

R. 17

Conference
Fullbright

20

ΣΥΝΟΜΙΝΙΑ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΓΙΟΣΤ *

(Χωρίς ήμερ 1950-51) 4 δακτ. σελίδες
το 1955. Βλ. Νοσογόνα, Βλ. 334 ΔΕΝ ΜΠΟΡΕΙ (Ο ΧΟΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΔΗΛΟ
1950-53)
Υποβλήθηκε Κ.Τ. πρὸς ? (ἀρχαῖο κόμματα)
ous

Α. Τα κύρια σημεία τῆς συνομιλίας
πρὸς τὸν κύριο Γιόστ.

ὅπου ὁ κύριος Γιόστ ἐκφράζει τὴν γνώμην
τῶν Ἀμερικανῶν πρὸς Ἀποστολῆς :

Κρίσεις, Ἀνασφάλαις, Προτάσεις.

καὶ γνώμης Κ.Τ.

* Συμπαραλήψεις Αἰερ. πρεσβείας

-Οι Αμερικανοὶ θέλουν συνεργασία Συναρμόν-Φαλαγγῶν
αὐτῶν ΔΔΕΑ = 1951

Μάλλον (1952)

ἐνδιαφέρον

Περὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς = 1950-1953

100714
1948

Alphacanthus
Bon 9212
F18

Wright Apo from
apdp dyon
1945-1947

12-0

ΕΥΧΟΜΙΑΛΙΑ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΓΙΟΤΣ

Ἡ κίττωι συνομιλία ἔλαβε χώραν τὴν 4ην τρέχοντος μηνός.
τὰ κύρια σημεῖα τῆς συνομιλίας ταύτης εἶναι τὰ ἀκόλουθα:
Κριτική τῆς παροδοῦς κυβερνήσεως

Παντελής Ἑλληειφίς Πρωθυπουργός. Ἑλληειφίς συντονισμοῦ μεταξὺ
τῶν ὁργανῶν τῶν δύο συνεργαζομένων κομμάτων.

- 1) Κῆ ἐκτέλεσις δοθεισῶν ὑποσχέσεων εἰς θέματα σχετιζόμενα μὲ τὴν
ἀνασυγκρότησιν τῆς χώρας. Πρόκειται περὶ πολλῶν ζητημάτων, τῶν πλεί-
των δευτερευούσης σημασίας, εἰς τὰ ὅποια ὁμῶς ἀποδίδουν σημασίαν
οἱ ἀρμόδιοι τῆς Ἀμερικανικῆς Ἀποστολῆς.

Μεταξὺ τῶν ζητημάτων τούτων πρόδεχει τὸ πρᾶγματι σπουδαῖον καὶ βα-
σικόν τῆς ἀναδιοργανώσεως τῶν δημοσίων ὑπηρεσιῶν.

- 2) Παραβίασις τῶν συμφωνηθέντων διὰ τῆς ἐφαρμογῆς τῶν μέτρων ἐπιει-
κείας.

- 3) Τὸ κυριώτερον θέμα κριτικῆς τῆς Κυβερνήσεως ἀφορᾷ τὸν στρατιωτι-
κὸν τομέα. Ἡ ἀνεκίνησις τοῦ θεωρουμένου ὡς τερματισθέντος μὲ τὴν
ἀμνηστίαν ζητήματος τοῦ 1864 ἐνοχλεῖ ὅλους ἰδιαιτέρως.

Ἐάν τὰ τρία αὐτὰ σημεῖα ἐτόχηνον ἄλλου χειρισμοῦ ἢ Ἀμερικανικῆ
πλευρᾷ ὅν θά εἶχε περὶ τῆς Κυβερνήσεως τὴν οἷαν ἔχει σήμερον
γνώμην.

Εὐφής εἶναι ἡ ἐπιθυμία νὰ ἴδουν ἀπομακρυνομένους τοὺς Ναυάρχον
Στακελλαρίου, Παπαπολίτην, Χαβινην, εἰς πρώτην γραμμὴν καὶ εἰς
δευτέραν τοὺς Μπουράραν καὶ ἄλλους τινὲς ὧν ὅν ἡσυνήθην νὰ
ἐξακριβώσω τὰ ὀνόματα.

Γενομένης συζητήσεως περὶ κυβερνητικῆς μεταρρυθμίσεως πρὸς βελ-
τίωσιν τοῦ ποιοῦ τῆς Κυβερνήσεως μοὶ ἐλέχθη: Αὐτὰ βέβαια θὰ ἀπε-
δείκνυσαν ὅτι ἡ κυβερνήσις κάνει ὅ, τι εἶναι δυνατόν διὰ νὰ βελτι-
ώσῃ τὴν κατῴτασιν μέσῃ εἰς τὰ σημερινὰ σχήματα. Ἀλλὰ ἄραγε θ' αὖ
ἀπετέλαι τοῦτο λόβον;

Φαίνεται νὰ μὴ πιστεύουν πλέον ὅτι μέσῃ εἰς τὰ ὑφιστάμενα καί-
σια ἡμπορεῖ νὰ ὑπάρῃ θεραπεία τοῦ κακοῦ. Παρὰ ταῦτα ὅν εἶναι
βεβαίον διδάσκει ὅτι μὴ βελτίωσις καὶ ἀνανέωσις τῆς Κυβερνήσεως
ὅν θὰ ἐππράξε ἐδνοϊκῶς τὴν κατῴτασιν.

Ἡ ἐκδύλωσις τῶν ἔναντι τῆς Κυβερνήσεως διεθέσεων τῶν Ἀμερικανῶν
ὅν μοῦ φαίνεται ὅτι θὰ ἄργησῃ μετὰ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τοῦ Προεδροῦ
τοῦ.

ΘΕΣΙΣ ΕΝΑΝΤΙ ΕΥΝΑΓΕΡΜΟΥ

Παρὰ τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ ἐκέραιος ὁ Εὐναγερμός παρὰ τοῖς ἐνταῦθα
Ἀμερικανοῖς (τὸ ἐκέραιος ὅχι ἐξ ἰσίων δυνάμεων, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τὰ

κυβερνητικά άστοχήματα, ~~ιδίως~~) εξακολουθετ νά εμπνέρ άνησυχίας ή άδισαλαξία του κατá κύριον λόγον καί ή έλλειψις έπιτελείου άνα-
λόγου πρós έκείνο πού διαθέτει τό κόμμα τών φιλελευθέρων; .
Τούτο άντελήφθησαν οί τοῦ Συναγερμοῦ καί εκ τής συνομιλίας μου
έπεισθην ότι καταβάλλουν μεγάλας προσπάθειας τελευταίον, επί τοῦ
σημείου τούτου νά κερδίσουν τήν έμπιστοσύνην τών άμερικανῶν.
Μου έλέχθη: " Διὰ τί έπιμένετε επί τής άδισαλαξίας τοῦ Συναγερμοῦ;
Διὰ τί νά μὴν έλπίσωμεν ότι θά επικρατήσουν έκεί τό διαλλακτικά
στοιχεῖα, ὅπως ὁ Στεφανόπουλος καί ὁ Κανελλοπουλος; " Βεβήγησα ότι
τά πρόσωπα αὐτά εἶναι άνίσχυρα νά επηρεάσουν τήν πορείαν τοῦ Συναγ-
ερμοῦ. " Η μέχρι τούδε άρνησίς του νά δεχθῇ πῶσαν οίονόημιποτε συνερ-
γασίαν καί ή έν γένει πολιτεία του άποτελοῦν σαφή ένδειξιν τών
επικρατούσων διαθέσεων εἰς τόν Συναγέρμόν καί τών προσώπων πού
τάς εμπνέουν ή τάς ένσαρκίουν. Εἰς τό σημεῖον τούτο εἶναι καταφα-
νῶς εὐαίσθητοι οί άμερικανοί καί υποκτενούνται τόν κίνδυνον τής
άδισαλαξίας, θά ήτο δέ άρκετός αὐτός ὁ φόβος διὰ νά τοῦς κἀνῃ άπολύ-
τως επικυφαλιντικούς έναντι τοῦ Συναγερμοῦ, έν δέν τοῦς έπίαζε ή
κυβερνητική άνεπάρκεια.

Πρós τόν Συναγέρμόν τοῦς έλκει ή ύπαρξις ήγέσις καί ή πι-
θανότης μιᾶς ισχυρῆς ὁμοιογενούς Κυβερνήσεως. Προσωπικοί δεσμοί
άσφαλῶς επηρεάζουν επίσης υπέρ τοῦ Συναγερμοῦ. Μεγίστος εἰς τόν Συ-
γερμόν προσέφερε ~~εἰς~~ τό σημεῖον τούτο ὁ κ. Δαμπράκης τόν ὁποτον
εἰς ἄλλην συνομιλίαν ὁ κ. Πιουριφού μου έχαρκτηρίσας ὡς τόν εἰλι-
κρινέστερον υποστηρικτήν τών άμερικάνικῶν άπόψεων έν 'Ελλάδι. Μου
έμνημόνευσε έν συνεχείᾳ μέ πολλήν συμπέθειαν τό ὄνομα τοῦ κ. Χατζι-
αργύρη.

Ένδειξις τής κατ' ἄλλην αὐτήν τήν πρὸς δὸν δυσπιστίας/τοῦ Σύν-
αγερμοῦ εἶναι καί ή λύσις τήν ὁποίαν, άποκλειομένης τής τριμεροῦς
Κυβερνήσεως, προκρίνουν πῶσης ἄλλης οί άμερικανοί, δηλαδή ή λύσις
ΤΗΣ ΣΥΝΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΣ ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ ΜΕ ΤΟΝ ΣΥΝΑΓΕΡΜΟΝ;

Έπί τοῦ σημείου αὐτοῦ μου έλέχθησαν τά ἑξῆς χαρακτηριστικά:
" Άνθρώποι ὅπως εἰσεῖς καί ὁ κ. Μαῦρος δέν ἔχετε περίσσοτερα κοινά
μέ τόν Στεφανόπουλον πα ἢ μέ τόν Παπακολίτην; Δέ ποτον τόμει τής
πολιτικῆς ἔχετε διαφοράς μέ τόν Στεφανόπουλον (τόν θεωροῦν ὡς τόν
καλλίτερον τοῦ παλαιοῦ Δάϊκου κόμματος) ή μέ τόν Κανελλόπουλον; "
Έβόδη ή άπάντησις ότι δέν συζητοῦμεν ἐδῶ διὰ συνεργασίαν προ-
σώπων ἀλλά κομμάτων καί ότι τομλᾶχιστον οί μνημονευθέντες ὁπαδοί
τοῦ Συναγερμοῦ εἶναι ξένοι πρós τήν πολιτικὴν γραμμήν τοῦ κόμμα-
τος εἰς τό ὁποτον ἄνηκουν.

Ἡ εὐὶ τοῦ σημείου τοῦτου ἐπιμονὴ εἶναι χαρακτηριστικὴ. Προβλέπω ὅτι, ὡς καὶ τοῦ συναγερμοῦ σιωπηρῶς συνκατανεύοντος, θὰ ἀκηθῇ μεγάλη πείσις ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγματος τῶν φιλελευθέρων νὰ συνεργασθῇ μετὰ τὸν συναγερμόν. Τοῦτο δὲ διότι ἡ παρουσία τῶν φιλελευθέρων ματαιώνει τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀδυναμίας τοῦ συναγερμοῦ κίνδυνον, δημιουργουμένον ἔνδεσ ἡρμενιστὸν διελλακτικόν. Ἐκτὸς τοῦτου ἀποδίδεται καὶ κάποια σήμασι εἰς τὸ ἐπιτελεῖν τῶν φιλελευθέρων καὶ εἰς τὴν ἑλλειψίν ἀντιθέτως ἀναλόγῳ ἐπιτελεῖν παρὰ τῷ συναγερμῷ.

Ἡ μορφή καὶ ἡ ἔκτασις τῆς πείσεως ἡ ὅποια θὰ ἀκηθῇ εἶναι φανερά ἀπὸ τὴν ἀκολουθοῦν φράσιν " Ἐδὼ ὅσο λύσεις ὑπάρχουν ἰς συνεργασίᾳ φιλελευθέρων μετὰ τὸν συναγερμόν ἢ διὰ λύσεις τῆς βουλῆς " Ἐθεῖα τότε καὶ τὸ θέμα μίτς μεταβατικῆς λύσεως ὑπὸ ἐξωκοινοβουλευτικὸν προθυπουργόν. Ἀλλὰ ὁὖν ἀντελήφθη ὅτι αὐτὴ ἡ λύσις ἐθεωρεῖτο λύσις ἀποτελεσματικῆς.

ΔΙΑΛΥΣΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΛΟΓΑΙ

Οἱ ἡμερικανοὶ ὁὖν θέλουν ἐκλογάς, πρῶτον διότι τοῦτο θὰ ἐξημίανει τὴν ἀνεσυγκρότησιν ἄλλα κύριως διότι ὁὖν γνωρίζουν τὴν ἔκβασιν. Τὴν λύσιν τῆς συνεργασίας συναγερμοῦ-φιλελευθέρων τὴν θέλουν καὶ δι' αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον, τὴν ἀποτροπὴν τῶν ἐκλογῶν.

Ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ τῆς συνεχίσεως τῆς παροῦσας καταστάσεως καὶ τῶν ἐκλογῶν φαίνονται νὰ ἐπείσθησθαι ὅτι καλλίτεροι εἶναι αἱ ἐκλογαί.

Οἱ ἡμερικανοὶ φαίνεται ἐπίσης νὰ ἐπείσθησαν ὅτι ὁὖν πρέπει νὰ γίνουν αἱ ἐκλογαί μετὰ τὸ ἀναλογικὸν σύστημα. Καίτοι ἐπέμεινα ἰσχυρῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ κινδύνου τοῦ διχασμοῦ τὸν ὅποτον θὰ προκαλέσθην ἐκλογαί διεξογόμεναι μετὰ τὸ πλειοψηφικόν, ἔχουν ἐπὶ τοῦ σημείου αὐτοῦ ἐρριζωμένην τὴν ἀντίθεσιν-ὅτι ἀντιλήψεις. Τὸ περίεργον δὲ εἶναι ὅτι αἱ ἀντιλήψεις αὗται ἔρχονται εἰς ἀντίθεσιν ἀπὸς τὸν φόβον τοῦ διχασμοῦ ἀπὸ τὸν ὅποτον διακατέχονται.

Θεωρῶ ὅτι τὸ θέμα τοῦ διχασμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐπιρροῆς τοῦ διχασμοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμυντικῆς δυνάμεως τῆς χώρας ὁὖν ἔχει ἐξαντληθῇ εἰς τὰς μετὰ τῶν ἡμερικανῶν συνομιλίας. Ἐάν οἱ ἡμερικανοὶ ἐπέιθοντο ὅτι ὁδηγῶν πρὸς ἔθνικόν διχασμόν τὸ πλειοψηφικόν σύστημα ὅταν κατερχονται εἰς τὰς ἐκλογὰς κόμματα ἐξτρεμιστικὰ, θὰ συνεχίσουν πολλὰς λύσεις τῆς ὁποίας σήμερον ἀπορρίπτουν.

Πάντως ἂν σήμερον ἐπεδιώκετο ἡ ἐπαναφορὰ τῆς ἀναλογικῆς, χωρὶς μίαν σχετικὴν καλλιέργειαν τοῦ ζητήματος παρὰ τοῖς ἡμερικανοῖς, θὰ συνεδέσμεν ἀκόμη στενωτέρον τὸν συναγερμόν μαζί τους.

ΤΟ ΣΤΕΦΗΝ ΜΑ

Ἀπασχολεῖ σοβαρῶς τοὺς ἡμερικανούς τὸ ζήτημα τῆς σχέσεως τοῦ συναγερμοῦ πρὸς τὸ Στέμμα. Βλὶς πρόσθετος λόγος διὰ τὸν ὅποτον φοβούνται τὸν συναγερμόν εἶναι ὁ τόνος ἀδυναμίας τὸν ὅποτον

[2-8] 4

ἐπιδεικνύει ὁ Συναγερμένος ἔναντι τοῦ Στέμματος. φοβοῦνται τῆς ἐκ τοῦ-
του περιπλοκῆς ἂν ποτέ ἤρχετο ὁ μόνος του εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν. οὐχ ἤττον
καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ σημείου τηροῦν μίαν στήθιν εὐμενοῦς οὐδετερότητος
πρὸς τὸν Συναγερμένον. ἢ ὁρῶσις τοῦ ναυάρχου Σακελλαρίου ἐπηρέσας δυ-
μενῶς τὴν κατάστασιν.

Τοὺς ἐδόθη ἡ ἐξηγήσις ὅτι τὸ Στέμμα δὲμ πρῆχται ποτὲ νὰ ἐξελε-
τῶν συνταγματικῶς διαγεγραμμένων πλαισίων καὶ ὅτι ^{δε} προέκυπτον ἀνωμαλί-
αι αὗται θὰ ὤφειλοντο εἰς τὸν Συναγερμένον, ὁ ὅποτος θὰ ἐπαδῶκε μὲ ὠρι-
σμένας ἐνέργειας νὰ καταστήσῃ κενὰς περιεχομένου τῆς συνταγματικῆς
βασίλειος ἀρμοδιότητος.

ΠΡΟΒΛΕΠΟΜΕΝΑΙ ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΜΕΡΙΚΑΝΩΝ.— Οἱ ἀμερικανοὶ δὲν φαί-
νεται ὅτι θὰ ὀφθεῖν τὴν κατάστασιν νὰ ἐξελιχθῇ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ὑπὸ τὴν
παρούσαν μορφήν. θὰ δοκίμουν ἐμμέσως πίεσιν διὰ νὰ ἐκτιτύχουν μίαν ~~κα-~~
ταβολήν.

Ἀμφιβολον εἶναι ἂν θὰ ἤρκοιντο εἰς μίαν μεταρρυθμίσιν κυβερνητι-
κὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος πλαισίου. οὐχ ἤττον ὅμως μία ἔγκαιρος μετα-
βολὴ πρὸ τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς τοῦ Πιουριφού θὰ ὤφελόσθαι ἔμ τελικῶς δὲν
ἐτόλμων οἱ ἀμερικανοὶ νὰ ἐπεμβοῦν ἐνεργῶς

καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἔχω τὴν ἀντίληψιν ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ σημείου αὐτοῦ εἶναι
πολύ εὐλασθητοί. Τους εἶπα: Αἱ ἐπεμβάσεις σας ἔλλοτε ἦσαν ἀνιδύνουι
Δεὶ ἐπηρέαζαν τῆς λαϊκῆς μάζας ἐναντίον σας. Σήμερον ὅμως ἂν ἀπο-
φασίζετε νὰ κάνετε μίαν ἐπεμβασιν εἴτε ὑπὲρ τοῦ Συναγερμένου, τότε θὰ
ἔλθετε εἰς ἀντίθεσιν μὲ τὸ ἡμῶν τῶν ἑλλήνων καὶ θὰ εὐσέψαι ἰσχυρά
ἐπιχειρήματα εἰς τοὺς ἀριστεροὺς. Σήμερα ἡ ἐπεμβασίς σας θὰ εἴχε
ἐντελῶς ἄλλην σημασίαν ἀπὸ ἔλλοτε. θὰ σπῇ ἐνέπλεκε εἰς τὸν διχασμὸν
καὶ θὰ ἐδυνάτιζε τὴν ἐθνικὴν ἐνότητα, ποὺ ἀποτελεῖ τὴν βῆσιν καὶ
τῆς πολεμικῆς ἀντοχῆς τοῦ ἔθνους." Παρετήρησα ὅτι αὐτοὶ αἱ ἀκόφεις
ἔσχον βαθεῖαν ἀπήχησιν καὶ νομίζω ὅτι πρέπει καὶ νὰ ἐπαναληφθοῦν
παρ' ἀρμοδιωτέρων. Δὲν ἀποκλείεται ὁ φόβος μήπως παρεξηγηθῇ ἡ ἐπέμ-
βασίς των νὰ τοὺς καταστήσῃ διστακτικοὺς εἰς πᾶσαν ἐνέργειαν, πέραν
ὁρισμένου ὅριου

"Ολους αὐτοὺς τοὺς φοβους καὶ τοὺς δισταγμοὺς ἔναντι τῆς κατα-
στάσεως καὶ ἔναντι τοῦ δισταγμοῦ τοὺς σημειῶνω διότι ἐπιβάλλεται
νὰ ἀποτελέσουν τὴν βῆσιν τῆς ἐπιχειρηματολογίας μας καὶ τῆς καλλιερ-
γείας τῆς γνώμης τῶν ἐδῶ τουλάχιστον ἀμερικανῶν. Εἰς τοὺς δισταγμοὺς
αὐτοὺς θέλω ἐν τέλει νὰ προσθέσω καὶ τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν τους εἰς τὴν
ἐκβασιν τῶν ἐκλογῶν μὲ τὸ πραιοψηφικόν ἢ μὲ τὴν ὑψημμένην ἀναλογικὴν

ἐκδίπνον θὰ ἦτο ἀπὸ κυβερνητικῆς πλευρῆς νὰ προυλάρῃ ἡ προβολι-
μένη ἐπιχειρηματολογία μίαν σαφεῖ καὶ ἀποκρυσταλλωμένην μορφήν.

R. 15

Υπόμνημα

Πρός ; ... Κάποιος που θα ^{πιάσει} σκηνή Ουάσιγκτων, ίσως της
Αμερικανικής Αποστολής.

Χωρίς ήμερομ. (πριν τις εκλογές που κέρδισε ο Συναγερμός
Σεπτ 1951, Ασφαλώς πριν τον Νοεμβριο
1952 (ημερομηνικό))

Δακτυλογρ. κειμ. $\sqrt{\text{είναι 61 σελίδες}}$
Χειρόγρ. " $\sqrt{\text{όχι 42 σελίδες - 13 σελίδες -}}$

Φόβος διχασμού. Δημιουργείται από τις εξτρεμιστικές
τάξεις των δύο στρατιών. Πραετρα-Μπαράου.

Προτείνει :

1. Να μην γίνουν ήμερες εκλογές με ημερομηνικό. Όρος
μοιράζεται σε δύο αρθροφωφωλ σχεδόν. Μία
δυνατά κυβερνητική αυταρχική θα ενεργεί την
οξύτητα. Διάφορες δυνατές λύσεις
2. Πώς η ένταξη της παρούσας κυβερνήσεως όσον να
πέρασε ή οικονομική κρίση
3. Συνεργασία ΕΠΕΚ + Συναγερμού
4. Κυβερνητική Φιλελευθέρων - Συναγερμού δεν θα
μπορέσει να $\sqrt{\text{δρα σκηνή οξύτητα, κακή λύση}}$
5. Η καλύτερη λύση συνεργασία σε κυβερνητική
Φιλελευθέρων, Συναγερμού, ΕΠΕΚ.

Εξυμνεί τι ανωτέρω

Verfahren

1. Nach ... können von 20 auch 30 Personen sein
2. ...

3. ...
4. ...
5. ...
6. ...
7. ...
8. ...
9. ...
10. ...

11. ...
12. ...
13. ...
14. ...
15. ...

16. ...
17. ...
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Ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν παρεμονὴν Σας εἰς οὐδαιγκτων ἐπόμενον εἶναι ἀνὰ θίξετε τὴν γενικὴν πολιτικὴν κατάστασιν τῆς χώρας, ἐπιθυμῶ νὰ ἔχετε ὑπ' ὄψιν Σας τὰς ἀπόψεις τοῦ κόμματος τῶν Φιλ. τῆς ὁποίας καὶ διατυπῶν κατωτέρω;

1. Ὁ βασικὸς σκοπὸς τῆς πολιτικῆς μας εἰς ὃν ὑποτάσσομεν ὅλους τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι ἡ καλλιτέρα ὁργάνωσις τῆς ἁμύνης τοῦ ἔθνους ἐναντίον τοῦ κομμουνισμοῦ.

2. Ἡ ἔμνη αὐτὴ ἐκτός τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν παραγόντων, τῆς συνεργασίας μετὰ τῶν χωρῶν τοῦ Ἀτλαντικοῦ Συμφώνου καὶ εἰδικῶς μετὰ τῶν Ἡνωμ. Πολιτειῶν, στηρίζεται εἰς τὴν ἐνότητα τοῦ ἔθνους. Οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐκτός τῆς κομμουνιστικῆς μειοψηφίας, ὀφείλουσιν εἰς οὐδὲν ποτε παρῶτα εἶναι καὶ ἂν ἀνέκουν, νὰ μὴ χωρίζονται εἰς τὰ θέματα τοῦ συνδέονται μὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα αὐτόν.

3. Διὰ νὰ κατορθωθῇ τοῦτο τρεῖς προϋποθέσεις εἶναι ἀπαραίτητοι.

6) νὰ μείνῃ ὁ στρατὸς ἐκτός τῆς πολιτικῆς. Τοῦτο οὐδὲν πάλιν σημαίνει Α) ὅτι δὲν θὰ διεπεται ἀπὸ ἑλλην ὁργάνων καὶ τῆς ἐπισήμου τῶν Στρατιωτικῶν Κανονισμῶν. Β) ὅτι δὲν θὰ χρησιμοποιοῦται ὁ στρατὸς ὡς μέσον πολιτικῶν ἐπιδιώξεων οὔτε παρὰ τῶν Κυβερνήσεων οὔτε παρ' ἑτέρων παραγόντων Γ) ὅτι θὰ εἶναι ἀφοριζόμενος εἰς τὸ ἀπρὸς ὅσον Κράτος καὶ ὄχι ἐς πρόσωπα τὰ ὅποια παρέρχονται.

α) νὰ μὴ προσλάβουν δεῦτε αὐτὰ πολιτικὰ διαμῆχαι καὶ νὰ μὴ διεγερθῇ ὁ φανατισμὸς ὁ ὅποτος ματαιώνει καθε συνεργασίαν.

γ) νὰ διατηρηθῇ ὁ ἀνεκφορὸς εἰς τὸν λαόν τὸ κῆρος τοῦ Στεμματός, τὸ ὅποτον συμβολίζει καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς στερεώνει τὴν ἐθνικὴν ἐνότητα.

Δὲν θέλω νὰ ἀναφέρω τὰς θυσίας εἰς ὅς ὑπεβλήθη τὸ Κόμμα τῶν Φιλελευθέρων χάριν τῆς ἐνότητος ταύτης καὶ πῶς συμβιβασόμενον συνειργήσθη ἐπὶ ἔτη μὲ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους του καὶ πῶς χάριν τῆς διελλκτικῆς τῆς του διεβλήθη ἀπὸ ἡνωμένων τῶ ἔθνους ὁ συμποριτοπολεμος καὶ ἐκυβερνήθη μέχρι σήμερον ὁ τόπος.

Θὰ ἄρκεσθαι νὰ σημειώσω πῶς σήμερα παρουσιάζονται τὰ πραγμα.

Σήμερα διαπιστώνομεν ὅτι ὁ δίχασμός ὁ ὅποτος ἐπὶ δεκαετηρίδας ἀνέκοπτε τὴν πορείαν τοῦ ἔθνους κινδυνεύει νὰ γίνῃ πάλιν μία πραγματικότης, τὸ κυρίαρχον ψυχολογικὸν φαινόμενον τοῦ τόπου μας. Μὲ τὴν ἐμρῶνισιν εἰς τὴν πολιτικὴν σκηνὴν τῶν δυο στρατηγῶν ἐδημιουργήθη μία ἐπικινδυνωδὲς ἀτάκη πόλεις.

ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ φιλελευθέροι στενῶς συνεργάζομεν

Παύλου
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ώδουν προς την δριστηκήν λήσιν του παλαιού διχασμού, ήδη τὰ δύο παρτα κόμματα ἐμειώθησαν σημαντικῶς καὶ ἐπεκράτησαν ἐξτρεμιστικά πολιτικά μερίδες. "Ένα πνεῦμα ἀδιαλλαξίας πνεεὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς πολιτικῆς μας ζωῆς .

Ἐκδηλώσεις τοῦτου εἶναι ὅτι εἰς τὸν τύπον γίνεται χρῆσις μέσω τὰ ὅποτα δὲν συμβιβάζονται μετὰ τὴν ἐθνικήν ἐνὸς τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος αἱ περιστάσεις οὔτε καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς μιᾶς ὁμαλῶς λειτουργήσεως κοινοβουλευτικῆς δημοκρατίας.

Οἰγωνρίζοντες τὴ δεινὰ ἐπεσώρευσε εἰς τὸ παρελθὸν τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦτου τοῦ διχασμοῦ εἰς τὸν τύπον, μεταξὺ τῶν αὐτῶν περίπου πολιτικῶν μερίδων, εὐλόγως ἀνησυχοῦν διὰ τὰς ἀνωτέρας ἐξελίξεις, ἂν δὲν εὐρεθῇ ἐγκαίρως τρόπος νὰ μὴ διαιρεθῇ ὁ τόπος εἰς δύο ἰσχυρὰς ἀλληλοσπαρσασομένας μερίδας.

Πρὸς δοδρθαίν τῆς καταστάσεως παρὰ τινῶν ἀντιμετωπίζεται ἡ λύσις τῶν ἀμεσῶν ἐκλογῶν μετὰ τὸ πλειοψηφικὸν σύστημα.

Κατὰ τῆς λύσεως ταύτης ἔχομεν τὰς ἑξῆς ἀντιρρήσεις:

α) Ἡ διεξαγωγή ἐκλογῶν κατὰ τὸ διδῶν τῶν τρέχοντος οἰκονομικοῦ ἔτους θὰ δημιουργήσῃ ἀνατροπὴν πᾶσης οἰκονομικῆς προβλέψεως καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον κοινωνικὴν ἀναταραχὴν.

β) Ἄν παρὰ ταῦτα διεξήγοντο ἐκλογαὶ μετὰ τὸ πλειοψηφικὸν θὰ προέκυπτον τὰ ἑξῆς ἀποτελέσματα:

1) Εἰς τὰς ἐκλογὰς αὐτὰς εἶναι βέβαιον ὅτι θὰ προσλάβῃ ἀποκρυσταλλωμένην μορφήν ὁ παλαιὸς διχασμὸς ὁ ὅποτος ἐπὶ δεκαετηρίδας ἐφθείρε τὸ ἔθνος.

2) Οἱ δύο κόσμοι εἰς οὓς τὸ ἔθνος θὰ διαιρεθῇ, ἀπὸ τοῦ 1933, μετὰ μικρὰς μετατοπίσεις δυνάμεων, διαθέτουν ἴσην περίπου δύναμιν φήμων. Οἱ ἡττημένοι σχεδὸν ἰσόπαλοι μετὰ τοὺς νικητὰς δὲν ἀποδέχονται εἰκόλως τὴν ἡτταν των καὶ ἀναπτύσσουν ὡς ἐκ τοῦτου ἰσχυρὰς ἀντιρρῶσεις κατὰ τοῦ κυβερνητικοῦ ἔργου.

3) Ἐκ τῆς διαιρέσεως αὐτῆς ὠφελήματα θὰ ἀποκομίσῃ τελικῶς ὁ κομμουνισμὸς.

Ἐάν εἰδικώτερον ἐκ τῶν δύο παρατάξεων ἐπιτύχῃ ἡ δεξιὰ, τότε ἔτι μᾶλλον θὰ ἐνισχυθῇ ὁ κομμουνισμὸς, ὁ ὅποτος θὰ ἐμφανισθῇ εὐκρινὴς εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας του, καὶ τὰς συγκοφαντίας του.

Ἐναντίον τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων αὐτῶν ἀντιτίθεται ἡ ἀνάγκη μιᾶς ἰσχυρῆς Κυβερνήσεως ἣν ἐξασφαλίζει ἡ ὁμοιογένεια.

Οὐδείς ἀρνείται τὰ πλεονεκτήματα τῆς ὁμοιογενούς κυβερνήσεως. Ἄλλὰ α) καμία ὁμοιογενής κυβέρνησις δέν εἶναι ὅσον νόμιζον τινές ἰσχυρά, ἃν δέν στηρίζεται εἰς ἰσχυράν πλειοψηφίαν ὅχι μόνο βουλευτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥημάτων.

β) Δέν εἶναι ἐπίσης ἰσχυρά μία κυβέρνησις ὅταν δέν ἐνσαρκώνει τὴν ἐνότητα τοῦ ἔθνους εἰς τὰς βασικὰς ἐπιδιώξεις τοῦ. Ἄλλὰ μία κυβέρνησις ποῦ θά προέκυπτε ἀπὸ τὴν ἀνανῶσιν τοῦ ἔθνικου διχασμοῦ καὶ ἡ ὁποία θά εἶχε ὡς ἐκ τοῦτου ἀδιάλλακτον χαρακτήρα δέν εἶναι δυνατόν νά ἔχῃ τὴν καθολικὴν αὐτὴν ἀναγνώρισιν ποῦ τὴν καθιστᾷ ἰσχυράν. Αἱ ἐξτρεμιστικαὶ καταστάσεις, ὅπως ἐδῶ διαμορφώνονται εἶναι ἰσχυραὶ μόνο ὅταν συτηρίζονται εἰς τὴν βίαν, ἀκριβῶς διότι δέν δύναται μέσα εἰς τὸν διχασμὸν ποῦ ἐδημιούργησαν νά ἀποκτήσουν καθολικὸν κύρος.

γ) Ἰσχυρά Κυβέρνησις δέν δύναται νά εἶναι ἐκεῖνη ἡ ὁποία ἀνατρεπομένη θά συμπαρασθῇ εἰς τὴν πτῶσιν τῆς τῷ ἔργῳ τῆς, ἀκριβῶς διότι ἔχει ἐξτρεμιστικὸν χαρακτήρα καὶ δημιουργεῖ ἀγεφύρωτα χάσματα.

Εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο θά ἦτο σφάλμα νά ἐφηρμοσθῶν ἐν Ἑλλᾷ κριτήρια ποῦ ἰσχύουν εἰς τὰς ἀγγλοσαξωνικὰς χώρας.

Ἐάν ἡ ἰσχυρά αὕτη Κυβέρνησις εἶναι ἡ τοῦ Συναγερμοῦ, τότε ἐπιπροσθέτως θά δημιουργηθῶν ἀμεσώτεροι ἐπιπλοκαὶ τόσοι εἰς τὸ Στρέψενμα ὅσον καὶ εἰς τὰ Ἀνάκτορα.

Ἐν πάντων τῶν ἀνωτέρω ἔπεται ὅτι ἂν γίνων ἐκλογαὶ δέν θά πρέπει νά γίνων μὲ ἐκλογιὰν σύστημα τὸ ὁποῖον μόνον ὅταν ὁρῶν κόμματα μετριοπαθῇ καὶ πνεύμα διελλακτικότητος, ὅπως εἰς τὰς ἀγγλοσαξωνικὰς χώρας παρουσιάζει περισσότερα πλεονεκτήματα ἀπὸ μειονεκτήματα. Τοῦτο ἄλλωστε θά ἴσχυε καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἂν δέν εἴχομεν δυστυχῶς εἰσέλθει εἰς μίαν περίοδον φανατισμοῦ καὶ ἐξτρεστικῶν τάσεων.

Μὴ γενομένη ἐκλογῶν τρεῖς λύσεις εἶναι δυνατόι:

Α) Ἡ ἐνίσχυσις τῆς παρούσης κυβερνήσεως μέχρι οὗ παρέλθῃ ἡ ὁρὴ τῆς οἰκονομικῆς κρίσεως καὶ μέχρι οὗ εὑρεθῇ μία ὠριμὴ μελετημένη λύσις, τῆς κυβερνήσεως ἀναλαμβάνουσης τὴν ρητὴν ὑποχρὸν ἐντὸς ὠρισμένου διαστήματος νά ἐκπληρῶσῃ τὰς παρ' αὐτῆς ἀναληφθεῖσας ἐναντι τῆς Ἀμερικανικῆς Ἀποστολῆς ὑποχρεώσεις.

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3. Hic in natepudat hōle hīs
 aporvōdīn em' avapitulos
 e/da' pū' aporvātore ofitula ai' ap.
 hūn' dēpīpē nā' ~~avapitulos~~
 vō' pū' dēpīpē o' gānāhīgā
 o' avōis gānānōr o' Eya' nād
 avapīar
 e/ v' pūn' o' ofitū' mēlō hīs
 avapīnīg. Fōlō d' avapīn. Aīō' o'
 ofitū' d' dā q' ē' apū' avapīnōn
 apē hīs avapīn. gānān' avapīn
 hū' avapīn hū' ofitū' pū' dā.
~~hū' avapīn hū' ē' hū' avapīn~~
~~hū' avapīn hū' avapīn hū' avapīn~~
 d' hū' dā hū' avapīnōn.
 ofitū' v' pū' avapīnōn avapīn
 vō' avapīn hū' avapīnōn vō'
 pū' avapīnōn hū'
 hū' dā hū' avapīnōn v' hū'
 ofitū' vō' hū' pū' avapīnōn. d'
 nā' ē' ē' avapīnōn hū' avapīnōn
 hū' avapīnōn avapīnōn v' hū'
 pū' hū' hū' hū' hū'

la corria orelheira y en coypos
~~superiores~~ inferiores hui edum
 colada

Per deo va ariyico ariyico la hays
 hu p. paper hy colada ariyico
 dorig na ariyico ariyico ariyico
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De ariyico ariyico ariyico ariyico
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A jous kotepman K. - 28. - A brach
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1000 *Spizopora rubra*: *Am. Jour.*
Bot. 1881, p. 101, or *Spizopora*
rubra ^{in *Spizopora*} *Am. Jour.* 1881, p. 101.
Spizopora *rubra* *Am. Jour.* 1881, p. 101.
Spizopora *rubra*: *Am. Jour.* 1881, p. 101.

Ora se realizează în înălțare
fapt și în viața ei ^{și} ~~se~~
~~realizăm circumstanțe de~~
~~la care ea este~~ ^{fie} ~~este~~ ^{exce-} ~~este~~ ^{pu-}
~~am să~~ ~~am~~ ~~conștientă~~ ~~eprobun~~
de apăsător și în această
lucru.

In his poor book, namely
 it is for the purpose of
 of course
 1/2 of the book is
 1/2 of the book is
 1/2 of the book is
 1/2 of the book is

(15-16)

si bi obkružiti, ~~ko~~ ~~može~~
gledati s / da vidiš i kotreva, ~~pa~~
i gotovo bi se dogovorili da se
odgovor na jedy njezine odgovore
izdrži polovinu pogoja

4) De' earyge i' G's sedne the
valyggeir o' g'clan o' Suth
Kerrin Kerynne

f) De vordere o' p'gelyke m'nd
he te die nae her apertum
te dragen, o' d'agis, de vordere.
. ^{vandien} ~~Lage~~ nae de o'fste vordere
o' de chrystendoms j'e p'st unvond
o'p'w'atapay w' e' p'y'vok,
cuyas.

The good place for
 comparison, may be the
 person is the best
 of the world

f/ Por evolutiva de pueros los
 y el por el pueros por es la
 rap'jos de pueros de pueros
 de pueros de pueros de pueros
 de pueros de pueros de pueros
 de pueros de pueros de pueros
 de pueros de pueros de pueros

Χαρίς ημερ. (μετά το 1948 -) 1949-50

(Απλ. μεταφρ.)

Κείμενο: Ελληνικό και Αφρικό - ()

Προς American Aid Mission.

{ Οι παρατηρήσεις των Ελλήνων πρὸς
την ερώτηση έχουν φέρει
ὅτι καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐφάρμοξε.
ὅτι καὶ οὐδεὶς φράδα χολέρα φανερὰ
ὅτι καὶ οὐδεὶς σιτιστικὰ τοῖα
καὶ οὐ καὶ κρατικό ἀγία καὶ οὐ
πνευματικό γὰρ καὶ μπορέσαν
να ἐπιτυχόν καὶ οὐ δύο πρῶτοι.

Μερίκαί δέχεται Σία μίαν παραμελημένην
Μερίαν τῆς Αφρικανικῆς Βαίνης (χρῆμα)

1948. Ο ΚΤ προβάλλει ὡς πρόεδρος (ΕΘΝΙΚῆς Εταιρείας Ἑλλήνων
Λογοτεχνῶν) χρονικά = Ἑλληνικὴ Εταιρεία Λογοτεχνῶν

(National Committee of Authors + Writers of Greece

(National Committee of
Greek Authors)

Mepnai nūfēs dīx pīn
 oapuyuyūm oapui b
 ācpmānūg bōydrīg.

I

1. W' Eys ~~4-0000~~ apō 120
 eliv (pūyde) iōi lō niōls b
 pūā bapōlēh dōy cīg 300
 " eliv. ~~ēlo~~ Eys ^{lō} lō enalōyūpūn
 ualōi uōr uā lō cōyos
 b, pūpōlēpōi lōi uīvīs
 lōi oūy pūnōd, ēwēlycēlō
~~uōr~~ uōpūw iōi gōvōs ^{ēulōn} ~~uōy pūpō~~
 'Capōuālo dēp. pūpōs, ācōu
 lōi ^{ēlēs pūpōdē} ~~uōy pūpō~~ hūōlē uōy iōls
^{ōūlē ēpūmāyādā, ōūlē āpūy uōy ēlōdūōlē.}
 'Lūlō 120 elōw 4 Eys uōy pūpō

²
~~water~~

doganadz uat' cular, ^{condu}
foxipov depoz' is is ^{depoz}
uat' is ^{Mauroda} uat' is ^{Oping}
toimbur ~~par~~ cu ^{to} ^{judic}
fian ^{exclum} ~~edictum~~ ^{incorporat} ^{incorporat}
uat' ^{exclum} ^{incorporat} ^{incorporat}
uat' ^{exclum} ^{incorporat} ^{incorporat}
tois ^{ly} ^{is} ^{ly} ^{diopuluis}
coraliya uat' ^{ly} ^{ly} ^{diopuluis}
u ^{agupidz} ^{ly} ^{ly} ^{diopuluis}
exor ^{ly} ^{ly} ^{ly} ^{diopuluis}
toimbur ^{ly} ^{ly} ^{ly} ^{diopuluis}
Oga ^{abli} ^{ly} ^{ly} ^{diopuluis}
dogpaz' ^{ly} ^{ly} ^{ly} ^{diopuluis}
vonnig' ^{ord} ^{ly} ^{ly} ^{diopuluis}
supifaz' ^{ovik} ^{ly} ^{ly} ^{diopuluis}

3
 iio uadobis jumis iorobobis
 ros uoip to dno in 70
 ch.

2. De 1922, uadobis lig uille
 by Ejaas is Mupar bier, uale
 qgor, jupis uain orobobis
 obobis, orp. loir 1.800.000
 "jums by Mupar bier uale
 belobis obobis. D'epid's
 idobis iorobobis by 2
 to toh qudobis by Ejaas.
 Dapa bier obobis by jumis
 jis, i Ejaas ualeobobis in iorob.
 papias idobis toir orobobis
 qudobis uale in orobobis

5
 Parloppōns oī natantulāi, ēpōi
 ēpōpōwar lo upilo, ēpōwar
 vā' lo dēpōwar ~~war~~ ē pīpō
 nōwōpōs, 'v pīpō ~~war~~ pī ēpōpō
 pīpō ēpōpōg. O vāpōpō ēpōpō
 pīpō ētōr natantulāi ē lo
 pūpōr.

4. Dap'ōm hīr dōpōpōr
 o pōr vōpōpō natā tōr ēpōpō.
 Lōpōpōr tōr ēpōpō ēpō hīr
 ēpōpō ~~ēpōpō~~ ^{vōpōpō} ēpōpōr ēpōpōr
 pō. Dōpō oī ~~ēpōpō~~ ^{vōpōpō} ēpōpōr ēpōpōr
 dōpōr, ēpōpōr ēpōpōpōr vōpō
 oīpōr ēpōpōpōr lo ēpōpōr
 kōpōpō natā natāpōr ēpōpōpō

[illegible]

va jru 4' iguolipa drapua
apjauos er li jupa. Voo lo
apobrye als euayn avhola
~~avhola~~ avhola hin uoli-
uham hi jfovig. Aolo lo
avhola ^{uham jpa uai} ~~avhola~~ to j.
jau, 4' avhola jio di 1944
^{avhola} ~~avhola~~ uoli to uoyu
notor. As jappos jru di lo
avhola uai jfingondor
in euayn to uoyu olo.
^{his liu jupa} Avhola lo jru, to avhola
uoli jru his liu jupa boria
avhola. Di avhola, di hin jru
~~avhola~~

ὁψιν δὲ ἀνέλας βέλτε
 τὴν μελέαν ὁ Τροπὸς καὶ
 ὁ εἰς ὁψιν ἑλθὼν, ὁ ἑξ
 δὲ ^{εἰς τὴν} ~~εἰς~~ ἐνὶ τῇ ὁψι τὴν
 ἀνὰ ἀνὰ τὴν ἐλθόντα.

6. Ἐνὶ τῇ ὁψι τὴν ἐλθόντα
 ἀνὰ ἀνὰ τὴν ἐλθόντα.

Ἐν τῇ ὁψι τὴν ἐλθόντα
 ἀνὰ ἀνὰ τὴν ἐλθόντα.

ὁ ὁψιν μελέαν γὰρ
 ὁ ἀνὰ τὴν ἐλθόντα.

ἀνὰ τὴν ἐλθόντα
 ἐν τῇ ὁψι τὴν ἐλθόντα.

Ἐν τῇ ὁψι τὴν ἐλθόντα
 ἀνὰ τὴν ἐλθόντα.

10

Apucmanus Boudica. "Hiz appi
 fu li cōpōr li in cōdōdō opōr
 ē li opalutūm lōpōr
 uai dōlōpōr ē li lōpōr li
 cōmōpōr. Cōdōdōdō
 opōr cōpōrōr li li lōpōr
 hūm in dōpōrōr. Cōpōr
 ē li cōpōrōr dō li
 cōpōrōr li. Euri ē li cōpōr
 dō cōpōr li apucmanus Boudica
 uai dōlōpōr cōpōr lōpōr li
^{lōpōr}
~~lōpōr~~ hūm opalutūm in
 fōpōrōr li pōpōr.

1. Hoo hoo anapayindian opoi-
dopian em enigo in igyad
tali in Eys dippler na
pian ~~indian~~ ^{pygmy} na onyathu
upian. Pili enlis em y'uo
in onyathu na igyad 'ead' ¹⁹⁴⁰
xoo to 1940-1948 na ay'iliop
in pygmy 'ead' na hoo ^{indian}
da hoo 'eolud' ¹⁹⁴⁰ upo
onjand 'exon' ¹⁹⁴⁰ o na
yongos. Onyathu in
pian, upathu in appon, in
na onyathu
(appon em in hoo in
to Eys. H' Onyathu

[illegible]

Da eige hier y gawelipar aarbor.

Da 'tar eger dyu i 'koreloj's
 'koreporeim of 'Egida in 'yghar
 'in 'egor 'morgor ^{holpewi} 'binder by,
 'bale op'ore in 'gortler, na
 'i 'mure aor da 'clupig, ga
 by li 'egor, hier aarbor.

3. Vi aarbor 'prip'ete i 'Egi,
 'H 'Egi 'Eger 'p'et 'p'et 'p'et 'p'et
 'oror 'cluni aarbor. 'Egi
 'her 'p'uror ^{egor} 'p'et ^{badra} by na 'p'et
 'p'et 'p'et 'p'et, 'Egi 'p'et
 'p'et, 'Egi 'p'et 'p'et 'p'et
 'p'et 'p'et 'p'et 'p'et
 'Egi 'p'et 'p'et 'p'et

[illegible]

17

'Aya' eurus li' viron' qro ^{adlin}
'Aya' ppiacela i' Eys, eura i'
'appavos' li' vaurig' lus. E'
'apropius' pulupata da puyat
vo' afu i' 'epurus' puyopia,
i' 'epur. vapidor' uai' de cor
hys' ayappa i' i'ay' pelayilur
exeruar. piddor. 'Aya' es
'aya' pulupata ppiacela i'
eura i' vior ^{vaidyppun} 'vaylingur' uai'
vior piddor.

'Kantipos' i' puyppur' uai'
i' 'cayppalun' puyur' eura
vior vialer' i' li' 'Eya' 'Eyo'
da 'eapur' i' 'epur' i' 'epur'

18
 gela' ef' app

Hoo g'ur e'olun hui' a'va.
 olufu' h'g' a'andig' e'is' lo'is
 a'omijon' lo'p'is' a'p'od'ou'p'is'
 lo'v'ou' lo'p' a'p'ant'up'is' u'a'
 di'p'ou'p'is' u'a' a'p'it'ou'p'
 i'd'ou', lo' e'ac'ou' e'ig'ou'p'is'
 lo'p' h'is' i'ub'et'ou' u'p'at'is'
 i'p'ap'ou'p'is'.

A' h'is' di' is' e'ol'ou'p'is' g'ou'
 e'ol'ou' o' a'v'ou' h'g' a'andig'
 p'ri'ap'is' i' e'ig'ou'p'is'
 e'p'ou'p'is' h'g' i' a'p'ou'p'is'
 e'is' h'is' a'ig'ou'p'is' h'g' p'ou'p'is' i'
 h'p'ou'p'is' h'g' h'ou'p'is' h'g'.

4. O *ἐμπνευστός* ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος
 αὐτὸν ὁ *ἐκκλῆσις* τῆς ἐκκλησίας
 ἐκ τῆς *ἐκκλῆσις*. ἡμεῖς οἱ
 ἄνθρωποι ἀνθρώπων, ὁ ἄνθρωπος
 ἡμεῖς, ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπων
 τοῦ κόσμου. ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλῆσι
 ὅρα τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἡμεῖς οἱ
 ἄνθρωποι. ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄνθρωποι
 ἐν τῇ ἐκκλῆσι οἱ ἄνθρωποι
 ΑΜΑΓ. - ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ
 ἀνθρώπος, ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπων
 ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἡμεῖς οἱ
 ἄνθρωποι ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄνθρωποι
 ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἄνθρωπος
 ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἄνθρωπος

[illegible]

21

h3 sinovavunz boudig, 3 li' oovari
 jupifor 3li' eoloi' oolipov, ein
 or' apupuanis ein qitol. Doh
 p3 33 lo3 p3p3or eoloi' uing
 h3 boudig, ovi ein apupuanis
 h3or anozelunz' idap3 i'jun,
 ooh or' ^{oyn} i'jun d3 i' darduan h3
 an3un va p3lunor h3 i' d3h3
~~h3~~ lo3 loquior h3 boudig
 h3 HMA, ooh or' i' apupuanis
 Va i' d3p3or lo3 u3 li' i'jun
 apupuanis, u3lior33ar lo3
 lo3 d3p3ior. Li' i'jun op3
 i'jun, einun or' jupifor
 badih3or li' apupuanis, eoloi'

coordonatorii peșterii au rămas și
 având lor logică. Ei de pui
 călăi peșterii cuprind de
 în cuprind având și coordonatorii,
 călăi peșterii și eișii (nece),
~~un~~ ^{coale} ~~de~~ în lor având având o
^{la AMAG} logică, cuprind pe la cuprind
 lor de Harvard. Backus, la Educational

Coordonatorii, o coordonatorii cuprind, și o
 în "câteva" lor, la coordonatorii
 coordonatorii. Cuprind, la coordonatorii
 "cuprind" și lor logică având,
 "cuprind" și, coordonatorii, coordonatorii
 cuprind și în eișii cuprind,
 și în eișii, o coordonatorii

Η εὐνοία σου ἔστω, καὶ ἀνελυμένη
 ἔστω ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ, γὰρ
 ἐς τὸ γὰρ τὴν ἀνδρίαν. καὶ
 ἰὼν ναιὶν γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ἀπο-
 γὰρ ἔστω ἀπογοητευμένη
 ὁ ^{καὶ} ἐκ τῶν ^{ἀπογοητευμένων} ἔστω καὶ τὴν
 ἔστω : καὶ ναιὶν τὴν ναιὶν
 ἔστω καὶ τὴν ἀνδρίαν καὶ
 τὴν γυναικαὶ -

Costas Tsatsos.

Ex-Professor, University of Athens

Ex-Minister.

Member of Parliament

President of the National Committee of
 Authors and Writers of Greece.

1. One hundred and twenty years ago Greece emerged from the darkness of a period of onerous slavery which has lasted for three hundred years. The country's population then numbered one million, and its area which was smaller than half the present Greek territory consisted chiefly of arid regions. It was a country in which neither material wealth nor any organization of any kind had been saved. But within 120 years time Greece has more than doubled its area and has acquired fertile agricultural regions such as the plains of Thessaly, Macedonia and Thrace.

Furthermore, Greece gradually built, almost out of nothing, a comparatively balanced economy and organized herself into an orderly and democratic nation. Greece's achievements in the field of Science and Art have nothing to fear from a comparison with those of other small nations of Western Europe. All this was accomplished by Greece under adverse conditions both international and economic and after the country had waged five wars and had been in a State of general mobilization for over 10 years.

2. In 1922, following the defeat of Greece in Asia Minor, 1,800,000 Greeks from that area and Eastern Thrace, completely deprived of any means of existence took refuge in the mother country. This number of refugees represents two fifths of the total Greek population at that time. In spite of its poverty of her soil, Greece managed to absorb these indigent populations and to continue from 1922 until 1940 her economic and cultural progress.

3. In 1941, after having defeated the Italian Army for 6 consecutive months, Greece was defeated by the German troops which invaded the country through Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The period of enemy occupation began in May 1941. During the period of famine which set in in November 1941, approximately 8 percent of the country's entire population died either from hunger or from diseases resulting from lack of food. Simultaneously the invaders, after having completely disarmed Greece, started to disorganize and dislocate the country partly intentionally and partly as a result of their mistakes. Within three year's time the value of the national currency had been reduced to nought.

4. Despite the misery into which it had been thrown, the Greek people put up its determined resistance to the enemy. The number of Greek quislings does not exceed a few hundred. All the others, by armed or passive resistance rendered the task of the occupation authorities as difficult as possible and pinned down a considerable number of enemy troops.-

- 2 -

5. Following Germany's attack on Russia the Communist party of Greece, assisted by careles British, acquired strength, was reorganized and participated actively in the Greek Resistance mouvement camouflaged under democratic and vague titles such as EAM (Greek Liberation Front) and ELAS (Popular Greek Liberation Army). As soon as it became strong enough, however is began a cruel war against all non-communist resistance organizations and "drowned them in blood". Finally it succeeded in becoming the strongest militant organization in the country and, under the pretext of resistance to the enemy, secretly prepared to seize power by force. The majority of the Greek people which was rather late in realizing the real aims of the communist party began resisting to the communists in 1944. The British, however, had not yet understood the situation and continued to reinforce them. This lead to a chaotic situation which resulted in the Revolution of December 1944. Through this revolution, Greece would have become a State within the iron curtain since 1944 if W. Churchill and general Scooby had not understood the real situation at the very last moment.

6. Since then, Greece has been only founally at peace. In reality she is engaged in a war against the communist forces without a single day of respits. For the time being the soldiers fighting this war are mainly Greeks. However, the Bandit mouvement organization, equipment medical care and training camps are not only Greek but primarily Bulgarian Yugoslavia, and Albanian. It is obvious that these countries act for the account of the Komniform and Moscow.

7. Economic and psychological dislocation of the Greek people and disruption of the country's administration are the results of this harsh struggle. The work of the American Aid Mission is aimed at checking disruption effort. Already, the results of this work are apparent in the military and to a resser extent in the economic sectors. Important plans are being prepared for a thorough reorganization of the country's administration system. However, there has not been sufficient time for the application of these plans.

The cultural and moral regeneration of the country is the only field in which the task of the American Aid Mission has failed to be developped.-

- 3 -

II

1. On the basis of the foregoing historical outline it is easy to understand why Greece is now undergoing a moral and psychological crisis. The cause of this crisis and the moral and material distraction of 1940-1948 and the moral undermining caused by the cunning communist propaganda. Therefore, Economic, Administrative and moral recovery are the three major needs of Greece. Besides the material assistance now being granted, Economic recovery also requires an efficient administrative organization which will supervise the country's economy. Government reorganization, however, also requires moral and educated men and efficient civil servants. pic 4/10/50
✓

Needless to say that the most efficient weapon against communism is not armed forces, however indispensable these may now be, but the existence of widespread education. Armed forces will suppress the communists but the roots of communism go deeper. Thus, the three main needs of the Greek people are eventually resolved with a single and foremost need; moral, political and intellectual education.

2. The American Aid Mission has not attached the importance which ought to be attached to this primary and most important cause of evil. Nevertheless, if this were done, results could have been obtained in this sector with comparatively less money than is being allocated to other sectors. If the American Aid Mission wishes to leave behind a permanent and solid work it must also pay due attention to education which will maintain and conserve it.

3. What is the kind of education that Greece requires? Greece is a country with great cultural tradition and has an old and deep religious feeling, a flourishing literature and many distinguished men of learned professions and sciences. The country needs assistance in the field of applied sciences and especially in the technical field. The lack of the necessary research and laboratory equipment frustrates the abilities of Greek scientists.

In such fields as Greece does not lag behind, what the country needs and desires is to communicate with the American people. Greece wishes to establish contact between Greek and American religious organizations and a regular exchange of views on literary subjects. Particularly Greece is eager to become acquainted with American literature through translations of the works of the American writers and to give samples of Greek literature. In the scientific field translations, personal contacts and scholarships are required in order that the Greeks may get acquainted with American achievements.

...../

- 4 -

In the fields in which Greece has achieved less progress, in addition to personal contacts and an increased numbers of scholarships, the country requires more laboratory equipment for clinics museums. Higher specialized studies of Greek scientists in the U.S.A would also be necessary. But above all are what Greece requires is a thorough reorganization of her educational system. In this connection, the peculiar character of the Greek and his traditions should be taken into consideration in some cases since the application of undapted American methods and new ideas is essential. The sector of the Greek education which is particularly undevelopped is agricultural and generally professional training. Here work will have to start from the outset. The result which may be expected from this proposed reorganization of the various branches of Greek education are a strengthening of the character of young Greeks and a gradual development of really democratic political standards which have been impaired during the 8 years of the nation's dislocation. However, in order that Education may achieve the above purposes it will have to be thoroughly and rationally reorganized and successfully adapted to the country's requirements. Finally, the improvement of educational administration will also be necessary. The Greek people after complains against one or another action of the American Aid Mission. The Greeks are the most argumentative, speculative and critical people in the world. Through this people may not observe all virtues it never fails to observe all the mistakes. And the people of the American Aid Mission are naturally not faultless. Owing to his being a staunch democrat, the Greek fully and energetically expresses his criticism. This, however should not surprise democrats like the Americans.

But all who are better acquainted with the Greeks do not fail to realize that behind all this criticism there lies the desire of the Greeks to become more intimately and permanently connected with America. The Greeks do not want American money alone. On the contrary, they look forward earnestly to the time when they will not need further financial assistance. The Greeks desire to obtain American technical and organizational aid because they fully realize their shortcomings in this field. In other words, they ask for something which they will continue to solicit even when the need for Economic assistance ceases to exist, i.e. they request assistance in a field in which they know that they are backward while the Americans are byfar the most advanced. Unfortunately neither the majority of the Greeks not the Americans have felt the need of asking for the greater development of ANAG's cultural program which is more of a moral than a material nature. Urgent and immediate requirements in other fields have obscured this fundamental factor. But those few Greeks who have a deeper knowledge of things attach the greatest possible

...../

- 5 -

importance to this sector and this is the very purpose for which these lines have been written: to express this desire or rather this educational need so that AMAG's activities in this direction may be intensified in accordance with the views of Dr. Howard Backus, the mission's educational coordinator, who has grasped this problem in its entirety. Such men are needed for this task, namely men who are not dogmatic but who become adapted to Greek traditions and Greek life and who should be the ones to be assigned with the task of drawing up a long term educational program. This program need not be completed within the short time limits of AMAG's presence in Greece. It will be sufficient if the foundations are laid for completion in later years by means of close Greek - American cooperation.-

Greece is bound in one way or another, to remain for several years on the border-line. There cannot be a nobler task than that of maintaining this borderline country strong thanks to the power of education. And possibly no other country except Greece offers more fertile ground for such a task of civilization; the task of deflating the common enemy by means of education and knowledge.-

Costas Tsatsos

Ex - Professor, University of Athens

Ex - Minister

Member of Parliament

President of the National Committee
of Greek Authors.

"Confluence" (περίδικό)

De. 195-2

Άρθρο του Κ.Τ. βέ αϊτήμα του Η.Η. Kissinger
για ανταλλαγή απόψεων πάνω σε
σύγχρονα προβλήματα Πολιτικής
Φιλοσοφίας Τέχνης. —

Ἐπειδή ὁ κομμουνισμός σὺν ἑράδῃ
συνιέρεται βέ δημοκρατικό ἔπιχειρήματι
ἐνῶ ἔχει ἀπολυτικό σκοπό τὴν
Δημοκρατίαν σὺν ἑράδῃ ἀντιμεταπίπτει
δυσκολίες. Εἴη. . .

Πολλὰ αὐτίματα με πολλὰ διορθώσεις.
υπόδρα δὲ αὐτῶν - γὰρ κράτος

[9.2]

P-14
[10]

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CONFLUENCE
AN INTERNATIONAL FORUM

10 WELD HALL
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

HENRY A. KISSINGER, *Editor*
MARIE L. CARNEY, *Administrative Assistant*

March 1, 1952

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
HARVARD SUMMER SCHOOL
OF ARTS AND SCIENCES AND OF EDUCATION

WILLIAM Y. ELLIOTT, *Director*

Mr. Constatine Tsatsos
9 Kithathinaion
Athens, GREECE

Dear Mr. Tsatsos:

We are sending you this review at the suggestion of the United States Cultural Attaché in your country. It is a quarterly designed to give Europeans and Americans who do not yet qualify as "elder statesmen" an opportunity to exchange views on contemporary problems in politics, philosophy and art. Each issue will be in the form of a symposium on a subject of mutual interest. We have a modest underwriting which permits us to distribute the review free of charge, at least initially.

Our effort is frankly experimental. It grew out of the 1951 session of the Harvard International Seminar which brought together twenty young Europeans for a discussion of contemporary problems. Everybody connected with the seminar felt constrained by the limited time afforded for discussion in a period of only two months. Our desire to continue exploring the many searching issues raised during the summer furnished the impetus for this review.

This quarterly is thus conceived as part of more far-reaching plans. It is our intention to bring to Harvard each summer, friends from abroad. Some of the contributors to our periodical will undoubtedly be among those who come to visit us. The success of our 1951 session has encouraged us to expand our efforts. Our 1952 session will be composed of twenty young leaders of European culture and an equal number from Asia.

We can, however, do no more than provide a vehicle for discussion. Its content, its quality and its ultimate meaning will depend on the interest of our readers. We can only judge the need by the response this effort evokes. Our review, to be successful, must become a cooperative enterprise.

We should therefore welcome any suggestions you care to make: We should like to know your reaction to the basic approach of this review, your suggestions regarding possible topics for discussion, and your recommendations of possible contributors. If you desire to write for us, we should be glad to receive a brief biographical statement to enable us to gauge your field of interest in the assignment of topics. If you know any individual who might wish to receive this review, please have him contact us.

Since our first few issues are limited to 5,000 copies, we would be grateful if you made your copy available to anybody else who might be interested in it.

Sincerely yours,

Henry A. Kissinger
Henry A. Kissinger
Editor

Αει Ήγει Καραϊσάκης
[11]

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WILLIAM Y. ELLIOTT, *Director*

September 29, 1952

Mr. Constantine Tsatsos
9 Kydathineon St.
Athens
GREECE

Dear Mr. Tsatsos:

I am certainly very grateful for your interesting letter of August 29th which was awaiting me upon my return to the office. I would very much appreciate having your permission to print all or part of your letter in some future issue of CONFLUENCE. I agree with many of your sentiments and wish that time permitted me to enter into the discussion by letter. At any rate, I hope that we may stay in touch and that you will give me your reaction to CONFLUENCE articles whenever you care to write.

I also appreciated your giving me the names of Professors Canellopoulos and Cassimatis as persons interested in our effort. I hope to write to them within the very near future.

Sincerely yours,

Henry A. Kissinger
Henry A. Kissinger

HAK:ndj

*Thank you so much for
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my letter in Confl. Sincerely yours

Dear Mr Kissinger,

X I thank You for Your kindness in sending "Confluence"
~~to me~~ ^{me}. I strongly appreciate the aims of your endeavour
 and the means you have adopted.

Many of the articles in "Confluence" are close to
 the bone of the most critical problems of our time and it
 is most instructive to follow how they are being faced
 by people of different nationality. To this company of Eu-
 ropeans who have already joined this Symposium held by
 "Confluence" I would like to add the voice of Greece,
 X a (distant) nation at the very edge of the free world and
 likewise deeply affected by all the problems you are at-
 tempting to solve.

We are a nation steeped, in many respects, in democra-
 tic ideals. ^{our experience leads us to believe that} But for this very reason we think that the
 classical democratic methods, instead of strengthening,
 today often endanger ^{today} our democracy. There is, not in the theory,
 but in the practice of democracy ^{contemporary} of today an antinomy
 which gives rise to imminent dangers for nations so expos-
 ed as we are to communist aggression. we must therefore
 seek a remedy. The ^{discussion} ~~problem~~ ^{problem} you raised in your second num-
 ber is an attempt in this direction.

Can contemporary problems political be solved by the
 democratic methods used in continental Europe? What is
 the ^{nature} ~~shape~~ of that problem as seen from a country such as
 Greece? ^{this question}

Greece has ^{had} the unwelcome privilege of an intense
 political life, since the second world war ended; its experi-
 enze is wide and may be of some use to all other coun-
 tries of the West.

In April 1941 Greece was occupied by the Germans,
 Italians, Bulgarians and Albanians. Resistance within
 the country was inspired, not only by national ideals, but
 also by instinctive reaction against the totalitarian
 systems. It was a common at the time belief that, although
 his behaviour during the war was beyond reproach, King

George, for the sole reason that he had favoured the regime of General Jön Metaxas - a mild totalitarian regime, would never return and that the republic abolished in 1935 would definitely be restored.

For December 1944

The communists took advantage of this strong republican trend and under cover of democratic ideals, organized their armed forces. After the repulse of their onslaught against a Government which was obviously republican the communists were anxious to appear as the sincere disciples of democracy. Three years after the liberation Greece witnessed a political party which pretended to be as democratic as any other and to be fighting for the same ideals, while making full use of the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution, yet simultaneously it was organizing ^{their} army and a complete network of communications both within the country and with countries behind the Iron Courtain in secret preparation for civil war.

The key to their method was this abuse of their constitutional rights. liberties

Not long ago - a member of English Parliament asked Mr Churchill to establish a Tribunal which would inquire into the activities of the Dean of Canterbury, who, ^{using the same} liberties, guaranteed by the British law, ^{gave his support} supported the communists engaged in hostilities with the British Army in Korea. The Premier answered that Britain must endure the Red Dean and his activity, as "the price of free speech". This answer is absolutely satisfactory so long as the propaganda remains as harmless as in this case. But if such activity, protected by the liberty of speech or by provisions, ceases to be harmless and directly threatens the existence of the nation, if such abuse of constitutional liberties is the first step towards, say, civil war, such as the one experienced in Greece, does the British Premier's argument still hold good? If the price of free speech of western Europe's civilisation, are we ^{then prepared} to make this sacrifice, or to confide the determination of limits of free speech to the judicial authorities of our state

Is the loss of

to pay

fully conscious that such a reform will compromise the individual freedom of the citizen?

[Any one who had had experience of the greek civil war can appreciate that the solution given so simply by the british Premier is not applicable to Greece. Since the communistst started to organize their party as a fighting body under cover of rights guaranteed by the Constitution the State had neither possessed the power nor the courage to give an adquate interpretation adequate to the spirit of these old rights and instead it applied ineffective palliatives which ,under existing legislation were often in contradiction to the essence of our Constitution, in this respect identic with all european Constitutions.]

In fact the ^{debates} ~~the~~ legislation granting these rights in nearly all the ~~European~~ countries is expressed in such a general way that it is impossible for justice to interfere even when it is obvious that the rights in question are not being used for the purpose for which they were granted. Our Constitutions were drawn up when the citizen feared to invest an excess of power in the state. The contrary was never feared: the possible excess of power in hands of the citizens ^{at the expense} ~~to the detriment~~ of the state. ^{and} ~~this is the case today, our constitutions make no provision~~ for such an eventuality.

[Moreover such a provision could be dangerous to the liberty of the citizen.] Abuse of rights is a generally accepted prohibition in civil law and even in administrative law. But it would be excessive, at any rate in Greece, to propose a constitutional act that would both defend the abuse of individual rights of the citizen and permit the legislator to draw up laws prohibiting such an abuse, and which would at the same time authorize tribunals to declare in each case the existence of such an abuse. It is obvious that such legislation would give the state the opportunity to abuse its own power to the detriment of individuals. So we must choose between

two alternatives: either the individual will have the opportunity to abuse these rights or the state will make an abuse of its own rights. In the first case the communists will prepare their revolution in western Europe under the protection of each countries constitution, as happened in Greece; in the second case we will place an absolute confidence in our judges and make them responsible for the determination of the limits of each individuals liberty in a different way -

and which for this very reason will be both difficult to formulate and difficult to apply.

by a circumstance
 10

Democracy of today is exposed today to a danger which nineteenth century legislators could never have foreseen. They were moved only by one consideration: ^{of individuality} individuals distrust for the power of the state. Nowadays the legislator, unless he wishes to compromise democracy, has also to face the alternative consideration, namely the distrust of the state for the powerful citizen.

10

It is obvious that this dilemma ^{is not} merely a legal problem, but conceals the whole political problem of modern democracy.

The first requirement of democracy is to allow liberty of action for any political party, the liberty to express any political idea and to bring it into practice when voted by national majority. This requirement presented no difficulties so long as the ideas advanced were confined to limits no greater than the state itself and so long as these ideas could be developed without destroying the structure of the state. But these conditions are not fulfilled by communism.

the conclusion

therefore

We are thus led to conclude that the relationship between state and citizen must change and that the state must also change its structure so that this new relationship may be achieved.

whatever form this change
takes it will involve an
increase ⁱⁿ of the power of
the state at the expense of
the individual and a
stricter surveillance of
the individual's exercise of
his liberties

*insufficient
assurances*

But a democratic state cannot demand ^{extensive} such wide powers in its struggle against communism unless it possesses a high moral authority. A state uninspired by the ideal of social justice cannot wield such great powers with authority. Sooner or later it will become or appear to become a tyranny, a new totalitarian form.

For the same reason all reactionary forces, inciting democratic nations to the extrem right, become involuntary allies of communism. They add to its moral resources and provide it with its strongest arguments. Whilst an adequate barrier against the underhand dealings of communism is necessary, we are yet in danger of allowing the state's increased powers to develop into reactionary policy.

*Consideration
and courage*

In trying to find the right mean between reaction and communism, the democratic regimes in Europe were, instead of facing with consciousness and courage and sincerity the situation they found a refuge in half-measures which affected the whole life of the ^{country} states.

Moral decline and defects in the machinery of democratic systems are the causes of this ^{occurrence} situation. Moral decline is by far the most important cause and the remedies for it the most difficult to apply. But their recommendation in theory is in ^{scale} danger of becoming commonplace. Technical defects in the organisation of the state are less important and the remedies easier, but their theoretical definition is of great practical interest.

Governments are too dependent on ~~voters~~ Parliaments and Parliaments too dependent ~~on voters on~~ either on individual voters or, what is worse - on organised groups of voters. ^{Which} ~~Badly~~ needed but unpopular measures cannot be voted by Parliament or taken by the Government. The sacrifice of present economic benefits for the sake of a permanent happiness in the future is not readily acceptable. Large masses have not the vision to see the tragedy of this historical moment and Governments ^{lack} the strength to act without the everyday support of the people.

European Governments are weak because of their dependence on Parliaments and because of parliamentary dependence on a multitude of vested interests and ~~many~~ ^{often} disrupting forces. Would it not be possible to short-circuit this system, without destroying the democratic nature of these countries? Is the complete division of powers, as it exists in the United States, a possible remedy for European democracies? Is the incompatibility of being both legislator and a member of the Government an effective remedy against the principal ill of European democracies, that is, ^{agreement} the sacrifice of the permanent interests and ^{of nations} ~~of nations~~ to the temporary interests and whims of the masses?

To fight communism we need in Greece, and I think, in many European countries, to give to democracy a new form, ^{commensurate with} the form which is ^{adequate to the conditions of} ~~adequate to the conditions of~~ today. In the sphere of individual ^{liberty} ~~rights~~ we must not only in theory, but also in practice establish the principle that democracy acknowledges the freedom of the citizen within the state, but not against the state and that the state is authorized to judge if a person is within the constitutional limits or not. There must be legislation against the abuse of individual ^{liberties} ~~rights~~.

As regards the states structure the dependence of Governments on the voters must be reduced to a minimum and at the same time executive power must be reinforced.

Above all the moral authority of the state must be upheld by a sincere striving for social justice.

Moreover, if one day these reforms are realised, one must ~~not~~ ^{never} forget that democracy must always be by its very nature a form of compromise. Now more than ever it must maintain a balance between a balance-two contradictory objectives: first, defence against communism and, second, defence against the authoritarian tendencies arising automatically from the ^{pursuit of the} ~~first~~ objective.

These ^{proposals for a} ~~radical changes~~ in the spirit and ~~part~~ in the letter of European constitutions constitute ^{one} my answer to your question: Can contemporary problem

be solved
~~by democratic methods~~ ³ ~~2~~ ¹ My answer is definitely affirmative ^{yet} provided ~~that~~ ^{we} we do not forget the greatest ^{attribute} ~~quality~~ of democracy : its ^{capacity for} ~~possibility~~ of adapting itself to ~~the~~ every-day ^{requirements} ~~needs~~ and to every historical contingency.

In order to introduce a more concrete ^{discussion, in} ~~problem~~ ^{the} series of the problem proposed by "Confluence", I would suggest the following ~~one~~ : *subject 70*

Constitutional ~~Reforms~~ ^{needed in the necessary} on the European Continent ^{to ensure the right functioning of democracy}

In this instance

~~Under this heading~~ I exclude Great Britain from discussion, for the British parliamentary system functions in a manner almost beyond reproach.

would mention
 I would also suggest that the following ~~Greeks~~ would be interested both to receive a sample copy of "Confluence" and to contribute articles relevant to the problems your magazine is examining.—

For

Yours

For a detailed part of the question, already ~~mentioned~~ broached :

[15.]
Confluence Dec. 1952.

Letters to the Editor

Dear Sir,

... Referring to the discussion of the social role of art and philosophy, I should like to ask a personal favor of you. I am working on a project on the "Social Status of the Intelligentsia" under a Guggenheim grant. Most of your readers probably are aware of problems involving their standing in their communities, their influence, their frustrations in career positions, their entanglement with Government, Business and Research Organizations. Some may wish to communicate observations which they have made. I should be very thankful if you would find it possible to publish that I shall greatly appreciate any kind of co-operation from colleagues who feel, like myself, that the survival of our civilization is intimately linked with the role of the intelligentsia.

Very truly yours,
HENRY M. PACHTER
New York Editor

Deutsche Zeitung
Stuttgart, Germany
(New York address:
P. O. Box 159
New York 25, N. Y.)

Dear Mr. Kissinger,

Many of the articles in *Confluence* are close to the bone of the most critical problems of our time and it is most instructive to follow how they are being faced by people of different nationality. To the company of Europeans who have already joined this Symposium held by *Confluence* I would like to add the voice of Greece, a nation at the very edge of the free world and likewise deeply affected by all the problems you are attempting to solve.

We are a nation steeped, in many respects, in democratic ideals. Our experience leads us to believe that classical democratic methods, instead of strengthening, today often endanger our democracy. There is, not in the theory, but in the practice of contemporary democracy an antinomy which gives rise to imminent dangers for nations so exposed as we are to communist aggression. We must therefore seek a remedy. The discussion you began in your second number is an attempt in this direction. . . .

Greece has had the unwelcome privilege of an intense political life since the second world war ended; its experience is wide and may be of some use to all other countries of the West.

In April 1941 Greece was occupied by the Germans, Italians, Bulgarians and Albanians. Resistance within the country was inspired, not only by

national ideals, but also by instinctive reaction against totalitarian systems. It was a common belief at the time that, although his behavior during the war was beyond reproach, King George, for the sole reason that he had favored the regime of General John Metaxas — a mild totalitarian regime — would never return and that the republic abolished in 1935 would definitely be restored.

The communists took advantage of this strong republican trend and under cover of democratic ideals organized their armed forces. After the repulse of their onslaught in December 1944 against a Government which was obviously republican the communists were anxious to make full use of the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution. Yet simultaneously they were organizing their army and a complete network of communications both within the country and with countries behind the Iron Curtain in secret preparation for civil war.

The key to their method was an abuse of these constitutional liberties.

Not long ago a member of the English Parliament asked Mr. Churchill to establish a Tribunal which would inquire into the activities of the Dean of Canterbury who, invoking the same liberties guaranteed by British law, gave his support to the communists engaged in hostilities with the British Army in Korea. The Premier answered that Britain must endure the Red Dean and his activities as "the price of free speech." This answer is absolutely satisfactory so long as propaganda remains as harmless as in this case. But if such activities protected by the liberty of speech or by other provisions cease to be harmless and directly threaten the existence of the nation, if such an abuse of constitutional liberties is the first step towards, say, civil war, such as the one experienced in Greece, does the British Premier's argument still hold good? If the price of free speech is the loss of Western European civilization are we then prepared to pay this price?

Legislation granting these liberties in nearly all European countries is expressed in such a general way that it is impossible for justice to interfere even when it is obvious that the rights in question are not being used for the purpose for which they were granted. Our constitutions were drawn up when the citizen feared to invest an excess of power in the state. The contrary was never feared: the possible excess of power in the hands of the citizens at the expense of the state. Yet this is the case today and our constitutions make no provisions for such an eventuality.

Democracy is jeopardized today by a circumstance which nineteenth century legislators could never have foreseen. They were moved only by one consideration: distrust of individuals for the power of the state. Nowadays the legislator unless he wishes to compromise democracy, has also to face

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

99

the alternative consideration, namely the distrust of the state for the powerful citizen.

It is obvious that this dilemma is not merely a legal problem, but conceals the whole political problem of modern democracy. . . .

Yours faithfully,
 CONSTANTINE D. TSATOS
*Minister of Interior, Aviation,
 Press and Education*

Athens, Greece

Dear Mr. Kissinger,

. . . The first issue of your publication inspired me with great hopes. I saw in it an attempt to start something like a continuous discussion, a *Gespräch*, as it were, between Europeans and Americans. This, I felt, was just what the hour called for. The subsequent issues seemed to have abandoned this concept. The articles were still grouped under common titles of a general character, to be sure, but their authors no longer addressed themselves to each other, and there was no attempt to pull together the threads of the discussion in the manner of Reinhold Niebuhr's superb piece in the first issue. As a result of this development, *Confluence* seems to have become just another magazine in which intellectuals express themselves, the only difference being that its contributors belong to different countries. This distinguishing feature, however, seems to me to be a drawback rather than an advantage, unless the magazine succeeds in establishing a common frame of reference within which real communication can be achieved across the ocean. The first issue obviously strove to do that and seemed to give promise of increased efforts in that direction in the future. I must admit that I have felt a keen disappointment when this promise was not fulfilled subsequently.

As the magazine now stands, I personally am inclined to look upon it as an added burden to the already excessive mass of reading matter which is thrust upon us day after day. Unless there is a return to the concept of the first issue, I cannot expect to find in it more than a brilliant article here or there, and I would not feel duty-bound to read the magazine regularly. I am writing thus frankly in the hope that there might still be a possibility of *Confluence* returning to the promise of its youth.

Sincerely yours,

GERHART NIEMEYER

Department of State
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir,

In regard to M. Paci's article in the September issue of *Confluence* I would like to make one or two remarks.

P 8

1952 Ак.

CONCLUSIONE (непредиктo cаѡ H. A. Kissinger)

'Аρρο τοῦ K. T. εἰ οἰκουμενα τοῦ H. A. Kissinger

Ναῖν εἰ εὐχρηστικὰ ὑποβληθῇ. Νομίζω, φιλοσοφίας

Τεχν

[17.2]

Páreppo

Nópar 105 1945 agpárlar 6' Osoppa
Surlonopos.

31.2.71

"ΕΣΤΙΑ" - 22

ΠΡΟΠΑΓΑΝΔΑΚΟΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΗΜΑΤ..

Μας γράφει ο ναύαρχος και
 δουλευτής 'Αττικοβοιωτίας κ. Σα
 κελάρου, ότι, αργότερα ακόμη και
 τις αόσιες της 'Οπότευσης, σκάνον
 έκαστοι — δὲ ἑκάστη εἰς αὐτὴν — ἔχον
 να ἔκοντι τῆς συμβάσεως τῶν λεγι-
 τῶν Προλεταρίων σπῆρας ἄλλων σχε-
 δόν τῶν κομμάτων, κατὰ τὴν λήθη-
 σον ἐν τῇ Βουλῇ συζητήσιν.

Ἐπὶ τὸς ἑαυτοῦ, ἐκ τοῦ ὅποιον
 ἐξιστοῦται, κατὰ μέγα μέρος, αὐτὴ
 ὅτι τὴν παλαιότητα ἐξιστοῦται
 τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου δουλεύει ἄν-
 ὁρμον ἐπὶ, ὅτι μόνον νὰ ἐκλή-
 σουν — κατόπιν, δέξαι, σχετικῶς
 μέλητες — ἀλλ' ἐστὶ καὶ ν' ἀκού-
 σουν τὴν Κυβέρνησιν ἢ τοὺς ἐπικρι-
 τὰς π.κ. Τὸ μεγαλύτερον μέρος τῆς
 συζητήσεως ἐστὶν ἐννοίαν καλὴν,
 κατὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην κατεστάτων. Καὶ
 μόνον οἱ περισσότεροι ἐκπεριτοίτοι
 (ἐκείστοι, δουλεύοντες) εἶχαν τὴν
 ἀσφάλειαν νὰ διαπιστώσῃ, ὅτι εἰς
 τὰ δουλεύοντα ὄργανα τῆς συμβά-
 σεως αὐτῆς — τὸ ἰστορικὸν τῆς ὁ-
 πείας ἐφαρτημένης, ἀπὸ τὰ ἐπίση-
 μα πλέον καὶ τοῦ κράτους, ἐφ'
 νεοκρατορικῶν ἀναστάσεων — ἔχον
 οἱ ὅποιοι ἐκείτοι σπῆρας ν' ἀπο-
 κρίνουν τὴν αὐτῆς. Οἱ πάντες κατε-
 φέροντο κατὰ τῆς δουλείας, εἰς τὴν
 ἀκρίτως των, ὡς ἔλεγον, ἡγετὰ τὸ
 κράτος καὶ ὅμως, οὐδεὶς ἐκείτω τι-
 ποτε ἐκείτω, ἀπὸ τῶν... ὅποιοι
 γὰρ εἰς τὸ μόνον.

Ἀντὶ τούτου δὲ περὶ ἀναλήψεως
 αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν λήθη τῶν παρελθόν-
 τος... — πέρα ἔρχεται!...

31. 2. 57

"ΚΕΡΔΟΣ - 91"

Η ΚΑΘΙΕΡΩΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΛΤΙΟΥ

Δὲν πρόκειται, δυστυχῶς, νὰ συμφωνήσωμεν οὔτε μὲ τὴν ἀμερικανικὴν οὔτε μὲ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν ἀποψιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ζητήματος τῆς καθιερώσεως γενικοῦ ἢ ἐιδικοῦ δελτίου διανομῶν εἰς τὸν πληθυσμόν. Κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀποψιν, ὡς γνωστόν, δεόν νὰ ἐξασφαλισθῇ ἡ γενικὴ διανομὴ διὰ δελτίου μερικῶν βασικῶν εἰδῶν διατροφῆς εἰς ὁλόκληρον τὸν πληθυσμόν. Ἐνθ', κατὰ τὴν ἀντίληψιν τῶν ἀρμοδίων Ἑλλήνων ὑπουργῶν, αἱ διανομαὶ αὗται θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ περιορισθοῦν, ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τοῦλάχιστον, εἰς τὰς τάξεις τῶν μισθοσυντηρητῶν μόνον διὰ νὰ ἐπεκταθοῦν βραδύτερον καὶ δὴ ὅταν ἐξασφαλισθοῦν ἐπαρκῆ ἀποθέματα τροφίμων εἰς ὁλόκληρον τὸν πληθυσμόν. Λόγω τῆς διαφορᾶς ταύτης ἀπόψεων ἀνεβλήθη καὶ ἡ ἐναρξίς τῶν ἐιδικῶν διανομῶν, αἵτινες ἀπεφασίσθησαν διὰ τοὺς μισθοσυντηρήτους, μέχρις ἐπιλύσεως τῆς ἐν λόγω διαφωνίας. Ἀλλὰ τὸ πρόβλημα δὲν ἔγκειται, νομίζομεν εἰς τὴν ἔκτασιν τῶν διανομῶν. Τὸ πρόβλημα εἶναι πολὺ γενικότερον καὶ ἀφορᾷ αὐτὴν ταύτην τὴν οκοπιμότητα τῆς ἐπαναφορᾶς ἐνὸς συστήματος, τὸ ὁποῖον ἀπέτυχε τόσον οἰκτρῶς εἰς τὴν χώραν ταύτην. Ἡ διαφωνία μας, συνεπῶς εἶναι βασικὴ. Ὅχι μόνον διότι αἱ διανομαὶ δὲν συνοδεύονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπαραιτήτων μέτρων ἀπορροφῆσεως τῆς πλεοναζούσης ἀγοραστικῆς δυνάμεως, ἥτις δημιουργεῖται ἐκ τῶν κερδῶν τῆς οὕτως ὑποθαλασπομένης ἐλευθέρως ἀγορᾶς καὶ ἡ ὁποία εἶναι φυσικὸν νὰ προκαλῇ ὕψωσιν τῶν τιμῶν τῶν ἐκτὸς τοῦ δελτίου εἰδῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διότι τὸ σύστημα τῶν διὰ δελτίου τιμῶν καταλγεί ἐτελικῶς εἰς μεγίστην ἐπιβάρυνσιν τῶν διανεμομένων εἰδῶν, ἀνάπτει τῆς αὐθαιρεσίας καὶ τῶν καταχρήσεων τῶν ἀρμοδίων ὑπηρεσιῶν καὶ σοβαρωτάτην διασπάθισιν πόρων εἰς τρόφιμα καὶ, συνεπῶς, εἰς συνάλλαγμα. Αἱ διανομαὶ, γενικαὶ ἢ ἐιδικαὶ ἀδιάφορον, χωρὶς νὰ ἐξυπηρετοῦν κατ' οὐσίαν τὸ Κοινόν, εἶναι δυνατὰ, ἴσως εἰς ἄλλας χώρας, διαθετούσας τελείαν κρατικὴν ὀργάνωσιν. Εἰς τὴν ἰδικὴν μας ὁμως ἀπετέλεσαν πάντοτε αἰτίαν καταχρήσεων, σπατάλης, σατραπισμοῦ τῶν τροφίμων καὶ ὑψηλοῦ κόστους τῶν διανεμομένων εἰδῶν. Ὅλος ὁ κόσμος ἡσθάνθη μεγάλῃν ἀνακούφισιν μὲ τὴν κατάργησιν τῶν. Τώρα σκέπτεται πάλιν μὲ δέος τὰς ταλαιπωρίας τῶν τροφίμων τοῦ Κράτους—μπακάλῃ. Καὶ διερωτᾶται δικαίως: Μήπως ὑπάρχει τρόπος νὰ τὰς ἀποφύγῃ διὰ τῆς ἐξασφαλίσεως κάποιας ἐπαρκείας; Ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν, ὅτι ὑπάρχει.

