Δεκτό. Σωστό

MODERN GREEK STUDIES

(AUSTRALIA & NEW ZEALAND)

Volume 11, 2003

A Journal for Greek Letters

Pages on C.P. Cavafy

Published by Brandl & Schlesinger Pty Ltd
PO Box 127 Blackheath NSW 2785
Tel (02) 4787 5848 Fax (02) 4787 5672

for the Modern Greek Studies Association
of Australia and New Zealand (MGSAANZ)
Department of Modern Greek
University of Sydney NSW 2006 Australia
Tel (02) 9351 7252 Fax (02) 9351 3543
E-mail: Vrasidas.Karalis@modern.greek.usyd.edu.au

ISSN 1039-2831

Typeset and design by Andras Berkes

Printed by Southwood Press, Australia

MODERN GREEK STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF AUSTRALIA & NEW ZEALAND (MGSAANZ)

ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΩΝ ΑΥΣΤΡΑΛΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΑΣ ΖΗΛΑΝΔΙΑΣ

President:	Michalis Tsianikas, Flinders University
Vice-President:	Anthony Dracoupoulos, University of Sydney
Secretary:	Thanassis Spilias, La Trobe University, Melbourne
Treasurer:	Panayota Nazou, University of Sydney, Sydney

MGSAANZ was founded in 1990 as a professional association by those in Australia and New Zealand engaged in Modern Greek Studies. Membership is open to all interested in any area of Greek studies (history, literature, culture, tradition, economy, gender studies, sexualities, linguistics, cinema, Diaspora, etc).
The Association issues a Newsletter (Ενημέρωση), holds conferences and publishes two journals annually.

MODERN GREEK STUDIES
(AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND)
Editors
VRASIDAS KARALIS & MICHAEL TSIANIKAS
Book Review Editor
HELEN NICKAS

Text editing: **Katherine Cassis**

MEMBERSHIP TO MODERN GREEK STUDIES ASSOCIATION
plus ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION for two issues
Individual: AUS $45 US $35 UK £25 €35 Institutions: AUS $70 US $65 UK £35 €45 (plus postage)
full-time student/pensioners: AUS $20 US $30 UK £20
(includes GST)

Address for all correspondence and payments
MGSAANZ
Department of Modern Greek, University of Sydney, NSW 2006 Australia
Tel (+61-2) 9351 7252 Fax (+61-2) 9351 3543
E-mail: Vras@arts.usyd.edu.au

The periodical welcomes papers in both English and Greek on all aspects of Modern Greek Studies (broadly defined). Prospective contributors should preferably submit their papers on disk and hard copy. All published contributions by academics are refereed (standard process of blind peer assessment). This is a DEST recognised publication.

Το περιοδικό φιλοξενεί άρθρα στα Αγγλικά και τα Ελληνικά αναφερόμενα σε όλες τις απόψεις των Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών (στη γενικότητά τους). Υποψήφιοι συνεργάτες θα πρέπει να υποβάλλουν κατά προτίμηση τις μελέτες των σε δισκέτα και σε έντυπη μορφή. Όλες οι συνεργασίες από πανεπιστημιακούς έχουν υποβληθεί στην κριτική των εκδοτών και επιλέκτων πανεπιστημιακών συναδέλφων.

CONTENTS

SECTION ONE: PAGES ON CAVAFY

SECTION TWO: GRAECO-AUSTRALIANA

DAVID H. CLOSE
Flinders University of South Australia

THE TREND TOWARDS A PLURALISTIC POLITICAL SYSTEM UNDER KOSTAS SIMITIS, 1996–2002

The argument of this paper is that political power in Greece has become increasingly decentralised since Kostas Simitis became Prime Minister in January 1996. The process has made the country more democratic in various ways: the national government has become more accountable to other power centres; opportunities for citizens to participate in the political process have broadened; and citizens' rights have become better protected. Although moves in this direction began with the collapse of the military dictatorship in July 1974, they have been boosted by a comprehensive programme of modernisation pursued by the Simitis governments.

BACKGROUND: MOVES TOWARDS PLURALISM IN 1974–1996

The start of this trend in 1974 broke radically with a tradition of political centralisation, which reached its zenith in the military dictatorship of 1967–1974. After its fall, politicians on most parts of the spectrum agreed that a considerable degree of devolution was necessary. Karamanlis's government made an important start in August 1974 by legalising the Communist Party, so in effect renouncing the government's mission to impose ideological conformity on society. His and subsequent governments also departed from tradition by respecting the autonomy of the Orthodox Church of Greece.

But further decentralisation was delayed by the ingrained values and habits of politicians. Accustomed as Karamanlis was to governing in an authoritarian way, he now made the government even stronger in relation to parliament than it had been before 1967. The state organisation which monopolised radio and television broadcasting, ERT, continued to act as a public relations agency for the prime minister. Under Karamanlis, the government also maintained extensive control over the trade union movement, and a

domineering influence over the judiciary.[1] Then, from the late 1970s, the rivalry between two major parties, Karamanlis's New Democracy and Andreas Papandreou's PASOK – each with a patriarchal leader and an emotionally-charged ideology – prolonged the domination by national governments over parliament and society. Indeed Papandreou's construction of a mass party organisation – which controlled local authorities, trade unions, agricultural cooperatives, and many professional associations – was so successful that it appeared to threaten democratic institutions during his governments of 1981–1989. The threat was especially flagrant when Papandreou's ministers articulated in relation to the judiciary a populist-authoritarian (λαοκρατική) view which flouted the doctrine of the separation of powers.[2]

Even so, Papandreou made some moves towards devolution of power. In 1985 he allowed citizens to appeal against the government to the European Court of Human Rights. Many hundreds of citizens have subsequently used this right, in some cases being awarded vast sums in compensation from the state.[3] Papandreou also increased greatly the responsibilities and patronage of elected local authorities, a majority of which are currently (October 2002) controlled by opposition parties. From 1985 onwards, he recognised the growing importance, as a regular negotiating partner with government, of the Federation of Greek Industries (SEV).[4]

In other ways, society under Papandreou's governments was outgrowing state paternalism, admittedly with help from opposition parties. Newspapers, owned by private businessmen, began in the late 1980s to wean themselves off dependency on governments or parties, and drew more income instead from sales and advertising revenues, like their counterparts in other western countries.[5] The popularity of the municipal radio station, open on equal terms to all parties, that was defiantly established in 1987 by the Mayor of Athens, forced Papandreou's government to legalise private broadcasting. Consequently, many hundreds of private radio stations appeared like mushrooms, many of them contributing to Papandreou's downfall in the parliamentary election of June 1989. By this time private television channels had begun to appear. Thenceforth, during the 1990s, television viewing increased; while newspaper readership dropped to the lowest level in the EU. In 2000, 18% of the population read newspapers daily, but 79% watched television news daily (all, or nearly all, watching some political news).[6] Very few people listened to, or watched, government programmes; and so all politicians became dependent for publicity on television stations owned by media tycoons, and to a lesser extent on radio stations owned by various bodies: businessmen, municipalities, or by politicians themselves. The Orthodox Church established its radio station as well. Thus the mass media – now regarded by political elites as the most powerful institution in the country – was transferred substantially to private hands.[7]

The judiciary became more independent, as judges appointed in the liberal conditions after 1974 became a majority by the 1990s. From at least as early as 1980, the Council of State, which adjudicated citizens' appeals against the state, infuriated governments with increasing frequency by blocking state-backed economic developments, especially those deemed to threaten the natural environment.[8] In 1989, Papandreou's government failed in its attempt to control by judicial process the executive of the General Confederation of Greek Workers. This failure marked the new independence of trade unions, which was deliberately increased in 1990 by a New Democracy government through a measure (supported by both major parties) which abolished the government's power of compulsory arbitration.[9] Although the major parties continued to influence trade unions through their trade union branches, these branches became more independent of the party leaders in their defence of employees' interests.

The formation of a coalition government of left and right under Tzannis Tzannetakis in June 1989, after PASOK's defeat, was another landmark in the process of democratisation. This government tried to protect democratic institutions against any repetition of PASOK's abuses. It introduced a law which tried to strengthen the independence of the judiciary, although leaving it to a later PASOK government in 1994 to achieve this end more effectively, by enabling judges to elect the heads of middle-ranking courts.[10] In the National Council of Radio and Television (ESR), the Tzannetakis government established a new type of body, the Independent Administrative Authority (ADE), of a sort which thenceforth acquired increasing importance.[11] Two existing institutions, the Bank of Greece and the Competition Commission, were to be given the status of ADEs. The ESR, and most other ADEs that were subsequently established, were appointed by and answerable to parliament. In practice, the power of appointment lay with the ruling party which had a parliamentary majority; while the heads of two authorities, the Citizens' Advocate and the Bank of Greece, were appointed by the prime minister. But the principles of political independence and of parliamentary accountability applied to all. The Tzannetakis government also required that directors of state enterprises – and soon afterwards all appointees to the public service as well – should be approved by parliament.

Meanwhile, with Andreas's Papandreou's disgrace and declining health, patriarchal leadership of political parties began to go out of fashion. (The other great patriarch, Karamanlis, had retired from leadership of New Democracy in 1980; but the elderly Konstantinos Mitsotakis tried in important ways to continue his style of leadership in 1984–1993). Not until January 1996 did the last of the so-called 'dinosaurs,' Andreas Papandreou, retire as head of a party. Perhaps through choice as well as necessity, his successor, Kostas Simitis, introduced a more consultative form of leadership.[12]

The damage done by PASOK's attempt to buy its way back into power with nearly 100,0000 partisan appointments to public employment, before the parliamentary election of June 1989, demonstrated the need to reduce arbitrary party control over the public administration. Thenceforth, successive governments gradually showed more financial responsibility and greater respect for merit in appointments to public office. The key event was the *Peponis Law of 1994*, which established the principle that competitive examinations, supervised by an Independent Administrative Authority, should be the normal route to public employment.[13] By the late 1990s, politicians had in consequence relinquished most of their former patronage.

In another respect, 1989 marked a turning point. At the time of the June election, exasperation of citizens with the chronic inefficiency of all public services was rising to new heights, and it caused a crisis of confidence in government, which thereafter impeded the range of structural reforms which had to be attempted. For this crisis, one remedy was justifiably believed (especially by left-wing parties) to be the devolution of power to local authorities, a reform foreshadowed in the constitution of 1975. To this end, PASOK governments from 1993 onwards continued to transfer responsibilities and resources to municipalities. The government in 1994 also changed radically the status of the government-appointed nomarchs (or prefects), and the nomarchs' indirectly elected advisory councils, by making them democratically elective, with the elections being held together with those for muncipalities and communes.[14] Nomarchs were to a large extent freed from control by the national government. The result of this reform, when combined with the increasing importance of municipalities, was to raise greatly the status of the quadrennial local elections from 1994 onwards. A prominent political commentator normally critical of the ruling party, Giannis Loverdos, wrote in August 1998 of a 'revolution' that was taking place, part of which was that 'Greece is becoming a decentralised state.'[15]

The mass protests, that were provoked in 1990–1993 by the austerity programme of Mitsotakis's New Democracy government, impressed on subsequent governments the necessity of dialogue about the main lines of economic policy with 'social partners', and especially with the main pressure-group of businessmen, the Federation of Greek Industries (SEV), and its trade union counterpart, the General Confederation of Greek Workers (GSEE). Each acquired during the 1990s an authoritative think-tank, able to query the underlying assumptions of government policy: the Institute of Economic and Industrial Research (IOVE) of SEV, and the Institute of Labour (INE) of the GSEE. In the sphere of foreign and defence policy, another important research institute had been established in 1987: the Greek Foundation for Foreign and Defence Policy (ELIAMEP). For the increasingly important responsibility of environmental research, governments relied heavily on universities.

DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE SIMITIS GOVERNMENTS

One major reform has been to strengthen the accountability of the executive to parliament. Such accountability was by common consent seriously inadequate before 2001. But the constitutional revision of that year made important changes. With support by the leaders of both major parties, it increased the importance of inter-party standing committees, each able to summon ministers or expert witnesses on its policy area. So far, these seem to have fulfilled official expectations by attracting frequent media attention to their proceedings, and on occasion cross-examining senior civil servants or ministers. On at least two occasions, a minister has been subjected to severe criticism, to which MPs of the ruling party contributed.[16] In addition, the government has since 2000 increased the opportunity for parliamentary scrutiny by obliging itself to formulate legislation more clearly, and, in particular, to submit to parliament a reasoned preamble to the annual budget each October; while this budget has, thanks to improved accounting procedures, become a more realistic forecast of income and expenditure.

The importance of municipalities was increased by the so-called Capodistria programme of 1997, through which most communes (most of which were small and poor) were combined into municipalities. Thus the number of municipalities rose from 453 to 900, while the communes were reduced from 5,232 to 133. Meanwhile, the responsibilities and resources of municipalities continued to increase. They are, for example, acquiring important responsibilities for environmental protection, social welfare, and policing traffic. Their new importance was shown by an opinion poll of 2000, which found that 91% of citizens could name their mayor and 66% their nomarch. Voter turnout in the local elections of October 2002 was, at 73%, well above average for EU countries in recent years. The importance of local government was indicated by the preceding electoral campaigns, which figured frequently in newspaper headlines for six months, during which sixteen MPs offered themselves for election as mayor, nomarch, or municipal councillor, knowing that success would oblige them to retire from parliament. While the national parties participated energetically in these elections, their candidates campaigned mainly on local issues and all tried to appear independent, knowing that many voters would in local elections deviate from their normal party allegiances.[17]

The accountability of government to the law has also strengthened, partly because of government policy, and partly because of the greater assertiveness of the judiciary. Comments by politicians and journalists make it clear that appointments by Simitis's governments to the leading judicial positions have been based on talent and seniority, not partisan affiliation. This is in contrast to the practice of previous governments until the early 1990s.[18] Senior prosecutors under Simitis began at last to comply with the

exhortation by the President of the Republic, the elder Karamanlis, in 1993, to follow the example of the famous Italian Antonio di Pietro by investigating politicians suspected of corruption, abuse of power, or negligence. In at least three cases, they have done so in 2001–2002. Prosecutors have also been increasingly ready to investigate illegal activities by public officials. The attempt by the major parties to limit, through the constitutional revision of 2001, the capacity of the Council of State to thwart construction projects provoked a storm of protest, which included a demonstration in which environmentalists surrounded the parliamentary buildings, while within politicians attacked the famous Section E of the Council of State (responsible for environmental issues). But up to now (October 2002), the reform seems to have had little effect. The Council of State has, for example, heard appeals against construction projects urgently needed for the Olympic Games of 2004.[19]

The government has shown increasing respect for the European Convention on Human Rights to which Greece had acceded in the early 1950s. In 1998, for example, the government began at last to provide a civilian alternative to military service, so ceasing to replenish the prison population annually with conscientious objectors. Official opposition to the practice of minority religions, for example by harsh interpretation of the constitutional ban on proselytisation, seems to have ceased. A law of June 2000 (opposed by New Democracy and by a majority of the public) authorised the construction of the first mosque to be accessible to the estimated 60,000 Muslims in the metropolis.[20] The deletion in 2000 of religion from state identity cards removed another source of discrimination. However, the government subsequently rejected the recommendation by the Authority for the Protection of Personal Data to facilitate abstention by pupils of minority religions from theology lessons in schools.[21]

This respect for civil rights provoked a frontal confrontation with the Orthodox Church, which since May 1998 has been given powerful and assertive leadership by the new Archbishop Christodoulos. The church's fight for the retention of religion on state identity cards included massive demonstrations, and a petition with over three million signatures: the largest and most highly organised example since 1974 of church opposition to the state.

Independent Administrative Authorities have increased in numbers and in power. One of them, the Citizens' Advocate (or ombudsman) was established in 1998 and represents a striking success for Simitis's concept of government. It has, in its first three full years of operation (1999–2001) received over 30,000 complaints against national or local government, judging half of them to be justified, and settling the overwhelming majority of those in favour of the complainant. It has also made recommendations of reform to ministers; and claims that several of these have been acted on. It has even gone

so far as to circulate a leaflet in seven languages inviting complaints from immigrants. Another expression of Simitis's ideas has been the Authority for the Protection of Personal Data (established under legislation of 1997). Although acting on a comparatively small scale, it has attracted much attention by, for example, restricting the programme 'Big Brother' offered by the major television channel Antenna; imposing limits on security cameras; and instigating the deletion of religion from state identity cards.[22] The Capital Markets Commission (established effectively in 1998, and responsible for supervising the Athens Stock Exchange), the Competition Commission (established in 1977 to prevent cartels and restrictive practices by business), and the National Council for Radio and Television have recently been given additional powers which are greatly needed, although they are still insufficient.

Bodies of a very different type had been growing for some time before 1996, but had traditionally been unimportant in Greece: non-government organisations (NGOs), which constituted what is commonly known as civil society. The Professor of Political Science, Dimitris Dimitrakos claimed to have coined the Greek counterpart, κοινωνία των πολιτών in 1975, and observed that it then attracted no interest from politicians and intellectuals, but that in the late 1990s it was being widely discussed. From about the mid-1990s, NGOs forced themselves on public attention by frequently acting with audacity and ingenuity to satisfy a range of neglected needs. In 1996, the Ministry of Environment and Public Works paid environmental associations the compliment of investigating them in detail and publishing the results. Of the 194 which replied to its detailed survey, four-fifths had been established in the previous decade. Some, such as Greenpeace and the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), had many thousands of regular supporters, and were adept in winning constant and (in general) favourable media publicity. Another government survey in 1999 found that there were in total about 3,500 NGOs, for purposes as diverse as assistance to drug addicts, medical aid to poor countries, watching out for scrub fires, rescuing lost mountaineers, assistance to illegal immigrants, civil liberties of many kinds, consumer rights, and animal welfare. Some had been established long before, such as the Greek Red Cross and the many charitable institutions of the Orthodox Church; and these had become more independent of the government. Also significant was the increasingly favourable attitude to NGOs of government, national and local. Ministers praised the work of NGOs at prize-giving ceremonies and annual general meetings, and government departments subsidised some, such as the Red Cross, volunteers to combat forest fires or rescue mountaineers.[23]

All these developments were facilitated by the declining ideological attraction of political parties, which was recorded by opinion polls from the late 1980s. If parties still seem more pervasive than in most western democracies, it is because they remain giant

patronage machines, not because they attract spontaneous enthusiasm from the public. The weakening of ideologies has reduced the power of party leaders to discipline supporters, whether they are backbench MPs or ordinary voters. Backbench MPs have in recent years pressed frequently for consultation by their leaders, and have frequently cooperated with MPs of other parties in committees of different types. To keep them productively occupied, party leaders on both sides encourage MPs to participate in party committees on policy areas, which exist alongside the inter-party standing committees.[24] Outside parliament, both PASOK and New Democracy must appeal – in almost identical terms – to the voters' overwhelming preoccupation with 'everyday problems' (καθημερινότητα); and their success in doing so is gauged with precision by opinion polls. It is only twenty years ago that politicians began to pay much attention to opinion polls. Now, their constant attention to national and local polls is another means whereby they have become more accountable to the public.

THE REASONS FOR THESE DEVELOPMENTS

One obvious reason is generational change, as people whose attitudes and values were formed in the liberal conditions of the μεταπολίτευση have risen to dominance almost everywhere. Another is the steep rise in the educational level of the population. Whereas only 14% of those of working age (up to 65) had completed all stages of secondary education in 1973, 51% had done so in 1999. The percentage of the relevant age group (18–24) undergoing tertiary education rose from 18 in 1975 to 32 now which is the highest among EU countries.[25] The quality of the education is another matter. The failure of the Greek educational system at all levels to encourage critical thinking or creative initiative has for a long time attracted widespread condemnation, which has grown in recent years. But one must bear in mind that over one-fifth of students were attending foreign (especially British) universities. Besides, even a poor system of education can be expected to make people more sceptical and intellectually assertive. For example a recent opinion poll asked people whether they thought the educational system should encourage (a) discipline and industriousness, or (b) free expression and critical thinking. 52% of all respondents opted for the latter, but 75% of 18–24 year olds: figures which suggest increasing support for liberalisation. (Presumably some respondents refused to make a choice, making the majority in favour of liberalisation more impressive).[26]

The increasing popularity of television has made much of the population politically aware for the first time, although in a way that – as seems to be generally agreed – leads to detachment from and cynicism about politicians. Television is in an important sense a

democratising force because it obliges politicians to communicate with voters as individuals and in their own homes. In April 2002, Simitis successfully utilised this form of communication by answering questions from four journalists about the government's record for over one-and-a-half hours, before an audience which – at one time or another – comprised over half the adult population.[27]

Something which is likely to make people in leading positions in society sympathetic to liberal ideas is the high proportion to have been educated in western European or North American universities. They include for example 12 of the 19 ministers in the present government (October 2002).

Another westernising force is the influence and prestige in many aspects of Greek life of the European Union (EU), and the impact in a more restricted sphere of the European Court of Human Rights. The EU has increasingly emphasised respect for civil liberties as a criterion for the acceptance of new members. Thus failure in this respect is the main argument being used against Turkey's application for membership, an argument which obliges Greece to show its superiority.

The decline of ideological divisions is partly due to the fact that in the 1970s and 1980s the parties were divided primarily by their rhetorical and sentimental attitudes to the past, forces which declined as in the late 1980s communism crumbled in eastern Europe; as the PASOK brand of socialism lost its appeal; and as people turned their attention to the daunting problems of the present.

The increasing respect by the national government for other power-centres was the result of a change in the basis of state authority. The old paternalistic state rested on a precarious basis in the 1980s. After the discipline of police intimidation vanished in the 1970s, the state had to rely increasingly on buying support by means which included mass distribution of pensions and jobs in the public sector, as well as the toleration of widespread privileges and restrictive practices among business firms, professional groups and trade unions. State patronage was recklessly expanded by PASOK up to 1989; and governments are still struggling to cope with the consequences by paying off a vast public debt and improving the efficiency of the public administration and of public enterprises. The latter task requires the withdrawal of party influence over the administration, and the reduction of state ownership of the economy.

Since 1989, accordingly, the state has had to reduce its patronage and extract from citizens greatly increased sums in taxation. Under Simitis, governments have tried – although with only limited success – to attack the network of restrictive practices in the economy. To keep the support of their party and of voters, governments must compensate them by deferring to their opinions and satisfying their needs. One way in which the government is trying to achieve the latter goal is by creating a nation-wide network of

Centres for the Service of Citizens – 1,100 of them are planned by the end of 2003 – through which citizens can conduct most of their transactions with the state, relating for example to driving licences, voting rights, tax obligations and passports. According to current reports, they provide citizens with a new experience of Greek bureaucracy: courteous and efficient service.[28]

It is generally agreed that an outstanding need of the economy is for more foreign investment, so as to make the economy more competitive with those of the EU. This goal in turn requires among other things social stability, efficient government, and respect for the law. These prerequisites can be achieved only if interest groups are fully consulted before legislation affecting them is enacted, and if the legislation is scrutinised by parliament. These requirements explain why parliamentary procedures were reformed in 2001. These requirements also explain why, in the years 2001–2002, business groups and trade unions have been consulted with a patience and courtesy which have surprised them, as a prerequisite to a series of structural reforms, relating to social insurance, taxation, and employment conditions. The Minister for National Economy, Nikos Christodoulakis, explained recently that 'a secure and stable environment for investment and growth requires social acceptability of changes, consolidating a framework of trust and participation... Another prerequisite of social acceptability is the protection of the citizen from the arbitrary decisions of ... bureaucracy.'[29]

THE ROLE OF SIMITIS'S GOVERNMENT

To a considerable extent, these developments have been driven by Kostas Simitis as Prime Minister. Immediately after taking power, he declared his main aim to be modernisation, in the sense of business competitiveness, administrative efficiency and social cohesion.[30] Thereafter he showed special interest also in civil liberties and respect for the law. He kept insisting that integration in the EU was essential, showing that for him, modernisation meant adoption of the best practices of northern European countries.

These convictions evidently began to be formed before he became active in PASOK in 1974. After obtaining degrees both in Germany and in Britain, he had been a Professor of Commercial Law in Germany, where his brother was for some years Chairman of the Commission for Protection of Personal Data. After 1974 he became noted for his enthusiasm for membership of the European Economic Community (later the EU). As Minister of National Economy in 1985-1987, when Greece had to accept a vast loan from the EEC, he showed his belief in sound finance, and was derisively nicknamed by Andreas Papandreou as 'the European Economic Community's Minister for Foreign Affairs' in Greece.[31]

Modernisation was an especially prominent theme in his career from 1991, when he took the initiative in founding a politicians' discussion group, the "Ομιλος Προβληματισμού για τον Εκσυγχρονισμό της Κοινωνίας", which later claimed to have ensured the prevalence of modernising forces in the PASOK parliamentary party.[32] As a prominent critic of Andreas Papandreou in 1992, he let it be known that he favoured genuine consultation with a range of social organisations, branding as delusory Papandreou's past 'treaties with the people'.[33]

He was elected by his party as prime minister and then leader against strong opposition from Akis Tsochatzopoulos, who represented those in the party who yearned for the party's old goal of redistributing wealth to the socially under-privileged through clientelist practices. In his first general election, in October 1996, Simitis rejected Papandreou's style of campaigning (based on mindless rallies and emotional slogans), and emphasised instead his belief in rational communication with voters. He said that 'the people must be informed which party ... has the necessary solutions to create a modern Greece' and hoped that 'this campaign will raise the quality of our political life.'[34] His strong backing was vital to the success of the Citizens' Advocate, because its establishment had been opposed by his colleagues. Simitis's backing may also have been necessary to the Authority for the Protection of Personal Data, which has provoked much opposition from religious conservatives. From the time when Simitis became prime minister, his 'modernising' faction struggled to dominate the government, a struggle which finally achieved success at the special party conference of October 2001.

The reforms undertaken by Simitis's government were, therefore, the expression of an explicit ideology, which inspires a policy designed to increase the respect which citizens feel for the state. In Greece this would indeed be a revolutionary outcome.

NOTES

1 Nicos Alivizatos, 'The difficulties of "rationalization" in a polarized political system: the Greek Chamber of Deputies,' in Ulrike Liebert and Maurizio Cotta, eds, *Parliament and Democratic Consolidation in Southern Europe* (London: Pinter, 1990), pp. 134–45; Μαρία Κομνινού, 'Ο ρόλος των ΜΜΕ στην Γ΄ Δημοκρατία, σε Χρήστος Λυριντζής κ.α., επ., *Κοινωνία και Πολιτική. Οψεις της Γ΄ Ελληνικής Δημοκρατίας, 1974–94*, Αθήνα Θεμέλιο, 1996, 219–46; 'Στέλλα Ζαμπαρλούκου, Συνδικαλιστικό κίνημα και κρατικός παρεμβατισμός' στο ίδιο, σσ. 100–2.

2 *Βήμα*, 8 Νοεμβρίου 1992, Α14, Νίκου Αλιβιζάτου.

3 Stefanos Stavros, 'Human rights in Greece: twelve years of supervision from Strasbourg,' *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 17:1, May 1999, pp. 3–15.

4 Kostas Lavdas, *The Europeanization of Greece. Interest Groups and the Crises of Integration*, New York: St Martin's Press, 1997, pp. 180–4, 215, 245.

5 Ροή Παναγιωτοπούλου, "Κατασκευή εθνοκεντρικών στερεοτύπων από τον τύπο στο παράδειγμα του Μακεδονικού ζητήματος", Επιθεώρηση Κοινωνικών Ερευνών 89–90, 1996, σ. 246.

6 European Commission, *Eurobarometer* 54 (Autumn 2000), p. 19; ***Καθημερινή***, 7 Απριλίου, 1996, σ. 27.

7 David Close, *Greece since 1945. Politics, Economy and Society*, London: Longman, 2002, pp. 252–3; Χρήστος Βερναδάκης, επ., *Η Κοινή Γνώμη στην Ελλάδα*, Αθήνα: Λιβάνη, 2002, σσ. 153, 156.

8 Nicholas Papaspyrou, 'A farewell to judicial passivity: the environmental jurisprudence of the Greek Council of State,' *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 17,1 (May 1999), pp. 63–84.

9 Στέλλα Ζαμπαρλούκου, op. cit., p. 116.

10 Νίκος Αλιβιζάτος, *Ο Αβέβαιος Εκσυγχρονισμός*, Αθήνα: Πόλις, 2001, σσ. 71–85.

11 ibid., pp. 114–5.

12 Susannah Verney, 'Greece: a new era,' *Mediterranean Politics*, 2:1 (Summer 1997), p. 198.

13 George Th. Mavrogordatos, 'From traditional clientelism to machine politics: the impact of PASOK clientelism in Greece,' *South European Society and Politics*, 2,3, (Winter 1997), pp. 23–5; *Βήμα*, 23 Απριλίου 2000 , Δ8, Νίκου Νικολάου.

14 Παρασκευή Χριστοφιλοπούλου, "Νομαρχιακή διοίκηση και αυτοδιοίκηση στο ελληνικό πολιτικό σύστημα", *Ελληνική Επιθεώρηση Πολιτικής Επιστήμης*, 7 (Μαρτίου 1996), σσ. 142–51, *Καθημερινή*, 4 Οκτωβριου 1998, 20, Κ.Π. Παπαδιόχου.

15 *Καθημερινή*, 2 Αυγούστου 1998, σ. 12

16 *Καθημερινή* (English Internet edition), 27 August 2000; *Καθημερινή*, 27 February 2002 (English Internet edition); Ευάγγελος Βενιζέλος, Το Σύνταγμα του *1975, 1986, 2001* (Αθήνα· Σάκκουλα, 2001), σσ. 63–4, 71–2.

17 *Βήμα*, 4 Οκτωβρίου 1998, Α2. Τα Νέα, 20 Ιουλίου 2002, Παναγή Γ. Γαλιατσάτος *Καθημερινή*, 15 Οκτωβρίου 2002 (Greek Internet edition); *Economist*, 4–10 May 2002, 53.

18 Τα Νέα, 30 Ιουνίου 1990, σ. 2, σχόλιο. *Καθημερινή*, 12 July 2002 (English Internet edition).

19 *Βήμα*, 1 Δεκεμβρίου 1996, Α45 *Βήμα*, 18 Ιουλίου 1999, Α' σσ. 50–1, Ιωάννα Μάνδρου *Καθημερινή*, 25 January 2001 (English Internet edition); *Καθημερινή*, 3 December 2001 (English Internet edition).

20 *Καθημερινή* (Greek Internet edition), 30 Οκτοβρίου 2001, Αθανασίου Έλλις; *Καθημερινή*, English Internet edition), 21 June 2000; 18 April 2002.

21 *Καθημερινή* (English Internet edition), 5 September 2002.

22 *Καθημερινή* (English Internet edition), 5 June 2002.

23 *Βήμα*, 5 Μαίου 2002, Α43, Δημήτρη Δημητράκου, *Τα Νέα*, 28 Δεκεμβρίου 2001, Κάτια Πετροπούλου; *Athens News*, 19 April 2000 (Internet edition).

24 *Βήμα*, 9 Ιουλίου 2000, σ. 6.

25 David H. Close, *Greece since 1945. Politics, economy and society* (London: Longman, 2002), 148, 240; European Commission, *Living Conditions in Europe: Statistical Pocketbook* (Luxembourg, 2000), 28–9; *Καθημερινή* (Greek Internet edition) σχόλιο, 31 Ιουλίου 2002; OECD, *Knowledge and Skills for Life* (Paris, 2000), σ. 251.

26 *Τα Νέα*, 29 Μαίου 2002, Νίκου Μάστορα (Internet edition).

27 Georgios Daremas and Georgios Terzis, 'The televisualization of politics in Greece,' *Gazette* 62:2 (2000), 125; *Τα Νέα*, 10 Απριλίου 2002, Γιώργου Χρ. Παπαχρήστου.

28 *Βήμα*, 3 Φεβρουαρίου 2002, Α99, Δ. Νικολακοπούλου.' *Βήμα*, 5 Μαίου 2002, Α6, Νί κου Νικολάου.

29 *Καθημερινή*, English Internet edition, 19 June 2002.

30 Alexander Kazamias, 'The quest for modernization in Greek foreign policy and its limitations', *Mediterranean Politics* 2:2 (Autumn 1997), p. 74.

31 *Βήμα*, 25 Ιουλίου 1999, Α6, Ι.Κ. Πρετεντέρη.

32 *Καθημερινή*, 27 Ιουλίου 1997, σ. 23.

33 *Βήμα*, 11 Οκτοβρίου 1992, Α4, Σ. Λιναρδάτου.

34 Stylianos Papathanasopoulos, 'Election campaigning in the television age: the case of contemporary Greece,' *Political Communication* 17:1 (January-March 2000), pp. 53–5.