

## Attic Chronicle by Phocion

### The elections in Greece

*A revived nationalist movement, anti-Papandreou and anti-PASOK, is out-organizing the Socialists and Communists.*

The June 17 elections to the European Parliament will be, for Greece, a critical turning point in that nation's political fortunes. As a result of exceptional circumstances, the elections will not merely decide who represents Greece in Strasbourg, but will be mainly a referendum against the Moscow-leaning Socialist government of Andreas Papandreou.

During the last general election on Oct. 17, 1981, Papandreou's party, the PASOK, received 48% of the vote. If it gets anything less on June 17, it will be in deep trouble for the remaining 16 months before the general elections in October 1985. According to my own estimates, Papandreou's party is likely to get less than 40% of the vote, and maybe as little as 34-35%. The country is in an unprecedented political upheaval fueled by a large scale repudiation of the government's policies. During May, the rapidly swelling constituencies of the leading opposition party, the New Democracy Party of moderate/conservative leanings, have been staging impressive rallies in every urban center—formerly the strongholds of liberal and leftist voting blocs.

Besides mammoth rallies in the two largest cities, Athens and Thessalonica, other rallies have drawn scores of thousands in Patras, once considered the citadel of Papandreou's cause, and cities close to Greece's borders with its northern, Slavic neighbors such as Castoria, Xanthi, Florina, Komotini, Orestias, Grevena, and Kilkis. The mass elec-

toral rallies of the New Democracy Party are benefiting from a revived nationalist movement which has emerged not as a result of any brilliant nationalist leadership but a repudiation of the government's policies across the board. In short, the new nationalist movement is an anti-Papandreou, anti-PASOK movement.

A further new phenomenon in the country's political life, at least new since 1959-1961, is the predominance, in public gatherings and in the streets, of conservative and nationalist political activists. In Athens alone, campaign workers for the New Democracy Party number over 30,000, and for Greece as a whole about 100,000. For a country of 10 million population, this is very high—the equivalent of 2.5 million campaign volunteers for the Republican Party alone in the United States. And the figure does not include those nationalist and conservative activists who refuse to support the New Democracy Party because they lend their loyalty either to the now exiled King Constantine or to the imprisoned leaders of the 1967-74 military government.

What is most striking about the Greek elections to the European parliament, in contrast to other European Community countries, is that a conservative-nationalist movement, out of power for almost three years and completely bereft of on-the-spot leadership, is out-organizing its Communist and Socialist rivals in the streets. This phenomenon is being denied by the Socialist Mr. Papandreou and ignored

by the timid and mediocre leadership of the New Democracy Party. The nationalist anti-Papandreou movement is using the New Democracy leadership as a mere flag of convenience around which to rally its forces. Their loyalty to the NDP, for which they will vote, is skin-deep. Other personalities and forces have a greater claim to these loyalties: King Constantine, in his London exile, for example, or Col. George Papadopoulos, the former head of the 1967-74 military government, now serving a life sentence; or yet others, less publicly known military commanders of the 1940-50 period who never sought political office or built a movement in any depth.

An electoral defeat of Mr. Papandreou's socialism June 17 will produce two types of results: the disintegration of the 10-year-old center-left liberal coalition of PASOK, Papandreou's party, which was formed under laboratory conditions by Papandreou's U.S. liberal sponsors around the Institute for Policy Studies, and the resurfacing of an encouraged, more radical nationalist leadership which will be tempted to challenge the current leaders of the NDP.

These two results will force Papandreou to become even more dependent on the Soviet KGB and the Greek Communist Party. Already, as prime minister, defense minister, and head of Greece's Central Intelligence Service, he has created a formidable vote fraud capability, parts of which he has handed over to the Communists. If the budding nationalist movement breaks out of this vote fraud barrier during the Europarlament vote, Papandreou will be tempted to redouble his efforts to steal the election that really counts, the October 1985 general parliamentary election. This, mixed with a growing, angry, nationalist movement, would make the dangerous brew of a potential civil war.