

Now that Andreas is poised for a major personal triumph in the upcoming elections, what can be said about him? He opposed Greece's entry into the Common Market and promised, if elected, a referendum on the issue. He has now muted his position and generally avoids the subject. Andreas opposed Greece's reintegration into NATO but now talks only of annual renegotiation of the American bases in Greece. He has also mended his fences carefully with the military, praising their patriotism at every opportunity. In short, he seems to have learned his lesson well.

Despite some irresponsible talk, it is doubtful that the October elections will be aborted by another coup—although anything is possible in Greece. In mid-September an agreement was reached whereby the Rallis government replaced the minister of the interior, the minister of justice and public order, and the under secretary of press and information with people acceptable to PASOK. The elections will therefore be relatively honest, with a minimum of tampering and intimidation. Even with the election of Andreas, the real power will remain in the hands of Karamanlis as president. This fact alone should act as a major deterrent to another coup. But Karamanlis is an old man; with his death, anything might happen.

No doubt Andreas will pattern himself after François Mitterrand, but he will have to tread carefully in setting out policies for a socialist Greece. And there is no doubt of Andreas's great intelligence or that his ideas for reform are desperately needed in a country whose economic life, largely corrupt, is in the hands of a few powerful people. Whether he will bring it off is another matter. Though largely supported by young people and students, Andreas has alienated most of the intellectual community in Athens—people who strongly supported him during his exile and shortly after his return to Greece in 1974. The hope was that Andreas would introduce into Greek politics a new and modern form of party structure. To all evidence he has degenerated into the traditional Greek party boss who uses his charisma to stifle discussion and dissent within his own party.

Yet the fact remains that Andreas is Greece's best hope for lasting reform and regeneration—the first man with such potential in the entire postwar period. It will be fascinating to see how things turn out if, as expected, he is elected. And one awaits with interest the reaction of President Reagan, his secretary of state, and the CIA to the new leader of the Greek government. Andreas, Socialist, is an outspoken critic of U.S. interference in internal Greek matters. Greece is not France, however, and the temptation for the U.S. to meddle in Greece will be greater, and misguided. Greece could well become the Chile of the Mediterranean in short order after Karamanlis passes from the scene.

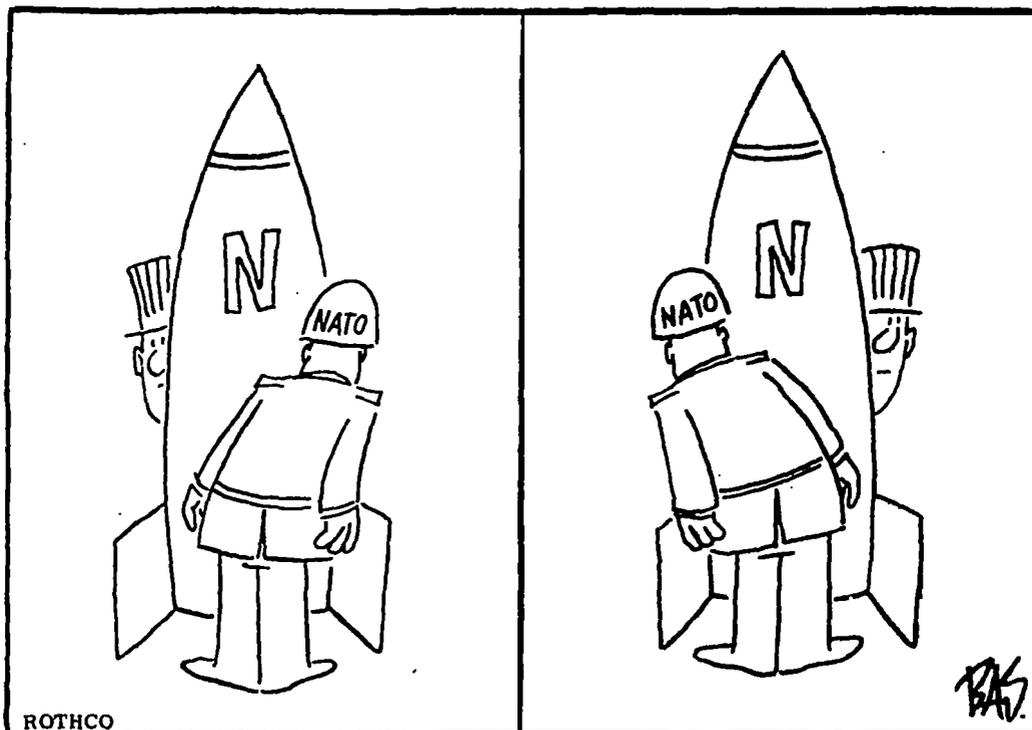
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EXCURSUS 3

Thomas Land on HIGHWAYS FOR AFRICA

A string of agricultural and mining settlements is being planned along a modern, all-weather highway across the Sahara desert following the ancient salt-and-silk route that made the medieval West African kingdoms of Songhali and Mali rich.

Advancing southward across inhospitable terrain, the road has reached Tamanrasset, the administrative capital of Algeria's Saharan provinces, and may shortly cross the frontier of Niger. The projected 3,500-kilometer Trans-Sahara Highway, which has already opened up Algeria's "deep south" for economic development, will link the North African ports of the Mediterranean with the West African ports of the Gulf of Guinea. Its effects on trade,



agricultural and mineral resources will be formidable. Africa's port system is geared to suit the needs of the continent's white-minority states. The ports are congested and foodstuffs are often spoiled while waiting to be unloaded, resulting in losses of trade and often in actual human suffering. Africa's thirteen landlocked states spend up to 25 per cent of their export revenues on financing the cost of the inland transport of the goods they sell abroad.

All this may well change during the current decade. The Trans-Sahara Highway is only part of the planned Trans-African Highway system that will eventually crisscross the continent from Botswana to Tunisia, from Kenya to Senegal. There are four other big roads in the planning: the Mombasa-Lagos Trans-Africa Highway, the Lagos-Nouakchott Trans-West Africa Highway, the Cairo-Gabon Trans-East Africa Highway, and the Dakar-Hdjamena Trans-Sahelian Highway. These, together with several minor projects, are to provide adequate road access between any two African countries. Construction is financed from many sources, including the Arab world, and costs about \$150,000 a kilometer.

If similar big road-building projects elsewhere in the underdeveloped regions are any guide, the new highways should by their mere existence generate a fever of road-building efforts all along the routes on both sides of the expressways. The projects will link the biggest potential markets of the continent. They are likely to open up many areas of agricultural and mineral potential and generate employment and income, not just in construction, but also in the ancillary services to which the road network will lead.

Describing the Trans-Sahara Highway, one specialist predicts that "its completion is likely to have a significant development impact on both North and West Africa. Food supplies will be easily trucked down to supplement Sahelian diets. Livestock and produce from sub-Saharan Africa will be moved to markets in North Africa and Europe far more quickly and at less cost than at present.

"The road will also help to stimulate the development of rural centers linked to it by feeder roads. And with the drilling of wells along its course, it can open up new areas for settlements."

Sea and air transport are at present the most common means of moving people and goods from one part of Africa to another. This is the inheritance of colonial times, when intra-African trade was restricted by boundary agreements reached by European powers, each with a vested interest in discouraging contact between their overseas possessions. Africa's highways thus followed Europe's pattern of trade. And the coastal cities of Africa eventually replaced the inland trading centers as the continent's main points of commerce.

The Sahara's export trade in salt, silk, slaves, agricultural commodities, and artifacts dates back some three thousand years. For one period in the fourteenth century, when the West African civilization created some of the world's greatest centers of culture and learning, historians record a flourishing commerce involving some twelve thousand camels a year traveling along a single caravan route across the desert. Today transport vehicles still follow the old salt-and-silk route along a precarious desert trek south of the already completed segment of the Trans-Sahara Highway. The entire run between Algiers and Lagos by Land Rover now takes up to eleven days, depending on weather conditions.

Independent Africa has a special need for efficient and inexpensive inland trade routes. Many African countries



today export a restricted number of primary commodities in exchange for a wide range of basic foodstuffs and manufactured goods. The lower the transport costs, the greater their profit margins to finance further development. The new roads may now enable groups of African countries to initiate large, cooperative economic policies utilizing raw materials, technological enterprise, capital resources, and market potentialities that no one country possesses singly.

The experience gained in the road-building project—manned by some twenty thousand young Algerians, most of them army recruits to cut costs—may well be used in the entire African road scheme. For instance, road construction usually requires up to three hundred cubic meters of water per kilometer for compaction—a significant cost element in dry areas. Scientists cooperating in a global program under the auspices of the U.N. have now developed a special low-moisture technique that, using natural, lateric gravels and up to twelve times less water, obtains compaction and stability standards equal to those normally required elsewhere.

The United Nations Development Fund notes that "the new technique also makes it possible to save on the amount of energy required for pumping, handling, sprinkling, and mixing operations. It has been estimated that the technique may reduce traditional construction costs by as much as 20 per cent in arid regions...."

"New, large-scale experiments involving the technique are now planned in Algeria as well as Mali, Egypt, Kenya, Morocco, Niger, and many other countries. It is hoped that this new method will lead to an improvement of overland transport and communications in dry regions all over the world."

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