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OBITUARIES

Andreas Papandreou, Prime Minister of Greece 1981-89 and 1993-96 died yesterday aged 77. He was born on February 19, 1919.

WHEN Andreas Papandreou first swept to power as Greece's Socialist Prime Minister in 1981, he appeared to embody the simple aspirations of a generation of Greeks frustrated in the years after the Second World War by political strife and right-wing extremism. By the time of his death 15 years later, after more than ten years in the prime ministership — as well as four in opposition — it was not easy to envisage him in quite such austere terms.

This had a good deal to do with his acquisition of an apparently luxurious lifestyle and a glamorous third wife, Dimitra — known in Greece as "Mimi" — a former air stewardess half his age who, before she had become his wife, had been a most publicly flaunted mistress. Latterly, as his health had declined, her power grew. By the time of his death she was head of his private office, had discretion over who might or might not see him and had announced her intention to run for parliament in the 1997 elections.

Many a minister who crossed her was left eating his heart out on the political sidelines. But repeated attempts to torpedo her progress — using fair means or foul — by the tabloid press failed completely. One publisher was recently sentenced to 16 months' imprisonment after being convicted of "an unprovoked insult" against her, having published a photograph that purported to show her cavorting naked.

But, in truth, from the very moment Papandreou had taken office for the first time, his administration had been forced to dilute the doctrinal purity of its more radical promises. Like similar governments it had to bow to the inexorable realities of a creaking economy — where to buy at affordable prices and how to obtain the cash to pay for the goods. This pragmatism forced about-turns that delighted his opponents and exposed contradictions that undermined his credibility.

At the outset he had given his party, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (Pasok), a distinctly anti-Western orientation. This envisaged Greece's best interests as being served outside the Nato alliance or the European Community, a Greece free of American military bases and nuclear arms, in close rapport with the non-aligned nations.

In the face of endemic economic crisis none of this was sufficient to keep the electorate loyal to Pasok, and in 1989 it was overtaken in the popular vote by the New Democratic (ND) Party. Although ND had no overall parliamentary majority, severe heart trouble and news of his impending divorce from his popular American second wife tended to undermine Papandreou's position and, unable to form a government, he eventually resigned.

Successor administrations were able to fare no better, however. After being acquitted, in 1992, of embezzlement charges, Papandreou, though continuing in poor health, took Pasok to victory in the

general election of 1993. This victory, combined with Greece's assumption of the presidency of the European Union at the outset of 1994, caused considerable anxiety among Greece's European partners.

In the event, Papandreou showed himself prepared to modify his stance. But the EU countries found themselves in further trouble over their recognition of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, since the name Macedonia is claimed by Greece as being inalienably Greek. But by this time Papandreou's health was in sharp decline and Pasok deputies had, of late, become increasingly vociferous in their demand that a successor be found for him.

He fell ill again in December 1995, suffering pneumonia which rapidly developed complications and he was admitted to the Onassis Cardiac Centre. His prolonged stay there led to political paralysis in Greece. Prompted by his wife, he refused all suggestions that he should resign and no one in his Cabinet dared to tell him that he should go. A succession of foreign doctors were brought over, including Sir Magdi Yacoub, and Papandreou spent weeks on life-support machines. Finally, he was persuaded to resign as Prime Minister by his son George. He rattled, and left hospital at the beginning of this year. But even up until the time of his death from a heart attack yesterday, he could never quite relinquish the reins of power and intended to stand again for the chairmanship of Pasok next month.

Andreas George Papandreou was born on the island of Chios, the son of George Papandreou, who was Prime Minister of Greece, 1963-65, before being forced to resign by King Constantine II. He went to school at the American College of Athens and in 1938 he enrolled in Athens University's law school.

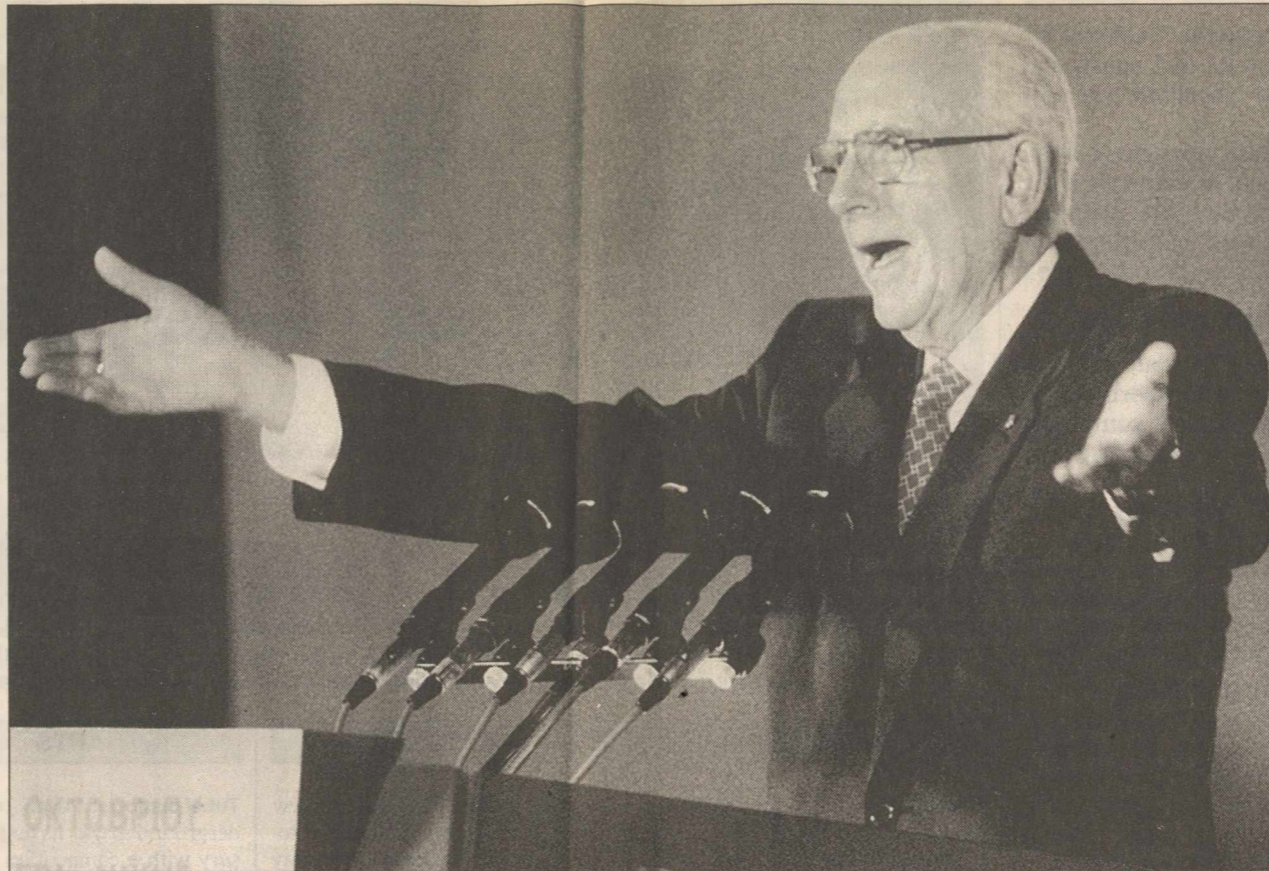
A year later, after he had been arrested briefly by the security police of the Metaxas dictatorship for publishing a Trotskyist bulletin, his father sent him to the United States, where in 1943 he took a PhD in economics at Harvard. Becoming a US citizen in 1944, he had a successful academic career, teaching in several American universities.

In 1959, while he was chairman of the department of economics at the University of California at Berkeley, the then Greek Prime Minister, Constantine Karamanlis, invited him to return home and organise a Greek Centre of Economic Research. While on this assignment he developed a taste for politics.

Prompted by American friends who thought he would be their country's natural ally, he allowed himself to be persuaded by his father (eager to establish a Papandreou dynasty in Greek politics), to give up his US citizenship and stand for election to parliament. In 1963 George Papandreou won a narrow victory over the Right; in the following year he led his party to a landslide victory which took his son into parliament.

The elder Papandreou promptly created Andreas a sort of super-minister and never concealed his aspiration to make him his successor, much to the distress of

ANDREAS PAPANDREOU



the party's old-timers. This resentment, coupled with Andreas's attempt to secure his succession rights by befriending a group of young army officers, led to a Cabinet crisis in July 1965 and enabled the King to ease the Papandreou out of office.

The Centre Union party split and its defectors, with the help of the Right, governed for nearly 18 months. Andreas used this time to build up his personal power within his father's party, challenging in the process all the taboos of the Establishment, from the rights of the monarchy to the Army's political role, and the alliance with the Americans.

When, early in 1967, his father agreed to settle his feud with the King in conformity with the established rules, Andreas challenged his father's authority. The conflict was soon ironed out but it became clear that in the elections scheduled for May of that year (which the Centre Union was almost certain to win), Andreas would dominate his father's party and cause it to swing to the left.

This prospect gave a pretext for a handful of army colonels (who had for long nursed plans for a putsch) to seize power overnight on April 20-21. Andreas and his father were arrested and detained, but later he obtained permission to go abroad where he set up the Panhellenic Liberation Movement, which was to become the nucleus of his political party after the junta's downfall in 1974.

After his return to Greece he claimed no political legacy from the Centre Party of his father, who had died during the dictatorship. He founded his own Panhellenic Socialist Movement which adopted a distinct left-of-centre posture, covering a

broad spectrum that reached the Marxist boundaries of the newly legalised Communist Party of Greece.

In the elections of November 1974 Pasok polled barely one seventh of the total vote, returning only 15 deputies in the 300-seat Assembly. Its policy took on sharp anti-American and anti-European overtones and Papandreou preached non-alignment in foreign affairs. In the three years that followed, however, Papandreou organised strongly and in 1977 increased Pasok's parliamentary representation sixfold, to 93, making it the second strongest party in Parliament.

Thanks to the average Greek's inclination to blame others for his troubles, his anti-American and anti-Nato platforms seemed to be vindicated. The steady deterioration in the economic situation at home, combined with the switch of Karamanlis to the presidency of the republic, which weakened the ruling party, encouraged him to make his bid for power in the elections of 1981.

To increase Pasok's chances he tried to lure the centrist vote. He refurbished the party's image to show that his was not a revolutionary organisation but a respectable and dependable political party. He established cordial relations with Western European Socialists, and, above all, made occasional statements on Nato, the EEC, and the American bases that could be interpreted equally by the conservatives as a switch towards moderation, and by the Marxists as a tactical manoeuvre. On October 18, 1981, Pasok won an unexpected victory over the New Democracy party under the Prime Minister, George Rallis.

Papandreou's programme provided for

extensive "social control" of basic economic units, administrative decentralisation and popular participation in decision-making. And, though few of these grandiloquent promises were fulfilled, Pasok won an impressive second victory in a snap election in June 1985, thanks to his political manoeuvring and winning rhetoric. He eased out of office the conservative head of state, President Karamanlis, just before the elections, in order to persuade his disgruntled supporters on the Left that he had successfully removed the last obstacle to 100 per cent socialism. But his choice of a successor in Christos Sartzetakis was less than fortunate and he was soon to regret it.

During his second term the going became rough. The economy, exhausted by his lavishness towards the underprivileged, sagged dangerously. Inflation soared, state deficits and unemployment grew and so did the foreign debt. An austerity programme imposed for two years remedied some of the damage but it was terminated prematurely because the political cost was too high.

The outbreak of financial scandals, allegedly involving high-ranking members of his administration, culminated in the notorious Bank of Crete £130 million embezzlement and bribery case. Papandreou's own prestige had already suffered heavily because of his affair with Dimitra Liani, daughter of a distinguished army officer and the wife of a senior official of the Greek Communist Party. He chose her, rather than his American-born wife of 37 years, Margaret, to escort him when, in August 1988, he was suddenly flown to London for a heart operation. He survived against all odds and returned to

Greece to face a crisis within his party, prompted by the Bank of Crete scandal. Although many aspects of this touched him personally, he dismissed the allegations as a Western conspiracy to bring down his Government.

In the elections of June 18, 1989, when he was expected to suffer major reverses, he managed to acquit himself reasonably, securing two out of every five votes throughout the country. After several attempts to try to resolve the parliamentary deadlock. Eventually, in April 1990, ND managed to form a government, which soon however found itself beleaguered by strikes, demonstrations and illegal occupations of public buildings, in protest at its vigorous privatisation programme. In the meantime, in March 1991, Papandreou and three of his former ministers were brought to trial on charges of massive embezzlement from the Bank of Crete during their term of office. After a nine-month hearing Papandreou was acquitted of all charges while two of his ministers received only minor sentences (the third had died during the trial).

By the middle of 1993 the ND Government was in complete disarray in the face of unrest in both public and private sectors in the face of its policy of privatisation and wage restraint, and when it lost its parliamentary majority after the defection of two of its deputies a general election was called for October 10. Rumping to victory, Papandreou announced a repeal of all his predecessor's privatisation policies. But when he sought to put this into effect in the case of the bus industry he immediately faced opposition from protesters, who blocked bus depots and had to be dispersed by riot police.

His country's presidency of the EU, held for six months from January 1994, momentarily raised his standing within Greece, though he felt it necessary to temper Pasok's historic anti-European stance, simply to give some plausibility to his country's tenure of the office. His sharp attacks on European Nato airstrikes in Bosnia and European attitudes to Macedonia were more popular at home, but the underlying weakness of the Greek economy continued to bedevil his Government. Rampant inflation and a huge budget deficit only added to the woes of a country which has a visibly massive gulf between rich and poor.

Papandreou himself, increasingly protected from outside interference by his wife and self-appointed chief of staff, drew criticism for his purchase of a luxury villa, apparently with interest-free loans from Cabinet colleagues. Latterly, in increasingly poor health, he had been unable to participate in the drafting of the 1996 budget.

He is survived by his wife Dimitra, and by the three sons, one of whom, Georgios, is Education Minister, and one daughter of his second marriage.

INTERNATIONAL



Pall-bearers carrying the coffin of former Prime Minister Andreas Papandrou to the Orthodox Cathedral in Athens on Sunday.

Andreas Papandrou, Ex-Greek Leader, Dies

By Marlise Simons
New York Times Service

Andreas Papandrou, the former prime minister of Greece who towered over his country's political life for more than two decades, died Sunday at his home in Athens. He was 77.

Open heart surgery in 1988 had left Mr. Papandrou weakened, although it did not stop him from entering and winning elections for the third time in 1993.

In 1995, his failing health prevented him from performing the normal duties of government, leaving Greece flailing. He had not been seen in public since his release from a hospital last March 21 after a four-month stay.

Few other politicians in modern Greece have inspired

as much love and loathing at home and as much bewilderment and irritation abroad.

He was successful at home because he appealed to Greece's thirst for change, and his nationalist polemics appealed to the Greeks' perennial feeling of being misunderstood and unappreciated.

Abroad, Greece's Western allies were regularly befuddled or exasperated as the undocinaire socialist took positions diametrically opposed to theirs, on issues ranging from Serbian aggression in Bosnia to the role of NATO in the Mediterranean.

The core of his foreign policy was to end Greece's status as "a client state of the West."

As a result, he refused to condemn the Soviet interven-

tion in Afghanistan, campaigned against American military bases in Greece, and variously threatened to pull out of NATO, the United Nations and the European Union, although he accepted the Union's generous funds.

He blocked European credits for Turkey, Greece's historic enemy. While others shunned Libya and Yugoslavia, he improved his ties there. In the Bosnian war he supported Serbia, a long-time ally, and opposed sanctions against Serbia. He was reluctant to condemn Serbian atrocities, even in the face of ample evidence.

Mr. Papandrou thrived on being contrary; he described this as "tightrope diplomacy."

Until the collapse of the Soviet Union, he was espe-

cially skillful at extracting funds from fearful Western governments that wanted to strengthen Greece's capitalist system and protect Europe's southeastern flank in the communist Balkans. Despite his public discourse, he remained pro-Western.

Having taken refuge in the United States during World War II and become a U.S. citizen, he handed back his American citizenship in 1964 to run for Parliament in Greece under the auspices of his father, George, the prime minister.

But King Constantine, who distrusted both men, dismissed the prime minister and his cabinet. The period of instability that followed led to a right-wing military coup in 1967, and both Papandrou were arrested.

Pressure from influential Americans led the military junta to release Andreas Papandrou and other political prisoners in 1967. But from his exile, first in Sweden, then in Canada, Mr. Papandrou organized a coalition of opposition groups and denounced the U.S. government for "complicity" in the coup.

The party he founded in 1974, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement, or Pasok, changed Greece's political landscape. It brought him — and the left — to power in 1981.

Many Greeks applauded him because he established civil marriage and legalized divorce and abortion. But his economic policy remained full of contradictions, and critics said that he squandered the power and the funds he had to modernize the country.

His prestige also suffered because he publicly flaunted his affair with Dimitra Liani, a flight attendant half his age, while he was still married to his wife of 38 years. Margaret Papandrou, the mother of his four adult children, agreed to a divorce in 1989. He eventually married Miss Liani.

Terrel H. Bell, 74, Education Leader in U.S.

The Associated Press

SALT LAKE CITY — Terrel H. Bell, a former secretary of the Department of Education, who was credited with starting a national school reform movement, died Saturday of pulmonary fibrosis. He was 74 years old.

Mr. Bell headed the department from 81 to 1985 under President Ronald Reagan. Afterward, he remained active in promoting education and learning, founding the educational consulting firm T. H. Bell and Associates. He wrote "How to Shape Up Our Nation's Schools" in 1991.

His leadership at the education department led to the 1983 "A Nation At Risk Report," which prompted a school reform movement to make education consistent with the demands of a modern-day market.

Henry Regnery, 84, Conservative Publisher

CHICAGO (NYT) — Henry Regnery, 84, a one-time New Deal Democrat who became the godfather of modern conservatism as the publisher of the movement's leading theorists after World War II, died here Tuesday of

complications from brain surgery.

In 1951, his fledgling Chicago publishing house, Henry Regnery Co., brought out William F. Buckley Jr.'s "God and Man at Yale," which threw down the conservative gauntlet at the feet of the liberal academic establishment and created a sensation.

Dr. Daniel Mazia, 83, a biologist who carried out pioneering work on cell division, structure and regulation, died June 9 in Monterey, California, of heart failure and complications of cancer. He had been a professor at Stanford.



A Athènes hier. Dimitra Liani, sa veuve, et des centaines de fidèles sont venus rendre hommage à Papandréou.

Andréas Papandréou, le tribun populiste qui fit rêver la Grèce

Le leader du Pasok a succombé à une crise cardiaque.

Andréas Papandréou, 77 ans, est décédé d'une attaque cardiaque dans la nuit de samedi à dimanche, quatre jours avant l'ouverture du congrès de son parti, le Pasok, qui aurait dû désigner un vice-président pour l'épauler et préparer son complet retrait de la politique. En janvier dernier déjà, le vieux leader charismatique du socialisme grec toujours plus affaibli physiquement

et mentalement, avait dû abandonner ses fonctions de Premier ministre au profit de Costas Simitis, ce «Rocard grec» qu'il n'aimait guère, chef de file des modernistes d'un parti sur lequel le vieux leader tentait encore de garder la haute main. Pour verrouiller sa succession, il multipliait les rencontres avec ses fidèles du parti qu'il recevait dans sa villa d'Ekali, une banlieue chic d'Athènes, bâtisse rose flambant neuve de quelque 532 m², avec trois piscines et une unité de soin intensif, construite grâce «aux prêts sans intérêts» de proches, ministres et financiers douteux, mise au nom de «Mimi».

Fin de règne. La plantureuse Dimitra Liani, ex-hôtesse de l'air de trente-cinq ans sa cadette, qu'il épousa religieusement il y a six ans, contrôlait toujours plus étroitement la porte de son bureau et son agenda. Depuis son hospitalisation de quatre mois, en novembre dernier,

pour une pneumonie, il n'était plus que l'ombre de lui-même. Mais avant même cette ultime maladie, le tribun de la gauche grecque, affaibli par un triple pontage coronarien subi à Londres en 1988, n'arrivait à travailler qu'une heure ou deux dans ses meilleures journées. Cette longue et caricaturale fin de règne a oblitéré le grand rêve qu'il incarna.

«La France au nord, la Grèce au sud: nous allons changer l'Europe», lançait, en ce 18 octobre 1981, le leader du

Pasok. Les socialistes grecs, quelques mois après leurs camarades français, venaient de remporter les élections. Pour la première fois l'autre Grèce, celle des vaincus de la guerre civile de 1947 et des proscrits du régime des colonels, s'emparait des leviers du pouvoir. Andréas Papandréou pourfendait «l'impérialisme américain», menaçait de fermer les bases de l'Otan et vitupérait l'Europe communautaire. Un slogan aux accents pour le moins ambigus résumait son projet: «la Grèce aux Grecs». Il cristallisait les aspirations d'un peuple qui se sentait marginalisé par l'Europe, humilié d'avoir été pendant des décennies une «colonie de fait» des Britanniques puis des Américains. De simples mots comme «indépendance et souveraineté» déchaînaient l'enthousiasme des foules qui l'acclamaient sur les places et il

promettait «le socialisme dès maintenant».

Arrivé au pouvoir, le démagogue se fit très pragmatique. L'anti-européen consolida l'intégration de la Grèce dans la communauté d'autant que la manne de Bruxelles, représentant entre 4 et 5% du PNB, permettait entre autre d'arroser les campagnes devenues les fiefs du Pasok. La

Grèce resta dans l'Otan et il laissa même Washington,

l'an dernier, jouer le rôle de

PORTRAIT

médiateur dans la crise avec la Macédoine coupable d'usurper un nom du patrimoine hellénique. L'anti-impérialiste acharné, qui fut pendant une décennie le seul Premier ministre grec «persona non grata» à la Maison Blanche, fut pendant vingt ans un citoyen américain. Il s'était réfugié outre-Atlantique en 1939, fuyant son pays après avoir été arrêté comme militant trotskiste par la police du dictateur Metaxas. Il fit la guerre dans l'US-Navy puis devint professeur d'économie. En 1962, il décida finalement de rentrer en Grèce pour se lancer en politique et recueillir l'héritage de son père, George, le prestigieux leader de l'Union du centre, le creuset de la gauche libérale grecque. Il en anima l'aile gauche, flirtant avec des officiers nationalistes radicaux. Arrêté en 1967 après le coup d'Etat des colonels, il prend une nouvelle fois la route de l'exil pour la Suède et le Canada.

Avec le rétablissement de la démocratie, en 1974, il revient et fonde le Pasok. Un mouvement composite où cohabitent compagnons de l'exil, politiciens venus de l'Union du centre, ex-gauchistes et technocrates modernistes. «Le camarade Andréas» en était le ciment et le dirigeait d'une main de fer, destituant ou déplaçant les ministres à l'échine insuffisamment souple. «Son style de pouvoir et son populisme affiché le rapprochent plus d'un Peron que d'un dirigeant de la social-démocratie européenne», souligne le politologue Panaiotis Dimitras.

Nouveau souffle. Après la déroute électorale de 1990, le vieux leader semblait fini, rattrapé par les «affaires» et les scandales. Le banquier banqueroutier George Koskotas, accusé d'avoir détourné 230 millions de dollars de la Banque de Crète grâce à la protection de «l'Etat-Pasok», le met directement en cause. Les conservateurs, dirigés par son vieil ennemi Constantin Mitsotakis, vainqueur du scrutin, font cause commune avec les communistes pour le déférer devant la Haute Cour, composée de seuls magistrats. Elle lui accorde finalement le non-lieu par une voix de majorité. Les erreurs des conservateurs et une maladroite politique d'austérité redonnèrent un nouveau souffle au Pasok qui prit sa revanche en octobre 1993. Andréas Papandréou triomphe en brandissant le drapeau de l'hellénisme menacé par la petite Macédoine ou la Turquie, l'ennemi de toujours ●

Andreas Papandreou



Prime time Papandreou . . . the Greek leader addressing a meeting in Salonika during the 1985 elections

PHOTOGRAPH: DON MCPHREE

Greek myth and earthly powers

ANDREAS Papandreou, who has died at the age of 77, was one of Greece's most complex politicians and personalities. The socialist leader, three times a prime minister, will be remembered as the man who legitimised the left after a brutal civil war — though he did it in a way that often exasperated Greece's western allies.

His legacy was founded as much on his love for the unpredictable — in 1989, at the start of his battle against heart disease, he married an air hostess 36 years his junior — as it was on his determination to hold on to power even in the face of death.

Not even Papandreou's greatest admirers could believe his seemingly superhuman ability to survive the health problems that brought him to the brink of death a number of times in recent years. His discharge, in March, from the Onassis Heart Hospital where he spent four months on a life support system, was met with widespread astonishment.

Because power ended up being his life-force, the charismatic politician only reluctantly agreed to make way for a successor last January. But, nursed by his headstrong wife Dimitra "Mimi" Liani, he died resolutely refusing to surrender the powerful post as leader of his Panhellenic Socialist (Pasok) party.

From the moment he returned to Greece in 1959 after years living in the United States as an academic, to his meteoric rise to power in 1981, Papandreou courted controversy.

What mattered most to the leader was his mission to introduce socialism to his homeland after decades of right-wing rule following the defeat of communist insurgents by British and American-backed nationalists in the 1946-49 civil war. The electoral victories of Pasok in 1981, 1985 and 1993 demonstrated, beyond doubt, that his project had succeeded. In Papandreou, the vast strata of underprivileged, newly-

urbanised Greeks at last found a champion. But the mission required the former economics professor to change his policies and persona at a rate that surprised even his most staunch supporters. The Pasok "father" will go down in Greek history as a crucial post-war democratic leader, but posterity may not look as kindly on his many contradictions or his machiavellian characteristics which were the origin of the Papandreou myth.

As the strong man of Greek politics he seemed able to weather any number of storms. But surreal scandal also stuck to the socialists' record of handling power. In 1990, Papandreou became Greece's only civilian leader to be accused of serious wrongdoing because of his role in the notorious multi-million dollar embezzlement at the Bank of Crete. In January 1992, he was acquitted of the charges by a single vote at a special tribunal set up to hear the case — which he snubbed from day one — and less than two years later he was re-elected as "Papandreou, O Siderenios" (the iron man).

He was an arch populist — Greeks always referred to him as "Andreas" — and no other politician's name had ever become a household word: it was a source of great pride to Papandreou. But by the time of his death after 30



Goodbye again . . . Papandreou with his wife Dimitra

years dominating Greek politics, there were few who knew, or could tell, the real Papandreou.

Only in his last years did the man behind the masks begin to exhibit a real emotion although, ironically, it was only through the weakness he displayed with Mimi, his third and last wife.

A philanderer all his life, Papandreou was 68 when he fell for the Olympic Airways stewardess as she served him drinks on an official trip to China in 1987. Two years later — in a move that, again, confirmed his love for the controversial — he married the towering blonde, despite national condemnation of the couple's highly public affair. Few at the time believed he would get away with it. The marriage stunned voters, coming so soon after open-heart surgery in 1988 and the well-publicised rupture with his former wife, Margaret Chant, an American who still lives in Athens with their four children. But, ever the master-strategist, the visibly frail Papandreou anticipated correctly that, in one of Europe's most macho societies, the marriage would be a vote-winner. It simply highlighted his prescient sense of timing and shrewdness, and his justified reputation as the eternal "come-back man".

Yet, having changed the political landscape of Greece, his end was not illustrious.

During his last months in office he was felt to have improperly surrendered himself to Mimi, the "dream woman", who soon became his chief of staff. The man who won the affection of the Greek working classes by eschewing crass materialism during his tenure of office was known to have spent well over a million pounds on his new wife's luxurious pink home.

In reality, privilege was nothing new to an ambitious son of George Papandreou, a liberal politician who led the Centre Union party before serving as prime minister. But Andreas took pains to hide his *bon viveur* tendencies. Born on the island of Chios, he was educated at Athens College, the country's most prestigious school, along with Greece's elite. Unlike his peers, he kept out of the limelight in Greece — and set sail, aged 20, for the US after a brief spell in prison for his opposition to the right-wing Metaxas dictatorship. Later he would proudly recall how he landed in New York almost penniless, like thousands of other Greek immigrants. He spent most of the money on a haircut.

Having gained a doctorate in economics at Harvard and served during the war as a non-combatant in the US navy, he took US citizenry. He met Margaret, his second wife, in a dentist's waiting room, and dedicated his life to her. The climax of his career was his appointment as chairman of the economics department at the University of California, Berkeley.

He was a mainstream liberal democrat, and campaigned for Adlai Stevenson in the 1952 presidential election won by Eisenhower. He was considering a political career in the US but, in early middle age, he took the path that catapulted him from relative obscurity to national and, later, international, fame by returning to Greece. In 1959, Constantine Karamanlis, leader of the right, found Andreas (at the request of his father) a job heading the newly-established Centre for

Economic Research in Athens. The younger Papandreou was initially hesitant about settling in Greece, but soon threw himself into the hurly-burly of domestic politics.

On gaining power in 1964, George made his son a cabinet minister, though he said Andreas was the last person he would ever want to see lead the country. During his childhood and for much of his youth, Papandreou had a notoriously bad relationship with his father — who deserted Andreas's mother for a famous Greek actress when he was 10. However, once he entered politics himself, Papandreou became obsessed

By creating a new language — influenced by Hemingway and Chandler — he emerged as a fiery orator

with "the old man" to the point of admitting, years later, that he had always been bent on proving himself to him.

The mid-1960s were hectic years for Greece, as the country lurched from one political crisis to another, beginning with the inter-communal struggles between Greeks and Turks on Cyprus. Believing his country's over-dependence on Washington was to blame for most of its woes, Papandreou renounced his American citizenship and traded his liberal views for increasingly radical ones. Overnight, he became the *bête noir* of the US embassy, the royal palace, and the growing number of hard-core rightists in the armed forces.

When, in 1967, a group of junior army officers seized power in a clear bid to preempt a widely predicted Centre Union victory at the polls, Papandreou junior was among the first to be targeted. He was imprisoned, but

released eight months later with the help, ironically, of powerful friends in Washington, who included the economist John K Galbraith. For the seven years that the Colonels were in power, Papandreou became immersed in frantic anti-junta activity in Sweden and Canada while resuming his life as a university academic.

It didn't matter that he spoke Greek with a foreign intonation or that his background was a favoured one, exiled compatriots rushed to join his resistance group, the Panhellenic Liberation Movement (PAK). The group, which also boasted personalities like the late actress Melina Mercouri, spearheaded the international propaganda campaign against the Colonels, smuggling arms and communications equipment, often against the greatest odds, to freedom fighters in Greece. It was this activity that soon (and usefully) led to the birth of the Andreas Papandreou myth.

Returning to Greece on the collapse of the Colonels' regime in 1974, alongside Karamanlis, the country's new centre-right prime minister, Papandreou set out creating Pasok out of PAK. For most of the electorate, expecting him to relaunch the Centre Union, it was the first surprise in a political career that would be proverbial for its unpredictability.

Inspired loosely by Marxist ideas, Pasok offered a catch-all ideology. Well-organised, especially in the countryside, it offered a home to a disparate group of headline left-wingers who had never found shelter in the KKE, Greece's ultra-orthodox communist party, and liberals.

Indeed, it was on the slogan of "allagi" or change that Pasok swept to power after another seven years. From winning only 13.6 per cent of the vote in 1974, Pasok went on to a landslide victory in 1981 with over 48 per cent and 172 seats in the 300-member parliament.

For the first time, the vast army of defeated civil war leftwingers and villagers who

had flocked to the cities after the second world war — at least half the population, who had long feared the watchful eye of Greece's right-wing governments — got a place in the sun. The symbol Papandreou astutely gave his party. On winning power, Papandreou redefined himself, dropping his academic profile for that of a leather-jacketed populist hero who drank as fast as he danced, although the haughty air was always maintained in his dealings with Pasok cadres.

By abandoning the elaborate prose of his predecessors and creating a new political language — heavily influenced by Hemingway and Chandler, his favourite Anglo-Saxon authors — he emerged as a fiery orator with an unrivalled ability to rouse crowds from the balcony. Spouting his populist cant, Papandreou won rapid support by tapping into the "underdog" psychology that was part of the Greek tradition because of geography and centuries of Ottoman rule. Declaring that "Greece belonged to the Greeks" he played on traditional anti-western sentiment, and taunted the country's allies with threats to pull the country out of the European Community and Nato, and dismantle the few American bases on Greek soil.

Within the west, the harangues met with widespread dismay. But home audiences felt Greece had long been the victim of foreign interference and warmed to the nationalist rhetoric — which dominated the socialists' headline approach to Greek-Turkish relations and, more lately, Macedonia.

During his first term in office, Papandreou set about redeeming his pre-election pledges. He transformed the country, established a social welfare service, including a Greek national health system (with generous support from EU funds), promoted women's rights by introducing one of Europe's most progressive family laws, and boosted the infrastructure in the countryside. But his second adminis-

tration was mired by strikes, scandals and setbacks in local elections.

Radically tempering the rhetoric of his early days, he abandoned his past populism and, under pressure from Brussels, implemented tough economic stabilisation measures in a bid to tackle mammoth budget deficits caused largely by his own free-spending ways. Although opponents now castigated their policies as Thatcherite, the socialists were poised for another electoral victory in 1989 when the scandal at the Bank of Crete broke. The furor, with Papandreou accused of masterminding a plan to remove millions from state deposits lodged at the bank, marked the lowest point of his political career.

His ignominious defeat at the polls was followed by three years in the political wilderness. His health was waning, and few believed he could make a political comeback. But, with the outgoing New Democracy party racked by inner dissent over its handling of the highly charged Macedonia imbroglio, Papandreou defied expectation — cruising to victory in October 1993. Never, it seemed, was triumph won with less effort. "After the political vendetta that was waged against me in 1989, this is my ultimate vindication," he said.

His re-election, for a third term in 12 years, was made sweeter by the fact that it was gained over his long-standing rival, the outgoing Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis. Their feud went back to the mid-1960s when Mitsotakis deserted the ruling Centre Union party, triggering the government's downfall. Papandreou was always obsessed with revenge for this betrayal, which he felt had precipitated the Colonel's coup in 1967. He returned to office as a fully-fledged social democrat and a leader seeking consensus, not least with his western allies.

During his last term, Greece had cast off its reputation as the EU's wilful *enfant terrible* despite frequent differences over Balkan policies. But the euphoria surrounding his spectacular comeback soon subsided as his health worsened. Throughout his career, Papandreou ruthlessly dispensed with colleagues who had either fallen out of favour or seemed not up to the job. In his first term there were 17 cabinet reshuffles. But his vanity made him incapable of delegating power when that was most needed. His stubborn refusal to appoint a successor was the spark that ignited fierce infighting amongst socialists. Pasok, his spiritual child, had virtually collapsed by the time he was rushed to hospital.

Andreas Papandreou never had many personal friends, but as a leader he always inspired enormous warmth and admiration amongst his colleagues. Only months before his death, and echoing the sentiment of several of his ministers, one cabinet member declared he was quite prepared to give up his life for him. "Papandreou is a legend, in that he stands somewhere between us and the gods. He has done more for this country than anyone else. I would easily die for him," the minister intoned, without a hint of sarcasm.

What the maverick leader never managed to do was revamp Greece's byzantine public administration or eradicate corruption at the top of society and the all-consuming patronage system.

Because he made more promises than he could ever keep, it is debatable whether Papandreou should be categorised as the last of the dinosaurs — as the Greeks have long called their geriatric rulers — or the first of the country's modernisers. What promises he did honour, however, changed the face of Greece. Even his enemies — and he had many — would concede that his death concludes a vibrant political era.

Helena Smith

Andreas George Papandreou, politician, born February 5, 1919; died June 23, 1996