

**FRAGMEX – Fragmentation & Exclusion. Understanding & Overcoming the multiple Impacts of the European Crisis**

**Some remarks on German and Greek print media, the Greek debt crisis and the third rescue package**

**Deliverable 8**

**Konstantinos Maras**

**KWI-Essen**

**March 2016**

## **Some remarks on German and Greek print media, the Greek debt crisis and the third rescue package\***

### **I. Grexit (and related matters)**

Focussing on the way the qualitative German press has commented on the negotiation process leading to the agreement on new rescue package what strikes the eye is at first the discursive vicinity to the official policy of the German government a relative majority of commentaries and editorials wants to see itself being located in. Apparently out of a kind of responsibility awareness the main thrust of the editorials consists in putting arguments forth that either line up with governments' policies, or purport to function as suppliers of advisory recommendations and counselling suggestions for the course to be pursued by the Merkel government.

Nowhere is this stance of journalistic dealing with the Greek crisis as a form of government consulting better expressed than in those perceptions of the inevitability of Greece leaving the monetary union. Apparently sharing completely what they perceive as the discomfort the German government has felt negotiating with the ruling party of Syriza, the inevitability assumptions rest on the belief that the Grexit is but the inescapably logical outcome of a process of dissociation having now reached an end phase. True enough, abandoning the euro membership would put the architecture of the monetary union under considerable strain and furthermore the possibility of a dubious compromise would in short term not hurt seriously the interests of taxpayers across Europe. Nevertheless, the long-term impact of what is perceived as SYRIZA's negotiating strategy messing up the rules of the Euro zone would but entail disastrous consequences for the monetary union. So, in order to safeguard its trustworthiness the latter must face up to the exigency of the emergency exit – better an end with horror than a horror without end.

However, perceptions of Greece predictably being forced to relinquish its euro membership can well be accompanied by reflexions of what that would mean for the European policy of the Merkel government: Hence, in that case not only the German crisis management and rescue politics pursued since the outbreak of the crisis would fall in discredit, but also the very notion of a cohesive European monetary space would go to waste. Since therefore risk assessment proves to be favourable to the perspective of keeping Greece in the euro zone it is then but one step to embrace the plan of the Federal Minister of Finance to launch the temporary exit from

---

\* *German newspapers*: mid-January till mid-July 2015; 245 editorials, commentaries and opinion columns from five quality papers: FAZ, DIE ZEIT, SÜDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, DIE WELT and DIE TAGESZEITUNG; *Greek newspapers*: June-July 2015; 119 editorials from four quality papers: Η ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΙΝΗ, ΤΟ ΕΘΝΟΣ, Η ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΔΑ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΝΤΑΚΤΩΝ, ΤΟ ΒΗΜΑ.

the euro. For a not insignificant number of commentators this is what Realpolitik transferred to the realm of financial stability should under present circumstances amount to. After all, the flexibility observed in making the European treaty amenable to changes in order to meet the exigencies of saving the integrity of the euro zone has unmistakably testified to the essentially political character of rescue policies. For the right-wing spectrum of the German press the outcome of the July negotiations has shown that the political will to part ways with Greece has lamentably not yet reached the stadium of a hegemonial consensus. This in turn can retrospectively help explain the eagerness with which a lot of commentators have all through the months of the negotiations regularly conjured up the imminent occurrence of the Grexit or the ‘Grexident’ by way of a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The necessity or unavailability of the country having to leave the Eurozone does not loom large in the Greek print media, because the tacit consensus apparently governing opinions on this issue is that apart from certain segments of the ruling party of Syriza nobody else is seriously bent on taking the risk of letting the confrontation with the EU decision makers escalate. The negative climate, both at the level of the European political solution-finding and the national public discourses as well, brought about by the course pursued by the Greek government in the negotiation process, is discouraging enough as to want to push things to the limit. The consensus upon which media perceptions on the ‘Grexit’ rely, consists in echoing and reflecting ostensibly widespread attitudes in the Greek society, which are carried by the belief that it is completely unjustifiable to want to jeopardise the status of Greece as member state of the Eurozone along with the various advantages accruing to this membership in the name of pursuing the goal of optimising the conditions of negotiating a new rescue package.

Not even the understandable unwillingness of the SYRIZA government party to acquiesce to an agreement that (without doubt) goes against its proclaimed objectives and programmatic lines of action can justify embarking on a course that aims at a rupture with the dominant European stabilisation policy, thereby leading to the definitive insolvency of the country and the then inescapable exit from the Eurozone. Besides, unaccountable is also the way of acting of the strong pro-exit group in the ruling party – the driving force of the escalation strategy and the promoter of the cause of returning to the old currency –, because neither before the election in January 2015 nor before the referendum at the beginning of July has it taken any pains to explain to the Greek public how the objective of uncompromisingly fighting against the European consensus in matters crisis management, fiscal stabilisation and economic consolidation can be constructively reconciled with not having to relinquish the membership in the Eurozone

– as then the incompatibility of the two objectives became too obvious to deny, it turned out that the powerful faction rallying for the ‘Grexit’ did not actually have any sound plan B.

Furthermore (and worse still) (for almost all Greek editorials) the negotiation efforts of the SYRIZA government could not have any positive results, for neither the present juncture in the European Union and the balance of forces resulting from the dominant model of crisis management have been favourable to shifts in the current paradigm of consolidation and austerity policies, nor has the Greek government been perceived as constructive and trustworthy partner with regards to the perspective of a viable solution. On the contrary, all through the negotiation time beliefs about another Greek government doing the job much better have been considerably widespread.

At the end of the day, the ruling party of SYRIZA itself has in some way in its ranks reproduced the fundamental ambivalence running through societal perceptions of, beliefs about and stances towards the question of how it could have been (or it can still be) possible to combine the allegiance expressed in the will of the country to remain in the Eurozone with the no less firm belief that the consolidation course so far taken by the European crisis management and more or less imposed on the Greek decision makers has been detrimental to achieving the goal of the economic and fiscal recovery. Seen under this light, then, the decision of the Greek government to agree upon conditionality and terms of the third rescue package, but also the subsequent split off of the ‘Grexit’ supporters from SYRIZA have not so much resolved the tension inherent in the aforementioned ambivalence, but rather dissolved its acuteness in the short term – or so it seems. For it has become in the course of the negotiations increasingly difficult to discern how the proclaimed goal of the government to reach a fair agreement with the (European) creditors and partners could not inevitably come into conflict with what the latter demand of the former in terms of membership in the Eurozone.

In any case, nearly all editorial commentaries stress the irreversible character of the decisions taken along with the unshakable challenge the Greek society is confronted with to determine its priorities and map out the course of the economic, fiscal and social policy of the future. And this all the more so, because all the evidence and the experiences so far gained point to the fact of the course embarked upon being without alternative. The reorganisation of state, society and economy poses itself as an urgent matter, which if not dealt with promptly – so the argument goes – will cause much more calamities than those occurred in the wake of the finance and sovereign debt crisis in the first place; not to speak of the impending bankruptcy. After all, according to the near unanimous opinion of the Greek print media, there is no alternative to the

European trajectory of Greece, whatever the supporters of the return to the old currency as sign of re-establishing economic and political sovereignty may otherwise uphold.

However politically rational, economic inescapable and from the European perspective of stabilisation politics reasonable the agreement reached upon between the Greek government and the other member states of the Eurozone might be, it is nevertheless not difficult to discern in the way Greek print media assess the concrete shape of the negotiation results a kind of hesitancy to concede that the conditions of the third rescue package display an unquestionably positive character. Assuredly, the fact of the agreement itself has proved enough to ward off the possibility of ‘Grexit’ – curiously enough favoured by the synergy of two lobbying groups rallying for the return of the old drachma, that is, a remarkable coalition consisting of the left wing of the Greek ruling party, on the one hand, and the conservative faction of the German Christian Democrats headed by the Minister of Finance, on the other, –, but all the same, it seems to fall short of what (for many editorials) should have been the outcome of a fair compromise.

## **II. Crisis management**

Surveying how the German press situates the issue of the Greek sovereign debt in the framework of the European strategy to overcome the crisis one can discern a kind of covert consensus concerning the exemplarity of the Greek crisis, or, in more alarmist terms, the explosive potential it carries for the cohesion resources of the Union. What confers even more gravity to the Greece crisis affairs are the diverging perceptions of what an appropriate crisis management strategy should look like: For the ones what counts is raising economic performance, for the others a relative lax fiscal policy; some want to push developments in the Union in the direction of ever higher competitiveness levels, some others would be quite content with a Union of monetary transfers; what for some is an inexcusable messing up with the convergence criteria of Maastricht, is for the others creatively adapting to the demands of a flexible crisis management. Some commentators go even that far as to conjecture that Greece has become the ground of contest between all sorts of economic strategies ranging from neoliberal austerity to Neo-Keynesian counter-cyclical policies.

Nevertheless, pointing to the other indebted states that have managed to return to the markets to refinance themselves seems to undermine the argument Greece standing exemplary for the course of the European crisis. In the face of this, those among the commentators that believe that there is in the Greek case something more than the sovereign debt problem resort to arguing that the EU crisis management boils down to little more than buying time, thus putting the issue

of a long-term solution off. Stressing postponement as characteristic of European anti-crisis strategy gone astray proves in turn to be the rallying point for all those perceptions that deem this strategy an outright failure. Curiously enough, attributing failure to the EU to really meet the challenge of providing a sustainable solution comes in two flavours forging something like a discourse coalition between right-wing support of the Grexit-option, on the one hand, and liberal-left-wing critique, on the other: Both see the costs and collateral damages of buying time far outstrip the hoped-for middle term ameliorating effects thus bringing down the whole edifice of rescue politics.

However, whereas for the former the clear-cut correction consists in Greece going its own way with a new currency, the latter opt for a more or less drastic haircut. The haircut supporters build a discursively strong group among German commentators, convincingly as they argue that restructuring the Greek sovereign debt will turn out to be a) probably inevitable, b) pragmatically-expediently advisable, and c) historically tried and tested. No less resolute are the opponents of such arguments though, pointing as they do to the fact that neither the haircut of 2012 nor the considerably favourable conditions of the timetable for the debt repayment have brought any obvious relief.

The issue of debt restructuring is also touched upon in the Greek print media landscape, especially as concerns the question of the sustainability of the Greek debt. In the face of the fact of Greece's public debt having become highly unsustainable, expected by mid-2015 that in the next two years to peak at close to 200% of GDP, all the editorials that address this issue put forward the need for debt relief measures going far beyond what the decision makers determining the European crisis management so far are at present willing to consider. Curiously enough, the position of one of the main creditors, the IMF – otherwise in the focus of (fierce) critique on the grounds of the austerity policies it normally supports – is given credit for upholding the inescapability of restructuring the Greek debt. The latter is perceived to be all the more necessary, as the third rescue package agreed upon does not display the potential to set the Greek economy back on track.

To be sure, the fact of the third memorandum assuming a rather unpleasant shape owes much to the negotiation strategy of the SYRIZA government, which instead of striking an agreement early on in the negotiation process, when the conditions for the third memorandum still seemed favourable, (is on the contrary perceived to have) pursued a confrontative strategy seeking, as it were, to provoke a decisive rupture with the framework of the consolidation policy of the European crisis management. Nevertheless, there is much more to say about the matter, because there are a number of reasons why the third memorandum, apart from its positive dimensions

of helping avert the ‘Grexit’, much favoured by the German Minister of Finance, and setting an end to a certain kind of polarisation, an internal and divisive strife afflicting the Greek society on the issue of whether the referendum should be seen as amounting to a decidedly anti-European stance of the Greek decision makers, deserves reasonable critique. According to some powerful voices in the Green media landscape the reasons are mainly the following:

To begin with, the conditions of the new credit package are considered not to be those that can promote the objective of economic growth Greece is so urgently in need of, and furthermore they do not seem conducive to creating a favourable business and investment climate. Instead, the tax payers are once more called to shoulder the burden of covering up the holes of the state finances, caused mainly by an inefficient, overblown and corrupt state apparatus. The main thrust of the criticisms though is directed against what is perceived as the continuation of the austerity policies pursued ever since the first memorandum, cutting down as they do drastically public expenditure and social security mechanisms. Budgetary adjustment under the auspices of austerity, especially as regards reforms in the tax system, boils down not only to worsening income inequalities, but also to increasing the weight lasting upon those who really contribute to the production of national wealth.

The ‘Grexit’ may (for the time being) have been removed from the agenda, but the fact remains the same that the new credit programme prolongs the recessive effects of austerity policies and reinforces the system of foreign controls imposed not only upon the economic and fiscal policies of the Greek state, but also on the living standard of the Greek populace. It comes, then, as no surprise, that across the spectrum of opinions in Greek print media the perception prevails that the European crisis management has not lived up to the expectations of delivering a viable and sustainable solution strategy for the Greek debt crisis, for the one-sided insistence on giving budgetary adjustment prime of place does not obviously provide firm ground for believing that set the economy on its feet again.

### **III. Self-Understandings and Perceptions of Others**

Now turning to the question of those stances in the German qualitative press in which patterns of self-understanding, as well as perceptions of others find expression, one should at first draw attention to the fact that in the first half of this year certain tendencies of tabloidization can be observed that go considerably beyond what one had once to get used to during the first two years of the Greek crisis as print media like „Bild” and “Focus” launched a rather smear campaign. This time the willingness to dispose of populist, resentment-driven, discriminatory and

denunciatory stereotypes can well be observed both in editorials of otherwise respectable newspapers, as well as in public television talk shows. This phenomenon is critically focussed on by the left-wing segments in the media landscape castigating as they do the tendency to uniformity and conformity apparently getting hold of German journalism.

This kind of united conformism is in turn but an aspect of the aforementioned propensity of a great deal of German journalists to assume an overtly pro-political stance, or better, to slip into the role of government advisors, public relations consultants and policy makers' assistants. It comes then as no surprise to see the first-person plural "We" spreading across the print media landscape like wild fire. If in this "We" close ties and unity bonds are being forged between politics, economy, media and the public sphere, it is no less true that this collectivity displays still another function characteristic, namely that of a pedagogical schoolmasters' authority that dictates on the unruly Greek pupil to make his homework – that is, show himself worthy of receiving European loans.

Making themselves the mouthpiece of a collectivity standing firm behind the European policy of the German government many commentators try at the same time to dispel criticisms of the rescue policy being but a manifestation of hegemonial power and domination will. Nevertheless, because it is by no means easy to ignore that across Europe anti-German stances are gaining ground, many editorials take great pains to present the German policy strategy as conciliatory serving both the long-term interests of the euro zone, as well as those of the German taxpayers. Defending German policies this way cannot of course but provoke counterarguments the main thrust of which consists in showing that the animosities given rise to by the high-handed German crisis management are but the mirror-image of the stubborn nationalism of socio-psychological mobilisation of resentments in Germany. Reactivating and reinforcing popular stereotypes of the national German character being seemingly unswervingly committed to frugality and moneysaving this mobilisation but pits one nationalism against another: that of the alleged prudent creditors against the one of the supposedly reckless debtors. Both wreak havoc on the principle of European cohesion.

Now, talking about reckless debtors entails for a great deal of commentators the necessity to take a closer look at the Greek case, whereby mention should be made of what in a way sets the recent media discourse apart from how the German press has accompanied the first two years of the crisis. So in the first half of 2015 one can observe how an ever growing number of editorials bent over the "Greek patient" intending to fathom on those apparently deeper causes accounting for the fact that five years since the outbreak of the crisis there are not so many signs of recovery around. Leaving those perceptions about the Greeks having accustomed themselves

to being continuously alimented by European credits aside, what seems to most discomfort a wide range of commentators is the question whether Greece is fit for Europe at all.

Although some want to discern in the left-wing politics of Syriza a clear-cut break with what they believe to be the ruling consensus in the Union, the large number raises the issue whether the kind of social contract governing the relation between state and society in Greece is at all compatible with what is perceived to be European standard. Protesting as the Greek government does against the loss of national sovereignty attending the conditionality of being granted the third rescue package is in the view of these commentators quite misleading, because it is not sustained by that understanding of a functioning democracy prevailing in the rest of Europe. To be sure, the Greek political system bears upon democratic principles, but this should not be considered identical with how the institutional makeup of the democratic system is elsewhere embedded in the life-world of social reality that is, public morality, general interest orientations and citizens' participation – in short republican ethos.

Although judging from how Greek print media view contemporary affairs one can argue that the prevailing beliefs and self-perceptions would – by and large – not go that far as to raise doubts about the stability of the democratic foundations of the political system, nevertheless the self-critical picture conveyed by numerous editorials offers a rather dismal account of the present state of politics in the country. For one thing, there seems to be a kind of accord on the observation that a) certain practices of the ruling government party point to traditional clientelistic mechanisms still being in force and b) for once more the great part of the people will be called to pay for the erroneous policies and the blatant mismanagement of public affairs caused by the irresponsible conduct of the political class. The main trait marking this irresponsibility is considered to be the structural propensity characterising political action to yield eagerly to the allures of populism, defending, as the latter always does, vested interests and established privileges to the detriment of that political will that does not refrain from carrying through ineluctable reforms.

The fact of populist leanings underlying political stances is compounded by the equally indisputable deterioration of political mores reaching down to corruption – not to forget the vicissitudes of current politics (and the course of the present government) resulting from the somehow self-contradictory attitude of castigating the reforms accompanying the rescue programmes as counter-productive, on the one side, defending them though as the only way out to avoid the country slipping closer to insolvency, on the other. This has of course not quite raised the level of credibility of the current political decision makers, but neither has the wavering attitude of the conservative party, opposed as it has at the beginning the implementation of the

first rescue package. Trustworthiness with regards to the commitment to carry out the task of reforming state and economy cannot be that great, considering the fact that the members of the political class feel themselves more responsible to their voting clients, than to what promoting the end of the common good demands of them.

No wonder, then, that the discrepancy between what cannot but be considered necessary, indispensable and unavoidable, on the one hand, and the type of political conduct that tries to circumvent uncomfortable changes, on the other, has assumed the status of a systemic factor in Greek political life over the last decades. Critical perceptions of the political system relate also to some other aspects of the current crisis afflicting state, economy and society in Greece, to which belong:

- a) the injustice of the tax system that not only perpetuates class privileges, but also correlates with the inefficiency of the resource-devouring state machine;
- b) the structural reform and modernisation blockades traditional party politics causes for a whole array of the public services, such as the health, education and judicial system, as well as the public administration in general;
- c) the over indebtedness of the state, thus becoming prey to financial speculation, brought largely about by the satisfaction of all kinds of clientelistic demands; and
- d) phenomena of a kind of class struggle from above, as the austerity measures, i.e. pension as salary cuts, are directed one-sidedly against the lower income strata of society, whereby, on the contrary, the elites of politics and administration are systematically shielded off by all kinds of privileges.

To the self-perceptions given expression to in the print media belong also those re-assuring articulations of allegiance to the EU-membership of Greece that draw upon the majority support the pro-European orientation enjoys among the Greek populace, as well as the widespread belief that the negotiation process leading to the referendum has made the will and the determination of the country to stay in the Eurozone even more explicit. Although the country's political culture has long been marked by intense animosities, socio-political clashes and civil wars – whereby the political-discursive antagonisms over what the outcome of the referendum should be taken to mean testifies once more to how the political system is riven by intractable divides – there is no doubt according to the print media (under examination) that Greece will remain part of the European community of nations, and this all the more so on the ground that the sacrifices the Greek people have put into the efforts to overcome the debt crisis shall not have been in vain. At the end of the day, whatever the momentary constellation of power relations in

the European fabric of transnational relations may be, the European commitment belongs substantially to the contemporary Greek self-understanding and identity.

Apropos power constellations: To be sure, it would not be easy to deny neither the intransigent and somehow authoritarian style of the way the troika or lately the “institutions” have overseen the process of implementing the conditions accompanying the credit programmes, nor the dominant power position Germany has in the course of the crisis management succeeded in securing for itself, imposing across Europe an austerity regime in the way of semi-colonial rule. However, it would equally be argued, that the consolidation and stability measures aim at setting Greece back on track by facilitating the process of carrying out reforms that should have taken place long ago. In this sense, it is assuredly justifiable to a certain extent to rail against the German-dominated Eurozone, but nevertheless the efforts to find a way out of the crisis concern not only the ability of the Greek government to come to grips with the desolate state of affairs in the country, but also the credibility of the Union, as well as its capacity to provide effective and sustainable solutions in the spirit of European solidarity.

#### **IV. The present state of the European Union**

That various things are in a mess in Europe is not something that one could reasonably deny – the question revolves rather around the issue of how to set the priority record straight. If one wants to group together the relevant argumentations observed in the German press in the first half of 2015, two are the discursive patterns governing perceptions on the present state of affairs in the EU. On the one hand, according to what one might call the externalist position, the challenges and dangers the Union is currently confronted with partake of phenomena coming to Europe from outside, as it were: the geostrategic policy of Russia, the unpredictability of the volatility of financial markets, the threats posed by Islamist terrorism, the refugee movement. So the issue of overriding concern should be located in safe-guarding the integrity, cohesion and security of European space – both in terms of geostrategic self-determined action, as well as crisis management concerning refugees and terrorists. Regarding the issue of managing the effects of the sovereign debt crisis this position deems sufficient the problem-solving capacities of the fiscal pact and banking union.

For the second group of argumentations, let us call it internalist, on the contrary, the measures taken in the course of coping with the financial crisis are by no means sufficient to deal with the exigencies of the present. Furthermore, where the externalists see the course of

the process of European integration only threatened by the externalities of a global developments becoming increasingly unmanageable, the internalists see the integration dynamic grinding to a halt – not least because of the fragility of the monetary architecture of the Union, the deficits in the architecture of common economic and finance politics, economic performance differences and diverging levels of competitiveness, but also various fragmentation tendencies.

Now, in the first half of 2015 most of the commentators follow the internalist stance – things will change in the second half though. Focussed as they are on the negotiation process with possibly serious collateral damages for the trajectory of monetary integrations, most editorials bent over the question of what stills holds Europe (more or less) firmly together. For all those that do not want to downplay the centripetal forces, both political and economic, unleashed in the course of coming to grips with the effects of the crisis, the first thing to say is that the obvious fragmentation phenomena afflicting the Union are but the dialectical counterpart to the integration process progressing – however cumbersome this progress may otherwise be. So, the more interdependencies grow and European governance or governmentality expands, the more acute the awareness becomes of disparities, divergences and conflict potentials. A dialectical interplay of opposing forces can however also be seen to be at work here, since raising conflict awareness goes hand in hand with enhancing the culture of compromise. For all those among the commentators that are not outright against Greece staying in the euro zone, the course of the negotiations has been a successful exercise testifying to the unwavering will of the Union to safeguard unity through compromise.

For others among the internalists though, the logic of compromise is too thin a ground for claiming the integration course – despite drawbacks and temporary deadlocks – to be continuing along its way. The reasons they put forward for taking the bad shape the Union is in seriously are manifold: To begin with,

- a) putting trust in the automatism of integration progressively deepening amounts to a kind of ideological sacralisation of the Union, not better than the various national egoisms tumbling around;
- b) the supposedly tempered culture of compromise-finding leads more often than not in violation of the treaties and rules of the Union;
- c) instead of integration moving forward crisis management has rather put Europe in reverse gear reanimated as it has renationalisation tendencies;
- d) although much talked about the perspective of a robust European Governance is as far as ever; last but not least,

e) the fact of Germany exercising a hegemonial role in imposing rules of fiscal stability has not quite helped enhance a climate of mutual respect among European partners.

Indeed, these are weighty arguments against perceptions about the crisis not having seriously damaged the institutional problem-solving capacity of the Union. Therefore the question arises: What's left? If compromise does not suffice, integration shows regressive tendencies, renationalisation becomes the rule of the day and the Greek crisis lingers on, what could be those value principles, grounding tenets and orientation marks that still keep the European states together? Solidarity perhaps? Not many German commentators are willing to take recourse to this value. This comes hardly as a surprise, as solidarity seems to mean no more than credit policies and lobbyism for national creditors.

As far as one can see in the Greek press there is not much that can be said against this observation.

## V. Sources

### German print media

Date	Author	Title
<b>SZ (Süddeutsche Zeitung)</b>		
05.01	Marc Beise	Eine beherrschbare Krise
07.01	Stefan Kornelius	Des Strebers Einsamkeit
09.01	Claus Hulverscheidt	Logisch – und doch Unsinn
23.01	Christiane Schlötzer	Nach der Wahl
26.01	Christiane Schlötzer	Warten auf den Purzelbaum
27.01	Stefan Ulrich	Kompromiss für Europa
28.01	Cerstin Gammelin	Was nun zu tun ist
29.01	Stefan Kornelius	Tsipras' Wut
09.02	Guido Bohsem	Schnellkurs in Sachen Wirklichkeit
10.02	Christiane Schlötzer	Zeit für die Wahrheit
13.02	Cerstin Gammelin	Die Interessen der Anderen
16.02	Cerstin Gammelin	Die drohen doch nur
17.02	Cerstin Gammelin	Fast schon unverschämt
18.02	Claus Hulverscheidt	Das Missverständnis
20.02	Stefan Kornelius	Wenig Klarheit, kaum Vertrauen
21.02	Christiane Schlötzer	Die zweite Chance
23.02	Cerstin Gammelin	Unlösbare Aufgabe
25.02	Nikolaus Piper	Europas Schicksal
04.03	Stefan Kornelius	Am Ende
09.03	Cerstin Gammelin	Wenn das Ferne ist so nah
11.03	Christiane Schlötzer	Der Rückfall
13.03	Christiane Schlötzer	Politik mit dem Pfandsiegel
16.03	Kurt Kister	Zu viel eitles Geschwätz
24.03	Claus Hulverscheidt	Lärmende Sprachlosigkeit
30.03	Bastian Brinkmann/Claus Hulverscheidt	Fünf Mythen über Griechenland
20.04	Claus Hulverscheidt	Ein Irrlicht names Varoufakis
23.04	Stefan Kornelius	Auszeit für die Aufgeregten
28.04	Stefan Kornelius	Varoufexit
30.04	Christiane Schlötzer	Zeit für Entscheidungen
12.05	Cerstin Gammelin	Mehr Demokratie wagen
13.05	Cerstin Gammelin	Leeres Lob
23.05	Heribert Prantl	Wunderwort Zukunft
26.05	Alexander Mühlauer	Ein Pakt für Europa
03.06	Cerstin Gammelin	Kurz vor dem Schluss
05.06	Cerstin Gammelin	Hierarchie der Übel
06.06	Christiane Schlötzer	Nichts gelernt
13.06	Stefan Ulrich	Der Kern der Union
16.06	Ulrich Schäfer	Schuld und Chance
18.06	Stefan Kornelius	Zur ewigen Krise
20.06	Carolin Emcke	Defizit
24.06	Cerstin Gammelin	Lehrjahre einer Kanzlerin
25.06	Ulrich Schäfer	Das Beispiel von 1953
27.06	Stefan Kornelius	Zum Wohl verdammt
29.06	Kurt Kister	Kein Wille, kein Weg

30.06	Cerstin Gammelin	Den Griechen sei Dank
01.07	Claus Hulverscheidt	Die kühle Kanzlerin
02.07	Claus Hulverscheidt	IWF – Williges Opfer
03.07	Gustav Seibt	Stolze Völker
03.07	Stefan Ulrich	Was Europa den Griechen schuldet
04.07	Alex Rühle	Feindbilder: Interview mit M. Tsomoz, A. Kritikos, K. Kosmas und N. Apostolopoulos
04.07	Daniel Rössler	Es geht ums Ganze
06.07	Stefan Ulrich	Strategen des Scheiterns
07.07	Stefan Kornelius	Die große Leere
08.07	Ulrich Schäfer	Was von Varoufakis bleibt
09.07	Alexander Mühlauer	Alles wird gut
09.07	Cerstin Gammelin	Das klappt nie
11.07	Marc Beise	Einen Staat bauen
13.07	Stefan Kornelius	Ins Graos
14.07	Christiane Schlötzer	Riskante Rettung
15.07	Heribert Prantl	Wer hat Deutschland zum Richter bestellt?
16.07	Nikolaus Piper	Reformieren, nicht sparen
<b>FAS (Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung)</b>		
04.01	Lisa Nienhaus	Das griechische Paradox
01.02	Volker Zastrow	Muss Athen kümmern, was wir wollen?
08.02	Thomas Gutschker	Die Weichwährungsunion zeigt sich hartleibig
22.02	Rainer Hank	Das Elend der Griechen
22.02	Peter Carstens	Griechenland muss gerettet werden
26.04	Werner Mussler	Warum Politiker lügen müssen
31.05	Rainer Hank	Zu den Griechen fällt mir nichts mehr ein
28.06	Rainer Hank	Die Sakralisierung Europas
28.06	Michael Martens	Syrizas Legende vom Dolchstoß
<b>FAZ (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung)</b>		
05.01	Jasper von Altenbockum	Am Hebel
06.01	Klaus-Dieter Frankenberger	Unwiderruflich
09.04	Heike Göbel	Die Zwickmühle der Griechen-Gläubiger
26.01	Nikolas Busse	Tsipras' Wahl
27.01	Tobias Piller	Tsipras gegen die Troika
27.01	Nikolas Busse	Die Interessen der Gläubiger
28.01	Holger Steltzner	Die Frucht vor dem „Grexit“
28.11	Michael Martens	Der Kammenos-Tsipras-Pakt
30.01	Nikolas Busse	Die Mitte verliert
02.02	Leo Wieland	Sind die Reformen die Dummen?
05.02	Holger Steltzner	Griechenlands fauler Schuldenzauber
06.02	Werner Mussler	Schluss mit lustig in Athen
10.02	Tobias Piller	Wunsch trifft Realität
10.02	Michael Martens	Geld oder Grexit
13.02	Holger Steltzner	„Grexit“
16.02	Holger Steltzner	Griechische Revolvertaktik
18.02	Werner Mussler	Mit der Geduld am Ende
23.02	Werner Mussler	Auf Widervorlage
23.02	Berthold Kohler	Was die Griechen sich fragen müssen
25.02	Holger Steltzner	Versprochen – gebrochen
25.02	Rainer Hermann	Geben und Nehmen

26.02	Philip Plickert	Fass ohne Boden
27.02	Michael Martens	Risse in Athen
28.02	Berthold Kohler	Der weiche Bauch
03.03	Berthold Kohler	Ungewöhnlich dumm
05.03	Reinhard Müller	Die europäische Hausordnung
07.03	Holger Steltzner	Was Athen will
09.03	Holger Steltzner	Wer die Eurozone führt
13.03	Holger Steltzner	Solange die EZB zahlt
17.03	Holger Steltzner	Euro-Überhöhung
20.03	Heike Göbel	Unter Merkels Schutz
21.03	Nikolas Busse	Brüsseler Liste
23.03	Holger Steltzner	Woran Merkel scheitert
23.03	Jasper von Altenbockum	Griechischer Wein
24.03	Klaus-Dieter Frankenberger	Der Gast
25.03	Günter Bannas	Keine neuen Freunde
04.04	Carsten Knop	Wer ist hier blank?
20.04	Holger Steltzner	Taxi statt Dinner
06.05	Werner Mussler	Juncker bizarr
18.05	Tobias Piller	Tsipras vor dem Abgrund
23.05	Philip Plickert	Grexit als Option
30.05	Holger Steltzner	Ein Grexit ist so nah wie fern
08.06	Manfred Schäfers	Merkels Risiko
10.06	Berthold Kohler	Kapitalisierung der Angst
16.06	Klaus-Dieter Frankenberger	Schon viel zu lange
23.06	Nikolas Busse	Fundamente der EU
24.06	Werner Mussler	Die ewige Krise
27.06	Holger Steltzner	Weichwährungsunion
29.06	Michael Heise	Insolvenzgefahr in Griechenland
29.06	Werner Mussler	Zerstörtes Vertrauen
29.06	Berthold Kohler	Überreizt
30.06	Berthold Kohler	Die Hoffnung auf den Schiffbruch
02.07	Klaus-Dieter Frankenberger	Gestrichen voll
02.07	Rainer Hermann	Griechen ohne Staat
04.07	Klaus-Dieter Frankenberger	Schicksalstag
06.07	Carsten Knopp	Mit Zentripetalkraft
06.07	Peter Sturm	Pyrrhussieg
06.07	Reinhard Müller	Die europäische Pflicht
07.07	Daniel Mohr	Einsame Griechen
07.07	Holger Steltzner	In der Euro-Zwickmühle
07.07	Nikolas Busse	Nervenkrieg
07.07	Berthold Kohler	Ins Unglück
09.07	Werner Mussler	Grexit oder Pfus
09.07	Berthold Kohler	Charakterprüfung
11.07	Werner Mussler	Papier ist geduldig
13.07	Holger Steltzner	Die Anbetung des Euros
13.07	Berthold Kohler	Griechischer Spaltpilz
14.07	Heike Göbel	Griechische Glaubensfragen
14.07	Michael Hanfeld	Im Wartesaal. Warum sich in der Krise das Aus-harren lohnt
14.07	Reinhard Müller	Berliner Rumoren
14.07	Berthold Kohler	Bedrohlich nahe
14.07	Rainer Hermann	Griechische Stürme
15.07	Nikolas Busse	Der Preis der EU

<b>DIE ZEIT (ZEIT Online)</b>		
22.01	Marc Brost	Teufel an der Wand
29.01	Marc Brost/ Matthias Krupa/ Mark Schieritz/ Michael Thumann	Nimmt das, Europa!
05.02	Josef Joffe	Die Erpressung
05.02	Heinrich August Winkler	Stunde der Vereinfacher: Was rechte und linke Populisten verbindet
12.02	Mark Schieritz	Über die Klippe
19.02	Mark Schieritz	Was ist, wenn die Sturheit siegt?
26.02	Josef Joffe	Keine Panik, keine Milde
26.02	Mark Schieritz	Herr im Haus
19.03	Paul Welfens	Tsipras muss nur wollen
26.03	Michael Thumann	So ist das Leben
26.03	Mark Schieritz/Philip Faigle	Sind wir mitschuldig an Griechenlands Misere?
18.04	Mark Schieritz	Flugdrachmen
24.04	Jochen Bittner / Matthias Krupa/ Mark Schieritz/ Michael Thumann	Und was machen die sonst so?
11.06	Marc Brost/ Mark Schieritz	War's das, Herr Tsipras?
	Marc Brost	Der große Moment
24.06	Uwe Jean Heuser	Europa tanzt auf der Stelle
25.06	Helmut Schmidt	Geld reicht nicht
01.07	Marc Brost	Bleibt bei uns!
04.07	Georg Blume/ Peter Dausend/ Tina Hildebrandt/ Matthias Krupa/ Jörg Lau/ Felix Rohrbeck/ Mark Schieritz/ Birgit Schönau/ Michael Thumann/ Stefan Willeke/ Zacharias Zacharakis	Der Kampf um Athen
09.07	Bernd Ulrich	Kunstwerk des Jahrhunderts
09.07	Anita Fetz	Ihr verbohrt Technokraten!
11.07	Roman Pletter	Sie sollten wieder Katzen jagen
16.07	Matthias Krupa	Wie hat die Krise Europa verändert?
<b>TAZ (Die Tageszeitung)</b>		
23.01	Ulrike Herrmann	Stark und hilflos
17.02	Mara Bierbach	Ein Staatsbankrott? Na und?
17.02	Ulrike Herrmann	Der kalkulierte Eklat
21.02	Eric Bonse	Den Horizont verbaut
25.02	Eric Bonse	Das Soziale kommt zum Schluss
10.03	Eric Bonse	Die Rückkehr der Troika
16.03	Ulrike Herrmann	Troika? Bitte verschwinden!
20.03	Ulrike Herrmann	Lasst die Griechen wurschteln
30.03	Nico Rau	Das Griechen-Loch
06.04	Ulrike Herrmann	Gefährliche Pendeldiplomatie
28.05	Eric Bonse	Noch 8 Tage bis zur Griechen-Pleite
02.06	Ulrike Herrmann	Die unbeliebte Rolle der Buhfrau
22.06	Eric Bonse	Nie wieder Eurokrise?
23.06	Ulrike Herrmann	Friss oder stirb

26.06	Ulrike Herrmann	Verabschiedete Demokratie
27.06	Ulrike Herrmann	Konsequent!
28.06	Gereon Asmuth	Demokratie oder Irrsinn?
29.06	Ulrike Herrmann	Zerstörtes Vertrauen
30.06	Holm Friebe	Häusliche Gewalt
02.07	Rudolf Walther	Plastiksätze überall
04.07	Robert Misik	Nein!
05.07	Ulrike Herrmann	Geschichte wird gemacht
06.07	Ulrike Herrmann	Die Rolle des Rambo ist zu Ende
10.07	Eric Bonse	Tsipras hat kapituliert
10.07	Martin Reeh	Deutsch und irrational
13.07	Ingo Arzt	Demokratie gibt es nur für Geld
15.07	Roman Imielski	Kein Mitleid mit Athen
15.07	Ulrich Schulte	Merkels Härte
16.07	Pascal Beucker	Die Grünen dürfen nicht zustimmen
19.07	Ulrike Herrmann	Der Sparfuchs kostet Milliarden
<b>DIE WELT</b>		
04.01	Christoph B. Schlitz	Die Griechen sitzen am längeren Hebel
06.01	Olaf Gersemann	Griechen sind das Opfer falscher Entwicklungspolitik
07.01	Hans Zippert	Griechenland wird vom EU-Festland abgesprengt
13.01	Daniel Eckert	Zerbricht der Euro, stirbt Europas Finanzsystem
26.01	Silke Mühlherr	Weshalb Tsipras doch der Richtige sein könnte
27.01	Jacques Schuster	Die gefährliche Sehnsucht der Griechen nach Führern
28.01	Dorothea Siems	In Europa wird es einsam um die Griechen
01.02	Andrea Seibel	Europa sitzt am längeren Hebel
14.02	Daniel Eckert / Holger Zschäpitz	Keine Angst vor Schulen! Das ist nicht dein Ernst!
17.02	Christoph B. Schlitz	Europa muss gegenüber den Griechen hart bleiben
18.02	Robin Alexander	Aus Tsipras' Auftritt spricht der Dünkel
19.02	Andrea Seibel	Schäuble weiß, welche Sprache Athen versteht
24.02	Andre Tauber	Die seltsame Kriegsrhetorik des Alexis Tsipras
25.02	Dirk Schümer	Die griechische Reformshow wird kein Problem lösen
19.03	Christoph B. Schlitz	Dieses Europa ist eine Fehlkonstruktion
20.03	Martin Greive	Druck der Wirklichkeit zwingt Tsipras zur Vernunft
23.03	Günther Lachmann	Tsipras und Podemos überholen die Linkspartei
24.03	Ulrich Clauß	Tsipras' Drohung mit dem Untergang funktioniert
05.04	Bernard-Henri Lévy	Es ist entscheidend, Angela Merkel zu verteidigen
06.04	Jan Dams	Notfalls wäre es besser, die Griechen ziehen zu lassen
08.04	Dorothea Siems	Vielleicht will Tsipras ja aus dem Euro fliegen
05.05	Jorgo Chatzimarkakis	Selbst gute Freunde haben Griechenland aufgegeben
17.05	Olaf Gersemann	Tsipras darf damit nicht durchkommen
02.06	Sascha Lehnartz	Tsipras will die EU in den Wahnsinn treiben

07.06	Olaf Gersemann	Die letzte Chance des Vertrauenszerstörers Tsipras
11.06	Dorothea Siems	Lasst lieber die Griechen gehen als die Briten!
14.06	Robin Alexander	Merkel rettet die Griechen – und dann die Briten
16.06	Jacques Schuster	Alexis Tsipras ist jetzt schon der Sieger
19.06	Sebastian Jost	Liebe Leute, es wird Zeit – Grexit hopp oder top!
20.06	Henryk M. Broder	Warum wir den Griechen unseren Dank schulden
23.06	Sascha Lehnartz	Alexis Tsipras spielt „Wer bremsst, verliert“
28.06	Dorothea Siems	Tsipras hat von Anfang an den Grexit eingeplant
28.06	Andre Tauber	Jetzt muss über den Grexit diskutiert werden
29.06	Richard Herzinger	Die EU eine Missgeburt? Nein, das Beste, was geht!
29.06	Omid Nouripour / Manuel Sarrazin	Die Welt verliert das Interesse am Modell Europa
30.06	Dirk Schümer	Tsipras nutzt die ärmeren Europäer schamlos aus
03.07	Ulf Poschardt	Die Krise macht uns jetzt zu wahrhaften Europäern
05.07	Sascha Lehnartz	Tsipras braucht jetzt dringend einen Vernunftschub
05.07	Olaf Gersemann	Das Gewürge geht jetzt erst richtig los
05.07	Dirk Schümer	Griechen ahnen, wohin sie Tsipras' Isolationismus führt
06.07	Ulrich Clauß	Griechenland zwingt Deutschland den Grexit auf
12.07	Henryk M. Broder	Auch ohne „Haircut“ wird der Steuerzahler rasiert
14.07	Thomas Schmid	Viel gescholten und trotzdem ein wahrer Europäer
15.07	Thomas Schmid	Tsipras – kein Held, sondern Saboteur und Narziss
15.07	Jacques Schuster	Europas Zahlmeister muss auch Zuchtmeister sein
15.07	Sascha Lehnartz	Tsipras wird scheitern wie seine Vorgänger
17.07	Alan Posener	Die EU braucht den Sündenbock Griechenland

## Greek print media (Editorials)

### ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΙΝΗ

1.	03.06. Ο τόπος και τα λάφουρα <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/817750/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/o-topos--kai-ta-lafyra">http://www.kathimerini.gr/817750/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/o-topos--kai-ta-lafyra</a>
2.	04.06. Την αλήθεια <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/817892/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/thn-alh8eia">http://www.kathimerini.gr/817892/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/thn-alh8eia</a>
3.	05.06. Ας προλάβουμε τα χειρότερα <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/818082/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/as-prolavoyme-ta-xeirotera">http://www.kathimerini.gr/818082/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/as-prolavoyme-ta-xeirotera</a>
4.	06.06. Η καθυστέρηση κάνει ζημιά <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/818279/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-ka8ysterhsh-kanei-zhmia">http://www.kathimerini.gr/818279/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-ka8ysterhsh-kanei-zhmia</a>
5.	07.06. Η καμπάνα χτυπάει για όλους <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/818320/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-kampana-xytpaei-gia-oloys">http://www.kathimerini.gr/818320/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-kampana-xytpaei-gia-oloys</a>
6.	09.06. Το χειρότερο <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/818575/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/to-xeirotero">http://www.kathimerini.gr/818575/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/to-xeirotero</a>
7.	10.06. Ο λάθος δρόμος <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/818706/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/o-la8os-dromos">http://www.kathimerini.gr/818706/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/o-la8os-dromos</a>
8.	11.06. Αυτοσυγκράτηση και στήριξη <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/818869/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/aytosygkrathsh-kai-sthri3h">http://www.kathimerini.gr/818869/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/aytosygkrathsh-kai-sthri3h</a>
9.	12.06. Συνεννόηση και ενημέρωση <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/819064/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/synennohsh-kai-Enhmerwsh">http://www.kathimerini.gr/819064/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/synennohsh-kai-Enhmerwsh</a>
10.	13.06. Το χρέος <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/819245/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/to-xreos">http://www.kathimerini.gr/819245/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/to-xreos</a>
11.	14.06. Αν δεν αντέχει το φορτίο <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/819284/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/an-den-antexei-to-fovtio">http://www.kathimerini.gr/819284/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/an-den-antexei-to-fovtio</a>
12.	17.06. Συμβούλιο αρχηγών και ευθύνη <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/819697/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/symvoylio-arxhgwn-kai-ey8ynh">http://www.kathimerini.gr/819697/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/symvoylio-arxhgwn-kai-ey8ynh</a>
13.	18.06. Επικίνδυνη απομάκρυνση <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/819852/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/epikindynh-apomakrynsh">http://www.kathimerini.gr/819852/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/epikindynh-apomakrynsh</a>
14.	19.06. Να μας ενώνει η αγωνία <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/820030/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/na-mas-enwnei-h-agwnia">http://www.kathimerini.gr/820030/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/na-mas-enwnei-h-agwnia</a>
15.	20.06. Η ώρα της αλήθειας <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/820227/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-wra-ths-alh8eias">http://www.kathimerini.gr/820227/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-wra-ths-alh8eias</a>
16.	21.06. Δεν υπάρχει εντολή για Grexit <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/820264/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/den-yparxei-entolh-gia-grexit">http://www.kathimerini.gr/820264/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/den-yparxei-entolh-gia-grexit</a>
17.	23.06. Η δύσκολη επιλογή <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/820527/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-dyskolh-epilogh">http://www.kathimerini.gr/820527/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-dyskolh-epilogh</a>
18.	24.06. Η εμμονή και το λάθος <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/820680/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-emmonh-kai-to-la8os">http://www.kathimerini.gr/820680/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-emmonh-kai-to-la8os</a>
19.	25.06. Στη ζώνη «ατυχήματος» <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/820827/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/sth-zwnh--atyxhmatos">http://www.kathimerini.gr/820827/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/sth-zwnh--atyxhmatos</a>
20.	27.06. Ευρώ ή δραχμή <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/821192/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/eyrw-h-draxmh">http://www.kathimerini.gr/821192/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/eyrw-h-draxmh</a>
21.	28.06. Θα μείνουμε Ευρώπη <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/821280/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/8a-meinoyme-eyrwph">http://www.kathimerini.gr/821280/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/8a-meinoyme-eyrwph</a>

22.	29.06. <b>Ερωτήματα στον κ. Τσίπρα</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/821425/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/erwthmata-ston-k-tsipra">http://www.kathimerini.gr/821425/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/erwthmata-ston-k-tsipra</a>
23.	30.06. <b>Αφθαρτα πρόσωπα</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/821576/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/af8arta-proswpa">http://www.kathimerini.gr/821576/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/af8arta-proswpa</a>
24.	01.07. <b>Επικίνδυνη αδυναμία</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/821746/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/epikindynh-adynameia">http://www.kathimerini.gr/821746/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/epikindynh-adynameia</a>
25.	02.07. <b>ΝΑΙ, για να μείνουμε στο ευρώ</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/821923/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/nai-gia-na-meinoyme-sto-eyrw">http://www.kathimerini.gr/821923/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/nai-gia-na-meinoyme-sto-eyrw</a>
26.	03.07. <b>Προέχει η πατρίδα</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/822098/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/proexei-h-patrída">http://www.kathimerini.gr/822098/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/proexei-h-patrída</a>
27.	06.07. <b>Οι δύο τρόποι</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/822433/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/oi-dyo-tropoi">http://www.kathimerini.gr/822433/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/oi-dyo-tropoi</a>
28.	07.07. <b>Ποιος θα αναλάβει την ευθύνη;</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/822570/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/poios-8a-analavei-thn-ey8ynh">http://www.kathimerini.gr/822570/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/poios-8a-analavei-thn-ey8ynh</a>
29.	08.07. <b>Τα ψέματα τελείωσαν</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/822710/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/ta-yemata-teleiwsan">http://www.kathimerini.gr/822710/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/ta-yemata-teleiwsan</a>
30.	09.07. <b>Η αρρώστια</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/822876/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-arrwstia">http://www.kathimerini.gr/822876/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-arrwstia</a>
31.	10.07. <b>Με τη μεγάλη πλειοψηφία</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/823046/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/me-th-megalh-pleioyhfia">http://www.kathimerini.gr/823046/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/me-th-megalh-pleioyhfia</a>
32.	11.07. <b>Προκαλεί ακόμη</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/823190/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/prokalei-akomh">http://www.kathimerini.gr/823190/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/prokalei-akomh</a>
33.	12.07. <b>Τελευταία ευκαιρία</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/823252/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/teleytaia-eykairia">http://www.kathimerini.gr/823252/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/teleytaia-eykairia</a>
34.	13.07. <b>Η αποτυχία και το ψέμα</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/823404/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-apotyxia-kai-to-yema">http://www.kathimerini.gr/823404/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-apotyxia-kai-to-yema</a>
35.	14.07. <b>Με ποιο δικαίωμα;</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/823531/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/me-poio-dikaiwma">http://www.kathimerini.gr/823531/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/me-poio-dikaiwma</a>
36.	15.07. <b>Να πείσει ότι θα γυρίσει σελίδα</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/823660/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/na-peisei-oti-8a-gyrissei-selida">http://www.kathimerini.gr/823660/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/na-peisei-oti-8a-gyrissei-selida</a>
37.	16.07. <b>Η μεγάλη ευθύνη</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/823819/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-megalh-ey8ynh">http://www.kathimerini.gr/823819/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-megalh-ey8ynh</a>
38.	17.07. <b>Η αποκάλυψη της αλήθειας</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/824028/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-apokalyph-ths-alh8eias">http://www.kathimerini.gr/824028/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-apokalyph-ths-alh8eias</a>
39.	18.07. <b>Δουλειά, όχι θεωρίες</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/824161/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/doyleia-oxi-8ewries">http://www.kathimerini.gr/824161/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/doyleia-oxi-8ewries</a>
40.	21.07. <b>Τα περί εκλογών</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/824462/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/ta-peri-eklogwn">http://www.kathimerini.gr/824462/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/ta-peri-eklogwn</a>
41.	23.07. <b>Πολιτικοί χωρίς υποκρισία</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/824736/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/politikoi-xwris-ypokrisia">http://www.kathimerini.gr/824736/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/politikoi-xwris-ypokrisia</a>
42.	24.07. <b>Η Ελλάδα τους οφείλει</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/824901/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-ellada-toys-ofeilei">http://www.kathimerini.gr/824901/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-ellada-toys-ofeilei</a>
43.	25.07. <b>Προμελετημένο</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/825042/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/promelethmeno">http://www.kathimerini.gr/825042/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/promelethmeno</a>
44.	26.07. <b>Κυβέρνηση εθνικής σωτηρίας</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/825141/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/kyvernshsh-e8nikhs-swthrias">http://www.kathimerini.gr/825141/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/kyvernshsh-e8nikhs-swthrias</a>
45.	28.07. <b>Η αγορά</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/825296/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-agera">http://www.kathimerini.gr/825296/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-agera</a>
46.	29.07. <b>Παραλυσία</b> <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/825416/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/paralysia">http://www.kathimerini.gr/825416/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/paralysia</a>

47.	30.07. Δεσμώτες <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/825556/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/desmwtes">http://www.kathimerini.gr/825556/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/desmwtes</a>
48.	31.07. Η αλήθεια του ΔΝΤ <a href="http://www.kathimerini.gr/825716/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-alh8eia-toy-dnt">http://www.kathimerini.gr/825716/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-alh8eia-toy-dnt</a>

## Η ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΔΑ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΝΤΑΚΤΩΝ

49.	02.06. Δύο στρατηγικές για την Ευρώπη <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/dyo-stratigikes-gia-tin-eyropi">http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/dyo-stratigikes-gia-tin-eyropi</a>
50.	03.06. Περιμένοντας τον λογαριασμό <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/perimenontas-ton-logariasmo">http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/perimenontas-ton-logariasmo</a>
51.	04.06. Ώρες ευθύνης. Η ώρα της αλήθειας έχει σημαίνει για όλους <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/ores-eythynis">http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/ores-eythynis</a>
52.	06.06. Μπροστά σε κρίσιμες επιλογές <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/mprosta-se-krisimes-epiloges">http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/mprosta-se-krisimes-epiloges</a>
53.	09.06. Υστατες προσπάθειες <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/ystates-prospatheies">http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/ystates-prospatheies</a>
54.	11.06. Να τελειώσει αυτή η ιστορία <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/na-teleiosei-ayti-i-istoria">http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/na-teleiosei-ayti-i-istoria</a>
55.	15.06. Ψυχραιμία και αυτοσυγκράτηση <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/psyhraimia-kai-aytosygykratisi">http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/psyhraimia-kai-aytosygykratisi</a>
56.	19.06. Προς την τελική αναμέτρηση <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/pros-tin-teliki-anametrisi">http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/pros-tin-teliki-anametrisi</a>
57.	23.06. Η δύσκολη προσαρμογή <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/i-dyskoli-prosarmogi">http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/i-dyskoli-prosarmogi</a>
58.	25.06. Όχι άλλες εξοντωτικές απαιτήσεις <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/ohi-alles-exontotikes-apaitiseis">http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/ohi-alles-exontotikes-apaitiseis</a>
59.	26.06. Η σωστή απάντηση <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/i-sosti-apantis">http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/i-sosti-apantis</a>
60.	27.06. Η Ελλάδα στην Ευρώπη <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/h-ellada-stin-eyropi">http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/h-ellada-stin-eyropi</a>
61.	28.06. Το «όχι» είναι υπέρ της Ευρώπης <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/ohi-einai-yper-tis-eyropis">http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/ohi-einai-yper-tis-eyropis</a>
62.	01.07. «Όχι» χωρίς ψευδαισθήσεις <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/ohi-horis-pseydaisthiseis">http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/ohi-horis-pseydaisthiseis</a>
63.	02.07. Ποιους δεν άγγιξε η κρίση <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/poioys-den-aggixe-i-krisi">http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/poioys-den-aggixe-i-krisi</a>
64.	08.07. Την ύστατη στιγμή <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/tin-ystati-stigmi">http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/tin-ystati-stigmi</a>
65.	09.07. Να σηκώσει το γάντι ο πρωθυπουργός! <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/na-sikosei-ganti-o-prothypourgos-0">http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/na-sikosei-ganti-o-prothypourgos-0</a>
66.	10.07. Διαπραγμάτευση σε κινούμενη άμμο <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/diapragnateysi-se-kinoymeni-ammo">http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/diapragnateysi-se-kinoymeni-ammo</a>
67.	11.07. Μια δύσκολη συμφωνία <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/mia-dyskoli-symfonia">http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/mia-dyskoli-symfonia</a>
68.	13.07. «Όχι» στη γερμανική Ευρώπη <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/ohi-sti-germaniki-eyropi">http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/ohi-sti-germaniki-eyropi</a>
69.	14.07. «Ελληνική περίπτωση» και Ευρώπη <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/elliniki-periptosi-kai-eyropi">http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/elliniki-periptosi-kai-eyropi</a>
70.	17.07. Αναζητώντας την πολιτική ενότητα <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/anazitontas-tin-politiki-enotita-0">http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/anazitontas-tin-politiki-enotita-0</a>
71.	18.07. Εσωκομματική σύγκρουση <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/esokommatiki-sygykroyysi">http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/esokommatiki-sygykroyysi</a>

72.	20.07. Για το μέλλον της Αριστεράς <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/gia-mellon-tis-aristeras">http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/gia-mellon-tis-aristeras</a>
73.	22.07. Τακτικισμοί και οι επιπτώσεις τους <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/taktikismoi-kai-oi-epiptoseis-toys">http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/taktikismoi-kai-oi-epiptoseis-toys</a>
74.	23.07. Η μεγάλη εικόνα... <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/i-megali-eikona">http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/i-megali-eikona</a>
75.	24.07. Ο ιστός της αράχνης <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/o-istos-tis-arahnis">http://www.efsyn.gr:10080/arthro/o-istos-tis-arahnis</a>
76.	31.07. Διασταυρούμενα πυρά... <a href="http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/diastayroymena-pyra">http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/diastayroymena-pyra</a>

## ΤΟ ΒΗΜΑ

77.	07.06. Η εθνική συνεννόηση <a href="http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=710907">http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=710907</a>
78.	14.06. Το αίνιγμα του κ. Τσίπρα <a href="http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=713101">http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=713101</a>
79.	21.06. Θα τολμήσει να σπάσει τα αυγά ο κ. Τσίπρας; <a href="http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=715259">http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=715259</a>
80.	04.07. Παντός καιρού; <a href="http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=719322">http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=719322</a>

## ΤΟ ΕΘΝΟΣ

81.	04.06. Ο δρόμος της συνεννόησης <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/o_dromos_tis_synennoisis-64197103/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/o_dromos_tis_synennoisis-64197103/</a>
82.	08.06. Το κόστος της καθυστέρησης <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/to_kostos_tis_kathysterisis-64198913/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/to_kostos_tis_kathysterisis-64198913/</a>
83.	09.06. Τα περιθώρια εξαντλούνται <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/ta_perithoria_eksantlountai-64199510/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/ta_perithoria_eksantlountai-64199510/</a>
84.	10.6. Στα χέρια του πρωθυπουργού <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/sta_xeria_tou_prothypourgou-64200054/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/sta_xeria_tou_prothypourgou-64200054/</a>
85.	13.06. Η ώρα της ευθύνης <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/h_ora_tis_euthynis-64201610/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/h_ora_tis_euthynis-64201610/</a>
86.	14.06. Διαπραγμάτευση στον μονόδρομο της ευρωπαϊκής προοπτικής <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/diapragnmateusi_ston_monodromo_tis_europai_kis_prooptikis-64201898/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/diapragnmateusi_ston_monodromo_tis_europai_kis_prooptikis-64201898/</a>
87.	16.06. Ο δρόμος της συνεννόησης <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/o_dromos_tis_synennoisis-64202896/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/o_dromos_tis_synennoisis-64202896/</a>
88.	18.06. Δύσκολος στόχος <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/dyskolos_stoxos-64024121/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/dyskolos_stoxos-64024121/</a>
89.	19.06. Ζητούμενο η εφαρμογή <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/zitoumeno_h_efarmogi-64024701/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/zitoumeno_h_efarmogi-64024701/</a>
90.	21.06. Η Ελλάδα της Ευρώπης <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/h_ellada_tis_europis-64205373/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/h_ellada_tis_europis-64205373/</a>
91.	22.06. Η πιο κρίσιμη ημέρα <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/h_pio_krisimi_imera-64206296/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/h_pio_krisimi_imera-64206296/</a>
92.	23.06. Ιστορική ευθύνη <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/istoriki_euthyni-64206991/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/istoriki_euthyni-64206991/</a>
93.	24.06. Μπροστά σε αποφάσεις <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/mprosta_se_apofaseis-64207502/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/mprosta_se_apofaseis-64207502/</a>
94.	25.06. Η ευθύνη των δύο πλευρών <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/h_euthyni_ton_dyo_pleuron-64208095/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/h_euthyni_ton_dyo_pleuron-64208095/</a>

95.	26.06. <b>Απαιτήσεις εκτός ορίων</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/apaitiseis_ektos_orion-64208690/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/apaitiseis_ektos_orion-64208690/</a>
96.	28.06. <b>Το πραγματικό ερώτημα της κάλπης</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/to_pragmatiko_erotima_tis_kalpis-64209629/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/to_pragmatiko_erotima_tis_kalpis-64209629/</a>
97.	30.06. <b>Το μήνυμα της Ευρώπης</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/to_minyma_tis_europis-64210767/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/to_minyma_tis_europis-64210767/</a>
98.	01.07. <b>Κατάσταση πολιορκίας</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/katastasi_poliorkias-64211244/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/katastasi_poliorkias-64211244/</a>
99.	02.07. <b>Το τοπίο ξεκαθαρίζει</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/to_topio_ksekatharizei-64211889/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/to_topio_ksekatharizei-64211889/</a>
100.	03.07. <b>Η Ελλάδα στην Ευρώπη</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/h_ellada_stin_europi-64212641/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/h_ellada_stin_europi-64212641/</a>
101.	04.07. <b>Οι Έλληνες επιλέγουν Ευρώπη</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/oi_ellines_epilegoun_europi-64213084/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/oi_ellines_epilegoun_europi-64213084/</a>
102.	06.07. <b>Εθνική συνεννόηση</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/ethniki_synennoisi-64213724/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/ethniki_synennoisi-64213724/</a>
103.	08.07. <b>Αποφάσεις για τη χώρα</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/apofaseis_gia_ti_xora-64215048/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/apofaseis_gia_ti_xora-64215048/</a>
104.	09.07. <b>Εθνικός κίνδυνος</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/ethnikos_kindynos-64215645/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/ethnikos_kindynos-64215645/</a>
105.	10.07. <b>Σταθερά στην Ευρώπη</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/stathera_stin_europi-64216161/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/stathera_stin_europi-64216161/</a>
106.	12.07. <b>Προέχει η σωτηρία της χώρας</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/proexei_h_sotiria_tis_xoras-64216994/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/proexei_h_sotiria_tis_xoras-64216994/</a>
107.	13.07. <b>Όπλο μας η ενότητα</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/oplo_mas_h_enotita-64217275/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/oplo_mas_h_enotita-64217275/</a>
108.	14.07. <b>Η επόμενη μέρα</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/h_epomeni_mera-64217848/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/h_epomeni_mera-64217848/</a>
109.	20.07. <b>Διασφάλιση της πλειοψηφίας</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/diasfalisi_tis_pleiosifias-64221259/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/diasfalisi_tis_pleiosifias-64221259/</a>
110.	21.07. <b>Διαφωνίες με συνέπειες</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/diafonies_me_synepeies-64221858/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/diafonies_me_synepeies-64221858/</a>
111.	22.07. <b>Επιλογές και οδηγός</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/epiloges_kai_odigos-64222458/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/epiloges_kai_odigos-64222458/</a>
112.	23.07. <b>Η αγωνία για το αύριο</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/h_agonia_gia_to_aurio-64223003/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/h_agonia_gia_to_aurio-64223003/</a>
113.	24.07. <b>Ο τομέας της οικονομίας</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/o_tomeas_tis_oikonomias-64223453/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/o_tomeas_tis_oikonomias-64223453/</a>
114.	25.07. <b>Στο κόκκινο η αγορά</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/sto_kokkino_h_agora-64224055/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/sto_kokkino_h_agora-64224055/</a>
115.	26.07. <b>Αδιαπραγμάτευτη η σταθερότητα</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/adiapragmateuti_h_statherotita-64224392/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/adiapragmateuti_h_statherotita-64224392/</a>
116.	27.07. <b>Υπερβαίνουν κάθε όριο</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/yperbainoun_kathe_orio-64224848/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/yperbainoun_kathe_orio-64224848/</a>
117.	28.07. <b>Η «περίπτωση Βαρουφάκη»</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/h_periptosi_baroufaki-64225345/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/h_periptosi_baroufaki-64225345/</a>
118.	29.07. <b>Λύσεις στα προβλήματα</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/lyseis_sta_problimata-64225851/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/lyseis_sta_problimata-64225851/</a>
119.	30.07. <b>Αποφάσεις με ευθύνη</b> <a href="http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/apofaseis_me_euthyni-64226254/">http://www.ethnos.gr/ethnos_gnomi/arthro/apofaseis_me_euthyni-64226254/</a>