The Committee of Ministers' first session was opened on 8 August 1949 by Robert Schuman, who was representing France, the host country. We'd decided to work in English alphabetical order and Belgium was the first country on the list, so Paul-Henri Spaak took the Chair. At that first session, the original 10 founding States of the Council of Europe invited three new countries - Greece, Turkey and Iceland¹ - to join them" recalls one of the first members of the Council of Europe's staff, who was on the scene when the Organisation was set up, between May and August 1949.

This historic meeting was held in Strasbourg's town hall, and thousands of local townspeople gathered beneath its windows to hail the birth of a new Europe, freed at last from the troubles which had come close to destroying it. Even more - some 25 000, according to eye-witnesses - answered the European Movement's call and turned out amid the flags and bunting to cheer the Council's founding fathers, including Winston Churchill, Paul-Henri Spaak, Robert Schuman, Ernest Bevin, Carlo Sforza, and Edouard Herriot, who had all come to attend the opening sessions of the Committee of Ministers and the Parliamentary Assembly². The mood in Place Kléber, where the swastika had flown just five years before, was delirious.

That month of August 1949 saw the realisation of a project which political leaders set on rebuilding their shattered continent had worked out during the second world war. One of those who pioneered it was Winston Churchill who gave the plan a first public airing in his Zurich speech of 19 September 1946, when he hailed a "remedy which, if it were generally and spontaneously adopted, would as if by a miracle transform the whole scene, and would in a few years make all Europe, or the greater part of it, as free and as happy as Switzerland is today." To that end, he said the aim should be to "build a kind of United States of Europe" and suggested that "the first practical step should be to form a Council of Europe."

His words caught the mood of European public opinion, which responded with instant enthusiasm. Intense diplomatic activity followed between 1948 and 1951, and Europe's basic structures were established by treaties signed in Brussels (Western Union, 17 March 1948)³, Paris (European Organisation for Economic Co-operation, 16 April 1948)⁴, Washington (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 4 April 1949), London (Council of Europe, 5 May 1949) and Paris again (European Coal and Steel Community, 18 April 1951).

All of these initiatives can be traced back to a historic congress held in The Hague from 7 to 11 May 1948 and attended by a thousand delegates from some twenty countries, including several dozen ministers or former ministers, numerous parliamentarians, academics, philosophers, artists and writers⁵. Under Winston Churchill's chairmanship, the participants adopted a series of resolutions spelling out what became, a few months later, the first tasks entrusted to the Council of Europe. Disregarding the old political divisions, the congress gave enthusiastic, broad-based backing to the first steps taken towards European co-operation by France, Britain and the three Benelux countries, which had signed the Brussels Treaty just a few weeks

before as a prelude to working together on economic, social and cultural issues, and on collective self-defence.

It was within the limited context of the Western European Union that negotiations got under way on giving Europe the parliamentary assembly called for by the Hague Congress. Such an assembly was unprecedented in the field of international relations, which in the past had always been an exclusively government affair, and led to a debate opposing the United Kingdom and its partners. While Paris, The Hague, Brussels and Luxembourg wanted an assembly with extensive powers, London favoured a formula based strictly on intergovernmental co-operation and a consultative assembly made up of government-appointed parliamentarians. After lengthy discussion, a compromise was agreed in Brussels on 28 January 1949: there would be a Council of Europe comprising a ministerial committee, which would meet in private, and a consultative body, whose meetings would be public. This removed the last obstacles and, on 5 May 1949, ten countries⁶<http://cm.coe.int/intro/> signed the treaty establishing the Council of Europe at St. James's Palace in London. Strasbourg, a city martyred by the two world conflicts that had ravaged Europe in less than fifty years but at the same time symbolic of the definite mood of reconciliation that characterised the second half of the twentieth century, was chosen as the site of the new organisation.

The central aim assigned to the Council of Europe - "to achieve a greater unity between its members for the purpose of safeguarding and realising the ideals and principles which are their common heritage and facilitating their economic and social progress" - was ambitious. To enable it to accomplish this aim, the Council was given very broad powers, in so far as it was to achieve such unity "by discussion of questions of common concern and by agreements and common action in economic, social, cultural, scientific, legal and administrative matters and in the maintenance and further realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms"⁷. As a result of the Brussels compromise, however, there was no longer any question of drawing up a constitution or merging sovereignties to achieve the "economic and political union" called for by The Hague delegates. This was why, in answer to an appeal issued by Robert Schuman on 9 May 1950, on 18 April 1951 the six countries most in favour of integration - Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany - signed a treaty setting up the European Coal and Steel Community. It was to mark the start of a series of other "Community" treaties, signed in 1957 in Rome (European Economic Community), in 1986 in Luxembourg (Single European Act), and in 1992 in Maastricht (European Union), which established in the European Union as it is now.

Dedicated to defending and strengthening democratic pluralism and human rights, to finding shared solutions to the social problems faced by its member states, and to fostering a sense of the continent's multicultural identity, the Council of Europe got off to a flying start, and the twelve countries gathered together in Strasbourg in August 1949 were soon joined by Iceland in 1950, Austria in 1956, Cyprus in 1961, Switzerland in 1963, and Malta in 1965. The Federal Republic of Germany joined in two stages - first as an associate member (with the Saarland) on 13 July 1950, and then as a full member on 2 May 1951. The Saarland withdrew, following its return to Germany in 1956.

As the Organisation's central body, the Committee of Ministers had three main concerns throughout the 1950s: setting up the structures which the Council needed to function effectively⁸, finding solutions to the agonising problem of refugees⁹, and trying to initiate harmonious and fruitful co-operation with the various organisations which were helping to shape western Europe (Council of Europe, European Communities, WEU, OECE, NATO)¹⁰. In its efforts, the Committee stayed faithful to the ideals which had guided the architects of Europe from the outset, staunchly refusing to underwrite the *fait accompli* policy which Stalin had been pursuing since Yalta. In Resolution (55) 35, adopted at its 17th session on 13 December 1955, it emphasised:

" - that security for all cannot be achieved on the basis of the present division of Europe;

- that the reunification of Germany on the basis of free elections is necessary;

- that any new security arrangement for Europe with the USSR which does not include this reunification will be inadequate and dangerous, since the establishment of a European system of security and the reunification of Germany are contingent upon each other;

- that the creation of a united Europe remains indispensable".

At the same time, it brought in the major instruments which were to provide a basis for the Council's work. The first of these was the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, adopted in Rome at its sixth session on 4 November 1950, barely eighteen months after the founding of the Organisation. "This convention which we are signing is not as full or as precise as many of us would have wished. However, we have thought it our duty to subscribe to it as it stands. It provides foundations on which to base the defence of human personality against all tyrannies and against all forms of totalitarianism", declared Robert Schuman, French Foreign Minister, on that occasion. The convention, which came into force in 1953, met the requirement, laid down in Article 3 of the Statute, that "every member of the Council of Europe must accept the principles of the rule of law and of the enjoyment by all persons within its jurisdiction of human rights and fundamental freedoms".

Repeatedly strengthened by protocols in the meantime, the convention differs from all the other international instruments in its field by having effective control machinery, which entitles any individual claiming to be the victim of violation of one of his or her rights under the Convention to appeal to a supra-national court against the government of his or her country of residence. The present two-tier system comprises the European Commission and the European Court of Human Rights, established in 1954 and 1959 respectively. The Committee of Ministers plays a special part in the process; when a case examined by the Commission of Human Rights is not referred to the Court, the Committee of Ministers may be required to confirm, by a two-thirds majority, whether or not the convention has been violated. It is also responsible for making sure that the Court's judgments are properly enforced. So far, it has succeeded in this role, not only by making sure that any compensation awarded to successful petitioners is actually paid by the state found guilty of violation, but also in some cases by making sure that the state in question modifies its domestic legal system and/or administrative practices so that further violation of the same right may

be avoided¹¹.

Four years after adopting the European Convention on Human Rights, at its fifteenth session (19 December 1954), the Committee of Ministers acted on a wish already voiced by the Assembly on 7 September 1949, when, on 19 December 1954 in Paris, it opened the European Cultural Convention for signature. This vast framework convention provides an organised basis for dialogue and co-operation, involving not just member states, but European states outside the Council too. For example, the Holy See and Monaco, although not members of the Organisation, are signatories to the Cultural Convention, and many countries, including Spain, Finland, Poland and Russia, applied the Convention before joining, in some cases long before. Education, higher education and research, culture, heritage, sport and youth policy are some of the important and varied sectors covered by the text.

These two "heavyweight" conventions are not the only basic texts which make the Council's role in Europe such a vital one. The Parliamentary Assembly and the Committee of Ministers were together behind another pioneering and major initiative, which came to fruition on 12 January 1957, when the European Conference of Local Authorities saw the light of day. As Jacques Chaban-Delmas, first president of the conference, put it in his opening address, this was "the first time in the history of the democracies that the representatives of local authorities have been invited by members of parliament, with the consent of governments, to express their opinion on how they might take part in institutions which are still being organised".

In January 1994 the Conference became the "Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe" (CLRAE), with a Chamber of Regions and a Chamber of Local Authorities. Alongside the Parliamentary Assembly, it is the second pillar enabling member states' elected representatives to become involved in the work of the Organisation and is responsible for giving the authorities closest to the people of Europe an effective voice. CLRAE initiatives have led to the adoption of several important texts, including the European Charter on Local Self-Government (1985), the Outline Convention on Transfrontier Co-operation (1980), the Charter on Regional and Minority Languages (1992) or, more recently, the draft European Charter of Regional Self-Government, which was approved by the CLRAE in June 1997 and is currently being examined by the Committee of Ministers.

Finally, on 18 October 1961, the European Social Charter was opened for signature in Turin. Designed as a pendant to the European Convention on Human Rights, the charter, which defends 19 rights including the right to strike and the right to social protection, possessed no equivalent enforcement machinery. Mr. Barbozo-Carneiro, Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, pointed out what made it special when he said of the draft text in 1958: "To the idea that man does not live by bread alone has been added the idea that liberty without bread is a vain word... Thus the Council of Europe has sought to bring to the definition of the rights of man a sound and humane solution, giving their proper place to economic and social rights." In the late eighties and early nineties, when the European scene was changing radically, an ambitious programme to revitalise the charter was launched. A protocol, adding four new rights to the original nineteen, was adopted on 26 November 1987. The supervision system was simplified and strengthened by the 1991 amending protocol and the 1995 protocol introducing a collective complaints procedure. A further

decisive step was taken when the revised Social Charter was opened for signature on 3 May 1996, which combines the Charter and its protocols in a single text including no less than 30 fundamental social rights.

Since the early 1960s, the Council of Europe has thus had all the main instruments which - up-dated and adjusted when necessary - allow it to do the job assigned to it. Over the years, a system of regular meetings of specialised ministers has also become established and is designed to help member states work together across the whole intergovernmental spectrum. The ministers of education and the ministers responsible for family affairs were the first (in 1959) to adopt this formula, which now exists in nearly all the areas where the Organisation is active: justice, heritage, regional planning, environment, sport, culture, social security, health, youth questions, etc.

So, little by little, a network of relations and co-operation has grown up between governments, leading to the preparation and adoption of nearly 170 conventions designed to bring national legislative practices into line with one another and with the Council's standards. These agreements are supplemented by the many resolutions and recommendations which the Committee of Ministers addresses to member states. While lacking the legal force of conventions, these texts still play a vital role by defining European positions on problems common to all the countries of our continent.

In the case of questions which call for more technical answers and interest only some of the member states, the Ministers rely on partial agreements. This - the "variable geometry" approach to Europe - was first discussed on 2 and 3 August 1951. Forty-two years later, on 13 May 1993, the system was extended to include enlarged partial agreements, open to states outside the Council too. There are now 12 such agreements, often playing a major role. They include the Council of Europe Development Bank, which replaced the Resettlement Fund for National Refugees set up in the 1950s, the 1959 Partial Agreement in the Social and Public Health Field (which led to the creation of the European Pharmacopoeia in 1964), the Cooperation Group to Combat Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking (Pompidou Group) set up in 1980, the EURIMAGES Fund set up on 16 November 1988, and the European Commission for Democracy through Law ("Venice Commission"), which was established on the initiative of the Italian government on 5 May 1988, before becoming a separate institution on 10 May 1990.

The first fifteen years of achievement and steady growth, which gave the Council a solid footing on the European scene and saw its membership rise from 10 to 18, were followed by two more difficult decades, characterised by alternating crises and successes, misgivings and hopes. The Greek military coup of 21 April 1967 brought the first major crisis. The colonels' autocratic regime deported some 70 000 political opponents and openly defied the Organisation's democratic principles. The Committee of Ministers reacted firmly under its successive chairmen, Michel Debré, Willy Brandt and Aldo Moro. Threatened with imminent expulsion, the colonels decided to act first and took Greece out of the Organisation - a move noted by the Committee of Ministers on 12 December 1969. Five years later, on 28 November 1974, when the military regime had fallen and Greek democratic liberties had been restored, it invited Greece to rejoin at its 55th session, on 28 November 1974. That same year, another crisis -

still unresolved today - erupted between Cyprus and Turkey.

Greece's readmission heralded the arrival of two further members, following the disappearance of western Europe's last two dictatorships. Portugal, where the Salazar regime had been toppled during the "Carnations Revolution" in April 1974, joined on 22 September 1976, and Spain, freed by the death of Franco, followed suit a year later, on 24 November 1977. Liechtenstein's accession on 23 November 1978 left the Council with 21 members, and they made common cause in traversing the ensuing period of doubt and difficulty which affected the entire European process until the mid-eighties.

The dramatic changes in the East, which began in the Soviet Union with Mikhail Gorbachev's rise to power in 1985, provided fresh impetus. While the European Community started working on the Single Act, the Committee of Ministers decided to make closer East-West relations one of the Council of Europe's main goals. The successive French and German chairmanships played a crucial preparatory part in the process: under Roland Dumas, Resolution (84) 21 on the political role of the Council of Europe, adopted at the 75th session (21-22 November 1984) gave the Organisation a new political impetus; at the 76th session (25 April 1985), Resolution (85) 5 on co-operation between the Council of Europe and the European Community provided a basis for closer working relations between the two bodies, while Resolution (85) 6 on European cultural identity paved the way for progressive reconciliation of the two halves of the continent through cultural co-operation. In the meantime, at Hans-Dietrich Genscher's invitation, an extraordinary ministerial session had been held to assess future prospects for East-West co-operation.

While the political situation in various parts of central and eastern Europe evolved with breath-taking rapidity, the Council of Europe took the first step towards admitting Yugoslavia, which, at the time, was leading the way in the transition to democracy and a market-led economy, by inviting it to sign the European Cultural Convention (81st session, 26 November 1987). At the same session a new basic instrument (European Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment), aimed at protecting human rights by means of an innovative approach centred on prevention, was opened for signature.

Over the next two years, the Council of Europe welcomed San Marino and Finland as its 22nd and 23rd members, on 16 November 1988 and 5 May 1989 respectively. At the same time, it continued with its strategy in favour of rapprochement with central and eastern European countries (in particular with the creation by the Parliamentary Assembly in early 1989 of "special guest" status, to enable parliaments of non-Member European states were able to take part in Assembly proceedings). At the 84th session of the Committee of Ministers, which marked the Council's 40th anniversary, the Ministers reaffirmed their desire for "open, concrete dialogue" with the Socialist countries. One month later, on 8 June 1989, the Assembly granted special guest status to Hungary, Poland, the USSR and Yugoslavia, making it possible for Mikhail Gorbachev - the first Soviet leader to do so - to come to Strasbourg on 6 July and expound his concept of the "common European home".

When the Berlin Wall came down on 9 November, events began to move even more quickly. In the space of three months, two historic sessions of the Committee

witnessed the arrival of Hungary, the first "eastern" country to join, and Germany's first appearance on the Council scene as a reunited country (Rome, 6 November 1990), followed by Czechoslovakia's admission in the wake of the "velvet revolution" and the USSR's accession to the European Cultural Convention (Madrid, 21 February 1991). Subsequent sessions were marked by further new arrivals, and the Council's membership grew to 40 within six years¹². To help the new members to draw on the Organisation's expertise in making the transition to democracy, the Committee of Ministers set up a series of co-operation and assistance programmes - Demosthenes, Themis and Lode - in key areas where reforms were needed to help them become fully part of the European democratic area.

Meeting in Vienna on 8-9 October 1993, at the instigation of President Mitterand and Chancellor Vranitzky, the Heads of State and Government confirmed and amplified this policy of openness and extension: "The Council of Europe is the pre-eminent European political institution capable of welcoming, on an equal footing and in permanent structures, the democracies of Europe freed from communist oppression". They gave it three new tasks: reforming the machinery of the European Convention of Human Rights to ensure its effectiveness, organising the protection of national minorities and taking action to defeat intolerance, racism and xenophobia. The Vienna Summit thus wanted the Council to become both stronger and larger, while remaining true to its essential mission - helping to create a vast area of democratic security spanning the whole continent.

In accordance with this policy of welcoming countries where the transition to democracy is more difficult, in the hope that membership of the Organisation will have a positive impact on the transition process (an approach sometimes referred to as "therapeutic accession"), from 1994 onwards the Parliamentary Assembly and Committee of Ministers phased in two procedures for monitoring how far member states respected the commitments they had made. Both monitoring procedures, the one (that of the Parliamentary Assembly) public and based on a country-by-country approach, the other (that of the Committee of Ministers) confidential and theme-based, taking in all member states, have the same aim. They are intended to ensure that all member states, through a process of critical and constructive dialogue and, where appropriate, participation in cooperation and aid programmes, succeed in attaining the high level of democracy and respect for human rights that must be guaranteed to all citizens of a Council of Europe member state. Such an objective may appear to be a risky enterprise, but its importance is crucial for the 765 million Europeans whom the Organisation now embraces (particularly with the accession of Russia in 1996)!

Having had its pan-European role confirmed, the Council is also engaged in dialogue with the other European organisations - particularly the European Union and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) - its aim being a more effective pooling of energies. Contacts are being made, and action is being taken to ensure that the various initiatives complement one another, and observer status has been used to associate some of the main non-European countries (United States, Canada, Japan) with the Council's work. With the OSCE, heir of the Helsinki Conference, which declared that respect for human rights was a vital factor for stability in Europe, it is now helping with the huge task of rebuilding Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a view to its joining the Council at some future date.

With the European Union, the Council has recently launched joint programmes for Albania, the Baltic States, Russia and Ukraine, and the two organisations introduced the "quadrupartite dialogue" procedure for regular consultation in the late eighties. The same spirit of close co-operation underlies the Council's active support for the European Union's initiative for a Pact for Stability in Europe. Concluded in Paris in March 1995, the Pact is intended to promote good neighbourly relations in central and eastern Europe. It has led to the signing of important agreements between Hungary and Slovakia and, in 1996, to the treaty between Hungary and Romania.

Thus, by prioritising an approach based on preventive diplomacy and multilateral efforts (via international organisations active at European level), the countries of Europe have so far been able to keep the explosive situation of minorities in central and eastern Europe under control and avoid a repeat of what happened in the Balkans (and in particular in former Yugoslavia) and the Caucasus. The adoption on 10 November 1994 of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities stands out in this context as the first legally-binding international instrument regarding minorities.

The Council of Europe's principles and methods have been thoroughly put to the test since 1989 and have come through with flying colours. Thanks to the flexibility of its means of action and its working methods, and on the basis of enhanced co-operation between the Committee of Ministers, the Organisation's keystone, and the Parliamentary Assembly, which both reflects national viewpoints as well as providing an effective impetus for action, the Council has managed to evolve while retaining its identity. While embodying de Gaulle's vision of a Europe extending from the Atlantic to the Urals, it has remained true to the mission given it by Churchill - that of uniting all the peoples of our continent in the sharing of values which are their common inheritance. Indeed, this was the fundamental message of the Council of Europe's Second Summit (Strasbourg, 10 and 11 October 1997), which culminated in a Final Declaration laying the cornerstone for the unity of the wider Europe. Symbolised by a "family photograph" showing the 46 Heads of State and Government who attended the summit as the top political representatives of nearly every country in Europe¹³, such unity is based on the solemn reaffirmation of "our attachment to the fundamental principles of the Council of Europe - pluralist democracy, respect for human rights, the rule of law - and the commitment of our governments to comply fully with the requirements and meet the responsibilities arising from membership of our Organisation."

In refocusing the Council of Europe on its fundamental values, which have become those of the whole of Europe, and in identifying three new key areas of work (social cohesion, safety of citizens, democratic values and cultural diversity) that will complement the Organisation's main field of excellence (democracy and human rights), the Strasbourg Summit laid the foundations on which to build the Council of Europe's own specific contribution to the new Europe which has been developing ever since the "big bang" brought about by the collapse of the Berlin Wall. At the same time, the Heads of State and Government have shown their determination to adapt the Council of Europe to its new functions and its enlarged membership base, by initiating a structural reform process. This reform process, entrusted to a Committee of Wise Persons chaired by Mario SOARES, which submitted proposals¹⁴, should give a new lease of life to the Organisation which has just celebrated its 50th anniversary by

welcoming its 41st member State, Georgia (27 April 1999), as it enters the 21st century.

The current year 1999 marks the Council of Europe's celebration of its 50th anniversary but is most of all the year when the "logic of warfare", practised to the ultimate undoing of the Serbian people by Slobodan Milosevic since he gained power, demonstrated the magnitude of the challenges still facing European unification in general and the Council of Europe in particular. The Committee of Ministers has responded to the situations of conflict that persist especially in the Balkans and the Caucasian region, and to the difficulties of some member states in honouring their commitments, by confirming the validity of the policies pursued over the last ten years for the institution of a "new European order" capable of bringing peace and prosperity to the entire continent. Accordingly, in welcoming Georgia as the 41st member state on 27 April 1999 and in adopting the "Budapest Declaration for a Greater Europe without dividing lines" a few days later, it shaped the course which will enable the Council of Europe to achieve the unity of all European countries in due time. By mobilising the Organisation's vital forces alongside the United Nations, the European Union and the OSCE in the mammoth undertaking represented by the creation of a democratic, multi-ethnic Kosovo in a South-East Europe liberated from its suicidal impulses, it makes a pledge for a 21st century in which a rationale of co-operation and multilateral dialogue will have finally prevailed over power relationships and "reasons of State", for a Europe that will have been wise enough to learn from earlier centuries.

Note ¹ Greece and Turkey joined the Council of Europe the very next day (9 August 1949) and Iceland followed suit a few months later (9 March 1950).

Note ² The founding sessions of the Committee of Ministers and Parliamentary Assembly took place over the same period, the Committee of Ministers from 8 to 13 August 1949 at Strasbourg Town Hall, and the Parliamentary Assembly from 10 August to 8 September 1949 at Strasbourg University.

Note ³ With the accession of Germany and Italy under the Paris Agreements of 22 October 1954, the Western Union was renamed the Western European Union (WEU)

Note ⁴ The OEEC which, following the Treaty of Paris of 14 December 1960, became the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

Note ⁵ The "Congress of Europe" was convened on the initiative of the "International Committee of the Movements for European Unity", a liaison committee set up on 13 December 1947 to federate movements of various persuasions, all dedicated to European unity, which had sprung up all over Europe immediately after the war, in many cases taking over from resistance networks. Five months later, on 25 October 1948, the European Movement was set up in Brussels, with Léon Blum, Winston Churchill, Alcide de Gasperi and Paul-Henri Spaak as honorary presidents.

Note ⁶ Belgium, Denmark, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom.

Note ⁷ (questions of national defence being the only ones expressly omitted from the

Statute of the Council of Europe)

Note ⁸ At its very first session (8 to 13 August 1949), the Committee of Ministers adopted its Rules of Procedure and Financial and Administrative Rules, and concluded a General Agreement with France on privileges and immunities of the Council of Europe, as well as a Special Agreement concerning its headquarters. In 1950 it set up a Joint Committee responsible for liaison between the Committee of Ministers and the Parliamentary Assembly and committees of experts on social, cultural and human rights questions. In the same year, it also decided to hold regular meetings in Strasbourg between senior foreign affairs officials responsible for the Council of Europe (Ministers' Advisers). Two years later, these Ministers' Advisers were replaced by the Ministers' Deputies whose new decision-making powers meant that a better balance could be achieved between decisions on important questions of policy and the running of day-to-day business. For example, at the 10th session (19 and 20 March 1952), which is when the decision to set up a Committee of Ministers' Deputies was taken, the Ministers adopted no fewer than 24 Resolutions, some of them on such important questions as relations between the Council of Europe and other international organisations or between the Council of Europe and non-Member states, or the adoption of Protocol N° 2 to the European Convention on Human Rights, while others concerned questions of far more secondary importance, such as raising the age limit for Council of Europe messengers(!). The first meeting of the Committee of Ministers at the level of the Ministers' Deputies took place two days later on 22 March 1952 in Paris.

Note ⁹ As well as adopting a number of resolutions on the situation of refugees, the Committee of Ministers appointed a Council of Europe special representative to deal with this problem (11 and 12 December 1953) and then at its 18th session, on 16 April 1956, set up the "Resettlement Fund for National Refugees and Over-Population in Europe".

Note ¹⁰ From 1952 onwards, the Committee of Ministers adopted a number of resolutions on the role of the Council of Europe in the "new pattern contemplated for Europe" and its relations with other European organisations. A joint meeting was even held at ministerial level with the High Authority of the ECSC (Paris, 15 January 1955), presided over by Mr. Papaligouras (Greece) and Mr. Jean Monnet. Towards the end of the 1950s, the tone of resolutions became increasingly negative (Resolutions (56) 24 on overlapping in work and competence of European Organisations and (57) 27 on rationalisation of European institutions), until it was decided in 1959 that the powers of the WEU in social and cultural matters should be transferred to the Council of Europe.

Note ¹¹ When the reform of the control machinery of the European Convention on Human Rights takes effect on 1 November 1998, the Committee of Ministers will retain only the last of these roles, which is to oversee the effective enforcement of judgments by the Court. Under the reform, which was decided at the Vienna Summit in 1993 and confirmed four years later at the Strasbourg Summit, the existing Commission and Court of Human Rights will be replaced by a single, permanent court structure.

Note ¹² Hungary (6 November 1990) – Czechoslovakia (21 February 1991 to 31 December 1992) – Poland (26 November 1991) – Bulgaria (7 May 1992) – Estonia, Lithuania and Slovenia (14 May 1993) – Czech Republic and Slovakia (30 June 1993)

– Romania (7 October 1993) – Andorra (10 November 1994) – Latvia (10 February 1995) – Albania and Moldova (13 July 1995) – Ukraine and "The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" (9 November 1995) – Russia (28 February 1996) – Croatia (6 November 1996).

Note ¹³ The 46 Heads of State and Government who attended the Strasbourg Summit represented the 40 member states of the Council of Europe (with France represented by both the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister, and San Marino by its two Co-Regents), together with the Heads of State of the 4 countries that have applied for membership, namely Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Georgia. The only European countries absent from the Summit were Belarus and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia-Montenegro), who had not been invited owing to the policy conducted by their leaders.

Note ¹⁴ The final report of the Committee of Wise Persons ("Building Greater Europe without dividing lines") was published on 4 November 1998.

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COMMUNIST BLOC: Greece
Foreign relations

14 April 1970

THE COLONELS AND THE COMRADES:
GREEK RELATIONS WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES THAW

At the June 1969 Moscow Conference, the representatives
of the 75 assembled communist and workers' parties signed a
resolution describing themselves as "deeply indignant" about
the Greek military regime's treatment of its opponents and
calling on

the broad masses of working people, democratic and
progressive forces in all countries to resolutely
demand an end to all the repressions...[1]

Yet recent developments indicate that seven of the nations
whose representatives signed that resolution (and two "socialist"
countries which were not represented in Moscow) are willing to
overlook political indignation when state profit is at stake.

Since Greece's good relations with the West have been
severely strained by internal developments following the
April 19 67 coup, the Colonels have had to cope with growing
trade deficits and political isolation. Greece's estrangement

(1) "State of Solidarity with Communists and Democrats of
Greece Struggling against Military-Fascist Dictatorship,"
published in Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties,
Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow 1969, p. 91.

[page 2]

from its traditional allies has been clearly underscored by
its "withdrawal" from the Council of Europe and by that body's
protest against Greek legal practices. [2] Recent governmental
initiatives, headed up by the slashing of tariffs and the

granting of "most-favored-nation" status to the Soviet Union, indicate the direction Athens may be willing to travel to solve its commercial problems.

The Soviet Union, its Eastern European allies, and Greece's two socialist neighbors -- Albania and Yugoslavia -- appear to have realized that there are profits to be made by adjusting commercial and political policies that would allow for friendlier ties with Athens. As the following survey of these countries reveals, most of the nine nations in question have responded on some level to Athens' willingness to bury the ideological hatchet at the market place. While previous commercial commitments (Bulgaria) and local problems (Czechoslovakia) prevent one from speaking of a thoroughly coordinated offensive, improved relations with Greece are apparent throughout the nine countries.

1. g.

(2) In January 1969, the Council of Europe's Consultative Assembly recommended that the Committee of Ministers take "appropriate" actions to suspend the Greek government, until "the Assembly is satisfied that freedom of expression is restored and a free and representative parliament is elected in Greece." In early December 1969, the European Commission of Human Rights reported that it found the Greek government violating Article Three of the Council of Europe's Charter, which states "principles of the rules of law" and "human rights and fundamental freedoms" must prevail in member nations. Although Greek Foreign Minister Panayiotis Pipinelis made an eleventh-hour plea to the 12 December meeting of the Council, the nations committed to voting for Greek suspension could not be dissuaded and Greece opted for the face-saving voluntary withdrawal from the Council.

On April 11 1970 Reuters reported that the Council had "asked Greece to reply to charges of violations of human rights arising from the Athens trial of 34 opponents of the regime."

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Soviet Union

In February 1968 the Greek military regime made its first gesture to Moscow. It sent Ambassador Angelos Vlahos to replace the former Ambassador G. Varzamis, who had been withdrawn in the autumn of 1967. The withdrawal followed Soviet press and radio hostility, Soviet refusal to attend the Salonica Trade Fair, and a boycott by the USSR of Greek cultural events. In May 1968, Moscow decided to return the gesture and sent one of its Balkan experts, previously an Ambassador to Albania, to Athens. Kliment Levychkin was the first diplomat of ambassadorial rank to be sent to Athens by a major power since the junta took over.

In November 1969 the Greek Foreign Minister Pipinelis received the Soviet Ambassador and for two hours discussed ways to improve Soviet-Greek relations. Cultural and economic steps are envisaged at first, but the two countries have also examined such problems as the European Security Conference. [3]

In January 1970 the Greek Government suddenly (and

unilaterally) reduced the tariffs on certain Soviet imports by about 50%, after agreeing to allow Soviet technicians to survey some areas of northern Greece near the Bulgarian border in a search for peat. [4] The USSR now has "most-favored-nation" status. The new policy was needed partly because Soviet trade with Greece had fallen from 55 million rubles in 1967 to 44.5 million in 1968, and partly to put economic, military and diplomatic pressure on the Western powers. (The estimated Greek trade deficit for 1970 is about one billion dollars). [5]

The Greek regime values Soviet trade because they can depend on the Soviet tobacco industry to use the surplus Greek tobacco in exchange for Soviet exports (e.g. a \$15.5 million power station contracted for in December 1969).

(3) Frankfurter Allegmeine Zeitung, 27 November 1969.

(4) New York Times, 22 January 1970.

(5) Sunday Times, 25 January 1970.

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Whereas, the major Western tobacco companies, [6] in Britain, for example, are unenthusiastic about the Greek product.

In his New Year's message for 1970, Mr. Papadopoulos described Communism as "no -longer appearing to be a great danger." [7] Athens' "new attitude" toward the Soviets may be the result of an effort by the Greek military to put pressure on the United States to resume full military aid to Greece rather than from a sudden emergence of affection for communists.

Bulgaria

Radio Sofia has perhaps best characterized current relations between Bulgaria and the Greek military regime. said :

Our relations with Greece are correct and businesslike. A number of agreements of mutual interest have been signed and implemented during the last few years. Economic and trade relations are expanding. Both nations are looking for new forms of technical cooperation. [8]

The Greek military leaders have little reason to quarrel with the Bulgarian attitude toward developments following the 1967 coup. Foreign Minister Pipinelis stated in January 1968 that "our relations with Bulgaria are better than those with the Soviet Union" and that "the stand of the Bulgarian press is much better than the Soviet one." Pipinelis repeated this opinion on 26 March 1970, when he said that the Bulgarian radio and press had avoided "provocative statements," adding that the Bulgarian press was more correct toward Greece than were, for example, the Swedish. The Greek Foreign Minister also pointed out that "official Bulgarian statements are friendly." Pipinelis had, in fact, correctly evaluated Bulgaria's official attitude toward Greece.

(6) Journal of Commerce, 29 January 1970.

(7) Guardian, 3 January 1970.

(8) Radio Sofia, 29 November 1969.

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The latest available information on the economic relations between the two countries shows an import-export total of 33 million dollars in 1968, which was an increase of about 70 per cent over the 1967 trade figures of about 18 million dollars. [9] However, trade in 1968 was still regulated by the five-year, long-term trade agreement signed in July 1964; thus, the volume of trade in 1968 may have been negotiated and agreed upon prior to the April 1967 coup in Greece. Figures for 1969 show a trade total of about 15 million dollars, the only across-the-board decrease registered in Eastern European-Greek trade in 1969. Very likely, this resulted from increased Bulgarian trade commitments to the Soviet Union and the rearrangement of Bulgaria's foreign trade organization.

Czechoslovakia

When the Colonels seized power in April 1967, Czechoslovak propaganda condemned the take-over, but the action hardly influenced mutual relations (which had never been especially cordial) between the two countries. On the diplomatic level, the Czechoslovak cultural attache, Jiri Smid, was expelled from Athens in September 1967, thus contributing to the strained relations between Czechoslovakia and the junta. A new trade agreement, negotiated by the Czechoslovak Embassy with the Greek Trade Ministry in January 1968, was the first official contact between the Czechoslovak government and the new Greek regime.

Trade exchange with Greece has always been on a relatively small scale, the annual total fluctuating around \$20 million. In 1968, Czechoslovak imports amounted to 80 million Kcs (\$11 million), while exports reached the sum of 93 million Kcs (\$13 million). According to the incomplete data available, trade in 1969 was on about the same level; the slight decline in Czechoslovak exports was more than compensated for by Greek imports to the country. Czechoslovakia's primary import commodities from Greece are citrus fruits, tobacco, cotton, raw skins and hides, juices and currants. Its major exports are timber, sugar, machinery, coal and coke, agricultural tractors and chemical products.

(9) The 1968 figures are from Bulgarian sources, but according to an RFE special dispatch on 6 April from Athens, the 1968 total amounted to only 25.5-million dollars, which is considerably less than the Bulgarian figures.

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A special issue in Greek-Czechoslovak relations is the presence of 10,000 Greek exiles in Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak authorities' treatment of this Greek minority and its Communist organization. Since most of the Greek Communists in Czechoslovakia have sided with the reformers, Husak's regime has banned the Greek Communist organization in Prague, suppressed its journal and confiscated its funds. A new Greek CP organization, sponsored by the Czechoslovak regime, has been set up, but only a little more than 900 have joined it. In spite of this fact, Rude Pravo recently claimed that this new body exerted influence over the "majority" of

the Greek exiles. [10]

Hungary

Budapest's first reaction to the military take-over in Athens was a vehement protest demonstration before the Greek Embassy in May 1967. In July 1967, Athens recalled Greek Ambassador Himarios after the Hungarian regime said it could not recognize Himarios as the dean of the diplomatic corps in Budapest because of the military coup. The Greek Foreign Ministry considered the action an interference in Greece's internal affairs, but the Budapest Embassy remained open, and within a month a new ambassador was appointed. Since then, Hungary has maintained correct, uninterrupted diplomatic relations with Greece.

On the propaganda level, the communications media do not hide their animosity toward the Greek government. Besides daily coverage of unflattering events in Greece, they make strong attacks against the military regime wherever possible. and condemn the political direction of the government.

On the other hand, Hungary and Greece carry on economic relations without the slightest regard for ideological differences. While there is no trade agreement between the

(10) 12 February 1970. For more information on the Greek Communist Party in Czechoslovakia and the factionalist struggle raging throughout the Greek CP, see RFE Research report #0437, "Czechoslovak Regime Moves Against Greek Communist Exiles: PCI Protests," by Kevin Devlin, 13 January 1970.

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two countries, business transactions are carried on briskly on an ad hoc basis. One striking example of Hungary's current stepped-up efforts to increase trade with Greece is the trade fair which it organized at the Athens Hilton Hotel February 3 and 14, "the first trade exhibition in Athens by any communist country since the Papadopoulos government came to power in 1967." [11]

The following table indicates the development of economic relations between the two countries since April 1967:

Greek-Hungarian Trade [in millions of foreign exchange Forints:
\$1 == 11.24]

	1967	1968	1969
Imports from Greece	146.7	88.0	94.4
Exports to Greece	97.0	101.7	100.7

Poland

The Polish reacted to the new Greek government by demonstrating in front of the Greek Embassy in Warsaw. Although reportedly short, the demonstration was violent. Stones and paint were thrown and embassy buildings had slogans painted on them, including "Down with the Terrorist Dictatorship in Greece." May Day celebrations in 1967 saw similar protest demonstrations by foreign students in Warsaw; and on 31 May 1967, 35 Greek Communists demonstrated against "Fascism in Greece."

The Polish media have also been sharply critical of the

junta in Greece. Periodical protests of conditions in Greece

(11) Journal of Commerce, 29 January 1970.

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have appeared in Trybuna Ludu (23 January 19 69), Express Wieczorny (10 March 19 69) and in the Warsaw daily Zycie Warszawy, which on 3 0 April 19 69 blamed the Greek military regime for, among other things, "economic failures."

Several non-Party organizations in Poland have participated in the Polish propaganda offensive against Greece. In November 1967, the All-Polish Peace Committee telegraphed the Greek government and the Supreme Military Court in order to protest the imprisonment of hundreds of Greek patriots, including Mikos Theodorakis. The All-Polish Committee of Cooperation of Youth Organizations, in November 1967, "in the name of the entire Polish youth accepted a resolution condemning the lawless and anti-humanitarian activities of the Greek authority (12) and also telegraphed the Ministry of Justice.

Immediately following the military take-over in Greece, Poland abstained from international meetings held in Greece, a policy which the Greek government reciprocated when it refused Greek editor Elias Demitrakopoulos permission to attend an international editors conference in Warsaw. The Polish delegation was also missing at the 60th conference of the International Aeronautical Federation in Athens (in October 1967. Boycotts also extended to the International Symposium on Industrial Development in Athens in late 1967, the September 1969 international meeting of journalists in Warsaw, the International Affairs Conference in Jablonna in October 1969, and, during the earliest days, to such sports events as the annual Acropolis Rally in 1967. [13]

(12) Trybuna Ludu, 21 November 1967.

(13) A year later the Poles once again took part in the Rally, but failed to appear at the award ceremonies on 4 June 1968 to claim the silver trophy, supposedly because they had "misunderstood the time of the ceremony"!

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However, business went on as usual. Warsaw followed its controversial [14] formula of not allowing political factors to disturb its economic dealings. For example, even in 19 67 Poland did not withdraw from the annual Salonica Trade Fair, and in 19 68 its exhibit there was the second largest (behind Bulgaria) from an Eastern country. The Polish press, however, did not report Poland's participation.

Prime Minister Constantine Kollias said, in an interview granted to RFE's Athens correspondent on 19 June 1967, that there were no particular problems regarding Poland, and that Greece would like to see peaceful trade relations with Poland continue. The Warsaw Government seems to share this opinion. Although there was a certain drop in the volume of Polish-Greek trade in 1967 and 1968, a new three-year agreement was signed in Warsaw on 14 October 1968, and in 1969 Polish-Greek trade jumped more than 40 percent, the Polish imports from Greece having doubled. The latest trade protocol signed in Athens, and covering the period from 1 October 1969 to 30 September 1970, projects trade exchanges of 13 million

dollars each way, an almost 40 percent increase over the preceding period. However, Poland's trade with Greece has never been very voluminous when compared with its other partners; Greek trade constituted only 0.4% of Poland's total in 1967 and slightly less in 1968. The traditional Polish exports to Greece include coal, sulfur, meat, chemicals and various industrial products, in exchange for Greek tobacco, citrus fruits, dried fruits, cotton, hides and skins. Although it has not been able to place great quantities of its industrial products on the Greek market, Warsaw attaches ever-increasing importance to these commodities.

Hope of improving cultural relations between the two countries was given a big boost in February 1970. On the 16th of that month, a Polish book exhibition opened in Athens. It was organized by the Polish Embassy and lasted until 28 February. The Polish Ambassador to Greece and the undersecretary in the Office of the Greek Prime Minister attended the opening.

(14) Some Western Communist parties, and particularly the Spanish and Italian CPs, have strongly criticized Poland for delivering coal to Spain to help the Franco government overcome the shortages caused by strikes in the Asturian mining regions. The parties called this a violation of "international solidarity."

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Rumania

Rumania's policy of neutrality and non-interference in other nations' affairs is clearly reflected in its relations with Greece. During the past two years, the Rumanian media have avoided making any attacks or commenting on the Greek military regime. On 25 March 1970, a Greek national holiday, Romania Libera avoided mentioning the Greek government in its article on bilateral Rumanian-Greek relations, and merely called for an "understanding in the Balkans." At the same time, however, neither ministers nor deputy ministers attended the Greek Embassy's reception in Bucharest on the occasion. They left Rumanian representation to officials at the lower level.

Since September 1966, when Premier Maurer paid an official visit to Greece, there have been no high-level Rumanian travelers to Greece. The only high-ranking Greek visitor to Rumania during the last two years was the Minister of Commerce, Epaminondas Tsellos, who came to Rumania at the invitation of Foreign Trade Minister Cornel Burtica in October 1969.

The trade volume between the two countries stagnated between 1966 and 1968, but according to an RFE correspondent's report from Athens in April 1970, it rose during the first 9 months of 1969 by 53.1 percent (!) over the same period in 1968. The 1970 trade agreement provides for exchanges amounting to \$11 million each way, which would correspond to an increase of about 30 percent over 1968.

East Germany

Of all the East European countries, East Germany has taken the most rigid stand on the Greek military government. The official East German media attack the Greek junta as a "fascist," "militaristic," "undemocratic" and "criminal" regime; and these attacks have continued steadily since

April 1967.

Economically, the relations between the two countries are difficult to gauge. The most recent statistical yearbooks of the GDR do not include Greece among those countries with which it trades. Western and Greek press organs have, however, reported that Greece is planning to establish a trade office in East Berlin and possibly sign a long-term trade agreement

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with the GDR similar to agreements reached with Italy, France and Great Britain last December. [15] As yet, the East German press has not mentioned this undertaking.

Albania

The current up-swing in Greek-Albanian relations was documented by the signing of a mutual trade agreement in early 1970 by the Greek and Albanian Chambers of Commerce in Paris. This was the first major accord of any kind between the two countries in more than 30 years. [16]

Technically, Greece and Albania are still at war because they never solved the controversy over their common boundary. During the entire postwar period, the two countries have had only a few contacts. Most of these have dealt mainly with the question of releasing Greek citizens held in Albania since the Greek civil war of 1948. Otherwise, relations between the two countries have ranged from suspicion and extreme hostility to border clashes.

The recent trade agreement has come at a turning point in the economic dealings of both countries. Greece is improving its relations with most communist countries, and Albania has shown signs of trying to break out of its extreme isolation. The Paris accord, which was negotiated by the President of the Athens Chamber of Commerce, Ioannis Canellopoulos, and his Albanian counterpart, Sheri Baboci, calls for Greek exports to Albania worth \$800,000 and Albanian imports worth \$700,000 in 1970. The accord will go into effect after the central banks of the two countries sign a special payments agreement.

Tirana saluted the Albanian-Greek trade agreement with an editorial in the daily Bashkimi (17 February 1970), implying a desire to improve mutual relations even more between the two countries. The friendly tone of the Bashkimi editorial is unprecedented in the light of Albania's turbulent postwar relationship with Greece and represents a significant step toward some sort of political "normalization."

(15) Handelsblatt, 12 February 1970; and Apogevmatini (Athens), 19 January 1970.

(16) Reported by ATA, 24 January 1970.

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The article in Bashkimi (reflecting State rather than Party views) approached the trade agreement from the practical standpoint. The article said that Albania's growing economic relations with foreign countries can be explained by the fact that it "has abided by and is still abiding by the principle of trade based on mutual advantage, without obstacles and discriminations with all countries which desire such a

thing." It has apparently dawned on the Albanian leaders that trade and perhaps even state relations with foreign governments are seldom affected by "irreconcilable" ideologies. In justifying Albanian "pragmatism" when it comes to trade, the article maintained that the trade agreement concluded with the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Athens "is a reasonable act, mutually useful to both peoples."

The second part of the article dealt more specifically with the normalization of relations between the two countries. Especially noteworthy was the absence of polemics, which is a total reversal of former policies. The article also expressed warm feelings for the Greek people. When compared to the abusive harangue of earlier days, the Bashkimi article was not only peaceful but also extremely friendly toward Greece.

Athens has tended to react in a friendly but cautious manner to the new developments. In an interview with the press. (26 March), the Greek Foreign Minister Panayiotis Pipinelis declared that Albania had recently hinted it was ready to consider restoring diplomatic relations with Greece. He reiterated the official Greek position, however, by claiming that "we refuse to establish diplomatic relations until certain hurdles are removed," alluding to the state of war existing between the two countries and to Greek territorial claims in Albania. As to the most recent Albanian attitude, the Foreign Minister said that there have been "more substantial hints of goodwill from Tirana" and cited a highjacked Greek plane promptly returned by Albania, the expulsion of the highjacker from that country and an easing of newspaper attacks against Greece. Observers have noted that the Foreign Minister's statements on restoring relations had changed considerably from those of four years ago when he said "unfortunately there is not the slightest hope that the present Albanian Government will satisfy any of our rights."

The trade agreement, the expected bank agreements, the tone of the Bashkimi editorial and the remarks of the Greek Foreign Minister have done more to advance Greek-Albanian

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relations than anything else since the two countries became estranged by the vicissitudes of World War II and postwar developments. Although these neighboring countries still face formidable and complex political problems, the first accord in more than 30 years and the toning down of polemics could be a harbinger of other constructive steps.

Yugoslavia

The affable relations which had existed between Greece and Yugoslavia for fifteen years deteriorated sharply following the April 1967 take-over in Athens. The Yugoslav press and official spokesmen complained that the new government had immediately taken "hostile" measures against Yugoslavia, referring to the arrest of several Yugoslav citizens residing in Athens. On 15 May 1967, the Greek government cancelled an eight-year agreement regulating border traffic. The Yugoslav government deplored this unilateral decision, while Athens declared that "the suspension was for reasons of public security." [17] Tension increased between the two countries when the commander of the Yugoslav border guard, General Ratko Sofijancic, stated in a declaration on 14 August 1967 that the number of border incidents had risen to a higher level in the first seven months of 1967 than had occurred in all of 1966.

The media of the two countries also contributed to the deterioration of mutual relations; an anti-Yugoslav and anti-Macedonian campaign was launched in the Greek press and sharply put down by the Yugoslav papers.

The Czechoslovak invasion in August 19 6 8 marked the beginning of a turning-point in Greek-Yugoslav relations. Myron Stemetopulos, a spokesman for the Greek government, reiterated at a press conference, in Athens on 2 8 August that the Greek government "ultimately" desired a "Balkan federation." He added that since 1932, "Athens has always hoped that a closer contact between the Balkan nations would be established..." Similar views were repeated by Greek Foreign Minister Pipinelis at the United Nations, when he expressed Greece's desire to improve relations with all countries; "and in this context Pipinelis referred to Yugoslav-Greek relations as an example of good and friendly ties." [18]

(17) Tanjug, 15 May 1967.

(18) Nova Makedoniya, 14 October 1968.

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Except for a brief estrangement between the two countries after Greece decided to resettle the Macedonian minority living in the Greek border areas, the trend to relative normalization of relations continued in 1969. On 11 November, a mixed Yugoslav-Greek commission for road transportation met in Athens to discuss problems in this sector. On 9 December an agreement on the increase of tourism between the two countries was signed in Belgrade. In January 197 0, Dragoslav Vujica, a Yugoslav foreign ministry spokesman, provided a sign of definitely improved relations when he informed the press that Yugoslavia is endeavoring to develop "normal relations with Greece." He said that Yugoslavia "cooperates with Greece in all spheres in which there exist mutual interests." Furthermore, his country expects that this cooperation will "develop even more, and it hopes that the Greek government will also make similar efforts in the same direction." [19]

Trade relations between the two countries were not subjected to the fluctuations of the political scene. In 1969, Yugoslav exports to Greece amounted to \$31 million, or 11% less than the preceding year, but imports from Greece rose to \$33 million, or 34% over 1968. In September 1968, when the new trade agreement for 1969 was signed, both sides acknowledged the positive development of commercial relations and expressed their hopes for possible improvement in the future.

(19) Tanjug, 29 January 1970.



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Recommendation 547 (1969) of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe (30 January 1969)

Caption :

In this text, adopted on 30 January 1969, the Consultative Assembly, bearing in mind that the present Greek regime is in serious breach of the conditions for membership of the Council of Europe set out in Article 3 of the Statute, declares that Greece should consider its withdrawal in accordance with Article 7 and recommends that the Committee of Ministers take the appropriate measures laid down in Article 8 of the Statute.

Source:

Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, Recommendation 547 (1969) on the situation in Greece, in *Texts adopted by the Assembly*. 1969, p. 1.

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Recommendation 547 (1969) of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe on the situation in Greece (30 January 1969)

The Assembly,

1. Deploring the deprivation by the Greek regime of Greek citizens' rights of unfettered free expression, and of free elections to a representative parliament ;
2. Condemning in the strongest terms the refusal of the Greek Government to admit the Assembly's Rapporteur, in whom it expresses full confidence ;
3. Concerned at the lack of any real progress in Greece towards the restoration of constitutional democracy, as called for in its previous resolutions and as promised by the Greek Government ;
4. Recalling its Resolution 361 of 31 January 1968 on the situation in Greece ;
5. Recalling that in its Resolution 385 of 26 September 1968 it decided "to consider, at its session in January 1969, in the light of a new report of its Rapporteur concerning the progress made towards the restoration of democracy in Greece, whether to recommend to the Committee of Ministers to suspend the Greek Government from its right of representation in the Council of Europe, in accordance with Article 8 of the Statute",
6. Declares that the present Greek regime is at present in serious violation of the conditions for membership of the Council of Europe, as set out in Article 3 of the Statute ;
7. Considers that in view of the foregoing the Greek regime ought to draw the necessary conclusions and to consider its position under Article 7 of the Statute by virtue of which any Member of the Council of Europe may withdraw ;
8. Decides not to recognise the credentials of any Greek delegate purporting to represent the Greek parliament until such time as the Assembly is satisfied that freedom of expression is restored and a free and representative parliament is elected in Greece ;
9. Recommends the Committee of Ministers to draw these conclusions to the attention of the Greek Government and further, in the overall best interests of the Greek people, recommends the Committee of Ministers to take such action, within a specified period, as is appropriate, having regard to Articles 3, 7 and 8 of the Statute of the Council of Europe and to the resolutions of the Assembly cited above.

1. *Assembly debate* on 30 January 1969 (25th and 26th Sitzings) (see Doc. 2525, report of the Political Affairs Committee).

Text adopted by the Assembly on 30 January 1969 (26th Sitting).



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Resolution (70) 34 of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe (27 November 1970)

- Caption :** Resolution (70) 34 of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, dated 27 November 1970, on the legal and financial consequences of the withdrawal of Greece from the organisation. The Government of Greece having notified the withdrawal on 12 December 1969, it takes effect on 31 December 1970.
- Source:** Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, Resolution (70) 34 (Adopted by the Ministers' Deputies on 27 November 1970): Legal and financial consequences of the withdrawal of Greece from the Council of Europe, in *Resolutions 1970. 1978*, p. 81.
- Copyright:** © Council of Europe
- URL:** http://www.ena.lu/resolution_70_34_committee_ministers_council_europe_27_november_1970-2-13932
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Resolution (70) 34 of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe (27 November 1970)

Legal and financial consequences of the withdrawal of Greece from the Council of Europe

The Committee of Ministers,

Considering that by *Note Verbale* of 12 December 1969, the Government of Greece notified the Secretariat General of its decision to withdraw from the Council of Europe in accordance with Article 1 of the Statute of the Council ;

Noting that in application of Article 7 of the Statute of the Council of Europe, the notification of Greece's withdrawal shall take effect at the end of 1970 ;

Having regard to Article 28 of its Rules of Procedure under which it shall decide on the legal and financial consequences of the notice of withdrawal of Greece from the Council of Europe ;

Having regard to the proposals of the Secretary General contained in Document CM (70) 121,

I. Takes note that the withdrawal of Greece from the Council of Europe entails the following legal and financial consequences :

1. Greece will cease to be a Member of the Council of Europe on 31 December 1970 ; consequently Greece will thereafter no longer be able to lay claim to any right nor be regarded as bound by any obligation deriving from the Statute of the Council of Europe or connected with membership thereof, subject, however, to the obligations which she has assumed under that Statute in respect of any fact prior to her withdrawal from the Organisation taking effect ;

2. Greece will no longer have the right to be represented on the statutory organs of the Council of Europe nor on any subsidiary organs thereof ; she will no longer be entitled to participate in the activities carried out within the statutory framework of the Council of Europe, nor to benefit from such activities ;

3. Any possible participation by Greece in conferences convened by the Council of Europe or in other events organised by it shall, in principle, be governed by the provisions in force or the practice followed for such participation by European non-member States of the Council ;

4. Greece is bound to pay in full her statutory contribution to the expenses of the Council of Europe for the year

1970, including :

- (i) her contribution to the general budget of the Organisation ;
- (ii) her contribution to the budget of the Partial Agreement on the Resettlement Fund for National Refugees and Over-Population in Europe ;
- (iii) her contribution to the budget of the Partial Agreement in the social and public health fields,

it being understood that she will be entitled to the repayment of her share of the Working Capital Fund of the Council and of her share of any possible credit balance for the financial years 1969 and 1970 ;

5. As regards the Partial Agreement in the social and public health fields :

(a) Greece may, if she so wishes, continue, as a party to the Administrative Arrangements for the health control of sea, air and land traffic concluded within the framework of that Partial Agreement, to take part in the work of the Public Health Committee (PA) relating to these Arrangements ;

(b) Greece shall be bound, if she continues to take part after 31 December 1970 in the work of the Public Health Committee (PA) mentioned under (a), to contribute to the budget of the said Partial Agreement according to the criteria determined for the participation of governments which are not parties thereto ;

6. As regards the Resettlement Fund for National Refugees and Over-Population in Europe :

(a) nothing prevents Greece, if she so wishes, continuing, with the prior authorisation of the governing body of the Fund, to be a Member thereof on the same terms which governed her participation as from the date of its establishment ;

(b) Greece shall be bound, if she remains a Member of the Fund, to contribute to the budget of the Partial Agreement of the Fund according to a percentage to be determined by the Committee of Ministers, after consultation with the Greek Government ;

(c) the withdrawal of Greece from the Council of Europe shall not affect her position as a Contracting Party to the Third Protocol to the General Agreement on Privileges and Immunities of the Council of Europe, if she remains a Member of the said Fund ;

7. The withdrawal of Greece will not affect her position as a Contracting Party to those conventions and

agreements concluded within the Council of Europe, which she has ratified or signed without reservation in respect of ratification except for those instruments to which only member States of the Council may be Contracting Parties ;

8. On 31 December 1970, Greece will cease to be a Contracting Party to the European Convention on Establishment, in accordance with Article 33, paragraph 3 of this Convention ; however, under paragraph 2 of the same Article, she shall not be released from her obligations under this Convention in respect of any act which may have been performed by her before that date ;

9. The ratification of conventions and agreements concluded within the Council of Europe being reserved to member States only, the Secretary General can no longer accept, after 31 December 1970, any deposit of instruments of ratification by Greece of these conventions and agreements which she has signed with reservation in respect of ratification ;

10. As a Contracting Party to the European Cultural Convention :

(a) Greece may continue to sit on the Council for Cultural Co-operation (CCC) exercising the functions which fall upon it under the terms of the said Convention ;

(b) Greece shall be bound to contribute to the Cultural Fund under the same terms as the other non-member States of the Council of Europe which have acceded to the said Convention ;

11. After 31 December 1970, there will no longer be any grounds for requesting nominations from the Greek Government for the election of judges to the European Court of Human Rights, Article 39 of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms reserving the presentation of such nominations to member States of the Council of Europe only ;

12. Greece shall continue to be bound by the obligations placed on the Contracting Parties by the General Agreement on the Privileges and Immunities of the Council of Europe and on the First, Second and Fourth Protocols thereto and to benefit from the rights deriving therefrom in favour of these Contracting Parties, to the extent to which she will remain involved in the activities of the Council of Europe or exercised in connection with it ;

13. As regards the Conferences of Specialised Ministers, held under the auspices of the Council of Europe and with the assistance of its Secretariat General, any possible invitation of Greece shall in principle be governed by the practice followed for invitations addressed to European non-member States of the Council of Europe ;

II. Instructs the Secretary General to notify the content of this resolution to the Government of Greece.



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Resolution DH (70) 1 of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe (15 April 1970)

Caption :

Having had interstate applications from Denmark, Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands against Greece lodged with it in September 1967, the European Commission for Human Rights transmits in November 1969 a report to the Committee of Ministers on the violation by the Greek Government of several articles of the European Convention on Human Rights. Agreeing with the opinion of the Commission, and despite the denunciation of the Convention by Greece, the Committee of Ministers decides on 15 April 1970 that the respondent Government has violated the Convention.

Source:

Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, Resolution DH (70) 1 (Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 15 April 1970): The Greek Case, in *Resolutions 1970. 1978*, p. 134.

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http://www.ena.lu/resolution_dh_70_committee_ministers_council_europe_15_april_1970-2-13933

Resolution DH (70) 1 of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe (15 April 1970)

The Greek case

Applications No. 3321/67, Denmark v. Greece; No. 3322/67, Norway v. Greece; No. 3323/67, Sweden v. Greece; No. 3344/67, Netherlands v. Greece

The Committee of Ministers,

1. Having regard to Article 32 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (hereinafter called "the Convention") ;

2. Having regard to the report drawn up by the European Commission of Human Rights (hereinafter called "the Commission") in accordance with Article 31 of the Convention and relating to the Applications lodged on 20 September 1967 by the Governments of Denmark, Norway and Sweden against the Government of Greece (Nos. 3321/67, 3322/67, 3323/67) and on 27 September 1967 by the Government of the Netherlands against the Government of Greece (No. 3344/67) ;

3. Whereas the said report was transmitted to the Committee of Ministers on 18 November 1969 and the period of three months provided for in Article 32, paragraph 1 of the Convention has elapsed without the case having been brought before the European Court of Human Rights in pursuance of Article 48 of the Convention ;

4. Whereas in their Applications, which were joined by the Commission, the four Applicant Governments alleged that the respondent Government had violated Articles 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13 and 14 of the Convention, and that it had failed to show that the conditions set out in Article 15 of the Convention for measures of derogation were satisfied ;

5. Whereas the Governments of Denmark, Norway and Sweden on 25 March 1968 extended their original allegations to Articles 3 and 7 of the Convention and Articles 1 and 3 of the First Protocol ;

6. Whereas the Commission on 24 January 1968 declared the original applications admissible and on 31 May 1968 declared the new allegations also admissible ;

7. Whereas the Commission in its report has expressed the opinion :

- that legislative measures and administrative practices of the respondent Government have contravened

Articles 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13 and 14 of the Convention and Article 3 of the First Protocol ;

- that these measures and practices were and are not justified under Article 15 of the Convention ;
- that, by promulgating Constitutional Act "Eta", which was later interpreted by Constitutional Act "Lambda", the respondent Government has not violated Article 7 of the Convention or Article 1 of the First Protocol ;
- that the respondent Government has violated Article 3 of the Convention ;

8. Considering that the Government of Greece has denounced on 12 December 1969, the European Convention on Human Rights and the First Protocol and that, in accordance with Article 65, paragraph 1 of the Convention, this denunciation will become effective on 13 June 1970 ;

9. Considering paragraph 2 of Article 65 of the Convention which provides that the denunciation "shall not have the effect of releasing the High Contracting Party concerned from its obligations under this Convention in respect of any act which, being capable of constituting a violation of such obligations, may have been performed by it before the date at which the denunciation became effective" ;

10. Voting in accordance with the provisions of Article 32, paragraph 1 of the Convention ;

11. Agreeing with the opinion of the Commission,

12. Decides :

(a) that the Government of Greece has violated Articles 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13 and 14 of the Convention and Article 3 of the First Protocol ;

(b) that the Government of Greece has not violated Article 7 of the Convention and Article 1 of the First Protocol ;

13. Having regard to the denunciation of the Statute of the Council of Europe by the Government of Greece on 12 December 1969 ;

14. Having regard to the denunciation on the same date by the same Government of the European Convention on Human Rights and of its First Protocol, mentioned above ;

15. Having regard to Resolution (69) 51 of 12 December 1969 ;

16. Having considered the proposals made by the Commission in accordance with paragraph 3 of Article 31 of the Convention ;

17. Considering that the Greek Government has declared on 7 December 1969 that it considers the report of the Commission as "null and void" and that it "does not consider itself legally bound by the conclusions of the said report" ;

18. Considering that the Greek Government was given an opportunity to take part in the discussions of the Committee of Ministers when it was examining the report of the Commission, but in a letter of 19 February 1970 the Government stated that it had no intention whatsoever of doing so and that such a participation would be "inconsistent with Greece's formal denunciation of both the Commission's report and the European Convention" ;

19. Considering that these circumstances and communications clearly established that the Greek Government is not prepared to comply with its continuing obligations under the Convention and thus with the system of collective protection of human rights established thereby, and that accordingly the Committee of Ministers is called upon to deal with the case in conditions which are not precisely those envisaged in the Convention ;

20. Concludes that in the present case there is no basis for further action under paragraph 2 of Article 32 of the Convention ;

21. Concludes that it must take a decision, in accordance with paragraph 3 of Article 32 of the Convention, about the publication of the report of the Commission ;

22. Decides to make public forthwith the report drawn up by the Commission on the above-mentioned Applications ;

23. Urges the Government of Greece to restore, without delay, human rights and fundamental freedoms in Greece, in accordance with the Convention and the First Protocol, taking into account, inter alia, the proposals made by the Commission which are attached hereto ;

24. Also urges the Government of Greece, in particular, to abolish immediately torture and other ill-treatment of prisoners and to release immediately persons detained under administrative order ;

25. And accordingly resolves to follow developments in Greece in this respect.



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Resolution 361 (1968) of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe (31 January 1968)

Caption :

Following the military coup in 1967 that installed the 'Greek colonels' regime', the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe decides to recommend to the Committee of Ministers, at the latest in the spring of 1969, that Greece should be suspended or expelled from the Council of Europe if, by then, an acceptable parliamentary democracy has not been restored in that country.

Source:

Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, Resolution 361 (1968) on the situation in Greece, in *Texts adopted by the Assembly*. 1968, p. 1.

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http://www.ena.lu/resolution_361_1968_consultative_assembly_council_europe_31_january_1968-2-12393

Resolution 361 (1968) of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe on the situation in Greece (31 January 1968)

The Assembly,

1. Recalling its Order No. 256 of 26th April 1967, its Resolutions 346 of 23rd June and 351 of 26th September 1967 and its Recommendation 498 of 25th September 1967, relating to the situation in Greece which called for the re-establishment of a democratic parliamentary regime ;
2. Having taken note of the report presented by its Bureau and mainly based on the information which Mr. Siegmann, Rapporteur of the said Bureau, and Mr. Silkin, who accompanied him in his capacity as Chairman of the Legal Committee, gathered in the course of their mission to Greece ;
3. Considering that following the applications lodged by the Danish, Norwegian, Swedish and Netherlands Governments respectively, it is for the European Commission of Human Rights to express an opinion on whether the provisions of the Convention on Human Rights have been violated ;
4. Nonetheless condemning the violation of normal constitutional procedures since April 1967, and reiterating its deep concern at the suspension of democratic government in Greece,
5. Takes the view that if Greece intends to remain a Member of the Council of Europe she will have to return without delay to a regime which is democratic and parliamentary and respectful of human rights and fundamental freedoms as required by the Statute of the Council ;
6. Affirms that if and in so far as this objective can or must be achieved by adopting a new Constitution, the latter should be truly democratic and promulgated, applied and followed by free elections at the earliest possible date ;
7. Intends to make every possible effort to assist Greece to return to the road to democracy and thereby justify the maintenance of that country in the family of democratic nations of the Council of Europe ;
8. Decides :
 - (a) to make a close examination of the draft Constitution drawn up by the Constitutional Committee in so far as it will be made available to the Assembly for consideration ;
 - (b) to make, if necessary, observations on the said draft Constitution ;

- (c) to make a careful study of the text of the Constitution which is to be submitted to the referendum ;
- (d) to exert every influence to ensure that the referendum on the Constitution takes place within the stated time, that is to say, by September 1968 at the latest ;
- (e) to seek to ensure that the referendum is organised in proper conditions, enabling everyone to conduct a free and democratic campaign and to examine if necessary by means of observers sent to Greece the conditions in which the referendum takes place ;
- (f) to insist that; in accordance with the promises already made, the new law on the Press is promulgated before the referendum, and to study that law and its practical application ;
- (g) to follow closely the steps taken for a return to a democratic and parliamentary system of government, with particular reference to the status of political parties and the electoral law, and to consider the conditions in which the election campaign and the elections will be conducted, possibly by the despatch of observers ;
- (h) to consider the spring of 1969 and in particular the opening of the 21st Session of the Assembly, as the latest date at which a democratic and parliamentary system of government should again operate in Greece ;
- (i) to recommend to the Committee of Ministers, at the latest in the spring of 1969, the suspension or expulsion of Greece from the Council of Europe if by then an acceptable parliamentary democracy has not been restored in that country, or to do so even before that time if it appears that the undertakings given by the Greek regime have not been respected ;
- (j) to follow attentively throughout the whole of this period the development of the situation in Greece with regard to the restoration of human rights and fundamental freedoms, which must go hand in hand with a return to parliamentary democracy.

1. *Assembly Debate* on 30th and 31st January 1968 (15th and 16th Sitzings) (see Doc. 2322, report by Mr. Siegmann, Rapporteur appointed by the Bureau according to Resolution 346).

Text adopted by the Assembly on 31st January 1968 (17th Sitting).