

Political discourse around the climate crisis in Greece

Focus point, contradictions, differentiations, shortcomings



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1. Introduction

Given the fact that the 2023 general elections in Greece will have a decisive impact on the country's ability to address the challenges and demands set by the climate crisis, at Eteron we decided to look into this issue as part of our project "[Climate Crisis and Elections](#)". For 50 days¹, we recorded as thoroughly as possible all statements on the climate crisis made by candidates and party members of the 6 parliamentary political parties of the 2019-2023 term.

Although it is not an exhaustive record² of political discourse on climate and the environment during the pre-election period, the relevant material can still help readers draw critical conclusions about both the quantity and quality of political statements. Was the climate crisis included in the topics that candidates spoke or wrote about during the 2023 elections? Did the political discourse cover all the important dimensions of said issue equally or not? Which policy proposals are more elaborated and which are not? Does the political discourse on the climate and the environment have geographical characteristics and if so, what are they? And at the end of the day, does the political discourse on the climate crisis reinforce the imperative for democratic processes based on transparency, substantiated opinions and proposals, therefore enabling society to make crucial decisions in the most informed way possible?

Within 50 days, 450 statements were recorded from candidates and party officials from all 6 parties: 129 from SYRIZA-Progressive Alliance, 114 from Nea Dimokratia (ND), 85 from KKE, 80 from PASOK, 36 from MERA25 and 6 from ELLINIKI LISI. The above numbers cannot be used to draw comparative conclusions, as they are not a verified representative indicator of each party's interest and concern regarding the climate crisis. However, if we compare the number of statements between the first and the second election period, we have a reliable indicator of how political parties approached the second national election period.

During the second pre-election period, the statements' share for all 6 political parties is merely 18% of the total number of statements recorded, thus revealing a steep decline compared to the first pre-election period. However, while PASOK (19%), SYRIZA (17%) and MERA25 (17%) are close to the above average, two parties show a noticeable deviation that is worth mentioning. The KKE, after May 21st, has a notable increase in statements, with 34% of its total interventions made after that date, while ND shows a significant decrease, with only 8% of its candidates' and party officials' statements being made after the elections of the 21st of May³.

A closer look into the number of statements sorted by topic, provides us with yet another perspective of the political discourse regarding the environment in Greece. So, according to what about the climate's data, most statements were about renewable energy sources (139⁴) and energy poverty (118), followed by environmental protection (80), fossil fuel drilling (51), lignite phase out (45), energy efficiency (45), fossil gas (35), energy communities (31) and electrification/mobility (29). We can see that the political discourse has addressed all the main issues that relate to the climate crisis. However, as expected, more emphasis is placed on more familiar and traditional themes, which have either been the subject of

1. The statements' recording started on the 23rd of April and concluded at the end of the election period. However, the present analysis is based on statements recorded up until the 13th of June.

2. The declarations were recorded on a daily basis using two different methods, in order to gather as many results as possible. The first, was through google alerts, searching since April 23rd for all publications on the internet that contained the following keywords: climate, renewable, fossil fuel drilling, natural gas, environmental protection, lignite phase out, energy poverty, energy communities, LNG, energy efficiency, electrification/electromobility, wind farms, solar panels. The choice of words was based on the answers of 13 environment and climate specialists to four questions that we asked them, hoping to shed some light on the key stakes of the next four years that will determine the success or shortcomings/ failures of the policies that will eventually be implemented. For the second method Eteron collaborated with an indexing service provider, starting at 03/05, using the same keywords on all Press publications. Thus, the statements recorded at "What about the climate" do not include social media posts, nor radio and TV interviews, and are almost entirely based on statements by candidates and party officials as recorded elsewhere on the internet and printed media.

3. Elliniki Lisi made two statements during the second pre-election period, however the very small' sample size for this particular party (6), does not allow us to draw safe conclusions.

4. There is a difference between the figures in this article and those on the "what about the climate" website. This is because on the website each statement needs to be categorised as referring to one single topic, regardless of whether or not it includes references and/ or information about others as well.

political discourse for several years (such as renewable energy sources) or those that have come to the forefront and have been a major public concern in recent years (like energy poverty). By contrast, issues that mark major changes in our lives, such as electromobility and energy efficiency, are much less frequently discussed within the realms of politics. This may imply a lower political maturity level with regard to such issues.

Coming up, we shall analyse the statements' contents⁵ for each of the above topics hoping that it will help to better understand the parties' stances and to highlight critical differences, shortcomings and contradictions.

2. Renewable Energy Sources

PASOK (39)

The main theme in most of PASOK's RES related statements is the need to spread these sources' benefits and development throughout society, so that they are not monopolised by an elite of large companies. N. Androulakis' statement (01/06) is a typical example of said priority: "PASOK's programme includes solar panels on roofs for the most vulnerable households and then the establishment of energy producing units in large companies".

H. Doukas (the party's energy secretary) in almost all his RES related statements repeats PASOK's general approach: "The transition should be about the diffusion of RES to as many citizens as possible", and lists a number of suggestions: more beneficiaries for the "Photovoltaic on the roof" initiative to include people living in apartments and entire apartment buildings, active participation of the State in the distribution and transmission networks, better functioning of the Regulatory Authority for Energy, reallocation of the Recovery Funds' financial resources (on the 9th of May, H. Doukas mentions the need for the Recovery Fund's resources for network development to double from today's 400 million).

Moreover, according to the recorded statements, investments in the electricity transmission grid, power storage infrastructure and promotion of energy communities, emphasising on producers (farmers, livestock breeders), cooperatives and municipalities will have a pivotal role in achieving the social diffusion of RES. Party representatives also made special mentions to the link between the green transition and the promotion of energy democracy. In addition to the above, there are several statements regarding the need for a well-organised spatial planning of RES, based on a central planning for large-scale investments, upper and lower limits at regional level and a revision of the Special Spatial Plan, which is overdue.

Two PASOK candidates made statements highlighting issues caused by the installation of RES in specific areas of the country. Th. Tartis (18/05), mentions the wind farms in Skyros and the need for the southern part of the island to be included in the provisions for the "Untrodden Mountains", while G. Demetriou (14/5) opposes the 272 acre solar panel farm near the rock of Zalongo.

A key focus point that differentiates PASOK from the rest of the political parties is agrivoltaics, an option addressing the need to reinforce the productive base. A. Gospodini (16/05) remarks that the installation of solar panels at a height of 5-6 metres does not prevent crop cultivation. At the same time, she mentions two significant prerequisites: the development of the grid in rural areas and subsidies from the Recovery Fund.

This proposal is part of a broader set of statements aiming to support primary production, which make up about 10% of the party's statements. Other such suggestions include: updating the Hellenic Agricultural Insurance Organisation (ELGA) to also cover climate disasters, supporting the transition to sustainable practices, regulating farmers' debts and protecting them from land foreclosures, investing in the digital transformation of the production and controlling the cost of agricultural supplies.

5. The date of publication, as given in the original source, is cited in brackets. For more details visit [what about the climate](https://whatabouttheclimate.org).

Nea Dimokratia (32)

At the epicentre of the ND candidates and party officials' statements regarding the climate, is the goal to increase the RES generated energy share to 80% by 2029 (its current share is 41%). At the same time, K. Mitsotakis' statement (17/5) reveals another focus point that differentiates Nea Dimokratia from the other political parties: Mr. Mitsotakis spoke of RES as a key pillar for the country's development, along with Greece's traditional development pillars (real estate, tourism, shipping). ND officials also speak highly of the investment surge that has led to growth so far and will lead to even speedier developments: simplification of procurements and tenders, digitisation of as many processes as possible and investments in transport and distribution networks.

The investment value of RES for Nea Dimokratia is also highlighted in N. Tsafos' (K. Mitsotakis' special energy advisor) statement (11/06): "there has been an investment surge in RES in our country, the solar panels installed capacity doubled between 2018 and 2022 [...] investment interest remains high, there are 30 GW of RES that are currently being built or have environmental permits and are waiting for the electrical space to be concluded [...] energy will bring investment, exports, good jobs".

According to statements made by Nea Dimokratia officials and candidates, in the coming period, priority will be given to the increase of electricity grid interconnections with other countries, as well as to energy storage projects (battery stations, large hydroelectric/pumped storage). In fact, the role of Greece as a pillar of energy security in South-Eastern Europe is emphasised, along with the opportunity to redraw Europe's energy map. D.Th. Avgerinopoulou (20/05) made a special reference to Greece's electricity connection with Egypt and the expansion of Revithoussa station's storage capacity.

Additionally, a more specific reference was made in two occasions to the need for Greece to play a role in the entire supply chain of RES and therefore to acquire the necessary know-how (K.Mitsotakis 27/5, N.Tsafos 11/06), while the strategic objective for the gradual increase in investments in Green Hydrogen for sectors where it's harder to apply electrification (heavy transport and shipping) was also expressed (A. Sdoukou, 09/05), based on the estimate that the relevant technology will be developed around 2030.

Lastly, some references were made to the "Untrodden Mountains" initiative for the protection of specific areas from the installation of wind turbines and to the "Photovoltaic on the roof" scheme which, according to a statement by K. Skrekas (02/05), is linked to Nea Dimokratia's efforts to achieve energy democracy.

SYRIZA-PA (30)

At a first glance, the positions expressed by SYRIZA's party members and candidates do not seem to differ significantly from those of PASOK. However, while the approach seems to be the same, emphasising on the need for a fair development of RES that benefits society as a whole, statements by SYRIZA officials focus elsewhere.

There is a lot more emphasis being placed on energy communities, with statements from party representatives referring to SYRIZA's programmatic position that 50% of new permits will be granted to such endeavours. A connection is also drawn between energy communities and farmers, but not to the same extent as PASOK. Another differentiation is the proposal to establish an Energy Democracy Fund (a proposal that appeared after the May 21st elections).

SYRIZA's prioritisation of the establishment of energy communities is also revealed by the total number of statements on the issue (19 out of a total of 31 of statements on this particular topic made by all parties), while it is also the second most popular issue amongst the party's candidates (15%), who see it as a key tool for tackling energy poverty (see the energy poverty section). G. Stathakis' statement (13/05) is indicative of what this differentiation generally signifies for SYRIZA: "the needs of an energy production system based on industrial RES and large-scale investments in certain regions of the country are different [...] to the needs of a strategy based on a local decentralised regional system [...] In the latter case, the construction of flexible local networks and local energy storage capacities is the priority and -as an overall plan- has smaller spatial interventions and costs. The promotion of self-production is linked to the reduction of energy costs and all of this is linked to the need for State control of the Public Power Corporation (DEI).

Several statements highlight the problems caused by the installation of wind farms in specific areas, such as Karystos, Vermio, Kithira, Lasithi, Kozani and Elassona. In order to prevent such environmental impacts, a significant importance is placed on the revision of the Special Spatial Plan, which has a key role, while other proposals include improvements in the licensing framework to prioritise just transition projects and the suspension of all production permits issued by the Regulatory Authority for Energy, until the revision of the spatial plan advances as needed.

Finally, SYRIZA's statements regarding RES also refer to: the extension of the grid, regulation regarding storage and the redirection of Recovery Fund resources.

KKE (25)

In the statements of KKE's candidates and party officials there is a very distinct division between policies focusing on a green transition through the activity of business groups and those based on a central scientific planning that will serve the needs of the people. In this light, party candidates treat the former in their statements as anti-proletariat and as the main cause of energy poverty and of the commercialisation of the environment, land and energy. The latter, on the other hand, constitutes the core of the party's counter-proposal: through the mobilisation of the people (in the form of associations, organisations, protest committees) the former situation will be reversed in order to move to the latter.

In S. Simos' statement (06/06) regarding the negative effects of the installation of RES in Crete, more specific proposals are presented: a public body/ institution should do cumulative impact studies regarding wind turbines and solar panels and impose a ban on their installation in Lassithi and throughout Crete. Further proposals appear in an address by the local KKE committee of the Thesprotia region on 29/05: "abolition of environmental fees in favour of RES and creation of a single public institution that would handle all energy matters", while there were also multiple statements made by KKE party members about the issues caused by the installation of RES in specific areas such as Kozani, Lassithi, Vermio, Menalon, Samos/Ikaria and Evros.

More information can be drawn from P.Panousis' statements (08/05), where he proposes: suitable infrastructure for RES, to focus more on storage projects as it is a cheaper option than energy transport, spatial planning based on the needs of all social groups and new lignite units similar to Ptolemaida 5 that will be used for the production of hydrogen, cheaper than that produced through RES.

In various statements by members of the KKE, the importance of hydroelectric installations is highlighted (e.g. Th. Paphilis on 18/05 regarding Arta) as well as that of geothermal energy (e.g. D. Koutsoumbas on 10/06 mentioning Fthiotida and P. Panousis on 08/05 regarding Alexandroupoli and Kavala). Finally, additional issues regarding RES development are highlighted, such as the need for rare earth minerals and broader environmental problems at the proposed installation sites (e.g. the occupation of fertile land by solar panel farms).

MERA25 (12)

The main point that MERA25's candidates chose to make through their statements on RES is the need to stop their uncontrolled development. The party's most central proposal in this direction is not to build more onshore wind farms but to shift to offshore ones and to interconnect the energy produced with green hydrogen production. MERA25 also made statements about the environmental impact of wind farms in the areas where they are installed (Sitia, Agrafa, Pelion, Evia). In his statement (19/05) K. Arsenis spoke of the need to "carry out new environmental and ornithological studies, and wherever there's a risk to the life and statutory protection of rare bird species, to stop the operation [of wind farms] and uninstall the wind turbines".

There is also mention of the need to exploit second generation biomass (residual biomass), particularly in the primary and secondary sectors, in order to replace the use of fossil fuels. We haven't recorded any statements on energy communities, but there are a few on the promotion of self-production. and the installation of solar panels first of all on roofs and then on farm lands.

Elliniki Lisi (2)

We've recorded two statements on this particular topic from Elliniki Lisi's representatives. One by D. Despoinidis (18/05) that refers to the rapid expansion of solar panels in Thessaly and Western Macedonia, as a threat to primary production. The other is by K. Velopoulos (10/05), which focuses on the financial cost of the green transition. The first statement concludes by promoting the use of lignite, while the second one is for the extraction of fossil fuels.

3. Energy poverty

KKE (47)

This is the topic that KKE party members/ candidates mention the most, but still, 24 out of 47 statements are mere verbal references, offering no further information beyond an interpretation of the problem that: "energy continues to be a commodity in the hands of conglomerates, thus allowing the few to accumulate wealth by taking advantage of the needs of the many" (Th. Paphilis 08/05). S. Kalthi (07/05) and G. Labroulis (02/05), took the issue one step further by highlighting KKE's role as a party "which consistently defends the rights and demands of all workers, with its interventions, relevant questions and proposals in Parliament, as well as with the communists' activity in trade unions and people's movement bodies".

There are several statements that mention the need to produce cheap energy by using domestic energy sources such as lignite, hydroelectricity, drilling and geothermal energy. Also, in a statement (11/06), D. Koutsoumbas argues that the issue of energy poverty will not be solved by importing fossil gas, as "it is a great mockery claiming that if Greece builds a liquified natural gas (LNG) terminal in Magnesia, the people would have cheaper gas. Natural gas is a stock market product, with an international price reflected on the Amsterdam stock exchange". The local KKE committee at Evros region repeated the argument above (07/06), this time however for the FSRU under construction in Alexandroupolis.

The party's local committee in Thesprotia contributed (29/05) some additional proposals in order to address this particular problem: no power cuts to working class/ low-income households, small professionals and farmers, abolition of RES fees and of the Energy Exchange, lower energy tariffs for lower income households and a single state energy entity. Lastly, T. Kouziaki (07/05) makes two additional proposals: the abolition of excise duty and VAT on fuel and energy.

PASOK (28)

Although PASOK candidates and party representatives do not make specific reference to the energy poverty issue, in most of their statements "green transition" is presented as a means to achieve energy democracy, a notion that features in many of the party candidates' statements and is linked to the energy poverty issue.

H. Doukas' statement (05/06) is a characteristic example of this narrative: "It's possible that we'll have a large part of the population, around 20%, at risk of energy poverty and thus unable to participate in the transition processes. Therefore the paths that we choose in our strive to reach climate neutrality should not just protect the climate but society as well." Additionally, E. Liakoulis made another characteristic statement (05/06): "energy poverty is a growing threat and energy grids are the weakest link of the country's energy system. PASOK puts forward a modern, progressive social demand for energy democracy for all". Finally, M. Christodoulakis' statement (12/05) is useful as it encapsulates the importance of energy democracy present in many other the party members' statements: "A strong PASOK would give an emphasis on our local energy sources while weaning Greece off foreign ones, drastically reduce energy costs and the environmental burden thanks to energy democracy: every producer, every household, every business becomes a producer of the energy it consumes by expanding the use of renewable energy sources."

H. Stratakis proposes (03/05) a VAT reduction on agricultural petroleum, while P. Koukoulopoulos (29/05) suggests an extension of other proposed measures in order to address the issue of high energy production costs: a subsidy on animal feed and raw materials' cost that is due to expensive energy, excise duty costs' refund, plus a full subsidy of electricity charges. Moreover, N. Androulakis (10/05) highlighted the potential that a strong "Energy Saving at Home" scheme has, in terms of protecting

the most financially vulnerable from a further increase in energy prices. Finally, in a statement on 25/05, PASOK makes a special mention of the need to protect SMEs in the catering and leisure sector from energy poverty in the form of a proposal to “remove the possibility of power cuts in businesses affected by the health crisis”.

SYRIZA- PA (26)

SYRIZA candidates and party officials made a number of statements on the issue of energy poverty, with several mentioning the inability of Nea Dimokratia’s policy to control costs through the provision of “fuel passes” and other similar subsidies. Many also include specific proposals to address the problem: imposing a cap of 5% on profits, excluding fossil gas from the Energy Exchange, selling electricity at the average rather than the marginal value, regaining public control over the Public Power Corporation (DEI) and all grids, reducing the excise duties on fuel, taxing energy company excess profits, and strengthening the Regulatory Authority for Energy (RAE) and the state’s supervisory role.

A significant proportion of SYRIZA’s statements link the energy poverty issue to the need for energy efficiency and self-production initiatives. According to an indicative statement by T. Livadarou (19/05): “at this point, society must first be convinced that in this way, i.e. by the citizens’ and local communities’ active participation in energy self-production and self-consumption, everyone benefits directly, mainly by receiving significantly reduced energy bills”.

In his statements S. Giannakidis (02/05) mentioned the need to protect citizens from power cuts due to exorbitant bills, while G. Sarakiotis (12/05) talks about supporting SMEs to cope with high energy costs during the energy transition phase. Finally, on 09/06 A. Tsipras pledged to abolish the excise tax on agricultural petroleum.

Nea Dimokratia (9)

There is no statement on the issue by candidates and executives of Nea Dimokratia that contains the actual phrasing “energy poverty”. However, K. Skrekas (12/05) made a detailed statement on the impact that increased energy costs have for businesses, “We are aware of the fact that the sustainability of Greek businesses depends on the decrease of energy costs. That is why we are implementing a comprehensive plan, exhausting the fiscal margins and accelerating the economy’s green transition, as this is the only reliable solution to reduce energy costs for all”. He then summarised the main proposed actions: the possibility of professional energy communities, a 200 million energy efficiency programme for businesses (“exikonomo-epiheiro”), and a subsidy for the installation of solar panels in businesses.

K.Skrekas also made one of the few statements by a Nea Dimokratia party official (02/05) that mentions energy democracy and the need “to make the green transition path fair for everyone”. He also spoke (28/04) of electricity tariff subsidies and the establishment of a cap, while he concluded that the “energy saving at home”- “change your water heater” - “photovoltaics on the roof” schemes “will significantly reduce energy costs for households and farmers”. Finally, N. Tsafos (29/04) said that the country is much better prepared than it was six months ago to face the coming winter, thanks to measures such as reducing gas as well as electricity consumption and the use of renewable energy sources.

MeRA25 (5)

The party’s main position that is expressed in most of its statements on the issue is that “the predatory model of the current electricity market is controlled by monopolies” (MERA25, 10/05). The announcement of the party’s ticket in Corfu (24/04) provided some further information on MeRA25’s relevant proposals: abolition of the energy exchange and the revaluation clause, socialisation of the Hellenic Electricity Distribution Network Operator (HEDNO), the Independent Power Transmission Operator (IPTO) and the Public Power Corporation (DEI) as well as the re-establishment of a single DEI. Added to these are the party’s official proposals as recorded in a 10/05 release: a cap in electricity retail price of electricity set by the average production and distribution cost plus 5% and the Boards of Directors of the new single DEI to be accountable to and selected by Consultative Councils of Conscript and Elected Citizens.

Elliniki Lisi (3)

In the party's three statements on this particular issue, a direct link is made between energy poverty and the issue of de-lignitisation and the delay in the extraction of fossil gas in the Greek territory.

4. Environmental protection

Nea Dimokratia (28)

The policies mentioned in Nea Dimokratia candidates' statements are: forest maps, reforestation, the Untrodden Mountains program, a new hospital for wild animals, the clearing of dead organic matter in forests, firebreaks, the opening of forest roads, the National Trail Network and the establishment of a single body that will be responsible for all things relevant with protected areas.

A. Katsaniotis (03/05) also mentioned the use of modern forest surveillance and monitoring technology and the practice of producing detailed reports on critical infrastructure in each Region and Regional Unit in order to proceed with preventive interventions and modernisation. H. Soulis' statement (17/05) provided us with the additional information of the budget that will be allocated for reforestation actions (196 million from the Recovery Fund) and for actions to prepare forests against fires (87 million from the Recovery Fund). Ch. Stylianidis (04/05), former Minister of Climate Crisis and Civil Protection predicted the creation of "a national database on natural disasters that will support the operational part and a comprehensive strategy to reinforce disaster prevention. Still, change requires time and therefore there needs to be coverage, which we are achieving with air means, regional cooperation with eastern Mediterranean countries and the use of 112 in an exaggerated way because there is still no system of correct and timely meteorological forecasting".

In a statement (28/05), K. Mitsotakis emphasises the importance of spatial planning policies through the development of local urban plans, while on 04/05 he highlighted the significance of better waste management and flood control works, which also happens to be the only statement on the issue by Nea Dimokratia. Finally, we recorded four statements on the need for sustainable tourism development, while G. Amyras has promoted specific actions for the Ioannina region, such as the issuance of a Presidential Decree for Lake Pamvotis and the National Trail Network.

SYRIZA-PA (20)

The main policies on the matter suggested in statements made by SYRIZA-PA candidates and executives are: the completion of urban and zoning plans, the reconstitution of the Management Bodies of protected areas and their reinforcement with financial resources and personnel, environmental inspections, the completion of Special Environmental Studies and the issuance of Presidential Decrees regarding protected areas.

G.Stathakis' statement (18/05) provides additional information regarding SYRIZA's proposals: codification of spatial and urban planning legislation and establishment of building observatories, repeal of the Hatzidakis Law, completion of forest maps, expansion of protected areas (+30% on land and sea, of which 10% will be under strict protection), establishment of an ecosystem recovery programme and drafting of crucial management plans for regional climate change adaptation, water security, drought management, flood risk management and river basin management.

S. Famellos (17/05) made some further additions: activation of the National Forest Strategy and of the Action Plans for forest fire prevention, adequately staffing and reinforcing forest services, establishment of regional fire prevention plans with emphasis on mixed forest/housing zones. This is the only statement that highlights the need for major nature restoration programmes to be based on nature-based solutions that provide a shield against floods and droughts.

Finally, A. Tsipras mentioned (15/05) the possibility for parts of Epirus to be included in the Natura 2000 network and K. Iglesi (04/05) proposed the repeal of the terms of the new concession contract between the Greek state and Hellas Gold SA and a review of the whole contract.

KKE (17)

The statements made by candidates and members of the KKE on the protection of the environment, highlight shortcomings in specific sectors or areas, without offering any further analysis. They mention shortcomings in civil protection infrastructure, understaffing of the fire department brigade and the forestry service, unregulated urban sprawl and blocked water streams.

Key information is provided in the statement by A. Rallatos (05/06), where he criticises the government's reforestation program, which will be carried out on 40,772 instead of 123,553 acres and relies on reforestation contractors. He also criticises the declassification of forests/woodland by the ND and SYRIZA administrations, their policies that led to the commercialisation of the environment and the fact that fire protection services are managed separately and are not an integrated part of forest services. He then concludes with the party's core position that is present in every issue: there's a need for scientific central planning that will meet everyone's needs.

A. Marinakis (22/05) highlights some significant shortcomings in environmental protection in Chania (flood damage restoration 2019), K. Papastavrou (16/05) focuses on the environmental problems of Western Attica and M. Theodorou (16/05) on the need to complete flood prevention works in Mandra, Attica.

MeRA25 (9)

Environmental protection is the most popular topic amongst MeRA25 candidates and party officials, with 1 in 4 statements being about this particular issue. The main points mentioned are the need for better management of streams, the understaffing of civil protection services and the wrong emphasis the state apparatus now places on fire suppression rather than fire prevention.

Moreover, K. Arsenis (15/05), mentioned the need to classify certain areas as zones of absolute protection of nature and the Hellenic trench, as well as the imperative to increase the number of green spaces in Attica through reforestation and adding urban greenery and green trails. Arsenis is also the only candidate who linked red meat consumption with significant environmental issues. I. Dioti (10/06) highlights the important environmental protests in Skouries, Fili, the AGET cement plant in Volos and against fossil fuel drilling. A. Giannoulaki (17/05) focuses on the problem of over-tourism in Crete and the encroachment of the seashore, as well as in other environmental problems in that same region. Finally, S. Liouzas (17/05) and S. Roga (15/05) mention the environmental protection actions in Kastoria and Evia, respectively.

PASOK (6)

There are just a few statements by candidates and party officials with specific content. On 05/05 N. Androulakis mentioned the "reinforcement of civil protection with modern means and new prevention plans" and the "strengthening of ecosystem management bodies", while on 06/06 P. Dimopoulos (in charge of PASOK's environmental policy portfolio) presented a specific measures' package for the protection of the environment, including: hiring environmental studies' graduates in environmental monitoring activities, performing Special Environmental Studies and issuing and implementing Presidential Decrees for protected areas, classifying 28% of the land and 20% of the sea as protected zones, granting financial aids for farming activities in protected areas, establishing participatory procedures regarding environmental and zone planning matters, supporting and strengthening the relevant bodies/organisations, drafting action plans in order to shape resilient ecosystems and help damaged ones recover, activating an environmental controllers' registry and making the rules regarding environmental crimes stricter.

5. Fossil fuel drilling and fossil gas

Nea Dimokratia (18)

The party line is clear: Fossil fuel drilling programs are to continue and, based on Mitsotakis' statements on the matter -which constitute of his total statements that were recorded in "What about the climate"- this decision is linked to geostrategic and National Defence reasons and to the reinforcement of armaments and the economy, without ignoring the short time frame available.

The importance of fossil gas as a means to achieve energy security in Greece and as a tool aiding in the country's green transition by being used as a bridge fuel, is highlighted in several statements by Nea Dimokratia's candidates and party officials. In a statement (18/05), K. Mitsotakis endorses this option, noting that, if necessary, additional resources will be used for the expansion of the fossil gas network, while there are also some other positive mentions of the network's eventual expansion by ND parliamentary candidates.

The EU's efforts to wean itself off Russian gas because of the situation in Ukraine is presented as an additional reason behind this decision. A. Sdoukou (Secretary General for Energy & Mineral Resources in the previous New Democracy administration) make a characteristic relevant statement on 9/5: "the role of gas as a bridge fuel until we achieve climate neutrality in 2050 remains unchanged, as right now Europe has no alternative energy supply". Also, generally, the option of increasing the fossil gas' share in the energy mix in the coming years is being promoted strongly. Through D. Bakoyanni's statement on 05/05, we can gain a better understanding of the way Nea Dimokratia approaches the issue: "we can't just not acknowledge the energy and economic crisis, as the geopolitical changes that are taking place, are also affecting the timescale and the course of the energy transition. Greece, as a key country in a region of significant value, both in terms of energy and natural resources, must be at the forefront of developments."

Some indirect and measured concerns about said choices are expressed by N. Dendias (10/05), who describes the Aegean as a field of the tourism industry rather than a fossil fuel exploration area, and by Nea Dimokratia's candidates in the Magnesia region (Th. Lioupis, 12/05 and Z. Makri, 26/05), due to the possibility of the installation of an LNG plant in Pagasitikos Bay.

SYRIZA-PA (17)

The same ambiguity that characterises the party's programmatic position ("non-renewal of fossil fuel exploration and exploitation licences"), is also to be found in statements regarding this topic by SYRIZA's candidates and party executives. This was possibly the reason why A. Tsipras and S. Famellos made supplementary statements on 03/05, in which they clarified that "already signed agreements should be honoured and in those cases, explorations should carry on and if any fossil fuels are found, they should be exploited" and that "SYRIZA's commitment is that no new fossil fuel exploration licences will be granted. By that, we don't refer to those exploitation licences that are already active. We are therefore clarifying that It refers either to new areas or to the renewal of exploration permits, rather than to the renewal of exploitation permits". Of course, in the same statements both politicians note that the discussion regarding fossil fuels and natural gas belongs to the past rather than the future.

However, candidates from the regions where exploration programmes have advanced the most seem to be opposed to the option of fossil fuel drilling. M. Tzoufi from Ioannina (17/05) stated that "We believe that mining and drilling should cease immediately", while the previous day (16/05) she has noted that "SYRIZA's president, Alexis Tsipras, but also many of us in Epirus have made public statements to explicitly voice our position, which is that there is no substantial reason, at this particular time, to discuss drilling in Epirus". Along the same lines was a statement by G. Armenis (02/05) from Zakynthos, stating that "the nightmare of oil extraction from marine areas of the Ionian Sea is not a one-way street and the mine-laying of the area in order to serve offshore drilling is a ticking time bomb that can cause the destruction of the environment and the economy", and one by N. Farantouris (28/04) from Kefalonia / Ithaca, who noted that "fossil fuel drilling is not the appropriate means of development and prosperity of our two islands".

Regarding fossil gas and its role in the green transition, the party members' statements are in line with those of A.Tsipras and S.Famellos, who classify it as a discussion belonging to the past, stressing that the green transition should be based on the overall decarbonisation of the economy. K. Berdou (26/04), however, stated that "natural gas will undoubtedly be the intermediate fuel in this transition", before concluding that according to the proposed National Energy and Climate Plan (NECP), fossil gas remains present in the country's energy mix until 2050, while the capacity of fossil gas plants then is greater than that of 2022. In a statement (10/06), A. Tsipras stresses the fact that the need for fossil gas is a given, so he'd agree to new plants, but only if an adequate location could be found, ensuring environmental protection.

At the same time, the party's parliamentary candidates are opposed to the prospect of LNG plants in their constituencies. More specifically, M. Chrysoveloni (09/05) from Magnesia stated that "the construction of such a station would be damaging and detrimental to the city in many different ways" and G. Tsipras (15 & 18/05) from the West Attica region mentioned the risk of burdening an area that is already lumbered. Mr Nefeloudis (W. Attica) expresses a somewhat differentiated position and in a statement on 10/05 proposed as a compensatory measure for the installation of an LNG station in Megara, to extend the fossil gas network in the city and ensure free supply for domestic consumers.

MeRA25 (6)

20% of the party's statements recorded in "What about the climate" are references to the issue of extractions and mining, with MeRA25 clearly opposing such a prospect, while also mentioning the political cost of this stance (Y. Varoufakis, 10/05).

There have also been some important statements by MeRA25 candidates against the construction of LNG stations in Pagasitikos Bay (MeRA25, 27/05), Thessaloniki (MeRA25, 01/06) and Western Attica (M. Kloka, 16/05).

KKE (5)

KKE's position on the fossil fuels drilling is clear, as its programme explicitly mentions that the party prioritises the exploitation of all domestic energy sources, including oil and fossil gas, with the addition of "systematic research and discovery of new sources".

KKE candidates do not deviate from this line, but the added dimension in this case is the position that central planning, the participation of workers and the utilisation based on the people's needs rather than the big companies' profits, are the basic conditions for the correct utilisation of domestic fossil fuel deposits, as well as all other energy sources.

A statement by the regional KKE committee of Ioannina (06/06) on the occasion of World Environment Day stresses this differentiating factor: "the KKE is against the policies of all [present and past] governments that hand over the country's and our home region's mineral resources to businesses that will only exploit the fossil fuels in ways that serve their own interests."

PASOK (4)

In two statements (09-10/05) made by H. Doukas on the specific topic of drilling and mining, he goes along with PASOK's programmatic position, that drilling is an acceptable option within the framework of existing concessions but that there shouldn't be any further exploration. However, he notes that "Greece cannot spend political capital and significant resources on possible new rounds of fossil fuel concessions today, when the major developed economies that are competitive on a global scale emphasise elsewhere".

In the same statements H. Dukas mentions the International Energy Agency "which had announced a few years ago the golden age of natural gas as a transition fuel and recently stated that this age is coming to an end." At the same time, D. Tsimpanakos (12/05) from Magnesia opposes the construction of an LNG station in Pagasitikos Bay, E. Liakouli (05/06) links the just green transition with the "weaning off natural gas", while D. Dimitriou (26/04) links the development of Ioannina with the need to connect the whole region to the fossil gas network.

Elliniki Lisi (3)

60% of the party's recorded statements are about drilling and mining, but none of them are linked to issues of environmental protection and/or climate crisis. They're rather discussed from a geo-strategic and economic point of view. Moreover, in the party's programmatic positions, fossil gas plays a central role in the country's energy mix.

6. Lignite phase out

SYRIZA-PA (21)

16 of the 21 recorded statements are by candidates from constituencies that are directly affected by this process (Florina, Kozani and Arcadia), three are by A. Tsipras, while two more references to the issue were made by MPs from other Greek regions. SYRIZA-PA and A. Tsipras are the political party and political leader -respectively- with the most statements regarding this particular issue.

A common element in the party's statements is the assessment that lignite phase out was done "violently" by the governing Nea Dimokratia, as well as the position that the government's practices are linked to the boosting of the role of fossil gas in Greece's energy mix. As P. Perka from Florina put it (11/05), "lignite phase out is not just an energy transition. It changes a region's productive profile. This means that it requires more time, a lot more than a violent announcement, and a lot more resources". In a similar vein, E. Michelaki (17/05) described the impact of lignite phase out on the region by stating that "the decision to close the DEI plants, combined with its privatisation and with Nea Dimokratia's non-existent plan for restoring or compensating for that loss, led the residents of our region to desperation or to hastily relocate". K. Passalides (27/04) from Kozani stated that "the violent lignite phase out was a strategic decision by the government aiming to serve the interests of the natural gas industry".

In response, there are statements by A. Tsipras (06/05) about how lignite will participate in the country's energy mix by 20%, and that the Ptolemaida V unit will extend its operation timeframe, positions reproduced by the party's candidates. Moreover, in SYRIZA-PA candidates' statements there are extensive references to the Fair Transition of the lignite regions, including a number of proposed measures: participatory procedures, return of the agricultural land taken by DEI in previous years to the local community, increased funding, reinforcement of primary production, infrastructure projects, district heating, "energy saving at home", production base broadening based on SMEs and the strong points of each region, fair transition clause. As part of that same strategy, SYRIZA also proposes the re-nationalisation of DEI.

PASOK (12)

Just like we saw in SYRIZA-PA's case, the largest share of statements on the issue is by candidates of the affected regions (Kozani), while PASOK's party leader also made two relevant statements. In the candidates' statements a link is made between the option of "violent lignite phase out" and the political option of increasing the participation of fossil gas in the country's energy mix. Indeed, in a statement on 09/05, H. Doukas links the pace of lignite phase out to actions aiming to reinforce the electricity transmission grid, so that lignite phase out does not lead to an increase in fossil gas but rather to bigger participation of renewable energy sources.

Important references are also made to the extension of the operation of existing lignite units, with P. Koukoulopoulos (Kozani) making it more specific in his statement on 13/05: "we should consider a gradual and smooth secession of the lignite units that are necessary to ensure the grid's stability at least until 2030 and, in Ptolemaida V's case, even beyond 2035".

The measures listed in PASOK candidates' statements for the strengthening of regions in the post-lignite period are: land regeneration, advanced staff training, modern infrastructure, investments in grids and storage, "energy saving at home"-self sufficiency-self production, participation of society in RES initiatives, tax incentives for a change of production model, energy communities, RES with the society's participation.

In his statement on 13/05 P. Koukoulopoulos proposed some additional measures: support for the fur industry, a just adjustment clause, further retraining of human resources, an upgrade of the University of Western Macedonia, relocation of Akrini, infrastructure development with an emphasis on primary production and the railway (which was also highlighted in a statement by N. Androulakis on 08/05). In his next statement (17/05), P. Koukoulopoulos goes a step further and proposes the inclusion of 80 thousand buildings in Macedonia, including apartment buildings, in self-production and energy efficiency actions. A final proposal is that of H. Doukas (16/05), who suggests that 40 of the 159MW of DEI's solar park in Ptolemaida be made available to citizens, farmers and businesses in the region.

KKE (5)

We haven't recorded any statements by a KKE candidate or party member that was solely about lignite phase out. However, the party's and its candidates position is reflected in statements proposing the utilisation of all domestic energy sources, under a central scientific planning, with a core aim to satisfy the people's needs. In a recorded statement by D. Koutsoubas (08/06) the role that lignite has to play according to the KKE becomes clear, "as a valuable mineral resource, lignite can produce cheap energy for the working people". Moreover, in another statement on 11/06, he provides more clarifications as to how that can happen: "with much stricter and advanced means of environmental protection", complemented by P. Panousis' statement (08/05): "domestic lignite reserves will be put to good use thanks to new technologies, after we disentangle ourselves from the commitments of the emissions trade and the EU's green transition in general".

Nea Dimokratia (4)

There are only a few statements on the subject by ND's party members. The most significant is that by A. Sdoukou (09/05), where she argues in favour of certain policy decisions: she reminded that as per the current Climate Law, by the end of 2028 there should be no solid fossil fuels used for electricity, while the grid's sufficiency and stability will rely on the development of networks, storage capacity and the contribution of fossil gas. She also mentions the rising cost of lignite due to the stricter Emissions Trading System and the need to remove the burden of operating lignite plants from the two regions that were lumbered with this national decision. In her next statement (11/06) A. Sdoukou mentioned the Just Transition Development Plan (SDAM) aiming to change the regions' production model and maintain district heating.

Apart from this statement, we have three more from the candidates of the lignite regions (M. Papadopoulos from Kozani & P. Koumantou from Messinia), in which reference is made to the 1 billion that is to be channelled to the region of Western Macedonia and the development of the Innovation Park for the first pilot plant for the production of Green Hydrogen.

MeRA25 (3)

In the three recorded statements of the MeRA25 candidates on the issue, lignite phase out is linked to the proposal for mass production of floating wind turbines, solar panels and batteries in lignite areas, and to the party's programmatic position for Greece's transformation into a Mediterranean Centre for the Production and Distribution of Green Hydrogen based on floating wind turbines.

Elliniki Lisi (1)

There is only one statement on the subject, linking lignite phase out to energy poverty and mentioning the example of Germany that kept lignite plants in its energy mix. The party's main proposal is to extend the operation period of lignite plants till 2038 and then replace them with fossil gas plants.

7. Energy efficiency

Nea Dimokratia (16)

There are several references to energy efficiency by ND executives/candidates, yet only a few are anything more than a brief mention, a list of the party's achievements or its key commitment for energy upgrading of 600,000 homes, as stated in the party's programme.

A. Sdoukou (11/06) notes that energy efficiency is one of Nea Dimokratia's priority, while she also mentions the very low energy efficiency of the country's building stock, which needs to be upgraded if we are to achieve the energy transition goals. She concludes by saying: "However, we will need to move forward with a mix of policies and incentives aimed at all end consumers". There's another significant statement by A. Sdoukou (09/05) where she says that for the next 4 years, emphasis will be given on smart grids, and better information and consumer participation, while adding that "in the energy efficiency and saving field, Greece can and must do better."

H. Soulis' statement provides us with additional information: "the programme's resources are 640 million and with the expected leverage will reach 1 billion," referring to the "Electra" programme for the energy upgrading of public sector buildings, which will lead to a 30% reduction in annual energy consumption and a 30% reduction in greenhouse gas emissions.

SYRIZA-PA (13)

There are several statements by SYRIZA members where there's a simple reference to the issue, a number of which highlight the need for an extensive efficiency programme in lignite areas.

The only statement that can provide satisfactory information is that of S. Famellos (17/05) that essentially repeats the party's position, which suggests increasing the funding of the programme by 1.5 billion per year with relocated Recovery Fund resources, and providing support through an open platform for applications, while giving priority to the most vulnerable and those living in areas with less favourable weather conditions.

There is also information to be drawn from a statement of criticism (09 & 17/05) of Nea Dimokratia's relevant actions: overpriced interventions, large number of unpaid applications, beneficiaries' inability to proceed due to revaluations, the Electra programme for public sector buildings has been put on hold.

PASOK (10)

As in the case of the previous two parties, most of PASOK's statements on the issue of energy efficiency are mere references that don't go beyond an acknowledgement of the need to reinforce these efforts or from highlighting existing issues with programs that ran under Nea Dimokratia's government.

H. Doukas and P. Dimopoulos provided some basic information on the subject in a relevant feature by NEWS 24/7 during the election (17/05). They mentioned a significant percentage (around 50%) of "Energy Saving at home" beneficiaries, who had to abandon the program, while remarking that the main improvements have to do with the increase in the programme's total funds and the increase in the amount granted per intervention. N. Androulakis (10/05) emphasises on the "Energy Saving at Home" scheme that could "protect the poorest Greeks from the increases in energy prices", those same people, who right now, as he points out, cannot benefit from this program. In another statement (05/06), H. Doukas mentions the need for improvements as the possibility of intervention at an apartment building level amongst low-income households is limited. P. Koukoulopoulos (17/05) links the achievement of energy democracy with the energy upgrade of all public buildings. Finally, H. Doukas (10/05) proposes "that there should not be a single programme that runs once per year and concerns specific beneficiaries, but rather a current of energy upgrades through open initiatives that will be available at all times to citizens, municipalities, companies and young people".

KKE (3)

A. Rallatos' statement in news247 (17/05), encapsulates the essence of KKE's position on this particular matter: "in the end, the so-called energy upgrade is a profitability index' for the 'green' monopolies that are above all interested in Greece catching up with the targets in which it's lagging behind", while in the same statement he highlights the need for broader interventions in the housing stock, emphasising on anti-seismic protection. D. Koutsoumbas said similar things in his statement (07/06).

P. Panousi's statement reveals a different approach (08/05): "we shall emphasise more on energy efficiency and the upgrading of domestic production infrastructure for the utilisation of renewable energy sources, from the construction of solar thermal plants to domestic equipment, prioritising large solar water heaters".

MeRA25 (2)

In the only substantial recorded statement on this particular subject by MeRA25, G.Charalambakis (17/05) speaks of a 100% subsidy of energy efficiency interventions for low and middle incomes.

8. Electromobility/ electrification

Nea Dimokratia (16)

Several references to the issue by members/candidates of Nea Dimokratia, but few are more than a verbal mention or a list of actions of the Nea Dimokratia government.

In three statements, M. Papadopoulos from Kozani, apart from listing what the ND government has done for this particular issue, he mentions the Sustainable Urban Mobility Plans as an essential tool for promoting changes in transportation based on soft transport, the promotion of hydrogen, waterways, the interconnection of railways with ports and a total of 4.5 billion railway projects.

Some additional information were drawn from the party members' replies to the questions [posed to them](#) by the "4 Trohoi (4 wheels)" magazine on the occasion of the elections: the Sustainable Urban Mobility Plans that will be run by the municipalities, will be financed by the Green Fund and will result in the implementation of projects aimed at improving road safety, promoting micromobility, facilitating electromobility, developing smart mobility systems and more efficient public transport. There is also talk of renewing the urban bus fleet in Athens and Thessaloniki with 2000 zero-emission buses. There are another two statements by K. Skrekas that don't provide any additional information, while G. Amyras (06/06) mentions electrification projects for passenger and other ferries on Ioannina Lake .

SYRIZA-PA (6)

The most comprehensive source of information in this case, is the same "4 Trohi" feature, where - through the party's responses - we are able to pinpoint where SYRIZA has a different position than Nea Dimokratia: SYRIZA puts strong emphasis on securing and reinforcing the public character of public transport (by extracting them from the Hellenic Corporation of Assets and Participations S.A. or the "Superfund", as is known) and on lowering the cost of urban transport by reducing the cost of the monthly travel card and applying a flexible tariffs policy for the most vulnerable citizens. Moreover, they also mention the Sustainable Urban Mobility Plans as well as the need to support micro-mobility and the strategic planning of urban transport.

There's also an interesting statement by V. Lazou (13/05) in which she stresses the importance of the LARCO industries in the extraction and processing of mineral resources that are necessary for the production of battery materials, while Th. Bakas (08/05) puts emphasis on electromobility incentives for middle and lower incomes, thus repeating the positions included in the programme of SYRIZA-PA's first 50 days as government. In it there is also a reference to "supporting sustainable and smart mobility industries".

PASOK (4)

There are two statements on this topic by PASOK candidates and party officials that are worth mentioning. One by Mr. Polychronakos (11/05) regarding the shipyards in the island of Syros, where he spoke of the need to expand the activities of the shipyards for vessels using alternative fuels and electrically powered ships, and another by P. Koukoulopoulos (17/05), in which he links the goal of energy democracy with the absolute priority of public transport and electrified railways.

KKE (2)

In his statement (07/06), D. Koutsoumbas criticises the promotion of electromobility, saying that “electric cars are very expensive, break down quickly and have limited autonomy. Therefore, they will limit the mobility of a large part of the working population”. While A. Xirotiri-Ekaterinari (04/06) speaks of strengthening the means of public transport based on technological developments and science.

9. Conclusions

From the above it becomes clear that there is an extensive ongoing political discourse in Greece around the issue of the climate crisis. The parties publicly state how they (would) approach a wide range of issues, as well as their strategic focus points, through their programmatic positions as well as via their candidates and executives' statements. However, despite the extent of the "dialogue", the key question remains: is there sufficient, reliable and accessible information available that can be used both by voters who want to make an informed decision as well as for assessing the actions of the newly elected representatives?

In an attempt to unravel this rather complex tangle, the present analysis has come to a number of initial but also essential conclusions:

- While the political discourse -during the 50 days that we monitored statements closely- included all the major topics that are relevant to the climate crisis, it still focused strongly on topics that have been on the political parties' agendas for at least two decades (RES is the most characteristic example) and on topics that have come to the fore in the recent period due to the energy crisis (e.g. energy poverty). By contrast, topics such as electromobility and energy efficiency, which will inevitably be of increasing concern to society in the coming years, were addressed significantly less, with the majority of the relevant statements remaining at a relatively superficial level.
- Even when it comes to topics and sectors where the relevant political discourse and subsequent proposals are more developed, on many occasions, statements are merely a simple listing of proposed measures, which only partly address ways to achieve the desired actions. Without a relevant comprehensive plan, they can't provide the public with a more thorough understanding of what is being proposed. Said statements/measures can therefore only be assessed as indications of the strategic orientation and the political values of each candidate, but what's available does not provide us with the necessary tools that would allow us to scrutinise the measures' applicability and their ability to bring about the changes they promise.
- When it comes to RES, Nea Dimokratia, SYRIZA-PA and PASOK seem to agree on the step forward that should be the main priority in the coming period: the grid's expansion. However, the three parties have significantly different strategic frameworks for their respective proposals. Nea Dimokratia sees RES as a development and investment pillar, with no differentiation between large and smaller projects, while SYRIZA-PA and PASOK place more emphasis on their socially just development, with the former highlighting the central role that energy communities could have and the latter showing more interest in the participation of producers (farmers/ livestock ranchers) in the green transition. The KKE also focuses mainly on the issue's social dimension, but suggests a total reversal of the present system in order to serve the real needs of the people. MeRA25, on the other hand, approaches the matter from a significantly different perspective, advocating the cessation of using onshore wind farms in order to protect the natural environment, and the development, instead, of offshore wind farms. All the left-wing parties have made a number of statements regarding the impact of wind farms and solar panels in specific areas.
- Nea Dimokratia, PASOK, KKE and Elliniki Lisi are in favour of fossil fuels' drilling in Greece, SYRIZA-PA has a rather ambiguous and contradictory position on that matter, while MeRA25 is the only party that is openly against this practice. Nea Dimokratia's stance is mainly due to geostrategic and economic reasons, the KKE justify theirs by arguing that such exploitation can only be done without minimal environmental impact if there's a central planning that serves the needs of the people, while PASOK's statements seem rather awkward as they don't contain any arguments in favour of this particular practice, but rather stress the party's more environmentally friendly position on fossil gas. The same awkwardness is apparent in SYRIZA's statements, which however, contain some essential contradictions. On the one hand, there are statements by A.Tsipras and S. Fanellos, in which they state that SYRIZA-PA will not stop mining procedures in case deposits are found, and on the other hand, there are other statements, this time by the party's parliamentary candidates in Epirus and the Ionian Islands, who oppose such a prospect.
- Fossil gas, for ND, is clearly a transition fuel until 2050 - a strategy that is obviously linked to the changes in the European region's energy map due to the EU's efforts to wean itself off Russian gas, a position that largely coincides with that of Elliniki Lisi. On the other hand, more contradiction is

to be found in SYRIZA-PA's position on the matter, as most of its candidates' statements mention the prospect of a decarbonisation of the economy the significant impact that the new LNG plants would have (concerns shared by the MeRA25 candidates), while A.Tsipras seems to be in favour of the new facilities. The KKE's position on fossil gas differs from that on drillings within the Greek territory, forming a clear dividing line between expensive imported fossil gas and Greek fossil gas that'd be under the people's control.

- In the statements of the candidates and party officials of Nea Dimokratia there is no substantial reference to the issues of socially just development of RES, energy communities, energy democracy and energy poverty.
- On the issue of lignite phase out, SYRIZA-PA and PASOK seem to be on the same page, both in terms of the proposals they put forward as well as on the level of their concern, both describing the way in which it was done as "violent". The rest of the parties have shown considerably less interest in this matter.
- Most proposed measures concern the broader issue of environmental protection - a fact which suggests that each individual issue (such as forest management, wildlife protection, civil protection and flood prevention) that falls under this umbrella should not be addressed on its own. However, it is worth noting that the statements by Nea Dimokratia's cadres mostly contain proposals regarding forest protection, possibly in response to the major fires of recent years, while they also made

