

Attic Chronicle by Phocion

President, prime minister, commissar

Andreas Papandreou has devised a formula for re-election. The Europarliament vote will put it to the test.

Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou's strategy for political survival has crystallized over the last three weeks in the following simple formula: 1) dump his own party organization, the PASOK barons; 2) make a deal with the chief representative of the Euromarket creditor banks, Superminister Gerassimos (Jerry) Arsenis; 3) make a deal with conservative President of the Republic Constantine Caramanlis; 4) bribe the upper middle-class part of his voting base with handouts from the government budget; and 5) adopt a vicious austerity program against the rest of the population.

Objective of the Papandreou formula: to find an alternate base of political support on which to continue ruling until October 1985 and, he hopes, win the 1985 election for another four years of rule. No motive other than perpetuation of personal rule has so far intruded into the prime minister's planning.

Timeframe of the Papandreou formula: between now and the June 17 Europarliament elections. Depending on the results of that election, which for internal Greek political reasons has acquired the importance of a plebiscite for or against the Papandreou government, the above formula may be dumped or preserved. If Papandreou's PASOK receives anything less than 42% of the vote, he and his party will be viewed as big losers. Andreas' reaction will be to further dissociate from his own party base and blame it for the growing popular discontent.

This will create a screen behind

which the true cause of discontent, the policies of the International Monetary Fund and the Eurodollar creditor banks, will be concealed. These policies hark back to the time when Henry A. Kissinger was National Security adviser to President Nixon, and Papandreou, then a CIA asset, had been selected for a major future role in Greece.

Parenthetically, the faction of the CIA which "culled" Andreas was not the traditional, national-security-oriented grouping vilified in the U.S. mass media for its adherence to traditional U.S. national interests but rather the so-called "left" CIA, associated with the protectors of Philip Agee and with McGeorge Bundy's and Averell Harriman's Institute for Policy Studies.

The IMF and Kissinger policies for which Papandreou will continue to cover are codified in the 1980 *Global 2000 Report to the President*, and they were designed to cause in Greek society a "paradigm shift" from the late-19th century set of cultural values usually associated with the revival of classical studies, tightly knit family structures, and state-dirigisteconomic policies. Those are to be replaced by what U.S. inhabitants of the recent period would recognize as "Aquarian society" values, libertinism, pornography, and widespread use of drugs, especially among the youth.

Papandreou introduced all these with the help of his IMF-appointed economic czar Arsenis, a friend of Robert S. McNamara. The social dis-

location and discontent attendant with such drastic and rapid cultural shifts are what now feed Papandreou's unpopularity at the voting booths.

His problems in the pursuit of survival are two: one commissar and one president. The commissar, the general secretary of the Communist Party (KKE), Charilaos Florakis, intends to capitalize on the popular discontent. In the last month, his party, on KGB orders, hit the Papandreou government with no fewer than 150 strikes plus other labor disputes. In a major speech April 2, Florakis called for a redoubling of the "popular struggle" against Papandreou whom he accused of having entered into a "secret deal" with the "reaction."

The "reaction" in question is the president of the Republic of Greece, the traditionalist Constantine Caramanlis; the "secret deal" is an ongoing set of delicate negotiations in which Papandreou is begging Caramanlis to preserve him as prime minister. In return, Andreas is offering to order his 166 PASOK parliamentarians to vote to re-elect Caramanlis president next May 1985. Caramanlis's terms for collaboration are that Papandreou make a deal of "peaceful coexistence" with the moderate wing of the Opposition conservative party New Democracy.

This deal, reportedly, will be based on a common agreement to preserve the broader long-term policies of *Global 2000*, the IMF, and the friends of Robert McNamara. However, the conservative voting base of New Democracy is in a revolt against its moderate leadership. Both the left-oriented and the right-oriented constituencies in Greece are in revolt. The president and prime minister are attempting to paper it over. Commissar Florakis is attempting to lead the left-discontent into a major destabilization drive.