

The content of the Konstantinos G. Karamanlis Archive: its european dimension

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ABSTRACT

Every researcher as well as anyone interested in learning about the European course of Greece, turning to the sources preserved in Greek archives, shall be limited to the pertinent archival material kept in private collections since the corresponding materials are not yet accessible in public archives. Among the private archival collections, the archive of Konstantinos Karamanlis occupies a prime position, given that during his personal governance Greece's Association (1961) with and Accession to the EEC (1979) took place.

What were the circumstances that led to the taking of this specific decision that has been since then the main axis of Greek foreign policy? Were there concerns and dilemmas? How did the politicians of the country deal with these issues? What role was played by the representatives that handled these issues? How decisive was the international state of affairs? Which countries and political leaders rallied behind the Greek petitions? What were the European beliefs of Konstantinos Karamanlis? The scholar investigating the events of that specific period is called upon to give responses to these very questions.

Keywords: Konstantinos Karamanlis. Archival collections. EEC.

El contenido del Archivo Personal de Konstantinos G. Karamanlis: su dimensión europea

RESUMEN

El archivo Konstantinos Karamanlis es una de las colecciones documentales privadas más importantes de Grecia, dado que durante su gobierno se produjo el Tratado de Asociación (1961) y el Tratado de Adhesión (1979) a la Unión Europea.

¿Cuáles fueron las circunstancias que llevaron a tomar esta decisión, que ha sido el eje de la política exterior griega? ¿Qué intereses concurrieron? ¿Cómo reaccionaron los políticos del país ante estos acuerdos? ¿Qué países apoyaron las peticiones griegas? ¿Cuál fue el credo europeo de Konstantinos Karamanlis? La investigación académica de estos acontecimientos durante este período específico, esta llamada a dar respuesta a éstas muy variadas cuestiones.

Palabras clave: Konstantinos Karmanlis. Archivo privado. E.U.

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Sumario: Introducción. Brief Presentation of the Archive. The European Dimension of the Archive's Content: General Observations. Section A: From 1955 to 24th July 1974. From Greece's Active Participation in the Western European Integration Course to the 'Freezing' of the Association Agreement. Section B: From 24-7-1974 to March 1995². Achievement of Final Target: Accession of Greece to EEC b) The Adjustment Period (1981-1995). SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

INTRODUCCIÓN

Today Greece is one of the twenty-seven members of the European Union (EU). Its course towards gradual integration into the main body of United Europe begun some 49 years before, when in June 1959 the government of Konstantinos Karamanlis submitted its association petition to the then newly-established European Economic Community (EEC, 1957), which was accepted, thus leading the country, after many months of negotiations, to the signing of the Association Agreement in 1961. That year constituted a milestone in the country's European course, historically acclaiming it as the first nation that decided to link its political and economic future to the nascent European entity, which over the years demonstrated that it had the dynamism to evolve into the current form of the European Union (EU), which has been attracting the nations of the European continent since its inception.

The first phase of Greek European policy was essentially completed during the second term in office of Konstantinos Karamanlis (1974-1980). More specifically, on June 12, 1975 the Greek government submitted its application for accession to the EEC and after arduous negotiations the Accession Treaty was signed at the Zappeio Megaro on May 28, 1979. Greece became the tenth member of the EEC in 1981, thus opening the way for its participation in the 'hard core' of the EU and going beyond its Balkan surroundings. Through that political choice, Greece moved from the periphery of the European continent right into the heart of the EU.

What were the circumstances that led to this specific decision, which since then, has been the main axis of Greek foreign policy? Were there concerns and dilemmas? How did the politicians of the country deal with these issues? What role was played by the representatives that handled these issues? How decisive was the international state of affairs? Which countries and political leaders rallied behind the Greek petitions? What were the European beliefs of Konstantinos Karamanlis? The scholar investigating the events of that specific period is called upon to give answers to these very questions.

Every researcher as well as anyone interested in learning about the European course of Greece that turn to the sources preserved in Greek archives shall be limited to the pertinent archival material kept in private collections since the corresponding materials are not yet accessible in public archives³. Among the private archival collections, the archive of Konstantinos Karamanlis occupies a prime position,

² 24-7-1974: Assuming of premiership by K. Karamanlis, March 1995: end of second presidential tenure.

given that during his personal governance Greece's Association with and Accession to the EEC took place.

BRIEF PRESENTATION OF THE ARCHIVE

The archive was deposited by K. Karamanlis personally to the Foundation that was established 25 years ago for public benefit as well as to house the archive, hence the name it bears. The ultimate end of his deed was the objective and nonpartisan utilization of his archive by researchers. Karamanlis himself in a statement said: '*... history must not be forgotten.... And the lessons from history are always pertinent....*'⁴. The vision for the creation of the Foundation was conceived by three distinguished men of letters, highly educated and with a profound sense of historical knowledge, namely, K. Tsatsos, K. Trypanis and K. Svolopoulos, who, in keeping with the spirit of similar foundations already established in the USA and Europe, addressed a letter to Konstantinos Karamanlis, on May 14, 1983, in which, inter alia, they wrote the following: '*...every citizen and above all, the specialists have the duty to preserve for posterity those political events that compose the history of their time.... Inspired by these thoughts we decided to take an initiative aiming at preserving the written texts and the oral witnesses of the historical period that we experienced but in which you played the leading role in the political life of Greece....*'⁵.

K. Karamanlis responded positively to their proposal and proceeded to the establishment of the Foundation where he deposited his political archive. This act was pioneering for the Greek reality of the time and was indeed the prototype for the establishment of similar Foundations that have been functioning to the present in the nation. In the work by K. Tsatsos '*Logodosia mias Zois*' (*Accountability of a Life*), he recounts with great detail the establishment of the Foundation and he expresses his thoughts about this scientific institution, which he describes as '*a centre whose national target is to cultivate the contemporary history of our land*'⁶.

The primary material of the Karamanlis archive mainly covers the wider period of his political activities from the time he assumed his first premiership in October 1955 until his second term as President of the Hellenic Republic that ended in March 1995. It

³ The Diplomatic and Historical Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs published in 2003 the first of a three-volume work called *The Participation of Greece on the Path to European Integration. The Critical Twenty-Year Period 1948-1968*, edited by F. Tomai-Konstantopoulou, in which there are significant documents of the period that enlighten the European path of our country.

⁴ 25-5-1991, Statement on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the battle of Crete, *Konstantinos Karamanlis: Archeio, Gegonota kai Keimena* [Konstantinos Karamanlis: Archive, Events and Texts], (general editing), K. Svolopoulos, volume 12, Ekdotiki Athinon –Konstantinos G. Karamanlis Foundation, Athens, 1997, p. 576.

⁵ Historical Archive of the 'Konstantinos G. Karamanlis' Foundation, hereinafter referred to as HAKGKF.

⁶ K Tsatsos, *Logodosia mias Zois* [Accountability of a Life] vol. 2, Athens, 2000, pp. 463-464. Ibid prologue of K. Tsatsos (March 1987) in *Konstantinos Karamanlis: Archive, Events and Texts*, vol. 1, Athens, 1992, pp. 13-14.

consists of documents in diverse form and content, aides-mémoire, personal memos, private correspondence as well as various other publications. The archival material has been arranged in 592 files, microfilmed since 1989, while recently it was digitalized in the framework of the project 'Digitalization, data processing and promotion of the Konstantinos G. Karamanlis Foundation archives' subsidized by the Ministry of Culture's Entrepreneurial Programme 'the Information Society'. Besides its digitalization, each separate item is classified and electronically processed according to the General International Standard Archival Description (ISAD) of the International Council on Archives (ICA), treated as an integral unit as well as an integral archival part of the whole. To be more specific, the entries have been keyed into the Foundation's central computer system and general descriptive catalogues have been printed and incorporated into its website. Recently, a search engine has been added to the website as well. The audiovisual material of the Historical Archive is likewise significant since it sheds light on the political developments from 1955 to 1995, providing noteworthy data regarding the particular collaboration of our country with other nations and distinguished political figures. Moreover, the collection of oral testimonies –a living link to the past –provides insights into the personality and thoughts of Karamanlis, and those of his associates while enlightening more clearly the events of that period. Finally, the interesting collection of artefacts completes the mosaic of the events of the period.

In particular, through these primary sources, the significant historical developments that left their mark on Greece's history are shown: the country's economic growth during the 1950s, the restoration of democracy and the resumption of institutions in 1974 as well as its gradual incorporation into the main body of United Europe.

It is deemed expedient to point out that in the past few years the Historical Archive has acquired the archives of other Greek political figures, through which additional data is provided, thus contributing to a more complete assessment of the events of contemporary postwar Greek history.

The Foundation also operates a specialized Library, in addition to the Historical Archive, which includes over 40,000 books and periodicals. It principally focuses on contemporary Greek history from the Second World War until the present, in connection with international developments, and particularly from a European perspective. Its material that comes from acquisitions and gifts from friends of the Foundation has been catalogued and classified in accordance with international standards. There is also a bilingual index. (Please refer to <http://www.karamanlis-foundation.gr>).

THE EUROPEAN DIMENSION OF THE ARCHIVE'S CONTENT: GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Before proceeding with a detailed presentation of the sources contained in the archive, it would be helpful to make the following observations:

- The archival material consists of hardcopy and audiovisual form as well as of collections of artefacts.

- The archival material referring to the European course of Greece is particularly extensive given that K. Karamanlis, as previously mentioned, was the ‘architect’ of the nation’s European course. More specifically, he personally had the vision and his close staff planned and implemented Greece’s integration with United Europe. The preservation of this material on his part and its subsequent placement at the Foundation constitute an act indicative of his consistency before historical memory and the interested scientific community.
- The documentation referring to the period of his second premiership, during which the signature of the Treaty of Accession to the EEC (1979) was achieved, is numerically greater than that of the corresponding documentation for the earlier tenure of his first premiership in which the Association Agreement was signed (1961).
- His handwritten memos, in which he analyzes the reasons for deciding on and designing the association and accession policy, are indicative of his firm convictions. At the same time, his correspondence with the European leaders at the time sheds light on significant aspects of Greek diplomacy as well as the policy implemented by the leaders that played a leading part in postwar European history with respect to Greece’s European prospects. (Konrad Adenauer, Charles de Gaulle, Paul-Henri Spaak, Helmut Schmidt, Valéry Giscard d’Estaing, Leo Tindemans, Gaston Torn, Harold Wilson, James Callaghan, Aldo Morro, Giulio Andreotti, et al.).
- The printed material is classified in a chronological order –and in certain instances by subject matter (especially in the second period). The documentation has been concluded since 1992 and was available on the local network at the Foundation. Now, with the accomplishment of the digitalization of the printed material, the link between the already existing electronic file cards with the digital image of each document has successfully been achieved. Currently, based on the codified recording the researcher may locate the material in two ways, either by studying the specific categories he/she is interested in from the special list of subject matters, e.g. 2.6.02: Association –Accession to EEC, 2.3.03: EEC, etc., or via a free search for the electronic file card, since every field functions alone or in combination with another field as a keyword. Furthermore, the researcher can also have access to the descriptive catalogues of the archive through the search engine in the website of the Foundation.

A significant part of the aforementioned archival material has been published in the twelve-volume edition ‘*Konstantinos Karamanlis: Archive, Events and Texts*’.

SECTION A: FROM 1955 TO 24TH JULY 1974. FROM GREECE’S ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE WESTERN EUROPEAN INTEGRATION COURSE TO THE ‘FREEZING’ OF THE ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT

This module covers the period commencing from 1955, when Karamanlis assumed the premiership of the country and the meetings of the Western European lea-

ders begun in Messina, Sicily, leading to the establishment of the EEC in 1957. In the immediate years afterwards, the government exercised its European policy that culminated in the signing of the Association Agreement in 1961, which marked the official 'betrothal' of the country to the EEC. The archival material, which will be presented subsequently, reveals these interesting aspects of Greek foreign policy.

Following the electoral defeat of K. Karamanlis in 1963, he moved to Paris where he lived in self-exile for eleven years. His correspondence occupies a predominant place in his archive during that period. In the year 1967, with the imposition of the military junta, the Association Agreement was put on hold immediately and the country was put into the margin of European affairs. The concluding date of 24-7-1974 of unity signals a significant departure for contemporary Greek history: the overthrow of the dictatorship and the establishment of democracy.

In this module the majority of documents focuses on

- Aides– mémoire of talks that analytically present the arguments supported, firstly by K. Karamanlis and his government echelons and on the other hand, by the representatives of foreign countries, during the efforts of the former to place the country on the course of European integration.
- Memoranda, telegrams and communiqués of basic principals handling the relevant issues, namely G. Pesmazoglou, E. Averoff-Tositsas, A. Protopapadakis, P. Papaligouras, T. Christidis, et al.
- Official memoranda, reports related to the Greek positions within the framework of negotiations of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) with a view to establishing a European Free Trade Area (EFTA) in 1957-1958.
- Diverse material –minutes, memoranda, telegrams, news clippings, etc. –referring to the visits of a) K. Karamanlis to Western European states (for example, the visit to the Federal Republic of Germany in November of 1958, where he met with Chancellor Adenauer, to Italy in November of 1959 –meeting with his counterpart Senni, to France in July of 1960 and February 1961 –meeting with Charles de Gaulle), b) of European leaders (visits by Erhard, Heuss, Fanfani, de Gaulle), and of EEC cadres to our country (Halstein, Marzolen, Rey, et al).

Significant information is provided in the Greek parliamentary proceedings that are included in the archive as to how the country's politicians saw the European prospects, pre-election speeches that refer to the European policy of the country, statements, speeches and interviews by K. Karamanlis, competent government officials as well as by other Greek political figures.

The analytical texts that refer to the progress in the negotiations for Greece's Association with the EEC represent a fundamental core of the archival material of the period. In these texts, one may see the way in which the Greeks handled matters, the issues that arose, the transitional stages the Greek domestic and foreign policy went through until achieving its strategic target, the attitudes of foreign states, etc. Moreover, the texts of the Association Agreement, congratulatory messages from

Greece and abroad, news clippings from the Greek and foreign press, memos regarding the ratification of the Agreement in Greece and abroad, as well as evidence concerning its subsequent implementation are all included. In addition, documents from the Ministries (Foreign Ministry, Ministry of Coordination, et al) responsible for handling the relevant issues during the negotiations and later during the phase of ratification and implementation of the Agreement are also included, together with reports and telegrams from Greek embassies abroad.

The archival material of the years immediately afterwards pertaining to the political integration of Europe and Greece's cooperation with European institutional organs is of particular interest.

After 1963, both the successive political developments are highlighted as well as the thoughts and concerns of Karamanlis personally and the other letter writers are expressed in the correspondence of Karamanlis with his close associates and with important political persons in Greece and abroad. The issues that concerned them primarily had to do with issues of domestic policy, which accounts for the existence of limited material regarding the nation's European policy. Moreover, as previously mentioned, with the advent of the dictatorship and the 'freezing' of the Association Agreement, Greece was forced into the fringe of European developments and missed the opportunity which she had first acquired during the postwar period, namely to gain valuable time and ground for her adjustments to the Community's state of affairs. In the preserved written evidence of that period and principally through the correspondence, the reactions of European organizations towards the military regime were registered: "*International public opinion reacted to the coup d' état unfavourably. Their reaction against the Junta and their behaviour towards the oppressed Greek people was unique and moving. The European parliaments, trade unions and especially the international press concerned themselves on a daily basis with the Greek matter and earnestly desired for the restoration of democracy in Greece...*"⁷. A serious blow against Greece, as shown in the archive, was her expulsion from the Council of Europe. "*The dictatorship cut Greece off from the rest of Europe*" said Karamanlis, in commenting on the forced withdrawal of the country from that European organization (12.12.1969). In another text of his, he expresses his bitterness when he ascertained that the policy he had inaugurated some years before was in jeopardy of being nullified once and for all: "*And thus Greece, who aspired and deserved the right to participate in the core of Europe, found herself locked out, and indeed without the hope of being reinstated*"⁸.

In personal memo that he wrote when he was in self-exile in Paris, titled "*Foreign policy during the eight-year period*", he analyzes first of all the general strategic targets of his government with respect to Greek foreign policy and then goes on to explain why he believed that Greece, within the framework of the EEC, could resolve radically two great timeless problems that plagued her, namely the

⁷ Konstantinos Karamanlis: *Archive, Events and Texts*, ibid, volume 7, pp. 125-127.

⁸ Konstantinos Karamanlis: *Archive, Events and Texts*, ibid, volume 7, p. 128.

country's external security and economic growth. In other words, he believed that Greece would be relieved of the 'anxiety' caused by its geographical location, it would cease from seeking 'protectors' and would finally follow a course of growth and cultural progress in order to respond to future challenges. More specifically, he points out: "...Until 1958 I was obliged to constantly deal with the country's domestic problems and primarily with its economic growth. These problems combined with the explosive issue of Cyprus restricted my potential to deal with and promote the country's external relations. After settling the Cyprus issue, though, I made successive visits abroad to restore shaken friendships, to promote the growth of the Greek economy and above all to safeguard the security of the country. And this final point is of particular significance if one takes into account its critical geopolitical position. Greece, flanked by enemy, alien peoples, constantly lived with the anxiety of a local war. All its neighbours at times had set their sights on her... After all, this was the reason why I persistently attempted to incorporate our country into the United Europe being forged. I felt that if Europe was to be united and Greece was to become a State in the European Commonwealth, this would consolidate its independence, since no one would be able to offend it without causing a European war..."⁹.

Together with the archival material exclusively referring to European affairs, the researcher may draw on data regarding the European choice of the country from other fields in the archive. For example, in the module referring to the economy, he/she may observe the economic policy of the government at the domestic level, which brought about monetary stability, high rates of growth and the substantial transformation of the Greek economy and society thanks to the industrialization that took place. At the same time, the researcher becomes aware of the concerns and maneuvers of the government regarding the protection of sensitive Greek products within the new competitive framework, together with its systematic actions to promote funding of the developing Greek economy. The economic developments of the time, alongside the policy of stability prevailing in Greece, laid such strong foundations that Greece was able to submit its petition for association with the powerful Western European states of the EEC.

In addition, the module of administrative topics notes the necessary statutory changes that were made so that the nation could initially fulfill the multiple requirements of the negotiations and subsequently for the implementation of the Association Agreement.

Finally, the archival material that refers to bilateral relations as well as to the country's participation in international organizations (NATO, OEEC, et al) provides information regarding the way and method of how the European requests of the country were promoted in relation to other issues of domestic and foreign policy.

⁹ *Konstantinos Karamanlis: Archive, Events and Texts*, ibid, volume 4, pp. 73-74. See also HAKGKF, Archive of Konstantinos G. Karamanlis, File 71A, memo by K. Karamanlis, during his stay in Paris while in self-exile.

The collection of the Foundation's relevant audiovisual material vividly depicts highlights of the diplomatic contacts of the country's representatives or of other historical events (visits by K. Karamanlis abroad and those by foreign dignitaries to Greece, the signature of the Association Agreement, etc).

SECTION B: FROM 24-7-1974 TO MARCH 1995¹⁰

A) ACHIEVEMENT OF FINAL TARGET: ACCESSION OF GREECE TO EEC. B) THE ADJUSTMENT PERIOD (1981-1995)

The archival material of the period from 1974-1995, which refers to the European policy adopted by the country comprises a large part of the total volume of the Karamanlis archive. The intense diplomatic activity on the part of Greece, but especially by the Greek premier to achieve the signing of the Accession Treaty in 1979, is reflected in numerous documents. His six-year tenure as Prime Minister (1974-1980) and later as President of the Hellenic Republic for two terms (1980-1985, 1990-1995) afforded him the opportunity to implement initially the strategic targets that he had set already in the 1950s and then to promote his positions during Greece's adaptation to the Community state of affairs. This is the period when Greece consolidates for the first time in its historical course equal participation in powerful centres of decision-making.

K. Karamanlis, in less than a month after his return, in August 1974, during the visit to Athens of the President of the European Parliament, initiated systematic steps for full revival of the country's relations with the EEC, which reached a peak a year later (12.6.1975), when the Greek government officially submitted its request to hasten the process that would lead to Greece's accession to the EEC as full member. The immediate diplomatic mobilization of the government demonstrates the priority and importance given by the Greek premier to the prompt re-activation of Greece's ties with the European Community.

The subsequent developments are explicitly depicted in the written sources of the archive: the initial negative recommendation by the Commission, the immediate steps taken by K. Karamanlis¹¹ to reverse the unfavourable climate, together with the diplomatic success crowned by the commencement of negotiations. Specifically, on 9-2-1976, the Council of EEC Ministers reversed the recommendation by the Commission and accepted Greece's petition. Negotiations commenced on July 27, 1976 and on May 28, 1979 the Accession Treaty was signed in Athens.

¹⁰ 24-7-1974: Assuming of premiership by K. Karamanlis, March 1995: end of second presidential tenure.

¹¹ On 31-1-1976 Karamanlis called the ambassadors of the Nine and delivered to them a letter in which he asked from their respective governments to reverse the recommendation of the Commission. A characteristic example of the tone he employed is the following extract from this letter: "...Greece does not wish nor can she coerce her accession to the EEC. But neither would she accept it if it were to happen in a way that would offend her dignity...". *Konstantinos Karamanlis: Archive, Events and Texts*, ibid, vol. 9, p. 153.

Basic archival sources regarding the events of the period in question are comprised of texts that present in detail the progress in the negotiations: telegrams, reports, and communiqués coming from either individuals that undertook the responsibility for the maneuvers, (G. Kontogeorgis, G. Rallis, P. Papaligouras) or from official public agencies of the country (Ministry of Foreign Affairs). A notable number of documents demonstrate the stance of various states throughout the negotiations as well as international reactions to the accession of Greece to the EEC. As already mentioned in the first module, the diplomatic mobilization of Karamanlis personally and his own contribution to the negotiations are of particular interest. It is strongly illustrated that among the circles of the EEC not only hesitancy prevailed but even unwillingness to allow Greece to join. The reasons were political, geopolitical and economic. Factors against entry were the fact that Greece was not territorially linked to the rest of United Europe and that since the country had recently come out of a seven-year dictatorship, its political system was still ‘fragile’. The economic reasons were equally important, since the structure and degree of its economic growth were not compatible with that of the EEC countries. Given this, the country required serious economic assistance from the Community to achieve the same level of economic growth as in the countries of the EEC. At the same time, the crisis with Cyprus and other matters of bilateral relations with Turkey were creating a negative climate. In the span of the two and a half years from the commencement of the negotiations until their completion, the Greek premier played a leading role. Proceedings of talks, reports, communiqués, news clippings and his particularly interesting political correspondence all provide proof of his successive visits to the core capitals of the European Community, of his encounters with Western European leaders as well as with high-ranking EEC officials. His interventions were decisive from the first until the final stages of the negotiations, which contributed to the overcoming of the adversities and sealed their positive outcome. The archive has abundant material regarding the contacts that he had with the leaders of the Nine— such as Giscard d’Estaing and Schmidt, Tindemans and Thorn, Wilson and Callaghan, Moro and Andreotti, Lynch and Jorgensen —as well as with the Commissioners Ortolí and Jenkins. The diplomatic language used by K. Karamanlis was explicit¹². Just as in his first prime ministerial tenure, Karamanlis in his second tenure once more approached the Federal Republic of Germany and France, which were the driving forces in the process of European integration, with a view to securing their invaluable support in the Greek diplomatic struggle. The difference between Karamanli’s two term in power lies in that during this second period ‘the European overture’ began with France, with the Prime Minister’s visit in April 1975, during

¹² Concerning the bargaining strategy adopted by K. Karamanlis see the paper by G. Valinakis on ‘He Diapragmateytiki Stratigiki’ [‘The Bargaining Strategy’] in the book: *O Konstantinos Karamanlis kai he Europaiki Poreia tis Elladas* [Konstantinos Karamanlis and the European Course of Greece], Proceedings of a two-day seminar at the ‘Konstantinos G. Karamanlis’ Foundation, 25-26 November 1999, Athens, 2000, pp. 32-37.

which he had constructive talks with the French premier Jacques Chirac and the President of the French Republic, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. The French President in the future would prove a significant ally of Greece in its attempt to gain accession to the EEC and would cultivate with the Greek Prime Minister close bonds of friendship and mutual respect. Karamanlis' visit to Germany came a few days later, in May 1975. He gained the trust and backing of the German Chancellor Schmidt. Intensive efforts for fruition of the Greek requests were made in the year 1977. On April 26, 1977 Karamanlis addressed identical letters to the heads of government of the EEC member-states, which are included in his archive. At the same time, the meetings of the Greek premier in London and Paris with those handling the matter at hand will play a part in the fact that the Greek petition would not be put on the same scale with those of Spain and Portugal. In 1978, a crucial year for the negotiations, his Greek diplomatic activity reached a peak with his visits to the capitals of the Nine member-states of the EEC. Specifically, he made three tours of Western Europe: at the end of January to Great Britain, Belgium, France, Federal Republic of Germany, in March-April to Denmark, Luxembourg, Holland and Italy, and finally in October to Italy, France and Ireland. Throughout the negotiations, as can be concluded from the speeches, interviews, statements, K. Karamanlis did not desist from using as an 'invincible weapon', mainly the timeless historical and cultural presence of Greece over the ages, a fact that rendered a United Europe without Greece unthinkable¹³. He believed that historical fate had placed Greece at the roots of Western Europe, with which it has been linked for centuries. Greek values had become values of Europe: *'..Europe is a familiar place to Greece. Western European civilization is the synthesis of the Greek spirit, which contributed the concept of liberty, truth and beauty, of the Roman spirit, which brought the idea of the State and law, and the Christian spirit, which contributed faith and charity, and which itself had been deeply influenced by the moral values of classic civilization. Greece gave even her name to Europe. Upon this civilization we are called to create the United Europe, the 'New' Europe. And it is natural and obvious that Greece wants and deserves to join its forces in the common effort of the European peoples...'*¹⁴.

Particulars on references to the European issues that took place in the interior of the country are drawn from the evidence in the archive, such as addresses in Parliament, speeches, statements and pre-election speeches, through which political reactions are shown, together with government policy that was aiming at promoting and consolidating the European prospect at the domestic level as well.

¹³ All his cultural policy comprised a painstaking effort to reveal Greek culture before the eyes of foreigners. He generously funded projects that enhanced the cultural splendour of our country, precisely because he knew that the foreigners honored us for our cultural offerings, not only ancient but medieval and contemporary. See K. Tsatsos, *O Agnostos Karamanlis* [The Unknown Karamanlis], Athens 1984. See the section 'Karamanlis, Europi, Kosmos' ['Karamanlis, Europe, World'], pp. 185-199.

¹⁴ Extract from the statement by K. Karamanlis to the Belgium newspaper *Le Soir* (26-12-1980), *Karamanlis: Archive, Events and Texts*, *ibid*, vol. 12, p. 75.

The results of the long months of diplomatic activity by the government and the prime minister are captured in the texts of the Accession Treaty as well as in documents related to its ratification and implementation.

The extensive audiovisuals pertaining to the visits of K. Karamanlis to the Western European states, of the European leaders to Greece, to speeches, interviews, addresses in Parliament are all attributed to the developments of technology at the time. All of this evidence revives the general climate of that period characterizing the political, economic, social and cultural status of our country, as well as of other states in the European continent.

The oral testimonies of persons that played a leading role in the implementation of the country's European policy have a special place in the archive. In recent years, the Foundation has amassed a significant collection of such testimonies. Indicatively it is important to mention the personal testimony of G. Kontogeorgis, through which the delicate handling that occurred during each stage of the negotiations is highlighted, along with the Europeans impressions of Greece and aspects of the personality of the protagonists.

Finally, the researcher has access to many other fields of the archive with relevant interest concerning the European choice of the country in terms of economy, administration, bilateral relations, international organizations, etc.

SECTION C: HONOURARY DISTINCTIONS MADE TO K. KARAMANLIS IN GREECE AND EUROPE

This section includes archival material covering the period from 1955, when he becomes Prime Minister for the first time, until his death in April 1998. His convictions regarding Greece's accession to the core of United Europe and regarding the position and role of Europe on the international scene at that time but also in the distant future are all highlighted through this documentation. Questions like: on which countries should European society depend and how may the unity of European peoples proceed, are answered by studying the sources of his archive. His speeches at significant European forums, the great international awards that were bestowed on him for his important contribution to the course of integration, the special events held both in Greece and abroad to honour his role in Greece's accession to the EEC and in the building of a 'New' Europe constitute substantial sources for researchers.

K. Karamanlis, throughout his entire political life, from 1955 to 1995, was guided by the European idea and fought resolutely for Greece's integration into the heart of a United Europe. His vision constituted a significant parameter of the domestic and foreign policy that he loyally served during his two terms as Prime Minister (1955-1963 and 1974-1980) as well as during his two Presidential tenures (1980-1985 and 1990-1995). He was fortunate in seeing the positive results of his European policy that culminated in the definitive accession of Greece to the EEC in 1981, not to mention the approval of his choice by the majority of the Greek politi-

cal and cultural persona. Finally, his European policy was particularly appreciated and praised by international circles and by important international personalities¹⁵.

The extensive archival material in its various forms highlights the philosophy in the context of which he formulated his European policy. Karamanlis believed that Greece, as the cradle of Europe, had to flee from her almost permanent isolation¹⁶ and from the outset participate equally in the process of European integration with the other European peoples, with whom it not only shared a common cultural tradition but also common interests. He had to cooperate creatively with them to build up a 'New' Europe so as to ensure Greece's rightful place as quickly as possible. At the same time, he believed that within the framework of European integration, Greece could resolve the basic problems that were of concern: safeguarding its security, ensuring a democratic form of government, an economic recovery and finally, a more generalized modernization that would be achieved through the assistance of the western European member-states of the EEC. Karamanlis regarded Greece's incorporation into unified Europe as a challenge for a deep breakthrough to the future. At the same time, through his unabated efforts for the country's accession to Europe under consolidation, he had been professing –already from the 1950s –when even Western Europe itself was in search of its identity, the need for closer union of European peoples and the strengthening of Europe in its entirety¹⁷. From official Greek and foreign forums, he repeatedly voiced with faith, persistence and lucidity his visions and generally his ideas on the future of Europe, which took on a more concrete form after 1974, when Western Europe walked along the road of integration which had become an irreversible process. Among the abundance of talks contained in the archival material, we distinguish his speeches in two fundamental institutional organs of the EEC: at the headquarters of the European Commission in January 1978 and at the European Parliament in September 1983¹⁸. His constant

¹⁵ *In Memoriam: He Diethnis Koinotita tima ton Konstantino Karamanli* [In Memoriam: The International Community honours Konstantinos Karamanlis, published by the Konstantinos Karamanlis G. Foundation, Athens, 1999. In this edition where the most important references to the personality and work of K. Karamanlis by the international Press as well as by leading personalities internationally are recorded, the reader sees that one of the most significant achievements attributed to him by the international community is that he conceived early on and brought about Greece's accession to the European family.

¹⁶ P. Tzermias, *He Politiki Skepsi tou Konstantinou Karamanli* [The Political Thought of Konstantinos Karamanlis], Athens, 1990, p. 138.

¹⁷ G. Valinakis, 'He Europaiki Enopoiisi sti Skepsi tou Konstantinou Karamanli' ['European Integration in the mind of Konstantinos Karamanlis'] in the proceedings of the Two-Day Meeting of the 'Konstantinos G. Karamanlis' Foundation (5-6.10.2000) '*De Gaulle and Karamanlis: The Nation, the State, Europe*, Athens, 2002. Regarding the ideas of K. Karamanlis concerning integration with Europe see the paper by K. Svolopoulos, 'He Europi tou Karamanli' ['The Europe of Karamanlis'] in the book: *Konstantinos Karamanlis and the European course of Greece*, proceedings of a two-day meeting at the 'Konstantinos G. Karamanlis' Foundation, 25-26 November 1999, Athens, 2000, pp. 32-37.

¹⁸ On September 2003, the European Parliament honoured the mastermind of the Greece's European course, who was of course a significant European visionary as well, Konstantinos Karamanlis, naming after him the central intersection in the parliamentary complex in Brussels, where the Spinelli and Spaak buildings converge.

struggles received worldwide recognition and he was honoured both abroad and at home with top-ranking international awards, such as the Charlemagne Award, the Schumann Award and the Onassis Award¹⁹. At the same time, he was honoured by the highest academic institutions of Greece and abroad (University of Sorbonne, University of Athens, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, etc.).

Delving into the archives the researcher will discover that Greece's accession to the European family and his visions for a united Europe were for Karamanlis both an ideal but also a down-to-earth reality. That is why the policies of his governments facing the process of European integration were characterized by their realistic and idealistic aspect. The historical junctures at home and abroad differentiate in many points during his tenures of governance of the country and his presidential tenures, whereas in other points there are similarities. His policy reflected his unwavering faith in the necessity for a United Europe and in the European fate of Greece²⁰, and constituted the fundamental axis around which Greek external policy revolved ever since.

Of particular interest is the section with the condolence letters and telegrams sent by Greek and foreign leaders, as well as the books of condolence opened at all the embassies abroad, in which it became apparent that the international community identified the Greek politician with mainly two outstanding issues: the restoration of democracy in the country in 1974 and Greece's accession to Europe.

Finally, the collection of artefacts complements the written and audiovisual material and draws the interest of a more general public. Indicatively, one may mention: the elaborate international awards conferred on him, the medals, parchments, the pen with which he signed the Accession Treaty, the series of anniversary stamps issued, referring to the top moments of the country's European course, posters at the time depicting the arguments in favour of or against the EEC.

Nowadays how timely is the following quote from the archive?

'...Greece deeply believes that Europe's path towards integration not only ought to become more intense, but also ought to accelerate. Naturally there are different opinions as to the nature, extent and form of this integration. Nevertheless, more daring steps must be made in that direction. Because in the last while, one can detect a slackening in the interest of European peoples in the integration of Europe, which is the fundamental principle of the Treaties of Rome. This is due to the fact that on the one hand certain governments and political parties dishearten the path to integration through their attitude and on the other hand, the ordinary citizens attribute to the EEC the thorny economic and socio-political problems confronting Europe. The European peoples do not realize that the situation would have been even worse, were there not

¹⁹ Conferment of the international Charlemagne Award in Aachen, May 4, 1978, conferment of the Robert Schumann gold medal for the year 1979 (Montigny-Les-Metz, 15.3.1980), gold medal from the 'Alexandros Onassis' Foundation, Athens, 5.6.1981. He was also awarded a gold medal from the European Parliament (1983).

²⁰ Extract from the speech by Karamanlis during the signing of the Accession Treaty of Greece with the EEC on 28-5-1979, *Konstantinos Karamanlis: Archive, Events and Texts*, *ibid*, vol. 11, p. 146.

even the rudimentary institutions in Europe. And, moreover they do not realize that for the current problems to be overcome, European integration must be speeded up. Because the dimensions of the problems are such that they cannot be dealt with within state frameworks, but rather within wider European frameworks...'²¹.

The archive of Konstantinos Karamanlis has gathered valuable primary sources that shed light on the most significant aspect of Greek foreign policy in contemporary Greece: its equally privileged incorporation onto the path of European integration. At the same time, the European dimension of the archive's contents highlights many aspects of Greek domestic policy, thus shedding light on the functioning of political institutions –Parliament, political parties, public administration, the Greek economy, etc. It also provides the researcher with the opportunity to explore whether an individual holding senior governmental offices is able to influence and shape the policy of a country in a decisive way (What can just one person do?)²². In the sphere of international relations, the basic reason why the individual level is researched is because “...*the nations do not act, but rather their leaders and in any event the decision of those handling the situations is included. Whatever happens or will happen in a given situation is at least partially determined by the individual or individuals involved in it*’. The question is whether the singularity of each personality is so significant that it is taken into account to explain all that has occurred. Focusing one's attention on the key-persons of every age, the intention is to underline their singular contribution to the evolution of events and to explain why they acted the way they did. The scholar of international relations could use them as ‘case studies’ or as examples of the specific behaviour of persons in international affairs.

The archive's material is available to the scientific community and a considerable number of Greek and foreign scholars have already consulted it during the twenty years of uninterrupted operation of the Foundation. The conditions of access are set out in the Foundation's regulations. A basic precondition for using the documents is that they do not come under the law concerning state secrecy, which applies to the state documents of the last thirty years. Now, after the completion of the digitization and installation of new software connecting all the data into one common database, the handling of archival materials has been fulfilled.

In Greece there are a number of Foundations which house the archives of political figures that left their mark on the historical course of the nation by virtue of their decisions and actions. If we take into consideration that the archival collections

²¹ *Karamanlis: Archive, Events and Texts*, *ibid*, vol. 11, pp. 132-133. Extract from the minutes of the discussions between Karamanlis and the Prime Minister of Holland Andreas Van Agt, when the latter made an official visit to Greece (14-16 May 1979).

²² P. Morgan, *Theories and Approaches to International Politics. What Are We to Think?*, USA-London, 1990, pp. 85-125.

available to the scientific community are indeed very few compared with the number of persons who assumed the premiership of our country since the independence of the Greek state until today, we then come to realize that those Foundations possessing archival materials perform a remarkable role in learning about the events that transpired. As the outstanding German historian Leopold von Ranke maintained “*history begins wherever there are sources in writing*”.

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