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A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY ON SOUTHERN EUROPE
AND ITS RECENT TRANSITION
TO POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

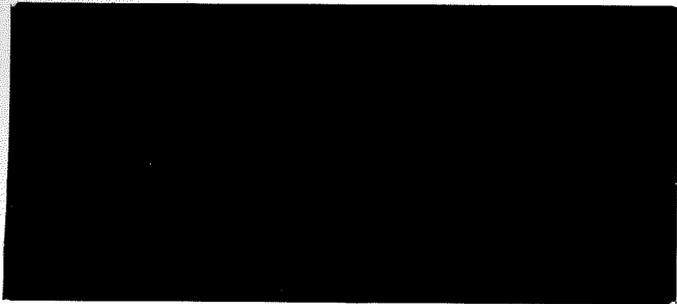
by

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EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, FLORENCE
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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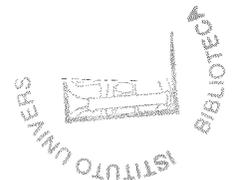
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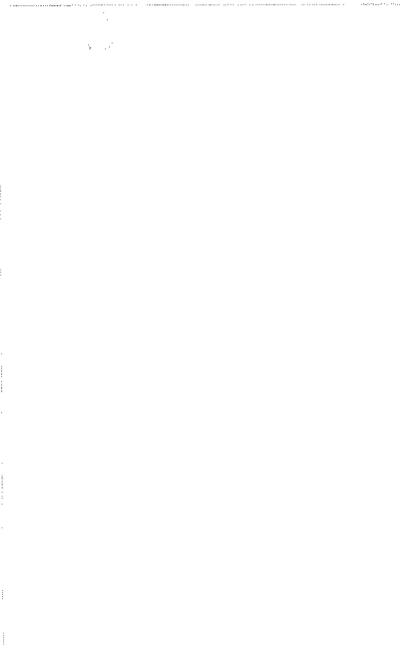
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ITALY

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Preface*

The major impetus behind the original version of this essay was the belief that there are theoretical benefits to be derived from the comparative study of relatively homogeneous regions viewed from a macrohistorical and macrosociological perspective. One of its fundamental assumptions was, and still is, that Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain can, despite inevitable divergences in the evolution and development of their social and political institutions, be regarded as constituting such a region, especially since the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and that they should, as a consequence, be studied as such.

While retaining its original focus on the conceptual unity of the four countries, the present version has added a second: the comparative study of regime transitions and, especially,

* A previous and much shorter version, covering only Italy, Portugal, and Spain and written and compiled by Nikiforos Diamandouros, appeared as Southern Europe: An Introductory Bibliographical Essay (Glasgow: Centre for the Study of Public Policy, Studies in Public Policy, No. 56, 1980).

Nikiforos Diamandouros would like to acknowledge a double debt to Edward E. Malefakis: first for providing the initial stimulus for the paper during a challenging 1977 National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar, and second, for his critical reading of a preliminary version of that essay and valuable suggestions for its improvement.

The other authors who joined in this effort belatedly would like to thank the Department of Political and Social Sciences of the European University Institute for its financial support and, in particular, Patricia Biliotti and Henrietta Grant Peterkin for the help they have given them.

transitions to democratic politics which have been the major feature of Southern European and Latin American politics in the last decade. In this narrower context, the Turkish case was considered a valuable addition. Though, at the macro-level, the Turkish historical experience does not easily fall within the range of the more or less similar trajectories followed by the Southern European countries (compare, for example, the nature of the Ottoman Empire as a non-national state, the role of the army in Republican Turkish politics, the rural-urban balance to this date, etc.), its more recent attempts at democratic transition make it a theoretically interesting case and thus warrant its inclusion.

The purpose of this bibliography, then, is to provide interested persons with a guide to the extant literature, mostly in English, on the evolution and development of social and political institutions and the recent transitions to political democracy in the five countries. The bibliography is organized in two major parts: 1) comparative studies; and 2) studies of individual states, with national portions further subdivided chronologically and/or by topic.

INTRODUCTION

One of the major underlying assumptions of this bibliographical essay is that the states and societies of Southern Europe present sufficient similarities in the evolution of their respective political systems, their patterns of societal change, and their dynamics of economic development in the 19th and 20th centuries to warrant systematic study as a unit. Indeed, viewing Southern Europe as a conceptual category worthy of scholarly attention in and of itself can promote the interests of comparative and interdisciplinary analysis in a variety of ways. To use but two obvious examples: (1) In history, the introduction of the notion of Southern Europe as separate and distinct from its western and eastern counterparts could help transcend the conceptual straightjacket which this long-established polarity has imposed upon the study of European history; (2) In addition to allowing for much richer intra-European comparisons, detaching Southern Europe from its more illustrious and well-investigated northern brethren and according it separate scholarly attention can make inter-regional analyses more fruitful and suggestive. The many parallels between the Latin American and Southern European experiences during the last century and a half constitute an obvious example of the possible direction such comparisons might take.

In the social sciences, on the other hand, these same possibilities for historical comparative analysis open up numerous vistas for conceptualizing, and even for modest theorizing.

Corporatism, clientelism, and authoritarian rule, to mention but a few, are structural features which both Latin American and Southern European societies share. And the very diversity of the social and political experience of these societies makes them a veritable goldmine for comparative social and political analysis. Alternatively, Southern Europe can be looked upon as either the most developed part of the Third World or as the least advanced part of the First. In either case, the possibility for rich and stimulating comparative analysis both for the theoretically oriented and for the more policy-minded social scientist unquestionably exists. For the latter, moreover, the strategic significance of Southern Europe for Western security, as well as for the security of the Mediterranean; its ability to serve as a link between the First and the Third Worlds, bridging North and South; and the projected incorporation of the entire area into the European Community constitute additional and weighty reasons arguing in favour of renewed attention to this heretofore neglected area.

Given the relative novelty of the concept, it is hardly surprising that the corpus of literature which deals comparatively with Southern Europe, whether in inter- or intra-regional terms, is very slim. Accordingly, and apart from the few items which can be called truly comparative, the selective bibliography of secondary sources which follows constitutes an initial attempt to point to some of the more significant monographs and articles which can help enrich the thin ranks of the more comparative works on the area.

One final clarification is in order. Despite some exceptions, the focus of this essay has been on works written in English. Time constraints, space considerations, and, above all, technical problems have made a more comprehensive bibliographical survey impossible. Our hope is that a future, expanded version of this essay will also cover more extensively sources in languages other than English.

In part to compensate for their "loneliness," in their respective disciplines, scholars working in this area have been quite active in recent years in establishing interdisciplinary newsletters and working groups for sharing information and stimulating mutual concerns. Social scientists with an interest in modern Greece may wish to consult Modern Greek Society: A Social Science Newsletter, (P.O. Box 9411, Providence, Rhode Island 02940, USA), a bi-annual bibliographical publication covering published, unpublished, and on-going work focusing on modern Greece and Cyprus. Mary Jo Clogg and Richard Clogg, Greece, (Oxford: Clio Press, 1980) is a very useful bibliography for English-language sources.(*). As far as other countries are concerned, useful bibliographical information can be found on a regular basis in the following publications: the Newsletter of the Conference Group on Italian Politics, (School of Urban Sciences, University of Illinois at Chicago, Box 4348, Chicago, Illinois 60680, USA); The Portuguese Studies Newsletter, published by the International Conference Group on Modern Portugal, (Department of History, University of New Hampshire, Durham, New Hampshire 03824, USA); and The Bulletin of

the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies, (Ferrum College, Ferrum, Virginia 24088, USA). Also, the April/May 1977 and the Summer 1977 issues of the European Studies Newsletter, (1509 International Affairs Building, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027, USA), contain a two-part bibliographical essay by Martin Faigel on "Research Tools for the Study of Modern Italy: A Sampler of Current Reference Works, Bibliographies, Directories and Monographs." In general, students of Southern Europe will find this publication of use in becoming informed about the formation of research groups, the convocation of conferences, the announcement of fellowships, the developments in various research centers--even if most of its attention is directed toward Western, Northern and Central Europe. Finally, students of post-World War II Italy can benefit immensely from Studies on Italy 1943-1975. Select Bibliography of American and British Materials in Political Science, Economics, Sociology and Anthropology, edited by Peter Lange (Turin: Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, 1977). This is a large, and carefully prepared compilation covering a wide spectrum of issues.

This essay is divided into two parts: Part One includes works with a clear regional-comparative focus, whether they deal specifically with Southern Europe or with the Mediterranean. Part Two contains materials dealing with individual countries.

(*) Researchers conversant with Modern Greek may consult the excellent bibliographical guide prepared by Spyros J. Asdrachas for Nicolas G. Svoronos' Episkopese tes neohellenikes historias An Overview of Modern Greek History, (Athens: Themelio, 1976), 159-324 which, in addition to a mass of references on modern Greek history, includes bibliographical information on such items of interest to social scientists as geography, demography, political forces and political parties, economic history, and education.

* * * * *

PART ONE

I. GENERAL WORKS ON SOUTHERN EUROPE: SOCIETY, ECONOMY AND
POLITY

A basic introductory source which deals, in a comprehensive way, with the geography, climate, system of local administration, judicial system, economic output, history, politics, and almost all aspects of each country is Great Britain, Admiralty, Naval Intelligence Division, Spain and Portugal, 4 vols., (London, 1941-45); idem, Italy, 4 vols., (London, 1944-45), and idem, Greece, 3 vols., (London, 1944-45).

Important geographical works on Southern Europe include: James M. Houston, Western Mediterranean World, (London: Longmans, 1964); Donald S. Walker, The Mediterranean Lands, (London: Methuen 1962); Marion J. Newbigin, Southern Europe: A Regional and Economic Geography, 3rd ed., revised, (London: Methuen, 1949); and the more recent study by Monica Beckinsale and Robert Percy Beckinsale, Southern Europe: Mediterranean and Alpine Lands, (London: University of London Press, 1975). Ernle Bradford, Mediterranean: Portrait of a Sea, (New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1971) is an entertaining and broad introduction to the area's history and geography.

Two important works which deal with Southern Europe in the context of a more general treatment of the Mediterranean, and which, therefore, provide useful information and suggestive interpretations of the long-term forces that have shaped the region's states and societies are: Fernand Braudel's monumental The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, 2 vols., (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), and the more recent, influential work by Immanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century, (New York: Academic Press, 1974) which specifically deals with Southern Europe as the "semi-periphery" of the broader world-system which constitutes the central axis of his study. Similar arguments, though more narrowly focused, are contained in Richard T. Rapp, "The Unmaking of the Mediterranean Trade Hegemony: International Trade Rivalry and the Commercial Revolution," The Journal of Economic History, XXXV:3 (September 1975), 499-525.

I.1 Society and Culture

The presence of patron-client structures in Mediterranean societies and their significant impact on state-society relations, as well as on the overall development of these societies, has long been the subject of study by specialists, especially anthropologists who, in addition, have provided perceptive, detailed studies of continuity and change in these societies which

are of direct interest to sociologists and political scientists. Among the more general of these, one should mention Julian Pitt-Rivers, Mediterranean Countrymen: Essays in the Social Anthropology of the Mediterranean, (Paris and the Hague: Mouton, 1966), as well as the several volumes edited by John G. Peristiany: Contributions to Mediterranean Sociology: Mediterranean Rural Communities and Social Change, (Athens: Social Science Centre, 1968); Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976); Kinship and Modernization in Mediterranean Societies, (Hanover, N.H.: The American Universities Field Staff, 1976); and Mediterranean Family Structures, (Cambridge: The University Press, 1976). A recent work which deals critically with the general anthropological literature on the Mediterranean is J. Davis, People of the Mediterranean, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977). Jeremy Boissevain and John Friedl (eds.), Beyond the Community: Social Process in Europe, (The Hague: European - Mediterranean Study Group, University of Amsterdam, 1975) has a number of excellent anthropological essays, several of which deal with Italy, Spain and Southern France.

An attempt to deal with the relationship between clientelism and development on a more theoretical level while focusing on Catalonia and Western Sicily is Peter Schneider, Jane Schneider, and Edward C. Hansen, "Modernization and Development: The Role of Regional Elites and Non-Corporate Groups in the European

Mediterranean," Comparative Studies in Society and History, XIV:3 (June 1972), 328-50, followed by an answer from Oriol Pi-Sunyer, "Elites and Noncorporate Groups in the European Mediterranean: A Reconsideration of the Catalan Case," Comparative Studies in Society and History, XVI:1 (January 1974), 117-31, and by a further exchange which appeared in the same journal XVI:2 (April, 1975), 238-44.

The following anthropological articles and books merit particular attention because they deal comparatively with Southern Europe as a whole: Donald S. Pitkin, "Mediterranean Europe," Anthropological Quarterly, XXXVI:3 (July 1963), 120-29; Robert K. Burns, Jr., "The Circum-Alpine Area: A Preliminary View," ibid., 130-55; and Eric R. Wolf, "Society and Symbols in Latin Europe and in the Islamic East: Some Comparisons," Anthropological Quarterly, XLII:3 (July 1969), 287-301; Ernest Gellner and John Waterbury, eds., Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies, (London: Duckworth, 1977).

Finally, for an uneven attempt to study the relationship between religion and nationalism in the region, see Thomas G. Sanders, Secular Consciousness and National Conscience in Southern Europe, (Hanover, N.H.: American Universities Field Staff, 1977).

I.2 Polity and Economy

As a rule, the countries of Southern Europe have been left out of most general efforts at theorizing about contemporary politico-economic change in Western Europe, or they have been regarded as 'exceptions' which have to be explained away as the products of unusual or idiosyncratic conditions. Nevertheless, a number of recent books and articles, especially on the subject of regime change, have important implications for these countries: G.A. Almond, S.C. Flanagan, A.J. Mundt, Crisis, Choice and Change, (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1973); Luigi Graziano, "The Historic Compromise and Consociational Democracy: Toward a New Democracy?," European University Institute, 1980 Summer School on Comparative European Politics, Florence, 23 June-19 July 1980; John H. Herz, ed., From Dictatorship to Democracy: Coping with the Legacies of Authoritarianism and Totalitarianism, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982); Samuel Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1968); idem, "The Change to Change. Modernization, Development and Politics," Comparative Politics, III:3 (April 1971), 283-322; Guillermo O'Donnell, "Notas para el estudio de procesos de democratización política a partir del Estado Burocratico-Autoritario," Paper presented at the "Conference on the Prospects for Democracy: Transitions from Authoritarian Rule," Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center, 1980; Adriano Pappalardo, "The Conditions for Consociational Democracy: a Logical and Empirical Critique," European Journal of Political Research, IX, (1981), 365-90,

(abridged and somewhat modified version of "Le condizioni delle democrazie consociative. Una critica logica e empirica," Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica, IX, (1979), 367-445); A. Przeworski, "Some Problems in the Study of Transition to Democracy," Working Papers, Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center, 1979; S. Rokkan, "Dimensions of State Formation and Nation-Building" in C. Tilly, ed., The Formation of National States in Western Europe, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975); D. Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," Comparative Politics, II:3, (April 1970), 337-63; Philippe C. Schmitter, "Authoritarian Experiences and the Prospects for Democracy," (unpublished manuscript, University of Chicago, 1979); idem, "Speculations about the Prospective Demise of Authoritarian Regimes and its Possible Consequences," paper presented at the "Conference on the Prospects for Democracy: Transitions from Authoritarian Rule," also Working Paper No. 60, Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center, 1980, also reissued as EUI Working Paper, No. 85/165 (1985); Special issue on "Regime Change," International Political Science Review, I:1, No.1, (January 1980); and I., Wallerstein, The Capitalist World Economy, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). Just recently, a major collection by Italian and other scholars has appeared in a memorial volume for Gino Germani: R. Scartezzini, L. Germani and R. Gritti, eds., I limiti della democrazia, (Naples: Liguori Editore, 1985).

A special mention should be made of the work of Juan Linz, a Spanish sociologist who has done more than anyone else to "drag" the discussion of Southern Europe into the center of social scientific thought. See especially his "Crisis, Breakdown and Reequilibration," in J. Linz and A. Stepan, eds., The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes, (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1978); "The Consolidation of Regimes: A Theoretical Problem Approach," paper presented at the VII World Congress of Sociology, Toronto, 19 August 1974; "Transition to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective," (mimeo), San José, Costa Rica, 7-9 December 1983; "Comment: Some Comparative Thoughts on the Transition to Democracy in Portugal and Spain," in J. Braga de Macedo and S. Serfaty, eds., Portugal since the Revolution: Economic and Political Perspectives, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1981), 25-45.

Another specialist on Spain, this time a French political scientist, Guy Hermet, has also made a major contribution in this direction: Aux frontières de la démocratie, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1983); "L'exotisme superflu: réflexion sur les systèmes politiques de l'Europe du Sud", Politique étrangère, (1981); "Dictature bourgeoise et modernisation conservatrice: problèmes méthodologiques de l'analyse des situations autoritaires," Revue Française de Science Politique, XXV:6 (December 1975), 1029-1061; also, Jean Leca, "Pour une analyse comparative des systèmes méditerranéens," Revue Française

de Science Politique, XXVII:4-5 (1977), 557-581; and the recent special issue of Peuples Méditerranées, XVII-XVIII, (April-September 1984), L'Etat et la Méditerranée, which has appeared as a separate volume.

More recent works, especially in political science, focusing on Southern Europe as a whole, have begun to appear in print. Juan Linz, "Europe's Southern Frontier: Evolving Trends Toward What?", Daedalus, CVIII:1 (Winter 1979), 175-209 is an attempt to look at the complex problems of transition faced by the democratic regimes recently established in three of the five countries. These problems are also discussed in Giuseppe Di Palma's "Italia, Portogallo, Spagna: Ipotesi su tre regimi alla prova," Prospettive Settanta, III:1 (January-March 1977), 42-61; Juan Linz's "Spain and Portugal: Critical Choices," in David S. Landes, ed., Western Europe: The Trials of Partnership, (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1977), 237-96; and Ferdinand A. Hermen's and Peter-Hugo Koepfinger's "Von Diktatur zur Demokratie: Das Beispiel Spaniens und Portugals," Verfassung und Verfassungswirklichkeit, X (Jahrbuch 1976), 13-190.

With the establishment of democratic regimes in Portugal (1974), Greece (1975) and Spain (1977), there has been a veritable explosion of interest in these countries. Much of this has taken the form of single country monographs (which will be included later in this bibliography), but already the number of efforts at

making international comparisons is impressive. The following is a selection of the more important theoretically-oriented efforts: First, we have several works by Giuseppe Di Palma, "Destra, sinistra o centro? Sulla legittimazione di partiti e coalizioni nel Sud Europa," Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica, VIII, (1978); idem, "Founding coalitions in Southern Europe: Legitimacy and Hegemony," Government and Opposition, (Spring 1980), 162-89; idem, "Government Performance: An Issue and Three Cases in Search of Theory," West European Politics, VII:2 (April 1984), 172-87; idem, "Party Government and Democratic Reproducibility: The Dilemma of New Democracies," in Francis Castles, ed., The Future of Party Government: Problems and Concepts, (The Hague: De Greuter, 1984); idem, "Governo dei partiti e riproducibilità democratica: il dilemma delle nuove democrazie," Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica, XIII (1983). From other authors, Salvador Giner, "La economía política de la Europa meridional: Poder, clases sociales y legitimación," Sistema, 50/51 (November 1982), 7-37; idem, "Political Economy, Legitimation and the State in Southern Europe," The British Journal of Sociology, XXXIII:2 (June 1982), 172-99; "Portugal and Spain: Transition Politics," Essay Series, No.5 (Institute of International Studies, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina, May 1976); B. Kohler, Political Forces in Spain, Greece and Portugal, (London: Butterworth, 1982). Leonardo Morlino has dedicated close attention to the subject. Among his works are: Come cambiano i regimi politici, (Milan: Angeli, 1980); "Dall'autoritarismo alla

democrazia: Portogallo, Spagna, Grecia," (forthcoming in La Storia, a reader by N. Tranfaglia); "Le instaurazioni democratiche nell'Europa mediterranea. Alcune ipotesi comparate," revised and corrected version of a paper presented at the conference on "La Politica Comparada de la Transicion Democratica," Universidad de Belgrano, Buenos Aires (Argentina), 31 August-2 September 1983; "Un modello a più variabili," Politica Internazionale, XI(1983); "Rules of Democratic Consolidation: Some Comparative Notes about Italy and Spain," paper presented at the Social Science Research Council Workshop on Regime Change in Southern Europe, Madrid, 26-28 November 1981. Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter & Laurence Whitehead, eds., Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe, (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, forthcoming) constitutes the first comprehensive effort at comparing the recent political experiences of Southern Europe with those of Latin America. See especially the part by Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, Political Life After Authoritarian Rule: Speculative Conclusions About Uncertain Transitions. See also Gianfranco Pasquino, "La instaurazione dei regimi democratici in Grecia e Portogallo," Il Mulino, (March-April 1975), 217-237; Benny Pollack and Jim Taylor, "Review Article: The Transition to Democracy in Portugal and Spain," British Journal of Political Science, XIII, 1983; the special issue on "The New Mediterranean Democracies: Regime Transition in Spain, Greece and Portugal," published by West European Politics, VII:2 (April 1984) which contains two useful comparative articles:

Geoffrey Pridham, "Comparative Perspectives on the New Mediterranean Democracies: A Model of Regime Transition?," 1-27 and Alfred Tovias, "The International Context of Democratic Transition," 158-71. This issue has also been published as a separate volume (London: Frank Cass, 1984). See also Giacomo Sani, "Partiti e atteggiamenti di massa in Spagna e Italia," Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica, II:2 (August 1981), 235-279; Julián Santamaria, ed., Transición a la democracia en el Sur de Europa, (Madrid: CIS, 1982); Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Relevance of the Concept of Semiperiphery to the Analysis of Southern Europe," Second Colloquium on The Political Economy of Southern Europe, Paris, June, 1983, and the recent work by Giovanni Arrighi, ed., Semiperipheral Development: The Politics of Southern Europe in the Twentieth Century, (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1985); Howard I. Wiarda, "Spain and Portugal," in Peter H. Merkl, ed., West European Party Systems, (New York: The Free Press, 1980); idem, "Towards a Framework for the Study of Political Change in the Ibero-Latin Tradition: The Corporative Model," World Politics, XXV(1973), 206-235; Allan Williams, ed., Southern Europe Transformed: Political and Economic Change in Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain, (London: Harper & Row, 1984). The breakdown and crisis of Southern European dictatorships has been analyzed in J. Linz, Alfred Stepan, eds., The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes, (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); A. Rouquié, "L'hypothèse 'bonapartiste' et l'émergence des systèmes politiques semi-compétitifs," Revue

Française de Science Politique, XXV:6 (December 1975), 1077-1111; L. Hamon, ed., Mort des dictatures?, (Paris: Economica, 1982); G. Hermet, A. Rouquié, J.J. Linz, Des élections pas comme les autres, (Paris: FNSP, 1978). Two more uneven works focus on the three Southern European authoritarian regimes. André et Francine Demichel, Les dictatures européennes, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1973) undertakes a global examination of the social, political, economic and constitutional characteristics of each regime. Nicos Poulantzas, La crise des dictatures: Portugal, Grèce, Espagne, (Paris: Maspero, 1975) is an uneven and ultimately unsatisfactory attempt by the late Marxist theorist to explain the breakdown of authoritarian rule and the passage to democracy in Southern Europe.

The analysis of Left politics in the region, of socialist and communist parties, has been a subject of considerable interest among political scientists, with special attention being given for a while to the phenomenon of Eurocommunism. On socialism, the following works are recommendable: Giovanni Arrighi and Immanuel Wallerstein, "What Difference Do Socialist Governments in Southern Europe Make? Some Notes for a Discussion," Unitar colloquium, "Stratégies alternatives pour le futur de la région Méditerranéenne," 25-27 October 1983, Naples, Italy; William E. Griffith, The European Left: Italy, France, and Spain, (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1979); Salvador Giner, "Southern European Socialism in Transition," West European Politics, VII:2 (April

1984), 138-57. On the phenomenon of Eurocommunism, one should consult Kevin Delvin, "The Challenge of Eurocommunism," Problems of Communism, XXVI (January-February 1977), 1-20; the important review article by Giuseppe Di Palma, "Eurocommunism?", Comparative Politics, IX (April 1977), 357-75; and, for a view from the Left, André Gunder Frank, "Eurocommunism: Left and Right Variants," New Left Review, 108 (March-April 1978), 88-92. The classic text on Eurocommunism is Santiago Carrillo's work Eurocomunismo" y estado: El "eurocomunismo" como el modelo revolucionario idóneo en los países capitalistas desarrollados (Barcelona: Crítica, 1977) which has appeared in a number of translations. A more general work which deals also with the Communist parties in Southern Europe is Neil McInnes, The Communist Parties of Western Europe, (London: Oxford University Press, 1975). Other works on communist parties are David Albright, ed., Communism and Political Systems in Western Europe, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1979); Peter Lange and Maurizio Vannicelli, eds., The Communist Parties of Italy, France and Spain: Postwar Change and Continuity, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981); Eusebio Mujal-Leon, "Portuguese and Spanish Communism in Comparative Perspective," in Morton A. Kaplan, ed., The Many Faces of Communism, (New York: Free Press, 1978), 235-46; Christian Bourgeois, ed., El PC Español, Italiano y Francés Casa al Poder, (Madrid: Cambio 16, 1977). For a comparative article on the left-right dimensions of Southern European political parties see Jonas Condominés and José Durao Barroso, "La dimension gauche-droite et la compétition entre

les parts politiques en Europe du Sud (Portugal, Espagne, Grèce)," Il Politico, XLIX:3 (1984), 405-38. For another comparative study in electoral politics see José R. Montero, "L'astensionismo elettorale in Europa: Tendenze, tipologie e alcuni problemi di analisi," Quaderni dell'Osservatorio Elettorale, (July 1984) 39-77.

The best treatment of the economic aspects of the relations between the countries of Southern Europe and the European Community is Loukas Tsoukalis, The European Community and its Mediterranean Enlargement, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981). See also Eric Baklanoff, ed., Mediterranean Europe and the Common Market: Studies of Economic Growth and Integration, (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1976); the same author's more restricted comparative study The Economic Transformation of Spain and Portugal, (New York: Praeger, 1978), and Beate Kohler, "Political Problems of the Southward Extension," Intereconomics, (January/February 1979), 3-5; José Luis Sampedro and J.A. Payne, eds., The Enlargement of the European Community, (London: Macmillan, 1983); and D. Seers and C. Vaitzos, eds., The Second Enlargement of the EEC, (London: Macmillan, 1982).

Two unpublished more historical-sociological papers which deserve mention are: James R. Kurth, "Political Parallelisms in Southern Europe since 1815," (1977), which attempts an ambitious comparative study of the evolution of the relations between state

and society in Southern Europe and of the patrimonial nature of politics in these countries; and Edward E. Malefakis, "A Comparative Analysis of Worker Movements in Spain and Italy," (1973) an insightful and impressive analysis of the similarities in the labour movements in Southern Europe, and of the qualitative differences distinguishing them from their counterparts in both Western and Eastern Europe. Finally, Charles F. Delzell, ed., Mediterranean Fascism, 1919-1945, (New York: Harper & Row, 1970) contains excerpts from major legal, political and constitutional documents associated with the establishment of authoritarian regimes in Southern Europe; Kenneth Maxwell, ed., The Press and the Rebirth of Iberian Democracy, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983) addresses an important gap in the literature on the democratic transition in Spain and Portugal; and Gino Germani, "Political Socialization of Youth in Fascist Regimes: Italy and Spain," in Samuel P. Huntington and Clement H. Moore, eds., Authoritarian Politics in Modern Society: The Dynamics of Established One-Party Systems, (New York: Basic Books, 1970), 339-79 constitutes a penetrating analysis of a very neglected subject.

PART TWOI. GREECEI.1 Culture and Society

Recent years have witnessed a veritable burgeoning of social science writings on Greece. Uneven in quality and mostly in Greek, this literature has, nevertheless, significantly added to our knowledge and understanding of yet another of the smaller European states, and has made meaningful comparative studies feasible. All the more encouraging is the fact that full-length monographic studies in languages other than Greek are, for the most, of sufficiently high quality as to make up for their relatively small numbers.

As in the case of the other countries in Southern Europe, Greece has received considerable attention by social anthropologists and human geographers studying the Mediterranean basin. A pioneering work in this context is John K. Campbell, Honour, Family and Patronage, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964) which profoundly influenced subsequent analyses of Greek values and culture. Also influential were Ernestine Friedl, Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962); Irwin T. Saunders, Rainbow in the Rock: the People of Rural Greece, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962); and the various collective volumes on the Mediterranean edited by John G.

Peristiany and Julian Pitt-Rivers and cited in Part One. Specifically for Greece, see Muriel Dimen and Ernestine Friedl, eds., Regional Variation in Modern Greece and Cyprus: Toward a Perspective on the Ethnology of Greece, (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1976) which contains contributions by a mostly younger generation of scholars whose work significantly adds to our knowledge not merely of traditional Greek culture but also of the changes that are slowly eroding it.

Balancing the Anglo-Saxon dominance in social anthropology has been the French preeminence in human geography. Most notable in this tradition are the works by Michel Sivignon, La Thessalie: Analyse géographique d'une province grècque, (Lyons: Institut des Etudes Rhodaniennes des Universités de Lyons, 1975); Guy Burgel, Pobia: Etude géographique d'un village crétois, (Athens: Social Science Centre, 1965); Emile Y. Kolodny, La population des îles de la Grèce: essai de géographie insulaire en Méditerranée orientale, 3 vols., (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1974); Bernard Kayser, Margariti: village d'Epire, (Athens: Social Science Centre, 1964); and idem, Géographie humaine de la Grèce, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964).

Even more recently, as social science inquiry became feasible once again following the demise of the military regime in Greece, a number of valuable contributions authored by young Greek sociologists and anthropologists began to emerge. See, for example, Maria Kousis, "Tourism as an Agent of Social Change in a

Rural Cretan Community," Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, 1984; and Maria Couroucli, "Structures économiques et sociales du village Episkepsi à Corfou de 1800 à nos jours," thèse de 3ème cycle, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1981.

Most work on Greek society and culture lacks a comparative perspective. A notable exception is the work of Nicos P. Mouzelis whose analysis of Greek society has, whether implicitly or explicitly, been strongly comparative. His major contribution to date has been Modern Greece: Facets of Underdevelopment, (London: Macmillan, 1978), a volume of essays which includes an insightful overview article on "The Development of Greek Capitalism: An Overall View," 3-29. See also his suggestive analysis of the agrarian question in Greece in "Capitalism and the Development of Agriculture," 74-86 and the comparative essay "Greek and Bulgarian Peasants: Aspects of their Socio-Political Situation During the Inter-War Period," 89-104. Mouzelis's work is distinguished by his efforts to place the Greek case within the interpretative framework of development/underdevelopment theory. For another implicitly comparative study, see Kostas Vergopoulos, Le capitalisme difforme et la nouvelle question agraire. L'exemple de la Grèce moderne, (Paris: Maspero, 1977) which has been influenced by the work of Samir Amin. An earlier article by Mouzelis also deserves mention: Nikos P. Mouzelis and Michael A. Attalides, "Greece," in Margaret Scotford Archer and Salvador Giner, eds., Contemporary Europe: Class, Status and Power, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971),

162-97. See also the uneven and ultimately unsatisfactory monograph by Scott McNall, The Greek Peasant, (Washington, D.C.: American Sociological Association, 1974), and the more recent and suggestive article by Muriel Dimen, "The State, Work and the Household: Contradictions in a Greek Village," Michigan Discussions in Anthropology, (Winter 1981), 102-25.

The prominence of the family in the construction of the traditional Greek ethos is attested to by all observers, and forms a central aspect of the analyses contained in most of the works already cited. Of the sparse literature on the sociology of the Greek family, the most noteworthy are: Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, The Modern Greek Family: The Dynamics of the Husband-Wife Relationship and Parent-Child Relations and Family Modernity, 3 vols., (Athens, 1974-75); *idem*, "The Options of Greek Men and Women," Sociological Focus, V:2 (February 1972), 71-83; *idem*, "Attitudes of Greek Spouses Towards Marital Infidelity," in Gerhard Neubeck, ed., Extramarital Relations, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 77-93; and the same author's "'Honor' Crimes in Contemporary Greece," British Journal of Sociology, XX:2 (June 1969), 205-18. See also Cornelis J.J. Vermeulen, "Families in Urban Greece," Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Cornell University, 1970. Finally, for the most recent and certainly the best assessment of the status and role of men and women in contemporary Greece, see "Women and Men in Greece: A Society in Transition," a special issue of the Journal of Modern Greek Studies, I:1 (May 1983), 3-270.

Unlike anthropology and sociology which to this day are, for the most, dominated by non-Greek scholars, folklore has had a long and distinguished indigenous tradition, tied in great part to the imperatives of the concept of the "continuity of Hellenism from antiquity to the present" implicit in modern Greek nationalism. For a recent discussion of the interrelationship between folklore and nationalism, see Michael Herzfeld, Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology and the Making of Modern Greece, (Austin: University of Texas, 1982). See also the collection of essays in Speros Vryonis, Jr., ed., The "Past" in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture, (Malibu, Calif.: Undena, 1978), and the special issue of Modern Greek Society: A Social Science Newsletter, VII:1 (December 1979) which contains an essay by Julia E. Miller, "Bibliography of Modern Greek Folklore Sources," 13-49. The same journal, IV:1 (December 1976), 6-60 published an extensive bibliography on anthropological literature on Greece and Cyprus: Peter S. Allen and Perry A. Bialor, "Bibliography of Anthropological Sources on Modern Greece and Cyprus."

Finally, on the Greek educational system, see Kalliniki Dendrinou Antonakaki, Greek Education: Reorganization of the Administrative Structure, (New York: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1955), for an earlier, but still valuable study; the special issues of Comparative Education Review, XXII:1 (February 1978) and Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora, VIII:1-2 (Spring-Summer 1981) which are devoted to educational reform in Greece and specifically focus on the changes brought about in the mid-1970s,

after the fall of the authoritarian regime; George Psacharopoulos and Andreas Kazamias, "Student Activism in Greece: A historical and Empirical Analysis," Higher Education, IX (1980), 127-38; Constantine Soumelis, "Greece," in Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Individual Demand for Education, General Report and Case Studies. France, Germany, Greece, United Kingdom, (Paris: OECD, 1979), 249-336; and Alexis Dimaras, "Tertiary Education and Research," in Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, ed., Griechenland, Suedosteuropa-Handbuch III (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1980), 472-95.

I.2 History and Politics

Though no longer scarce, general histories of modern Greece are, with a few exceptions, descriptive and rather uneven. By far the most comprehensive and insightful introduction to the period of Ottoman rule is Leften Stavrianos, The Balkans since 1453, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1958), still the best source on the tangled history of the region. Though much shorter, Nicholas G. Svoronos, Histoire de la Grèce moderne, 4th ed., (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1980) is considered a small classic. The most up-to-date and balanced account is Richard Clogg, A Short History of Modern Greece, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); see also C.M. Woodhouse, Modern Greece: A Short History, 2nd ed., (London: Faber & Faber, 1977); the excellent work by John K. Campbell and Philip Sherrard, Modern Greece, (London: Benn, 1968); Douglas Dakin, The Unification of Greece, 1770-1923, (New York: St.

Martin's Press, 1972); Constantine Tsoucalas, The Greek Tragedy, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1969); John T.A. Koumoulides, ed., Greece in Transition: Essays in the History of Modern Greece, (London: Zeno, 1977); "Greece Past and Present," a special issue of the Indiana Social Studies Quarterly, XXXII:1 (Spring 1979); and Nicholas Kaltchas, Introduction to the Constitutional History of Modern Greece, (New York: AMS Press, 1970)--reprinted from the 1940 edition--which is a brilliant treatment of the subject.

I.3 1821-1910

For a background to the Greek war of independence, see Richard Clogg, ed., The Movement for Greek Independence 1770-1821: A Collection of Documents, (London: Macmillan, 1976) and the superb analysis of the intellectual antecedents of that movement in Paschalis M. Kitromilides, "Tradition, Enlightenment and Revolution: Ideological Change in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Greece," Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Government, Harvard University, 1978. On the war of independence itself, see primarily the collection of essays in Richard Clogg, ed., The Struggle for Greek Independence: Essays to Mark the 150th Anniversary of the Greek War of Independence, (London: Macmillan, 1973); Nikiforos P. Diamandouros, John P. Anton, John A. Petropulos and Peter Topping, eds., Hellenism and the First Greek War of Liberation, 1821-1830: Continuity and Change, (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1976); and Douglas Dakin, The Greek Struggle for Independence, (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1973). For an

initial attempt to analyze the social and political conflicts surrounding the introduction of western, liberal political institutions in Greece during the war of independence, see P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, "Political Modernization, Social Conflict and Cultural Cleavage in the Formation of the Modern Greek State," Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, 1972.

On the first president of Greece, Ioannis Kapodistris, see the scholarly study by C.M. Woodhouse, Capodistria: The Founder of Greek Independence, (London: Oxford University Press, 1973). For the absolutist period of the Bavarian monarchy in Greece, John A. Petropulos, Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968) is a seminal work which constitutes indispensable reading for anyone seeking to understand the nature of Greek politics in the first half of the 19th century and beyond. A recent work which seeks to carry forward Petropulos's study of the Greek political parties is Marietta Economopoulou, Parties and Politics in Greece (1844-1855), (Athens: By the Author, 1984). The pervasive influence which the Great Powers have exercised in the politics of modern Greece has its origins in the circumstances of the establishment of the modern Greek state and is extensively discussed in the Petropulos work already cited. Domna N. Dontas, Greece and the Great Powers, 1863-1875, (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1966), and Evangelos Kofos, Greece and the Eastern Crisis 1875-1878, (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1975) look at the

nature of foreign intervention in the latter part of the 19th century. For a collective work which deals with this issue for the whole of modern Greek history, see Theodore A. Couloumbis, John A. Petropulos and Harry J. Psomiades, Foreign Intervention in Greek Politics, (New York: Pella Press, 1976).

The half century between 1875 and 1922 was marked by a significant amount of social and political change, the heightening of nationalist and irredentist aspirations, and the emergence of the army as a factor in Greek politics. Constantine Tsoucalas, "Dépendence et reproduction: le rôle de l'appareil scolaire dans une formation trans-territoriale," doctoral dissertation, University of Paris-Sorbonne, 1976 provides a fascinating analysis of the dynamics of change during this period and of the extent to which political and economic developments inside Greece became intertwined with the activities of the Greek diaspora bourgeoisie in the Ottoman Empire. On the transformation of modern Greek nationalism towards a more militant orientation, see Gerassimos Augustinos, Consciousness and History: Nationalist Critics of Greek Society 1897-1914, (Boulder, Colorado: East European Monographs, 1977). On military intervention in Greek politics, see George Dertilis, "Social Change and Military Intervention in Politics: Greece 1881-1928," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Sheffield, 1976; and S. Victor Papacosma, The Military in Greek Politics: The 1909 Coup d'Etat, (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1977).

I.4 1910-1940

The period between the military intervention of 1909 and the Italian invasion of Greece in 1940 is marked, above all, by three major events: the rise of a new political force in Greece, the Liberal Party headed by Eleftherios Venizelos, the country's foremost statesman in this century; the national schism which pitted venizelist and monarchist forces against one another and represented the single most important socio-political cleavage throughout this period; and the 1922 defeat of the Greek forces in Asia Minor which resulted in the catastrophic evacuation of nearly 1.5 million refugees to mainland Greece and marked the beginning of a series of social, economic and political transformations with longlasting effects on modern Greek history.

On the role of the Great Powers during the initial years of the national schism, see George B. Leon, Greece and the Great Powers, 1914-1917, (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1974). On the social bases of the schism and on the politics of this critical period, by far the best work is George Th. Mavrogoradatos, Stillborn Republic: Social Coalitions and Party Strategies in Greece, 1922-1936, (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1983) a path-breaking study of political change during a period of rapid and fundamental social and economic transformation. For the crucial role of the army in interwar developments, Thanos Veremis, "The Greek Army in Politics, 1922-1935," D.Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1976 is the best analysis. On the refugee question and on its impact on Greek

politics and society, see Dimitri Pentzopoulos, The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact upon Greece, (The Hague: Mouton, 1962); and Stephen P. Ladas, The Exchange of Minorities, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey, (New York: Macmillan, 1932).

On the Greek-Turkish war of 1919-1922, the most recent work in English is Michael Llewellyn Smith, Ionian Vision: Greece in Asia Minor, (London: Allen Lane, 1973). See also the recently completed study by Victoria Solomonidis, "The Greek Administration of the Vilayet of Aidin, 1919-1922," Ph.D. dissertation, King's College, University of London, 1984. More generally on the war, see the old but important, though controversial, analysis by Arnold Toynbee, The Western Question in Greece and Turkey: A Study in the Contact of Civilizations, (London: Constable, 1922); A.A. Pallis, Greece's Anatolian Adventure - and After, (London: Methuen, 1937); and the valuable collective volume by André Andreades, ed., Les effets économiques et sociaux de la Guerre en Grèce, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1929). For the diplomatic aspects of these events, see for the early phase, Nicos Petsalis-Diomidis, Greece and the Paris Peace Conference (1919), (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1978); Dimitri Kitsikis, Le rôle des experts à la Conférence de la Paix de 1919: Gestation d'une technocratie en politique internationale, (Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 1972); and *idem*, Propagande et pression en politique internationale. La Grèce et ses revendications à la Conférence de la Paix (1919-1920), (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963). For the later period, see Harry J. Psomiades, The Eastern Question, The Last

Phase: A Study in Greek-Turkish Diplomacy, (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1968) which deals with the background to the Treaty of Lausanne.

The dangers, perceived and real, posed to the Greek political system by profound social and economic change and the rise of a small but militant left during this period are discussed in the excellent and wide-ranging work by Nicos C. Alivizatos, Les institutions politiques de la Grèce à travers les crises 1922-1974, (Paris: Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1979); see also Roussos Koundouros, "Law and the Obstruction of Social Change: A Case Study of Laws for the Security of the Apparently Prevailing Social Order in Greece," M.Phil. thesis, Department of Sociology, Brunel University, 1974.

The Greek defeat in Asia Minor effectively destroyed Greek irredentist aspirations as they had been developed for over a century and had been incorporated in the "Great Idea," the single most important constitutive element of modern Greek nationalism in the 19th and early 20th centuries, which dreamed of a "Greater Greece" encompassing all the Greek-speaking, Christian Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman Empire. The ideological vacuum and the profound moral crisis produced by the death of the "Great Idea" are poignantly conveyed in the important historical novel by George Theotokas, Argo, (London: Methuen, 1951). See also the more recent scholarly work by Thomas Doulis, Disaster and Fiction: Modern Greek

Fiction and the Impact of the Asia Minor Disaster of 1922, (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1977).

Relatively little has been written in languages other than Greek on the Metaxas dictatorship which put an end to the intrabourgeois conflicts that had dominated the interwar years and marked the beginning of a 45-year long dominance of the Right in Greek politics which ended in 1981, with the coming to power of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK). On George II, the Greek monarch who played a crucial role in bringing Metaxas to power, see Everett J. Marder, "The Second Reign of George II: His Role in Politics," Southeastern Europe, II:1 (1975), 53-69. For a detailed account of Anglo-Greek relations during this period which throws valuable light into domestic politics as well, see the important study by John S. Koliopoulos, Greece and the British Connection 1935-1941, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).

I.5 1940-1949

The physical destruction and psychological trauma produced by a decade of devastation wrought by foreign occupation and civil war effectively meant that, for almost a generation, scholarly accounts of this second national schism in 20th century Greek history were quite rare. Somewhat inevitably, also, the vast majority of what scholarly studies existed was, until very recently, the work of non-Greek authors. The situation changed radically with the fall of the colonels' regime in 1974 and the elimination of the last

vestiges of the repressive legislation dating back to the civil war era. In the last decade, a new generation of scholars, both Greek and non-Greek, has contributed important studies of this critical period. In this, they have undoubtedly been greatly aided by the opening-up of the British and American diplomatic archives which contain a wealth of information on the period. The result has been a corpus of literature which, on the whole, manages to shed light on the major events of the decade and to render the dynamics and cleavages of these momentous years more readily intelligible.

A recent scholarly attempt to assess and interpret the significance of the decade is John O. Iatrides, ed., Greece in the 1940s: A Nation in Crisis, (Hanover, N.H.: University of New England Press, 1981). An even more recent work which examines the formulation and implementation of British policy during the years of Axis occupation is Procopis Papastratis, British Policy Towards Greece During the Second World War 1941-1944, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), while John Louis Hondros, Occupation and Resistance: The Greek Agony 1941-1944, (New York: Pella Press, 1983) provides the best analysis to date based on the German archives. The best work on the resistance to the Axis occupation is Hagen Fleischer, "Kampf gegen Krone und Stahlhelm. Griechenland 1941-1944," doctoral dissertation, Free University of Berlin, 1977. Fleischer is also the author of a superb bibliography on the period: see John O. Iatrides, ed., Greece in the 1940s, a Bibliographic Companion, by H. Fleischer and S. Bowman, (Hanover, N.H.: University of New England Press, 1981). British policy

towards the resistance is analysed in Phyllis Auty and Richard Clogg, eds., British Policy Towards Wartime Resistance in Yugoslavia and Greece, (London: Macmillan, 1975); see also Lars Baerentzen, ed., British Reports on Greece 1943-44, (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 1982); for an earlier work on the resistance, see André Kedros, La résistance grecque (1940-1944), (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1966). See also "Greece 1940-1950," a special issue of the Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora, V:3 (Fall 1978).

The dramatic events of December 1944 which pitted the British forces against those of EAM, the largest and most powerful resistance organization which was effectively controlled by the Communist Party of Greece, are widely regarded as a watershed in the slow and painful slide toward full-scale civil war in Greece. The best studies of this critical month are John O. Iatrides, Revolt in Athens: The Greek Communist "Second Round", 1944-1945, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972) and Lars Baerentzen, "The Demonstration in Syntagma Square on Sunday the 3rd of December 1944," Scandinavian Studies in Modern Greek, II(1978), 4-52 which has a somewhat narrower focus. See also the same author's historiographical essay "The Liberation of Greece 1944: Certainties and Uncertainties," in A. Lily Macrakis and P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, eds., New Trends in Modern Greek Historiography (New Haven, Conn.: Modern Greek Studies Association, 1982), 167-85.

The last phase of British control of Greek affairs is dealt with in George M. Alexander, The Prelude to the Truman Doctrine: British Policy in Greece, 1944-1947, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982). Of the earlier studies written by participants or eyewitnesses of these tumultuous events, the most noteworthy are: C.M. Woodhouse, Apple of Discord: A Survey of Recent Greek Politics in their International Setting, (London: Hutchinson, 1948) written by the second commander of the British (Allied) military mission to the Greek resistance and long considered the standard conservative interpretation of events; William H. McNeill, The Greek Dilemma: War and Aftermath, (London: Gollancz, 1947) which is more sympathetic to the left; and E.C.W. Myers, Greek Entanglement, (London: Hart-Davis, 1955) by the first commander of the British military mission to the Greek resistance. See also Woodhouse's more recent The Struggle for Greece 1941-1949, (London: Hart-Davis, MacGibbon, 1976) which is less hostile to the rebel side than his earlier work. For an account which focuses on the activities of EDES, the second largest resistance organization, see Nigel Clive, A Greek Experience 1943-1948, (London: Michael Russell, 1985). For the most authoritative account of United States Policy from the 1930s to the civil war, see John O. Iatrides, ed., Ambassador MacVeagh Reports: Greece, 1933-1947, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980), a superbly edited work which is also an indispensable source for the period. British policy during these years comes under sharp attack in Heinz Richter, Griechenland zwischen Revolution und Konterrevolution (1936-1946), (Frankfurt: Europaeische Verlagsanstalt, 1973), a work which is overly

influenced by the positions long-identified with Komninos Pyromaglou, EDES's second-in-command during the Axis occupation. See, finally, Stefanos Sarafis, ELAS: Greek Resistance Army, (London: Merlin Press, 1980) for the first full-length English translation of this work which first appeared in 1946 and which is still the best account of the role played by EAM's military during these critical years. Scholarly studies on EAM itself are virtually non-existent. For an earlier but excellent brief analysis of the subject, see Leften S. Stavrianos, "The Greek National Liberation Front (EAM). A Study in Resistance Organization and Administration," Journal of Modern History, XXIV:1 (1952), 42-55.

The literature on the civil war remains scanty. Fortunately, however, scholarly examinations of the period are finally beginning to emerge and others are in various stages of preparation. Apart from Woodhouse's The Struggle for Greece, already cited, see the more recent collection of essays on the subject in Marion Sarafis, ed., Greece: From Revolution to Civil War, (Nottingham: Spokesman, 1980). Lawrence Wittner, American Intervention in Greece 1943-1949, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982) is a critical assessment of United States Policy in Greece during the civil war years in particular. For a lively, but ultimately unsatisfactory work, see Dominique Eudes, The Kapetanos: Partisans and Civil War in Greece, 1943-1949, (London: New Left Books, 1972). Earlier accounts include: Kenneth Matthews, Memories of a Mountain War, 1944-1949, (London: Longman, 1972); Edgar O'Ballance, The Greek

Civil War 1944-1949, (London: Faber & Faber, 1966); John Campbell, "The Greek Civil War," in Evan Luard, ed., The International Regulation of Civil Wars, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1972), 37-64; Frank Smothers, William Hardy McNeill and Elizabeth Darbishire McNeill, Report on the Greeks: Findings of the Twentieth Century Fund Team Which Surveyed Conditions in Greece in 1947, (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1948); and Svetozar Vukmanovic (Tempo), How and Why the Greek Peoples' Liberation Struggle Met with Defeat, (London, 1950) written by one of Tito's lieutenants who had been close to the Greek communist leadership. Another work critical of American foreign policy in Greece during the 1940s is Leften S. Stavrianos, Greece: American Dilemma and Opportunity, (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1952). Finally, Floyd A. Spencer, War and Post-War Greece; An Analysis Based on Greek Writings, (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1952) is a valuable reference work which contains useful commentary on Greek writings on the occupation and civil war periods published before the early 1950s; United States, Office of Strategic Services, Civil Affairs Handbook on Greece, (n.p., 1943) is a wide-ranging and voluminous (16 pamphlets) source on the occupation years; and Food and Agriculture Organisation, Report of the FAO Mission to Greece, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947) is an excellent account of social and economic conditions during the civil war years.

I.6 Post-World War II

Except for the period of the colonels' authoritarian regime (1967-1974), English-language works on postwar Greece are very few. A broad and provocative interpretation of the vast social and economic changes that have literally transformed Greece over the past four decades is William H. McNeill, The Metamorphosis of Greece Since World War II, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978). See also his earlier work Greece: American Aid in Action, 1947-1956, (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1957) which is quite informative on domestic developments and economic change in the period of Greece's postwar "take-off." Another challenging analysis is Nicos Mouzelis, "Capitalism and Dictatorship in Post-War Greece," in idem, Greece: Facets of Underdevelopment, 115-33. The latest and best survey of Greek affairs is Richard Clogg, ed., Greece in the 1980s, (London: Macmillan, 1983) which contains a series of articles on both domestic and foreign aspects of contemporary Greek politics.

On the colonels' regime, see Richard Clogg and George Yannopoulos, eds., Greece Under Military Rule, (New York: Basic Books, 1972) which covers most aspects of Greek life during the first five years of the regime and includes an extensive bibliography. [Rodis Roufos,] Inside the Colonels' Greece, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1972) is one of the most perceptive accounts of the nature of the regime. Three works which are particularly critical of the role played by the United States in postwar Greek politics, especially in the period leading up to the

colonels' coup d'état, are Andreas Papandreou, Democracy at Gunpoint: The Greek Front, (London: André Deutsch, 1971); Stephen Rousseas, The Death of a Democracy: Greece and the American Conscience, (New York: Grove Press, 1968); and Laurence Stern, The Wrong Horse: The Politics of Intervention and the Failure of American Diplomacy, (New York: Times Books, 1977). Another excellent source is "Aujourd'hui la Grèce," a special issue of Temps Modernes, No. 276A (1969). It contains a variety of materials on the regime, including a series of very informative scholarly articles, documents on the means used by the colonels to silence their opposition, and literary work in translation. See also Stephen G. Xydis, "Coups and Countercoups in Greece, 1967-1972 (With Postscript)," Political Science Quarterly, LXXXIV:3 (Fall 1974), 507-38; J.F. Chauvel, La Grèce à l'ombre des épées, (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1968); Marcel Marceau, La Grèce des colonels, (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1967); A. Skriver, Soldaten gegen Demokraten. Militaerdiktatur in Griechenland, (Cologne: Kippenheuer und Witsch, 1968); and the important analysis by Jean Meynaud, Rapport sur l'abolition de la démocratie en Grèce. 15 juillet 1965 - 21 avril 1967, (Montreal: Etudes de Science Politique, 1967) which provides the best analysis in languages other than Greek of the sequence of events from the mid-1965 crisis to the coup.

For accounts which are more sympathetic to the regime, see David Holden, Greece Without Columns, (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1972); B. Stockton, Phoenix with a Bayonet: A Journalist's Interim Report on the Greek Revolution (1967), (Ann

Arbor, Michigan: Georgetown Publishers, 1971); Takis Theodoracopoulos, The Greek Upheaval: Kings, Demagogues and Bayonets, (London: Stacey International, 1977); D. George Kousoulas, "The Origins of the Greek Military Coup, April 1967," Orbis, XIII:1 (Spring 1969), 332-58 by one of the regime's advisors; Christos L. Doumas, "Crisis, Revolution and Military Rule in Greece: A Tentative Analysis," Southern Quarterly, VI:3 (April 1968), 255-88; and idem, "Six Years Later: The Greek 'Military' Government Revisited," Southern Quarterly, XII:1 (October 1973), 51-79.

The dominant political personality of the postwar years down to the early 1960s was Constantine Karamanlis, the conservative leader who was to lead Greece again after 1974, first as prime minister and more recently, until 1985, as president of the Greek republic. A biography which covers the years to 1980 is C.M. Woodhouse, Karamanlis: The Restorer of Greek Democracy, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982). Based on the former president's personal papers, this account is, despite its occasional hagiographical tone and failure to identify its sources, the best work on this important political leader to date.

I.7 The Political System

A general introduction to the Greek political system is Keith R. Legg, Politics in Modern Greece, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1969) which is flawed by its excessive reliance

on patron-client relations as the central interpretative concept for his analysis. Two critical examinations of the problems implicit in overreliance on such a concept are Nicos Mouzelis, "Class and Clientelistic Politics: The Case of Greece," Sociological Review, (August 1978); and Constantine Tsoucalas, "On the Problem of Political Clientelism in Greece in the Nineteenth Century," Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora, V:2 (Summer 1978), 5-17. Though dated, Jean Maynaud, Les forces politiques en Grèce, (Lausanne: Etudes de Science Politique, 1965), remains one of the best studies of the postwar political system. Another earlier study which provides a good deal of information on the workings of the political system in the 1950s and 1960s is Theodore A. Couloumbis, Greek Political Reactions to American and NATO Influences, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966). See also the more recent, but rather superficial, work by Jane P.C. Carey and Andrew G. Carey, The Web of Modern Greek Politics, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968); Hariton Korisis, Das politische System Griechenlands, (Hersbruck/Nuremberg: Karl Pfeiffer, 1980); and Thomas P. Trombetas, "The Greek Political System: Its Strengths and Weaknesses During a Century of Free Political Life," The Greek Review of Social Research, 26-27 (January-September 1976), 147-56.

For an influential article which discusses the Greeks' view of the "self" and the nature of democratic institutions in that country, see Adamantia Pollis, "The Political Implications of the Modern Greek Concept of Self," British Journal of Sociology, XVI:1

(March 1965), 29-47. P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, "Greek Political Culture in Transition: Historical Origins, Evolution, Current Trends," in Richard Clogg, ed., Greece in the 1980s, 43-69 is an initial attempt to assess continuity and change in Greek political culture. See also the stimulating and critical analysis by P.J. Vatikiotis, Greece: A Political Essay, (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1974).

On Greek political parties, one has to consult, among the works already cited in the previous section, John A. Petropulos, Politics and Statecraft and Marietta Economopoulou, Parties and Politics in Greece for the first half of the 19th century; George Th. Mavrogordatos, Stillborn Republic, for the interwar period; and Jean Maynaud, Les forces politiques en Grèce, for the post-World War II years. The evolution of the political parties from the war of independence to the turn of this century is examined in Hariton Korisis, Die politischen Parteien Griechenlands. Ein neuer Staat auf dem Weg zur Demokratie 1821-1910, (Hersbruck/Nuremberg: Verlag Karl Pfeiffer, 1966). The most informative work on the contemporary party system is Howard R. Penniman, ed., Greece at the Polls: the National Elections of 1974 and 1977, (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1981) which contains a series of articles on the major political parties. See also George Th. Mavrogordatos, "The Emerging Party System," in Richard Clogg, ed., Greece in the 1980s, 70-94; *idem*, "El sistema griego de partidos," Revista de Estudios Politicos, XXVII (1982); and Thomas P.

Trombetas, "Consensus and Cleavage: Party Alignment in Greece, 1945-1965," Parliamentary Affairs, XVII:2 (Summer 1966), 295-311.

Studies of the conservative and centrist parties in the postwar period are very few. While Meynaud is the best source for the earlier period, John C. Loulis, "New Democracy: The Face of Conservatism," in Howard R. Penniman, ed., Greece at the Polls, 49-83 and Thomas Veremis, "The Union of Democratic Center," in *ibid.*, 84-104 are the most informative for the last decade. Interest in the parties of the left, on the other hand, has always been much greater. On the Greek socialist movement, see George B. Leon, The Greek Socialist Movement and the First World War, (Boulder, Colorado: East European Monographs, 1976); Joshua Starr, "The Socialist Federation of Saloniki," Jewish Social Studies, VII:4 (October 1945), 323-36; and Ole L. Smith, "The First Congress of the Socialist Workers Party of Greece: Old and New Problems," Scandinavian Studies in Modern Greek, 7-8 (1984), 107-34. On the Communist Party of Greece, see D. George Kousoulas, Revolution and Defeat: The Story of the Greek Communist Party, (London: Oxford University Press, 1965) which is the standard polemical interpretation. A more sympathetic account is Antonio Solaro, Storia del Partito Comunista Greco, (Milan: Edizioni Teti, 1973). On the party's role during the years of Axis occupation, John C. Loulis, The Greek Communist Party, 1940-1944, (London: Croom Helm, 1982) is a scholarly study written from a moderately conservative viewpoint. See also Matthias Esche, Die kommunistische Partei Griechenlands 1941-1949, (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1982) which

carries the story to the end of the civil war. On the 1968 split which produced two communist parties, the traditional, Moscow-oriented KKE, and the Eurocommunist KKE Interior, see Ilios Yannakakis, "The Greek Communist Party," New Left Review, 54 (March-April 1969), 46-54. See also Vassilis Kapetanyannis, "The Making of Greek Eurocommunism," Political Quarterly, L (October-December 1979), 445-60. For the more contemporary scene, see Michalis Papayannakis, "The Crisis in the Greek Left," in Howard R. Penniman, ed., Greece at the Polls, 130-59 and especially 134-149 for a background to the crisis, and Ole L. Smith, "The Greek Communist Movement To-day," Scandinavian Studies in Modern Greek, 5(1981), 59-63. In addition, see Dimitri Kitsikis, "Greece: Communism in a Non-Western Setting," in David E. Albright, ed., Communism and Political Systems in Western Europe, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1979), 211-42; *idem*, "Greek Communism and the Karamanlis Government," Problems of Communism, XXVI:1 (January-February 1977), 42-56; and the more polemical works by R.V. Burks, The Dynamics of Communism in Eastern Europe, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961) and "Statistical Profile of the Greek Communist," Journal of Modern History, XXVII:2 (June 1955), 153-58.

The coming to power of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), in 1981, not only transformed the Greek political system, but also generated a great amount of interest in the nature and origins of this new phenomenon in Greek politics. The best study on the subject, so far, is undoubtedly Christos Lyrintzis, "Between

Socialism and Populism: The Rise of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement," Ph.D. dissertation, London School of Economics, 1983. See also his more recent work "Political Parties in Post-Junta Greece: A Case of 'Bureaucratic Clientelism'?" in Geoffrey Pridham, ed., The New Mediterranean Democracies, cited in Part I, 98-118. A more polemical, but highly suggestive, interpretation is Angelos Elefantis, "PASOK and the Elections of 1977: The Rise of the Populist Movement," in Howard R. Penniman, ed., Greece at the Polls, 105-29. Other worthwhile studies include: Heinz-Juergen Axt, "On the Way to Self-Reliance? PASOK's Government Policy in Greece," Journal of Modern Greek Studies, II:2 (October 1984), 189-207; and James Petras, "Greek Socialism: Walking the Tightrope," Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora, IX:1 (Spring 1982), 7-15. For more negative assessments of the PASOK phenomenon, see P.J. Vatikiotis, "Greece: The Triumph of Socialism?," Survey, XXVI:2 (Spring 1982), 50-65, and the recent monograph by Roy C. Macridis, Greek Politics at a Crossroads: What Kind of Socialism?, (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1984).

The Greek elections since the fall of the authoritarian regime have attracted considerable attention. Among the most notable studies, and in addition to Penniman, see Nicos P. Mouzelis, "The Greek Elections and the Rise of PASOK," New Left Review, 108 (March-April 1978), 59-74; George Th. Mavrogordatos, The Rise of the Green Sun. The Greek Election of 1981, (London: Centre of Contemporary Greek Studies, King's College, 1983) for the best analysis of that critical election; A. Agosta, "Le elezioni del

1977 e le prospettive della nuova democrazia in Grecia," Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica, IX(1979); K. Featherston, "Elections and Parties in Greece," Government and Opposition, XVII (1982); Betty A. Dobratz and George A. Kourvetaris, "Electoral Voting Preferences and Political Orientations of Athenians in Greece: Three Perspective Models," European Journal of Political Research, IX:3 (September 1981), 287-308; and the more general essay by Roy C. Macridis, "Elections and Political Modernization in Greece," in Howard R. Penniman, ed., Greece at the Polls, 1-20.

The 1974 Greek transition to democratic politics has begun to attract wider interest in the context of the comparative study of transitions which these changes in Southern Europe and Latin America have generated. On the Greek transition, see Harry J. Psomiades, "Greece: From The Colonels' Rule to Democracy," in John H. Herz, ed., From Dictatorship to Democracy. Coping with the Legacies of Authoritarianism and Totalitarianism, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982), 251-73; Gianfranco Pasquino, "L'evoluzione dei regimi autoritari: il caso della Grecia," Critica Sociale, LXVI (August-September 1974), 401-25; and the same author's "L'instaurazione dei regimi democratici in Grecia e Portogallo," cited in Part I above. See also the various analyses by P. Nikiforos Diamandouros: The 1974 Transition from Authoritarian to Democratic Rule in Greece: Background and Interpretation from a Southern European Perspective, (Bologna: The Johns Hopkins University Bologna Center, 1981) which is also available in Spanish, in Julian Santamaria, ed., Transición a la democracia ne

el Sur de Europa y América Latina, cited in Part I, 199-241; idem, "Transition to, and Consolidation of, Democratic Politics in Greece, 1974-1983: A Tentative Assessment," in Geoffrey Pridham, ed., The New Mediterranean Democracies, already cited, 50-71; and idem, "Regime Change and the Prospects for Democracy in Greece, 1974-1983," in Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead, eds., Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe, (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, forthcoming).

The extant literature on the causes for the demise of parliamentary politics in 1967 is fairly limited. Among the best works are Nicos P. Mouzelis, "Capitalism and Dictatorship in Post-War Greece," in idem, Modern Greece: Facets of Underdevelopment, 115-33 and Nicos C. Alivisatos, Les institutions politiques de la Grèce. See also the excellent work by Melina Serafetinidis, "The Breakdown of Parliamentary Institutions in Greece," Ph.D. dissertation, London School of Economics, 1979; Michael J. Bucuvalas, "The Breakdown of a Political System Experiencing Economic Development: Greece, 1950-1967," in Andrew W. Cordier, ed., Columbia Essays in International Affairs, Vol. VII, The Dean's Papers, 1971, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), 131-48; and Keith R. Legg, "Political Change in a Clientelistic Polity: The Failure of Democracy in Greece," Journal of Political and Military Sociology, I:1 (Fall 1973), 231-46.

Elite studies on Greece are very few and not very sophisticated. The most noteworthy include Kleomenis Koutsoukis, Political Leadership in Modern Greece: Cabinet Elite Circulation and Systematic Change, 1946-1976, (Athens: Athena, 1982); *idem*, "Socioeconomic Change and Cabinet Composition in Greece: 1946-1974," The Greek Review of Social Research, 32 (January-April 1978), 74-79; Christos L. Dumas, "A Tentative Analysis of the Power Elite of Greece," Southern Quarterly, IV:4 (July 1966), 374-408; and the much more sophisticated article by Keith R. Legg, "Political Recruitment and Political Crises: The Case of Greece," Comparative Political Studies, I:4 (January 1969), 527-55.

The role of the military in Greek politics has recently begun to receive the serious attention it deserves. Among the best studies in this area are Nicos Mouzelis, "Class Structure and the Role of the Military in Greece: An Interpretation," in *idem*, Facets of Underdevelopment, 105-14; Thanos Veremis, "Some Observations on the Greek Military in the Inter-War Period, 1918-1935," Armed Forces and Society, IV:3 (May 1973), 527-41; *idem*, "The Greek Officer Corps in Greece, 1912-1936," Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, II (1976), 113-33; and *idem*, "Security Considerations and Civil-Military Relations in Post-War Greece," in Richard Clogg, ed., Greece in the 1980s, 173-83; Nicos C. Alivizatos, "The Greek Army in the Late Forties: Towards an Institutional Autonomy," Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora, V:3 (Fall 1978), 37-45; and Michael Mark Amen, "American Institutional Penetration into Greek Military and Political Policy-Making Structures: June 1947 -

October 1949," Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora, V:3 (Fall 1978), 89-113. See also the perceptive study by Nikolaos A. Stavrou, Allied Politics and Military Interventions: The Political Role of the Greek Military, (Athens: Papazisis, 1977).

For additional writings on the Greek military which are generally marred by the uncritical adoption of conceptual frameworks derived from the study of very different societies and polities, see, among others, the various works by George A. Kourvetaris: "Professional Self-Images and Political Perspectives in the Greek Military," American Sociological Review, XXXVI:6 (December 1971), 1043-57; "The Role of the Military in Greek Politics," International Review of History and Political Science, VIII:3 (August 1971), 91-114; "The Greek Officer Corps: Its Professionalism and Political Interventionism," in Morris Janowitz and Jacques van Doorn, eds., On Military Intervention, (Rotterdam: Rotterdam University Press, 1971), 154-201; James Brown, "The Military and Society in Greece," European Journal of Sociology, XV:2 (1974), 245-61; and the recent study by Constantine P. Danopoulos, Warriors and Politicians in Modern Greece, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: Documentary Publications, 1985).

A good introductory article on the early period of the Greek labor movement is George B. Leon, "The Greek Labor Movement and the Bourgeois State," Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora, IV:4 (Winter 1978), 5-28, while Demetrios N. Dertouzos, "The Greek Labor Movement: Its Role in the National Industrial Relations System,"

Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1962, is a more general but useful account. On Greek trade unions, see the recent study by Theodore K. Katsanevas, Trade Unions in Greece, (Athens: National Centre of Social Research, 1984). Also useful are the more dated contribution by Christos Jecchinis, Trade Unionism in Greece: A Study in Political Paternalism, (Chicago: Roosevelt University, 1967); Maurice Goldbloom, "The Greek Labor Movement," paper presented at the Third International Symposium of the Modern Greek Studies Association (USA), Columbia University, November 1973; C. Yennaris, "The Greek Trade Union Movement and the Colonels," M.Sc. thesis, Middlesex Polytechnic, London, 1973; and the valuable study by Nikolaos Stavrou, "Pressure Groups in the Greek Political Setting," Ph.D. dissertation, Washington University, 1970. Finally, for the role played by the British and American trade unionists as well as by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in reorganizing the Greek trade union movement after the end of World War II and in containing the influence of the left and of the communists in it, see Margaret M. Davies, "The Role of the American Trade Union Representatives in the Aid to Greece Program, 1947-1948," Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Political Science, University of Washington, 1960; International Labor Office, Labor Problems in Greece, (Geneva: ILO, 1949); and What We Saw in Greece, report of the Trade Union Congress delegation in Greece, (London, 1945).

Because of its caesaropapist history and the prevalence of the individualistic, ascetic, and other-worldly oriental tradition in

its doctrine, the Greek Orthodox Church has historically been less politically powerful and socially involved than its Catholic counterpart in the West. At the same time, during the long period of Ottoman rule, it benefited immensely from the state policy which divided the Empire's various populations on the basis of religion rather than ethnicity. Such a practice effectively elevated the Greek Orthodox patriarch to a millet-bashi, or leader of the Orthodox populations in the Empire and bestowed upon him power and influence which far exceeded that held under the Byzantine emperors. National independence and the creation of a western-type state in the 19th century necessitated a number of traumatic adjustments which sharply reduced the power and influence of the Church vis-à-vis the state but certainly did not eliminate it. However diffuse and declining, this power is still observable to this day in a variety of sensitive areas of church-state relations.

An eloquent account of history of the church under the Ottomans is Steven Runciman, The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968). The difficulties encountered in the transition from Ottoman rule to independence are recounted in Charles Frazee, The Orthodox Church and Independent Greece 1821-1852, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969). Two studies which cover the entire period since independence are George D. Kent, "The Political Influence of the Orthodox church of Greece," Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Political Science, University of

Colorado, 1971, and Charles A. Frazee, "Church and State in Greece," in John T.A. Koumoulides, ed., Greece in Transition, 128-53. For the more recent period, see idem, "The Orthodox Church of Greece: The Last Fifteen Years," Indiana Social Studies Quarterly, XXXII:1 (Spring 1979), 89-110, and Kallistos Ware, "The Church: A Time of Transition," in Richard Clogg, ed., Greece in the 1980s, 208-30.

The role of the press in the Greek political system has received scant attention. Two works which focus on the period of the breakdown of democratic polities in the mid-1960s and on the authoritarian regime which ruled from 1967 to 1974 are Demetrios G. Carmocolias, Political Communication in Greece, 1965-1967: The Last Two Years of Parliamentary Democracy, (Athens: National Centre of Social Research, 1974) and Robert McDonald, Pillar and Tinderbox: The Greek Press and the Dictatorship, (New York: Marion Boyars, 1983).

Greece's entry in the European Community has attracted considerable attention. A valuable guide to the literature on the Greek accession is the bibliography compiled by Achilleas Mitsos in Modern Greek Society: A Social Science Newsletter, VIII:1 (December 1980). Among the very best sources on the subject are the various writings by Loukas Tsoukalis. See, among others, his The European Community and Its Mediterranean Enlargement, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981) and idem, ed., Greece and the European Community, (Farnborough: Saxon House, 1979). For a somewhat different

perspective, see Dudley Seers and Constantine Vaitzos, eds., The Second Enlargement of the EEC: The Integration of Unequal Partners, (London: Macmillan, 1982), while for the earlier period of Greek association with the EEC, George N. Yannopoulos, Greece and the European Communities: The First Decade of a Troubled Association, (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1975) and George J. Kalamotousakis, "Greece's Association with the European Community: An Evaluation of the First Ten Years," in Avi Shlaim and George N. Yannopoulos, eds., The EEC and the Mediterranean Countries, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 141-60 are the most useful.

Since independence, in the early 19th century, the Great Powers were an institutionalized part of the Greek political system. Down to 1947, Great Britain played the preponderant role, and from then to the 1960s the United States had a great and, initially decisive, influence on Greek domestic and foreign policies. The works by Petropoulos, Dontas, Leon, Kaltchas, Dakin, Petsalis-Diomidis, Koliopoulos and many others of those already cited for the period until 1940 provide ample evidence of the central role played by the foreign factor in Greek politics. During the decade of occupation and civil war in the 1940s, the almost total dependence of Greek governments on foreign powers made it difficult to distinguish meaningfully between foreign and domestic elements in their policies. Since the 1950s, with Greece's integration into NATO, the United States has been the dominant presence in that country's foreign relations, with Turkey

emerging as an increasingly important second in recent years, especially following the 1974 invasion of Cyprus, in the wake of the Greek military regime's unsuccessful coup d'état against then President Archbishop Makarios and the Turkish military occupation of the north of the island.

A most useful guide to the various aspects of Greek relations with the United States is Theodore A. Couloumbis and John O. Iatrides, eds., Greek-American Relations: A Critical Review, (New York: Pella Press, 1980), a volume edited by two of the most perceptive and authoritative students of the Greek-American scene, which contains a series of wide-ranging articles covering politics as well as economics and includes an excellent bibliography. See also the earlier work by Theodore A. Couloumbis and Sallie Hicks, eds., U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Greece and Cyprus: The Clash of Principle and Pragmatism, (Washington, D.C.: The Center for Mediterranean Studies and the American Hellenic Institute, 1975) which contains papers from a conference held shortly after the fall of the colonels' authoritarian regime and focuses primarily on Greek-U.S. relations during that period. Additional studies which deserve mention include: John O. Iatrides, "Greece and the United States: The Strained Partnership," in Richard Clogg, ed., Greece in the 1980s, 150-72 and, in the same volume, Theodore A. Couloumbis, "The Structures of Greek Foreign Policy," 95-122, the first analysis of this kind on Greece. Another work by the same author is "Defining Greek Foreign Policy Objectives," in Howard R. Penniman, ed., Greece at the Polls, 160-84. Also noteworthy are

the articles by Adamantia Pollis, "United States Foreign Policy Toward Authoritarian Regimes in the Mediterranean," Journal of International Affairs, (1975), 28-50; and Yiannis Roubatis and Karen Wynn, "CIA Operations in Greece," in Philip Agee and Louis Wolf, eds., Dirty Work: The CIA in Western Europe, (Secaucus, N.J.: Lyle Stuart, 1978), 147-56.

On Greek-Turkish relations see, above all, the forthcoming bibliography by Van Coufoudakis in Modern Greek Society: A Social Science Newsletter, XIII:1 (December 1985) which will contain an extensive guide to the tense relations between the two countries. See also Alexis Alexandris, A Minority Without Future: The Greeks of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations, 1918 to the Present, (Athens: Center for Asia Minor Studies, 1983) for an authoritative account from the Greek point of view; Andrew Borowiec, The Mediterranean Feud, (New York: Praeger, 1983) for an account more sympathetic to the Turkish side. Jonathan Alford, ed., Greece and Turkey: Adversity in Alliance, (London: Gower for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1984); and Marian Kirsh Leighton, Greek-Turkish Friction: Changing Balance in the Eastern Mediterranean, (London: Institute for the Study of Conflict, 1979).

The security aspects of various international issues involving Greece are discussed in Thanos Veremis, Greek Security Considerations: A Historical Perspective, 2nd ed., (Athens: Papazisis, 1982); Athanasios Platias and R.J. Rydell, "International Security Regimes: The Case of a Balkan Nuclear Free

Zone," and Kosta Tsipis, "Greece and Nuclear Weapons," both in D. Carlton and C. Schaerf, eds., The Arms Race in the 1980s, (London: Macmillan, 1982), 237-98 and 299-313 respectively.

Finally, on Cyprus, which figures prominently as an issue of both Greek domestic policy and Greek-Turkish relations since the 1950s, the best guides to the literature are the recent bibliographies by Paschalis M. Kitromilides and Marios L. Evriviades, Cyprus, (Oxford: Clio Press, 1982) and Van Coufoudakis, "Cyprus: A Bibliography," Modern Greek Society: A Social Science Newsletter, XII:1 (December 1984), 4-92.

I.8 Economy

Greek economic history is still in its early stages of development. Most notable works, especially those by Spyros Asdrachas and George Dertilis, are not available in English. A useful, general and comparative introduction is John R. Lampe and Marvin R. Jackson, Balkan Economic History 1550-1950. From Imperial Borderlands to Developing Nations, (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1982). See also Spyros I. Asdrachas, "Problems of Economic History of the Period of Ottoman Domination in Greece," Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora, VI:2 (Summer 1979), 5-37, by one of Greece's foremost economic historians; as well as Nicolas G. Svoronos, Le commerce de Salonique au XVIIIe siècle, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956) and Traian Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant," Journal of Economic

History, XX (July 1960), 234-313 for two pioneering studies on, among others, the Greek diaspora bourgeoisie in the pre-independence period.

On the 19th century, see the recently published work by William W. McGrew, Land and the Revolution in Modern Greece, 1800-1871. The Transition in the Tenure and Exploitation of Land from Ottoman Rule to Independence, (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University, 1985). This is a sophisticated and important study which covers a great deal more than its title suggests. See also the same author's "Greek Economic Historiography for the First Part of the Nineteenth Century," in A. Lily Macrakis and P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, eds., New Trends in Modern Greek Historiography, 53-60, and the brief, but useful, work by John A. Levandis, The Greek Foreign Debt and the Great Powers 1821-1898, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944). For the early 20th century, see André Andreades, Les effets économiques et sociaux de la Guerre en Grèce, cited above, and for a somewhat later period Bickham Sweet-Escott, Greece: A Political and Economic Survey, 1939-1953, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1954).

More recent works include: Wray O. Candilis, The Economy of Greece, 1944-1966: Efforts for Stability and Development, (New York: Praeger, 1968); Adamantios A. Pepelasis, "Greece," in Adamantios Pepelasis, Leon Mears and Irma Adelman, eds., Economic Development: Analysis and Case Studies, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961), 500-22; Nicolas Vernicos, "L'économie de la Grèce,

1950-1970," Doctorat d'état, University of Paris VIII, 1974; Diomedes D. Psilos, "Postwar Economic Problems in Greece," in Economic Development Issues: Greece, Israel, Taiwan, Thailand, (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1968), 1-78; *idem*, Capital Market in Greece, (Athens: Centre for Economic Research, 1964); Howard Ellis, Industrial Capital in Greek Development, (Athens: Centre of Economic Research, 1964); Eleftherios A. Kartakis, Le développement industriel de la Grèce, (Lausanne: Centre de Recherches Européennes, 1970); George Koutsoumaris, The Morphology of Greek Industry: A Study in Industrial Development, (Athens: Centre for Economic Research, 1965); Alec P. Alexander, Greek Industrialists: An Economic and Social Analysis, (Athens: Centre of Planning and Economic Research, 1964); R.M. Westebbe, Savings and Investment in Greece, (Athens: Centre of Economic Research, 1964); and the more recent analyses by Dionysios Karageorgas, "The Distribution of Tax Burden by Income Groups in Greece," Economic Journal, Vol. 83, No.330 (June 1973), 436-48; D.J. Halikias, Money and Credit in a Developing Economy: the Greek Case, (New York: New York University Press, 1978); G. Demopoulos, Monetary Policy in the Open Economy of Greece, (Athens: Centre for Planning and Economic Research, 1981); A.G. Kalefakis, "L'inégalité de revenu en Grèce (1960-1970)," Etudes Balkaniques, XXVIII (1982), 3-20; and Vassilios G. Valaoras, "National Primary Socio-Economic Data Structures: Greece," International Social Science Journal, XXXII:2 (1980), 343-58. Finally, interested persons should consult the Greek Economic Review, a recently founded journal of the Greek Society for Economic Research, Central Post Office, Box 2085, Athens, Greece.

II. ITALY

II.1 Culture and Society

Anthropological work on Italy is plentiful and often of high quality. One of the earlier important contributions to the literature on the Italian political culture by a non-anthropologist is Edward C. Banfield, The Moral Basis of a Backward Society, (New York: The Free Press, 1958). Sydel F. Silverman, "Agricultural Organization, Social Structure, and Values in Italy: Amoral Familism Reconsidered," American Anthropologist, LXX (February 1968), 1-20 is an attempt to reverse Banfield, and to establish that the ethos of "amoral familism" suggested by Banfield as an explanation of political behaviour in Southern Italy is more the result of Southern Italian social structure and, ultimately, of the agricultural system prevailing there. On the Italian social structure, in general, see the interesting article by Luciano Gallino "Italy" in Margaret Scotford Archer and Salvador Giner, eds., Contemporary Europe: Class, Status and Power, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), 90-124. On the role and status of women in rural Italy, a good article is Sydel F. Silverman, "The Life Crisis as a Clue to Social Functions", Anthropological Quarterly, XL:3 (July 1967), 127-38.

On patron-client relations in Italy, Luigi Graziano's "Patron-Client Relationships in Southern Italy," European Journal of

Political Research, I:1 (1973), 3-34 is extremely suggestive, particularly in its investigation of the relationship between clientelism and development. On the same subject, Alex Weingrod, "Patrons, Patronage, and Political Parties," Comparative Studies in Society and History, X (July 1968), 377-400 is both an important contribution and a very suggestive analysis of the dynamics of clientelism before and after the advent of mass parties in Italy. Anton Blok's The Mafia of a Sicilian Village 1860-1960: A Study of Violent Peasant Entrepreneurs, (New York: Harper & Row, 1974)--with an interesting introduction by Charles Tilly--is especially useful on the dynamics of patron-client structures. Jane and Peter Schneider Culture and Political Economy in Western Sicily, (New York: Academic Press, 1976) is an impressive and powerful interdisciplinary attempt by an anthropologist and a social psychologist to place the study of Sicily within the context of development/underdevelopment theory.

The dynamics of center-periphery relations are perceptively and impressively analyzed in Sydel F. Silverman, "Patronage and Community-Nation Relationships in Central Italy," Ethnology, IV:2 (April 1965), 172-89. Finally, E.J. Hobsbawm's classic Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries (New York: W.W. Norton, 1959) devotes large sections to the study of Italian social protest movements, such as banditry, mafia, and millenerianism, expressive of the problems facing marginal social groups caught in the grips of rapid structural social change.

II.2 History and Politics

Good general histories for the period since the Italian unification are hard to find. Denis Mack Smith, Italy: A Modern History, new, revised ed., (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1969) is probably the most competent treatment, despite its personalistic and political bias. Though it covers a shorter period of Italian history, Christopher Seton-Watson, Italy from Liberalism to Fascism: 1870-1925, (London: Methuen, 1967) is an indispensable source which covers the period up to 1925 better than any other. Also useful are the collection of documents and readings edited by Shepard B. Clough and Salvatore Saladino, A History of Modern Italy: Documents, Reading, Commentary, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), and René Albrecht-Carrié's brief survey of Italian history to 1943, Italy from Napoleon to Mussolini, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950). Mack Smith's History of Sicily, 2 vols., (London: Chatto and Windus, 1968) is, in contrast to the general history by the same author, an especially interesting and penetrating work.

II.3 Risorgimento

The relative dearth of works covering Italian history since the Risorgimento is compensated for by the plethora of stimulating, and occasionally inspired, analyses of shorter periods. For developments in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, see the two excellent articles by J.M. Roberts: "The Italian States, 1763-93," in A. Goodwin, ed., The American and French Revolutions, 1763-93,

vol. VIII of The New Cambridge Modern History, (Cambridge: The University Press, 1965), 378-96; and "Italy, 1793-1830," in C.W. Crawley, ed., War and Peace in an Age of Upheaval, 1793-1830, vol. IX of The New Cambridge Modern History, (Cambridge: The University Press, 1965), 412-38.

For the Risorgimento itself, we have Bolton King's sophisticated study A History of Italian Unity, Being a Political History of Italy from 1814 to 1871, 2 vols., revised ed., (New York: Russell and Russell, 1967), the collection of documents and readings by Denis Mack Smith, ed., The Making of Italy, 1796-1870, (London: Macmillan, 1968), and the same author's Cavour, (New York: Knopf, 1985). Though much briefer, Arthur J. Whyte, The Evolution of Modern Italy, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1965) is a useful introduction to the same period which, however, suffers from certain biases, as, for example, the tendency to defend Charles Albert, king of Piedmont and Sardinia, against all attacks. K.R. Greenfield, Economics and Liberalism in the Risorgimento: A Study of Nationalism in Lombardy, 1814-1848, (Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 1966), on the other hand, is, despite its more restricted focus, a significant study which goes beyond the merely political into the economic and social substructure of Lombardy. Luigi Salvatorelli, The Risorgimento in Thought and Action, (New York: Harper & Row, 1970) deserves particular mention because, unlike some of the more prosopographic works mentioned above, it offers a truly rich and insightful analysis of events, and of competing visions of Italian

unification. Finally, for an analysis of a radical liberal, see Carlo Cattaneo, La società umana, (Milan: Mondadori, 1961).

II.4 1870-1922

For the period up to the Fascist takeover, Seton-Watson's already mentioned work is unquestionably the best. C.J.S. Sprigge, Development of Modern Italy, (New York: Fertig, 1969) is a brief, but illuminating introductory piece on this period. John Thayer, Italy and the Great War: Politics and Culture, 1870-1915, (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1964) is a somewhat misleadingly titled and unsystematic, but nevertheless deeply researched, and often highly illuminating, analysis. Benedetto Croce's History of Italy: 1971-1915, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1929) presents the great philosopher's favourable, though not particularly inspired or inspiring, interpretation of the liberal parliamentary period in Italy. A work focusing specifically on the political dynamics of the liberal regime, and on its collapse is Margot Hentze, Pre-Fascist Italy: The Rise and Fall of the Parliamentary Regime, (New York: Octagon Press, 1970--reprinted from the 1939 edition). Finally, Salvatore Saladino, Italy from Unification to 1919: Growth and Decay of a Liberal Regime, (New York: T.Y. Crowell, 1970) is an exceptionally able brief political survey of the years preceding the rise of Fascism.

Another important aspect of the period was trasformismo, that political practice of making and of "transforming" parliamentary

majorities which a political system based on patron-client structures and on restricted suffrage made possible. William A. Salomone, Italy in the Giolittian Era, revised ed., (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945) is an important study of this phenomenon and of the man mostly associated with its practice. A useful complement to Salomone, as far as the Right in Italy during the same period is concerned, is Salvatore Saladino, "Italy", in Hans Rogger and Eugen Weber, eds., The European Right: A Historical Profile, (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1966), 208-260.

An insightful social and political analysis of the last phase of the parliamentary system in Italy, and of the forces which brought about its breakdown is Paolo Farneti, "Social Conflict, Parliamentary Fragmentation, Institutional Shift, and the Rise of Fascism: Italy," in Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds., The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Europe, (Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 1978), 3-33. In fact, there exist a number of excellent works focusing on the post-World War I crisis and the rise of Fascism. Among these, one ought to mention Angelo Rossi (pseudonym for Angelo Tasca), The Rise of Italian Fascism 1918-1922, (London: Methuen, 1938) and Gaetano Salvemini, Origins of Fascism in Italy, (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), two superb analyses by very sensitive leftist participants in the crisis. Two studies which complement each other in describing the dynamics of the Fascist takeover on the local and national levels are, Paul Corner, Fascism in Ferrara, (Oxford: Oxford University Press,

1974), and, for the national perspective, Adrian Lyttelton, The Seizure of Power: Fascism in Italy 1919-1929, (New York: Scribner's 1973). Charles Bertrand, ed., Revolutionary Situations in Europe, 1917-1922: Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary, (Montreal: Inter-University Centre for European Studies, 1977) is an uneven but useful work which has the added advantage of examining the Italian crisis in a comparative European perspective. Finally a truly impressive and penetrating synthesis of the impact of the post-World War I crisis on the political systems of France, Germany and Italy is Charles S. Maier, Recasting Bourgeois Europe: Stabilization in France, Germany, and Italy in the Decade After World War I, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975).

II.5 1922-1945

For the period of Fascist rule, Edward R. Tannenbaum, The Fascist Experience: Italian Society and Culture, 1922-1945, (New York: Basic Books, 1972) is a solid general account, while Herman Finer's Mussolini's Italy, 2nd ed., (London: Cass, 1964) is a good eyewitness account written in the mid-1930s. Adrian Lyttelton has also contributed a good article on "Italian Fascism" in Walter Laqueur, ed., Fascism: A Reader's Guide, Analyses, Interpretations, Bibliography, (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1976), 125-50 which includes a useful bibliography in Italian on various aspects of Italian Fascism, and on the relations of the state with major social institutions. Other important theoretical and comparative contributions in this field are Ernst Nolte, Three

Faces of Fascism: Action Française, Italian Fascism, National Socialism, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965); J. Gregor, Italian Fascism and Developmental Dictatorship, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979); Gianfranco Pasquino, "The Demise of the First Fascist Regime and the Transition to Democracy: Preliminary Notes on the Italian Experience," paper delivered at the Conference "Transitions from Authoritarian Rule," Washington, D.C.: The Wilson Center, 1980; the various works by R. de Felice: Le Interpretazioni di Fascismo, (Bari: Laterza, 1970); Mussolini il Duce, 2 vols., (Turin: Einaudi, 1965); Mussolini il Fascista, 2 vols., (Turin: Einaudi, 1965); A. Aquarone, L'Organizzazione dello stato totalitario, (Turin, Einaudi, 1965); and G. Germani, Autoritarismo, Fascismo e classi sociali, (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1975).

There is a good number of works dealing with the various aspects of the relationship between the Fascist state and Italian society. On Church-State relations, D.A. Binchy, Church and State in Fascist Italy, (London: Oxford University Press, 1970)--reprinted from the 1941 edition--and, and Richard W. Webster, The Cross and the Fasces: Christian Democracy and Fascism in Italy, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1960) are the more thorough and informative, while Carl T. Schmidt, The Plough and the Sword: Labor, Land and Property in Fascist Italy, (New York: AMS Press, 1965)--reprinted from the 1938 edition--and William G. Welk, Fascist Economist Policy: An Analysis of Italy's Economic Experiment, (New York: Russell and Russell, 1968)--reprinted from

the 1938 edition--are demanding but rewarding studies of the economic and agricultural policies pursued by the Fascist state. A more recent work focusing on industry is R. Sarti, Fascism and Industrial Leadership in Italy 1919-1940: A Study in the Expansion of Private Power under Fascism (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1971). On the Fascist Party itself, the best work is Dante Germino's The Italian Fascist Party in Power: A Study in Totalitarian Rule, (New York: H. Fertig, 1971), while E.J. Hobsbawm, Revolutionaries, (London: Quartet Books, 1977), ch.6 gives an account of the fortunes of the Italian Communist Party during the Fascist period. Finally, Italy's foreign relations and its imperial dreams under Fascism are the subject of a recent monograph by Denis Mack Smith, Mussolini's Roman Empire, (New York: Viking, 1976).

II.6 Post-World War II Period

For the post-World War II period, the social science literature is quite rich. Once again, we should like to refer to the bibliography for 1943-1975 prepared by Peter Lange which contains a wealth of information, again only in English, in Political Science, Economics, Sociology and Anthropology.

The best single work on the period is H. Stuart Hughes, The United States and Italy, revised ed., (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), while the following offer interesting, though primarily political, surveys of developments in the last

thirty years: Roy F. Willis, Italy Chooses Europe, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); Norman Kogan, A Political History of Post-War Italy, (New York: Praeger, 1981); and Giuseppe Mammarella, Italy After Fascism: A Political History, 1943-65, (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966). A useful reader in Italian is S.J. Woolf (ed.), Italia 1943-50. La ricostruzione, (Bari: Laterza 1975).

II.7 The Political System

Political science works on post-World War II years are both abundant, and, quite often, of high quality. On Italian political culture, Joseph LaPalombara, "Italy: Fragmentation, Isolation, and Alienation," in Lucian W. Pye and Sidney Verba, eds., Political Culture and Political Development, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), 282-329 is certainly the best. The classic comparative study on the phenomenon of fragmentation and of apathy discussed by LaPalombara is Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), while Giuseppe Di Palma's Apathy and Participation, (New York: Free Press, 1970) also deals with the same problem in an insightful way. A very important contribution to the study of the Italian political system, and of the role of pressure groups in it is Joseph LaPalombara, Interest Groups in Italian Politics, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964). On the process of government, see for example, Giuseppe Di Palma's, Surviving without Governing: the Italian Parties in Parliament (Berkeley, Calif.: University of

California Press, 1977) and Sabino Cassese, "Is There a Government in Italy? Politics and Administration in Italy," in R. Rose and E. Suleiman, eds., Presidents and Prime Ministers, (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1980).

On the Italian political party system, Giovanni Sartori, "European Political Parties: The Case of Polarized Pluralism," in Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner, eds., Political Parties and Political Development, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966) 137-76, is a good introductory account. A broader treatment of the same subject is Dante Germino and Stefano Passigli, Government and Politics in Contemporary Italy, (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), specially chapter 4. Giorgio Galli and Alfonso Prandi, Patterns of Political Participation in Italy, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1970) is a thorough and extensive study of Italian politics and society from 1946 to 1963.

Among the more recent works on the Italian party system in crisis, which also focus on the problems associated with regime crisis and regime transition, Sidney Tarrow's "The Italian Party System in Crisis and Transition," American Journal of Political Science, XXI (1977), 193-224 is a very good study. The crisis of the Italian political system is the specific focus of three good works: Fabio Lucca Cavazze and Stephen Graubard, eds., Il caso italiano, (Milan: Aldo Garzanti, 1974); Luigi Graziano and Sidney Tarrow, eds., L'Italia tra crisi e transizione, (Turin: Einaudi, 1978); and Giuseppe Di Palma, Political Syncretism in Italy:

Historical Coalition Strategies and the Present Crisis, (Berkeley, Calif.: Institute of International Studies, 1978). On the role of the opposition in the operation of the political system, Samuel H. Barnes, "Italy: Oppositions on Left, Right and Center," in Robert A. Dahl, ed., Political Oppositions in Western Democracies (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966), 303-31 is probably the best.

Italian electoral politics have been the subject of numerous studies. Two recent works focusing on a single election are Howard R. Penniman, ed., Italy at the Polls, The Parliamentary Elections of 1976 (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1977), as well as idem, ed., Italy at the Polls, 1979. Their usefulness lies not only in the quality of the articles they contain, but also in the coverage of the recent history and developments in both the major and the smaller political parties. See also Arturo Parisi and Gianfranco Pasquino, eds., Continuità e mutamento elettorale in Italia: Le elezioni del 20 giugno 1976 e il sistema politico italiano, (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1977) which includes insightful theoretical articles by the editors. A very recent collection of essays on aspects of the Italian political system can be found in Gianfranco Pasquino, ed., Il sistema politico italiano, (Bari: Laterza, 1985). Finally, a briefer solid assessment of the 1976 elections is Gianfranco Pasquino, "Before and After the Italian National Election of 1976," Government and Opposition, XII:1 (Winter 1977), 60-87. Two major studies of voting behavior have been published by Samuel H. Barnes, "Italy: Religion and Class in

Electoral Behavior," in R. Rose, ed., Electoral Behavior (New York: Free Press, 1974), 171-225 and idem, Representation in Italy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).

Center-periphery politics as well as local politics should have received more attention. This will probably be an area of interest in the coming years. Works on it are: Sidney Tarrow, Between Center and Periphery: Grassroots Politicians in Italy and France, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977); Peter Lange, "Semiperiphery and Core in the European Context: Reflections on the Postwar Italian Experience," in Giovanni Arrighi, ed., Semiperipheral Development: The Politics of Southern Europe in the Twentieth Century, Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1985); Sidney Tarrow, Partisanship and Political Exchange in French and Italian Local Politics, (London: Sage Publications, 1974).

Regarding individual parties, Mario Einaudi and François Goguel, eds., Christian Democracy in Italy and France, (New York: Archon Press, 1969)--reprinted from the 1952 edition--as well as Gianfranco Poggi, Catholic Action in Italy: Sociology of a Sponsored Organization, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University, 1967) are the most thorough on the Christian Democracy. Samuel H. Barnes, Party Democracy: Politics in an Italian Socialist Federation, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1967) focuses on the Socialist party; finally Donald L.M. Blackmer and Sidney Tarrow, eds., Communism in Italy and France, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975); P.A. Allum, Italian Communist

Party Since 1945, (Reading: University of Reading, 1970); and the excellent monograph by Sidney Tarrow, Peasant Communism in Southern Italy, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1967) are among the most thorough and imaginative works on the Italian Communist Party. Some other works are: Giacomo Sani, "Ricambio elettorale, mutamenti sociali e preferenze politiche," in Luigi Graziano and Sidney Tarrow, eds., La crisi italiana, (Turin, Einaudi, 1979); R. Ruffilli, ed., Cultura politica e partiti nell'età della Costituente, 2 vols., (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1979); C. Vallauri, ed., La ricostituzione dei partiti democratici, (Rome: Bulzoni, 1977); Samuel H. Barnes, "Realignment in Italy," in Russell Dalton et al., eds., Electoral Change in Industrial Democracies, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984); P. Allum, "Ecologia politica di Napoli," in M. Dogan and O. M. Settraca, eds., Partiti politici e strutture sociali in Italia, (Milan: Comunità, 1968); Gianfranco Pasquino, "Party Government in Italy: Achievements and Prospects," forthcoming in Richard S. Katz, ed., Party Governments: European and American Experiences; Austin Ranney and Giovanni Sartori, eds., Eurocommunism: The Italian Case, (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1978). Although Italy is the Southern European country with the longest democratic period since the breakdown of fascism, the difficulties of its democracy, and the crises of its political system deserve attention. For this purpose, the following works are useful: Giuseppe Di Palma, "Political Syncretism in Italy: Historical Coalition Strategies and the Present Crisis," European University Institute, 1980, Summer School on Comparative European Politics. Florence, 23 June-19 July 1980,

IUE 233/80 (SSCP7); Luigi Graziano, "La crise d'un régime libéral-démocratique: l'Italie," Revue française de science politique, XXVII:2, (April 1977), F. Catalano, Una difficile democrazia, 3 vols., (Florence: D'Anna, 1980); Gianfranco Pasquino, "Une crise qui vient de loin," Esprit, (Novembre 1976), Issue on "Les Révolutions d'Italie".

II.8 The Economy

For pre-1945 economic history, Shepard B. Clough, The Economic History of Italy, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964) is a useful text. Alexander Gerschenkron, "Notes on the Rate of Industrial Growth in Italy, 1881-1913," in idem, Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective, a Book of Essays, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), 72-89, and Luciano Cafagna, "The Industrial Revolution in Italy 1830-1914," in Carlo M. Cipolla, ed., The Fontana Economic History of Europe, vol.IV, part 1, (London: Collins, 1973), 279-328 are both penetrating studies of the problems associated with industrial development in Italy, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Richard A. Webster, Industrial Imperialism in Italy 1908-1915, (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1975) is a compelling analysis of the complex relationship between Italy's industrialization and its political system.

From the rich literature on post-World War II economic development in Italy, Vera Lutz, Italy: A Study in Economic

Development, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975)--reprinted from the 1962 edition--is a good account, while George H. Hildebrand, Growth and Structure in the Economy of Modern Italy, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965) is a more technical and difficult analysis. Finally, Kevin Allen and Andrew A. Stevenson, An Introduction to the Italian Economy, (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1974) is an excellent treatment of recent economic developments in Italy.

On the Italian labour movement, Maurice F. Neufeld, Italy: School for Awakening Countries: The Italian Labor Movement in its Political, Social and Economical Setting from 1800 to 1960, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974)--reprinted from the 1961 edition--is an uneven and eccentric, but nevertheless very valuable, work filled with hard-to-obtain data, not only on Italian labour, but also on economic and political conditions. Louise Tilly's "Italy" in Charles Tilly, Louise Tilly, and Richard Tilly, The Rebellious Century 1830-1930, (London: Dent & Sons, 1975) is a useful survey of labour conflicts until 1922. A good study of the early stages of the communist movement in Italy is John M. Cammett, Antonio Gramsci and the Origins of Italian Communism, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1967). By far the most outstanding monograph on the subject is Daniel L. Horowitz, The Italian Labor Movement, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), while Gianfranco Pasquino, "Capital and Labor in Italy," Government and Opposition, XI:3 (Summer 1976), 273-93 focuses on developments since World War II.

III. PORTUGAL

III.1 Introduction

Of the five countries considered in this essay, Portugal is probably the one which has attracted the least attention from foreign social scientists--at least, of those publishing in the English language. The "native" social science community is also notably undeveloped vis-à-vis those of Italy, Spain and even Greece and Turkey. Nor is the quality of much of what is available as high as in analogous research efforts in the other countries. One major exception to this gloomy assessment is José Cutileiro, A Portuguese Rural Society, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1971), a superb study of rural Portugal, with a keen and sensitive eye for the political aspects of peasant life. Another high quality piece of research dealing specifically with the nature of politics on the village level is Joyce R. Riegelhaupt, "Peasants and Politics in Salazar's Portugal: The Corporate State and Village Non-Politics," in L.S. Graham and H.M. Makler, eds., Contemporary Portugal: The Revolution and its Antecedents, (Austin & London: University of Texas Press, 1979), 167-90.

The "Revolution" of 25 April 1974 changed this situation of scholarly neglect somewhat and shifted attention toward more urban social processes and national political events. For a brief period,

an enormous volume of material was published on Portugal, frequently by persons with no previous experience with the country and with rather inflated expectations about its future. Nevertheless, the "Revolution of the Carnations" did help considerably to promote social scientific discussion about Portugal--both by greatly increasing the freedom of inquiry and diversity of approach within the country, and by stimulating the interest of outsiders. There are still major gaps in historical analysis and contemporary data, but, with some ingenuity and the knowledge of several languages, it is now possible to "place" Portugal in most comparative analyses of the Southern European subset. Indigenous researchers are much more numerous--and some are of high international quality. Thanks in part to the Conference Group on Modern Portugal, there is also a lively bunch of indefatigable "Portuguesists" working outside the country.

III.2 Culture, Society and the Economy

The indispensable point of departure for understanding Portuguese society remains Cutileiro's A Portuguese Rural Society, while S. Sideri, Trade and Power: Informal Colonialism in Anglo-Portuguese Relations, (Rotterdam: Rotterdam University Press, 1970) provides a comprehensive and insightful analysis of the historical foundations of the Portuguese economy by analyzing its peripheral dependence on Great Britain.

More generally on agriculture and on Portuguese agrarian structure in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Albert Silbert, Le Portugal Méditerranéen à la fin de l'Ancien Régime - XVIIIe - début du XIXe siècle, 2 vols., (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1966) is excellent, while A. López-Cardoso, "Le Portugal: Structures agraires et système politique," Analyse et Prévision, II:6 (1968), 761-78 is very useful for the period of authoritarian rule. The two standard Portuguese-language sources on the agrarian question are J. Silva Martins, Estruturas agrárias em Portugal continental, 2 vols., (Lisbon: Prelo, 1975), and Álvaro Cunhal, Contribuição para o estudo da questão agrária, 2nd ed., 2 vols., (Lisbon: Ed. "Avante," 1976).

For an overview of the historical background to Portugal's delayed industrialization, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, Prix et Monnaies au Portugal, 1750-1850, (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1955) is especially good, while Miriam Halpern Pereira, Livre câmbio e desenvolvimento económico: Portugal na segunda metade do século XIX, (Lisbon: Cosmos, 1971) is a compelling study of Portuguese economic development in the second half of the century. The standard history by A.H. de Oliveira Marques, History of Portugal, 2nd ed., 2 vols., (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976) also has a good deal of information and analysis on economic changes. A more recent treatment is M.V. Cabral, Portugal na alvorada do século XX, (Lisbon: A regra do jogo, 1979). Also Armando de Castro et al., Sobre o capitalismo português, (Coimbra: Atlântida Editora, 1974); Ramiro da Costa, O desenvolvimento do capitalismo

em Portugal, (Lisbon: Assirio e' Alvim, 1975); Antônio Fonseca Ferreira, A acumulação capitalista em Portugal: Das origens da nacionalidade aos inícios do século XIX, (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1977); Armando de Castro, O pensamento económico no Portugal moderno (De fins do século XVIII a começos do século XX), Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, Ministério da Cultura e da Ciência, Secretaria de Estado da Cultura. (Amadora: Livraria Bertrand, 1980); Luis Salgado de Matos, Investimentos estrangeiros em Portugal, (Lisbon, 1979). On the economics of the Portuguese colonial empire during the 19th century, the most comprehensive study is still Angel Marvaud, Le Portugal et ses colonies: étude politique et économique, (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1912). For the first third of the 20th century, A.H.W. King, Economic Conditions in Portugal, (London: Department of Overseas Trade, 1930) is one of several good studies. See also Fernando Medeiro, A sociedade e a economia portuguesa nas origens do Salazarismo, (Lisbon, 1979). V. Xavier Pintado, Structure and Growth of the Portuguese Economy, (Geneva: European Free Trade Association, 1964) is probably the best general treatment for much of the Salazar period. Other interpretive essays are Eric N. Baklanoff, "The Political Economy of Portugal's Old Regime: Growth and Change Preceding the 1974 Revolution," World Development, VII:8/9 (1979); the Portuguese sections of Eric N. Baklanoff, The Economic Transformation of Spain and Portugal, (New York, 1978); Francisco Pereira de Moura, Por onde vai a economia portuguesa?, 4th ed., (Lisbon: Seará Nova, 1974); R. Costa Reis and M. Rendeiro Jr. "O Estado Novo e o caminho da indústria," Historia, No.10, (August 1979); Stuart

Holland, "Dependent Development: Portugal as a Periphery," in Dudley Seers et al., eds., Underdeveloped Europe: Studies in Core-Periphery Relations, (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1979); José M. Rolo, Capitalismo, tecnologia e dependência em Portugal, (Lisbon, 1977). The highly concentrated structure of ownership in Portuguese industry and the role of oligopolies and monopolies in it is the subject of Maria Belmira Martins, Sociedades e grupos em Portugal, (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1975).

The economic policies of the successive governments since 1974 has begun to attract some attention: Anibal A. Cavaco Silva, A política económica do governo de Sá Carneiro, (Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1982); Mário Murteira, "Política económica dos governos provisórios," Economia e Socialismo, (April 1976); Francisco Pereira de Moura, O projecto burguês do governo socialista, (Lisbon: Seará Nova, 1977); H.O. Schmitt, Economic Stabilisation and Growth in Portugal, (Washington, D.C.: International Monetary Fund, April 1981); Maria Belmira Martins and J. Chaves Rosa, O Grupo Estado: análise e listagem completa das sociedades do sector público empresarial, (Lisbon: Edições Jornal Expresso, 1979); A. Simões Lopes, "Regionalização e desenvolvimento," Estudos de Economia, II:4 (July-September 1982), 513-27; R. Dornbusch, R. Eckaus and L. Taylor, "Analysis and Projection of Macroeconomic Conditions in Portugal," in L. Graham and H. Makler, op. cit., 299-330; Mário Murteira, "The Present Economic Situation: Its Origins and Prospects," in ibid., 331-42.

Two major conferences have been held diagnosing the post-revolutionary Portuguese economy: German Marshall Fund of the US and Fundação C. Gulbenkian, Conferência Internacional Sobre Economia Portuguesa. 11-13 Oct 1976, 2 vols., (Lisbon, 1977); Fundação C. Gulbenkian and the German Marshall Fund of the US, 2a Conferência Internacional Sobre Economia Portuguesa 26-28 Set. 1979, 2 vols., (Lisbon, 1980). A useful data compilation for this period is Banco de Portugal, 1975-1980 Indicadores Económicos: Portugal, (Lisbon: Banco de Portugal, 1981).

However, it is the impact of agrarian reform which has drawn the most light (and heat). On this, Alvaro Bandarra and Nelly Jazra, A estrutura agrária portuguesa transformada?, (Lisbon: Iniciativas Editoriais, 1976); Earl O. Heady, Análise do desenvolvimento agrícola e da reforma agrária em Portugal, (Lisbon: Ministério de Agricultura e Pescas, 1977); A. de Barros, A reforma agrária em Portugal, (Oeiras, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1981) and the excellent work by Nancy G. Bermeo, "The Revolution within the Revolution: Workers' Control in Rural Portugal," dissertation, Department of Political Science, Yale University, 1982 are among the most noteworthy. See also Demetrios Christodoulou, "Portugal's Agrarian Reform: A Process of Change with Unique Features," Land Reform, Land Settlement and Cooperatives, (Summer 1976), 1-21; José Pacheco Pereira, Conflitos sociais nos campos do sul de Portugal, (volume 2 of "A reforma agrária," edited by Antonio Barreto), (Lisbon: Publicações Europa-América, 1983) and Manuel de Lucena, Revolução e instituições. A

extinção dos Grêmios da Lavoura alentejanos, (volume 5 of "A reforma agrária," edited by A. Barreto), (Lisbon: Publicações Europa-América, 1985).

The social structure and class relations of Portugal have received surprisingly little scholarly attention--in the past no doubt due to censorship and political prudence. A useful summary of the situation in the pre-revolutionary period is the essay by Hermínio Martins, "Portugal," in Margaret Scotford Archer and Salvador Giner, eds., Contemporary Europe: Class, Status and Power, (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971), 60-89. Joyce F. Riegelhaupt, "Salioio Women: An Analysis of Informal and Formal Political and Economic Roles of Portuguese Peasant Women," Anthropological Quarterly, XL:3 (July 1967), 109-26 is an insightful study of the relationship between peasant women and formal economic and political institutions in Salazar's Portugal. The quarterly, Análise Sociál, published by the Gabinete de Investigações Sociais, has published numerous articles on social history and social structure. Since 1974 in particular, these have improved in quality and focused more on the analysis of class domination and conflict. Of special importance is the triple number (Nos. 72, 73, 74) of the review for 1982-1983 which contains some 40 major interpretive essays. It is really a "must item" for any sociologically-informed understanding of modern Portugal. Maria De Lourdes, Lima dos Santos, Para uma sociologia da cultura burguesa em portugal no século XIX, (Lisbon: Editorial Presença: Instituto de Ciências Sociais, 1983) is an initial study on a very understudied topic.

Another major contribution has been the work of Harry Makler on the industrial elite. His A 'Elite' Industrial Portuguesa, (Lisbon: C. Gulbenkian Foundation, 1969) is one of the few studies based on extensive interviewing and systematic data analysis to emerge from the authoritarian period. It has been brought up to date to cover immediate post-1974 changes in Harry Makler, "The Portuguese Industrial Elite and its Corporative Relations: A Study of Compartmentalisation in an Authoritarian Regime," in Economic Development and Cultural Change, (24 April 1976)--also contained in L. Graham and H. Makler, op. cit., 123-166. One persistent aspect of Portugal's social and economic life that has not gone unexamined is emigration. M.B. Rocha-Trinidade and J. Arroteia, Bibliografia da emigração portuguesa (Lisbon: Instituto Português de Ensino a Distância, 1984) and contains some 500 items relative to this subject. Especially worth mentioning is Caroline Brettell, We have Already Cried Many Tears: Portuguese Women and Migration, (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman, 1982) which, in addition to being an important case study on the social anthropology of migration, makes a major contribution to the very scarcely-populated field of women's studies in Portugal. See also her "Emigration and its Implications for the Revolution in Northern Portugal", in L. Graham and H. Makler, op. cit., 281-98. Elizabeth Leeds, "Labor Export, Development and the State: the Political Economy of Portuguese Emigration," Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Political Science, MIT (1984) deals with the impact of emigration from a more macro-perspective. M. Silva et al., Retorno, emigração e desenvolvimento regional em Portugal, (Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos para o

Desenvolvimento, 1984); and E. de Sousa Ferreira, Reintegração dos emigrantes portugueses, (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos da Dependência, 1984) take up the crucial problem of the return and reintegration of migrants in Portuguese society.

III.3 History and Politics

The standard general history on Portugal has long been A.H. de Oliveira Marques, History of Portugal, 2nd ed., 2 vols., (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976). Tom Gallagher, Portugal. A Twentieth-Century Interpretation, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983) is more analytical and brings the story up-to-date. Another good work is Stanley G. Payne's, A History of Spain and Portugal mentioned earlier in the section on Spain. Both can be usefully supplemented by Richard Robinson, Contemporary Portugal: A History. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979). Of H.V. Livermore's various treatments, the most recent, A New History of Portugal, 2nd ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) will probably appear the least old-fashioned and most useful to modern readers. Eugene K. Keefe, et al., Area Handbook for Portugal, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1977) covers a lot of ground--none of it very new or exciting.

The major source book for beginning any serious historical analysis of pre-Salazarian Portugal is Joel Serrão, ed., Dicionário de história de Portugal, 4 vols., (Lisbon, 1963-71). Also Joel Serrão, Maria José da Silva Leal and Miriam Halpern Pereira, eds.,

Roteiro de fontes da História Portuguesa Contemporânea, 2 vols., (Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1984). On the Portuguese Empire down to the convulsions occasioned by the Napoleonic Wars, Charles R. Boxer, The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825, (London: Hutchinson, 1969) is an indispensable general treatment.

For the entire 19th century and up to 1910, the English-language literature on Portugal is negligible and unsatisfactory. Vasco Pulido Valente, O poder e o povo. A revolução de 1910 is a lively analysis of the fall of the monarchy and the rise of republicanism after the 1880s. For the period 1900-1930, there is the suggestive article by Oliveira Marques, "Revolution and Counterrevolution in Portugal--Problems in Portuguese History, 1900-1930," in Studien ueber die Revolution, (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1969), 403-18. For the republican period, the recent work by Douglas L. Wheeler, Republican Portugal: A Political History, 1910-1926, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978) is likely to remain the standard reference for some time. It is far superior to the previous (and very biased) summary by Carlos Ferrão, História da 1ª República, (Lisbon: Terra Livre, 1976). See also António José Telo. Decadência e queda da I República (Lisbon, 1980) for a political analysis of why the first democratic regime collapsed.

On the early stages of the labor movement, see Carlos da Fonseca, História do movimento operário e das ideias socialistas em

Portugal, (Lisbon, 1979) and Alexandre Vieira, Para a história do sindicalismo em Portugal, (Lisbon, 1970); Maria Filomena Mónica, A formação da classe operária portuguesa. Antologia da imprensa operária (1850-1934), (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1982); idem, "Indústria e democracia: os operários metalúrgicos de Lisboa (1880-1934)," Análise Social, (Lisbon), XVIII:72-73-74, (1982-3-4-5), 1231-277. Hermínio Martins, "Portugal" in S.J. Woolf, ed., European Fascism, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), 302-36 is the best introduction to the Estado Novo, although it is by now rather out-of-date, given the substantial increase in historical and social scientific scholarship on this period during the last decade. António de Figueiredo, Portugal: Fifty Years of Dictatorship, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1975) is a useful and more recent summary. Several works concentrate on Salazar himself: António Ferro, Salazar: Portugal and her Leader, (London: Faber & Faber, 1939) is still the best work by one of Salazar's followers; P. Fryer and P.M. Pinheiro, Oldest Ally: A Portrait of Salazar's Portugal, (London: D. Dobson, 1961) is a more polemical opposition work; Hugh Kay, Salazar and Modern Portugal, (London: Eyre & Spottiswood, 1970) is perhaps the most scholarly and broad in scope; and Christian Rudel, Salazar, (Paris: Mercure de France, 1969) may be the most insightful. Franco Noqueira, Salazar, 5 vols., (Coimbra, 1977-80) is the most massive effort at understanding the extraordinary political longevity of this leader.

For more specialized aspects of the Estado Novo, see Manuel Braga da Cruz, A democracia cristã e o salazarismo, (Lisbon, 1978);

S. Cerqueira. "L'église catholique et la dictature corporatiste portugaise," Revue Française de Science Politique, XXIII:3 (June 1973), 473-513; Thomas C. Bruneau, "Church and State in Portugal: Crises of Cross and Sword," Journal of Church and State, (Autumn 1976); Hermínio Martins, "Opposition in Portugal," Government and Opposition, IV (Spring 1969), 250-63; F. Callagher, "Controlled Repression in Salazar's Portugal," Journal of Contemporary History, XIV (1979); João Medina, Salazar e os fascistas, (Lisbon, 1979); Jorge Campinos, Ideologia política do estado Salazarista, (Lisbon: Portugalia Editora, n.d.); and his O presidencialismo do Estado Novo, (Lisbon: Perspectivas a Realidades, 1978); Francisco Rafael, Jorge Preto and Maria Ana Casanova, et al., eds., Portugal: Capitalismo e Estado Novo: Algumas Contribuições para o seu estudo, (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1976); Presidência do Conselho de Ministros, Presos políticos no regime fascista 1932-35 (Lisbon: Comissão do Livro Negro Sobre O Regime Fascista, 1981); Presidência do Conselho de Ministros, Discriminação política no emprego no regime fascista, (Lisbon: Comissão do Livro Negro Sobre O Regime Fascista, 1982); Assis Gonçalves, Relatórios para Oliveira Salazar 1931-1939, (Lisbon: Comissão Do Livro Negro Sobre O Regime Fascista, 1981).

One particular aspect of the Estado Novo which attracted a great deal of attention and on which interpretations have been particularly divergent was its system of corporatist interest representation. The principal interpretations have been Manuel Lucena, A Evolução do Sistema Corporativo Português: I. O

Salazarismo, (Lisbon: Perspectives & Realidades, 1976) and A Evolução do Sistema Corporativo Português: II. O Marcelismo, (Lisbon: Perspectivas & Realidades, 1976); Philippe C. Schmitter, Corporatism and Public Policy in Authoritarian Portugal, (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1975); and Howard J. Wiarda, Corporatism and Development: The Portuguese Experience, (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977. For an English summary of the first of these, see Manuel Lucena, "The Evolution of Portuguese Corporatism under Salazar and Caetano," in L.S. Graham and H.M. Makler, eds., op. cit., 47-88. Two articles by Wiarda carry the discussion into the post-revolutionary period: "The Tradition and the Corporative System in Portugal, Structured, Evolving, Transcendent, Persistent," in ibid., 89-122 and Transcending Corporatism: The Portuguese Corporative System and the Revolution of 1974, (Columbia, South Carolina: Institute of International Studies, University of South Carolina, 1976).

The fact that under authoritarian rule, the Portuguese regime regularly conducted (and always won) parliamentary and presidential elections for over forty years is frequently ignored. For an analysis of this phenomenon, see Philippe C. Schmitter, "The Impact and Meaning of Non-Competitive, Non-Free and Insignificant Elections in Authoritarian Portugal, 1933-74," in G. Hermet, R. Rose and A. Rouquié, eds., Elections without Choice, (London: Macmillan, 1978), 145-68. For an interesting direct account of one of these "contests," see Francisco Sá Carneiro, Uma tentativa de participação política, (Lisbon: Moraes Editores, 1971).

Perhaps the most ambitious effort at an overall theoretical and empirical analysis of this defunct regime is Philippe C. Schmitter, "The 'Régime d'Exception' That Became the Rule: Forty-Eight Years of Authoritarian Domination in Portugal," in L.S. Graham and H.M. Makler, eds., Contemporary Portugal, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 3-46. Also Lawrence S. Graham, Portugal: The Decline and Collapse of an Authoritarian Order, (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1975) and Norman Blume, "Portugal Under Caetano," Iberian Studies 4, (Autumn 1975), 46-52; and his "Sedes: An Example of Opposition in a Conservative Authoritarian State," Government and Opposition, (Summer 1977), 351-66 are useful for their analyses of the post-Salazar phase of the regime.

The mémoires of Caetano himself: Marcello Caetano, Depoimento, (Rio de Janeiro: Distribuidora Record, 1974); and Minhas memórias de Salazar, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Editorial Verbo, 1977) are surprisingly revealing, as are Jaime Nogueira Pinto, Portugal: os anos do fim, 2 vols., (n.p.: Sociedade de Publicações Economia & Finanças, LDA, 1977), written by another direct participant. For the other side by a protagonist, see Mário Soares, Le Portugal baillonné (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1972); and idem, Portugal's Struggle for Liberty, (London, 1975).

The literature on the "Revolução do 25 de Abril" is enormous and very little written by foreigners is of lasting value. For an excellent and far-ranging bibliography, see William Lomax,

Revolution in Portugal: 1974-1976: A Bibliography, (Durham, N.H.: The International Conference Group on Modern Portugal, 1978). The essays in Lawrence S. Graham, and Harry M. Makler, eds., In Search of Modern Portugal: The Revolution and Its Consequences, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983) are indispensable for their wealth of detail and variety of analytical perspectives. Another collection of generally less insightful essays is Jorge Braga de Macedo and Simon Serfaty, eds., Portugal Since the Revolution: Economic and Political Perspectives, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1981). P.C. Schmitter, "Liberation by golpe: Retrospective Thoughts on the Demise of Authoritarian Rule in Portugal," Armed Forces and Society, II:2 (November 1975), 5-33 is an effort to analyze the unexpected regime change itself. Douglas L. Wheeler, "The Revolution in Perspective: Revolution and Counterrevolution in Modern Portuguese History," in Lawrence S. Graham and Douglas L. Wheeler, eds., In Search of Modern Portugal, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 339-69 is an attempt to place these developments in the longer sweep of Portugal's history. Serge-Christophe Kolm, "Chili-Portugal: Vers une théorie des processus révolutionnaires modernes," Annales Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations 31, (November-December 1976), 1245-61, builds on an interesting comparison. Jane Kramer, "A Reporter at Large: The Portuguese Revolution," The New Yorker, (December 15, 1975) 92-131 is an unusually insightful eyewitness account by an American journalist. Thomas C. Bruneau in his "Continuity and Change in Portuguese Politics: Ten Years after the Revolution of 25 April 1974," West European Politics, VII:2 (April 1984), 72-83 does a

good job on evaluating the longer-term consequences of the change in regime and he has expanded this effort in his Politics and Nationhood: Post-Revolutionary Portugal, (New York: Praeger, 1984); see also his "Problems and Prospects in the Creation of a New Regime," Naval War College Review, XXIX:1 (Summer 1976), 65-82, and Gianfranco Pasquino's brief, but incisive "L'evoluzione dei regimi autoritari: Il Caso di Portogallo," Critica Sociale, LXVI:5 (May 1974), 249-51.

Beyond these broad interpretive efforts, the following is particularly recommended as offering more specialized documentation on the Revolution itself: Robin Blackburn, "The Test in Portugal," New Left Review 87-88, (September-December 1974), 5-46; José Medeiros Ferreira, Ensaio histórico sobre a Revolução do 25 de Abril. O Período Pré-Constitucional, (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1983); Robert Harvey, Portugal: Birth of a Democracy, (London: Macmillan, 1978); Eduardo Lourenço, O Fascismo nunca existiu, (Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1976); Kenneth Maxwell, The Press and the Rebirth of Iberian Democracy, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983); César Oliveira, M.F.A. e Revolução Socialista, 2a edição, (Lisbon: Diabril Editora, 1975); G. Pasquino, "Le Portugal: de la dictature corporatiste à la démocratie socialiste," Il Politico, XLII, (1977); A revolução das flores: do 25 de Abril ao Governo Provisório, 2a edição, (Lisbon: Editorial Aster, n.d.); A revolução das flores: O governo de Vasco Gonçalves até ao Acordo de Lusaka, (Lisbon: Editorial Aster, n.d.);

G. De Vergottini, Le origini della seconda repubblica portoghese, (Milan: Giuffrè, 1977).

The works specifically focusing on the military are particularly numerous (and uneven in quality). A. Rangel Bandeira, "The Portuguese Armed Forces Movement: Historical Antecedents, Professional Demands, and Class Conflict," Politics and Society, VI (1976) stands out as one of the best analyses. Two other studies in English which focus on the Portuguese military are: George W. Grayson, "Portugal and the Armed Forces Movement," Orbis, XIX:2 (Summer 1975), 335-79, and the uneven, and ultimately mediocre, monograph by Rona M. Fields, The Portuguese Revolution and the Armed Forces Movement, (New York: Praeger, 1976). Much better and more complete, but still not fully satisfactory, is Douglas Porch, The Portuguese Armed Forces and the Revolution, (London: Croom Helm, 1977). Other useful works on the MFA are: Diniz Almeida, Origens e evolução do Movimento de Capitães, (Lisbon: Edições Sociais, n.d.); *idem*, Ascensão, apogeu e queda do MFA, (Lisbon: Edições Sociais, 1977); Alain Joxe, "Le mouvement des forces armées portugaises," Politique Etrangère, XXXIX (1974), 659-87; E. Lourenço, Os Militares e O Poder, (Lisbon: Editora Arcadia, SARL, 1975); A. Rodrigues *et al.*, eds., O Movimento dos Capitães e o 25 de Abril, (Lisbon: Moraes, 1974).

The international aspects of the Revolução--its impact outside the country and the efforts of outsiders to influence its course--have only begun to be explored. For a start, see Thomas C. Bruneau,

"As dimensões internacionais da Revolução Portuguesa: apoios e constrangimentos no estabelecimento da democracia," Análise Social, XVIII:72-73-74 (1982), 885-96 and Alex Macleod, Les Partis communistes français et italien face à la Révolution portugaise 1973-1975, (Montreal: Editions Nouvelle Optique, 1984). Closer to the moment were the wide-ranging articles by Kenneth Maxwell, "The Hidden Revolution in Portugal," and "Portugal Under Pressure" in The New York Review of Books, respectively 17 April 1975 and 29 May 1975, and the same author's "The Thorns of the Portuguese Revolution," Foreign Affairs, LIV:2 (January 1976), 250-70. On the interaction with the United States and the Soviet Union, a good article is Tad Szulc, "Lisbon and Washington: Behind the Portuguese Revolution," Foreign Policy, XXI (Winter 1975-76), 3-62; see also C. Bell, The Diplomacy of Detente, (New York, 1977).

Accounts by leading actors in the Revolution are numerous. Of special relevance is Antonio Spínola, Portugal e o futuro, (n.p.: Editora Arcádia, 1974) which, in some sense, set the whole thing in motion; see also his Ao serviço de Portugal, (Lisbon: Ática/Bertrand, 1976). From a different political perspective, see Álvaro Cunhal, A Revolução Portuguesa: O passado e o futuro, (Lisbon: Editorial Avante, 1976) and Mário Soares, Portugal: Que Revolução?, (Lisbon: Perspectivas & Realidades, 1976).

Once the Revolução had settled into the "trenches" of electoral competition and institutional definition, the attention of observers/analysts shifted rather dramatically. A number of

excellent electoral analyses have appeared, some using aggregate data, others based on surveys (although the latter have been relatively rare in Portugal): Atlas Eleitoral, (Lisbon: Editorial Progresso Social e Democracia, SARL, 1981); T. Bruneau, Os portugueses e a política quatro anos depois do 25 de Abril, in conjunction with Mário Bacalhau, (Lisbon: Editorial Meseta, 1978); "Dossier" Eleições: em que sentido se desloca o eleitorado português?, (Lisbon: Edições Avante, 1977); Jorge Gaspar and Nuno Vitorino, As eleições De 25 De Abril: Geografia e imagem dos partidos, (Lisbon: Lisbon Horizonte, L.D.A. 1976); Instituto Português De Opinião Pública e Estudos De Mercado, Os Portugueses e a política, (Lisbon: Moraes Editores, 1973); Walter C. Opello, "Actividades, papéis e orientações ideológicas de sociais-democratas Portugueses: Estudo de uma amostra," Análise Social, XVIII:72,73, (1982-83), 947-58; Ben Pimlott, "Parties and Voters in the Portuguese Revolution: The Elections of 1975 and 1976," Parliamentary Affairs, XXX(Winter 1977), 35-58.

Related to these frequent and constantly shifting electoral outcomes have been the underlying emergent structures of party organization, recruitment, ideology and strategy. In the earlier stages of regime change, attention was focused primarily upon the Left. The Communist Party of Portugal then played a crucial and highly influential role, primarily through its links with key elements in the Armed Forces Movement and its role and fortunes were the subject of two good articles: Eusébio Mujal-Léon, "The PCP

and the Portuguese Revolution," Problems of Communism, (January-February 1977), 21-41, and Arnold Hottinger, "The Rise of Portugal's Communists," Problems of Communism, (July-August 1975), 1-17. More recent (and reflective) analyses are T. Bruneau, "The Left and the Emergence of Portuguese Liberal Democracy," in Bernard E. Brown, ed., Eurocommunism and Eurosocialism: The Left Confronts Modernity, (New York: Cyrco Press, 1979); Eusébio Mujal-Léon, "Communism and Revolution in Portugal," in Rudolf L. Tokes, ed., Eurocommunism and Détente, (Oxford: Martin Robertson 1979); T. Gallagher, "The Portuguese Communist Party and Eurocommunism," The Political Quarterly, L:2 (1979), 205-18; and B. Pimlott, "Socialism in Portugal: Was it a Revolution?," Government and Opposition XII (Summer 1977), 332-50. With the waning of the Communist threat and the varying fortunes of the Socialists--and with the passage of several elections--it has been possible to describe more dispassionately the configuration of Portugal's new party system as a whole. Important contributions are Joaquim Aguiar, A ilusão do poder: Análise do sistema partidário Português 1976-1982, (Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1983); L.C. Colaço Antunes, "Sistema de partidos y participacion politica en Portugal," Revista de Estudios Políticos, XXVII (1982); José Durão Barroso, "Quelques éléments pour l'étude des partis politiques portugais: Organisation, clivage idéologique; bibliographie sélective," Université de Genève, mimeograph, (November, 1982); Paulino Gomes and Thomas C. Bruneau, Eanes: Porquê o Poder?, (Lisbon: Intervoz, 1976); J.R. Lewis and Allan M. Williams, "Social Cleavages and Electoral Performance: The Social Basis of Portuguese Political Parties, 1976-83," West

European Politics, VII:2 (April 1984), 119-37; Pedro Santana Lopes and José Durão Barroso, Sistema De Governo e Sistema Partidário, (Amadora: Livraria Bertrand, 1980); Walter C. Opello, "Electoral Rules and Candidate Selection," in Howard R. Penniman, ed., Portugal at the Polls, (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, forthcoming); idem, "Portugal," in Vincent McHale, ed., Political Parties of Europe, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983), 728-73; Thomas T. Mackie, "Portugal since 1975," in Thomas T. Mackie and Richard Rose, eds., The International Almanac of Electoral History. Second Edition, (London: Macmillan, 1982), 311-19; H.J. Wiarda, "Spain and Portugal," in Peter H. Merkl, ed., Western European Party Systems, (New York: The Free Press, 1980). See also Walter C. Opello and William Claggett, "The Dynamics of West European Party Systems: The Portuguese Case," Polity, XVII:1 (Fall 1984), 165-78.

Another aspect of regime stabilization has been the drafting of a constitution, electoral code, administrative restructuring and reforms in local government. The "classical" work on Portuguese constitutionalism remains Marcello Caetano, Constituições Portuguesas, (Lisbon: Editorial Verbo, 1978). Useful material can be found in Assembleia da República, Direcção de Serviços de Divulgação e Relações Públicas, Revisão Constitucional, 2 vols., 1981; Reinaldo Caldeira and Maria do Céu Silva, Constituição política da República Portuguesa 1976, (Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 1976); José de Magalhães Godinho, A legislação eleitoral e sua crítica, (Lisbon: Prelo 1969); M. Lucena, O Estado da Revolução - A

Constituição de 1976; (Lisbon: Edições Jornal Expresso, n.d.) See also the various articles by Walter C. Opello, "Social Origins and Political Attitudes of Portugal's Administrative Elite," West European Politics, (January 1983), 63-74; "Portugal's New Ombudsman: A Preliminary Evaluation," Luso-Brazilian Review, XVIII (Winter 1982), 239-52; "Local Government and Political Culture in a Portuguese Rural County," Comparative Politics, XIII (April 1981), 271-89; "The Parliament in Portuguese Constitutional History," Iberian Studies VII (Spring 1978), 22-29; and "The Second Portuguese Republic: Politico-Administrative Decentralization Since April 25, 1974," Iberian Studies, VII (Autumn 1978), 43-8. Also worthwhile are B. Pimlott, "Portugal - Two Battles in the War of the Constitution," West European Politics IV (May 1981), 286-96; Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa, Direito constitucional. I. Introdução à teoria da constituição, (Braga: Livraria Cruz, 1979); idem, O sistema de governo português: Antes e depois da revisão Constitucional, (Lisbon: Cognition, 1983); and Emídio da Veiga Domingos, Portugal político: Análise das instituições, (Lisbon: Edições Rolim, 1980).

An excellent study of working class conflict in the aftermath of the revolution is Maria de Lourdes Lima Santos, Marinus Pires de Lima and Vitor Matias Ferreira. O 25 de Abril e as lutas sociais nas empresas, 2 vols., (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1976). Unfortunately, there is not yet a comprehensive analysis of the new system of union organization and industrial relations in Portugal.

The passage, now, of a decade since the demise of authoritarian rule and the emergent institutionalization of parties, parliament, voluntary associations and an electorally accountable executive have brought Portugal within the range of variance of Western European polities. Increasingly, its regime transformation--despite the peculiarities related to its origin--has been placed within a more general discussion of democratization in Southern Europe and Latin America. A first attempt at analyzing the conditions for a successful transition to democracy in Portugal was Philippe C. Schmitter, "Historical Bloc Formation and Regime Consolidation in Post-Authoritarian Portugal," mimeo, University of Chicago, 1976. Kenneth Maxwell's "The Transition in Portugal," in Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead, eds., op. cit., represented Portugal in a comparative research project on Southern Europe and Latin America sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Center of Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. For an earlier discussion, see his "The Emergence of Portuguese Democracy," in John H. Herz, ed., From Dictatorship to Democracy: Coping with the Legacies of Authoritarianism and Totalitarianism, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982).

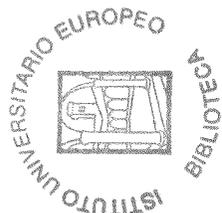
Thomas Bruneau has been the social scientist who has followed the course of Portuguese political development most assiduously and consistently. In addition to his works cited above, see his "Patterns of Politics in Portugal Since the April Revolution," in Jorge Braga de Macedo and Simon Serfaty, eds., Portugal Since the Revolution: Economic and Political Perspectives, (Boulder,

Colorado: Westview Press, 1981); "Portugal in the 1970s: From Regime to Regime," Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv, (January 1982). See also the most recent work by Walter C. Opello, Jr., Portugal's Political Development: A Comparative Approach, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1985). Other interesting analyses are Tom Gallagher, "Portugal's Bid for Democracy: The Role of the Socialist Party," West European Politics, II (1979), 198-217; Robert Harvey, Portugal: Birth of a Democracy, (London: Macmillan, 1978); Institute of International Studies, "Portugal and Spain: Transition Politics," Essay Series, No. 5, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina: (May 1976); José Medeiros Ferreira, Do Código Genético no estado democrático, (Lisbon: Contexto Editora, LDA, 1981); José Durao Barroso, "Formas e tempos políticos da democratização: O caso português", Prespectivas, X (1982), 41-50; Rebelo de Sousa and G. Oliveira Martins, Democracia incompleta, (Lisbon, 1978); Rainer Eisfeld, Sozialistischer Pluralismus in Europa: Ansatz und Scheitern am Beispiel Portugal, (Cologne: Wissenschaft und Politik, 1984); and the highly personal interpretation of Vasco Pulido Valente, O País das Maravilhas, (Lisbon, 1980).

Before closing the books on Portugal, one should mention two special problems, one peculiar to that country--namely the impact of its colonial empire--and another that it shares with Spain and Greece, namely, its delayed entry into the European Community. On the former, the standard historical treatment is Richard J. Hammond, Portugal and Africa, 1815-1910: A Study in Uneconomic

Imperialism, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1967). António de Figueiredo, Portugal and its Empire: The Truth, (London: Victor Gollancz, 1961) now seems dated. John Marcuun, "Portugal and Africa: The Politics of Indifference," Eastern African Studies, V (March 9, 1972) and Neil Bruce, Portugal: The Last Empire, (London: David & Charles, 1975) are more recent treatments. On the latter topic--Portugal's entry into the European Common Market--scholarly interest has been mounting as the prospect gets nearer and nearer. Three early evaluations are Sérgio Ribeiro, A adesão ao Mercado Comum: Fatalidade ou opção?, (Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1977) and idem, O Mercado Comum: A integração e Portugal, (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1976) and X.A. Pinheiro, Portugal e a integração económica europeia, (Coimbra, 1970). More recent efforts are: Pedro Álvares and Carlos Roma Fernandes, Portugal e o Mercado Comum: Dos acordos de 1972 às negociações de adesão, (Lisbon: Editorial Pórtico, 1980); Guido Ashoff, "The Southward Enlargement of the EC: Consequences for Industries and Industrial Policies," Intereconomics, (November-December 1980), 299-307; T. Bruneau, "Out of Africa into Europe: Towards an Analysis of Portuguese Foreign Policy," International Journal XXXII (Spring 1977), 288-314; J. Cândido de Azevedo, Portugal Europa face ao Mercado Comum, (Amadora: Livraria Bertrand, 1978); Arménio Cardo, Portugal e o Mercado Comum depois do 25 de Abril, (Lisbon: Livraria Petrony, 1976); José Durão Barroso, Le système politique portugais face à l'intégration européenne. Partis politiques et opinion publique, (Lisbon: APRI/LEP; Lausanne, 1984); Thomas C. Bruneau, Vitor Pereira da Rosa and Alex Macleod, Portugal in Development:

Emigration, Industrialization, the European Community (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1984); Juergen B. Donges, et al., eds., The Second Enlargement of the European Community: Adjustment, Requirements and Challenges for Policy Reform, (Tuebingen: JCB Mohr, 1982); Juergen B. Donges, "Industrial Development and Competitiveness in an Enlarged Community," paper prepared for the conference on Portugal and the Enlargement of the European Community, Lisbon, 24-26 January 1980; Klaus Esser, Guido Ashoff, Ansgar Eussner and Wilhelm Hummen, "Portugal's Industrial Policy in Terms of Accession to the European Community," Occasional Paper No. 60, (Berlin: German Development Institute (GDI), 1980); Klaus Esser, Hans Gsanger, Christian Heimpel, et al., "European Community and Acceding Countries of Southern Europe," Occasional Paper No. 54 of the German Development Institute (Berlin: 1979); Georg Gallus, "Agricultural Problems of the Accession of Greece, Portugal and Spain to the EC," Intereconomics, (January-February 1979), 6-10; Beate Kohler, "Political Problems of the Southward Extension," Intereconomics, (January-February 1979), 3-5; Instituto de Estudos Para o Desenvolvimento, "Problemas relacionados com a adesão de Portugal à C.E.E.: Estratégias e Conceitos," Caderno No. 2, (Lisbon: 1981); Loukas Tsoukalis, The European Community and its Mediterranean Enlargement, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981); and Carlos Roma Fernandes, Portugal, Europa e o Terceiro Mundo, (Lisbon, 1980).



IV. SPAIN

IV.1 Culture and Society

Social science and historical works in English focusing specifically on Spain are unfortunately not as numerous as those dealing with Italy, though the situation is changing. Still, this dearth is partly made up by the high quality of many of the English-language works. Certainly, one of the outstanding anthropological works on Spain in any language is Julian Pitt-Rivers, People of the Sierra, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1961). Other significant studies in the same field are those by Michael Kenny, especially his important monograph A Spanish Tapestry: Town and Country in Old Castille, (London: Cohen and West, 1961), and his "Patterns of Patronage in Spain," Anthropological Quarterly, XXXIII:1 (January 1960), 14-23 which focuses on the role of local patrons as "gatekeepers" to the broader, regional or national world. Two other studies which focus on patronage relations in rural Spain are Carmelo Lisón Tolosana, Belmonte de los Caballeros: A Sociological Study of a Spanish Town, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1966) and Juan Martinez Alier, Labourers and Landowners in Southern Spain (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1971). The impact of modernisation and of development on rural Spain, and of the resultant migration this has caused is studied in Stanley H. Brandes, Migration, Kinship, and Community: Tradition and Transition in a Spanish Village, (New York: Academic

Press, 1975). An excellent monograph analyzing the adaptative strategies of Spanish farmers facing the crisis of traditional agriculture is Víctor Pérez Díaz, Estructura social del campo y exodo rural, (Madrid: Tecnos, 1966). The impact of the process of modernization on the rural areas of Spain is also treated in the collection of articles edited by Joseph Aceres and William Douglas, The Changing Faces of Rural Spain, (New York: Wiley, 1976).

The agrarian question in Spain was, of course, one of the most explosive and intractable social and political issues marking the life of the country throughout the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries, and played a crucial role in the tragic conflicts associated with the Civil War. A superb work which deals with a great deal more than its title suggests, and which provides for a fascinating historical analysis of the social and political aspects of the agrarian question in Spain is Edward E. Malefakis, Agrarian Reform and Peasant Revolution in Spain: The Origins of the Civil War, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1970). An interesting article with a similar though more restricted and somewhat more political focus is Edward C. Hansen, "The State and Land Tenure Conflicts in Rural Catalonia," Anthropological Quarterly, XL:3 (July 1969). The problems of caciquismo, or rule by the local notables, so central to understanding the dynamics of the operation of the political system in late 19th and early 20th century Spain, is the subject of a special issue of Revista de Occidente, (October 1973), and of Robert W. Kern and Ronald

Dolkart, eds., The Caciques: Oligarchical Politics and the System of Caciquismo in the Luso-Hispanic World, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973). Kern is also the author of the interesting, but uneven, Liberals, Reformers and Caciques in Restoration Spain, 1875-1909. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974).

In his Primitive Rebels, E.J. Hobsbawm offers an exciting analysis of Andalusian anarchists and of the agrarian question in that region. But the best study of the agrarian anarchist movement in Andalusia in the first two decades of this century is Juan Diaz Del Moral, Historia de las agitaciones campesinas andaluzas, (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1979), a classical study of social history made by an eyewitness. On various aspects of Spanish society, see the useful introductory bibliography prepared by Henk Driessen and Donny Meertens, eds., A Selected Bibliography on Spanish Society, (Amsterdam: Antropologisch-Sociologisch Centrum, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1976).

On the social structure of Spain, the best works, especially those by Amando de Miguel, are unfortunately in Spanish. Especially useful are his Manual de estructura social de España, (Madrid: Tecnos, 1975) and La pirámide social española, (Madrid: Ariel, 1977). Other main sources of information on the social structure of Spain are the three surveys sponsored by the "Fundación FOESSA," entitled Informe sociológico sobre la situación social de España, (Madrid: Euroamérica, 1966, 1970 and

1975). In English, we have the excellent article by Juan J. Linz and Amando de Miguel, "Within-Nation Differences and Comparisons: The Eight Spains," in Richard L. Merritt and Stein Rokkan, eds., Comparing Nations, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966), 267-319. See also the article by Salvador Giner "Spain" in Margaret Scotford Archer and Salvador Giner, eds., Contemporary Europe: Class, Status and Power, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), 125-61.

IV.2 History and Politics

Though difficult to read, Raymond Carr's Spain 1808-1939, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1966) is the most important general synthesis in any language. For the developments which led to the destruction of the Ancien Regime and the legitimacy of the monarchy in the late 18th century, the best work is Richard Herr, The Eighteenth Century Revolution in Spain, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958). An impressive narrative account of 19th century Spanish history which effectively supplements Carr's work is H. Butler Clark, Modern Spain (1815-1898), (Cambridge: The University Press, 1906). A good analysis which is more concerned with social and economic aspects of Spanish history from the late 18th century to the 1950s is F.G. Brugera, Histoire contemporaine de l'Espagne, (Paris: Orhys, 1953), while A. Ramos Oliveira, Politics, Economics and Men in Modern Spain: 1808-1946, (London: Victor Gollancz, 1946), a marxist interpretation, is an uneven, though occasionally superb, work which deals mainly with

the 20th century. A brief and interesting account is Richard Herr, A Historical Essay on Modern Spain, (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California, 1974) which covers the period since the mid-eighteenth century. The general text by Stanley Payne, History of Spain and Portugal, 2 vols., (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), and particularly the second volume which deals with the 19th and 20th centuries, merits attention because of its comparative treatment of the two Iberian countries. In addition, it contains an excellent bibliography. Salvador de Madariaga, Spain: A Modern History, (New York: Praeger, 1958) is a liberal interpretation of Spanish history which deserves mention. Last, but certainly not least, an indispensable classic covering the late 19th century and the period up to the Spanish Civil War is Edward Fitz-Gerald Brenan's The Spanish Labyrinth: An Account of the Social and Political Background of the Civil War, (Cambridge: The University Press, 1960). Despite some biases, this is a uniquely informative work and a most sensitive interpretation of the nexus of forces which in the long run led to the Civil War.

IV.3 The 19th century to 1875

There is no good English-language work for the entire period. In Spanish, however, we have Miguel Artola's unusually noteworthy recent synthesis La burguesía revolucionaria (1808-1874), (Madrid: Alfaguara, 1975). Among the more specialized works focusing on the 19th century, the following deserve mention: for the 1820 revolution, H. Baumgarten, Geschichte Spaniens vom Ausbruch der

franzoesischen Revolution, (Leipzig, 1865) is still the best account. For the Carlist wars, we have only Edgar Holt's slight volume The Carlist Wars in Spain, (London: Putnam, 1967), while for the 1854-1856 events, V.G. Kiernan, The 1854 Revolution in Spanish History, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1966) is the best English-language work. Marx's only writings on Spain, originally a series of articles written for the New York Daily Tribune, are included in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Revolution in Spain, (London, 1939), and recently reprinted (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975). The volume includes "Revolutionary Spain," an extraordinarily perceptive article on the Napoleonic war, and additional analyses of the 1854-56 events. The First Republic is the subject of an impressive work by C.A.M. Hennessey, The Federal Republic in Spain: Pi y Margall and the Federal Republican Movement, 1868-1874, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1962). For the role of the army in Spanish politics during the 19th century, two works stand out: Eric Christiansen, The Origins of Military Power in Spain, 1800-1854, (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), and the more general study by Stanley G. Payne, Politics and the Military in Modern Spain, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1967).

IV.4 1875-1931

There is no adequate treatment of Restoration Spain in English. In Spanish, a good study of the Restoration is Manuel Martínez Cuadrado, La burguesía conservadora, 1874-1931, (Madrid:

Alianza-Alfaguara, 1973). In addition to the general works listed above, a classic statement on Spanish society and politics in early twentieth century is José Ortega y Gasset, Invertebrate Spain, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1937).

An important study of the complex interrelationship between anticlericalism and working-class radicalism in the early part of this century is Joan Connolly Ullman, The Tragic Week: A Study of Anticlericalism in Spain, 1875-1912 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968). On the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, very little is available in English. The best and most recent work is Shlomo Ben-Ami, Fascism from Above: The Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, 1923-1930, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1983). See also Dillwil F. Ratcliff, Prelude to Franco, (New York: Las Americas Publ. Co., 1957) which, however, is far from satisfactory. Among the more specialized works on the same period, Shlomo Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic in Spain, (London: Oxford University Press, 1978) is an excellent analysis of the growth of the Republican and Socialist movements under the dictatorship, while James H. Rial's unpublished doctoral dissertation, "Revolution from Above: The Spanish Dictatorship, 1923-1930," (Northwestern University, 1977), is useful in disentangling Primo de Rivera's complex attempts at political, economic and social reform. The history of the Right in Spain during the 19th and 20th centuries is discussed in Stanley G. Payne, "Spain," in Hans Rogger and Eugen Weber, eds., The European Right: A Historical Profile, (Berkeley, Calif.: University of

California Press, 1965), 168-207. Finally, an unpublished paper which covers the period of the Restoration monarchy, and which provides an admirable discussion of the intractable social and political problems of the period, and of the impasse to which they eventually lead is Edward E. Malefakis, "Why Reform Failed in Spain," (1970).

IV.5 1931-1936

Unlike earlier periods, the Second Republic, and, especially, the civil war have been intensively and extensively studied. A number of English-language works deal with various aspects of the Republic. For an adequate understanding of the immensely complex configuration of forces which eventually led to the civil war, Carr's Spain, Brenan's Spanish Labyrinth, Malefakis's Agrarian Reform, all of them already cited, should be read in conjunction with: Stanley G. Payne, The Spanish Revolution: A Study of the Social and Political Tensions that Culminated in the Civil War in Spain, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1970), the best work on the Left for that period; Richard Robinson, The Right, the Republic and Revolution: The Origins of Franco's Spain, (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1970) for the Right; and the recent excellent analysis by Juan J. Linz, "From Great Hopes to Civil War: The Breakdown of Democracy in Spain," in Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds., The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Europe (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 105-215. José M. Sánchez, Reform and Reaction: The

Politico-Religious Background of the Spanish Civil War, (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), and Martin Blinkhorn, Carlism and Crisis in Spain, 1931-1939, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975) are useful additions to the literature of the period. Finally, Raymond Carr, ed., The Republic and the Civil War in Spain, (London: Macmillan, 1971) contains three articles on the Republic: Edward Malefakis, "The Parties of the Left and the Second Republic," 16-45, Richard Robinson, "The Parties of the Right and the Republic," 46-78; and Stanley Payne, "The Army, the Republic and the Outbreak of the Civil War," 79-110.

IV.6 The Civil War

On the civil war itself, we have three very good general studies: Gabriel Jackson, The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965) which is also an excellent source for 1931-1936; Hugh Thomas, The Spanish War, revised ed., (New York: Harper & Row, 1977) which focuses more on the period of the civil conflict; and Pierre Broué and Emile Témime, The Revolution and the Civil War in Spain, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1972) which is more sensitive than either of the two works just mentioned to left-wing movements and social conditions.

The best work on the internal politics of the Republic is Burnett Bolloten, The Spanish Revolution: The Left and the

Struggle for Power During the Civil War, (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1979). The internal divisions in the Republican side are discussed in Edward E. Malefakis, "Internal Political Problems and Loyalties: The Republican Side in the Spanish Civil War," in Robin Higham, ed., Civil Wars in the Twentieth Century, (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1972), 97-111. Raymond Carr's The Spanish Tragedy: The Civil War in Perspective, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1977) is an important recent attempt to assess the civil war experience. Finally, a collection of essays on all important aspects of the civil war has been edited by Manuel Tuñón de Lara et al., La Guerra Civil Española, 50 años después, (Barcelona: Editorial Lábora, 1985).

Among the more specialized works focusing on specific aspects of the civil war, Raymond Carr, ed., The Republic and the Civil War in Spain contains the following essays: Burnett Bolloten, "The Growth and Role of the Republican Army," 159-87; Ricardo de la Cierva y de Hoces, "The Nationalist Army in the Spanish Civil War," 188-212; Robert H. Whealy, "Foreign Intervention in the Spanish Civil War," 213-38; and Hugh Thomas, "Anarchist Agrarian Collectives in the Spanish civil war," 239-56. The role of the anarchists in the Civil War is discussed in a fascinating article by Noam Chomsky in his American Power and the New Mandarins, (New York: Random House, 1969) 72-153, while Eric J. Hobsbawm offers a brief treatment of the subject in his Revolutionaries, (London,

Quartet Books, 1977), 71-81. The impact of the developing crisis and, eventually, of the civil war on the Spanish peasantry is discussed in Edward E. Malefakis, "Peasants, Politics and Civil War in Spain, 1931-39," in Robert Bezucha, ed., Modern European Social History, (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1972), 194-227. On the Communists during the civil war, the most complete work in English is David T. Cattell, Communism and the Spanish Civil War, (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1956), while Guy Hermet's important monograph, Les communistes en Espagne: étude d'un mouvement politique clandestin, (Paris: A. Colin, 1971), discusses the subject at some length. Finally, Franz Borkenau, The Spanish Cockpit: An Eyewitness Account of the Political and Social Conflicts of the Spanish Civil War, (London: Faber & Faber, 1937) and George Orwell, Homage to Catalonia, (London: Secker and Warburg, 1938) are classic eyewitness accounts.

IV.7 The Franco Regime

On the Franco regime, Stanley G. Payne, Franco's Spain, (New York: Crowell, 1967), George Hills, Franco: The Man and his Nation, (New York: Macmillan, 1968), and J.W.D. Trythall, Franco: A Bibliography, (London: Hart-Davis, 1970) are the best accounts to date. On the relations of the regime with the church, see William Ebenstein, Church and State in Franco Spain, (Princeton, N.J.: Center for International Studies, 1960), as well as the

brief monograph by Norman B. Cooper, Catholicism and the Franco Regime, (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1975).

Arthur B. Whitaker, Spain and the Defense of the West: Ally and Liability, (New York: Praeger, 1962) focuses on Spanish foreign policy, but is quite informative on domestic policies as well. Among the more recent studies which focus more on the last years of the Franco regime, two stand out: José Maravall, Dictatorship and Political Dissent: Workers and Students in Franco's Spain, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1978) and Paul Preston, ed., Spain in Crisis, (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1976) which contains an outstanding article by Norman L. Jones on "The Catalan Question since the Civil War".

IV.8 The Political System

In the review of the main academic works concerning the past and present political system of Spain, a special mention to Juan Linz's works should be made. Linz's studies on the breakdown of the Spanish Second Republic, the nature of the Francoist regime, the old and the new party systems of Spain, the historical roots of the regional problem, and the process of political change in the second half of the 70s, are cornerstones of the ongoing academic debate on Spain and, therefore, should be considered main points of reference for all those wishing to study Spain's contemporary politics. The best study of the Spanish party system is Juan J. Linz, "The Party System of Spain: Past and Future," in

Seymour M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan, eds., Party System and Voter Alignments: Cross National Perspectives, (New York: The Free Press, 1967), 198-282. It deals extensively with the cleavages underlying the party system during the Restoration, the early 20th century, the Second Republic, and the civil war, and is extremely rich in sociological insights. Linz is also the author of the classic article on "An Authoritarian Regime: Spain," in Eric Allardt and Y. Littunen, eds., Cleavages, Ideologies and Party Systems, (Helsinki: Westermarck Society, 1964), 291-341 which superbly analyses the "limited pluralism" characteristic of the institutionalized Spanish authoritarian regime. This seminal article of Linz elicited an academic debate revolving around the nature and the type of the Francoist regime. Some references in this debate are: J. Ferrando Badía, El régimen de Franco, (Madrid: Tecnos, 1984). Salvador Giner and Eduardo Sevilla-Guzmán, "Dispotismo moderno e dominio di classe: il caso spagnolo," Quaderni di Sociologia, XXV:1 (1976); A. de Miguel, Sociología del franquismo, Análisis ideológico de los ministros del régimen, (Barcelona: Euros 1975), M. Plana, La Spagna franchista, (Florence: Guaraldi, 1977), M. Ramirez, España 1939-1975, Ideología y régimen político, (Barcelona: L'abor, 1978), J. Solé-Tura, Introducción al régimen político español, (Esplugues de Llobregat, 1971), Sergio Vilar, La naturaleza del franquismo, (Barcelona: Ediciones Península, 1977), and the debate in Papers, Revista de sociologia, No.8, 1978.

Linz's study "From Falange to Movimiento-Organización: The Spanish Single Party and the Franco Regime, 1936-1968," in Samuel P. Huntington and Clement H. Moore, eds., Authoritarian Politics in Modern Society: The Dynamics of Established One-Party Systems, (New York: Basic Books, 1970), 128-203 constitutes both a study of the absorption of the Falange and of its institutionalization within the authoritarian system, and also an extension of his analysis of the party system of Spain into new ground. Linz analyses the 1977 and 1979 elections of the post-Franco era in "The New Spanish Party System," in R. Rose, ed., Electoral Participation: a Comparative Analysis, (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1980). See also his valuable analysis of the articulation and accommodation of interests in the political system of 20th Century Spain in "A Century of Politics and Interests in Spain," in Suzanne Berger, ed., Organizing Interests in Western Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 367-417.

On Spanish Fascism, the best general work in English is Stanley G. Payne, Falange: A History of Spanish Fascism, (Hamburg: Leibniz Verlag, 1963), See also the section on Spanish Fascism in Payne's "Fascism in Western Europe," in Walter Laqueur, ed., Fascism: A Reader's Guide, Analyses, Interpretations, Bibliography, (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1976), 303-308. Another study of the Spanish Fascists by Payne is his chapter in S.U. Larsen, B. Hagtvet, and J.P. Myklebust, eds., Who Were the Fascists? Social Roots of Fascism, (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1981). In yet another theoretically

important work, Linz discusses the nature and structure of opposition to the Franco regime: "Opposition To and Under an Authoritarian Regime: The Case of Spain," in Robert A. Dahl, ed., Regimes and Oppositions, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1973), 171-260. A useful article on student opposition to Franco's Spain is Enrique Tierno Galván, "Students' Opposition in Spain," Government and Opposition, I:4 (August 1966), 467-86. Further studies concerning the political opposition to and under the francoist regime, in Spanish, are: J.A. González Casanova, La lucha por la democracia en España, (Barcelona: Avance, 1975), F. Jáuregui y P. de Vega: Crónica del anti-franquismo, (Barcelona: Argos-Vergara, 1983), H. Heine, La oposición política al franquismo, (Barcelona: Grijalbo, 1983), J. Tusell, La oposición democrática al franquismo (1939-62), (Barcelona: Planeta, 1977), S. Vilar, La oposición y la dictadura, (Barcelona: Ayma, 1976).

Three studies which attempt a global assessment of the Spanish regime's performance over the years are: Guy Hermet, La politique dans l'Espagne Franquiste, (Paris: A. Colin, 1971); Jacques Georgel, Le Franquisme: histoire et bilan, 1939-1969, (Paris: Seuil, 1970); and, especially, Klaus von Beyme, Vom Fascismus zur Entwicklungsdiktatur - Machtelite und Opposition in Spanien, (Munich: Piper, 1971) which constitutes an important attempt to focus on the evolution of the Spanish authoritarian political system. In Spanish, four recent historical accounts of the francoist regime written from different ideological perspectives are: Ricardo de la Cierva, Historia del franquismo:

aislamiento, transformacion, agonía (1945-1975), (Barcelona: Planeta, 1978), Ramón Tamames, La República y la era de Franco, (Madrid: Alfaguara, 1976); E.R. Arango, The Spanish Political System: Franco's Legacy (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press 1978), and M. Tuñón de Lara y J. Biescas, España bajo la dictadura franquista, (Madrid: Labor, 1980).

Two basic institutional pillars of the authoritarian regime were the Church and the Army. Studies dealing with the political role of the Spanish Catholic Church are: J.J. Ruiz Rico, El papel político de la Iglesia Católica en España, (Madrid: Tecnos, 1977), and G. Hermet, Les Catholiques dans l'Espagne Franquiste (Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Science Politiques, 1980). See also the recent and broader work by Stanley G. Payne, Spanish Catholicism: An Historical Overview, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984) which focuses on the 19th and 20th centuries and contains an excellent bibliographical essay.

With regard to the military: J. Infante, El ejército de Franco y de Juan Carlos, (Madrid: Ruedo Ibérico, 1976), El militar de carrera en España, (Barcelona: Ariel, 1966), Liborio Matina, "Per una ricerca sul ruolo politico dei militari nelle società dell'Europa meridionale: Il caso della Spagna," paper delivered at the "VI Settimana di Studi Lelio Basso: Il Potere Militare nella Società Contemporanea," Fondazione Lelio Basso - ISCCO, Torino, 12-16 December 1983. See also K. Medhurst, "Military and Prospects for Spanish Democracy," in West European Politics, I:1

(1978); C. Fernández, Los militares en la transición política, (Barcelona: Argos-Vergara, 1982), and J. Busquets, El militar de carrera en España (Barcelona: Ariel 1984).

Three studies which analyse the process of policy-making within the authoritarian regime are: Charles W. Anderson, Political Economy of Modern Spain, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), Richard Gunther, Public Policy in a No-Party State: Spain Budgeting and Planning in the Twilight of the Franquist Era, (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1980), and Kenneth N. Medhurst, Government in Spain. The Executive at Work, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1973).

Among the studies which focus on the political elites of the authoritarian regime, the following are noteworthy works which should be taken into account: Juan Linz, "Continuidad y discontinuidad en la élite política española: de la restauración al régimen actual", in the collection of essays Estudios de ciencia política y sociología. Homenaje al Profesor Carlos Ollero, (Madrid: Moneda y Crédito, 1972); J.M. de Miguel, J. Linz, "Las Cortes españolas 1943-1970," Sistema, VIII-IX, (January-April 1975); R. Martínez Bañón, Poder de la burocracia y Cortes franquistas, (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de la Administración Pública, 1978); Amando de Miguel, Sociología del franquismo, already cited; and Miguel Jeréz, Elites políticas y centros de extracción, (Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1981).

Studies which tackle the crucial issue of the political culture of the Spanish public during the authoritarian regime and afterwards are: Antonio López-Pina and Eduardo L. Aranguren, La cultura política de la España de Franco, (Madrid: Taurus, 1976); Rafael López Pintor, Los españoles de los años 70, (Madrid: Tecnos, 1983); José M. Maravall, La política de la transición, (Madrid: Taurus, 1981); Francisco Alvira, La reforma política - la ideología política de los españoles, (Madrid: CIS, 1977); and R. López Pintor, La opinión pública española: del franquismo a la democracia, (Madrid: CIS, 1982).

Among the works that analyze the strengths and contradictions faced by the Francoist regime during its last years, the following deserve mention: Ramón Arango, The Spanish Political System: Franco's Legacy, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1978), Jorge de Esteban and L. López Guerra, La crisis del estado franquista, (Barcelona: Lábor, 1977), Jorge de Esteban, et al., Desarrollo político y constitución española, (Barcelona: Ariel, 1973), Amando de Miguel, La herencia del franquismo, (Madrid: Editorial Cambio 16, 1976), Paul Preston, (ed.), Spain in Crisis: The Evolution and the Decline of the Franco Regime, (Hassocks, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1976).

To the works focusing on the transition from the authoritarian to democratic rule in Spain already cited in Part one, the following, which deal with various aspects of the dynamics of regime change, deserve particular mention: Raymond Carr and Juan

P. Fusi, Spain: Dictatorship to Democracy, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1979), and John F. Coverdale's useful survey The Political Transformation of Spain After Franco, (New York: Praeger, 1979). See also Lothar Maier, Spaniens Weg zur Demokratie, (Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1977); José Amodia, Franco's Political Legacy: From Dictatorship to Facade Democracy, (London: Allen Lane, 1977); Arnold Hottinger's study Spain in Transition: Prospects and Policies, 2 vols., (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1974); Victor Alba, Transition in Spain: From Franco to Democracy, (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1978); David S. Bell, Democratic Politics in Spain, (London: Frances Pinter, 1983); Santiago Carrillo, Memorias de la transición, (Barcelona: Grijalbo, 1983); idem, La ruptura democrática, (Barcelona: La Gaya Ciencia, 1976); Guy Carcassone and P. Subra de Bieusses, L'Espagne ou la démocratie retrouvée, (Paris: Seuil, 1978); J.L. Cebrián, La España que bosteza. Apuntes para una historia crítica de la transición, (Madrid: Taurus, 1980); Constantine Christopher Menges, "Spain: The Struggle for Democracy Today," The Washington Papers, 6, 58, (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1978); Claire Daval, "L'évolution politique et constitutionnelle de l'Espagne depuis la mort du Général Franco," in Revue du Droit Public et de la Science Politique en France et à l'Etranger, 94 (1978), 361-393; Prueba de fuerza entre reformismo y ruptura, (Madrid: Querejeta, 1976); J. Ferrando Badía, Teoría de la instauración monárquica en España, (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1975); Luis García San Miguel, Teoría de la transición. Un análisis del modelo español

1973-1978, (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1978); S. Giner and E. Sevilla, "From Despotism to Parliamentarianism: Class Domination and political order in the Spanish State," in Richard Scase, ed., The State in Western Europe, (London: Croom Helm, 1980), 197-229; R. Gunther, G. Sani and G. Shabad, Spain after Franco. The Making of a Competitive Party System, (Berkeley: University of California Press, forthcoming); Guy Hermet, Espagne: une tentative de démocratie octroyée, (Paris: Association Française de Science Politique: La sortie des dictatures, 1977); Guy Hermet, "Espagne: changement de la société, modernisation autoritaire et démocratie octroyée. Des faits à leur interprétation conceptuelle," Revue française de Science Politique, XXVII (1977), 582-600; M.P. Izquierdo, De la huelga general a las elecciones generales, (Madrid: Ed. de la Torre, 1977); Edith Jaillardon, "L'Espagne postfranquiste: le consensus et ses équivoques," Revue Française de Science Politique, XXIX:2 (1979), 283-312; J. Jiménez Blanco, De Franco a las elecciones generales, (Madrid: Tecnos, 1978); J.J. Linz et al., Informe sociológico sobre el cambio político en España 1975-1981, (Madrid: Euroamérica, 1981); A. Lopez Pina, La España democrática y Europa, (Madrid: Editorial Cambio 16, 1977); Laureano López Rodó, La larga marcha hacia la monarquía, (Barcelona: Planeta, 1977); José M. Maravall, The Transition to Democracy in Spain, (London: Croom Helm, 1982); the same work is available in Spanish: La política de la transición, (Madrid: Taurus, 1981); idem, "La transizione alla democrazia. Allineamenti politici e elezioni in Spagna," Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica, XI (1981); idem, "La transición a la democracia",

Sistema, XXXVI (1980). See also M. Martínez Cuadrado, El sistema político español y el comportamiento regional en el sur de Europa, (Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericano, 1980); Peter McDonough, Antonio López-Pina and Samuel Barnes, "The Spanish Public in Political Transition," British Journal of Political Science, XI (1981); Peter McDonough and Antonio López-Pina, "Dynamics of Political Transition in Spain," paper delivered at the International Political Science Association Meeting, Rio de Janeiro, August 1982; Peter McDonough, Antonio López-Pina and Samuel Barnes, "Authority and Association: Spanish Democracy in Comparative Perspective," Journal of Politics, (August 1984); Kenneth Medhurst, "Spain's Evolutionary Pathway from Dictatorship to Democracy," in West European Politics, VII:2 (April 1984), 30-50; Benny Pollack, "Spain: From Corporate State to Parliamentary Democracy," Parliamentary Affairs, XXXI (1978), 52-66; the special issue on "L'Espagne démocratique" published by Pouvoirs, VIII (1979); J. Rodriguez Aramberri, "The Political Transition in Spain: An Interpretation," The Socialist Register 1979, (London: Merlin Press); Michael Roskin, "Spain Tries Democracy Again," Political Science Quarterly, XCII (Winter 1978), 629-46; and José Casanova, "Modernization and Democratization: Reflections on Spain's Transition to Democracy," Social Research, L:4 (Winter 1983), 929-73; as well as Christopher Abel, Torrents Nissa eds., Spain: Conditional Democracy (London: Croom Helm, 1984); A. Muñoz Alonso, Las elecciones del cambio (Barcelona: Argos Vergara 1984); R. del Aguila, R. Montoro, El discurso político de la transición española (Madrid: CIS 1984). Three publications on the transition

process are of particular interest because they have been written by political actors and collaborators themselves: R. Morodo, La transición política (Madrid: Tecnos 1984); F. Ysart, Quién hizo el cambio (Barcelona: Argos Vergara, 1984); S. Carrillo, Memoria de la transición. La vida política española y el PCE (Barcelona: Grijalbo, 1983).

The following are noteworthy studies on the constitution of 1978 and the constitution-making process: R. García Cotarelo y E. Linda, Índice analítico de la constitución española de 1978, (Madrid: Editora National, 1979), A. Hernández Gil, El cambio político español y la constitución, (Barcelona: Planeta, 1982), J. Solé Tura, Los comunistas y la constitución, (Madrid: Forum Ediciones, 1978); *ibid.*, M.A. Aparicio Pérez, Las Cortes Generales en el Sistema Constitucional (Madrid: Tecnos 1984); A. López Pina, "The Shaping of the Constitution, in: Howard R. Penniman, ed., Spain at the Polls, (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1980); Giuseppe de Vergottini, ed., Una costituzione democratica per la Spagna, (Milan: Franco Agnelli, 1978); Oscar Alzaga, La constitución española de 1978, (Madrid: Ediciones del Faro, 1978), Cortes Generales, Constitución española. Trabajos parlamentarios. 4 vols., (Madrid: Servicio de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1980); M. Gibert, G. Morillo, El control parlamentario (Madrid: Tecnos 1984); C. Viver Pi-Sunyer, Ordenamiento constitucional, parlamento (Barcelona: Vicens-vives 1983); P. Lucas Verdú, La octava ley fundamental: Crítica

jurídico-política de la reforma de Suárez, (Madrid: Tecnos, 1976); P. Lucas Verdú, La singularidad del proceso constituyente español, (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1978); L. Sánchez Agesta, El sistema político de la constitución española de 1978, (Madrid: Ed. Nacional, 1980); and E. García de Enterría, D. Predieri, La costituzione spagnola del 1978, (Milan: Giuffrè, 1982).

One of the most intractable issues faced by the new democratic regime in Spain, an issue which forty years of authoritarian rule did not succeed in eliminating, is the question of regionalism in Spain. Of the few good studies in English, Juan J. Linz's "Early State-Building and Late Peripheral Nationalisms Against the State," in S.N. Eisenstadt and Stein Rokkan, eds., Building States and Nations: Models, Analyses, and Data Across Three Worlds, vol. 2., (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1973), 32-112, and Stanley G. Payne, "Catalan and Basque Nationalism," Journal of Contemporary History, VI:I (1973), 15-51 should be mentioned. Other useful studies regarding regionalism, and center-periphery conflicts are: Carlos M. Rama, Ideología, regiones y clases sociales en la España contemporánea, (Madrid: Júcar, 1977); C. Gispert and S.M. Prats, España: un estado plurinacional, (Barcelona: Editorial Blume, 1978); Santiago Varela, El problema regional en la segunda república española, (Madrid: Unión Editorial, 1970); Dieter Nohlen, "Regionalismen in Spanien," Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, XIV (1982), 30-60; Juan

J. Linz, "Politics in a multilingual Society with a Dominant World Language: The Case of Spain," in Jean Guy Savard and Richard Vigneault, eds., Les états Multilingues. Problèmes et Solutions, (Quebec: Presses de l'Université de Laval, 1975). Goldie Shabad and Richard Gunther, "Language and Nationalism, and Political Conflict in Spain," Comparative Politics, XIV (1982). Stanley Payne's Basque Nationalism, (Reno, Nevada: Tucar, 1977) is more uneven in quality, but provides additional information not included in the article cited above. Besides Payne's book, other useful works on the origins, ideology and development of Basque nationalism are: Javier Corcuera, Orígenes, ideología y organización del nacionalismo vasco (1876-1904), (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España, 1979); G. Janseguí, Ideología y estrategia política de ETA: análisis de su evolución entre 1959-1968, (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1981); R.P. Clark, "Patterns of Insurgent Violence in Spain's Basque Provinces," paper delivered at the Southwestern Political Science Association Meetings, Dallas, March 25-28, 1981; Werner Herzog, ed., Terror im Baskenland - gefahr fuer Spaniens Demokratie?, (Reinbeck: Rowohlt, 1979). A still useful historical survey of Catalan regionalism is E. Allison Peers, Catalonia Infelix, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938). An outstanding historical analysis of Catalan regionalism, in Spanish language, is José A. González Casanova, Federalismo y autonomía. Cataluña y el estado español 1868-1938, (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1979). On regionalist attitudes and the regional awareness of the different regional publics, the best work is Eduardo López-Aranguren, La conciencia regional en el proceso autonómico

español, (Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1982). Juan Clavero Arévalo, España: del centralismo a las autonomías, (Barcelona: Planeta, 1982) is a short and good account of the process of political devolution subsequent to the reform of the territorial structure of the state brought about by the 1978 Constitution. Among the works which analyse the nature and problems of the new "autonomic state," the following should be mentioned: Luciano Vandelli, L'ordinamento regionale spagnolo, (Milan: Giuffrè, 1980); the collection of essays La España de las autonomías, 2 vols. (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1981); Laurena López Rodó, Las autonomías: Encrucijadas de España, (Madrid: Aguilas, 1980); Javier de Burgos, pseud., España, por un estado federal, (Barcelona: Argos Vergara, 1981); J.L. Sangrador García, Estereotipos de las nacionalidades y regiones de España (Madrid: CIS, 1981), and J.J. González Encinar ed., Autonomía y Partidos Políticos. Italia, Alemania Occidental, Gran Bretaña y España (Madrid: Tecnos 1984). Exhaustive information on the 1977 and 1979 elections can be found in Juan J. Linz et al., Informe sociológico sobre el cambio político en España, already cited. Other sources of information on elections are: Pedro J. Ramirez, Así se ganaron las elecciones, 2 vols., (Madrid: 1977-1979); Jorge de Esteban, El proceso electoral, (Barcelona: Lábor, 1977); José M. Maravall, "Political Cleavages in Spain and the 1979 General Election," Government and Opposition, XIV (1979), 299-317; Jorge De Esteban and Luis López Guerra, eds., Las elecciones legislativas del 1 de Marzo de 1979, (Madrid: CIS, 1979).

Apart from Linz's article on "The New Party System of Spain" cited above, other noteworthy studies regarding the political parties and the party system of Spanish democracy are: Gerardo Duelo, Diccionario de grupos, fuerzas y partidos políticos españoles, (Barcelona: La Gaya Ciencia, 1977), Jonathan Story, "Spanish Political Parties: Before and After the Election," Government and Opposition, XII (1977), 474-93; Raúl Morodo, Los partidos políticos en España, (Madrid: Lábor, 1979); Mario Caciagli, "Spain: Parties and the Party System in the Transition," West European Politics, VII:2 (April 1984), 84-98; Antonio Bar, "El sistema de partidos en España," Sistema, XLVII (1982); J. de Esteban, L. López Guerra, Los partidos políticos en la España actual, (Barcelona: Planeta, 1982); Pedro de Vega, ed., Teoría y Práctica de los partidos políticos, (Madrid, 1977); Fernando Claudín, ed., La Crisis de los Partidos Políticos, (Madrid: Dédalo, 1980); Donald Share, "Two Transitions: Democratization and the Evolution of the Spanish Socialist Left," in West European Politics, VIII:1 (January 1985), 82-103; Kenneth M. Medhurst, "Spanish Conservative Politics," in Z. Layton-Henry, Conservative Politics in Western Europe, (London: Macmillan, 1982); Eusebio Mujal León, "The Domestic and International Evolution of the Spanish Communist Party," in Rudolf L. Tokés, ed., Eurocommunism and Détente, (New York: New York University Press, 1978), 204-70; José M. Maravall, "Spain: Eurocommunism and Socialism," Political Studies, XXVII (1979), 218-35; Fundación Pablo Iglesias, 100 años de socialismo en España, (Bibliografía), (Madrid: Editorial Pablo Iglesias, 1979); Santiago Carrillo, Eurocommunism and the State,

already cited; J.F. Tezanos, Sociología del socialismo español, (Madrid: Tecnos, 1983); Elias Díaz, Socialismo en España: el partido y el estado, (Madrid: Mezquita, 1982); J. Figueiro, UCD: la "empresa" que creó Adolfo Suárez, (Barcelona: Grijalbo, 1981); the Revista de estudios políticos, XXIII (1981) special issue on parties and participation; Samuel H. Barnes, Peter McDonough and Antonio López Pina, "The Development of Partisanship in New Democracies: The Case of Spain", paper delivered at the 1984 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 30-September 2, 1984; idem, "Authority and Association: Spanish Democracy in Comparative Perspective" The Journal of Politics, XLVI:3 (August 1984), 652-88, as well as P. del Castillo, La financiación de partidos y candidatos en las democracias occidentales (Madrid: CIS, 1985).

IV.9 The Economy

The standard general economic history is Jaime Vicens Vives' excellent Historia social y económica de España y América, 4 vols., (Barcelona, 1957-59). The English-language edition, An Economic History of Spain, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969), put together on the basis of the author's university lectures, is uneven in quality.

For 18th century Spain, E.J. Hamilton, War and Prices in Spain 1651-1800, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947) is the best work, while for Catalonia during the same

period, Pierre Vilar, La Catalogne dans l'Espagne moderne, recherche sur les fondements économiques des structures nationales, 3 vols., (Paris, S.E.V.P.E.N., 1962) is indispensable. For the 19th and early 20th centuries, and Spain's experience with the industrial Revolution, the excellent article by Jordi Nadal, "The Failure of the Industrial Revolution in Spain 1930-1914" in Carlo M. Cipolla, ed., The Fontana History of Europe, Vol. IV, part 2, 532-626 provides a comprehensive, though brief, analysis of the various sectors of the Spanish economy affected by the uneven growth of capitalism in that country. A more complete treatment of the same subject is contained in the same author's book-length study El fracaso de la revolución industrial en España, (Barcelona: Ariel, 1975).

Of the limited number of English-language publications on specific sectors of the Spanish economy, the following present greater interest: R.N. Chilcote, Spain's Iron and Steel Industry, (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Bureau of Business Research, 1968); J.C. La Force, The Development of the Spanish Textile Industry, 1750-1800, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965); and D.R. Ringrose, Transportation and Economic Stagnation, 1750-1850, (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1970). For the various aspects of the economic transformation of Spain in recent years, and for the persisting structural weaknesses and regional imbalances in the economy, see The Economic Development of Spain: Report of a Mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins

University press, 1963), and Charles W. Anderson, The Political Economy of Modern Spain, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970). A good introduction to the study of the Spanish economy is: Ramón Tamames, Estructura Económica de España, 2 Vols., (Madrid: Alianza Editorial). Other noteworthy studies are: Allison Wright, The Spanish Economy, 1959-1976, (New York: 1977); Michael Noelke and Robert Taylor, L'industrie espagnole face à la communauté économique européenne. L'Impact de l'adhésion, (Brussels, 1980); Francisco Granell, ed., Los sectores españoles ante la integración de España en las Comunidades Europeas, (Barcelona: 1980); Juan Muñoz, Santiago Roldán and Angel Serrano, "The Growing Dependence of Spanish Industrialization on Foreign Investment," in Dudley Seers, Bernard Shaffer and Iearja-Liisa Kiljunen, eds., Underdeveloped Europe: Studies on Core-Periphery Relations, (London: Harvester, 1979), 161-175; *idem*, "Les mutations économiques dans la période de transition," Le Monde Diplomatique, (September 1979), 13-14; *idem*, La internacionalización del capital en España, (Madrid: Edicusa, 1979).

Works which treat the evolution of Spanish Trade Unions and the industrial relations system before and after the advent of the democracy are: Luis Fina and Richard J. Hawkesworth, "Trade Unions and Collective Bargaining in Post-Franco Spain," Labour and Society, IX:1 (January-March 1984); R.M. Fishman, "The Labour Movement in Spain: From Authoritarianism to Democracy," Comparative Politics, XIV (1982); J.A. Sagardoy, "The Spanish Workers," International Labour Review, (March-April 1981); J.M.

Maravall, "The evolution of industrial conflict in Spain 1939-75," in B. Martin and E.M. Kassalow, eds., Labor Relations in Advanced Industrial Societies: Issues and Problems, (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1980), José M. Maravall, "Modernization, Authoritarianism and the Growth of Working-Class Dissent: The Case of Spain," Government and Opposition, VIII:4 (1973); J. Amsden, Collective Bargaining and Class Conflict in Spain, (London, 1972); Victor Pérez Díaz, Clase obrera, partidos y sindicatos, (Madrid: Fundacion INI, 1979); idem, Clase obrera, orden social y conciencia de clase, (Madrid: Fundación INI, 1980); "Empresarios, sindicatos y marco institucional," Papeles Economía Española, 22, (1985); F. Almendros Morrillo, et al., El sindicalismo de clase en España (1939-1977), (Barcelona: Península, 1978); Guy Desolve, Les syndicats en Espagne, (Brussels, 1978); and Faustino Miguelez, "State, Unions and Social Conflict in Spain, 1977-1985," paper presented at the ECPR meeting, Barcelona, March 1985.

V. TURKEY

V.1 Introduction

On Turkey the reader can consult the two bibliographies compiled by Abraham Bođurgil, Turkey: Politics and Government: A Bibliography, 1938-1975, (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1978), and Meral Güçlü, Turkey, (Oxford: Clio Press, 1981). The former includes publications in English, French, Italian, Spanish, German, and Russian while the latter covers only works in English.

Aspects of contemporary Turkey have frequently been studied by scholars from various disciplines. Although a large amount of work exists on Turkey, some topics have been dealt with repeatedly in numerous studies, while others have been almost completely neglected. Likewise, during some periods, social change, political development, economic growth, etc., have been studied widely, while at other times scholarly interest toward the country seems to have completely waned. Although works concerning many other countries which are not central to the sharing of political, economic and military power on the international plane can be said to show the same inconsistency, the Turkish case seems remarkable in that in certain fields and at certain times, it has been studied almost as a paradigmatic case while at others it has been ignored.

From the inconsistent mass of scholarly work on Turkey, we present a selection of the most important recent works covering as wide a range of topics as possible.

V.2 Culture and Society

For a general introduction to Turkey, covering geographical, historical, economic, political, institutional aspects, the reader can consult Richard F. Nyrop, ed., Turkey: A Country Study, (Washington, D.C.: The American University, 1980). The best research on the geographical characteristics of Turkey, remains the one by John Dewdney, Turkey, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1970).

One of the most recurrent themes in works concerning Turkey is that of social change. A collection of fifteen essays each focusing on an aspect of rural and urban change in the country is to be found in Peter Benedict, Erol Tümertekin and Fatma Mansur, eds., Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974). The study by Jan Hinderink and Mübeccel Kıray, Social Stratification as an Obstacle to Development: A Study of Four Turkish Villages, (New York: Praeger, 1979), focuses on interrelationships between patterns of economic and social change. Frederick C. Shorter, Trends in Fertility and Mortality in Turkey, 1935-1975, (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1982) also offers valuable insights to social change. Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı, ed., Sex Roles, Family and Community in Turkey, (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1983) comprises papers on such

diverse topics as anthropology, clinical psychology, demography, political science, urban sociology and womens' studies.

Among numerous references to Turkey in studies on modernization, the following can be consulted: Daniel Lerner and Lucille W. Pevsner, The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958); and S.N. Eisenstadt, "The Development of Socio-Political Centers at the Second Stage of Modernization: A Comparative Analysis of Two Types (Mexico and Turkey)," International Journal of Comparative Sociology, VII (March 1966), 119-37.

A careful analysis of regional differences and their implications is to be found in K.S. Srikantan, "Regional and Rural-Urban Socio-Demographic Differences in Turkey," Middle East Journal, XXVII (Summer 1973), 275-300. On the same subject, the reader can also consult Gustave Schachter, Regional Dualism in Turkish Development, (Boston: Northeastern University, 1970). A product of uneven development, the typical Turkish shantytown is studied in its several aspects by Kemal H. Karpat, The Gecekondu: Rural Migration and Urbanisation, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976). For an interpretive essay on internal migration the reader can consult Paul Magnarella, "From Villager to Townsman in Turkey," Middle East Journal, XXIV (Spring 1970), 229-40.

The few extant works on the Turkish political culture are usually founded on simplistic generalizations. However, a standard

one which focuses on the traditional elite culture is Dankwart A. Rustow, "Turkey: The Modernity of Tradition," in Lucian W. Pye and Sydney Verba, eds., Political Culture and Political Development, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972), 171-99. Paul Stirling, Turkish Village, (New York: Wiley, 1965) can be considered a "classic" on the rural culture. His "Cause, Knowledge, and Change: Turkish Village Revisited," in William Hale, ed., Aspects of Modern Turkey, (London: Bowker, 1976), 75-90; Frederick W. Frey and Leslie L. Roos, Social Structure and Community Development in Rural Turkey: Villages and Elite Leadership Relations, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 1967); and Paul J. Magnarella, Tradition and Change in a Turkish Town, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974) are further contributions on the same subject. The impact of the Islamic culture on Turkey is discussed by Ilkay Sunar and Binnaz Toprak, "Islam in Politics: The Case of Turkey," Government and Opposition, XVIII (Summer 1983), 421-41, and Metin Heper, "Islam: Politics and Society in Turkey," Middle East Journal, XXXV (Summer 1981), 345-63. Andreas M. Kazamias, Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966) analyzes the attempts of the elite to create a secular political culture. The best account of the historical evolution of secularism is to be found in Niyazi Berkes, The Development of Secularism in Turkey, (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964). Nur Yalman, "Some Observations on Secularism in Islam: the Cultural Revolution in Turkey," Daedalus, 102:1 (Winter 1973), 139-68, can be recommended as an insightful analysis of the Turkish experience with Islam.

Very few studies have yet been conducted on the social effects of workers' migration to Europe. Texts that can however be referred to in this context are: Nermin Abadan-Unat, Turkish Workers in Europe, 1960-1975: A Socio-Economic Reappraisal, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976); *idem*, "Implications of Migration on Emancipation and Pseudo-Emancipation of Turkish Women," International Migration Review, XI:1 (1977), 31-57; and Gregory F.T. Winn and Ray Carson Russell, "Mohammed in the Land of Martin Luther: the Turkish Minority in West Germany," Atlantic Quarterly, II (Autumn 1984), 269-283. See also more recently Gretty M. Mirdal, "Stress and Distress in Migration: Problems and Resources of Turkish Women in Denmark", and Alice Munscher, "The Workday Routines of Turkish Women in Federal Republic of Germany: Results of a Pilot Study", in International Migration Review, XVIII (Winter 1984), 984-1003; 1230-1246.

V.3 Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Ottoman Empire

There is a rich collection of works on the Ottoman Empire in the English language. Classical sources for its later stages are: H.A.R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Muslim Culture in the Near East, 2 vols., (London: Oxford University Press, 1950); and Bernard Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey, (London: Oxford University Press, 1962). A more recent and controversial work is Stanford H. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of

Modern Turkey, 1808-1975, (New York and London: Cambridge University Press, 1977). For the economic history of the period, Charles Issawi, The Economic History of Turkey, 1800-1914, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980) is an indispensable source.

The intellectual background to the last century of the Ottoman Empire is both described and analyzed by Şerif Mardin, The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962) and Feroz Ahmad, The Young Turks, (London: Oxford University Press, 1960). Uriel Heyd, Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp, (London: Luzac, 1950) is a major source tracing the evolution of the ideas of the late Ottoman reformers and early Republicans.

One of the most careful recent works on Ottoman organizational structures and administrative procedures is Carter W. Findley, Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980). See also Kemal H. Karpat, "The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789-1908," International Journal of Middle East Studies, III(1972), 243-81.

Two analytical essays on the relations between state and society in the Ottoman Empire are Şerif Mardin, "Power, Civil Society, and Culture in the Ottoman Empire," Comparative Studies in Society and History, XI (June 1969), 258-81 and Metin Heper, "Center and Periphery in the Ottoman Empire, with special Reference

to the Nineteenth Century," International Political Science Review, I:1 (January 1980), 81-105.

V.4 1923-1946

Surprisingly little scholarly interest has been shown toward this period of Turkish history. However, several good introductory texts exist.

One of the most comprehensive accounts of the foundation of the Turkish Republic is Arnold J. Toynbee and Kenneth P. Kirkwood, Turkey, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976)--reprinted from the 1927 edition. Richard D. Robinson, The First Turkish Republic: A Case Study in National Development, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963) relates the evolution of the Turkish Republic during the same time period. A chronological outline of the years following the establishment of the Republic can also be found in Geoffrey Lewis, Turkey, (London: L. Benn, 1965). A detailed account of the transformation from one-party to multi-party politics is Walter F. Weiker, Political Tutelage and Democracy in Turkey: The Free Party and Its Aftermath, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973).

Lord Patrick Balfour Kinross, Atatürk: A Biography of Mustafa Kemal, Father of Modern Turkey, (New York: William Morrow, 1965) is a study of the major events between 1876 and 1938. A collection of essays, each studying different aspects of the period is to be

found in Ali Kazancigil and Ergun Özbudun, Atatürk: Founder of a Modern State, (Hamden: Archon Books, 1981). Jacob M. Landau, ed., Atatürk and the Modernization of Turkey, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1984) presents different and sometimes contradictory views about the nature of Kemalism and can be advised to readers who already have some background in Turkish politics. The ideology of the period is discussed in William Hale, "Ideology and Development in Turkey, 1930-1945," British Society for Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin, VII (1980), and Suna Kili, "Kemalism in Contemporary Turkey," International Political Science Review, I:1 (1980), 381-404. The latter also offers an analysis of the more recent features of Kemalism.

V.5 Post-1946

There are numerous descriptive studies--though few suggestive analyses--on Turkey from 1946 up to recent years.

A clear exception is Kemal H. Karpat, Turkey's Politics, the Transition to a Multi-Party System, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959). This is one of the rare works that studies in detail the preparative stage of transition from the early 1940s onwards and analyzes the reasons for the transformation of the one-party regime in relation to the nature of the regime itself. Ergun Özbudun "Established Revolution Versus Unfinished Revolution: Contrasting Patterns of Democratization in Mexico and Turkey," in Samuel P. Huntington and Clement H. Moore, eds., Authoritarian

Politics in Modern Society, (New York: Basic Books, 1970), 380-405 offers an insightful analysis of the reasons for the beginning of multi-party politics in 1946.

The most important events of the years following the transition to multi-party politics are covered by Feroz Ahmad, The Turkish Experiment in Democracy, 1950-1975, (London: C. Hurst, 1977). This book is an indispensable source for readers who are interested in the emergence of some of the social, economic, and political problems of contemporary Turkey. William Hale, The Political and Economic Development of Modern Turkey, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981) is another major introductory work to the period. It concentrates above all on economic factors and is rich in figures and tables.

Other general sources are: C.H. Dodd, Democracy and Development in Turkey, (North Humberstone: Eothen Press, 1979); Edwin J. Cohn, Turkish Economic, Social and Political Change, (New York: Praeger, 1970); and Walter F. Weiker, The Modernization of Turkey from Atatürk to the Present Day, (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1981).

V.6 The Political System

Studies on different components of the political system offer an insight into the unbalanced nature of scholarly work on Turkey in English. While some features of the political system such as

parties, elections and political participation have been amply studied, other features such as interest politics, and administrative structures have been neglected, especially in recent years. This part of the bibliographical essay will therefore focus on the areas where works of some quality exist. It should, however, be noted that most of the studies referred to below are by now out of date simply because the Turkish political system has undergone fundamental changes following the military coup d'Etat in 1980. No study that analyzes the current situation comprehensively yet exists.

A major source of reference for fifty years of political development in Turkey since 1923 has been edited by Kemal H. Karpat et al., Social Change and Politics in Turkey: A Structural-Historical Analysis, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973). C.H. Dodd, Politics and Government in Turkey, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969), offers an analysis of the political institutions of the 1960s which lasted also into the 1970s. In The Crisis of Turkish Democracy, (North Humberstone: Eothen Press, 1983), the same author studies the crisis leading to the military take-over of September 1980. While he identifies the elements of this crisis correctly, he arrives at inaccurate conclusions about the outcomes of the military regime, mainly because his analyses relies on an imprecise translation of the Constitution. Lucille W. Pevsner, Turkey's Political Crisis, (New York: Praeger, 1984) is another source dealing with the same period of time and concentrating on recent events. The special issue "Turquie:

constantes et evolution politique," Problemes Politiques et Sociaux, 509 (April 1985) is another useful reference for the political system. See also Ilkay Sunar and Sabri Sayari "Democracy in Turkey: Problems and Prospects" in Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead, eds., Transitions From Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe, (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, forthcoming).

Standard sources on political change in Turkey are: Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow, eds., Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964); Frederick W. Frey, "Political Development, Power, and Communications in Turkey," in Lucian W. Pye, ed., Communications and Political Development, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), 298-326; and Kemal H. Karpat, "Political Development in Turkey, 1950-1970," Middle Eastern Studies, VIII (1972). Frank Tachau, Turkey: The Politics of Authority, Democracy and Development, (New York: Praeger, 1984) identifies the reasons for the oscillation between democratic and authoritarian regimes.

Party competition is one of the domains where there are many articles but few books. Dankwart A. Rustow, "The Development of Parties in Turkey," in Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner, eds., Political Parties and Political Development, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966) can be referred to for the emergence of political parties in Turkey. S.P. McCally, "Party

Government in Turkey," Journal of Politics, XVIII (May 1956), 297-323 offers insights into the party system of the early 1950s. While Sabri Sayari, "The Turkish Party System in Transition," Government and Opposition, (Winter 1978), 39-57 traces the evolution of the party system, Ergun Özbudun, "The Turkish Party System: Institutionalization, Polarization and Fragmentation," Middle Eastern Studies, XVII:2 (April 1981), 228-40, and Arnold Leder, "Party Competition in Rural Turkey: Agent of Change or Defender of Traditional Rule?," Middle Eastern Studies, (January 1979), 82-105 analyze some of its most salient characteristics. Mehmet Yaşar Geyikdağı, Political Parties in Turkey: The Role of Islam, (New York: Praeger, 1984) is a chronological account of the interaction between secularism and religion in politics. It should however be noted once more that the currently emerging party system differs from the one discussed by these authors.

Frank Tachau, "The Anatomy of Political and Social Change: Turkish Parties, Parliaments and Elections," Comparative Politics, (July 1973), 551-73 identifies the major factors of destabilization in the Turkish political system since 1950. Iltur Turan, "Changing Horses in Midstream: Party Changers in the Turkish National Assembly," Legislative Studies Quarterly, X (February 1985) studies one such factor. For a more comprehensive study on the Turkish legislature see C.L. Kim et al. The Legislative Connection: The Politics of Representation in Kenya, Korea and Turkey, (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1984). Ersin Kalaycıoğlu "Why Legislatures Persist in Developing Countries: The Case of Turkey,"

Legislative Studies Quarterly, V (February 1980), 123-139 discusses public support for the institution. Kemal H. Karpat, "Turkish Democracy at Impasse: Ideology, Party Politics and the Military Intervention," International Journal of Turkish Studies, 2 (Spring-Summer 1981), 1-44 studies the particular features of party competition as immediate causes in the breakdown of democracy. See also Frank Tachau and Ergun Özbudun, "Social Change and Electoral Behavior in Turkey: Toward a 'Critical Realignment?'," International Journal of Middle East Studies, VI (October 1975), 460-80. A major source on electoral issues, voting behaviour and elites is Jacob M. Landau, Ergun Özbudun and Frank Tachau, eds., Electoral Politics in The Middle East, (London: Croom Helm, 1980). The most important changes that the electoral system underwent from the advent of multi-party politics until the 1970s are examined in William Hale, "The Role of the Electoral System in Turkish Politics," International Journal of Middle East Studies, XI (May 1980), 401-17.

Among studies on political participation, Engin D. Akarlı and Gabriel Ben-Dor, eds., Political Participation in Turkey, (Istanbul: Bogazici University, 1975), addresses issues such as patron-client relations, center-periphery relations, rural participation, and participation in shantytowns. Ergun Özbudun, Social Change and Political Participation in Turkey, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976) traces the changing patterns of political participation and observes an increasing replacement of the traditional communal-based participation by

class-based participation. On the implications of clientelism, see Ergun Özbudun, "Turkey: the Politics of Political Clientelism," in S.N. Eisenstadt and René Lemarchand, eds., Political Clientelism, Patronage and Development, (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1981), 249-68, and Sabri Sayari, "Political Patronage in Turkey," in Ernest Gellner and John Waterbury, eds., Patrons and Clients, (London: Duckworth, 1977), 103-13. The effects of the rural population on trends in political participation are also discussed in J.S., Szyliowicz, "Political Participation and Modernization in Turkey," Western Political Quarterly, XIX (June 1966), 266-83.

The best work by far on the political elite in Turkey is Frederick Frey, The Turkish Political Elite, (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1965). More recent analyses of the role of political elites are to be found in idem, "Patterns of Elite Politics in Turkey," in G. Lenczowski, ed., Political Elites in the Middle East, (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1975); L.L. Roos Jr. and N.P. Roos, Managers of Modernization: Organizations and Elites in Turkey (1950-69), (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971); and Joseph S. Szyliowicz, "Elites and Modernization in Turkey," in Frank Tachau, ed., Political Elites and Political Development in the Middle East, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975), 23-64.

The excellent monograph by Robert Bianchi, Interest Groups and Political Development in Turkey, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984) fills a gap in the literature of interest

politics in Turkey by focusing on a neglected topic and providing incisive interpretations of some political, economic and social problems. See also idem "Businessmen's Associations in Egypt and Turkey," ANNALS, AAPSS, 482 (November 1985), 147-159. The emergence and acceleration of class conflict are dealt with in Doğu Ergil, "Class Conflict and the Turkish Transformation (1950-1975)," Studia Islamica, XLI (1975), 137-61, and William Hale, "Labour Unions in Turkey: Progress and Problems," in idem, ed., Aspects of Modern Turkey, (London: Bowker, 1976), 59-74. See also Ural Ayberk, "Les groupes d'intérêt turcs - recherche d'une nouvelle voie," paper presented at the ECPR meeting, Barcelona, March 1985.

The best book concerning a salient feature of Turkish politics, namely political extremism of the left and the right is Jacob M. Landau, Radical Politics in Modern Turkey, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974). See also Şerif Mardin, "Youth and Violence in Turkey," Archives Internationales de Sociologie, XIX (1978), 229-54, and Semih Vaner, "Violence politique et terrorismes en Turquie," Esprit, (October-November, 1984), 79-104.

Two interpretive essays on the widely discussed role of the bureaucracy in Turkish politics are Metin Heper, "The Recalcitrance of the Turkish Public Bureaucracy to 'Bourgeois Politics': A Multi-Factor Political Stratification Analysis," The Middle East Journal, XXX (August 1976), 485-500; and idem, "Political Modernization as Reflected in Bureaucratic Change: The Turkish Bureaucracy and a 'Historical Bureaucratic Empire' Tradition," International Journal

of Middle East Studies, VII:4 (October 1976), 507-21. See also idem, "Recent Instability in Turkish Politics: End of a Mono-centrist Polity", International Journal of Turkish Studies, 1 (Winter 1979-80), 102-113.

The active role played by the armed forces in Turkish politics has been the subject of several scholarly works. In an essay written before the first military coup d'Etat in Republican history in 1960, Dankwart A. Rustow, "The Army and the Founding of the Turkish Republic," World Politics, XI (July 1959), 513-52 studies the role of the armed forces in initiating major changes both in the Ottoman Empire and during the first decades of the Republic. Focusing on the period after the coup d'Etat, Daniel Lerner and Richard D. Robinson, "Swords and Ploughshares: The Turkish Army as a Modernizing Force," World Politics, XIII (October 1960), 19-44 make the point that the modernization of the armed forces itself may not automatically contribute to democratic politics. Ergun Özbudun, The Role of the Military in Recent Turkish Politics, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1966) studies the outcomes of the military intervention in relation to military institutional factors. The most comprehensive analysis of the 1960 intervention is Kenneth Fidel, Social Structure and Military Intervention: The 1960 Turkish Revolution, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1970), which argues that the intervention was the result of interest group conflict. Walter Weiker, The Turkish Revolution, 1960-1961, (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1963) offers an account of the military regime

following the 1960 intervention. The problems relating to the withdrawal of the military from politics are discussed in Nur Yalman, "Intervention and Extrication: The Officer Corps in the Turkish Crisis," in Henry Bienen, ed., The Military Intervenes, (New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1968), 127-44. See also Roger P. Nye, "Civil-Military Confrontation in Turkey: The 1973 Presidential Election," International Journal of Middle East Studies, VIII (1977), 209-28.

After the 1970s the interest in the role of the Turkish military decreases among scholars writing in English. Instead, several important articles on this subject appear in French. See for example Jean-François Bayart and Semih Vaner, "L'armée turque et le théâtre d'ombre kémaliste (1960-1973)," in Alain Rouquié, ed., La Politique de Mars, (Paris: Le Sycomore, 1981), 41-69 which argues that between 1960 and 1971, when the military intervened for the second time in politics with a pronunciamento, the military institution underwent fundamental changes. Ali Kazancıgil, "La participation et les élites dans un système politique en crise: le cas de la Turquie," Revue Française de Science Politique, XXIII (February 1973), 5-32, analyzes the 1971 pronunciamento, and suggests that a break had occurred within the previously united military-civilian bureaucratic elites resulting in a more conservative role of the military. Ellen Kay Trumberger, Revolution From Above, Military Bureaucrats in Japan, Turkey, Egypt and Peru, (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1978) offers an interesting interpretation of the role played by the military.

The 1980 coup d'Etat and the changing role of the military institution are analyzed in Frank Tachau and Metin Heper "The State, Politics and the Military in Turkey," Comparative Politics, XVI (October 1983), 17-34; and Hülya Tufan and Semih Vaner, "L'armée, la société et le nouvel ordre (a)politique (1980-1983)," Les Temps Modernes, (July-August 1984), 175-94. Kenneth Mackenzie, Turkey Under the Generals, (London: Conflict Studies, 1981) offers an account more sympathetic to military intervention. Andrew Mango, "Turkey: Democracy Under Military Tutelage," The World Today, XXXIX (October 1983), 429-35, and Bülent Tanor, "Restructuring Democracy in Turkey," The Review, International Commission of Jurists, XXXI (December 1983), 75-86 briefly discuss the immediate and possible long term consequences of the 1980 coup d'etat. A summary of the institutional changes which took place between the 1980 coup d'etat and the resumption of electoral politics in September 1983 can be found in John H. McFadden, "Civil-Military Relations in the Third Turkish Republic," The Middle East Journal, XXXIX:1 (Winter 1985), 69-85. David Barchard, "General Elections and Local Elections in Turkey", Electoral Studies, 3 (August 1984), 206-210 presents shortly the results of the elections in 1983 and 1984.

V.7 The Economy

There is a large literature dealing with various aspects of the Turkish economy, much of it of high quality. Only the more noteworthy are mentioned below.

A well-documented introduction to problems of the Turkish economy is Edmond Y. Asfour et al., Turkey: Prospects and Problems of an Expanding Economy, (Washington, D.C.: IBRD, 1975). Another general survey is Kemal Derviş and Sherman Robinson, The Foreign Exchange Gap, Growth, and Industrial Strategy in Turkey, (Washington, D.C.: IBRD, 1978). The relations between foreign trade and growth are discussed in detail by Anne O. Krueger, Foreign Trade Regimes and Economic Development: Turkey, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974). Z.Y. Hershlag, Turkey: The Challenge of Growth, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968) is an indispensable source for understanding both the structural and policy problems of the Turkish economy.

Bertil Walstedt, State Manufacturing Enterprise in a Mixed Economy: The Turkish Case, (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980) offers a detailed account of the Turkish processes of industrialization.

Oddvar Aresvik, The Agricultural Development of Turkey, (New York: Praeger, 1975) emphasizes technological aspects of agricultural development. For the impact of capitalist domination on the agricultural sector the reader can consult Çağlar Keyder, "Paths of Rural Transformation in Turkey," The Journal of Peasant Studies, XI (October 1983), 34-49.

The economic effects of exporting workers have been analyzed by William Hale, International Migration Project: A Country Case

Study: Turkey, (Durham: University of Durham, 1978). Suzanne Paine, Exporting Workers: The Turkish Case, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974) studies the effects of exporting and importing workers and is useful for its concern with sociological factors.

Other important sources on the Turkish economy are: Maxwell J. Fry, Finance and Development Planning in Turkey, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972) which gives a detailed account of development planning in its early stages, and Hans Hemmersbach and Manfred Werth, Foreign Investment in Turkey, (Paris: OECD, 1983).

An excellent volume dealing with one of the central problems of the Turkish economy, namely income distribution, is Ergun Özbudun and Aydın Ulusan, eds., The Political Economy of Income Distribution in Turkey, (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980). A comprehensive analysis concerning the same subject is Eva Hirsch, Poverty and Plenty in a Turkish Farm: A Study of Income Distribution in Turkish Agriculture, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970).

Two works focusing on the political economy of modern Turkey are Berch Berberoğlu, Turkey in Crisis: From State Capitalism to Neo-Colonialism, (London: Zed, 1982), and Çağlar Keyder, "The Political Economy of Turkish Democracy," New Left Review, CXV (May-June 1979), 3-44. See also idem, The Definition of a Peripheral Economy: Turkey 1923-1929, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

1981). Mehmet Nezir Uca, Workers' Participation and Self-Management in Turkey: An Evaluation of Attempts and Experiences, (The Hague: The Institute of Social Studies, 1983) studies the unsuccessful attempts at the democratization of economic decisional processes in the late 1970's. The historical roots of economic crisis are to be found in Mehmet Özay, "Turkey in Crisis: Some Contradictions of the Kemalist Development Strategy," International Journal of Middle East Studies, 15 (1983), 47-66, and Justin McCarthy, "Foundations of the Turkish Republic: Social and Economic Changes," Middle Eastern Studies, XIX (April 1983), 139-151.

V.8 External Relations

A major source of foreign policy during the first fifty years of the Turkish Republic with emphasis on the period following 1960, is Kemal H. Karpat et al., Turkey's Foreign Policy in Transition, 1950-1974, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975). Ferenc A. Váli, Bridge Across the Bosphorus, (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971) provides a detailed account of Turkish foreign policy from the end of the Ottoman Empire to 1971 and covers somewhat superficially Turkey's relations with the U.S., NATO, Greece, the Middle East and the Soviet Union. For relations with Middle Eastern countries see the special issue "Turkey and the Middle East", Middle East Review, XVII (Spring 1985), and Ali L. Karaosmanoğlu, "Turkey's Security and the Middle East," Foreign Affairs, LXII (Fall 1983), 157-175.

Three books are particularly important in understanding the implications of Turkey's geopolitical position: Rouhoullah K. Ramazani, The Northern Tier: Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey, (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1966); Ivo J. Lederer and Wayne S. Vucinich, eds., The Soviet Union and the Middle East: The Post World War II Era, (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1974); and Lawrence Ziring, Iran, Turkey, and Afghanistan: A Political Chronology, (New York: Praeger, 1981).

Dankwart Rustow and Trevor Penrose, "Turkey and the Community," Sussex European Papers, No. 5, (Brighton: Sussex University, 1981); Heinz Kramer, "Turkey and EC's Southern Enlargement," Aussenpolitik, XXXV:1 (1984) 98-116; and Maurizio Cremasco, "The Strategic Importance of Relations between Turkey and the European Community," The International Spectator, (January/June 1983), 47-61 consider Turkish relations with the European Community from a predominantly political perspective. A very limited reference to relations with Greece besides other security questions can be found in Duygu Bazoğlu Sezer, "Turkey's Security Policies," Adelphi Papers, No. 164, (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1981). On this subject see also the interpretive essay by Norbert Kohlhase, "The Greco-Turkish Conflict from a European Community Perspective," The World Today, XXXVII:4 (April 1981), 27-34.

Andrew Borowiec, The Mediterranean Feud, (New York: Praeger, 1983), offers an exposition of the disputes between Turkey and

Greece, their impact on Western defence policies and the dilemmas they create in the U.S. A small collection of essays presenting both Turkish and Greek views on major issues concerning relations between the two countries is to be found in Jonathan Alford, ed., Greece and Turkey: Adversity in Alliance, (London: Gower for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1984).

George Harris, Troubled Alliance, Turkish-American Problems in Historical Perspective, 1945-1971, (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1972) is a richly documented book concerning relations between the U.S. and Turkey. However, the interpretations of the author, an American diplomat, should be taken with caution. The same can be said for James W. Spain, American Diplomacy in Turkey: Memoirs of an Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, (New York: Praeger, 1984). Other sources on Turkish American relations are Andrew Mango, Turkey: A Delicately Poised Ally, (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1975), and George E. Gruen, "Ambivalence in the Alliance: U.S. Interests in the Middle East and the Evolution of Turkish Foreign Policy," Orbis, XXIV (Summer 1980), 363-378.

For Turkey's relations with NATO the reader can refer to Nuri Eren, Turkey, NATO and Europe: A Deteriorating Relationship?, (Paris: The Atlantic Institute for International Affairs, 1977); Bruce R. Kuniholm, "Turkey and NATO: Past, Present and Future," Orbis, XXVII (Summer 1983) 421-46; Ihsan Gürkan, NATO, Turkey and the Southern Flank, (New Brunswick, N.J.: National Strategy Information Center, 1980); and Lawrence L. Whetten, "Turkey's Role in the Atlantic Alliance," Atlantic Quarterly, II, (Autumn 1984), 249-267.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As noted in the introduction, despite the existence of a considerable (if unevenly distributed) corpus dealing individually with each country in Southern Europe, genuinely comparative and/or interdisciplinary studies are still rare. The complete subset has barely been recognized a "region" for scholarly exploitation. Even paired comparisons between its countries are hard to find. This is true both for history and for the social sciences. In the former, works which attempted to bring out similar patterns in the evolution of politics, society and economy in the region as a whole since the Napoleonic Wars would be most welcome. In the social sciences, such themes as the causes of authoritarian rule--and more recently, its demise--the significance of corporatist structures of interest intermediation, the prominent role played by parastate institutions in the post World War II period, the impact of the region's semi-peripheral location in the world economy, the relative weakness of the national bourgeoisies and the precarious legitimacy of capitalism as a whole in these countries have all been suggested in the existing literature, but await systematic exploration. Finally, once the level of conceptualization has been developed further and been tested by rigorously comparative empirical inquiry, it will be possible to compare across regions and to study fruitfully the similarities, as well as the differences, in the points of departure, the timing and the trajectories followed by Northern and Central Europe, Eastern Europe and Southern Europe, as well as North and Latin America, on

the way to their present levels of development or underdevelopment, order or disorder, democracy or dictatorship. In our view, this "staged approach" to the accumulation of knowledge about the interrelationship of economy, society and polity over time is likely to be more fruitful than the search for correlations across the entire universe of cases or even across Europe as a whole. To such a strategy, Southern Europe has a great deal to contribute--not just because of its rich and varied range of historical experience and because so many economic, social and political "inventions" originate from this area--but also because of its spatially and temporally intermediate, location in these major patterns of transformation and diffusion. Without claiming for the region the status of "missing link," we are convinced that scholars working in other regions and other countries have a great deal to learn from Southern Europe. It is, however, the primary responsibility of us scholars who are working on and within the region to produce the sort of systematic and comparative research which can be assimilated into the general corpus of historical and social scientific knowledge. We hope that this modest bibliography will be a contribution toward that goal.

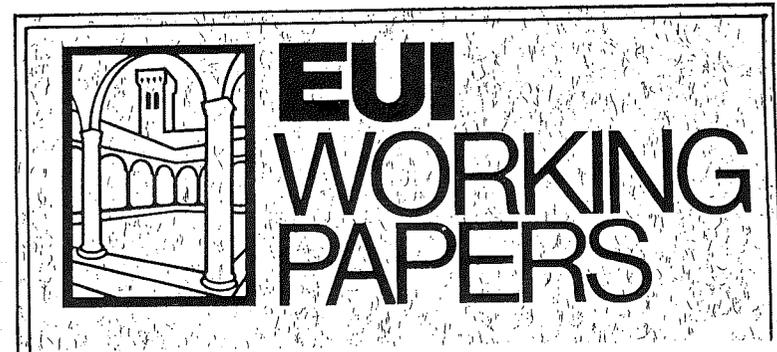
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