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

by

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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.

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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).

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


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


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 Greter, 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 economia politica 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


PART TWO

I. GREECE

I.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.


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 Études
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 "Capability 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:

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 Safillos-
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
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. Blalor, "Bibliography of Anthropological Sources on Modern Greece and Cyprus."


I.2 History and Politics


I.3 1821-1910


On the first president of Greece, Ioannis Kapodistrias, 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. Donias, 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 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.


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*
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).

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.

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 Tusculanum Press, 1982); for an earlier work on the 
resistance, see André Kedros, *La résistance grecque* (1940-1944), 
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, 
(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 Diamandouras, 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*, 
(Princeton: 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, 
the most authoritative account of United States Policy from the 
1930s to the civil war, see John O. Iatrides, ed., *Ambassador 
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: 
Europäische 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.


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*, (Ann
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


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


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...


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 that 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

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. Carmocollas, 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).


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 Petropulos, 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'etat against then President Archbishop Makarios and the Turkish military occupation of the north of the island.


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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.

1.8 Economy


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 Scofterd 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

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,

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


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.


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


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

II.7 The Political System


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 Cavazzze 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 Syncratism in Italy*.

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 brief and 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).


II.8 The Economy


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.


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.


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. Riegelhaput, "Saloio 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 Social, 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 'Élite' 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 Corporate 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 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.,

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 la República, (Lisbon: Terra Livre, 1976). See also António José Tejo. 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);
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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


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. Rouquie, 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).


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,

Accounts by leading actors in the Revolution are numerous. Of special relevance is Antonio Spínola, Portugal e o futuro, (n.p.: Editora Arcordia, 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); "Dossiers" 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 socialistas-democratas Portugueses: Estudo de uma amostra," Análise Social, XVII: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

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 Cáu 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

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,

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 Castile*, (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

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 Díaz 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

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: Oryxs, 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

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).

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

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


IV.7 The Franco Regime


### IV.8 The Political System


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, Von 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;

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.


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 Olleco, (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).


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).


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


IV.9 The Economy


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


V. TURKEY

V.1 Introduction


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


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 Tümerşekin 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. Cığdem Kağıtçıbaş, 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 women's 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

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: Nerm 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, XII: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


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.

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


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

V.5 Post-1946

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


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.


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.


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.


Among studies on political participation, Engin D. Akarli 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


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

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 Trimberger, *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.

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.


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.


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

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).


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. Váll, 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. Karaoğlan, "Turkey's Security and the Middle East," Foreign Affairs, LXII (Fall 1983), 157-175.


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.

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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