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TO PRIORITY UKDEL MELBOURNE  
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FOR P.S. TO S.O.S.F.C.A.

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM NOW REPEATED TO YOU AT REQUEST OF PRIVATE OFFICE  
WAS RECEIVED FROM ATHENS TELEGRAM NUMBER 243 OF 2 OCTOBER  
INFO ANKARA, NICOSIA, WASHINGTON,  
AND SAVING TO OTHER NATO POSTS, MADRID, MOSCOW, UKREP BRUSSELS,  
AND DUBLIN.

MY TEL 222: THE GREEK ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

1. WITH TWO WEEKS TO GO BEFORE THE ELECTIONS, THE TWO  
MAIN PARTIES, NEW DEMOCRACY AND PASOK, APPEAR TO BE  
CONSOLIDATING THEIR DOMINANCE OVER ALL THE SMALLER  
PARTIES EXCEPT THE MOSCOW-LINE COMMUNIST PARTY (KKE),  
WHOSE SUPPORT REMAINS STEADY AT AROUND 1/8TH OF THE ELECTORATE.

2. BOTH MAIN PARTIES HAVE HAD SUCCESSES, IN NEW DEMOCRACY'S CASE  
SUBSTANTIAL, IN EXTENDING THEIR ELECTORAL BASE.  
NEW DEMOCRACY'S LISTS OF CANDIDATES DRAW BOTH ON FORMER  
MEMBERS OF THE CENTRE PARTY, EDIK, AND ON MEMBERS  
OF THE RIGHT-WING NATIONAL RALLY. THEY INCLUDE THE  
RALLY'S LEADER THEOTOKIS, WHO ANNOUNCED ON 23 SEPTEMBER  
THAT THE RALLY WOULD, IN THE INTERESTS OF  
UNITY OF CONSERVATIVE FORCES AGAINST PASOK,  
NOT STAND SEPARATELY IN THE ELECTIONS.  
PASOK'S STATE LIST IS HEADED BY THE VETERAN  
CENTRE POLITICIAN GEORGE MAVROS, WHO IS THUS  
ASSURED OF A SEAT IN PARLIAMENT. AND MIGHT BE FOREIGN  
OR DEFENCE MINISTER IN A PASOK GOVERNMENT.

THE SMALL FORMER COMMUNIST FRONT PARTY (EDA) HAS  
COME OUT IN SUPPORT OF PASOK AND ITS SECRETARY

GENERAL, GLEZOS, A POPULAR HERO OF THE

GENERAL, GLEZOS, A POPULAR HERO OF THE RESISTANCE, BEEN ADOPTED AS A PASOK CANDIDATE.

3. NEW DEMOCRACY AND RALLIS PERSONALLY IN HIS CAMPAIGN SPEECHES ARE SEEKING TO DIRECT ATTENTION AWAY FROM DOMESTIC ISSUES AND FOCUS IT MORE ON FOREIGN POLICY, ATTACKING THE AMBIGUITY OF PAPANDEOU'S STATEMENTS AND THE DANGER OF THIS ANTI-NATO AND ANTI-EC POLICIES. BUT THE ELECTORATE SEEMS LESS INTERESTED IN FOREIGN POLICY THAN IN THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY. RALLIS' WAS NOT HELPED BY REMARKS OF JOSEPH LUNS, IN AN INTERVIEW CARRIED BY AFP ON 25 SEPTEMBER WHICH APPEARED TO QUESTION GREEK SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE AEGEAN ISLANDS AND PROVIDED MATERIAL FOR EXPLOITATION BY PAPANDEOU. BUT THE MAIN THRUST OF PAPANDEOU'S SPEECHES REMAINS THE NEED FOR FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN GREEK SOCIETY AND POLITICS.

4. THE CAMPAIGN IS STARKLY FOCUSING ATTENTION ON PAPANDEOU HIMSELF. WHEREAS RALLIS CAN SPREAD THE LOAD OF PERSONAL APPEARANCES WITH AVEROFF AND OTHERS NO PASOK POLITICIAN OTHER THAN PAPANDEOU IS ALLOWED TO PLAY A NATIONAL ROLE. THIS IS A WEAKNESS WHICH NEW DEMOCRACY ARE TRYING TO EXPLOIT BY, FOR INSTANCE, MAKING A TELEVISED DEBATE BETWEEN RALLIS AND PAPANDEOU CONDITIONAL ON THE PARTICIPATION OF TWO OTHER PARTY SPOKESMEN FROM EACH SIDE. THE CONDITION HAS BEEN REJECTED BY PASOK. OF FOREIGN SOCIALIST LEADERS INVITED TO GREECE IN SUPPORT OF PASOK'S CAMPAIGN. BRANDT AND PALME HAVE REPORTEDLY DECLINED.

5. THIS ELECTION CAMPAIGN IS LIVELY, NOISEY BUT SO FAR WELL-ORDERED AND PEACEFUL. IT IS INTENSELY HARD WORK FOR THE CANDIDATES FOR WHOM PERSONAL CONTACT WITH ELECTORS IS STILL AS IMPORTANT AS POLICY COMMITMENTS. MASS MEETINGS, EFFECTIVELY ORGANISED BY BOTH MAIN PARTIES, STILL PLAY A SIGNIFICANT IF SYMBOLIC ROLE IN UPLIFTING PARTY MORALE. AND THE TELEVISIONING OF A SELECTION OF THEM WITH EQUAL TIME FOR THE TWO MAIN PARTIES-BRINGS THEM INTO MOST GREEK HOMES. BUT IT IS THOUSANDS OF SMALLER MEETINGS IN PRIVATE HOUSES AND OFFICES THAT INFLUENCE MOST OF THE VOTES. NEW DEMOCRACY STILL HAS BETTER TOOLS FOR PATRONAGE POLITICS THAN PASOK. WHICH INDEED REJECTS THEM AS CORRUPT AND OLD-FASHIONED. BUT INCREASED PROSPERITY, MIGRATION TO THE TOWNS AND MASS COMMUNICATIONS TEND TO WEAKEN THE VOTER'S OLD DEPENDENCE ON HIS

PROSPERITY, MIGRATION TO THE TOWNS AED MASS COMMUNICATIONS  
TEND TO WEAKEN THE VOTER'S OLD DEPENDENCE ON HIS  
DEPUTY, AND HAVE CORRESPONDINGLY HAVE ERODED NEW DEMOCRACY'S  
OLD STRENGTH IN THE COUNTRYSIDE.

6. HOWEVER, NEW DEMOCRACY POLITICIANS ARE NOW MORE CONFIDENT  
THAT THEY WERE SOME WEEKS AGO THAT THE PARTY CAN PULL  
OFF A VICTORY. THEY MAINTAIN THAT THE PARTY'S RECENT  
RALLIES EXPECIALLY AT SALONIKA ON 20 SEPTEMBER  
PROVIDED A STIMULUS AND WERE PERSONAL SUCCESSES  
FOR RALLIS. RALLIS PERSONALLY - A SHREWD  
JUDGE - IS NOW SAYING HE IS CONFIDENT OF WINNING  
AN OVERALL MAJORITY. HIS CONFIDENCE IS BASED ON PROFESSIONS  
OF SUPPORT FROM PREVIOUSLY  
DISSATISFIED VOTERS, ON THE SIZE OF THE MASS  
MEETINGS , AND ON SOME PLAUSIBLE ELECTORAL  
ARITHMETIC. THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE NATIONAL RALLY  
LEAVES ONLY THE TINY PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF  
MARKEZINIS IN THE FIELD TO THE RIGHT OF NEW  
DEMOCRACY. NEW DEMOCRACY CAN THUS EXPECT TO WIN  
THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE 7 PERCENT OF THE VOTE WON BY THE  
RALLY IN 1977. RALLIS EXPECTS ALSO TO WIN SOME 3 PERCENT  
OF THE 1977 CENTRIST VOTE. HE BELIEVES THESE  
ACCRETIONS OF SUPPORT WILL COMPENSATE FOR THE  
LOSSES THE PARTY HAS SUUFERED FROM NATURAL  
WASTAGE FROM THE 42 PERCENT OF THE VOTE IT WON IN  
1977.

7. IN SUPPORT OF THIS LOGIC, THERE ARE  
SIGNS THAT NEW DEMOCRACY IS RECOVERING A LITTLE GROUND  
IN THE COUNTRYSIDE WHERE PAPANDROU'S APPEAL FOR CHANGE  
IS VIEWED MORE SCEPTICALLY BY THE FARMING COMMUNITIES.  
HOWEVER, THE STRENGTH OF THE PASOK PARTY IS  
STILL EVIDENT FROM RECENT PROVICIAL TOURS BY MEMBERS  
OF THE EMBASSY AND I WOULD NOT AT PRESENTZALTER THE  
ASSESSMENT IN MY TUR NO PARTY ENJOYING AN OVERALL MAJORITY,  
BUT WITH PASOK PROBABLY HAVEING THE EDGE OVER THE NEW DEMOCRACY.

FCO PSE PASS SAVING TO OTHER NATO POSTS, MADRID, MOSCOW,  
UKREP BRUSSELS, AND DUBLIN.

CARRINGTON

COME OUT IN SUPPORT OF PASOK AND ITS SECRETARY