

## **Political science in Greece**

P. NIKIFOROS DIAMANDOUROS & MICHALIS SPOURDALAKIS

*University of Athens, Greece*

The evolution and development of political science in Greece should be understood at two analytically separate but closely connected levels: the first conforms to the general trend observable in European and Western nations since the late 19th century and involves the gradual emancipation of systemic social and political inquiry from the tutelage of the legal sciences and its gradual transformation into discrete social science disciplines – political science being one of the last to claim its independence. The second level relates to the Greek historical experience and to the ways in which delayed social and political development combined with the dynamics of nation- and state-building in this country to determine the particular trajectories travelled by the social sciences and, especially, political science on their way to eventual emancipation.<sup>1</sup>

### **Historical origins**

The construction of a modern national identity capable of successfully confronting the claims of competing Balkan nationalisms and of effectively defending Greek irredentist goals in the area constituted a critical priority for the Greek state throughout the 19th century. Central to the logic undergirding the construction of this identity was the development of this concept of the historical continuity of the Greek nation from antiquity to the present and its effective use in establishing the validity of Greek, as opposed to other Balkan, claims to particular unredeemed populations and, by implication, territories within the gradually contracting Ottoman Empire.<sup>2</sup>

These developments profoundly marked the emergence and evolution of the humanities and the social sciences in Greece for over a century following formal independence in 1832. Disciplines such as history, linguistics, and folklore, which, through their concern with long-term continuities, could lend scholarly and, hence, ‘scientific’ authority to Greek nationalist claims were the first to be systematically pursued in the Greek university and the ones to receive almost exclusive attention throughout the 19th century. The effective death of Greek irredentism in the wake of defeat in the Greek-Turkish war of

1919–1922 only partially undermined the dominance which these disciplines continued to exercise within Greek intellectual life until well into the 20th century.

Put somewhat differently, the inordinate emphasis on historical continuity and on national unity which Greek nationalist goals imposed upon Greek society implied a commensurate delay in the emergence of the more critical and analytical perspectives associated with modern social scientific inquiry and with disciplines such as sociology and political science. This delay was further exacerbated by the near monopoly which the legal approach to the study of state and society exercised on the analysis of political developments in Greece for almost a century following the founding of the University of Athens in the mid-1830s. Given the great distance separating the ‘pays légal’ from the ‘pays réal’ in 19th and early 20th century Greece, it was inevitable that the almost exclusive preoccupation with the former, so characteristic of the French and German legal traditions prevalent in Greece, effectively marginalized the systematic study of the latter, including Greek politics. In other words, the very fluidity of Greek politics and the low level of its institutionalization made it a less inviting subject for constitutional law to pursue in a systematic fashion and contributed to the delayed development of political science as a discipline.

This having been said it was, nevertheless, within the legal tradition that concern with politics first emerged in Greece. This was both natural and inevitable. Natural because of the central significance accorded to the state in the study of law; and inevitable because, in a country such as Greece, where parliamentary politics was introduced very early (1844) and where the state played such a dominant role in the nation-building process and in the intense conflicts associated with social and political development, law and constitutional law, in particular, were inexorably drawn into political battles, serving as an ideological instrument alternatively enhancing or contesting the legitimacy of the political system.<sup>3</sup>

In the 19th century, this sensitivity with political issues was readily observable in the writings of N. Papadoukas, N.I. Saripolos, D. Kyriakos, G. Filaretos, N. Filemon, and Th. Flogaitis – legal scholars whose work bore the strong imprint of the German legal thinking regarding the state. Concern with political as opposed to legal aspects of Greek society was carried further and was qualitatively enhanced, in the beginning of the 20th century, by the work of the first systematic constitutional scholars of Greece, J. Aravantinos and N.N. Saripolos. Shortly thereafter, Alexander Svolos, a professor of constitutional law at the University of Athens in the interwar period, first explicitly introduced social and political dimensions to the study of law in Greece and, in this regard, significantly advanced the systematic study of politics in this country.<sup>4</sup>

More generally, the interwar years – a period characterized by intense social

and political conflicts surrounding the nature of liberal democracy in Greece,<sup>5</sup> and by powerful intellectual ferment which, however directly or indirectly, first posed central questions concerning the nature of state-society relations in modern Greece – witnessed a number of developments conducive to the eventual emancipation of the social sciences and, more specifically, of political science. Chief among these were (a) the founding, in 1931, of the Panteios School of Political Sciences, a private institution of higher education devoted, among others, to the study of political science and the creation, within that school, of a chair of ‘the general science of the state’ (*Staatswissenschaft*);<sup>6</sup> (b) the establishment, in the mid-1930s, of the first chair of sociology at the University of Athens; and (c) the first but inconclusive attempts to create a political science association in the early part of that decade.

The Metaxas dictatorship (1936–41) and a decade of Axis occupation (1941–44), civil strife (1944–46), and outright civil war (1946–49) put an abrupt end to the intellectual climate which had made these advances possible. The heavy cultural and intellectual atmosphere engendered by the militantly anticommunist post-civil war state in Greece placed major obstacles to the further development of the social sciences and, especially, on disciplines such as sociology and political science which were regarded as ideologically ‘suspect’. Thus, at a time when comparative politics emerged as a major subfield of political science internationally and quickly contributed to the significant expansion of the discipline’s conceptual arsenal and analytical power, social and political inquiry in Greece experienced a serious retrogression, as dominant voices in the Greek scholarly community insisted on the ‘historical uniqueness of the Greek experience.’<sup>7</sup>

In these inhospitable conditions, systematic concern with politics, once again, found precarious refuge within the law faculties of the Universities of Athens and Thessaloniki and of the Panteios School. Acting more as individuals than as members of an as-yet-unformed political science community, academics such as George Daskalakis and Phaidon Vegleris, specialists in constitutional and administrative law respectively, were among the very first to forge Greek linkages with the then newly-established International Political Science Association. At the same time, Aristovoulos Manessis, a professor of constitutional law at the University of Thessaloniki, carried on the tradition inaugurated by Svolos.<sup>8</sup>

In sharp contrast to the situation prevailing in the 1950s, the early and mid-1960s constitute a major turning point in the development of social and political sciences in Greece. A byproduct of the gradual relaxation of the more repressive aspects of the post-civil war state brought about by intense social and political mobilization, this change of scenery manifested itself primarily in two areas: first, in the establishment of institutional structures within the Greek academic world which made possible the systematic study of political

science in Greece; and second, in the emergence of individual scholars with either an explicit political science training or at least a distinct political science orientation within their own disciplines, who took advantage of the opportunities created by the new conditions and contributed substantively to this breakthrough. More notable among these developments were (a) the establishment in 1964, at the Panteios School, a state institution since 1941, of the first chair of political science in Greece;<sup>9</sup> (b) the emergence of international relations as a subject with a distinct political science identity;<sup>10</sup> (c) the creation, within the Law Faculty of the University of Athens, of a distinct 'political sciences' track for students in their last year of studies. Despite the continued dominance of legal courses in its curriculum, this track constituted evidence of the limited and carefully monitored entry of political science in the country's law faculty; (d) the founding, in 1959 with UNESCO support, of the Athens Social Science Centre, a development which opened the way for the systematic pursuit of the social sciences in Greece; and (e) the publication, in 1965, of Jean Meynaud's *Les forces politiques en Grèce*, arguably the first work to introduce comparative politics methodology and concepts in Greece.<sup>11</sup>

Taken together, these developments signalled the beginning of a new era for Greek political science, characterized, above all, by increased awareness and contact with international currents in political science and auguring well for the emancipation of the discipline from the tutelage of law and for its emergence as a separate and distinct field of studies in Greece. The imposition of authoritarian rule in 1967 severely disrupted and temporarily checked the dynamic of this development. Ultimately, however, it failed to reverse it.

The dismissal of outspoken academics and the attempt to impose rigid ideological control on teaching and research structures was unable to stem the continuing politicization and radicalization of critical strata in Greece society, including the student movement. At a more general level, systematic repression proved equally incapable of preventing the emergence, in the country at large, of a climate of national conciliation and of quasi-universal preference for transcending the social and political divisions of the postwar era. Though this was not to bear fruit until after the end of authoritarian rule, it is worth noting that it was during this period (1970) that a chair devoted to the study of the 'general science of the state' was established in the Law Faculty of the University of Athens. In 1971, it was renamed 'chair of political science and political theories.'<sup>12</sup>

### **Political science in postauthoritarian Greece**

With the restoration of political democracy in 1974, political science, caught within the maelstrom of social and political developments in Greece, found

itself at a crossroads. On the one hand, the political radicalization to which the seven-year authoritarian regime had given rise served, among others, as a catalyst legitimating the autonomous study of politics within Greek academic institutions. This trend was greatly reinforced by the return to Greece, within a short period of time in the mid-1970s, of a critical mass of intellectuals and academics representing the first generation of Greeks systematically trained in the social sciences in major European and American institutions and capable of introducing modern methods of social and political inquiry in Greek academic institutions. Their presence in Greece and the atmosphere of reform generated by the establishment of the most open and democratic political system in Greece's modern existence substantively added to the pressures for the restructuring of tertiary education in Greece and for the creation of the autonomous academic departments in, among others, the social sciences.<sup>13</sup> Finally, the reconstitution, in 1974, of the Hellenic Political Science Association and its significant growth in membership in the ensuing years served as further evidence of the discipline's readiness to emerge as an independent field within the Greek university setting.

Progress towards the realization of this goal was slow in coming, however. Faced with explosive pressures within the universities,<sup>14</sup> emanating primarily from an enormously expanded and militant student movement, the traditionally conservative Ministry of Education delayed much-needed reform. A committee to study the state of social sciences in the country and to make recommendations designed to enhance their status within Greek academic structures was set up in 1978, engendered considerable anticipation, but failed to produce concrete results.<sup>15</sup> The one notable development during this period, however, was the election, in 1979, of the first full professor of political science at the Law Faculty of the University of Athens, an action which symbolically marks the moment when the study of politics finally gained formal parity with the study of law within Greece's premier law faculty.<sup>16</sup>

At the end of the 1970s, then, the prospects for an institutionally autonomous, modern political science in Greece looked good. Though small in absolute numbers, its representatives constituted a significant mass of specialists in comparative politics, international relations, and political theory who were qualitatively and quantitatively sufficient to ensure the growth and reproduction of the field as a whole. All that remained was the establishment of the requisite institutional structures which would render such a development possible.

The major breakthrough came in 1982, with the reform of higher education in Greece and the creation of separate academic departments within the university system. Although marred by a series of controversial and often problematic provisions which, in later years, were to act more as obstacles to, than as promoters of, reform, this legislation resulted in the founding of a

Department of Political Science and Public Administration at the University of Athens, of a Department of Political Science and International Studies at the Panteios School, and of a section of Political Science and Public Administration within the Department of Law of the University of Thessaloniki. Along with the reorganized National Centre of Social Research (formerly the Social Science Centre), these institutional structures were, in the ensuing years, to absorb almost all of the available talent in political science in Greece and to attract a number of Greek scholars from abroad, both young and established. Curricular reform was an additional feature accompanying this change of scenery. Introduced in both the Panteios School and the University of Athens political science departments, it was especially pronounced in the latter which recruited a distinguished faculty, expanded rapidly, and played a central role in the modernization of the discipline within the country.

The profile of contemporary political science in Greece which these developments compose reflects the general ascendancy that the Anglo-Saxon and, especially, American intellectual traditions have come to exercise within international political science in the postwar period. While, at this point in time, it would be inappropriate to speak of a distinctly Greek political science tradition, it is, nevertheless, possible to point to some of its distinguishing features. Chief among these has been the central role assigned to history as a requisite for systematic social and political analysis. In this sense, Greek political science inscribes itself within the distinctly European trajectory of political science identified, among others, with the work of Stein Rokkan. A further distinctive feature of Greek political science, as it is reflected in the work of its more sophisticated representatives, is that it has managed to steer clear of the vulgar marxism which swept much of the writing on Greek politics and society in the post-1974 period. At the same time, it has retained important conceptual and analytical tools associated with this intellectual tradition. Taken together these characteristics, and the closer contact between contemporary Greek and international political science that they imply, suggest that the former has entered a new phase in its development as a discipline and allow for cautious optimism concerning its future prospects. It is to these prospects that we must now turn for a fuller assessment of the state of political science in Greece today.

In the beginning of the 1990s, the field, having achieved institutional consolidation, is in search of reproductive strategies capable of ensuring a clearer self-definition, the expansion of its resources, and a deepening of its presence within Greek society. In the immediate future, three areas seem likely to serve as testing grounds for these challenges. First, there is increasing Greek involvement in international and, especially, European Community institutions. Second, there is the rationalization and modernization of the Greek state

apparatus. Third, there is the development of graduate studies as well as the emergence of private tertiary education in Greece.

### **Current trends**

At present, Greek political science is characterized by a pronounced unevenness which reflects the way in which the discipline has grown in response to external demands for specific skills arising from the changing nature of Greek domestic and international politics. More specifically, the rapid growth of international relations and, more generally, international and European studies in the pertinent academic departments, is directly linked to the demands for new knowledge and skilled professionals brought about by Greek membership in the European Community and by increasing involvement in a number of other international organizations. The recent emergence and rapid proliferation of policy-oriented think tanks concerned with international affairs, strategic studies, defense, and foreign policy adds further momentum to this development.<sup>17</sup> In fact, as European integration proceeds, as new Community institutions are set up and old ones expanded, and as Greek policy makers become more sophisticated in their understanding of the longer-term benefits associated with membership in the European Community, it seems reasonable to assume that this trend will persist and even accelerate for some time.

Reform of the woefully inefficient Greek state apparatus is universally recognized as a top priority for the governments of the 1990s. Even partial success in this direction is certain to provide a boost to the rising interest in public administration which, much as the rest of political science in Greece, did not emerge as a modern, academic field of study until the late 1970s and early 1980s. The advent, during this period, of a small number of young academics with solid grounding in the more recent advances in this rapidly-evolving subfield of political science adds to its attractiveness as a career option for students, enhances its utility for political reformers, and augurs well for its future as an academic subject matter.

The systematic study of comparative politics and of political theory have, so far, failed to attract the attention accorded to the field just discussed. Quantitatively small but qualitatively strong, these two fields of political science are, nevertheless, likely to be major beneficiaries of the spillover effect already generated by the growing demand for information and knowledge arising out of the country's increasing integration in European Community structures. To mention but two examples: the rising demand for sophisticated survey research in a variety of settings has resulted in heightened interest in electoral

studies and electoral sociology. At the same time, the need to cope with the emergence of a supranational, European identity within the context of the Community has brought to the surface a growing concern with the nature and content of modern Greek identity and has produced renewed interest in the study of political culture and of the history of European and Greek political thought in this country.<sup>18</sup>

Finally, political science as a discipline is certain to benefit from the impending establishment of graduate studies in the Greek university system and from the projected founding of private institutions of tertiary education in the country. Through their combined demand for both general (introductory/undergraduate) and specialized curricular requirements (graduate studies), these developments will lead to a rise in demand for competent political scientists and to a commensurate growth of both the academic and more policy-relevant aspects of the discipline itself.

Three additional and interconnected developments, each reinforcing the others, attest to the growth of Greek political science in recent years: first, the growing contact and increased presence of Greek political scientists with European, American, and international political science organizations; second, the growing interest of non-Greek political scientists in those aspects of modern Greek politics which present a particular interest to the comparative study of specific political phenomena; and third, the contributions of Greek political science to the gradual integration of modern Greece in the international political science literature. Let us elaborate: in recent years, whether as authors of papers, panel organizers, or participants in the planning of activities, Greek political scientists have made their presence felt in the meetings of such professional political science associations as the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR); the Southern European Group operating under the aegis of the ECPR; the American Political Science Association and its regional affiliates; the biennial conferences organized by the Council for European Studies in the United States; the International Studies Association; and, to a lesser extent, the International Political Science Association.

At the same time, growing interest within the international political science community in the comparative study of such phenomena as European integration and the southward enlargement of the European Community, transitions to, and consolidation of, democratic politics, political parties, neocorporatism, legislatures, civil-military relations, small states in international relations, populism, and many more have (a) heightened general theoretical interest in Greece, (b) made it possible for Greek political scientists to make substantive contributions to the international literature on these subjects and (c) strengthened the professionalization of political science in Greece.<sup>19</sup> Though still based on a very small number of individuals, this trend towards increased professionalization of the field is also attested to by the growing

capacity of the reactivated Hellenic Political Science Association to attract new members, to hold successful conferences, to publish scholarly volumes, and to contemplate the launching, in 1991, of a political science journal bearing its imprint.<sup>20</sup>

It follows from the preceding analysis that, given its delayed development, Greek political science has, until very recently, had a minimal impact on state and societal development in Greece. Well into the middle of this century, the study of 'political sciences' was considered an exotic subject pursued primarily by aspirants to a political career, who, after obtaining a degree in law, went abroad to acquire the added veneer of respectability associated with studies 'in the West.' This situation did not change with the establishment of the Panteios School of Political Sciences. As evidenced by a curriculum dominated by legal subjects, this institution was from its inception more geared to facilitating its graduates' entry into the lower echelons of the Greek civil service than to schooling them in theoretical or applied aspects of political science. It was only with the advent of full political democracy in the mid-1970s and the establishment of political science departments within the Greek university system after 1982 that the political and structural preconditions enabling political science to emerge as a factor influencing state and societal development were first met.

The growing number of faculty positions in the political science departments of the University of Athens and the Panteios School (formally named the Panteios University of Social and Political Sciences in 1989), the increased visibility of political scientists in the state sector (especially the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and ministries closely connected with the European Community), and the heightened interest in policy-oriented research among a variety of policy-making circles allow for a cautious optimism concerning the discipline's ability to grow, to enhance its qualitative presence within the state sector, and augment its stature within Greek society.<sup>21</sup>

For these trends to continue, however, a number of important conditions have to be met. First and foremost is the need for a significant increase in the public funds available for social, and, more specifically, political science research. To date, political science departments have benefited handsomely from the growing pressures for enlarging the size of the student population in tertiary education in Greece. The vast majority of funds which have been channelled in the direction of these departments, however, has been meant to address teaching rather than research needs. And though the need for improvements in this area is undeniable, the central point here is that, while considerably improved relative to the recent past, funding for serious scholarly research in political science as in other social science disciplines remains scarce in Greece. The proliferation, in recent years, of departments of political science in new, and for the most part ill-staffed, regional universities in Greece puts additional strain on the overall resources, human and material, available

for political science research in this country and enlarges the problems standing in the way of the discipline's further development.

These difficulties notwithstanding, the continued growth and sophistication of Greek political science will ultimately depend on the discipline's capacity creatively to respond to the challenges and opportunities posed by the inexorable demand for the modernization of Greek state and society which the 1990s are certain to confront Greece with.

### Acknowledgements

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### Notes

1. On state-building and the nature and dynamics of Greek development, see, among others, Nicos P. Mouzelis, *Modern Greece: Facets of Underdevelopment*, London: Macmillan, 1978; idem, *Politics in the Semi-Periphery. Early Parliamentarism and Late Industrialisation in the Balkans and Latin America*, London: Macmillan, 1986; Konstantinos Tsoukalas, *Exartese kai Anaparagoge. Ho Koinonikos Rolos ton Ekpaideftikon Mechanismon sthn Hellada (1830–1922)*. [Dependence and Reproduction: The Social Role of Educational Mechanisms in Greece (1830–1922)], Athens: Themelio, 1977 and, in French, 'Dépendance et reproduction. Le rôle social des appareils scolaires en Grèce,' doctoral dissertation, University of Paris I, 1975; idem, *Koinonike Anaptyxe kai Kratos* [Social Development and the State, Athens: Themelio, 1981; and P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, 'Political Modernization, Social Conflict, and Cultural Cleavage in the Formation of the Modern Greek State, 1821–1828,' unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1972.
2. On the rise of Balkan nationalism, in general, see the old, but still unsurpassed, work by Lefter S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans Since 1453*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Wilson, 1958; Charles and Barbara Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804–1920*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977; and Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, vol. I, Cambridge: The University Press, 1983. On Greek irredentism, the latest and most authoritative work is John S. Koliopoulos, *Brigands With a Cause, Brigandage and Irredentism in Greece, 1821–1912*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987. On nationalism and national identity in modern Greece, see, among others, Martin Blinkhorn and Thanos Veremis, eds., *Modern Greece: Nationalism and Nationality*, Athens: Sage-ELIAMEP, 1990; Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece*, Austin:

- University of Texas Press, 1982; P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, 'Greek Political Culture in Transition: Historical Origins, Evolution, Current Trends,' in Richard Clogg, ed., *Greece in the 1980s*, London: Macmillan, 1983, 43–69; and *idem*, 'Cultural Tradition and Nation-Building in Mid-Nineteenth Century Greece,' *Δελτίον της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Ηταιρείας της Ελλάδος* [Bulletin of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece], XXIV (1981), 339–57.
3. On the political and cultural consequences of the early introduction of parliamentary institutions see Nicos P. Mouzelis, *Politics in the Semi-Periphery*; K. Tsoukalas, *Exartese kai Anaparagoge and Koinonike Anaptyxe kai Kratos*; Dimitris Charalambis, *Pelateiakos Scheseis kai Laikismos* [Clientelist Relations and Populism], Athens: Exantas, 1989; and George Dertiles, 'He Aftonomia tes Politikes apo tis Koinonikes Antitheseis sten Hellada tou 19ou Aiona' [The Autonomy of Politics from Social Contradictions in 19th Century Greece] in G. Kondogiorgos, ed., *Koinonikes kai Politikes Dynameis sten Hellada* [Social and Political Forces in Greece], Athens: Exantas, 1977.
  4. On liberal-constitutional thought in the 19th century, see Paschalis M. Kitromilides, 'European Political Thought in the Making of Greek Liberalism: The Second National Assembly of 1862–1864 and the Reception of John Stuart Mill's Ideas in Greece,' *Parliaments, Estates and Representation*, VIII, Part 1 (June 1988), 11–21. N.N. Saripolos's thinking concerning the need to distinguish between legal and political science is best captured in brief but incisive comments contained in the introduction to the first edition of his treatise on Greek constitutional law; for the relevant passage, see N.N. Saripolos, *Hellenikon Syntagmatikon Dikaion* [Greek Constitutional Law], 3rd edn., Athens: Raftanes, 1915, 8–9. For recent evaluations of Saripolos, see Nicos C. Alivizatos, 'Ho N.N. Saripolos kai he synchrone syntagmatike episteme' [N.N. Saripolos and Modern Constitutional Science] and Paschalis M. Kitromilides, 'Ho N.N. Saripolos kai he paradose ton fileleftheron ideon sten Hellada,' [N.N. Saripolos and the Diffusion of Liberal Ideas in Greece], papers presented at a workshop on N.N. Saripolos, organized by the University of Athens, 8 March 1991.
  5. On the social and political conflicts affecting the nature and evolution of liberal political institutions in interwar Greece, see George Th. Mavrogordatos, *Stillborn Republic: Social Coalitions and Party Strategies in Greece, 1922–1936*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983 and Nicos P. Alivizatos, *Les institutions politiques de la Grèce à travers les crises, 1922–1974*, Paris: LGDJ, 1979.
  6. Attempts to establish 'institutions of higher learning' devoted to the study of 'political sciences' date to the time of the founding of the modern Greek state. The first such effort occurred during the presidency of Ioannis Kapodistrias, in the late 1820s. The idea was further pursued by Charilaos Trikoupis, the Greek statesman most identified with efforts to modernize Greek state and society, in the 19th century. Finally, in 1911, Eleftherios Venizelos, Greece's dominant political figure in the first half of this century, once again promoted the idea of such an institution. It was not until 1924, however, that the first concrete steps to realize this goal were taken. They were to result in the founding of the Panteios School seven years later.
  7. On the development of comparative politics, see Roy C. Macridis and Bernard E. Brown, 'Comparative Analysis: Method and Concepts,' in *idem*, eds., *Comparative Politics*, 7th edition, Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., 1990, 1–15 and Harry Eckstein, 'A Perspective on Comparative Politics, Past and Present,' in Harry Eckstein and David Apter, eds., *Comparative Politics: A Reader*, New York: Free Press, 1963, 3–32. On the intellectual atmosphere prevailing in Greece during this period, see Constantine Tsoucalas, 'The Ideological Impact of the Civil War,' in John O. Iatrides, ed., *Greece in the 1940s: A Nation in Crisis*, Hanover, NH: University of New England Press, 1981, 319–41.

8. Information based on interview with George Vlachos, emeritus professor of political science at the Panteios School and President of Academy of Athens, Athens, 13 March 1990.
9. The chair was devoted to the study of the history of political thought and was occupied by George Vlachos, a political scientist whose work straddles the French and German traditions of political theory.
10. In its theoretical aspects, the development of international relations as a distinct subfield was reflected primarily in the work of George Tenekides, a French-trained professor of international law at the Panteios School. Its more applied dimension was best represented by Spyros Kalogeropoulos-Stratis's work on the United Nations.
11. The most informative works, in English, on developments during this period are Richard Clogg, *A. Short History of Modern Greece*, Cambridge: The University Press, 1979; John Campbell and Philip Sherrard, *Modern Greece*, London: Benn, 1968; Constantine Tsoucalas, *The Greek Tragedy*, Baltimore, MD: Penguin, 1969; Nicos P. Mouzelis, *Modern Greece* and Kevin Featherstone and Dimitrios K. Katsoudas, *Political Change in Greece Before and After the Colonels*, London: Croom Helm, 1987. The full reference for Meynaud's work is Jean Meynaud, *Les forces politiques en Grèce*, Lausanne: ESP, 1965.
12. Information based on interview with Andreas Gazis, emeritus professor of Law, University of Athens, 1 August 1990. Chariton Koryzis, a German-trained scholar, received a non-tenured, three-year appointment to the new chair.
13. The best account of the efforts to establish a separate institution of tertiary education focussed on the social sciences is contained in George Veltsos, Nikos Demades, *et al.*, *To Attiko Panepistimio* [The University of Attica], Athens; Kochlias, n.d. [circa 1975].
14. Indicative of the problems prevailing at the time were the enormous asymmetries in the student-staff ratios. In the Panteios School, for example, there were four professors for 5500 political science students, while in the faculty of the University of Athens one academic chair served over 6000 students. (Information derived from interview with George Vlachos, 13 March 1990).
15. Interview, on 13 March 1990, with John Metaxas, professor of political science at the University of Athens and a member of that committee.
16. The position was filled by John Metaxas, a French-trained political scientist conversant with American political science.
17. Among the more notable of these organizations are the Centre for Political Research and Training (KPEE); the Foundation for Political Studies (IPOME); the Greek Institute for International and Strategic Studies (GISS); the Hellenic Centre for European Studies (EKEM); the Hellenic Foundation for Defence and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP); the Institute for International Relations of the Panteios University for Social and Political Sciences (formerly the Panteios School); and the Foundation for Mediterranean Studies (IMM).
18. A number of on-going research programmes at the National Centre of Social Research attest to the growing interest in these subjects. For more specific information, see George Th. Mavrogordatos, *et al.*, 'Syngritike Erevna Politikes Koulouras stis Chores tes Notias Evropes' [Comparative Study of Political Culture in Southern European Countries], special issue of *The Greek Review of Social Research*, 69A (Summer 1988) as well as the research projects on (a) the political behaviour of women, (b) political personnel in postwar Greece, (c) mass media, etc. described in *Ethniko Kentro Koinonikon Erevnon 1959-1989* [National Centre of Social Research 1959-1989], Athens: EKKE, 1989.
19. This article deals with the development of political science *within* Greece. Such a focus excludes treatment of Greek political scientists who have made significant contributions to the development of political science in countries other than Greece and whose work should be examined in the context of the political science and, more broadly, intellectual traditions of these countries. Prime examples of scholars falling within this category are Nicos Poulantzas

in France and Roy Macridis in the United States. Though not a political scientist *stricto sensu*, Cornelios Castoriadis, a philosopher long-living in France and, more recently, Nicos Mouzelis, a political sociologist in the United Kingdom, should be added to this list.

20. The Association's publications include the following edited volumes: George Kondogiorges, ed., *Koinonikes kai Politikes Dynameis sten Hellada* [Social and Political Forces in Greece], Athens: Exantas, 1977; P.N. Diamandouros, P.M. Kitromilides, and G.Th. Mavrogordatos, eds., *Hoi Ekloges tou 1981* [The 1981 Elections], Athens: Hestia, 1984; and Christos Lyrantzis and Ilias Nicolacopoulos, eds., *Ekloges kai Kommata sten Dekatia tou '80* [Elections and Parties in 1980s], Athens: Themelio, 1990.

The Association also expects to launch its professional journal, *Hellenike Epitheorese Politikes Epistemes* [Greek Review of Political Science], by the end of 1991. Earlier attempts in this direction have proved short-lived. The most recent one, *Politike: Epitheorese Politikes Epistemes* [Politics: A Review of Political Science] appeared from 1980 until 1984.

21. Recent periodical publications attesting to the growing interest in the more applied or theoretical concerns of political science include *Dioiketike Enkyklopaideia* [Administrative Encyclopedia], *Topos: Epitheorese Astikon kai Perifereiakon Meleton* [Topos: Review of Urban and Regional Studies], *Epitheorese Evropaikon Koinoteton* [Review of the European Communities], *Koinovouleftike Epitheorese* [Parliamentary Review], *Vima Koinonikon Epistemon* [Social Science Tribune], *Axiologica*, *Leviathan*, and *Theoria kai Koinonia* [Theory and Society].