

Athens, 19th September 1968

Dear Colleagues,

I am enclosing the final text of the "Constitution" as it was announced by Mr Papadopoulos on 16th September, and as it was published in the semi-official newspaper of the "Government", "Eleftheros Kosmos", on the 17th September.

As you will see, the amendments made in the text announced in July are, with two other exceptions, insignificant. As a result of the amendments made in articles 136 and 138 of the previous draught, the new "Constitution" will be put into effect immediately after the referendum, but with the exception of the articles referring to individual and political rights, the prohibition of the setting up of exceptional Courts, and the carrying out of Parliamentary and local government elections. The "Government" will put these articles into effect only when it considers the time "appropriate", or as the "Prime Minister" is fond of saying, "when the plaster can be removed without harming the patient."

The thirty Constituent Acts that have been issued to date remain in force until such time as 'the whole 'Constitution' is fully into effect;

The first elections will be conducted by the present "National Government".

All these points to the fact that the situation in Greece has deteriorate even further. The country will remain under a state of Martial Law/As long as those in power today decide. Martial law may then be kept in force even after the Parliamentary elections so that the success of the Junta may be foolproof.

Assurances have been reiterated that the referendum will take place on 29th September. In spite of the fact that for the last month or so it was widely publicised that Mr Papadopoulos would, on the occasion of the referendum, announce the partial lifting of the present State of Siege, the relaxation of press-censorship, and permit partial freedom of movement and action to political personalities, nothing of the sort has materialised. The referendum will be conducted under the State of Martial law, which has been in force since April 1967. Political detainees, including Mr Papandreu and Mr Kanellopoulos, will be set free next Monday, 23rd September, just six days before the referendum, "so that we can see", as Mr Papadopoulos said a few days ago, "whether they will have the courage to vote against the Constitution". To which he added on the 16th September: "I hope that they do not put a foot wrong and oblige me to put them back in plaster."

The state of intimidation in the countryside is universal. In some areas the commanding officers of the Hellenic Army have made the "Government"-appointed President of the Committees personally responsible for the result of the referendum in their respective Communities. Furthermore, all the political personalities and their representatives have been warned not to conduct any sort of campaign against the referendum, or else they will suffer severe penalties.

During the last two monthspan intensive campaign in support of the "Constitution" has been conducted in the press, on the radio and TV, in cinemas, in shop windows and taxis, where "Yes" posters and stickers are being widely exhibited. Naturally it is

not possible to pass any of the communication media to express opposition to the "Constitution", or to exhibit any "No" posters.

It is under such conditions that the "Free referendum" will take place, by which the ~~VIOLATION OF THE WILL~~ Greek people will express their unfettered will.

But I must add two further points to illustrate more clearly the methods by which the violation of the will of the Greek people will take place.

No representative of the "No"-vote will be present in the polling centers.

The supervising Committee at each polling center will consist of three members appointed from a list of fifteen submitted by the monarch. They will, therefore, be blind instruments of the "Government". Until now, these Supervising Committees were appointed by the President of the Court (the Court of First Instance) from the complete electoral registers, and were composed of persons of public esteem and known objectivity. On the other hand, the Chairman of each Committee was a "representative of the Judiciary" and was a guarantee of the secrecy of the ballot, the correctness of the voting procedure, and the honesty of the results. The Supreme Court used to appoint this "representative of the Judiciary" from the lists of Judges, Notaries and Lawyers. For this purpose the lawyers were allocated the authority of judges. But contrary to this practice, according to the proclamation issued on the conducting of the referendum (Article 7, paragraph 4), the "representatives of the Judiciary" are no longer to be nominated by the Supreme Court, but only by its President, who was raised to the post unconstitutionally by the Junta a few months ago. He will therefore select the judges that inspire his confidence. He will also choose lawyers that he can trust, but only out of the restricted number of those who can plead before the Supreme Court, as the proclamation states. The number of such Judges and lawyers is obviously insufficient to provide the necessary Chairmen of the Supervising Committees. The vacancies, which will exist in approximately nine tenths of the Committees will be filled by civil servants of "Category A", who are in the absolute control of the "Government". For, according to Constituent Act B, the permanency of their appointment has been abolished. They can thus be dismissed from their posts without compensation, not to mention any unfavourable transfers, or other structures that can be imposed upon them if they do not blindly carry out the wishes of the "Government" during the polling. These are the conditions that will prevail in the polling centers. There will not be the slightest guarantee of the secrecy of the ballot, the lack of intimidation or the honesty of the results.

I do not need to add anything more. The violation of the will of the Greek people will be total. The democracy of tanks and Courts-martial will triumph, and some "friends" of Greece, some naive, some wise, some paid off and others unpaid, and some guilty by omission or commission, will declare that the Dictatorship has received the approval of the Greek people.

I hope that the Council of Europe will disclose the fraud and condemn the crime - even at the eleventh hour.

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The state of intimidation in the countryside is universal. In some areas the commanding officers of the Gendarmerie have made the "Government"-appointed President of the Committee personally responsible for the result of the referendum in their respective Communities. Furthermore, all the political personalities and their representatives have been warned not to conduct any sort of campaign against the referendum, or else they will suffer severe penalties.

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