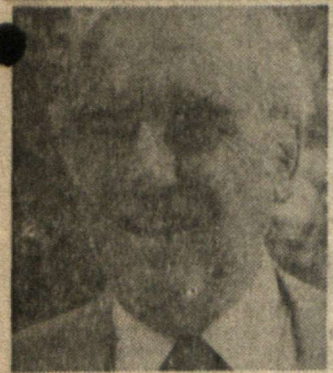


GREECE

On this page Mario Modiano profiles the members of the new Greek Cabinet and John Crossland discusses the outlook for Greece's threatened environment.

These are the members of the first Socialist Cabinet in Greek history

Andreas Papandreou



Andreas Papandreou, the Greek Prime Minister, revealed in a recent interview that the idea that one day he would rule Greece entered his head at the age of 20 while he was being roughed up by security men of the Metaxas dictatorship for handing out Trotskyite literature.

Today, at the age of 62, he has shed that precocious revolutionism but he remains an inveterate non-conformist. In his 17-year uphill struggle for power, he displayed a perseverance and a resilience that is rare in Greek politics.

It was his father, George Papandreou, who, on becoming Premier in 1963, induced him to go into politics. In doing so, he gave up a brilliant career as a professor of economics in the United States, where he had fled after that incident with the security police.

His vision of democracy, after 20 years in American universities, was far removed from the rigid models that the right wing had imposed on Greece for decades. The clash was inevitable.

It came first in 1965 when the King eased his father out of power; and again in 1967 when the prospect that he and his father would win the election prompted a junta of colonels to impose a dictatorship lasting seven years.

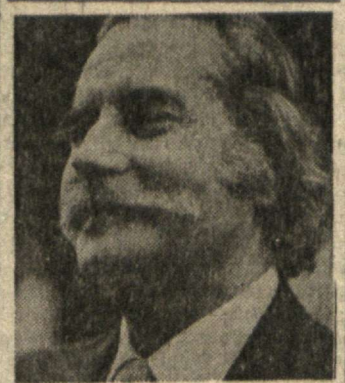
Returning to Greece from exile after the fall of the junta, he set up his radical Panhellenic Socialist Movement (Pasok), which made socialism respectable in Greece. Between 1974 and

1977 he doubled his following and by 1981 he had doubled it again, riding to power in last October's election with 48 per cent of the votes.

Affable and soft-spoken in private, he has the gift of galvanizing crowds with an articulate oratory that he evidently inherited from his father. He likes to keep his options open but rarely loses sight of the goal. His ambition is to develop a model of orthodox socialism that is fairer than the capitalism of the West and free from the dogma of the East.

Married. One daughter and three sons, of whom the eldest, George, is now an MP.

Yannis Haralambopoulos



An ex-army officer turned politician, Yannis Haralambopoulos, the new foreign minister, is one of Premier Papandreou's most trusted men. Tall and handsome at 62, his carriage is still military and is emphasized by an impressive cavalry moustache. His bearing, however, betrays none of the ordeals he experienced at the time of the dictatorship.

Arrested, jailed and banished several times after the 1967 coup for his role in the anti-regime resistance in 1972 he assumed the leadership in Greece of Andreas Papandreou's Panhellenic Liberation Movement. After the polytechnic uprising in 1973 he was rounded up together with his son and both were subjected to savage tortures at the infamous Special Interrogation Section of the Military police.

Born in the south of Greece in 1919, he graduated from the Army Officers' Cadet School in 1939. He saw action in the Albanian front and later, when Greece was overrun by enemy forces, in the Middle East.

After the war he obtained an engineering degree on a scholarship in England at Woolwich Polytechnic. In 1953 he taught at the cadet school.

He had reached the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in 1961 when he decided to go into politics under the banner of Papandreou's father. He was elected Centre Union deputy from his native Messinia, in south Greece, in 1963 and 1964.

After the downfall of the dictatorship in 1974, he joined Pasok and was re-elected in every election since. Earlier this year, he was leader of the Greek Socialist contingent in the European Parliament.

Married, he has one son and a daughter.

Apostolos Lazaris



Professor Apostolos Lazaris was perhaps the natural choice for the post of Minister of Coordination, which carries full responsibility for the Government's overall economic policy. Before the election he was the coordinator of the party's brains trust which elaborated Pasok's impressive programme.

A Manchester-trained economist, he first met Andreas Papandreou in 1959 when they were both working as economic experts for

the Bank of Greece. Dismissed from his post by the junta, he went abroad and between 1968 and 1975 was employed by the United Nations as an adviser on economic planning and development.

Back in Greece after the fall of the junta, he retrieved his post as Professor of Economic Analysis at the Graduate School of Industrial Studies in Piraeus. At the same time he was helping Mr Papandreou as the party's chief economic expert.

As Minister of Coordination, he is No 2 in the Government hierarchy and acts as Prime Minister in Mr Papandreou's absence. A gentle but unsmiling man, and an articulate speaker, he is widely respected by fellow economists, even those who question his socialist ideas about the active participation of the people in planning decisions and a self-sustained national economy.

Born on the island of Lefkas in 1921, he was elected deputy on the party's state list. Married. His daughter is studying economics in Canada.

Costas Simitis



Costas Simitis believes that as Minister of Agriculture in the new Socialist Government, his mission is twofold: to bring about major structural reforms including the creation of new, voluntary farmers' cooperatives (SMCLN) and to prepare the long-term programme for agriculture which, he says, "unfortunately does not exist today".

One of the most challenging aspects of his work will be to defend the Greek farmer from eventually detrimental EEC rules, until Greece decides whether to stay in or leave the Community.

A professor of commercial and comparative law in Germany (Giessen) and Athens (Panteios), he was a member of the team that elaborated the party's original platform. He was for long regarded as Pasok's theoretician.

Born in Athens in 1936, he studied law and economics at Marburg in Germany and at the London School of Economics. He first met Papandreou in 1965, the year he set up a progressive group to study Greek political problems.

During the dictatorship he was active in the Democratic Defence, an anti-regime resistance organization. In 1969 he managed to evade arrest and flee abroad, but his wife was jailed instead. He is a founding member of Pasok and a member of its central committee, but did not stand for Parliament in the last elections.

He is married, with two teenage daughters.

Stathis Yiotas



At 41, Stathis Yiotas, the Minister of Merchant Marine, is the youngest minister of the Papandreou Government, but his background as a political activist dates back to 1962 when he was president of the powerful Law Students Union.

He became active in the political youth movement of the Centre Union, which played a key role in the dramatic political developments of the mid-1960s. But it was after the 1967 military coup that Yiotas hit the headlines: he was involved with the late Alexander Panagoulis in the abortive



Melina Mercouri

It would not be fair to describe Melina Mercouri, the new Minister of Culture, only as the most glamorous member of the Papandreou cabinet. A renowned film star with an international reputation but also a hard-working politician who has at heart the problems of her destitute Piraeus constituency, the setting of her most successful film *Never on Sunday*.

Born into a family of Athenian politicians in 1925, she graduated from the National Theatre's drama school and made a spectacular career as an actress on the stage and the screen. During the dictatorship

from 1967 to 1974 she became an ardent anti-junta activist abroad and was successful in arousing international opinion against the Greek regime.

Returning home after the restoration of democracy, she joined Andreas Papandreou's Pasok Party but failed in her first bid to get elected to Parliament in 1974. She was elected in 1977 and became the party's expert on cultural issues.

Tall, blonde and beautiful, she has a captivating, ebullient personality and a great drive for work. She is married to Jules Dassin who directed most of her films.

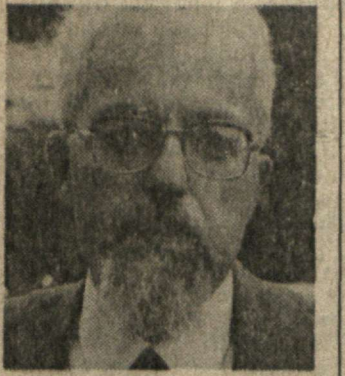
plot to assassinate the dictator George Papadopoulos in 1968.

Captured, he was tortured to confess and later court-martialled. He received a 10-year sentence of which he served five. An amnesty set him free in 1973. One year later the dictatorship collapsed.

Yiotas, a lawyer, was a founding member of Pasok. He was elected to Parliament three times since 1974 for the Attica constituency. He was well-liked in Parliament because of his methodical work focusing mainly on labour problems.

This experience is likely to be useful as he will have to solve the intractable problem of how to secure full employment for Greek seamen in the face of stiff competition from low-cost Asian crews.

Manolis Drettakis



Greece gets its first socialist budget in 1982 and the delicate task of balancing it belongs to Manolis Drettakis, the new Minister of Finance.

Having studied economics at the Graduate School of Commercial Studies in Athens and obtained his doctorate in econometrics at the London School of Economics, Drettakis seems eminently qualified for the job.

While in London he worked for six years in the Greek service of the BBC. Some of it, significantly, while Greece was under military rule. In 1970 he became lecturer in econometrics at Leeds University.

He returned to Greece after the fall of the dictatorship and since 1974 he has held the chair of econometrics in his alma mater, the School of Commercial Studies.

Silver-haired, with gold-rimmed spectacles and a protruding black goatee à la Trotsky, he was born in Herakleion, Crete, in 1934. He is a respected economist who has been extremely active in Parliament since his election as a Pasok deputy in 1977. He was the opposition rapporteur on the 1978 budget.

Antonis Tritsis

What will eventually make or break Antonis Tritsis, the energetic new Minister of the Environment, Town Planning and Housing is the "cloud" that yellowish-brown cloud of smog that shrouds Athens on windless days, making the life of its three million inhabitants miserable. He says: "We will take drastic action soon."

A town-planner who graduated from the Athens Polytechnic and obtained his doctorate at Illinois University, Tritsis is one of Pasok's founding members. He was largely responsible for drafting the section on the environment and town-planning in the party's programme.

Born on the island of Cephalonia in 1936, he was a first-rate athlete and Greek decathlon champion. During the dictatorship he joined Andreas Papandreou's clandestine resistance organization PAK, and after 1974, he joined the party.

He is professor of planning at the post-graduate institute of regional development in the Panteios Graduate School, and, after experiencing one failure in the 1977 elections, he became deputy for his native Cephalonia this year.



Environment

Can the glory that was Greece be restored?

Politicians as a breed are peculiarly prone to selective memories, if not amnesia. Party manifestos change complexion and content at the whiff of a change in the political wind. There is every chance, however, that the new Greek Government is preparing to act on a very important clutch of promises it made to the electorate. If it falters it has its own party banner there to remind it — the green of growth, of life, and the symbolic young family with its face turned to the rising sun.

Last week Mr Papandreou outlined his Government's policy on conserving the environment, an issue which although already legislated on, has so far seen little action. He said that their goal would be ecological and demographic reconstruction of the regions, involving a long-term strategy to reverse "the catastrophic course" that had led to a waste of natural resources. Immediate steps would be taken to combat pollution, and first and foremost "the cloud", as the Athenians describe the cloak of smog which regularly envelops their city. It has provided Greece with its single most emotive issue to catch the international conscience, the steady erosion of the Parthenon by diluted sulphuric acid, the notorious "black rain", by which Athenians get back interest on the 150,000 tons of sulphur dioxide they pour into the atmosphere each year.

Green Philotimo (love of honour) has persuaded the Government to withdraw gracefully from the embarrassment of the Unesco Acropolis appeal and to underwrite the rest of the renovation itself. Titanium metal supports have been inserted in the porch of the Caryatids, the mould for the replacement statuary of which was provided by the British Museum. The museum also sent Professor George Doukas, Director of Antiquities of the Acropolis, resinous glass-fibre casts taken from moulds made by Lord Elgin of a group of figures from the west pediment which have since deteriorated badly.

While attention has focused on, and available funds have been channelled into, the fight for the Acropolis, another site, as important for its period as the Parthenon is for fifth century Athens, has languished, important restoration work uncompleted. It is the group of churches in Thessaloniki, which possess the finest collection of early Byzantine mosaics outside Kariye Camii, in Istanbul. The churches were grievously damaged in the 1978 earthquake, including the Rotunda, the largest surviving circular Roman building after the Pantheon. Ironically, the staircase, which had been built into the thickness of the wall to enable visitors to get a close look at glittering tessellation, portraying saints, peacocks and temples, also weakened

the structure. Architects are strengthening the brick barrel with great iron hoops, and adding bracing, as in Aghia Sofia, the other major casualty, where, again, visitors could climb up to a gallery running round the dome, which showed an Ascension scene of fine quality.

Unfortunately, lack of skilled hands in the trickier aspects of mosaic restoration, and shortage of money are likely to postpone the day when the mosaics are seen again.

Elliniki Etairia, the Greek National Trust, is playing an important part in stimulating an awareness of environmental issues, particularly among the young, and has cooperated with the National Tourist Board in its plan to restore five villages, each with a wealth of traditional architecture, and parts of which have been converted into hospice accommodation.

Another initiative is to sponsor young architects, like Alexander and Haris Kalligas, who have won a Europa Nostra award for their work at the lovely Byzantine port of Monemvasia (from which the original Malmsey wine was exported). The society would also like to be able to sponsor restoration on a bigger scale — no less than the old town of Rethymnon in Crete. With its minarets and town beach it offers a challenge, particularly as decay is still not beyond redemption.

But many Greeks now see whole stretches of their country, with or without ancient ruins, as inately valuable sites. In a statement to *The Times*, Melina Mercouri, the new Minister of Culture said: "We do not separate culture from everyday life. Culture is the way we live; whether people shake hands or talk to each other. It is the way we protect the air we breathe, or destroy that air."

The "cloud", of course, makes the minister's point perfectly, but for a country so closely linked with the sea, the crisis of ecology of the Mediterranean is a particularly emotive issue. The algae which made the Aegean so "wine-dark" in Homer's day are under attack from widely-dispersed pollution.

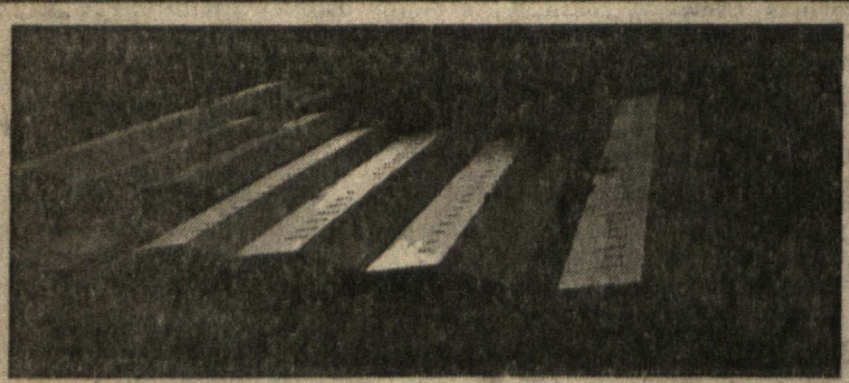
Tourists complain about prices in fish tavernas. Yet if they go to a village which has not yet lost its traditional dependence on the sea — I have in mind the delightful village of Makrygaleos on the south-east coast of Crete — they cannot fail to get the point. We saw a caïque crew's reward for a whole night's fishing; two small baskets of diminutive fish and two small dog sharks.

The Government has a plan, part of the "blue plan" for cleaning up the Mediterranean, which will establish marine parks, areas where fishing is prohibited and the sea bed is replenished with fish and plant life by means of gene banks. Anti-pollution laws may be expected to be applied much more rigorously.



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