

The study of political parties in Greece

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There is at least a tacit acceptance in the literature on political parties that the 'history of party(ies) is nothing less than . . . the history of the country from a monographic viewpoint'. In turn one can reasonably argue that the state of the art in the literature on political parties is nothing less than the state of the art in the literature in the entire corpus of political science from a 'monographic point of view'. Nothing could be more true about the Greek literature on political parties. The developed trends and problematic on the study of parties has to a great extent followed the general currents of political science. The literature on political parties in Greece displays the same traits, shortcomings and merits as the literature in the entire discipline of political science. Subsequently, a comprehensive presentation of literature on political parties has to be presented within the framework of the development and dynamics of the discipline as a whole.

In a recent article, professor Diamandouros and I noted that '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 the ways in which a delayed social and political development combined with the dynamics of nation and state-building in this country to determine the particular trajectories travelled by social and especially, political science on their way to eventual emancipation' (Diamandouros & Spourdalakis, 1991: 375). These characteristics of the development of political science can also be traced in the literature on political parties. In fact at no great risk one could argue that the literature on parties can be proved to be a very good case study for testing the above hypotheses. This is because parties are by definition at the center of political developments, especially when these developments, as in this case, have to do with the simultaneous processes of nation-building and the founding of, the consolidation of, or the reaction to, parliamentary and representative institutions. Thus, before we turn to an outline of the literature on parties, a brief sketch of the historical development of political science in Greece is in order.

The study of politics in Greece: a brief background

We can hardly speak of political science proper in Greece before 1974, i.e. the fall of the Junta, and to an even greater extent this is true with regard to the study of political parties. Historical circumstances are to be blamed for such a delay. By the middle of the 19th century, Greece was a small territory at the southern tip of the Balkan peninsula, which had just emerged from over four centuries of Ottoman rule. It was confronted with the tasks involved in the process of nation building. This, as I have already mentioned, gave birth primarily if not exclusively to only two of the social sciences: history and law. It is in this context that these two disciplines, especially the latter, were bound to put their mark on both the delayed development of political science as well as on the study of political parties to this day.

In a country in which the absence of modern public institutions and the lack of any autonomous expression of society were plain, it was only natural to expect that it would be up to the state to define its relation to society. This 'from above' arrangement of the precarious relationship between the state and society not only marked the development of the entire Greek social formation but also determined the orientation of academic and scientific research. This for the social sciences, meant an overdevelopment of constitutional studies to an extent that probably cannot be matched in any other European country. In this context the concern with the study of the 'political' was left to the students of law who wanted to include a socio-political dimension in their work. As one would expect, the study of parties was even less fortunate. This neglect was also the result of the actual Greek parties at the time, which functioned as loose clientelistic networks of limited or no duration and viability after the political or the biological death of their leader (Korizis, 1974; Kotarides, 1993). As such they enjoyed very little legitimacy as (vital) representative institutions or as a significant part of the infant parliamentary system, and they attracted little scientific attention.

This tendency of the constitutionalists to shed some light on the questions of politics became a more frequent phenomenon after the first decade of the 20th century when Greece, as a result of the 1909 revolt, was confronted with a major constitutional reform. Concern for the study of politics became more widespread and in fact more legitimate in the interwar period, particularly in the context of the Second Greek republic. The 1920s and 1930s were marked by intense social and political conflicts, which centered around the question of the nature of liberal democracy (Alivizatos, 1983; Mavrogordatos, 1983). A significant number of foreign educated intellectuals played the role of catalysts in these conflicts and contributed greatly to the further liberalization of the state-society relations, which had been started by the Venizelos governments in the 1910s. Not unexpectedly, this liberalization was reflected in arts and sciences and did not leave the social sciences untouched.

This intellectual and cultural renaissance did not result by any means in

the development of a political science proper. The discipline remained under the dominance of legal studies. During this period, however, contrary to what had happened up until the 1920s, where inspired students of constitutional and legal studies simply added a social and political dimension as an appendix to their research or teaching, students of law – in fact the most prominent among them – attempted to explore and analyse social and/or political issues within the framework of positive law. In spite of this advance towards the definition of politics as a legitimate scientific field, the study of political parties occupied little or no space in this nascent examination of political phenomena. Of course at this point one has to note that a number of intellectuals and practitioners of liberal or left/communist background, dealt with the question of parties and published a number of short essays and articles but these were far from scientific studies. In the case of the liberals, the debate was framed by the explicit desire of sectors of Venizelos' Liberal Party to transform itself from a party of notables into a modern mass party (Mavrogordatos, 1983: 81–87). In the case of communists the problematic concerning party questions, as in almost every other case, followed the fluctuations of the international Communist movement and usually aimed to serve the immediate political purposes of the Greek C.P. (KKE), and thus, with some insightful exceptions (e.g. see Sklavos, 1927) were of no scientific value.¹ Intellectual limitations, and the limited role the Communists played in the political system meant that these publications failed in turn to stimulate a scientific discussion of the party phenomenon among the mainstream social scientists.

The climate which was conducive to political science and the general intellectual spring of the inter-War period was interrupted by the hurricane of the Metaxas Dictatorship in 1936 and the long winter of the foreign occupation of the country. The civil war which followed in combination with the deep freeze of the effects of the cold war in the country only made things worse. It entrenched and consolidated with the Greek (political) culture a suspicion of anything which could even be mildly characterized as 'political' and a hostile attitude towards all those who maintained an ambition for systematic research on politics, let alone on political parties. The study of politics, such as it was, was once again to be left to critical students of constitutional law, who in the context of examining the real application of the Greek constitution were involved in an occasional analysis of political phenomena. Greek 'political science' during the 1950s was literally left to individual scholars who had studied abroad (primarily in Germany and France) and upon their repatriation they brought into the country their graduate research especially in the fields of the history of political thought and international relations. Again, however, the corpus of this research had a clear legal if not legalistic bent as this handful of pioneers in Greek political science were, first and foremost, students of law.

As was to be expected, the liberalization of the 1960s had a positive effect on the study of politics in the country. In addition to some significant

institutional developments,² a number of independent political clubs and associations sprang-up³ and a good part of their activity was concerned with the systematic study of Greek politics. In fact given that the main activities of these establishments were in explicit or tacit opposition to the old party politics and practices (*palaiokommatike*) their problematic often touched on party issues. A number of seminars were organized and articles and pamphlets were published, which both criticized the practices and procedures followed in the country's entire system of representation and proposed alternative party structures. In spite of this development, one cannot make too much of this since the whole problematic of this activity was inspired and directed towards analyses of immediate political problems and aimed at specific political tasks (e.g. Papandreou, 1965). Thus, even during this period very little of scientific value was published. Important exceptions here are: the classic work of Meynaud, which thoroughly described and analyzed the Greek party system and elections in the 1950s and 1960s and which was to become the cornerstone for every study in this area after 1974 (Meynaud, 1966); the equally important work of Dafnes on Greek parties until 1961 (Dafnes, 1961); and the study of the unfair electoral procedures of the post-War period (Karanikolas, 1963). No other significant studies were brought to light at this time.

Once again this relatively positive climate for the development of political science in the country was interrupted, this time by the Colonels' coup in 1967. For seven years all real and autonomous intellectual activity within the country was purged as the dictatorial regime in a variety of different ways, established suffocating control over intellectual activity. This of course does not mean that during the seven year Junta regime there was a complete absence of a systematic approach to politics and especially to political parties. In fact the dictators displayed a peculiar concern for political education (classes of 'political guidance' were introduced even in high schools) but as one would have expected, all efforts in this direction had one goal: to rationalize the Coup and legitimize the regime, a good part of which was based on a systematic parallel attack on political parties and their usefulness as institutions of representation. At the same time, the anti-Dictatorship movement, composed primarily of a small number of intellectuals and located abroad, in addition to its anti-Junta acts, and in its effort to understand the causes of the Dictatorship, displayed signs of intellectual obsession with analyses of the post-War Greek political system and of the old party system. The circumstances however, did not allow this trend to go beyond the status of short essays or to develop a problematic in anything other than the discussion of the ideal type of party and party system. There is no true science and even more so no true social science in the absence of freedom and democracy. Thus, it was necessary to wait until 1974, after the fall of the authoritarian regime, to witness a genuine boom in the social sciences, of political science and of the study of parties. However, the latter was bound

to maintain the same characteristics and display the same trends as the period which preceded it.

The literature after the Metapolitefse: old trends in a new background

The experience of the Dictatorship had tremendous effects on the attitudes of Greeks in and outside the universities. Social and cultural practices displayed signs of radical 'overpolitization'. This radicalization left its mark upon social sciences and the study of politics in particular in the first few years of Metapolitefse.⁴ But it had contradictory effects on the development of political science within the universities. On the one hand this 'overpolitization' favoured the autonomous study of politics (away from its close association from legal studies). On the other hand, this radicalism strengthened traditional governmental reservations about systematic political analysis within academic institutions. The few existing academic programs in social sciences and particularly in political science were left out of the attempts at overall planning in higher education. At the same time dogmatism, which was the main trait of this radicalism, along with the often irrational practices of the students' movement, created a negative climate for political science professors within the universities and prevented them from taking initiatives towards the upgrading of the discipline and the opening up of research in new fields and subjects such as political parties.

The main characteristics of political science during the first years of the Metapolitefse remained its complementary role to law studies. The limited scope and content of systematic research left the basic field of the discipline untouched. The political science 'community' was still dominated by students of constitutional and public law, although admittedly most of them were scholars of distinction. The entrance of certain academics into politics, either as governmental advisors or as politicians of the two major parties helped in legitimizing the discipline and pushing social scientists to argue for the usefulness of political science and demand better governmental support for their research.

Thus the progress of political science in Greece remained rather modest throughout the 1970s. In addition to the fact that there were only a small number of university courses, there was almost no systematic and serious research being done. There was almost a complete absence of libraries in the social sciences and even the departmental study rooms were full of books on constitutional and international law while the odd volumes on political science had publication dates no more recent than the 1960s.

In spite of the shortcomings of the immediate post-Junta period, the literature on political parties displayed clear signs of growth and maturity which separated it from its past. As old habits die hard, this does not mean that the approach to parties was completely liberated from legal and historical

perspectives, nor that we witnessed a fully developed problematic on all aspects of parties. The publications of the period were still characterized by legal and historical overtones, but a number dealt with aspects of political parties (untouched to this point), which were to become the main feature of the literature of the 1980s and 1990s.

In the literature, which in effect continued the old trends, we can distinguish three categories of publications. One studied the legal and particularly the constitutional dimensions of the parties: another examined the Greek political parties and systems of the past: and the third was made up of the ongoing discussion of the communist left about the developments within the Greek CP. The point of departure for the publications of the first category was the debate on the new constitution, which recognized political parties, their functional role in structuring democratic institutions and therefore the need for their financing (e.g. see Kasimatis, 1980; Kephalas, 1981; Papademetriou, 1980; Demetropoulos, 1974; Kalogeratos, 1977). The historically oriented studies of political parties were either attempts at writing a political history of the country, the result of dissertations written by Greek scholars abroad (Korizis, 1974) or were of an historiographical nature which attempted to investigate the controversial electoral procedures of the past (e.g. Georgoulas, 1975). The latter, however, had virtually no scientific value, as they served partisan purposes. Finally, the legalization of the Greek CPs (KKE and KKE esoterikou) were apparently the reason for the publication of numerous volumes by the traditionally prolific left wing intellectuals and functionaries on issues concerning the history of the communist left (e.g. see Demetriou, 1975; Katsoulis, 1978; Vlantas, 1976; Vournas, 1981).

The most interesting developments in the literature of this period were the publications which clearly indicated a trend towards the study of political parties proper and paved the way for the research currents of the next decade. Thus, in addition to the legal and historical approaches to parties we witnessed a number of publications on quite diverse issues.

For example in the area of party theory we have a few essays which though published in legal journals, have a problematic clearly located internationally within the context of the political science analyses. The articles of the late Bakojanis were typical examples of this new trend in the literature (Bakojanis, 1976a, 1976b). In fact, his *Anatomy of Greek Politics* inaugurated another chapter in bibliography of parties, that of the systematic study of the Greek party system (Bakojanis, 1977). This study however, did not make any contribution to major theoretical issues, as it remained primarily descriptive, nor did it generate any serious debate on the subject. With a few insightful exceptions, which referred to previous historical settings (e.g. see Mavrogordatos, 1976; Kontogiorgos, 1977), during this period we have no other similar studies. What, however, these studies seemed to help to overcome was the tabu of Greek social scientists in dealing with current political issues, whether to do with parties or not.

During this period also, several publications, though of uneven scientific value, attempted to analyse individual parties. Although most of these were short journalistic essays, their value lies in the fact that they contain data on individual party developments (e.g. see Karras, 1976, 1977; Karras, 1973). However, the literature on current Greek politics remained limited, unsystematic and only occasionally entailed dimensions which contribute to the theoretical understanding of Greek parties and/or of the party phenomenon in general. In the former category one can find a number of publications with clear partisan intentions (e.g. Kallias, 1976) or publications based on collections of essays (e.g. Papasarrantopoulos, ed., 1980) or more often collected volumes with the speeches of the party leaders. The article of Elephantes and Kavouriaris on PASOK is a classic example of the latter (Elephantes & Kavouriaris, 1977), since it officially inaugurated the debate on the populist nature of PASOK, which was to come into full bloom during the following decade.

In the same vein as the study of individual parties were the publications which dealt with the analysis of electoral support (Georgantides & Nicolacopoulos, 1978, 1979) as well as a number of short published essays which attempted to approach the thorny question of the class base of parties (e.g. see: Androulakis, 1978). At this point we have to underline that the electoral studies of this period display a quality and depth that opened the way for similar studies in the field of electoral sociology and electoral geography in the next period. By contrast, the publications which dealt with the social base of political parties had a partisan scope and entailed little or no empirical research. They were confined within a rather orthodox Marxist paradigm, and failed to generate the same positive effects in the literature. Thus, publications which focus on the question of the party-society relationship and analyse the social base of parties, to this date remain to a great extent absent from the Greek literature.

Finally, in the 1970s, a number of publications relating to the parties' literature were translated into Greek from other European languages. Given the essentially anarchistic nature of the Greek publishing industry and the relatively small domestic market, these publications had some peculiar characteristics. More concretely, the translations of foreign publications into Greek did not contain, as one might have expected, the classic works of the international literature. On the contrary, the foreign works published were either texts of a generally informative and mainly descriptive nature on parties and party systems (e.g., see Macridis, ed., 1972) or serious theoretical ones, which dealt with issues concerning the party phenomenon only indirectly (e.g. Anioli, 1972; Magri, 1974). This publishing trend was to continue during the next period. In spite of the shortcomings of this part of the literature we have to emphasize that these publications contributed to the breaking away from the parochialism which characterizes the Greek problematic on the question of parties, and to the opening-up of Greek scholarship to international research developments.

The study of political parties in the 1980s and 1990s

The great upturn for Greek social sciences, as I have already mentioned, came after 1982 when a major reform in higher education took place. Of course, it is redundant to repeat that this development, which established political science as an autonomous and legitimate discipline and in turn resulted in the prolific research on political parties, was not caused only by the educational reform. It was also the outcome of the long gestation period we described above. However, the 1982 law for the universities, in spite of its shortcomings, paved the way for some young academics to demand and achieve the institutional autonomy of the existing departments from other disciplines and especially that of legal studies. It also assisted in the establishment of new departments and courses.

Despite these changes, the legal and historical bias is still present in the literature on parties. However, this literature is now clearly different both quantitatively and qualitatively. Legal and historical approaches characterize only a small portion of the literature while their problematic, though still within the same (primarily legal) framework, deals with issues of the party phenomenon which have been the concern of political science. In other words, while in the past we have a substitution of the political science approach by legal and constitutional studies, now these studies function as only one (legal) dimension of the party question (Drosos, 1982a; Fountedaki, 1987; Tatsos, 1983; Sotereles, 1988; Lykoudes, 1989). A similar trend can be seen in the studies with a clear historical orientation. In these studies the analyses of parties and party systems is only a section of the examination of the political history of a certain period and is not presented as a substitute for a political science approach (Petrides, 1984; Anastasiades, 1991; Anastasiades & Petrides, ed., 1990). Furthermore in recent years a number of collections have been published attempting an overall systematic analysis of an historical period of Greek political history. These studies include a number of essays on political parties by political scientists: and although these essays were part of an interdisciplinary puzzle, they legitimized the importance of the genuine political science approach to political parties (Anastasades et al., 1987; Iatrides, 1984; Anastasiades, 1990; Paschos, 1986; Papastratis, 1989; Petropoulos, 1984).

But if anything characterizes the political science research of this period, and consequently marks the literature on political parties, it is the studies that attempted to analyse aspects of the entire Greek political system. These studies touched upon a number of issues concerning political phenomena, and in addition to their general theoretical contributions, added greatly to our understanding of the peculiarities and idiosyncracies of the country's political development. Almost without exception these publications described the social, political and ideological framework within which the Greek party system was developing, and often even made direct reference to individual parties or to the party system as genuine literature on political parties. Their

contribution, however, to the study of parties and party politics remains invaluable as in their effort to apply international methodological and analytical experience to the study of the political system, they brought the problematic of the international literature on political parties closer to the study of the Greek case (Alivizatos, 1983; Charalambis, 1989; Macridis, 1985; Mouzelis, 1987; Vernadakis & Mavris, 1987a).

In the area of individual party studies, the literature displays signs of overcoming its obsession with the study of current political issues. However, the literature here is not as rich or well-balanced as one might have expected. For example we have no major works published on New Democracy (*He Ellenike Dexia* 1989) while the studies on PASOK, though richer, did not manage to generate a scientific dialogue, which would have enriched the literature (Kotzias, 1985; Kouloglou, 1986, 1987; Massavetas, 1987; Paschos, 1986; Spourdalakis, 1988; Tsourakis, 1984).⁵ The same applies to the studies of the parties of the (communist) left, which, with some insightful exceptions (Kousoulas, 1987), remained scattered and mainly partisan in intentions (Routzounes, 1991). In addition to the publications on contemporary parties, during this period, a number of studies were conducted on parties of the previous Greek party systems (Karajannes, 1990; Lambroulias, 1987; Papademetriou, 1986; Vernadakis & Mavris, 1991), which on occasion were compared to contemporary phenomena (Mouzelis, 1986). One should also note at this point a number of publications, of great analytical and/or descriptive value, which presented the origin, the structure and the programmes of the major Greek parties and analyzed the framework of political competition after the Metapolitefse (Drosos, 1982b; Paschos, 1982; Vernadakis & Mavris, 1986).

However, what is interesting in the study of, and the publications on, contemporary parties, is that there is a flourishing literature (both articles and books) mainly on ideological aspects of these parties (e.g. see Noutsos, 1990). These publications are either analytical presentations of the ideological claims of the parties or critical evaluations of their ideological orientation (Andianopoulos, 1988; Diamandopoulos, 1985; Arabatzis et al., 1991; Arabatzis et al., 1992). One debate which, thanks to the political conjuncture, dominated this aspect of the literature is that on populism. PASOK's "short march to power" and its controversial governing of the country was at the roots of this rich debate (Elephantos, 1991; Papaspeliopoulos, 1987). In fact, contrary to other aspects of Greek literature on political parties, the debate on populism is a debate which has gone far beyond the discussion of the international literature: its richness could have made a major contribution to the *problematique* internationally (Lyrintzis & Spourdalakis, 1993).

One section of the literature on parties, which enjoyed special attention by the students of the field is that of elections. Indeed, since the 1980s there have been a number of publications analyzing issues related to the elections of the period. The studies published have analysed both the sociological and geographical structuring of votes (Dodos, 1988; Drettakis, 1982; Nicolako-

poulos, 1988; Tsebeles, 1981). This was a field which developed in the previous period, alongside research on issues related to the electoral system (Drettakis, 1988; Nicolakopoulos, 1989; Panteles, 1988; Voloudakis, 1984) or even on more broadly related to election questions (Metaxas, 1981; Mavrogordatos, 1982; Thermos, 1981). In fact the latter section of the literature is often the published outcome of conferences or major research projects, in which the main body of Greek political scientists have been involved (*Politiki-Political Science Review*, 1982; Diamandouros, Kitromilides & Mavrogordatos, eds., 1981; Lyrantzis & Nicolakopoulos, eds., 1990; Mavrogordatos, Nicolakopoulos et al., 1988). In these publications almost all aspects of Greek parties are covered, and the analyses are often applications of the methodological state of the art of the party literature internationally (Lyrantzis, 1991). Finally, an issue closely related to elections is that of the electoral system, which is controversial for Greek politics. This has become the focus of a number of thorough studies (Panteles, 1988; Drettakis, 1988; Nicolakopoulos, 1989).

As in the previous period, the current Greek literature on political parties is enriched with the published translations of related studies done abroad. And in this period the literature is richer both qualitatively and quantitatively. Still, with exceptions (Downs, 1990; Olson, 1991; Kirchheimer, 1991) there are no translations of classic works on parties. This is a gap which is very hard to fill due to the small size of the Greek market. Moreover, the foreign educational background of Greek political scientists enables them to read the material in the original language. Although there are translations of several texts on party systems which serve as textbooks in university courses, these publications are rarely updated and are not always the best example of what the international literature has to offer (Borella, 1983; Raschke & Katsoulis, eds., 1988; Schwartzberg, 1984). Finally this section of the literature entails the translations of international studies on issues related to political parties. These publications are connected with issues related to the crisis of political parties as a result of the social and institutional developments in the advanced liberal democracies (Feragioli, 1985; Poulantzas, 1982) as well as with theoretical alternative approaches to the party phenomenon (Cerroni, 1986).

In the field of party theory, strictly speaking, Greek literature cannot claim to be participating in the international dialogue. Nevertheless, contrary to the previous periods, when we witnessed the publication of short articles, there have been a number of monographs published with clear theoretical claims on the political party question. However, the intentions of these publications was not mainly to make original theoretical contributions but rather to offer a comprehensive presentation of the theoretical debates for the Greek students of political parties. The prolific work of Diamandopoulos is, with minor exceptions, a typical example of this effort (Diamandopoulos, 1988a, 1988b, 1989, 1992, 1993; Katsoulis, mimeo; Kontogiorges, 1985). This does not mean that there is no concern for synthetic, original contributions

to this question (Diamandopoulos, 1991; Spourdalakis, 1984a, 1984b, 1990a, 1990b; Moschonas, 1990; Georgarakis, 1986; Vernadakis & Mavris, 1987b). However, this effort is still in its infant stage and has a long way to go.

Conclusion

The Greek literature on political parties has come a long way. It has developed from infancy to maturity in a rather amazingly rapid fashion. This does not mean that it has developed equally in all dimensions of the study of political parties in advanced liberal democracies: but the Greek literature has risen from non existence to the status of a partner, though a minor partner in European scholarship on parties. There are still a number of issues that have not yet been tackled adequately by Greek students. Greek scholars' research has yet to be focussed on issues concerning the crisis and the challenge facing political parties today in the context of the rapidly changing social reality in Western Europe. Nor has there been examination of questions which arise from the emergence of new representational organizations ("new social movements") and institutions, or the consequences of the collapse of the regimes in Eastern Europe and the establishment of the New World Order on the ideological composition of parties. However, there are a number of areas (electoral studies, populism) in which Greek scholars can make claims of full partnership with their West European colleagues. These strengths, which derive from the insights of the Greek political experience, can also be the basis of a dynamic which can promote the Greek literature on political parties to a protagonist at least on some aspects of the international dialogue. This is something which, to a great extent, has been already accomplished by the Greek scholars who are publishing their work in other European languages (see Appendix I).

Notes

1. These debates within and around the KKE were centered around the questions concerning party structure and organization, which reached their peak in 1924 (3rd Special Party Congress), with the Bolshevication of the Party (see KKE *Episema Keimena*, 1964: 534–542) and during the 'Stalinization' process in the early 1930s. Within the context of the latter, the Party organized Panhellenic Organizational Conferences (August 1932; October 1933 and June 1935), where these debates took place. (I owe this information to S. Seferiades.) For more on KKE in the inter-War period see the classic work of Elefantas (1976).
2. The first chair of political science in the field of the History of Political Theory was established at the Panteios School of Political and Social Sciences (1964) and in the same year systematic efforts were made for the revitalization of the Greek Association of Political Science.
3. The most prominent among them were the "Papanastasiou Club", "Democratic Bonds" and "Friends of New Countries".
4. This was particularly true for the students. Just about every student, regardless of whether s/he was studying engineering or law, became an expert on politics, simply as a result of

her/his political commitment and the reading of a couple of books banned by the Junta which had flooded the bookstores of the major Greek cities. This political expertise had a clear Marxist bent (of the vulgar kind). In fact according to one source, some 25,000 copies of the edition of the Soviet Academy of Political Economy were sold within the first year of Metapolitese.

5. Particularly on PASOK there are a great number of publications which deal mainly with the inter-personal relations within this party. However, these are primarily political gossip with sharp polemic intentions and therefore cannot be considered even remotely scientific. For this reason, I considered them not worth mentioning.

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