Athens, August 14th, 1952

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

I would like to thank you for your letter extending your invitation on behalf of the Department of State which I am able to accept with the greatest pleasure.

I know well that this grant would probably never have been offered to me, unless you had not personally suggested it. So I feel that along with my official thanks I must express my personal gratitude to you and your staff in Athens with whom I have always enjoyed cooperation and mutual understanding.

I have been interested in the operation and methods of the american governmental agencies and I am sure that a direct contact with professors and administrators in the States will enrich my own experience and help me in my efforts towards a solution of the problems of my own country.

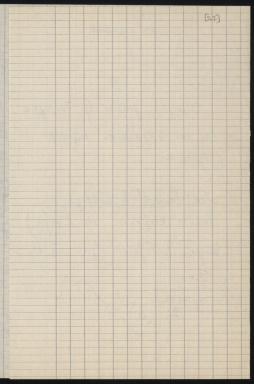
I am also very glad that the grant accompanying this invitation is valid for 1973, as I would prefer to arrive in the United States early in the New-Year. I would therefore suggest if it is convenient to the Department of State that I leave Greece for Wash. in, say, January 1953.

I am, yours sincerely

Constantinos Tsatsos

Mr. John E. Peurifoy American Amabassador Athens

(GULEWEERS K. S. MURWA) Oferia 110 To Gr. Touraghe Kai wi oppavwan oug C/1. MOITEIOS _ Tão Peun State Collège (1) Hupoh : Togeror Aprovers 1953 Our constitution has been in Bita (6) about 90 years to your 1864 (9) 493 " our constitution has been (=1864190-1904) 1953



I stay - It is difficult for me to explain in a sugar language which I hardly the how deeply unch I appreciate your so kind and puly the anoprine for everybody here proper That there for Horning freedly see country has bee my reacce ways correspond to at the same time of course of trouble for me. probes of my personality to this ladies and gentlines I say forese that we tree preparing the ay immerited deception 1/cm fold myself by thinking that we are aparing the cerpourthely bryeller

I know very well that nobody when to flay alive if any poor inglish is seived with the wrong expression and a lot of mistake. May be they are funny and you can lange And some heart - please do it all you indulgence or behalf of my english, you have to Keep a part of it for the intent wisdom and knowledge flourishing is this butilities of Penn State College What I know your heaches Know it to better Than I and they can or planiate of fars better Man I and they

But what and doughthere ? well - there is one hope in colleur which give me the courage togo ahead with my broke eighth and this is that the case be of the land be you all here to see how town, and a guck politicion faces come problem, what although presented as they are developing in freece are problem white touch all The fee people of the world -Alex contribution I could to offer tom present the food have in objection to my present of your front had a more on of my country and to be more or ex the world of loday

3A [3.4] It is in this spirit that I would like to limit my talk on for on two only problems, which I thrusk are where commeded with your shades could be of some waterest be you namely the polstical thinchure of frece, as it appear in to our Constitution and her mission, of the coming centurity years

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One of the main mistakes made by foreigners in every country , is to consider other people's customs, traditions and institutions in the light of their own washy ; gostony , and . wit.

In order to evaluate objectively conditions in this country, solecabely one has to become first aware of greek realities without being p

Prejudiced by mis own national conceptions, To get namely an intelligent outlook on the Greek political life one must first become familiar with the Greek state's basic institutions, their history and the national conceptions on which they are based.

The purpose of the talk is just to outline the fundamental constitutional institutions of the Greek State, in such a manner way as to assist uninitiated foreigners in getting the right approach to the Greek political problems .

To understand Greece we must never forget two points : a) That about the middle of the 15th century of the Christian Era, the Greek nation as a whole was conquered by the Turos after a free or partly free life of 20 centuries . Its liberation started amuy in 1821, that is , 380 years later and was competed only in 1920. namely 480 years later.

b) That during this half-millenium the Greeks preserved a sense of the continuity of their national life in historical sequence, as well as their traditions, language and religion, manks to the main factors I) The Tures did note mpletely deprive them of their religious freedom and did so only to a rether limited extent, This enable the subjugated nation, to cling to the church as the only remaining but strong manifestation of national existence 2) The Turcs recognized a sort of limited local self government for the Greeks (3) By their cultural

superiority the Greeks succeeded during the 18th century in securing Pin the Hille-Rad both within the Ottomen Empire and outside of it in South Russia, Italy Vienna, prominent positions and in becoming valuable political and economic factors . It is from these Greek emigrants that great forces were derived the IS2I Revolution .

was liberated as a result of shorts this Revolution, the first thing thought or so the Greek was passing of a Constitution. Each liberated region voted its own Constitution. Eight months, however, after the outbreak of the Revolution, in hegenber 1881, the Greeks succeeded in convening a National Assembly and passing their first constitution. This Constitution corresponded very closely to the formula to the convenience of the Revolutionary Constitutions.

The reprised lasted for seven full years, and throughout that period of constant warfare which virtually devastated the whole country as far as Thessaly, the Greeks keld repeated Assemblies and kept discussing the form of their Government. Unfortunately in a country where everything was distroyed, the application of such liberal and demoratic constitutions was not possible, and, as a result, absolute authority was assumed in 1828 by a single man while to-day would be could a distator. This men was John Capo d' Istria was distributed for the most prominent personalities of Greek history. Before three years had elapsed, Capod'Istria was assassinated, and after a period of energy, it was decided to establish a constitutional monarchy-

we have seen in Since they freed went through many uphacerels, many changes; but the ways the H 864 when one touther ways was proved by a valoral triently. Her The amendment hought in 1911 no 1950-52 by two Reinsony Parliaments do and affect the main principles of the original lost Du landstodia in greece is a demo cracy of The fundamental article ?! of over lawlitule provides that - " tell power derives from the nation " The fact that the form and ofore fort is a se we have a king in freed does not affect to its demo crahe prompts, as It does not

affect their is the Scandinseras county and in fe Dr. - The King has very lunder and shortly specified responsibilities. This is also implied from art 4.

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It might be stated however that the king has really less.

authority then that apperently provided by the Constitution. Thus in article 22, the Constitution states that legislative power is exercised by the King and the Parliament. In real practice, however, it is exercised by the Parliament and the Government which as a rule represents the Farliament majority. Our Constitution has been in force for about 90 years. I know of no case where the King failed to approve a law voted by the Parliament.

It is also stated in the Constitution thate pertains to the King and is exercised by the responsible Ministers appointed by Him. (art. 27). In reality, executive authority is exercised by the Government, which must enjoy the confidence of the Parliament and should as a rule be composed, by members belonging to me Parliaments majority. If you read the text of the Constitution, you would see that under article 3I " The King appoints and dismisses his Ministers.". If this should really be the case, the democratic character of our Constitution would be questionable. But this is not really so. During the first 10 years of the application of our Constitution I864-I875, this question remained unclarified and the King occasionally appointed Governments or Ministers of his own choice and confidence. In 1875however, Charilaos Trikoupis, our

Himself but either by the Prime Ministers are not selected by the King Himself but either by the Prime Minister or by the political leaders of the Parliament or even by the political parties that are going to grathe Government or maked support it is Parliament. When all this is taken into consideration, it is made clear that the King does not actually participate in the exercise of either legislative or executive power, and that the Government, which is appointed, under so many restrictions, by the King, and exercises, to gether with the Parliament the legislative authority, and, by itself, the executive power, depends of Parliament's confidence and approval and is usually composed of Parliament deabers.

Are we then to understand that the King has no authority at all ? Holkhe King possesses a very important authority indeed, and exercises a highly significant duty. He is the regulator of the separation country's political life. How is this function demonstrated ?

Article 37 of the Constitution states that the King has the right of dissolving Parliament provided a general election can be arranged within 45 days and 256 Parliament assembled within three months.

If the King disaggees with the Parliament) majority, or if he

of the people, he is at liberty to refer the issue to the people.

After the dissolution of the Parliament, the magnetic called the people of the people of

oving to this greet authority, the King regulates the country's political life by harmonizing the relations between the people and the Parliament and thereby affecting political developments in the country. But since everything is aventually decided by the people through a general election, the above privilege does coepared and affect on any offered the democratic character of our Gavernsent.

The passed does not express its will directly, but through deputies elected by it by general, provided and secret balloting, Flebiscite is not a procedure provided by our Constitution.

However, in emergency cases, plebiscites took place: In 1924, for

by grece we have only one House the Parliament This presents the as but it goes to the majority and Comprany ungosities a too great Assembly set up the system of opt Parliament. Later, the 1927 republican Constitution established a Senate which functioned successfully until 1935, when the republic was abolished and the 1964-1911 Constitution was again but into effect.

In 1946, this question was discussed again, but the opinion prevailed that a Senate should not be established. This decision was based on two arguments, a weak one and a strong one. According to the weak argument, the second flouse is rather incompatible with Royal authority; the strong argument implies that in a country, which is now in an advanced stage of reconstruction, the legislative made ine should operate quickly, and speed is inconsistent with the existence of two legislative bodies.

Parliament legislates, but the drafts of the laws are nearly always proposed by the Government, which has a rather exclusive legislative initiative, although, formally, every deputy is supposed to enjoy this privilege. Parliament sometimes improves the bills presented by the Ministers for enactament, but it usually impairs them by adding factional provisions. This is not only the case with the greek Parliament, but also with most of other Parliaments. They only observe that to be fair. It is after all, the Sovernment that legislates, Parliaments

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legislative work, supplements it, satisfactsfily or not, but I do believe it is fortually what the Constitution wants it to be: the main legislative factor,

Parliament's most important task is to provide Governments and support them with its vote of confidence. And after it supports them, fit controls their work. The vote confidence and the control of the Government's work is the substance of our parliamentary system. In principle, the majority supports the Government and the opposition controls it. The control of Government work, however, in the case of main issues, is not exercised by the opposition alone, but by the Government majority as wall. In this matter, Parliament is not a dependency of the Government but acts independently and the service rendered by such control is very important indeed.

that exercise legislative and executive powers are not separated as in the United States. The system of Complete division of powers includes by your will know advantages. Its greated disadwantage is that it is likely to cause a dissension between Government and legislative bodies, in which case the operation of the state machinery is seriously interfered with. There can be us such dissension here, as the Government emanates from the Parliament majority. As soon as this majority

ceases to exist, the Government also ceases to exist and a new Gove. nment is formed from the new majority. The greatest advantage of the complete division of powers is the Government stability and the independence of the Government, comparatively at least, from the pressure of political parties.

Which system would then be better for Greece ? the existing or the American one ? The matter has been discussed , but it is believed that the direct electionby the people of the Government's chief, in the same manner as the President of the United States is elected by the American people, would involve a difficult and dangerous procedure. However, the time may come when this matter will be brought up again

of lear this better the nearly intended to present real facts son not personal on

comments 2 feet cannot help calling attention to the present crisis of democracy in Continental Europe. To say that the electoral System is responsible in this case, is a poor explanation. It is quite possible that more basic institutions are responsible. In the near future we may witness great constitutional changes in all those countries , and Greece may fing itself involved in these changes also. The goal of the

all theses changes will undoubtedly be the strengthening of execut?

power,its greater stability and its release from the pressure brought

about the voters' personal interests. In order to accomplish these
objectives, Europe, and Greece in particular, will have to borrow

certain ideas from the American Constitutional legislation and experien-

Regarding the third state power the judicial one, I have but very little to say. It is entirely independent . Judges are under the Constitution appointed for life. Amidst the political and social upheavals, we have been through, judges are the branch of Government officials that never lost its prestige. May everything in Greece operate like the Greek justice!

We all know that the weak point of our Government machinery is administration. Foreifners in Greece must know that the disease of our administration is not endemic but epidemic. During long periods in the past, especially during the long premiership terms of Elefterics Venixelos, our administrative machinery operated in a manner that did in no way fall short of most of the other European countries. The reduction the over of the employees income, the engagement during the occupation period of unqualified men for social weifare reason, the fall of the cultural level of youth during the last ten years, all this has had an

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entered into between The Constantinople Patriarchate and the Greek State, and by a basic Greek State law. From this law, the close tie between State and Greek Shach is also made clear.

This was made possible for the following reasons:

I) Al Melleniam with the exception of 50.000 moslems, 40.000

Roman catholics, 5000 protestants and about 5.000 jews belong to the Orthodox religion.

 Since Byzantine times, and in contrast with Papism, the relation between secular and ecclesiastical authority have been very close.
 The church in Greeces a national institution.

The influence of the Church in Greek public life is very high It would be still head of if the Church was less poor. At any mate, in the future also, anyone having to deal with things in the country, should take into account the Church as an important factor, that could considerably contribute to the raising of the people's intellectual level and to the assumption of a proper attitude toward; the materialistic Communist theories.

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lays down the personal liberties that the creek citizen or any oth person living in the Country should enjoy. These provisions bear a intense democratic impressed, and in many cases provide much more

protecting for the individual they that guaranteed by wany town de anotable combilities in Cerrope Speaking of the freedom of press , we can say that the greek press 15 in really

not only free but uncontrollable. Even its obvious slanderous reports remain umpunished. This is due to the prevailing linency in Greek Courts I very such doubt if such a policy can really serve the idea of freedom On the contrary, I believe it underwinds it. Freedom is mostly a responsibility. Where there is no sense of responsibility real freedom cannot exist. Preas laws in Greece, as made by Elefterios Veniselos about 25 years ago, are good, but their application has been incomplete.

I now want to say few words that will bring me to the close of

my talk :

Greece has a Constitution which, in its basic items, especially after the last amendment of 1951, a good. It there arise any constitution all problems, this is due either to non-observance of the constitution or to the its interpretation, not in good faith but under the influence of political passions...

Of course, if this country is ever becalmed, certain non-fudamental provisions of the constitution will have to be improved. But this action is neither urgent nor advisable just now. The first thing to do is to reorganize administration and carry out decentralization and the strengthening of self-government. It is urgently important that proper training in citizenship be provided to ensure moderation in political

The at the political structure of greece But this shucher is not a value in itself - It is a mean for the reali saling of true calmes, red suges What are there oraling - the goals bowards which can and much free strive! What is the trank of gr. in the world of today! By contemplating there tasks have to suppose two conditions; a long wind of peace - more precisely; the disap pearance of the commo menace and a humanly pomble standing of living. This second point condition can be achieved if god grant us the first one, - by all wears houty of boday

Supposing that there two conditions will trum day to you make freee can and much do, in to be with of living further on in history!

Thus is the policial specture of green. What we now to thesk in the world of today? lies behind this winder form? What freece is small country of 8 and . - with very lunded deorome serverces - what can she all what would she do! The misson of every people is not merely to live and to try to be happy It is in fulfill the duties for which ford has designed it them The first duty of gence, is a regular, is defined to the star of the star of the empean world with water, among the furt, to apresent of conny por the east. This is true for the person was , three for most of the war fought

by the hyportine empire; it is time for our fight of loday against ommun At the geographic epot of the east is, the north-each, which is a welling took, we want - But I don't believe that such a regalive factor is sufficient to justify the existence of an indopendent rate We need a prostive factor - a reg Tive one we speed date is other words what may be the contrabution of greece to the improvement of monsking. If free of today cannot prose a intrat- unde influence in the world the cannot be a leading nating in as une the leadership of the wild or works from

and a factor of cultural improver in those fields, in which bedrigers are end in doed - he philosophy and history and in art frece could see to day and over wow the fater is exit of to apparent weathering fulfell a very high epiralial westing withing the european world. What can this mission be. Let one give an answer which town the whole photorophy freece can contribute is a my very formal pourticular to . to the revol of the idea of freel freedom, in part, in others, in sain What do I mean by guet freedow?

Freedom to either a cational or an unatrough Showing for If it got a the greeks believe a rational essence, then it is law, and If it is law it is a definition - It port Smits it represents a messure. May give you an example - How is the guck sculptor emancipaled from the regid fore, of the ryghan or the archae status be discovery a new form without going to an extrem Though daying fighting of energy the ancient form he has the information restraint to go no further than he must be does not employ an inlimited force, but a limited one and the limbed force is greater than any unlimited force - The great entist remain always in fell control of his anthrosam, he speers the course of his inspiration

As unmense power her in the could of dynamic outburst. This power is greek freedom a freedom which is Afonyto who worky spoll and sport Others become fee through the immed rable - greek is fee through measure - From the and of the 18th century, with the development of spanned and political romanticiny, a reactor, again, this principle of measure and set in Freedom began sought to expression in a lack of measure, which, is some eathery long, came to be a negation of any meanin, on allack apaint every estalky hed throng a pleference for chans onstead of a defined world

treedory we did not derive from durne law it was seisme, worldshaking, here fering This development reached its achie whey theories as the cuberus, Juliusing surrealism pregenter claused to be an intentional, conscious rectoual negation of reason and measure. Vis van Comantie dequalisin in politique tends to an anarchical yith liver tomeline to an enerspotence of ciolence The tembercies wither to the right or to the left always divorced from measure and from the mean way) from greek freedow line he this commandic world Veorce thry is missing ; it is what we unds in the createstranced verse of Paul Claudel, of T. H. Blot and on the mystud doquestion of the

30 [3.29] armunt This invasion of the romantic spent, - buy bronger necessary as a reaction, it was a danger and or monace. The over redsing of mey boday so to control all these expressions in thought; in arts, in politics and how to combine there hunder the law of measure. by this effort to pore given wile And in the dwelopment of our culture, the greek water, this small and you had no which for clines on its arely some years, but he gearly some years, but to down the fate of heady to arrune a specific respons, bolily. Because of it nature - and there is no other country where walne & so definitely affects the life of the people - becomes

of towaline, to mythe, at's hadden green can, & a how promes, and large to realism and to accomplish the unnere change, The costs of wh fuece, the greek haddler, the charact and the greek chesters and the greek some from a a blump lesson for the I know that greece has not fal filled the * lask until loday! Know that every to-nearon the will not do A. But if god grand as so year of peace, if we wach sometime a bolerable standard of luny, 93 existens min m, they it is my fauth that the freek feedow, will madeale from freeze, bounds all the matery

of the western culture and it is may farth that this contribution will be a very special, unger in its "yearly with great enough to legelurate the presence of green of loday in history

Apolo Ofizia; Japis & prepope (Mero 10/1951)

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One of the main mistakes made by foreigners in every country, is to consider other people's customs, traditions and institutions in the light of their own country's customs, and institutions.

In order to evaluate objectively conditions in this country, one has to become first warms of Greek realities, without being projudiced by one's own national conceptions; to get an intelligent outlook on the Greek political life one must first become familiar with the Greek State's basic institutions, their history and the national conceptions on which they are based.

The purpose of this lecture is just to cutline the fundamental constitutional institutions of the Greek State, in such a way as to assist uninitiated people in getting the right approach to the Greek political problems.

To understand Greece we must never forget two points:

- a) That about the middle of the 15th century of the Christian Era, the Greek mation as a whole was conquered by the Turks after a free or partly free life of 20 centuries. Its liberation started in 1821, that is, 380 years later and was completed only in 1920, masely 480 years later.
- b) That during this half-millenium, of slavery, the Greeks preserved a sense of the centimity of their national life in historical sequence, as well as their traditions, language and religion, thanks to three main factors:

 1) The Turks did not completely deprive them of their religious freedom, thus enabling the subjugated mation, to cling to the church as the only remaining but strong manifestation of rational existence 2) The Turks recognized a sort of limited local self government for the Greeks. 3) By their cultural superiority in the Middle-East the Greeks succeeded during the leth century in securing both within the Ottoma Empire and outside of it in South Russia, Italy, Yimma, prominent positions and in becoming valuable political and economic factors. It is from these Greek emigrants that great forces were derived for the 1821 Excellation.

As soon as a small portion of Greek territory in Peloponese was liberated, the first thing the Greeks thought of was the passing of a Constitution. Each liberated region voted its own Constitution. Eight months, however, after the outbreak of the Revolution, in December 1821, the Greeks succeeded in convening a National Assembly, and passing their first Constitution. This Constitution corresponded very closely to the 1793 and 1795 French revolution-

ary Constitutions.

The revolution lasted for seven full years, and throughout that period of constant warfare, which virtually devastated the whole country as far as Theosally, the Greeks held repeated Assemblies and kept discussing the form of their Government. Unfortunately in a country where everything was discreved, the application of such liberal and democratic constitutions was not possible, and, as a result, absolute authority was assumed in 1828 by a single man (what to-day would be called a dictator). This man was John Cape d'Istria, Greek born in Gorfu, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Massia, one of the most prominent personalities of Greek indicty. Sefore three years had clapsed, Cape d'Istria was assassinated, and after a period of anarchy, it was decided to establish a constitutional monarchy - a form of Government that suited the political situation of Europe at that time.

In January 1833, King Otto, son of the King of Bavaria, arrives in Nauplion-(at the time capital of Greece), accompanied by three high Bavarian officials and a few Bavarian soldiers. The Constitution is set aside and Otto rules as absolute monarch. After ten years, however, a revolution breaks out, and Otto is forced to grant a constitution, set up a parliament and Senate, and provide certain constitutional guarantees for the people. But even under this constitutional regime, the relations between Otto and the people were not smooth. In 1862, there is a new revolutionary outburst, Otto is exiled and a National Assembly called, which elects after considerable restraints, George Glucksburg son of the King of Denmark and head of the present ruling dynasty, as King of the Hellenes. The same Assembly worked out in nearly two years the 1864 Constitution. The 1844 Constitution established a constitutional monarchy; the 1864 one sets up that which could be called a reigning democracy. This Constitution remained in force, unmodified, until 1911, when it was partly amended by Elefterics Venizelos, but remained the same in its fundamental principles.

There followed the first world war that caused many political troubles and at the same time created difficult constitutional problems; but the text of the Constitution still remained intact. In 1923, however, following the Asian Minor disaster, King George 11 is dethroused and a full republic established. Owing to further political commentions, the new Constitution of the Greek Republic was published only in 1927, and since then remained in effect up to Cetober 10, 1935, when the republic was again revolutionally abolished and the 1864-1911 constitution, by a decision of a national assembly temporarily re-functed.

A few months later, the Metaxas dictatorship is established and the validity of the Constitution, in regard to its main articles, suspended, with no provision made for determining the final status of the new form of Government.

It was in this condition that the country was occupied by the Germans, Italians, Dalparians and Albanians. The enemy occupation lasted for Signers but the constitutional disorder continued even after the occupation, until September 1946, when the people voted in a plebiscite for a reigning democracy.

At the same time, however, the 1864-1911 Constitution was considered temperarily valid, and Parliament tarred a study of the neocessary meandments thereto. In 1949, that Parliament was dissolved without passing a new Constitution, and the old Constitution thus remained, always temperarily, in force.

To put an end to this temporariness the present Parliament voted as the country's Constitution the final draft of amendments, as proposed by a Committee of the 1946 Parliament deputies specially appointed for the purpose. This is the present Constitution of Greece, and it is believed that, in spite of existing controversy over the procedure by which it was enacted, it will ultimately be recognised as the country's definite form of Government.

I wouldn't give a correct picture of the Greek State, if I did not say a few words about legislation in this Country apart from Constitution.

Ever since the outbreak of the 1821 Revolution, all Greeks have believed that Modern Greece is the continuation of its long history, and especially the continuation of the Byzantine Espire, which after the seventh contury, dropped the last Roman and Latin elements and assumed a feature-form in which the Greek charactor became increasingly dominating. For this reason since 1821 the Greeks to all subjects of private law applied the laws of "our memorable christian emperors" that is, the emperors of the Byzantine Empire.

The Syrantine Lew, namely the system of legislation emacted by the Great Macedonian Dynasty durign the 16th contury is the law that basically governed private relations in this country until 1946, when our new civil Code came into effect. But even this Code in many fundamental dispositions, is a codification of this old legislation. Naturally, this ancient lew was in force slong with same necessary changes that made it adaptable to modern social relations. With special regards to the Commercial and Marine Law, this was wholly becrowed from the Napoleonic Legislation, even during the years of Revolution, Original Law and Procedure, Civil and Original.

as well as the organization of the Courts of Justice, were drawn up by one of King Otto's Eswarian Advisors during the first three years of his reign, on the basis of French and Eswarian legislation existing at that time. Under these fundamental laws Greece has lived to date. Only in 1950 our new Criminal Laws and Grisinal Procedure have been published.

There have been many changes made in our administrative division, but the same basic elements remained unsitered: The Community, the Nuncipality, the Province. The institution of General Governorate, was introduced only in 1913, and this is one of the reasons for which the advisability of this institution is even to-day as strongly challenged.

The outstanding fundamental character of our administrative organisation is the centralizing tendency of the Hapoleonic System. Only 25 years ago was the necessity felt for a decentralization and self-government. Buch romains to be done in this field. But this lies beyond my subject.

The Constitution now in this country - the 1864 Constitution as amended in 1911 and 1951- is a purely democratic Constitution.

Article 21 provides: "The Greek form of Government is a reigning democracy. All power derives from the Mation.

The King has very limited and strictly specified responsibilities. This is also implied from article 44. "The King has no other authority than that expressly provided by the Constitution and the Specific legislation consistent therewith".

It might be stated, however that the King has really less authority than that apparently provided by the Constitution. Thus in article 22, the Constitution states that legislative power is exercised by the King and the Parliament. In real practice, however, it is exercised by the Parliament and the Government which as a rule represents the Parliamentary majority. Our Constitution has been in force for about 90 years. I know of no case where the King failed to approve a law voted by the Parliament.

It is also stated in the Constitution, that the executive power pertains to the King and is exercised by the responsible Ministers appointed by Him. (art.27) In reality, executive power is exercised by the Government, which must onjoy the confidence of Parliament and should, as a rule, be composed of members belonging to Parliaments and points. It you read the text of the Constitution, you would see that under article 31 "The King appoints and administers". If this should really be the case, the democratic character of our Constitution would be questionable. But this is not really so. During the first 10 years of the application of our Constitution 1864-1875, this question recained unclarified and the King cocasionally appointed Governments or Ministers of his own choics and confidence.

In 1875, however, Charilace Trikoupia, our greatest politician between Capodistria and Venizelos, imposed the principle that Governments or Ministers should have the expressed confidence of Parliament. This principle was not laid down in a legislative text, but was recognized by all as an estab lished constitutional custom, and has never been violated since, except on very rare emergency occasions and for very short periods.

One of the charges brought about by the 1951 Constitution is that this unwritten principle became now an article of the Constitution. Article 78 provides that "The Government must enjoy Parliament's confidence, and. as soon as it is formed, should ask for a vote of confidence". Beyond this restriction, the written law does not seem to place any further limitation on the King's right to select his Ministers. However, there are some unwritten restrictions on this point also: Ministers are usually selected among Parliament deputies. Of course, the nomination of a Minister who is not member of Parliament is not excluded by any written provision, but is considered a deviation or something very unusual. Such deviations occured in the past, expecially during recent years. In any case, this custom restricts still further the King's prerogative to select his Ministers. It should also be noted that the Ministers are not selected by the King Himself but either by the Prime Minister or by political leaders of Parliament or even by the political parties that are going to form the Government or merely support it in Parliament. When all this is taken into consideration, it is made clear that the King does not actually participate in the exercise of either legislative or executive power, and that the Government, which is appointed, under so many restrictions, by the King, and exercises together with Parliament the legislative power, and, by itself, the executive power, depends on Parliament's confidence and approval and is usually composed of Parliamentary members.

Are we then to understand that the King has no authority at all? No; the King possesses a very important authority indeed, and exercises a highly significant duty. He is the regulator of the country's political life. How is this function demonstrated?

Article 37 of the Constitution states that the King has the right of dissolving Parliament, provided a general election can be arranged within 45 days and Parliament assembled within three months.

If the King disegrees with the Parliament's majority, or if he finds that the Parliament majority is not backed by the majority of the people he is at liberty to refer the issue to the people. After the dissolution of furliament, the mation is called upon to decide if it agrees with the majority of the dissolved Parliament or not. If it re-elects the same majority, all will comply with its decision. But if the old majority is not re-elected, there will be a change in Government. With Parliament dissolved, for the intervening three month's period, until the assembling of the new Parliament, the King is at liberty to appoint a Government of his own confidence.

Owing to this great authority, the King regulates the country's political life by harmonizing the relations between the people and and thereby affecting political developments in the country. But since everything is finally decided by the people, through general elections, the above privilege does not affect in any way the democratic character of our Government.

The nation does not express its will directly, but through deputies elected by it by general, and separe balloting; Flebiscite is not a procedure provided by our Constitution. However, in emergency cases, plebiscites took place: In 1924, for the establishment of the republic and the abolition of the royal regime, in 1935 for the restoration of the orown, and in 1946 for the return of King George 11.

Normally, the people's will is expressed by the Parliament.

The Parliament is elected for 4 years, but, as previously stated, its dissolution, is possible at any time. This can easily explain the fact that so often we have general elections in Greece.

Balloting for the election of deputies is secret and direct, that is, deputies are elected directly by the people and not through a body of electors. All Greek citizens enjoy without restrictions the right to vote, except criminals that are convicted and less their civil rights. Women have not the right to vote in general elections. But all political parties agree that this restriction has to be abolished in the near future.

The electoral system is not determined by the Constitution but by the which is often amended. In older times, until 1922, when the proportional system had not yet been introduced, chages in the relevant law concerned the extent of electoral district. Sometimes this covers a whole Nomes, sometimes only a province. After its appearance and adoption by other European countries, the proportional system, was introduced in this country in 1923, and has since been used alternately with the majority system.

Regardless of what system should be applied in Greece in the near future- a subject on which I am not going to make any comment at this timethe fact remains that, through the proportional system the political found that arose during the first world war and proved so desastrous to the country, has since 1923 ceased and the political passions abated. Thanks to that system, the nation, united, was able to successfully cops with the encountered great dangers, especially during the guerrilla warfare.

The existing law provides for a combined system but allows the re-establishment of the majority system by simple Decree.

The number of deputies is not fixed by the Constitution. The Constitution, however, sets the highest and the lowest limits to their number (300 and 150 respectively) (article 66).

Too many deputies are a handicap to the smooth operation of Parliament; few deputies are likely to acquire excessive power.

In Greece, we have only one Parliament. Prior to 1864 during King Otto's reign, we also had a Senate which acted in such a way that it became hateful to the people. For this reason, the 1862 Assembly set up the system of one Parliament. Later, the 1927 republican Constitution established a Senate which functioned successfully until 1935, when the republic was abolimhed and the 1864-1981 Constitution was again put into effect.

In 1946, this question was discussed again, but the opinion prevailed that a Senate should not be established. This decision was based on two arguments, awak one and a strong one. According to the weak argument, the second House is rather incompatible with Royal authority; the strong argument implies that in a country, which is now in an advanced stage of reconstruction, the legislative machine should operate quickly, and speed is incomsistent with the existence of two legislative bodies.

Parliament legislates, but the drafts of the laws are nearly always proposed by the Government, which has a rather exclusive legislative initiative, although, formally, every deputy is supposed to enjoy this privilege. Parliament sometimes improves the bills presented by the Ministers for encatement, but it usually inspairs them by adding partial provisions. This is not only the case with the Greek Parliament, but also with most of other Parliaments. I say this because I want to be fair. It is after all, the Government that legislates. Parliament delays legislative work, supplements it, satisfactorily or not, but I do believe it is not actually when the Gonstitution wants it to be: the main legislative factor.

Parliament's most important task is to provide Governments and support them with its vote of confidence. And after it supports them, it controls their work. The vote of confidence and the control of the Government's work is the substance of our parliamentary system. In principle, the majority supports the Government and the opposition controls it. The control of Government work, however, in the case of main issues, is not exercised

by the opposition alone, but by the Government majority as well. In this matter, Parliament is not a dependency of the Government but acts inde-pendently and the service rendered by such control is of the highest indeed.

In Greece, as in other European democracies, the agencies that exercise legislative and executive powers are not separated as in the United States. The system of complete division of powers includes, as you well know, advantages and disadvantages. The greatest disadvantage is that it is likely to cause a dissension between Government and legislative bodies, in which case the operation of the state machinery is serioually interfere with. There can be no such dissension here, as the Government emanates from the Parliament majority. As soon as this majority ceases to exist, the Government also ceases to exist and a new Government is formed from the new majority. The greatest advantage of the complete division of powers is the Government stability and the independence of the Government, comparatively at least, from the pressure of political parties.

Which system would then be better for Greece? the existing or the American one? The matter has been discussed, but it is believed that the direct election by the Greek people of the Government's Chief, in the same manner as the President of the United States is elected by the American people would involve a difficult and dangerous procedure. However, the time may come when this matter will be brought up again for discussion. Although I have no intention to express personal views in this talk, which is merely intended to present simple facts and not personal comments, I cannot help calling attention to the present crisis of democracy in Continental Europe. To say that the electoral system is responsible in this case, is a poor explanation. It is quite possible that more basic institutions are responsible. In the near future we may witness great constitutional changes in all those countries, and Greece may find itself involved in these changes also. The goal of these changes will undoubtedly be the strengthening of executive power, its greater stability and its release from the pressure brought about the voters' personal interests. In order to accomplish these objectives, Europe, and Greece in particular, will have to borrow certain ideas from the American Constitutional legislation and experience.

Regarding the third state power the judicial one, I have but very little to say. It is entirely independent. Judges are under the Constitution appointed for life. Assist the political and social upheavals, we have been through, judges are the branch of Government officials that never lost its pressige. May everything in Greece operate like the Greek justical

We all know that the weak point of our Government machinery is administration. Foreigners in Greece must know that the disease of our administration is not endemic but soldamic. During long periods in the past, especially during the long predictable terms of Electroics Venizelos, our administrative machinery operated in a manner that did in no way fall short of most of the other European countries. The reduction, however, of the employees income, the engagement during the cocupation period of unqualified men for social welfare reason, the fall of the cultural level of youth during the last ten years, all this has had an adverse effect on the country's administrative machinery. In the meantime, the state activity expanded to new economic fields where important interests are at stake and human morality painfully tried.

At present, we all realize that our administration needs certain changes in connection with the organization and composition of services but what it mostly requires is the adoption of the necessary measures for the raising of moral and efficiency standards of its employees.

Our Constitution contains sufficient and serious guarantees in favor of Government employees, Civil Servants, and the recently emacted Civil Servants Code contains still more such guarantees. We have now to see what guarantees the State should possess against delinquent or unqualified civil servants.

I believe the Code requirement of a contest for the engagement of any odvil servant will considerably improve the existing situation in the future. In the meantime, the training of certain categories of civil servants, especially junior officials, is a real emergency.

When reference is made to administration in Grosce, one must bear in mind that it also includes fields which in the United States pertain to private intitative. As you are aware education in Grosce is public, although private education is not excluded.

One third of Government civil servants, approximately 20,000 consists of primary, grammar and high school teachers. The educational field should also be raised, but for this other special criteria should be applied, which cannot be explained here. Just want to point out the importance of the problem.

The Greek Constitution is a peculiar one in that: It regulates the relations between the Church and the State. I told you, in the beginning, about the importance of the Church to the life of the Greek people. This fact has been recognized by all Greek Constitutions from 1821 to this day. In regard to the Church, the existing Constitution reproduces an alder provision which reads as follows:

"The Greek Orthodox Church, recognises our Lord Jesus Christ, as its Head, and is closely united acgmatically, with the Constantinople Great Church, as well as with any other Hemodox Christian Church, strictly adhering with them, both to the holy apostolic and synodic rules and to the holy traditions". By this provision the Greek State accepted as being in force in Greece and unamendable, even by law, all above rules of the Orthodox Christian Church. The laws of the Orthodox Church are laws of the Greek State.

From the administrative standpoint, the Greek Church is independent. Its relations with the State are governed by an agreement which was entered into between the Constantinople Patriarchate and the Greek State, and by a basic Greek State Law. From this law, the close tie between State and Greek Church is also made clear.

This was made possible for the following reasons:

 All Greek citizens with the exception of 50,000 moslems, 40,000 Roman Catholios, 5,000 protestants and about 5,000 jews, belong to the Orthodox religion.

2) Since Byzantine times, and in contrast with Papies, the relations between socular and sociesiastical authority have been very close. The church in Greece is a national institution.

The influence of the Church in Greek public life is very high. It would be still higher if the Church was less poor. At any rate, in the future also, anyone having to deal with things in the first into country, should take into account the Church as an important factor, that could considerably contribute to the raining of the people's intellectual level and to the assumption of a proper attitude toward the materialistic Communist theories.

Like every other Constitution, the Greek constitution lays down the possenal liberties, rights that the Greek citizen or any other person living in the Country should enjoy. These provisions bear an intense democratic impress, and in many cases provide much more protection for the individual than that guaranteed by many known democratic constitutions in Europe. The constitution recently enacted, introduced two important amendments, which I have to mention here:

The first important amendment, made in the face of the communistic disagr, provides that in case of serious civil disturbance or open threat to the country's public order and safety from inside danger, the Government may declare martial law and suspend the citizen's personal liberties (freedom of the press, inviolability of demicile etc.) This was previously allowed only in the case of an cutside danger.

The second important modification deals with the freedom of the press. It contains, apparently with a view to the Abamunist meance, a provision authorizing the seisure by judicial decree after publication of any printed material of a revolutionary character, or implying an attempt against the safety of the country or instigating to disloyalty or treason. The existing Constitution also permits, after three condemnatory sentences, the extenting Densitivition also permits, after three condemnatory sentences, the stopping of the paper involved. With the exception of the Communists, against whom repressive measures were sometimes taken, in each case within the frame of existing laws, affecting the freedom of their newspapers, the freek press is in reality not only free but uncontrollable. Even its obvious slanderous reports remain ungunished. This is due to the prevailing leniency in Greek Courts. I very much doubt if much a policy can really serve the idea of freedom. On the contrary, I believe it undermines it. Freedom is mostly a responsibility. Where there is no sense of responsibility, real freedom cannot exist, Press law in Greece, as made by Elefterics Venizeles about 25 years ago, are good, but their application has been innomplete.

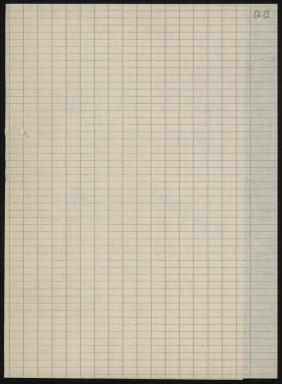
I now want to say a few words that will bring me to the close of my talk:

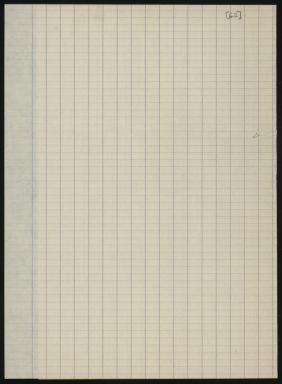
Greece has a Constitution which, in its basic items, especially after the last amendment of 1951, is rather good for the country and the conditions of today. If there arise any constitutional problems, this is due either to non-observance of the constitution or to its interpretation, not in good faith but under the influence of political passions.

Of course, if this country is ever becalmed, octain non-fundamental provisions of the constitution will have to be improved. But this action is neither urgent nor advisable just now. The first thing to do is to reorganize administration and carry out decentralization and the strengthening of self-government. It is urgently important that proper training in citizenship be provided to ensure. Mederation in political friction and respect for the rival opinion. I believe this last requirement is indispensable, if we are to see democracy in Greece operate without political upheavals.

This statement is not intended to convey the idea that we are worse than many other European peoples. We are nevertheless poorer, and powerty eannot afford the luxury of extremities and irreconcilable policies. Foverty imposes on the Greeks a virtue which their amoestors considered the hignest (after the love for freeden) that is medication.

The intellectual capacity of the Greek people permits us to hope that all this can be done. Let us express the wish that our generation sees it accomplished.





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OFFICE OF VICE-PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY-TREASURER

March 13, 1953

Professor Constantine Tsatsos c/o Nittany Lion Inn State College, Pennsylvania

Dear Professor Tsatsos:

I mm pleased to know that Victor Rosenblum has your program so well in hand. I was somewhat surprised to note that your visit in Chicago is back up to 10 days. I want to repeat my previous comment that your interests at the Public Administration Clearing House can be satisfied in a much shorter period of time. However, it may be in deference to other people in Chicago that you desire the longer visit. Please let me have your confirmation on this matter.

With my very best wishes for a pleasant and interesting trip, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Thep Miller

H. Philip Mettger

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March 13, 1953

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Professor Constantine Tsatsos c/o Nittany Lion Inn State College, Pennsylvania

Dear Professor Tsatsos:

I am just going to write a few lines today to let you know that we have heard from Professor Salz and that he is looking forward with anticipation to your visit in Columbus. We are making arrangements for you to stay at the Southern Hotel in Columbus and have taken the liberty of writing Professor Salz that you will call him the morning after your arrival. If it is convenient for you, we hope that you will be able to. You are scheduled to arrive in Columbus March 21 at 11:00 p.m. As to the visit to Charleston, West Virginia, I am afraid that the train schedules are contradictory to your best interests. There are no trains from Charleston to Gainesville. Consequently, it might be more convenient for you to meet Conley when you return to New York. Unless you feel that the visit to Charleston at this time is worth the inconvenience of much additional and time consuming travel, we will arrange to have you proceed directly from Columbus to Gainesville. Even that trip will take a day and two nights.

Early next week we will send you the details of the suggested itinerary. I hope that you are enjoying yourself immensely at State College.

Victor

Victor G. Rosenblum Program Staff

1.00

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE 1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

DUPONT 7-6612

OFFICE OF VICE-PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY-TREASURER

March 16, 1953

Professor Constantine Tsatsos c/o Nittany Lion Inn State College, Pennsylvania

Dear Professor Tsatsos:

Enclosed, please find a copy of your tinerary for your trip in the United States. I hope you will find it satisfactory; however, if there are any questions or suggestions that you may have, please don't hesitate to write us.

Your train tickets have been ordered and I will mail them to you Wednesday morning. Will you please tell the desk clerk at the Mittany Lion Inn that you are expecting an important registered, special delivery letter on Friday and ask them to be sure to accept it for you when it is delivered. If you have not received the tickets by late Friday afternoon, please call me "collect" at Dupont 7-6612. However, the tickets should reach you by Friday noon.

With my very best wishes for an enjoyable and profitable trip, I am

Sincerely yours,
Trances Banne

(Mrs.) Frances C. Barrie

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Affiliated with the American Political Science Association 1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

March 18, 1953

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Mr. Constantine Tsatsos c/o Nittany Lion Inn State College, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Tsatsos:

Enclosed are your rail tickets and pullman reservations for the remainder of your journey as stated on your itinerary. There are several points I want to bring to your attention at this time:

1. Instead of taking New York Central Railroad, train # 433 from Columbus to Cincinnati, it is necessary for you to take Pennsylvania Railroad, train # 37-205 in order to honor your ticket. This train leaves Columbus at 3:00 p.m. and arrives in Cincinnati at 5:10 p.m.

- 2. You will have to purchase your own train ticket from Temple, Texas to Austin, Texas (round-trip) since M-K-T Railroad does not issue tickets here in Washington.
- 3. Be sure to double check all bus and train departures on or after April 26 since many cities go on daylight saving time on April 26.

4. There is an error on your itinerary on page 2. At the bottom of the page where it reads "Sunday, April 5: 10:45 a.m.: Leave New Orleans for Houston, Texas...", it should read "Leave Baton Rouge for Houston, " since it will not be necessary for you to make the return bus trip to New Orleans to meet this

5. I will send you information on your revised itinerary (resulting from your telephone conversation with Mr. Rosenblum this morning) at the earliest possible moment. I will also send you at that time a check for advance travel funds so that you will be able to purchase those bus and train tickets that we can not provide you.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours.

(Mrs.) Frances C. Barrie

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Mr. Constantine Tsatsos c/o Southern Hotel High & Main Streets Columbus, Ohio

Columbus, Ohio
Dear Professor Tsatsos:

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Staff
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HARVEY WALKER

I am enclosing the revised titnerary we have prepared for you and hope that it will be in accord with your wishes. It will now be possible for you to reach New York for an extended Eastern stay by May 10th at the latest. You will reach Chicago April 30th and can stay as long as you think profitable to the relifilizant of your project. Should seven or eight days now apple in Oddcago, you can be in New York by Ney S. In any event, you can make your reservations for New York whenever you wish to leave Chicago.

The alterations we have made have required elimination of the stopowers at smitin, Texas and fishcoin, Nebraska. I do hope your visits to Florida and Louisians will prove sufficient to acquainty you with the current dynamic development, adminitrative problems, and distinctive traditions of the South. The attitude of these states has traditionally been unfavorable to centralized governmental sathority; and I hope that by meeting and vorting with some of the people directly concerned with administrative problems in those areas your knowledge of and detail.

Because of the changes we have made, it will be necessary that you change your train reservations in most instances. He Barrie has noted these changes on the revised itinerary. Should any problems arise, Professor fareen, your sponsor in Gainesville, with missist you. It is important, however, that your publism is all the properties of your departure.

Just one more minor point. We will arrange meetings with Dean Olson at los Angeles to discuss his trading programs for government employees with you; but we are asking Professor Berkes to help coordinate your Los Angeles program by acting "as your sponsor there."

Please let us know your comments and reactions as your trip progresses.

Sincerely yours,

Wictor G. Rosenblum

MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON S. D. C.

DID-1 THOUSO

March 19, 1953

Mr. Constantine Tastsos o/o Southern Hotel High & Main Streets Columbus, Ohio

ear Professor Tasksos:

In a successful The Terfised citizeney so have prepared for you and pope than it will be in accord with your whiles. It will have be possible for you to reach size for an extended now be possible for you to reach size for an extended now the right policy and on size as you think profitable to the further profitable to the reaching and you repost. Board assess or sight days your way further assess or page to thought, you can be in lies York ying V. In our want, you can sake you want profitable more the wind demonstrated.

The elevations we have each here required similarities of the abspected of Austria, Force and Lincoln, Shranker, I do hope your visits to Florida and Laudelan will prove smilladent you organish you will be convent insend the development, administerity oppoless, and intained to traditions of the South Time stitude of these claims has traditionally been university to conductated proventional understip and I hope that by

discount working with some of the people directly concerned with administrative problems in these areas your moving of occupants workings of our federal system may consider greater occupants.

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Please let us know your comments progresses.

Officer D IL LITCHEVILLO

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ARTHUR F. BRADGE CAME, IN CHARLES E. CUSTOMAN HAROLD M. DORR CARL, X FRIEDRICH ERHESTES, CHARLES E. ORIGINATE HARVEY MARKETEL.

WASHINGTON 6, D. C. DUPONT 7-6612

OFFICE OF VICE-PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY-TREASURER

March 20, 1953

Professor Constantine Tsatsos c/o Hotel Thomas N. Virginia Avenue Gainesville, Florida

Dear Professor Tsatsos:

How 13

Thank you for your letter written from State College, Pennsylvania. I'm sorry that your original itinerary was unsatisfactory; however, given the necessary limitations, I hope that your revised itinerary proved "the best solution."

I trust that you found Professor Salz in good health and that you enjoyed your brief stay at Columbus. I must confess that Ohio State is my favorite University of the four I attended. I wish that you could have stayed there for a longer period, since I'm sure you would have found many persons of interest there.

Being your "providence on earth" at this time, I am enclosing a check in the amount of \$150 which represents your per diem allowance for the period, April 1 to 15, inclusive.

We are looking forward to hearing about the progress of your trip in the United States.

Sincerely yours.

(Mrs.) Frances C. Barrie

Will a delay 4 Sat . A landed goodules 1 gr Datos house In 4/4/5)

Colyn gots Jean Mª Mettees In my lettre to 1/5 Darries / mentioned of the I days as q minimum stay for theaps. In this of days I maked in Jegadey for my try to 1. 4. became
I thought from would be
water things Suffale and in the Mappy falls. To my stay in Chrispe will not last word than one week; but if you think that it should be reduced to 6 day

I think that at lay Francisco) having to day to speed I shall a with of two days and it is way I would like to keep these day, as expected in your itimizing Talso as ked for to be back in the area of wash - Van Trans at the to May became the tent on some there days will be over. dayed in hip as well as in high and so I believe it is executed forme to be the finish my tong It the 10 May extremely every day of my stay here is tato College as well as the long weelings I has in the bush but if local fovermens in Philadelphing

My dear ... A! Rosenllum and little with 1 for my trip, and I thank fout. to which for it; her with it is writer July scheduled. There is touly one, but there an respection to all the project. In order to be were that has Aux forth I shall have the recessary tune for 12%, week and the surrounding this. 'az afraid that the duto of what I will be arrive in M. M. mune not be late than the 10 thy I cannot be were that if I will be able to stay unhy the 82 This May be I havell

have trudeave 3-4 days earlier by lan forese that is Hesting as well as in V. f. y lot of appear will arise of the land unguy and there will the work in the most un portant things I have to do in the Chates . To I think that we have to which on this date of 10 May and confice some place are or his hour of the whole trip - of course I think that one sheet is lay to the the the stay in sprage considered & furnismun tos Leaving of furthe arrange

ment up to for I supper that we could reduce the very slay in to Augele to \$6 days and they carried Webraska in the worth be which by which we speed another comple of day and the bould I am anofully vory to but you place as the shire of right and law were for will understand how we want it is important for the

uncess of my whole top to keep some slags of reserve which - I am were will be very husy on any core Hope you will Denny my Providence on for to many week length hope you again, find the best colution to the problem and excure me for all the houble 1 am geving for I received House thing as well as you letter and would like to thank you for the way it imany you have I to werefuly I cheduled

FRANCES BARRIE

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRES INSTITUTE

1785 MASS. AVE

WASHINGTON D.C.

WILL LEAVE FOR YALE JUNE SECOND PLEASE ARMING ACCOMO DATIONS

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GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE (1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

DUPONT 7-6612

March 27, 1953

Mr. Constantine Tsatsos c/o William Larsen, Director Public Administration Clearing Service University of Florida Gainesville, Florida

Dear Mr. Tsatsos:

When you arrive in Baton Rouge, will you please go directly to Pleasant Hall (Located on the campus of Louisiana State University) where Professor Harrish has made a reservation for you. If you should have any trouble in locating your room at Pleasant Hall, call Professor Harris at his home. His telephone number is 2-1190.

I hope you are enjoying your trip and send my best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Frances Barke

(196.) Frances C. Barrie

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GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE 1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON 6. D. C. **DUPONT 7-6612**

OFFICE OF VICE-PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY-TREASURER

April 2, 1953

Dear Professor Tsatsos:

Thank you so much for your letter from Gainesville. I'm delighted to hear that you are enjoying yourself so much and I'm sure that everyone you meet enjoys your visit also. To be truthful, I suspected that you would go to the city managers! convention in Saint Petersburg and that is why we scheduled you to stay an extra day in Florida. I hope you will take advantage of any similar opportunities that may arise in the course of your trip.

I have one matter to bring to your attention at this time. Your hotel reservation in San Francisco has been changed to the Carlton Hotel, 2338 Telegraph Avenue in Berkeley, California. I made this change since you will probably spend most of your time at the University of California which is located across the bay from San Francisco in Berkeley.

In my next letter I will discuss the last part of your itinerary and until then T can only say I wish I had the opportunity to hear some of your lectures and speeches.

Very truly yours,

Francis Borne

Frances C. Barrie

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE 1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.

WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

DUPONT 7-6612

OFFICE OF VICE-PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY-TREASURES

Professor Constantine Tsatsos c/o Figueroa Hotel 939 S.Figueroa Street Los Angeles, California

Dear Professor Tsatsos:

Enclosed, please find a check in the amount of \$150 which represents your per diem allowance for the period, April 16 to 30, inclusive.

Also, I am enclosing a check for \$43.15 as reimbursement of the money you have spent for inter-city travel. The bus trip from New Orleans to Baton Rouge is not included, however. since the ticket did not state the amount of fare. If you can tell me the price of that bus ticket I will be able to send you a check for it.

I hope you had a pleasant stay at Pleasant Hall and a grand tour through the Grand Canyon. We look forward to hearing from you about your

Sincerely yours,

Affliated with the American Political Science Association 1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

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April 13, 1953

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Professor Constantine Tsatsos c/o Hotel Figueroa 939 S. Figueroa Street Los Amgeles, California

Dear Professor Testans.

In regard to the last part of your itinerary (following Chicago) which was left open at your request, I am enclosing a list of suggested train schedules and hotels at those cities you expressed a desire to visit -- using New York City as your base of operations. Also enclosed is a check in the amount of \$75 so that you may purchase the necessary train tickets to complete your itinerary.

If you wish to plan your own itinerary for the remainder of your stay in the U.S., using as a guide the enclosed suggestions, we ask only that you obtain receipts for all inter-city transportation that you purchase and that you inform us of your mailing addresses and the dates they are applicable. However, if you would prefer that we arrange the last part of your itinerary, it will be necessary for us to know the places you wish to visit and the approximate dates. Please feel free to do whichever you prefer -- plan your own itinerary or have us plan one for you. If you decide to plan your own itinerary and want us to write any letters of introduction for you, we will be most happy to do so.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours. Various Barrie

(Mrs.) Frances C. Barrie

Enc.

Below are listed some suggested train schedules and hotels at various points. Please note that the train schedules are such between these points that they run approximately every hour so that these suggestions should not limit you in any way.

Leave Chicago 10/5/9:40 a.m. Arrive Niagara Falls/0/5 10:00 p.m.

Leave Niagara Falls | 12:01 noon Arrive New York City | 9:30 p.m. Deave New York City 9:00 a.m. Arrive Magara Falls 6:100.m.

Leave New York City 8:00 a.m.
Arrive New Haven, Conn. 9:52 a.m.
(Yale University)

Leave New Haven, Conn. 9:40 a.m. Arrive Boston, Mass. 12:50 p.m. (Harvard University - Cambridge)

Leave Boston, Mass. 8:00 a.m.
Arrive New Haven 10:37 a.m.
Leave New Haven 10:11 a.m.
Arrive New York City 12:00 noon

Leave New York City 10:48 a.m. Arrive Princeton, N.J. 11:57 a.m.

Leave Princeton, N.J. 9:40 a.m. Arrive New York City 10:50 a.m. New York Central Railroad, train # 46

New York Central Railrod, train # 50. 9.30

New York Central Railroad, train # 51.

New York, New Haven & Hartford /,52

New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, train # 8.

New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, train # 9.

Pennsylvania Railroad, train # 209.

Pennsylvania Railroad, train # 188.

Hotel Converse 325 First Street Niagara Falls, New York

Hotel Taft New Haven, Connecticut

Hotel Bostonian 1138 Boylston, Boston, Massachusetts

Princeton Inn Princeton, New Jersey

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April 22, 1953

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Professor Constantine Tsatsos c/o Carlton Hotel 2338 Telegraph Avenue Berkeley, California

Dear Professor Tsatsos:

Enclosed, please find a check in the amount of \$150 which represents your per diem allowance for the period. May 1 to 15, inclusive.

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In accordance with your wishes, I have arranged your itinerary from Chicago to New York City. I have ordered your train tickets from Chicago to Niagara Falls and Niagara Falls to New York City and have also requested hotel reservations for you. Attached is a copy of that part of your itinerary. You will be contacted in Chicago at the Mayflower Hotel by a representative of the New York Central Railroad. He will see that you receive your rail tickets and will explain them to you. Therefore, I am asking you to keep the check for \$75 that I sent you and pay for these tickets in Chicago. I believe this will be the most convenient procedure insofar as you already have the check and also because the New York Central Railroad cannot issue tickets here in Washington and you would have to get them in Chicago anyway.

As for the remainder of your titimerary, I believe the best thing for you to do is allow your-self complete freedom in visiting the places you wish, using New York City as your base. All these trips are only a few hours out of New York City and you need only to purchase train coach tickets which is very simple since no reservations are necessary. Also, these trains are scheduled about excessing the power of the property of the

Ticket affice are 63 cl + Darchester are mr. Clemento

We presently have the pleasure of working with Dr. George Maragopoulos who is in Washington. His itinerary is not planned as yet but he will spend the next week in New York City and then spend a few days with Dr. Alderfer at Pennsylvania State College. It is likely that you and he will be in New York or Washington at the same time.

I hope you are enjoying your trip. We would very much like to hear from you concerning your experiences. With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Transco Barner

Frances C. Barrie

Enc.

1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
DUPONT 7-5612

OFFICE OF VICE-PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY-TREASURER

April 23, 1953

Professor Constantine Tsatsos c/o Carlton Hotel 2338 Telegraph Avenue Berkeley, California

Dear Professor Tsatsos:

I forgot to mention in my letter of yesterday that I do have your TwA ticket from Washington to Athens. It will be necessary for me to make your return reservations to Athens approximately a month in advance. Therefore, will you please let me know about May 15 the approximate date you wish to leave from New York and whether you want to make any stopovers, say, in London or Rome.

We received a letter from Professor Ross Beste today telling us how much he enjoyed your visit in Los Angelss and of your excellent lecture on European unity. It is gratifying to learn that you are enjoying yourself and are so enjoyed by your hosts.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Frances C. Barrie

Affiliated with the American Political Science Association 1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

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Orman Oliman May 4, 1953

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SAMUEL C. MAY

S. B. ZISMAN

KEITH L. SEEGMILLER

Professor Constantine Tsatsos c/o Mayflower Hotel 6125 S. Kenwood Avenue Chicago, Illinois

Dear Professor Tsatsos:

I received your letter of May 1 this morning and am glad to hear that everything is going well.

In regard to the matters you mentioned. I shall be most happy to cancel your New York hotel reservation. As far as your rail ticket is concerned, it will be necessary for you to turn in for refund that part of your Western Pacific ticket from Chicago to New York for two reasons: 1) Western Pacific does not have trains going to Buffalo, and 2) as I wrote earlier, you will be contacted in Chicago by an agent of New York Central Railroad who has your tickets and reservations in order. Also, I have guaranteed payment to New York Central Railroad by you in Chicago.

Right now Dr. Maragopoulos is in New York City -- I received a card from him this morning. Next week he will spend some time with Dr. Alderfer at Pennsylvania State College and. following that, will start on a rather extensive journey throughout the country -- similar to yours.

Sincerely yours,

Frances C. Barrie

Officera

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE 1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.

WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

OFFICE OF VICE-PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY-TREASURER

May 5, 1953

Professor Constantine Tsatsos c/o Mayflower Hotel 6125 S. Kenwood Avenue Chicago, Illinois

Dear Professor Tsatsos:

Enclosed, please find a check in the amount of \$160 representing you per diem for the period May 16 through May 31.
Also, I am enclosing a letter for you.

Many thanks for your letter of May 2. It's rather unique to find someone so conscientious about American taxpayer's money.

If you have not been contacted by the New York Central Railroad by Friday morning, May 8, please send me a collect wire. However, I do not think this will be the case.

With my very best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Trances G. Barrie

Enc.

1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C. DUPONT 7-6612

OFFICE OF VICE-PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY-TREASURER

May 8, 1953

Professor Constantine Tsatsos c/o Nicholas Tsatsos Rockefeller Plaza 30 New York 20, New York

Dear Professor Tsatsos:

I hope your trip to the Niagara Falls was pleasant and that you had sufficient time to look around. Perhaps a full day there would have been a better plan.

Enclosed, please find several newspapers for you -- you must suspect by now that we have several stamp collectors in our office.

My purpose in writing you today is to ask you to please call Mr. Conley in Charleston, West Virginia in order that a meeting in New York City may be arranged (as I understand it, with you, Mr. Conley and a Mr. Nevin). You should call Mr. Conley "collect". His office number at Charleston is 39108 and his home number is 3911h.

We are all looking forward to seeing you again in Washington. Again, let me say that if you want us to prepare an itinerary for the remainder of your trip, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Frances C. Barrie

MO-2-7608

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ASSISTED with the American Political Science Association
1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
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May 14, 1953

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SAMUEL C. MAY
KETTH L. SEEGMILLER
HARVEY WALKER

Professor Constantine Tsatsos c/o Nicholas Tsatsos Rockefeller Plaza 30 New York 20, New York

Dear Professor Tsatsos:

I'm very glad to hear that you arrived safely in lew York - although you might have enjoyed an extended visit in Canada. It's wonderful to get your letters -- I wish all of our visitors were like you and then my job would be doubly enjoyable. I, too, regret that you must return to Greece and hope that it will be possible for you to come back to the U.S. for a much longer visit some time. But I will follow your instructions and schedule your return plane reservation between June 23 and 25. If you want to stop for several days in Paris or Rome, please let me know -- otherwise, I'll schedule you to fly directly from Washington to &thens.

And now your orders. First, I have learned that Mr. Conlay of Charleston, Meet Virginia will not be shat to make a meeting in New York City. Therefore, I have been asked to ask you to please write this the dates you are not seen to be suffered to a constant of the contract of the Department of Covernment at Columbia University of act as your sponsor. If you will please call Mr. Retcher on Monday morning, May 18, I'm sure he will prepare an Scitter propping for you in New York. His telephone masker of this number before 10(0) a.m. or after 11:00 a.m. seen

If you would like to come to Washington for a couple of days, say at the end of next week, we could plan a program for you to wist the Eastern Intwentites. Gr., if you write us of the places you want to wist, we could make up an itinerary and contacts for you. Whatever you want to do is fine with us. We're all looking forward to seeing you again in Washington.

PRANEIE XAIPEIN

P.S. Thanks for the New York Central receipt.

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GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE 1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C. DUPONT 7-6612

OFFICE OF VICE-PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY-TREASURER

May 22, 1953

Professor Constantine Tsatsos c/o Nicholas Tsatsos Rockefeller Plaza 30 New York 20, New York

Dear Professor Tsatsos:

Enclosed, please find a check in the amount of \$150 representing your per diem allowance for the period, June 1 to 15, inclusive. I trust you will be happy to receive it.

- I do miss hearing from you lately -- I haven't had a letter from you for some time. I hope this is an indication that you are busy and enjoying yourself. When will we see you in Washington?

With best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Frances C. Barrie

Frances Danses)

Enc.

Affiliated with the American Political Science Association 1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

May 28, 1953

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Professor Constantine Tsatsos c/o Nicholas Tsatsos Rockefeller Plaza 30 New York 20, New York

Dear Professor Testens.

First of all I want to thank you for your wonderful letter I received the other day. And let me say, most emphatically, that you have been priveleged in being my "favorite visitor" and even though I do hold to the principal of democratic equality, I am subject to the influence of individual differences. However, we were, of course, pleased to hear (through you) that Dr. Maragopoulos is pleased with the arrangements we made for him.

Most unhappily, I have made your return reservations to Athens. You are scheduled to leave Washington on the morning of Wednesday, June 2h for New York City where you will board Pan American flight # 118 for Rome where you will make a plane connection to Athens. I found the task of making these reservations quite difficult since the thought of your leaving makes me very sad. Another thing that disturbs me is that you will be in Washington during the time I will be away on vacation. I am leaving Washington on June 6 to visit Minneapolis, Minnesota (my last university site, the University of Minnesota) and will not be back in Washington until June 22. According to this schedule I shall be able to see you only the two days before your departure --June 22 and 23. What a shame since I was looking forward to having some discussions with you on philosophical

It was nice to hear your voice again on the telephone yesterday (albeit briefly) and I acknowledge your telegram of this morning. We have contacted Professor Robert Lane of the Political Science Department at Yale University concerning your visit. He will be expecting your arrival in New Haven on Tuesday morning, June 2.

1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON S. D. C. WASHINGTON S. D. C.

RC well

Professor Constantine Teateon o/o Micholas Teateon Rockefeller Plaza 30

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Officer OWARD H. LITCHPIEL OUTCOM

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I have made a reservation for you at the Taft Hotel in lews Hawen and you should call Professor Lane after you check in at the hotel. (Instructions, again) Trains are scheduled frequently between New York (Siy and New Haven, Commecticut. For example, I might suggest the Hew York, New Hawen, 6 Hartford Hallroid, Irain # 6 build Lawes Hew Tork (New Lawes Haven, 6 Hartford Hallroid, Irain # 6 build Lawes Hew York City at 6:00 a.m. and arrives in New Lawes Hew York (New Lawes Hew Lawes L

One more thing. As soon as you know the day of your arrival in Washington, please write so that I can make your reservation at the National. Although it's quite likely you would have no trouble in getting a room without advance notice.

Please write or call us "collect" if there is anything we can do for you. With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Frances Banke

Frances C. Barrie

[32.4] on W. heusler

ESTER

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of dentination

WA380 NL PD=FAX WASHINGTON DC 29 = PROFESSOR CONSTANTINE TSATSOS CARE NICHOLAS TSATSOS= 349 EAST 49 ST NYK=

JUST INFORMED TAFT HOTEL. NEW HAVEN. HAS NO ACCOMMODATIONS OPEN. PROFESSOR LANE ACCOMMODATIONS PLEASE PHONE HIM ON YOUR ARRIVAL. HIS NUMBER IS STATE 7-3131 EXTENSION 360. REGARDS=

FRANCES BARRIE GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE 1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE NW WASHINGTON 6 DC= ..

Affiliated with the American Political Science Association 1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

June 5, 1953

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S. B. ZISMAN

Dear Professor Tsatsos:

Welcome back to Washington -- I wish very much that I were here to greet you. I, too, shall look forward to June 22 and 23 as holidays. I give you one of my favorite books to entertain you until my return.

Enclosed is your per diem check for June 16 to " 21 -- from your Providence on Earth.

With very best wishes and kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours, Frances Barrie

P.S. Please plan to have dinner at my home on Tuesday evening, June 23.

On the extra baggage allowance, please ask Miss Freeman to get it for you.

Affliand with the American Political Science Association
1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
DUPONT 7-1111

June 13, 1953

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HARVEY WALKER

Mr. Constantine Tsatsos c/o Hotel Minerva 21% Huntington Avenue

Dear Mr. Tsatsos:

Lat me reasure you shout your return reservation on Fan American flight number 116. The reason there was no record of your reservation in New York is that a certain number of seats on each flight are set antide for the use of the Nemberoton office of Fan American, and, of course, your reservation was made here. I talephone fan American to wordfy your fact, they were about to talephone me since that Hew York office and quat called them about your inquiry. We also checked the departure time and it is still 1 o'clock, local time, in the altermoon.

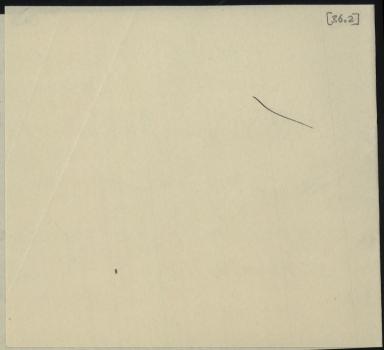
We have changed your flight reservation from Washington to Hear Tork to an Eastern Airlines flight which leaves Washington at 7:30 in the norming, arriving at laGmardia Airport at 6:10 a.m. This would give you four hours to collect your language in the city, but if you do not feel it is enough I am serve there will be no difficultly in changing to an even earlier flight. This will be easy enough to do when you wanter to East between.

Hope that everything is going well with you. We are looking forward to seeing you again.

Sincerely yours,

Lome Freeman

[36.1] Kai ir apopé 620 Affaire luctifute 18



Huapopá to
The Governmental Affairs Institute
Washington D. C.

of pagary.

CONSTANTINE TSATSOS 9, Kydathinson Street Athens, Greece

July 24, 1958

Professor Resemblum Governmental Affaits Institute 1785, Massachusetts Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C.

Dear Professor Rosenblum:

I am cualcting hereafth two copies of the report on my trip in the Unites Chetae. Nould you planes have the kindness to true property of the State Department, Division of Evchange of Eversons, which I precised to send them. I do not think that a separate report is meeded for this Division, because I think this one cover all the points I had to stress.

I am, also, enclosing a copy of a letter I sent on the same subject to your Secretary of State.

Yours sincerely,

Constantine Tsatsos

Enclosure

CONSTANTINE TSATSOS
9, Kydathineon Street
Athens, Greece

July 24, 1953

Professor Rosenblum Governmental Affairs Institute 1785, Massachusetts Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C.

Dear Professor Rosenblum:

I am emclosing herewith two copies of the report on my trip in the United States. Nould you please have the kindness to transmit one copy to the State Department, Division of Erchange of Persons, which I precised to send them. I do not think that a separate report is needed for this Division, because I think this one cover all the points I had to stress.

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Yours sincerely,

Constantine Tsatsos

Enclosure

July 1953 - Athery

REPORT

TO: The Governmental Affairs Institute, Washington, D.C.
FROM: Professor Constanting Teatess. Grantes of the America

Professor Constantine Tsatsos, Grantee of the American Government Under the Smith-Mandt Act, Athens, Greece

SUBJECT: Report on Grant of the American Government Under the Smith-Numbt Act

last winter, a grant was offered me by the American Government under the Enith-Hundt Act. I accepted it with great pleasure, believing that it would turn out useful both for me and the Government which so kindly offered it.

As for myself, I thought this grant would be of value in two ways; first, by giving me the opportunity of improving my knowledge on a special problem which I was working on at the time and second, by making me acquainted with the social and political life of the United States.

The special problem of my interest was the following:
What ideas can be acquired for the advancement of the principle of a
confederated Europe from the ways in which the American federation has
been constituted and is operating up todate; and, in the drawing up of
the first administrative pattern of this European confederation, what
points could be followed from the example of the American administration.

To find an enswer to these questions, I had not only to study texts, but also to see for myself the application of these principles in American life. I had specifically to see on the spot, how conflicts arising between the States and the Pederal Government are settled; how the principle of unity in the United States does not do away with the principle of federation; how within the framework of 40 United States, they succeed in preserving their independent character of States and do not degenerate into more administrative districts of the Federal Government.

These are the reasons because of which I had to visit various States having a different economic and administrative structure and a different localization.

Through these travels, I was able to reach my other purpose, that of a general knowledge of the social and political life of the United States.

The principle way for me to secure all the required information, was meeting people who could be helpful in the developing of my "Europe confederation" idea. I was not mistaken in expecting to find the academic people the best fitted to help me in both my purposes. In some cases high officials were also helpful but, in general, they did not possess the broad outlook which I found with the professors in the several Universities I visited.

The Division of Exchange of Pursons, entrusted the Covernmental Affaire Institute with the care of my whole trip. It is with members of this Institute that I planmed by tour, chose the places where I was to stay and the persons I was to meet. By knowledge of American life being very sketchy, I had to rely on the experience and intelligence of the Institute numbers who were specially in charge of my person. I cannot say if this is the best solution in general, but for me at least, this procedure proved a complete success. If it were not for the experience

the efforts and good will of the members of the Governmental Affairs
Institute, it would have been impossible for me to learn as much as I
ddd in such a short time and to meet all the interesting and valuable
people I met all ever the country. The work of the Institute did not
end with the drafting of my program. During my trip, certain changes
had to be made which brought about changes in the whole itinerary.
The Institute kindly took care of my railway tickets and hotel reservations.
It was kept busy during my whole tour throughout the country. Everything
was taken care of, planned and reorganised in such a manner that I
cortainly got the best possible results I could have hoped for wherever
I wont.

I first stayed over two weeks in Washington. This is a most valuable starting point for anyone interested in public administration or anything related to this field of activity. While in Washington, I attended certain courses organized by the Reception Center for Poreigners as a general introduction to American life. These courses could be made much more interesting if the average foreigner who attended them belonged to a leader's level. This, not being the case, these courses were not very useful for persons having a certain interestional background of knowledge. I was, also, given the possibility during those days in Washington, to attend the Conference of the Scottay of Public Administration. This was the best possible first contact with problems and persons I could have hoped for. I listened for days to the most interesting discussions on the crucial problems of American public administration and not a great mamber of cutstanding personalities in this fields by friendship and cooperation in Greece with some American experts in public administration

also helped in making this occasion an enlightening introduction into the problems and difficulties of the administration in the United States.

Strengthened by this start, I thought of making my second stop where I would contact some American Friends who knew me as a theorist in social sciences as well as a public administrator and who would help make easier for me the transition from my way of conceiving and facing problems to the ways of your country. That is why I went first to State College, Pennsylvania, where Dr. Harold F. Alderfor is teaching. He is a man who helped considerably the reorganization of local government administration in Greece during his two-year stay with the Intual Security Agency. Thanks to him, my first stops, the most difficult, were made easier. Although during my trips I primarily discussed problems related directly to the idea of federation, I could not neglect the opportunity of examining problems which were even slightly related with my principal interest.

Therefore, although I was principally interested in the conflicts between States and the relations between the States and the Federal Government, I extended my discussions to the problems concerning the relations of the States with the local government units. State College and Fhiladelphia with their two Institutes of Local Government, gave me a very interesting outlook on this subject.

by next contact was Professor Arthur Salz in Ohio, Columbiad.

Professor Sals had been my teacher in Germany many years age, and knowing
the spirit under which I was educated and the methodology with which I
was Cumiliar, was perfectly fitted to point out the differences between my
theoretical background and the American way of thinking.

After some most enlightening discussions with Professor Salg and with the knowledge I was acquiring in the meantime, and my experiences in the everyday life of the country, I started my tour beginning with the Southern States. By first stop was Gainsville, Florida.

I would like to make at this point some general remarks which apply to all the Universities and Institutions I visited until the end of my stay in the United States.

In every place I had a professor chosen by the Institute of Governmental Affairs as my sponsor who took care of everywhing. In this way I had several professors guiding me in seeing schools, meeting people and studying problems. One and all fulfilled this tedious task with a good will and kindness which I shall never forget and which I shall always consider as a distinctive mark of the American character (at least among all the intellectuals I met).

During my stay in Gainsville, I was able, thanks to the professors of Public Administration, to go over to St. Petersburg and attend during two days the 7th Short Course prepared for the City-Managers of Florida.

By next step was through New Orleans to Baton Rouge, where among many other colleagues I had the extreme satisfaction of having long talks with Professor Einst Yosgelin, the author of the introduction to a new Science of Politics, a man whom I consider a rising glory in the field of Political Science in the United States.

I, then, went to the Southern California University of Los Angeles and the Berkeley University in San-Rymeisco. In Chicago, my principh mounters did not take place to the University of Chicago, but in the Public Administration Clearing House, an Institution in which one has the possibility of finding united under the same roof, the nost important organizations dealing with the various aspects of public administration in the States.

In ten days time, the only thing possible, is to learn the sources from which you can get your information and your knewledge of the American problems of public administration in which you may be interested. And this, in itself, is a next valuable acquisition for which Otheage was extremely helpful.

I arrived in New York at the closing of the academic year, and, therefore, missed meeting some professors in the University of Columbia whose acquaintance would have been most important to me. Hevertheless, I found quite a few members of the faculty who were still there, and anjoyed some highly instructive conversations. The same can be said for Yale, New Haven, and Harvard, Boston, the two last Universities which I visited.

During this long trip through a dosen Universities, I was invited to give some lectures and participate in seminars for graduates. This happened in the Universities of State College, Philadelphia, Gainsville and Southern California. The direct contact with students during those seminars or during informal meetings in their fraternities or personal encounters, permitted me to glamoe into the interests of American youth in political sciences. I, also, saw the kind of relationship which exists between the student and the teacher, which is freer and more informal than that in Durope, with all its advantages and disadvantages.

Except for the discussions on the problems which essentially interested me, I had also the opportunity to talk with colleagues, who

in many cases, had differing opinions to mine, on more general problems, such as:

- (a) on the methodology of political sciences:
- (b) on the relations between the studies in the Schools of Public Administration and the Law Schools (a quite different relation to that existing in the European Combinent);
- (e) on the courses of legal philosophy and jurisprudence;
- (d) on the courses of social philosophy, more especially the courses on the social philosophy of the ancient Greeks; and,
- (e) on the courses of educational administration.

In the Universities of Gainsville, and Southern California, I closely followed the way in which German and Turkish civil servants were given an advanced training course in public administration. I was, also most interested in the training of Turkish teachers, carried out in the University of Gainsville. By interest was in tiew of the possiblity of sending Greek civil servants and teachers abroad for a similar purpose.

Another nest valuable experience was that of my acquaintance with the funities of many University professors. The cordiality, wanth and hospitality I met in these modest homes, the simplicity of their life matched with the simplicity of character, created an atmosphere of intimacy and friendliness which on the Continent is seldom created, and then only after a long acquaintanceship. I, immediately, felt at home and never had the impression of being received because it was considered an obligation on their part. I really believe it was a pleasure on both sides. Our acquaintance began with a good will and a characteristic deep respect of

human personalities and ended with a sincere feeling of friendship and mutual understanding. During these long gatherings, everyone was outspoken on his viewpoints with an absolute frankness. In my presence, my American colleagues discussed among themselves their own problems as if I were one of them too. They never tried to hide possible weaknesses or defects of their people, their Universities or their country. They often stressed the wrong side of things more than the good one. I was never shocked by the so-called propaganda in advertising style. If my friends all over the States were always happy to show me the beauty of their country and the qualities of its people and its wonderful scientific achievements, they never hesitated in pointing out and even in emphasizing the defects and failures. In this manner everybody gave me the means to see and learn everything, especially the bad aspects which would otherwise have slipped my attentions with the result that I was helped to find the truth, even if it was not always favorable for the United States. I lived in an atmosphere of complete confidence with the feeling that I was a member of this community of free people who speak and think free of the usual so-called nationalistic agotism. The shrewdest propaganda in the totalitarian style could never have had the effect this complete lack of propaganda had on me.

There exists in the United States a solid guarrantee that
sectorization and extremes will never find roots, and the sporadic
attempts against freedom of thought and belief will fail in a very short
time, because they decomineconstatent with the spirit and character of
the American people.

July, 1953 Athens, Greece

to the State Department Sirings of Peyong to the foremental Affairs mobilitie washington DC of Prof. Cound. Value on the Sunth Whey a grand under the with Mundt Ach was offered me the presh writer in Alley. I accepted it with quet pleasure believing that it could be useful to you & well to the ft which so kindly effect, it

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בא נפט קאחבנטה פרתנותשפרוספה משטענוטטעם שלאחתף השנ אבן. καί νά πληρώση διαφοράν συναλλάγματος μόνο διά τά 940 δολλάρια. όρως μόνο μέρος των άφιχθέτων, ήτοι έμπορεύματα άξίας 940 δολλ. Τά ύπόλοιπα δέν άφίχθησαν άκόμη. Ο είσαγωγεύς θέλει να έκτελωνίση dolxen to 1952 els Herpard movo mépos dvitorotxodv els 2500 doda. 8.820 tov Metov tod 1946. Ex tov napayyeaseview thropeuparew ,ο εξααλπλερε καγγίτους επέτυχε ανοιγμα πιστώσεως διά Δολλ.

κρω της διαφοράς συναλλάματος ύπάρχει άσφαλάς. (Ταθτα είδικώτερον натаболу плобегитиву опуалляритоς най бутабтву, ната то сущτώσεως καί τελειωθείσης διά του έκτελωνισμού ή υποχρέωσις πρός ορναγγαμματος. Της εισαγωγηζαρξαμένης εια του ανοίηματος της πιστου ολου τούτου ή Τράπεδα δικαιούται να ζητήση την νέαν τιμήν ημα (β κοιμπιαθομής κοιμελιών κου κονο οι έφορο Σωκηνοία δοι δποτα αύτη έχορήγησε τό άναγκαιούν συνάλλαγμα. Η υποχρέωσις με το παραγάβη μερός μόνον των άφιχθέτων έμπορευμάτων διά γώ ή Τράπεζα α) δέν δύναται νά λάβη ύπ σφιν τήν θέλησιν του είσαγω-

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BULLETIN D'INSCRIPTION A retourner à MM. Gusdorf et Ricceur, Paleis Universitaire Strasbourg

VIE CONGRES DES SOCIETES DE PHILOSOPHIE DE LANGUE FRANCAISE

om		

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dans un hôtel de catégorie supérieure (1.000 francs et au-dessus), moyenne (500 à 800 francs) 1):

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Gi-joint la somme de 1.000 francs comme droit d'inscription, en mandat, chèque banquaire, chèque postal 1).

Observations:

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1) Rayer les mentions inutiles.

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Cotisations:

Les cotisations (3.000 francs pour les membres actifs qui reçoivent le volume des <u>Actes</u> et 2.000 francs pour les membres associés) peuvent être versées dès maintenant au compte courant postal de la Société Philosophique de Strasbours au nom de son trésorier:

Monsieur GRAPPE
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ORGANISATION.

L'organisation matérielle du Congrès est en bonne voie grâce à la généreuse compréhension des autorités local est des notabilités de la région. Plusieurs réceptions of-flictelles et banquets sont prévus. Nous espérons que le Congrès pourrs preduré à sa charge une excursion d'une journée dans les Vosges et le vignoble alsacien, avec viste de Colara.

Les congressistes inscrits recevrent un mois à l'avance um billet de Congrès donnant droit aux réductions habituelles sur les chemins de fer.

Les Sociétés de Philosophie de langue française sont invitées à désigner un ou deux délegués pour les représenter officiellement à la séance administrative dont nous ne saurions trop souligner l'importance.

La troisième circulaire qui donnera les dernières indications relatives à l'organisation du VIe Congrès sera envoyée aux congressistes inscrits dans le courant de juillet

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur et cher collègue, l'expression de nos sentiments distingués.

Le Président du Congrès: René HUBERT.

Recteur de l'Académie de Strasbourg.

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OND ON EMATERINA ALEYBYNELE RUBACOE GAPATHA A1301A

planned my love and chose the place, where I has to stay and the person I kny to meet. My extraorledge of america, left being very (close to gero) I had to cely to the Experience and the intelligence of the markey of they hard the water specing by in charge of my person If this is the feet way to act - 1 cas 't way but for ine the procedure has proved a completo vucas If not for the expression ce the effort and the good will of the member of the trans to the world have been unported with to me to leavy

y a short lund of him as amich and to much as with proceeding acquaintancy rafe elloves the country. The work of the hirtharto des most finish with a fust may be my my cam wing Immy my travely angenting it en times Tappeared that cer lang changes should be done in my first progress way change of the king Hought with to the change of the whole itimeray has & the hartuhate took hung care of my railway takes and my holel reservely the historieto ing keph hing

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during the whole loon then the country. Also the practical aspech mg to carefuly Aufted assurged and that wally got the best touch that I would a heary in any place of my think My first stay in the UV. 48 by Weah. for about were than two week. This starting from seems to me cathering interesting for every filling whose interests are is done relation with the funding of the state publ. aduling Vom weterder granged

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by the beception anter for foreign Jas en makes a general until to american life. Then come would be much more interesty, if the accessor of the foreignes who altereded the belonged to a leaders - level . They my not the care and so there covery were not very use ful to people to the people a uclary interghouses from de bathe And I was Letter of the Localy of Rull, Adus. This was the best poruble interduction to putling and persons landy hope: I heard for days the most intilling defense

CIVOIN A CONTRAMA ALLEVANIES ANDAREOS (MICHAEL)

of the crucial problems of the arms. publ, ades. any I wet to a great uniles of outstanding personely is the field of publ. askin. by frencher and work eaperts on in Publ. Ades. of the estern and you the to when the suche in the transfer of of the total the difficulties of freelythe to the U.V. They theyed by this whent I thought thist my kecomy ship would be a close ((Tragy) contact with some and french who knew time a a funcion when the will and the will as

publ administration 10 early forld help muche the transition from my way of conceiving a and pacing things to the way which is hund is your country To be went first in Note lotty Morganization of the Adum teaching. Thank to him my fold type, the most difficult, hecame evenie Although during my try mornarily discussed problems tellated to the where when of federal I could not neglech

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the occapion to exerum per bling which where relating with the my pre interest were rather loose or some time inexistent to although I wa primary interested of the conflicto between the and Teluling between Hely and the F. g., I extended my discussing to proble of the whater of the State to the to cal fevery in the found State College and Phily delphis with their two Justilinty f. la governe une a very interesting outlook (from the ride) After the first introductory appears

[41.26] SOUTHATT RISHHAPHA DINDIN A ENGLERAND BLEYBY INSIS MANDOVOS GAPATHPHEELS

Billiand one followed: This time a professor who my my heachery is fermany many years apo prof. Arthury is the Columbia Kyoning with a suchods and the well which I was familia, we for excellenty fitted to point out for me the differencies and between them and the come (theory way of this king Aflie this enlightering discussion with Buf Vald and my improvement by the mean time on the every days life experences

SIESHAHTANNI SWOODHUR ZINYOYSIA RMASTIRIS

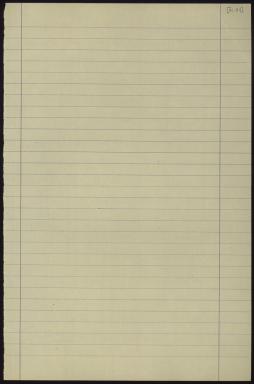
I legan my his low which the furl strey has been fainfully Florida # I would like to work which are sland for all the other mincesities and motitution I vis they until the end of my (stay) in the U. V .by every place a young professor was my sponse. he book eace of everything during my day there. It had so several professor funding me through what and person and problems

Every forty his done to this borning tank with a good will and & kindness when I shall never forget and which I shall always a vide as q-distriction through of the american character at least among the wife betweels. - During my day (payed a long) overte a totogot Public Vohort and to attend could , thank of City yourges to the Profit James . Rull . Adm . , (m weby 20) until It Peter Lugh when the ight convert time copy for prepared for the Cely-inange

My near step was, Though Non-Orleans to Kato Horne - where among many other collegues I had the extension pleasure into have long talks with Prof. Einst Vergeling, the author of the Inhoduction to a new Vience of Holding, a may who is a carring glory en the fully of Polifical Vag in the U. V. - My Break + Map wase the Vouther, Calify my University of to kyol and the Bukeley Unice y Van Rancisco. In Chiego my principal meetings

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(were not in the Mureanly of Chicago but is the Rubble Idus. Clearny House, en Institution in which good have the form beliefy to find the one roof all the most up, firstant organization of lung with various espect What woh por ble of some in the days is yorly to the lower the vous ce from why you can (get) your information and your knowledge and of the problems of public and you are interested in the the is more than our chief Utult for which Chrays



year. Wen took when the No I migged in the thing by of Columbia voice professors whose acquainty would have been supported to me . Nevertheles ? ha found enough member of the Pacify still there and enjoyed to highly ingthe discussing 47 then . The same of he said for Tale (New Havey and Haward (bortoz) the two last ly, verilies which I viviled

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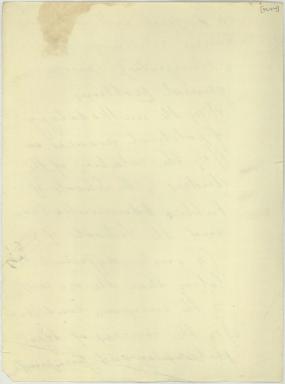
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permitted to have I look (va pip pin palis) is the intient of the american youth in political searce Kind of could see the elations hip kelway of and profest teacher whith with all the advantage and disadvantage the (ceci comporte) Notabilia so so my discussion of my therefore they problemy when primarily houses of coder

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to discuss with collegues having in many cases (divergentes) epigions, more general problems y/ of the methodology of political verences see of the relation of the studies is the Veloods of Publica Administrates and the schools of lan. - (9 guste different retaling than the are within is the european continent) c) on the courses of legal philosophy and purispunder



d) on the course of vocal philorophy - more specially the course of the social the longly of the ancient greeze e) of the course of educalizat Edministration; by the Universities of James. ville and Souther California I fellowed more closes the way in which gerinas and truck public seeing (uceived a attoining course) I also we interested in the retraining of his Kaches

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ATHÈNES

ATHÈNES, LE 16 Août 1952

JC Nº 10195

> Le Secrétariat de l'Institut Français d'Athènes présente sea compliments à Monsieur TSARSOS Constartin, Professeur de l'Université d'Athènes, et a l'honneur de lui adresser copie d'une circulaire de la Société Philosophique de Strasbourg qui pourrait l'intéresser.

Monsieur TSATSOS Constantin Professeur de l'Université d'Athènes 9, Rue Kydaténéon En Ville

in the University of fami wille. This was done y VIEW of the possibility of sending for an vinilar setaming freek public abroad Another highly with valuable experience was the acquaintance with the families of many professors - The ordered and hospitality Inex y there modes home the rumplicity of the life (untiled) with the visualing ΔΙΚΗΓΟΡΙΚΟΝ ΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΝ
Δ. Κ. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΑΚΗ
ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΟΥ ΑΝ. ΣΧΟΛ. ΒΙΟΜΗΚ. ΙΠΟΥΔΟΝ
ΑΙΑΘΤΟΥ 47 - ΤΗΛΑ-ΩΒΟ24610-27

'Αθῆναι τῆ 14-4-1952

Kingov

κ. Κωνσταντίνον Τσάτσον

'Ενταῦθα

Κύριε Καθηγητά

Παρακαλύ θερμίς όπως ρίψετε στίς και ή κ. Τσότσου μιά ματιά είς τό διερθώσεις τός όποδια έπέρεραν ό κ. δινέτης, έδν δηλιδή αύται συμμονούν πρός τός όποδείζεις σας. 'Βετίσης παρακαλύ και διεβιβάζω και περέκλησιν τοῦ κ. Βενέζη νά έχω συντόμως τός κρισεις σας διότι ό κ. Βενέζης έπείγετε νά λέβη τήν όμοιβήν του ωίναι και του Πίωτενο.

ητῶ συγνώμην διά τήν ἐνόχλησιν.

Μέ πολλήν έπτίμησιν

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of All character created ay almosphere of internal and foundation, which by the continent is race by created and only ally I g long time. There I felt for the impression of the second because this way an obli faling. It was a pleasure for talk kides. The acquay tance kyan with a good will and will a Japanhuprolius deep respect of the human per Sonality and the dipartine finished with a uncer

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תואסט בואמנסט.

OPFENIZMOZ ; (OEO), drofekův Mohtkóv rpedomov čěto-

to called propagands in advertising tyle of weeks over the country were dans happy to show me the legged - to af the country and the qualities of the people of (th) vesentific ochieven they never ediction to they and every to enphasige the defect and failure. The result is that every body gave me the mean to see everything, to see the bad vides which othervire would diguyer - 88 - Agron was the state of t

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my attention; the west is that I was helped to find the truth, every if it way not favorable for the U. J. So I hered in an atur with the feeling that I. way of member of this Community of free people who speak and think . voloquelos of the usual No-called nationalistic eyoury . The most thrend propagande is the

Enjoyos (ylu Ms) 34 Da writer to Sabage with la hipior " of 3 an your earligeof of . is aliquos his waty us do Bra Modi Trya la oliginza louto vg' la olupife à orresony. twood / gos, och us or Jopas 14' overdry aluis in all a de ourredons. Aryx va Der y wor him viole pas ever or colys alipio. loper p'aulo no natopioù 19' idanneg' 500

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