

PASOK's Conception of the major problems  
facing modern Greece and its  
proposed solutions

I should like to thank the Greek Study Group for its invitation and for the opportunity given me to put before you the aims of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement.

The Panhellenic Socialist Movement, or PASOK, was founded on the 3rd of September 1974 and published, on the same day, the proclamation in which it described in general lines the aims of the Movement. (In the four years which have passed, the President of PASOK, Andreas Papandreou, and the Party organs have put the finishing touches to the positions of the Party as formulated in its programme proclamation, and have given them material form.) Shortly before the elections of 1977, PASOK published the directing lines of its government policy, and this text at present constitutes the most complete summary of PASOK's views on the problems of Greece and the way in which they should be confronted.

Everything that I shall put before you today is based on the analysis of this text. However, I should like first to refer to two of its fundamental positions in order to facilitate a fuller understanding of the views of PASOK.

A.

A determining fact for an understanding of the Greek political situation is the dependence of the country. PASOK believes that



Greece is a "marginal" country of international capitalism, that is, that she is to be found on its "periphery". As a peripheral country, Greece is caught up in an international economic and political system which leads inevitably to her dependence on the metropolitan centres of capitalism. This dependence is not in the form of direct submission; it emerges automatically, however, from the functioning of economic, political and cultural relations within the framework of the world-wide capitalist market. This dependence leads to the formation of a Greek economy and society which conform to the needs of the Metropolitan centres. // Greece today is tied to the industrialized capitalist countries of western Europe by a series of economic, political and military agreements. NATO and the Agreement of Association with the European Economic Community are the most known examples. / Foreign firms operate to their profit in Greece, and a recent investigation showed that in a period of about one year (January 1975 to April 1976) just a small part of the foreign firms established in Greece had exported about ten million dollars from our country.

A second element essential to an understanding of the political line of PASOK is the existence in Greece of strong financial monopolies and oligopolies. It has recently been ascertained that 5 percent of the Greek industries account for 45 percent of the total turnover and for about 50 percent of the total profits. The oligopolistic structure of the Greek economy is due to the creation of industrial enterprises with state protection against both foreign and domestic competition. The result of this oligopolistic structure has been that the economic and political power are concentrated in the hands of a few persons.



From these basic ascertainties the fundamental aim of PASOK is drawn: the creation of a state liberated from foreign control and intervention - a state free from the control and influence of the economic oligarchy. For PASOK, national independence constitutes a precondition for the realization of popular sovereignty, popular sovereignty ~~constitutes~~ a precondition for the realization of social liberation, and social liberation ~~constitutes~~ a precondition for the realization of political democracy.

B.

I. Foreign policy

1. The radical re-orientation of the country's foreign policy constitutes the corner-stone of the proclaimed principles of PASOK. Its basic position is the need to formulate an independent Greek foreign policy.

~~PASOK believes that a "given fact" of our country's foreign policy has, for years, been considered to be the fact that Greece's~~  
*close links with*  
~~dependence on the United States and her participation in the Atlantic Alliance~~  
*have been considered as*  
~~constitute guarantees for our national independence, and that this was credible to such a degree that the drawing up of any~~  
*foreign policy*  
~~national strategy whatsoever~~  
*based on another conception*  
~~was quite unthinkable.~~ After the American-instigated seven-year dictatorship, the attempt to partition Cyprus as part of the attack by Turkey against Hellenism, the choice of Turkey as the station for American imperialism in the Aegean and the clear threats against our territorial integrity both in the Aegean and in Thrace, it is now a certainty for PASOK that this "given fact" of our traditional policy is mistaken.



According to PASOK, the "given facts" for Greece's foreign policy are that:

a. Greece is a country which belongs simultaneously in Europe, the Balkans and the Mediterranean, and must make its presence felt in these three areas.

b. The adhesion of the European countries to opposing military pacts, the military presence of the United States on the borders of the Soviet Union, the military presence of the superpowers' fleets in the Mediterranean, the continued arming and storage of nuclear weapons in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean, the tension in the Middle East and the antagonism of the United States and the Soviet Union over the ensuring of spheres of influence, create a critical situation which foments territorial disputes and involves the risk of local or even general collision.

The first basic aim of the Movement's foreign policy is the creation of a state liberated from foreign control. PASOK will immediately set in motion the procedure for the total and definitive withdrawal from NATO and for disengagement from all Greek-American agreements / as well as from any other agreement which violates the sovereign rights of our country.

2. For PASOK, neither NATO, nor the Common Market, nor the Warsaw Pact permits an independent foreign policy; but they constitute a reality within which it is <sup>necessary to trace</sup> ~~possible for~~ the course towards national independence ~~to be traced~~. It is essential for new structures to be created in Europe on the basis of the following principles:



Greece impossible, it will create mortal risks for Greek industry and, with the exception of a few agricultural products, will lead to the ruin of the Greek agriculture and to the depopulation of the countryside. For PASOK, the correct solution is neither entry nor association, but the development of relations with the Common Market within the frame of a new special agreement (similar to Norway) which will permit ~~the~~ national social and economic planning ~~which~~ <sup>wing</sup> allows a control to be maintained on the movement of capital and goods.

The Balkan and Mediterranean area is particularly significant for the economic and social development of our country. The Greek Government must actively promote Balkan cooperation and the strengthening of relations with the countries of the Mediterranean. More specifically, in the Mediterranean area the following measures are necessary:

a. The withdrawal of foreign fleets and generally of all nuclear weapons; the disengagement of the coastal countries from politico-military pacts.

b. The coordination of investment programmes and trade policies; the confrontation as a single people of the activity of international organisms which support the domination of western monopoly capitalism; the adoption of a common stand in the negotiations with industrialized capitalist countries within the framework of the north-south "dialogue".

In the Balkan area, the following aims must also be pursued:

a. The withdrawal of all foreign troops and bases; the creation of a non-nuclear and non-missile zone, the disengagement from politico-military pacts and the creation of a collective system of security.

b. The widening of political, economic and cultural relations



with the aim of creating institutions which will secure a permanent collaboration.

3. Since a long time ago, PASOK's position on the "dispute" between Greece and Turkey in the Aegean sea has been (crystal) clear.

Greece signed the Geneva Convention of 1958. According to this, our islands have a continental shelf which is precisely determined. The continental shelf of Turkey ends where that of our islands begins, and there is no Turkish continental shelf to the west of the Greek islands. Turkey did not accept the Convention of 1958 and consequently does not recognize the Greek status of our islands' continental shelf. For us, for Greece, there is nothing to dispute as far as our sovereign rights are concerned.

4. The policy of every Greek Government on the Cyprus issue must be a policy of support to the Cyprus Government, which is the only one competent to decide on the ways and means of protection of the interests of the Cypriot people. The solution of the Cyprus issue will be neither short nor easy. Turkey will only retreat if the world balance of power obliges the United States, NATO and the EEC to withdraw the support they currently grant to Turkey and to accept the independence and integrity of Cyprus and the co-existence and collaboration of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots within the framework of a single state. Mobilization is therefore required to win international support for the Cypriot people on the broadest possible scale.



## II. Directions of the Economic Policy

1. The primary objective of the government policy of PASOK is "self-sustained national development". In order to understand the term "self-sustained national development", we must contrast it with the term "dependent development policy". The contrast lies in the centre or centres of decision for the exploitation of the resources of the country, namely the centre or centres which determine the pace, the direction and the structure of the accumulation of capital (that is, investments). The question to be asked is: "Will these critical national options be exercised by foreign centres of decision - the multi-nationals and Brussels - or will they be made responsibly by organs which are controlled by the Greek people?"

Self-sustained national development constitutes a precondition for promoting an evenly balanced economic development which will permit us to overcome the peripheral, extroverted nature of our economy and to lay the foundations for a self-sustained self-centred economy which can reproduce its own structure as it develops.

2. Its main precondition is the progressive socialization of the basic sectors, which can be characterized as sectors of economic infrastructure. Such sectors are the banks and insurances, the mass transport and communications, energy and public utilities, the large-scale import-export trade, the big enterprises exploiting the country's mineral wealth, the shipyards, the steel, cement and fertilizer industries, as well as the enterprises concerned with national defence and medicinal products. This policy, which has a clear anti-monopolistic and anti-dependence character, will aim at the control of these basic sectors/levers of the economy passing into the hands of the Government



It must not be forgotten that 90% of Greek banks belong to the Greek state. Greek enterprises work with 75% and more of capital lent by banks. The economy is a market economy working with public money.

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and of the People, in order to secure the desired rhythm of functioning of the economy as well as the long-term perspectives of the development strategy. It would be inexcusably naive for anyone to believe that essential structural alterations can be realized through the adjustment of some five-year plan under conditions of exemption from taxes of the large domestic and foreign capital which today controls decisively, or at least to a large extent, the functioning of the above sectors.

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The main criteria for implementation of the socialization policy will be: First, the strategic importance of the enterprise for the economy and, more specifically, for the achievement of the goals of the national plan; second, its relative monopolistic power within its sector; third, the extent of participation and control by foreign capital.

It must be stressed that socialization does not mean nationalization. <sup>in the sense used in modern Britain. ~~As such~~</sup> ~~It means that~~ <sup>ensuring</sup> socialized enterprises acquire a particular legal status <sup>the representatives of the region and the planning authorities</sup> and that the workers self-manage the enterprises, ~~within the framework of decisions taken by the administrative councils, in which they participate.~~ All the present public utilities (such as the Public Power Corporation, the sugar industry, the Hellenic Telecommunications Organization) and the socialized enterprises will be subject to the same system of rules which will be adapted to the particular circumstances of each enterprise, ~~and whose main characteristics will be the following:~~

~~In the administrative organs of the enterprise, the following will participate:~~

- ~~a. Representatives of the workers in the enterprise;~~
- ~~b. Representatives of the regional council for productive units.~~



The socialization of the monopolistic strategical groups not only does not harm the interests of the small and medium-sized enterprises, but on the contrary it serves their interests. By confronting the monopolies efficiency<sup>ly</sup>, the State will contribute to the development of private initiative which, properly supported and correctly orientated, will constitute one of the motivators of the socio-economic evolution of the country. The definition in the national plan of the general and sectoral development perspectives of the country constitute first of all an indirect but decisive support to private business initiative, because it permits private business to programme and to orientate correctly their investment and productive activity.

3. In our country, foreign enterprises exercise a decisive economic power. One third of the Greek industry is controlled by foreign capital, while strategical sectors, such as chemical products, are under foreign control to the extent of 45 percent up to 95 percent. In order to re-establish Greek control over the economy of the country and to remove the fetters imposed by the monopolistic groups of western and particularly American imperialism, our goals are:

a. The abolition of all laws which foresee special treatment for foreign capital in Greece.

b. The socialization of the large enterprises which are subject to the special system of rules for the investment of foreign capital, by a decree which also defines the method of compensation. ~~What the enterprise offers to the development of the country is taken into consideration on the calculation of the compensation.~~

c. The strict application to the remaining enterprises of the

special system



special system of rules for foreign investments until the expiration of the privileges granted to them by the decree for approval of the investment. In all enterprises a control is made to ensure that the conditions imposed by the act of approval are being kept, and the avoidance of over-invoicing and under-invoicing will be rigorously pursued.

( d. The direct and strict control on all companies established in Greece under the legislation for the establishment of foreign companies, in order to ascertain that they operate in accordance with the orders and preconditions of the law. The restriction of the privileges granted by the law for the permanent employee personnel of these companies. )

( e. Prohibition on the purchase of land, either directly or indirectly, by foreign citizens, and the clearing up of the situation which has been created up to today. )

f. PASOK is not opposed to international economic cooperation. The State and the socialized entities will seek to borrow capital on the international market in order to make those investments which today are made by the foreign businessmen who then appropriate for themselves the resources of the country. ( With the capital which these loans will secure, it will be possible to assign the installation of factories to foreign enterprises, to buy foreign technology, to invite experts under the direct control of the competent Greek entities. This procedure permits the optimization of the offers on the international money market at the lowest possible cost. )

In the case that direct foreign investment is considered expedient, the following criteria will be applied:



i. The foreign invested capital must not threaten the Greek control of the enterprise. The percentage of participation of the foreign capital, which does not affect the Greek nature of the enterprise, will be fixed according to each case on the basis of the specific circumstances of the enterprise, which will comply, like every other enterprise, with the orders of the plan.

ii. (The financial administration must be clearly visible and must not permit the export of capital by over-invoicing and under-invoicing.)

iii. The investment must contribute to the self-sustained development of the economy. Together with this, a substantial importation of technology must be ensured which can also be utilized after the withdrawal of the foreign investor. (Investments with the purpose of establishing commercial businesses under the cover of industrial enterprises will no longer be possible.)

4. Democratic planning. <sup>PO</sup> ~~A strong weapon for the protection of democracy and of the popular sovereignty is the substantial participation of the People in the development process.~~ <sup>Democratic planning</sup> This means popular participation both in the drafting of the development programme and in the taking of decisions for the distribution of the development resources, as well as in the execution of this programme.

The whole system of planning will include:

- a. The Government Planning Council;
- b. The technical pyramid of planning; and
- c. The popular basis of planning.

The central idea behind the whole form of planning and the basic innovation are the grass-roots development organizations at the level of the village and of the town. These organizations are necessary in

<sup>PO</sup> PASOKs new economic policy will be based on democratic planning. Planning exists in Greece but it is not done seriously. The plan is a proclamation of governmental policy ~~aim~~ and not a document with compelling aims



order for the system of planning to change character and to be transformed from a simple technocratic organ into a real organization of democratic planning. The main characteristics of these grass-roots organizations, which will be called "Development Committees of the Base" are the following:

a. The main responsibility of the Development Committees of the Base are: i. to advise the organs of the local self-government, that is, the community and municipal councils, on questions of economic and social development which fall within the competence of these organs; ii. to create conditions which facilitate the expression of public opinion on the general options and goals of the development programme.

b. The Development Committees of the Base are composed of two categories of members: i. representatives elected by trade unions and professional associations; ii. five to eleven members from the community or the Deme who are elected at the same as the community or municipal authorities. The term of office of the members of the Development Committees of the Base is the same as the term of office of the corresponding community and municipal councils.

### III. Agricultural Policy

The principal aim of the policy of PASOK is to improve the situation of the agricultural population. The power mechanism of the agricultural economy today is to be found in the hands of businessmen who deal in the agricultural products. Cooperatives play a secondary role.

For the evenly balanced and speedy development of agricultural production throughout the whole country, first of all a national plan is needed for the choice and planning of crops by region or area of the

Agriculture is a vital sector of Greek economy. The farming population accounts still for nearly 30% of the total population.



country. The option - which will be reviewed at fixed intervals or as the conditions demand - of the kinds and the extent of the crops in every productive area will depend as much on the soil and climatological conditions as on the conditions prevailing in the local and world market. The programme must contribute to the covering of the domestic demand in all agricultural products and to the creation of the preconditions for exporting the products which are competitive on the world market. Representatives of the cooperatives and of the agricultural unions will also participate in the elaboration of the programme.

The possibilities of production in a region or area depend, of course, to a large extent on the investments in infrastructure which have been made: in drainage, irrigation, land reclamation works and sufficient and serviceable road networks.

The low productivity and the high cost of the Greek agriculture is due, to a considerable extent, to the fact that the agricultural lots are small and divided up. Reforestation has not solved and will not solve the problem. The only solution is the productive-agricultural and agricultural-industrial cooperative on the basis of collective cultivation. The cooperative today is an institution which the farmers face with mistrust because it does not help them to solve their problems but, on the contrary, it constitutes a mechanism for their oppression, since it is usually a bureaucratic extension of the Bank of Agriculture which limits itself to the distribution of loans and often to the verification of political convictions.

As soon as possible, PASOK will promote the creation, on a country-wide scale, of agricultural and agricultural-industrial cooperatives (first grade and second grade) of a new type. Each farmer will be able



to participate in the first grade cooperative with the right to take part in decisions on all matters. The farmer participates in the cooperative with his land (which remains his private property), his personal work (if he is landless) or with the mechanical equipment he disposes of. The first grade cooperative elaborates the programme for the crops in the land which it administers in the village and allocates the work among its members. The cooperative distributes the machinery, the fertilizers, the seeds, the plant chemicals, etc. The income of the farmer varies according to his participation (quality), the quality of the earth, the period of occupation, etc. In this manner, among other advantages, the intensive exploitation of the mechanical equipment, the provision of the agricultural supplies at a low price, the simplification of financing and the better planning of the production will be achieved.

The second grade cooperative units will have the task of handling the products, their distribution in the domestic and foreign market, the provision of agricultural supplies for the needs of the cooperatives of their region, the <sup>granting</sup> ~~issuing~~ of credits, the drafting of the programmes of production for the region and their control. In this way the private middlemen will disappear. The second grade cooperative will seek to create packaging units and agricultural industries so that the processing of the agricultural products will pass into the hands of the farmers.

(Another aim of the agricultural policy of PASOK is to reduce the flow of the agricultural population from the countryside and to create possibilities for a full and satisfying occupation in the village. But the re-organization of production will inevitably lead a percentage of



farmers to search for work in the urban centres. In order to facilitate them in finding work, centres for vocational training will be created and they will be supported during the transition period while they look for new work.

#### IV. Industrial Policy

The dependent state of the Greek economy has led to the exaggerated development of light industry, mainly the production of consumer goods, and to the recession of the mining industry and of the industries for the production of mechanical equipment and raw materials. This has ended in commercial transactions unfavourable for our country and in the creation of a huge balance of payments deficit.

The industrial policy of PASOK, (within the scope of the general strategy for an independent and autonomous development of the country, has as its main directing lines the removal of the above causes of distortion of our industrial development, and the taking of measures to orientate the production according to the social and national requirements.

In order for this policy to materialize, the <sup>will pursue</sup> following goals will be pursued:

- Rapid development of the production (of raw materials and) of mechanical equipment (in such a way that the balance between all strategical branches of industry will soon be restored.)
- Decentralization of the industrial installations and coordination of the industrial with the regional development programmes.



- Disengagement from dependence on foreign technology by the institution of centrally planned technological research, the training and education of all the technical personnel in the country, and finally the assimilation and adaptation of this research to the Greek conditions.
- Development of the agricultural-industrial production in association with the geographical production with the principal aim of joining the factory to the land within the framework of the agricultural-industrial cooperatives.

In order to secure the rational and most productive utilization of the invested capital, the criterion of profit, although of considerable importance for industrial investments, must not be considered as the only criterion. Occupation and the creation of labour incomes, the exploitation of the domestic potential in raw materials and energy, the technological up-dating of industrial sectors, or even the creation of preconditions for the technical advancement and specialization of the personnel in the productive units and of the labour force, will, where appropriate, constitute decisive criteria for investments.

#### V. The Organization of the State

1. The functioning of the public administration today is determined by the interests which the State serves. The administration seeks to support and extend the power of the capital and to help it as effectively as possible in its search for profits. The public administration operates as a mechanism for the oppression of the citizen. Its aim is to lead him to an ever increasing degree of dependence.

The system must change radically, and the following principles will contribute to this:



a. **Publicity:** A principle of the administration must be to give publicity to its procedures and to be open in its taking of decisions. Correct information constitutes the basis of democracy. Every citizen has the right to receive the information which concerns him (the right to be informed). The contents of administrative records and of public documents will be notified to the interested party. The sectors classified as administratively confidential will be defined restrictively by law.

b. **Participation of the citizen:** A general principle is that the citizens shall participate in the taking of decisions. The number of public investigations will be increased; they will be carried out by committees which will hear the parties concerned, assemble facts, examine experts and express their opinion before an important decision is taken (for example, on the creation of an industrial zone, the installation of a nuclear power station, the conservation of the form of a residential area). (In particular sectors (such as the protection of the environment, tourism, the creation of communication networks), the outline decisions will be taken by committees with the participation of representatives of the administration, of the local self-government and of the various sectors of society. )

c. **Democratization:** The internal organization of the services must become democratic. The continuous and two-way flow of information between the various stages of decision-making must be provided for, and also the cooperation and wide participation of employees in decisions on matters which they deal with. The number of intermediate organs must be strictly limited, and also the obligation to obtain approvals from a higher department. Every service which comes in contact with the public must be able to take instantaneous decisions on most of the



requests submitted by citizens.

d. Representatives of the People for the control of the Administration: For the protection of the citizen from the negligence, inactivity or arbitrary acts of the administration, a body of People's Representatives will be set up to control the administration. It will consist of three representatives elected by Parliament (by a majority to be fixed.) Their task will be to control the way in which the administration functions, so that the most efficient service for the citizens is assured.

e. The institution of the Administrative Courts will be developed and will be decentralized on a country-wide scale. (In cases of social significance, members of the public will also participate in their composition. Parallel to this, groups and large categories of persons who are subject to the administrative measures in dispute will have a recognized right of recourse to these courts.)

(f. Respect for the citizen: The equality of citizens will have been restored when no-one has to waste any more time in useless waiting.) A guiding principle for the functioning of the public administration must be the thought that time is valuable to every citizen. The public administration should work in a way which will reduce to the minimum the time spent on waiting for the dispatch of an issue. Today the citizen has to wait hours or even days for a certificate or for a medical examination; the control of documents for the approval of a claim lasts months. Those who are kept waiting today are those who have no influence and cannot push for special treatment.



## 2. Regional organization - Local self-government.

The authoritarian state concentrates as many powers as possible in the central administration. In this manner, it can control more effectively the State machinery throughout the whole country and can deprive the citizens of the possibility of participating in decisions on their affairs. Athens today is top-heavy not because of a mistaken perception of the relationship between centre and region, but because of the conscious effort of the upper middle class and the comprador class, who in reality control the country, to strengthen their domination in the most effective way over every aspect of economic and political life. Under the current form of regional organization, the Nomes, or departments, are simple administrative divisions and the prefects are government administrators; the Demes and communities are centrally controlled bodies which deal with secondary matters on a local level.

Today's system of regional organization needs radical change. The purpose of the change must not be just another decentralization which, like the many which have been made so far, leads only to the transfer of services and offices to the region. A new policy is needed for the exercise of authority throughout the whole State (with these goals:

a. That the authorities of the local self-government organisms be strengthened with respect to the central state authority, so that their problems can be faced autonomously and without restrictions.

b. That the widest possible participation of the citizens in self-government be assured so that every citizen has the right and the possibility to put forward requests and to work for their solution.



c. That, at every level of organization, the decisions be taken by a body which is elected and the administration be guided and controlled by an organ which is legalized by democratic means.)

In order for the new regional organization to be brought about, PASOK will proceed to the structuring of the state authority in accordance with the following principles:

a. The central state authority will be competent for all matters requiring a single regulation for the whole State. Such matters are, for example, foreign policy, defence policy, the general economic policy and particularly questions regarding currency, duties and planning on a national scale, and civil and penal legislation. In the other sectors, the central state authority will issue general directives, outline laws, indications of the procedure to be followed during the taking of decisions so that those concerned may participate. It will also be competent for the coordination of the activities of the organs of self-government and for their inclusion in general programmes, thus ensuring the even development of all the regions of the country.

b. The country will be divided into regions. Each region will constitute a new unit of self-government and administration. It will cover the area of more than one NOME presenting similar characteristics and thus indicating the common interests of the population.

The region will be competent for the regulation of every matter which is not within the exclusive competence of the central authority. It will implement and give material form to the outline laws and the general directives, adapting these and filling them out according to the local circumstances. The region will decide, for example, on the ways it can best put into practice the general programmes for education, for health,



for communications, at its own level.

The region will participate in the elaboration of the general programmes and will coordinate the activities of the Nomes. It will participate in the management and in the control of operations of the socialized enterprises which are situated in its area.

The region is governed by a regional council, elected by the citizens of the region by universal suffrage and implementing the system of proportional representation. (The executive organ is the regional committee, elected by the council.)

The region has its own financial resources. A percentage of the general taxes paid by its citizens will be allocated to the region. (The central state authority, in cooperation with the regions, will attend to the shuffling of resources so that the economically depressed regions may be assisted in their development. Particular attention will be paid to the development of the border areas. In all the socialized national enterprises and public organizations which operate on a national scale, directorates will exist at the level of the region and will have a very wide range of competences.

The organization of the regional directorate must secure the participation of the regional representatives when taking decisions.

The region must have intense cultural activity. It must develop its own press, theatre, and participate in the national television and radio programmes. )

c. The Deme and the community will be the fundamental cell of local self-government. The deme and the community will have the right, within the framework of the directives given by the region, to regulate their affairs on their own absolute initiative. They will be competent to handle all local problems, such as questions regarding water supply,



drainage, town building, housing, tourist policies, protection of the natural and cultural environment, communications, police.

## VI. Health Measures

1. PASOK believes that every policy in the health sector must be based on the following principles:

All people, independently of their financial means and place of residence, are entitled to correct medical care, which includes both preventive medicine and timely diagnosis and therapy.

Activities which concern public health must not be subject to the law of profit.

A precondition for the above is the abolition of the present set-up of hospital, out of hospital and pharmaceutical care. The situation today is based on the private initiative of doctors and businessmen. There are too many Social Funds, very few of which offer satisfactory insurance; many people are not insured at all. The present situation must be changed by the creation of a new scheme: the National Organization of Health in which all citizens without exception will be covered.

2. The medical services out of hospital will be provided by doctors incorporated in the decentralized system of medical care. The patient retains the freedom of choice of doctor in his district. The doctor who has contact with the patient is the general (family) practitioner who has an overall picture of the patient's health and of the treatment. Medical services are granted entirely free of charge.

A medical centre is set up in each populated centre. General doctors,



doctors in the main specialities, dentists, social workers and the necessary ancillary personnel work in each medical centre for the granting of treatment and preventive medicine to the people of the district and for attendance to matters of hygiene. The centre is connected with a hospital unit, so as to provide a direct continuation and connection between the out-of-hospital and hospital care. Mobile medical teams will cover the area surrounding the medical centre.

( A prerequisite for the decentralization of the health system is the building of the needed hospital units in the provinces in order to stop the concentration of patients from the whole country in the capital. For this purpose:

- There will be at least one hospital covering the basic specialities in every Nome.
- At least one general hospital will be built to cover the immediate needs of the people of each region for hospitalization.
- The private clinics which do not correspond to the demands of up-to-date hospital care will cease to operate. The private clinics which have up-to-date equipment and a satisfactory number of beds will be gradually incorporated into the decentralized health system.

Pharmaceutical treatment. ) In a socialized health system, the "medicine problem" ceases to exist, since it takes on its true dimension as a means of prevention, diagnosis and treatment of illnesses, and gets rid of its speculative character acquired as a result of its dependence on foreign and domestic monopolistic groups and on a variety of middlemen. The "problem" can be solved only through the socialization of the pharmaceutical industry, because in this way the production of



medicines passes from the hands of a few speculators into the hands of the society. The socialized pharmaceutical will be placed under the control of the National Organization of Health (which:

- a. Creates production units by the establishment of factories or by incorporating into the framework of the general production programme those already existing which correspond to the scientific specifications for the preparation of medicines.
- b. It creates a body to carry out scientific research including laboratory and clinical research, optimizing local raw materials, and exercising qualitative control of the medicines and dietary products which are prepared, and so on.
- c. It controls the handling and distribution of medicines by the pharmacies, medical centres and hospitals.

#### VII. Measures for a new, democratic Educational System

Education in a class society is planned and functions for the transmission of the ideology of the ruling class, the perpetuation of the discriminations and rules of conduct of capitalism, the creation of scientists and technicians for the most efficient filling of positions in the mechanisms of profit and exploitation, the control of scientific and technological development. Education, in spite of its apparently neutral character, shapes a model of man which corresponds and contributes to the functioning of the system.

Particularly in Greece, the educational system has been organized by the conservative forces with the purpose of forming generations without initiative and the ability to judge. Despite the series of



"reforms", the basic characteristics of our educational system have remained the same, continuously and systematically neglecting any substantial and democratic education.

The central points of PASOK's educational policy will be:

a. General professional education of the working people so that they can enter the production process at any level. Only in this way will it be possible to develop productive activity on an extended scale also outside the centres of industrial concentration.

b. The drawing up of the educational system in such a way as to allow for continuous education. Today, when a person leaves school, it also means the end of his period of learning, and his possibilities and perspectives are determined, usually for the rest of his life, according to the level he has reached. In order to overcome today's inequalities, a person must be able to broaden his knowledge continuously, to perfect his skills at any time, so that he may preserve a freedom of choice in his way of life.

c. The lifting of inequalities and discriminations: In our country today, an abundance of obstacles impede the children of working people from receiving the same education as the children of the economically privileged. In the agricultural areas there are very few schools; in the countryside the schools have neither adequate nor suitable teaching staff, and in the state schools the classes are overflowing. The State must see to it that the educational system grants equal opportunities to all, that is, it must give priority to the financing of the development of the school system in the rural areas and in worker neighbourhoods.



d. The granting of free education at all levels. The State will provide education, books, equipment for the laboratories and athletics, and transport to and from the schools without taking anything in exchange. Pupils and students who cannot be supported financially by their parents will receive state grants.

e. Private education will be socialized and its teaching staff transferred to the public system in accordance with their qualifications, without discrimination in favour of the other teachers.

f. Education today does not inspire the passion for knowledge that it should. It does not teach children how to learn, but only tries to accumulate facts, with the result that it stifles their creative initiative and finally exhausts their very memories. The school produces people who stand out for their similarity. The school system needs radical transformation in order to liberate their creative abilities; and the arts, technical activities, music and athletics must play an equally important role in education as the acquiring of abstract knowledge.

The correlation of the knowledge imparted by the school today with daily life and its needs remains totally obscure for the pupils. When most pupils leave school, they have not built up any contact with the production process; they do not know the problems or how to face them. Our education is introverted and we must open it out; it must reflect the self-questioning of the world outside the school in order to give the pupil the necessary equipment to live his life. Pupils must visit and live in the places of work (factory or village), they must have learnt from close quarters the way society is organized and how it functions.

Education today rears children to passive acceptance of the models



and ideology of the capitalist system. The responsible citizen must have the ability to analyse phenomena, to ascertain causes, and to take a critical stand on every development, in order to be able to contribute responsibly to the taking of decisions.

Education must develop a critical mind, and teach children to analyse and to judge, particularly the information which comes from the mass media.

g. The system today creates specialized streams of education in which the children of working people enter at an early age (professional schools which are different from gymnasia and high schools). This specialization is presented as an advantage in that it can secure immediate work. Specialized institutes of every nature create discriminations and constitute routes with no outlets to the higher levels of education. The various closed circles in the middle stage of education, this separation into "noble" and technical institutes of learning, must be abolished. Both general education and technical learning must progressively be provided within the same school. Higher faculties and universities must gradually be interconnected and it must become possible for registrations to be transferred from one to the other. This system will permit every young person to orientate himself gradually, in accordance with his abilities, to the profession he desires, and not to be obliged, at the age of puberty, to make irrevocable decisions.

#### VIII. The pace of the change

As is apparent from this brief account of some of the positions of PASOK, the Movement is seeking to achieve an extensive change in Greek society.



But, as is stressed particularly in the Introduction to the directing lines of the government policy of PASOK, the meaning of the change, despite its profound and determinant significance, does not imply under any circumstances a revolutionary subversion or the hasty pursuit of goals which cannot also be considered as the goals of the people. As the President of the Movement has clearly emphasized when speaking of democratic planning:

"Test transformations in the economic and social order which have not matured in the popular conscience and cannot be clearly considered as popular goals, constitute untimely and dangerous experiments which are far from serving the cause of social development and socialism."

Thus, the question of the necessity for the change is, for PASOK, a matter which must be carefully separated from the question of the pace of the change. The latter cannot be predetermined without reference to the ripeness of certain conditions and, above all, without popular support and acceptance. As we very well know from the experience of history, to ignore this fundamental truth has often resulted in painful reversions in the developmental process, (and in hindrance to the march towards socialism. /

C.

The main points of the programme of PASOK outlined above differentiate it significantly from the traditional political formations in Greece. For example, contrary to both the Right and the traditional Left, PASOK supports a foreign policy which does not recognize the need for favoured alliances either with the United States or with the Soviet



Union.

The principles of self-government and of decentralization have not yet found a response in the Greek Left. The other Greek political parties considered PASOK at the beginning as a transitory phenomenon, a simple protest group. The elections of November 1977, in which PASOK gained 26 percent of the vote, confirmed that the Movement in fact constitutes the one determining political force opposing the conservative front; for this reason, its stand on the issues facing the country will, in the coming years, constitute the focal point for comparing and contrasting political positions. Just as its opposition to the entry of Greece into the EEC caused the discussion to start on whether, after all, our entry is expedient or not, in the same way the positions of PASOK on other issues have already led and will increasingly lead the Greeks to wonder whether the solutions to the problems of the country given by the forces which have governed it since the end of the civil war are correct.

Independently of the success of its political struggle, PASOK has influenced and will continue to influence significantly the political evolution of Greece.