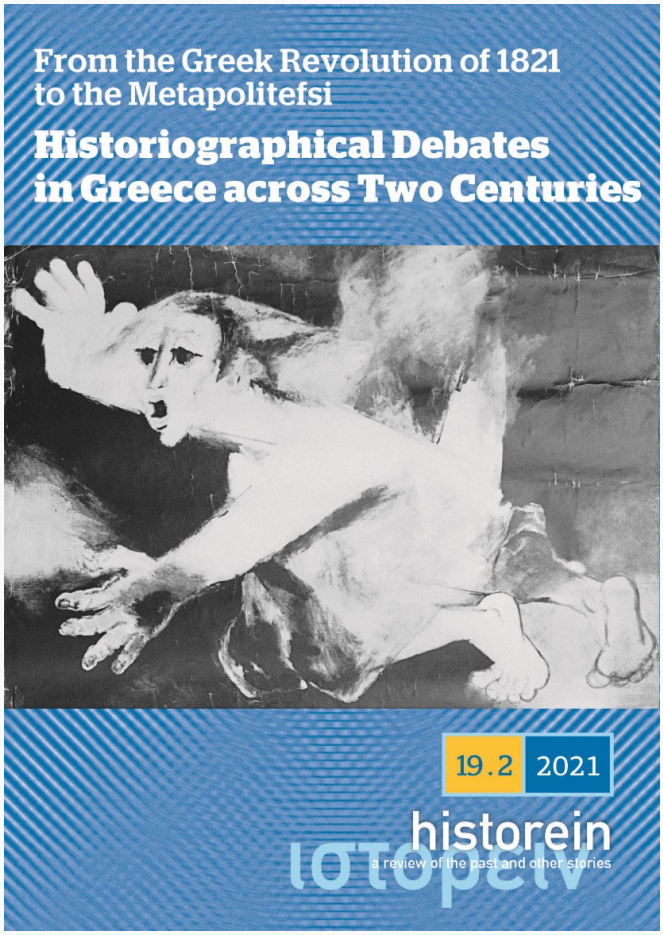
Historein

Vol 19, No 2 (2021)

From the Greek Revolution of 1821 to the Metapolitefsi: Historiographical Debates in Greece across Two Centuries



Rupture or Continuity? Revisiting the Basic Themes of the Historiography of the 21 April Dictatorship

Eleni Kouki

doi: 10.12681/historein.23213

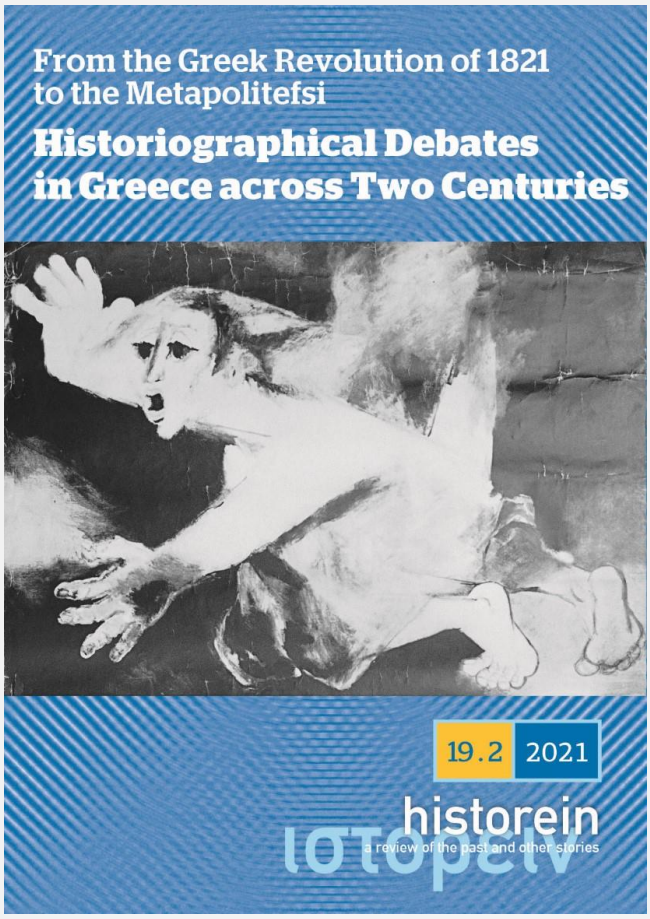
To cite this article:

Kouki, E. (2021). Rupture or Continuity? Revisiting the Basic Themes of the Historiography of the 21 April Dictatorship. *Historein*, *19*(2). https://doi.org/10.12681/historein.23213

Historein

Vol 19, No 2 (2021)

Historein 19/2 (2021)



Rupture or Continuity? Revisiting the Basic Themes of the Historiography of the 21 April Dictatorship

Eleni Kouki

doi: 10.12681/historein.23213

To cite this article:

Kouki, Eleni. 2021. “Rupture or Continuity? Revisiting the Basic Themes of the Historiography of the 21 April Dictatorship”. *Historein* 19 (2). https://doi.org/10.12681/historein.23213.

Rupture or Continuity? Revisiting the Basic Themes of the Historiography of the 21 April Dictatorship

Eleni Kouki

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens

In the early hours of 21 April 1967, a group of middle-ranking, ultra-rightist officers, mostly colonels, managed to seize political power in Greece. The coup leaders took their superiors by surprise, compelling the army command and the king, who at the time were plotting their own coup, to compromise with them. The putschists remained in power for the next seven years in what came to be known as the 21 April Dictatorship, the Colonels' Dictatorship, the Seven-Year Period or, most commonly, the Junta, a Spanish loanword for union that became infamous in Greece.[1]

The news of the putsch came as a shock in the West. *Time* magazine described the situation as "the first military takeover in Free Europe since the 1930s".[2] However, as strong as the fears were that a coup in Europe would become the vehicle that would throw the continent back to the interwar stage of political instability, most Western countries took a realpolitik approach to the issue, which enabled the putschists to stabilise their regime. Nevertheless, the imposition of the dictatorship in Greece became a situation that called into question established Cold War balances, especially within Europe.[3] Finally, the fall of the junta on 24 July 1974 was experienced as a historical turning point for the country. It became pivotal to the unravelling of the authoritarian legacies that had been burdening Greece well before the junta,[4] and preceded the foundation of the most stable democratic period in history of the country, the Third Hellenic Republic.[5]

The junta never ceased to be part of public political debate, especially in the early period of the *metapolitefsi*, or transition to democracy, during the trials of the ringleaders. The memory of the junta became an important part of popular political culture as well as of the official narrative. Though it experienced several fluctuations over the decades, it emerged in every significant shift of the Third Hellenic Republic, the most recent example being the re-evaluation of the junta's economic policies during the recent financial crisis.

On the academic level, however, the 21 April Dictatorship never became a topic of systematic historical research. To some extent, this shortfall has to do with the weak position of contemporary history, especially postwar history, in Greek universities and research centres. The historiography of the junta has attracted even less attention. On the rare occasions that historians have reflected on the historical work done on the topic, they

have concluded that there is a lack of empirical data due to limited research[6] or of a conceptualisation of the period.[7] One of the most recent accounts in the historiography of the junta, written in 2017 when the 50th anniversary of the coup created expectations that academic interest would be stimulated, argued that, with few exceptions, the literature of the junta is inward-looking, with no connections with the international literature on the field of the study of dictatorships.[8]

This article departs from a different point. It does not focus on the alleged weakness of junta historiography. Its main question is how the junta became an autonomous object of historical research in the first place, that is, how the junta was categorised as a separate period of Greek history and not as a mere episode of it. Seeking to understand that question allows us to examine the formation of "junta studies", the main questions that preoccupied the field and the most urgent priorities that were established by the historians and social scientists that dealt with it. The article suggests that these primal preoccupations still haunt the field and that if we want to propose new directions for junta studies, we should first understand how the field evolved, what its limitations are and the expectations that continue to underpin it.

The writing of history presupposes a politics of time, and periodisation is one of the most crucial tools in that regard. Here, the term politics of time is used in a twofold way. First, it refers to the multiple ways people administer the flow of time to give meaning to their actions. Cutting time into pieces and naming them is a way of gaining control over it. Furthermore, it is a way to gain knowledge of it. Hence, the second way the term politics of time is used is to describe a crucial stage in historical production, periodisation. To decide when an event starts and when it ends, whether it is an episode of paramount importance that deserves to be treated autonomously as a sperate period, is an intellectual work that determines the temporal categories of historical study. Periodisation is one of the first steps in the venture of writing history as, without it, human experience cannot be conceptualised. However, it does not concern only the first stages of a historiographical project. Periodisation, that is, defining a selected period of time as an autonomous historical object that gives meaning to the events that it contains, is a two-way procedure; the period acts as conceptual frame for the events that it contains. In addition, the events and their interpretations redefine the whole meaning of the period. Periods gain meaning not only from the events that they contain but also from being parts of the broader narrative. Their characteristics are defined by their juxtaposition, and the multiple ways that one complements the other, just like the full meaning of a sentence is to be found in the paragraph that it is part of. The cutting of time into periods is not just a matter of convenience and practical orientation but a fundamental part of historical interpretation: "a complex process of conceptualizing categories, which are posited as homogeneous and retroactively validated by the designation of a period divide".[9]

The need for a theory of historical time has been acknowledged by the seminal work of Reinhart Koselleck and his conceptualisation of modernity as a distinct experience of time.[10] Anthropological work, too, has drawn attention to the temporal dimension of the way we construct models of understanding societies and cultural systems.[11] On the other hand, subaltern theory has shown that this theorisation includes a deeply political categorisation that has gone unnoticed. Thus, for that reason, this theorisation must be challenged.[12]

Most of the theoretical work conducted in the domain of theorising historical time deals with the enormous historical event that is summed up in the term “transition to modernity”. This theoretical production, although it was meant to conceptualise pivotal phenomena of global importance, can also be useful when analysing events in the local microlevel, especially considering that our object of study, the particular period we chose to deal with, is not a given and self-evident; on the contrary, it is a product of social experience, political debate and academic labour.

This article re-examines well-known academic texts about the junta that formulated the ways we understand the dictatorship. These texts date from the immediate period after the coup to the end of the 1980s, a crucial time for the designation of the junta period as an autonomous subject of historical study. Unavoidably, the choice of the texts is highly selective, meaning that many equally important texts have been left out. The choice to stop the investigation at the end of the 1980s was not just a practical necessity. The end of that decade reshaped our world. Especially, the annus mirabilis of 1989 stands as an enormous historical watershed that redefined our perception of politics. For Greece, too, it represented a major shift in many levels. This article suggests that the end of the 1980s marks the end of a “first cycle” in the conceptualisation of the historical phenomenon of the junta. Although a great deal of historical research on the period has been undertaken since 1989, and especially after 2000, it is important to understand how the conversation began, to historicise the first concepts that enabled the narrativisation of the junta, instead of accepting them as self-evident.

Hence, the article starts with an examination of the most essential “concepts” that constructed the period, the two dates that mark the beginning and the end of it – 21 April 1967, when the junta was imposed, and 23 July 1974, accordingly, when it fell. Then it examines texts written during the junta. This bibliographic production is important, not only because it laid the foundations of junta historiography, but also because it remains a point of reference even nowadays. The second part of the article will examine what happened after the fall of the junta until the end of the 1980s. A common feature of this period is that, on the academic level, neo-Marxist trends became the most predominant theoretical tools for the interpretation of the junta. Finally, the examination closes with the 1990s highlighting the vast social and political changes that reshaped the study of the junta.

One of the aims of this article is to examine the multiple ways political discourse shaped the academic agenda of the study of the junta and vice versa. It seeks to illuminate how political thinking and practice, as well as the academic study of the Colonels’

dictatorship, went hand in hand. After all, contemporary history is often inextricably bound with the political conjuncture of its time. Moreover, it aims to highlight that political thinking was at the base of the historisation of the junta. Even the concept of the junta as a separate historical period bares the trace of the political debate of its time. The apparent significance of the junta in public political discourse is reflected in the two most common concepts of the period, of rupture and of continuity, which are both contradictory and complementary, as the article will try to show.[13]

Periodising the junta: schemes of rupture and continuity

At first sight, the junta comprises a clear-cut historical period, the type that traditional political history prefers. It has a specific beginning (21 April 1967), a determinate end (23 July 1974) and concerns a governance with distinct characteristics to the preceding, as well as the following, political situation. However, on closer inspection of the multiple first attempts to narrativise and conceptualise the Colonels' regime, it quickly becomes apparent that the comprehension of the period posed, at least at first, many intellectual challenges.

From one point of view, the 21 April coup is considered a total rupture in the historical chain of political life in Greece. According to that perspective, the military intervention was just the deed of "few insane officers" (*ολίγοι άφρονες αξιωματικοί*), complete outliers in any political tradition in Greece. The expression, popular in the first years after the fall of the junta, was often used by prominent members of the first elected government, which was right-wing in orientation. For instance, in his speeches Defence Minister Evangelos Averoff consistently referred to the putschists as the "few insane officers", seeking to dissociate them from the vast majority of the Greek army, which he praised as loyal and dedicated to the state and the nation.[14]

Respectively, the seven-year period that the regime lasted was treated as a mere parenthesis of no importance, an unlawful discontinuity that could be explained only by the incompetent delusions of the dictatorship's leaders, mainly the so-called triumvirate of Georgios Papadopoulos, Stylianos Pattakos and Nikolaos Makarezos. The concept of the parenthesis was at first uttered during the dictatorship by one of the coup ringleaders, Dimitrios Stamatelopoulos, who suggested that the period that the army should hold political power must be as short as possible, a parenthesis.[15] At the time Stamatelopoulos was in open dispute with the other leaders of the so-called revolutionary council and his main effort was to eliminate their power. However, after the fall of the junta the concept of the parenthesis acquired new meaning. It primarily highlighted that the junta was an alien feature in the body of Greek political life. It is important to understand how crucial this view was for the process of democratic consolidation during the first years of the transition after 1974. Emphasising that the dictatorship was completely alien to Greek society and its

political system, a deviation caused by the few, was a way to construct an inclusive narrative for the many, offering an interpretation that eased the political confrontation over who was responsible for the ease at which the putschists were able to seize power.

This was the meaning of the symbolic fourth resolution ratified by the Greek parliament in January 1975, which declared that "democracy [in Greece] has never been overthrown in any legitimate way" (*Η δημοκρατία δικαίω ουδέποτε κατελύθη*), and that the 1967 coup, the sole responsibility of a group of rebellious officers, resulted in illegitimate "governments of violence" that stood against the democratic principles of the Greek people who, nonetheless, persevered without surrendering to tyranny at any moment of those seven years.[16] The view that the Colonels dictatorship was nothing more than a parenthesis was constantly promoted by prominent politicians, whose versions shaped the understanding of the period, such as Konstantinos Karamanlis, the leading figure of the right before 1967 and the first prime minister after the fall of the junta. The volume of his published papers dedicated to the junta period is one of the most illuminating examples of such a view as, from the beginning, even before the editor's foreword, there is a text in which the dictatorship is characterised as an alien phenomenon to the democratic traditions of the nation that provoked the spontaneous resistance of the Greek people and caused the international isolation and humiliation of the state.[17]

On the other hand, the question regarding the causes of the coup created another narrative that afforded the junta a prominent position in Greek history as the darkest example of the enduring incapacities of the Greek state and its subordinate position in the international state system. From this point of view, the coup was not an abrupt and unforeseen rupture. On the contrary, it was the outcome of a partially functioning democracy. As will be illustrated below, this outlook became predominant among the historians and social scientists dealing with the period.

The fall of the junta did not attract as much attention as its beginning. In the official narrative, the end of the junta was deemed as a punishment for its leaders' deeds. As parliamentary speaker Konstantinos Papakonstantinou stressed in a speech making the first anniversary of the fall of the junta, "tyranny collapsed due to the weight of its own transgressions".[18] Moreover, it was the anticipated end of an unlawful regime. "Every dictatorship eventually crumbles and perishes forever … Sometime democracies are abolished as well, nevertheless they stay alive," argued Panagiotis Kanellopoulos, the last prime minister before the coup and a prominent member of the postdictatorship right.[19] The view that the fall of the junta was inevitable – only a few months earlier many analysts had insisted that it was stable[20] – was the necessary complement to substantiate the parenthesis theory. A dictatorship could not be but a short deviation from political normality and its end was determined by its nature.

It is important to consider the practical value of such a view. First of all, the theory that the junta was doomed from the beginning and that democracy would eventually triumph concealed the actual events of the agreed transition – the fact that on 23 July 1974

it was the military leadership that handed over power to the politicians. Second, the parenthesis theory was a drastic speech act to overcome the prevailing uncertainty of the period in nonofficial environments. For example, in 1975 the economist Marios Nikolinakos published *Resistance and Opposition*, which remains a basic account on the multiple groups that opposed the regime.[21] The author had begun it in German, while he was living in Germany, right after the crushing of the Polytechnic Uprising (17 November 1973) and while the junta was still in power. It was envisaged as a political statement of what should be done after the brutal suppression of the nonviolent student movement that emerged in 1972 and 1973. As the book was nearing completion, the junta fell so the author decided to translate and publish it in Greek with just a few alterations. As Nikolinakos explained in the foreword, his book was even more relevant after the fall of the junta because a new regime was about to be consolidated, and by this he meant the right-wing government that won the free elections of 17 November 1974. In Nikolinakos' mind, the fall of the junta was not so much of an end as a continuity of authoritarian rule in a more subtle way, a "changing of the guard", to use a popular expression of the time.

Marxists and liberal intellectuals waged a debate over the nature of the political system that resulted after the fall of the junta.[22] Approaching it retrospectively with the benefit of hindsight obscures the fact that this political evaluation of the situation contained at its core an experience of time so crucial for many people that it organised their whole understanding. How do we write about a situation without knowing if it is over? At what point do we know that an event is over? And when we re-evaluate an event, how do we decide whether it must be treated autonomously as a separate entity, a historic period, or whether it has a secondary significance and must be categorised as part of a wider segment of events?

Amid the fluidity of the period, Nicos Poulantzas undertook the task of formulating a theory on the fall of the junta in a comparative analysis that linked the events of Greece with the Carnation Revolution in Portugal and the first signs in Spain that a new political order would be established after Franco.[23] His *The Crises of Dictatorships* was one of the few accounts, at least until transitional studies recently enriched the study of the junta, that tried to explain the junta phenomenon by emphasising not its beginning but the end, the disintegration of the regime. The book's main argument was that the dissolution of the regime was the result of a clash of two segments of the Greek economic elite, the one oriented towards the United States and the other towards Europe. Although its strict and abstract class analysis now seems outdated, the core effort to reconsider the junta through the type of the transition that ended it is still valuable. But why did Poulantzas chose to focus on the fall of the junta instead of its beginning? His interest was primarily political. Emphasising the nature of the transition and the political equilibrium that provoked it was a necessary step to predict the future possibilities of the left. This is why at the time of its first

publication the book was read and criticised not as an analysis of the junta, but as a proposal of what should be done next.[24]

During the first months after the fall of the junta, every conceptualisation of the two time markers that defined the dictatorship, the coup of 21 April 1967 and its end on 23 July 1974, had a political implication. The opposite is also true. The political significance of the two dates that signalled the beginning and the end of the dictatorship urged their conceptualisation and their fixation as major shifts that required a separate examination. For that reason, instead of taking them for granted, we have to explore the ambiguous political symbolism that they bear as landmarks of rupture as well as thresholds of continuity. To do so, it is important return to the first texts written on the junta and analyse them in sequence, in an attempt to unravel the sense of self-evidence that they have acquired over the years.

Militant academics: Writing against the junta, writing on the junta (1967–1974)

In October 1967, Jean Meynaud, a French political scientist and professor at the University of Montreal, published a short book entitled *Report on the Abolition of Democracy in Greece*.[25] It was one of the earliest analysis on the causes of the coup as well as a first account on the deeds of the dictatorial regime. For the situation before the coup, he relied on his long-running research on the Greek political system.[26] However, as far as the facts of the present situation were concerned, he had to collect and crosscheck them under conditions that were not conducive to research, to say the least. Even for the most basic and essential aspects, such as whether the coup was bloodless, Meynaud had to collaborate with people who, by giving him information, were putting themselves at great risk. It was an urgent inquiry, and of outmost importance, because essentially his book was a political act. Meynaud intended, as he expresses it openly throughout the *Report*, to intervene in the political debate on what was the solution to the so-called Greek problem. Mainly he wanted to point out the serious responsibilities of the king as well as the “ruling oligarchic class”.

The *Report* was an effort at political activism to mobilise public opinion.[27] Its full meaning is not apparent from a mere examination of its content. The publication per se became a major political tool. Instantly popular, it led to several republications in Canada and abroad, in Paris, Berlin and London.[28] In some cases, the proceeds of these publications went to support “fighting Greeks”. Thus, it created an antidictatorial network outside of Greece and gradually forged an augmented front in the West that did not just oppose the junta but also whomever in the West treated the Greek dictatorship as a “necessary evil”.

As pointed out at the beginning of this article, the coup came as a shock. In its first hours, when the putschists cut Greece off from the rest of the world and no information could reach to the big Western media outlets, there were no details about their intentions.

However, as the situation normalised and it became apparent that the new leaders would honour country's commitment to the West, a pragmatic stance dominated. As long as the junta kept a steady anticommunist position, it was viewed as a sad but inescapable reality.[29] Many news articles even considered the politicians, the old, corrupt "parliamentary game", as equally responsible for the Greek situation.[30] The core of such opinions relied in a noticeable orientalist disposition on the political predestination of underdeveloped countries, where dictatorships were endemic events or even a modernising force, as the literature of the time suggested.[31] Meynaud was fighting against a hegemonic interpretation of the coup, which nowadays is almost completely forgotten due to the success of the antidictatorial press within which Meynaud's *Report* stands as the first initiative. The *Report*, as well as several other publications that followed, gradually altered the political climate by focusing on the responsibilities of the West that, in the name of Cold War priorities, tolerated a dictatorship in a country of the "free world" that had a democratic tradition. Moreover, as Meynaud and his associates struggled to create a solidarity network for democratic Greece, they also laid the founding concepts of the junta's historiography. Apart from the critical data that they collected in the early months of the dictatorship, they formulated a critical perception of the junta as a political deviation and an anomaly within the flow of Greek political history, which was eventually validated as the only credible view of the junta.

The *Report* was not an exception. The coup stirred up the interest of an international audience and provoked an unprecedented wave of publications on modern Greece. Unfortunately, there has not been a systematic recording of this production; however the editors of *Greece Under Military Rule* (1972)[32] provided a first catalogue of publications about Greece that had appeared after 1967. The list included a wide variety of books published within Greece, as well as abroad, from official propaganda such as *Our Credo* of Papadopoulos, the main leader of the dictatorship, to testimonies of persecuted and tortured dissidents who managed to escape from Greece, such as Kitty Arseni or Periklis Korovesis. In all, the catalogue included 62 titles of books about Greece that were published abroad after 1967. Many were republications of the same book in several translations and countries. Less than ten were academic works. As small as they may seem, the numbers revealed that modern, and not ancient, Greece was finally at centre of international interest.

This article focuses on the academic production, books written by academics or produced within academic environments. However, not only books with academic credentials influenced the international discourse against the junta. On the contrary, journalistic accounts, such as *The Birth of Neo-Fascism* by John Katris[33] or *Democracy at Gunpoint* by Andreas Papandreou,[34] were equally or even more influential in providing dominant interpretative schemes on the course of the Greek history in general and

especially about the causes of the 1967 coup. In particular, the latter, written by a rising politician, became the political manifesto of the clandestine antidictatorial Panhellenic Liberation Movement (PAK) and, after the fall of the junta, it profoundly influenced the ideological formation of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (Pasok) party, both of which were under his leadership. One of its characteristic features is that it indicates the United States as being responsible for the coup, an interpretation that became so widely believed in Greece that it remained unquestioned for years. Although Papandreou was not the first to argue that the coup in Greece was orchestrated by the United States,[35] his political influence propelled the theory and made it widespread. After the fall of the junta, the hypothesis of the US intervention became even more prominent, creating thus a suffocating frame for the academic accounts that would dare to deal with it.

Returning to accounts that combined academic methodologies with political activism, the most complete publication of its kind was the aforementioned *Greece Under Military Rule*, first published in London in 1972 by Richard Clogg and George Yannopoulos. A collective volume, it gathered Greek expatriates and academics from a wide political spectrum, ranging from the left to liberals and conservatives, thus confirming the change that had taken place. In this regard, the article by Chris Woodhouse is the most remarkable.[36]

Woodhouse, a Conservative MP at the time, was an old acquaintance of Greece, where he had served as a British Special Operations Executive (SOE) agent during the Second World War. After the war, he published many books about Greece, among them a concise modern history. A successful book, it was republished a number of times, with Woodhouse adding a new chapter to each edition to cover the most recent developments since the last version. In 1968 the second edition of his book appeared.[37] The introduction referred to the dictatorship, without hiding the fact that it was a dictatorship, but with an inclination to acknowledge its positive aspects. For example, he noticed that foreign investors no longer needed to bribe Greek officials, an argument firmly promoted by the dictatorial regime, which presented itself as a cleansing force against the corruption of the old political system. However, in his contribution to *Greece Under Military Rule*, Woodhouse adopted a completely different stance to the dictatorial regime. The article looked at the regime's ideology or the lack of it, and Woodhouse insinuated that the leaders of the dictatorship had no ties to the democratic West due to their past, namely as Nazi collaborators during the Second World War.[38] It was a total condemnation that showed that conservatives, who initially were willing to give the putschists the benefit of the doubt, were no longer disposed to justify the dictatorship.

While several people engaged themselves in the effort to accumulate facts about the situation that would unmask the real face of the dictatorial regime, the sociologist Constantine Tsoucalas tried a very different approach. In 1969, while he was living in Britain, he published one of the best-known books of the period, *The Greek Tragedy*.[39] In the introduction, he admitted that his ability to write a book that would expose the junta was

limited since the regime kept the most crucial data secret. Since he had no intention to investigate the present, he would turn to the past to understand how the junta became possible. As we saw at the beginning, Meynaud too included some historical facts to explain the dictatorial deviation, mainly about the political crisis of 1965. However, Tsoucalas' plan was by far more ambitious. His book was a total reconsideration of modern Greek history, from the creation of the Greek state up to the dictatorship, in an attempt to build a generic argument of the Greek situation, that is, that the lasting infirmities of the Greek state, mainly its dependency, generated a political system that was predestined to authoritarian solutions. Indeed, Tsoucalas reread the entire Greek modern period through the lens of the present. After the publication of *The Greek Tragedy*, he decided to pursue a PhD in history under the supervision of the Byzantinist and neohellenist Nikos Svoronos. His thesis methodically engaged with what he had already expressed as a necessity in *The Greek Tragedy*, to revisit Greek history in order to understand the mechanics of dependency that shaped the Greek historical trajectory. More specifically he focused on the social role of education in nineteenth-century Greece, when the Greek state was being constructed. In the introduction of the first published version of Tsoucalas' PhD, Svoronos noted that the work "demystified the history of modern Hellenism".[40]

The contemporary turn in Greek historiography and the position of the junta within it (1974–1985)

Before attempting to understand how Greek historiography dealt with the junta period, it is important to understand how the experience of the junta reshaped Greek historiography. In Antonis Liakos' historiographical texts on the evolution of modern Greek historiography, the year 1974 is an apparent milestone not only for political developments but also for Greek historiographical production.[41] It is the decisive moment in the creation of a historical community that deals systematically with modern Greek history, that is, the period beginning with the final decades of Ottoman rule in Greece and the 1821 Greek Revolution until the Second World War and the early postwar decades. Prior to 1967 there was some significant historiographical production, for example, by the circle of the Royal Research Foundation, mainly concerning the study of the period that begins with the fall of the Byzantine Empire (1453) up to the revolutionary year of 1821. Their works focused on the birth of the modern Greek nation, which supposedly happened during the centuries when a "Greek" state formation did not exist, the so-called post-Byzantine period.[42] On the contrary, the historiographical boom that took place after the fall of the junta mainly focused on the formation of the Greek state. Undoubtedly, this shift happened under the tremendous impact that the junta exerted on the lives of these young academics.

The case of George Dertilis is one of the most indicative.[43] He began his doctoral

research during the dictatorship in Britain. Firstly, his intention was to study contemporary European history, focusing on France and Charles de Gaulle's administration. However, for personal reasons he travelled to Athens in November 1973, as the Polytechnic uprising was erupting. As he recalls, at the Polytechnic he found himself right next to a man who had been shot in the stomach: "I managed to escape without any injuries, but I realised I had to change my thesis." Thus, he finally completed his dissertation, under the theoretical influence of neo-Marxism, on military movements in Greece from 1880 to 1909.

After the fall of the junta, the demand that historical studies should turn to the study of the contemporary period became public; it was not just a discussion behind the closed doors of academia. In November 1975, the German Goethe Institute organised a round table discussion on the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Institute of Contemporary History, Munich. In his contribution in particular, German historian Heinz Richter stressed the importance of contemporary history and commented on the state of its study in Greece. His talk was subsequently published in *Anti*, an influential magazine of the left.[44] Summing up, Richter stated: "[Greece] can no longer rest on a glorious, though very distant past, and ignore or even silence its recent history. The way to know our identity, and our place, is to know our recent history. And why couldn't a trial[45] – the trial of the Colonels – be the starting point for promoting research over recent Greek history?"

However, Richter in his appeal for Greek contemporary history rather meant the history of the 1940s than the history of the junta – just as Tsoucalas or Dertilis were inspired by the junta situation to embark on a study of the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. So, the experience of the junta dramatically altered the field of Greek history; however, this shift towards contemporary history did not necessarily include the study of the junta. This is not a Greek peculiarity. In most cases the concept of contemporary history is rather flexible and each time it forms its time span according to the necessities that the public debate imposes.[46] For example, in France contemporary history mainly emphasises the study of the French Revolution and its consequences, while in Germany it focuses on the study of the Nazi regime. For postdictatorial Greece, academic contemporary history meant a variety of themes, the study of the consolidation of the Greek state, the interwar period with the repeated interventions of the army in politics, and finally the 1940s, but not the history of the junta.

This does not mean that the history of the junta ceased to attract interest after the fall of the regime. On the contrary, it became a passionate topic of public debate mainly through the pages of the press that, after seven years' censorship, formal as well as informal, celebrated its freedom by triumphally uncovering the darkest deeds of the dictatorship. Especially the trials of 1975, first of the coup ringleaders and then of the perpetrators of the massacre during the Polytechnic Uprising, as well as of torturers, were covered in detail by journalists that were fully aware that they were accomplishing a historical task. Later on, their reportage became the nucleus of several books. For example, Nikos Kakaounakis, who covered the trial of the ringleaders on behalf of *To Vima*

newspaper, published the book *2,650 Days and Nights of Conspiracy* based on interviews with high-ranking members of the junta that he had managed to conduct during the intervals in the trial.[47] Despite its sensationalism and some inaccuracies, the book remains a valuable source on internal rivalries in the regime. The trail transcripts were published as well, enriched with detailed descriptions and photographs from the daily sittings.[48] Finally, some journalists, such as Solon N. Grigoriadis, proceed with a more systematic account of the regime. In December 1975 the first part of his three-volume *History of the Dictatorship*, a chronicle-like, year-by-year narration was published; it is descriptive and contains accurate information about multiple aspects of the dictatorship, such as its international relations and domestic affairs.[49] Finally, aside from the journalistic publications, a series of personal memoirs contributed to the narration of the junta.[50] So, it seems that the court trials of 1975 generated an essential production of accounts on the junta that, to some extent, fulfilled the social demand for an open and in-depth examination of this political deviation. Contrary to Germany, in which the demand for detailed research on the Third Reich led to the creation of the first institutions regarding the study of contemporary history, the Greek version of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* did not end up with the engagement of the academia.

Nevertheless, there were some exceptions in the academic field and, among them, Nicos Mouzelis' work is crucial for the incorporation of the junta into the contemporary history agenda. When he was appointed lecturer at London School of Economics, he turned to neo-Marxism in his attempt to provide a general theory of the Greek state. Like Tsoucalas, he also considered that the 1967 dictatorship was a symptom of a more generic problem of Greek society. Thus, he tried to understand the general course of Greek modern history by posing what he believed was the question: the relation of the military to economic and political developments during the twentieth century.[51] However, contrary to other social scientists of the time, he did not limited his study to the decades when the army began to have a political significance, namely at the end of nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries, but he extended his analysis up to the present, thus incorporating the junta. As already mentioned, in his venture he relied on neo-Marxist tools that enabled him to surpass Parsonian functionalism, which up to the 1960s fuelled modernisation studies and created certainties such as that the cause of unsuccessful modernisation lay in the particular culture of "failed" states.[52] He also dissociated his work from some branches of the neo-Marxist academic revolution, such as Althusserian Marxism.[53] Therefore, he relied on the concept of dependency, which in the late 1970s had become a generic term unifying a multitude of historical and sociological inquiries all over the world.[54]

Dependency was not an unknown concept,[55] but for Mouzelis it became a sort of a "trademark", especially after he introduced to Greece an even more sophisticated term, the semi-periphery, which enabled a more subtle categorisation of the Greek case, not

alongside the underdeveloped new countries of the Third World but countries that had gained their independence early enough in the nineteenth century and, due to their dependency on the world power system, introduced a parliamentary system before creating a corresponding economic capitalist system.[56] However, his work made rather limited use of the dependency theory, only to the point that it was necessary to place Greece in the international state system. In the introduction of his second book, he admits that he made a limited use of dependency theory.[57] Essentially, the most influential work for Mouzelis was Barrington Moore's classic study *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, the initial book that confronted the certainties of modernisation theory in the 1960s as far as it concerned the interpretation of some states' failure to enter modernity in a profitable way.[58] Mouzelis' theoretical stance promoted a class-dynamics analysis of the Greek case, along with a comparative study, to distinguish the international factors that decisively influenced Greek class formation in the first place.

Mouzelis' analysis was macroscopic. It aimed at a total interpretation of the Greek state that subsequently could interpret every separate historical event without depending much on the systematic accumulation of data, which was lacking, an important and enduring obstacle for the social sciences in Greece. For instance, Tsoucalas constantly refers to it as a problem that restricts him just to express hypotheses instead of definite conclusions.[59] To some extent, the lack of data may be one of the reasons why academics who were inspired by the junta experience were ultimately dedicated to the study of the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. They realised that a thorough analysis of the empirical data was needed before proceeding to generalisation. Nonetheless, Mouzelis tackled the problem by focusing on theory and especially on the comparative study of the Greek case with countries such as Bulgaria and Argentina. Thus, he was able to construct an outline of the history of the Greek state that highlighted what he believed to be the most determining historical phenomena: the oligarchic parliamentary system of the nineteenth century,[60] which produced lasting consequences such as clientelism and especially the army's central position within the postoligarchic polity in the twentieth century, an evolution that, according to Mouzelis, was the pivotal situation that led to postwar dictatorships, such as in Greece in 1967.[61] Thus he did not insist on the examination of the events per se, for instance, on the situation during the Dictatorship of the Colonels. Instead he produced an analysis that highlighted the deep roots of the dictatorship in the dependent way the Greek state entered modernity. Mouzelis could handle data, or to be more specific, the lack of it, in an abstract way as he never "abandoned" sociology for the sake of history.

If we compare Mouzelis' work with his public interventions (mainly his contributions to *To Vima* in 1976, that is, the period when he was editing his first book on the matter, *Facets of Underdevelopment*), it becomes apparent that his academic analysis was fuelled by a presentist venture, to produce a functional model for the Greek state to overcome what he saw as "political formality"[62] and guide it towards a genuine and benevolent path to modernity – in other words, to provide the Greek state with a left compass towards

modernisation. This aim also explains why it was not possible for him to ignore the junta period in his analysis, because if he wanted to suggest a new theory for the Greek transition to democracy, he had to include in his narrative the most recent and serious political deviation from it.

His work met a variety of criticism. For example, ordinary readers complained about his decision to compare Greece to other Balkan countries, especially Bulgaria.[63] On a more academic level, Thanos Veremis, though his review was generally very positive, suggested that Mouzelis' macroscopic approach led, in some cases, to mistaken interpretations of the historical events, such as that the 1909 Goudi Revolution.[64] However, the most systematic deconstruction of Mouzelis' view came from the left and had the interpretation of the junta at its epicentre. At least from the beginning of 1983, the left periodical *Theseis* initiated a series of articles against the theory of dependency and its misinterpretations. The main argument was that the concept of dependency paid too much attention to the abstract process of the state towards modernisation and underestimated the class struggle that the process included.[65]

The critique was not solely directed at Mouzelis' opinions. It was a total rejection of the views that had been expressed on the nature of the Greek state since the fall of the junta to the early 1980s by Poulantzas, Psyroukis and others. Very soon though it targeted Mouzelis' work as well, as one of the main contributors to *Theseis*, Dimitris Charalambis, indicated that the historical question concerning the position of the army in the Greek power structure after the Second World War was the crucial factor in understanding the fallacies of the dependency theory.[66] He totally discredited the theory of dependency as a nonproductive tool of analysis since it led to a vision of the army as a mere corporative pressure group. According to Charalambis, such a vision finally resulted in an analysis very similar to a nonleft, functionalist analysis that treated politics as irrelevant to the situation that led to the 1967 coup. Even worse, dependency theory, according to Charalambis, justified the right-wing view of the junta as a political accident provoked by "few insane officers". On the contrary, he suggested that a genuine comprehension of the causes that led to the 1967 coup required primarily an analysis of the postwar political situation and an understanding of the various agents that interfered in it, such as the mighty secret military organisation IDEA, as political actors and not as pressure groups. As the author announced at the beginning of his article, his opinions were the product of ongoing research that few years later, in 1985, resulted in the publication of a book, *Army and Political Power*, which was basically a re-examination of the causes of the 1967 coup.[67]

The publication signalled a major shift in the study of the junta, which was no longer seen in the context of the creation of the Greek state but mainly as a phenomenon of the postwar political situation. The public discourse that *Theseis* opened up over the fallacies of the dependency theory was not merely theoretical. On the contrary, it was essentially a

political debate over the impasses of a modernisation political project and a call for a new political agenda that would aim towards class struggle and that would dissociate the left movement from the priorities of the socialist Pasok government.[68]

However, hindsight suggests that, despite their deep differences, the works of Mouzelis and Charalambis also shared some aspects. Their passionate engagement with the junta did not result in a thorough examination of the empirical data of the period of the regime, because in both cases the focus was not on the junta per se but on what the junta could add to the general picture. The main difference was that in Mouzelis' case, the picture was the Greek state since its establishment, whereas for Charalambis the bigger picture was the postwar political struggle.

At this point it should be stressed that after the fall of the junta, liberal academics withdrew almost entirely from the field. An example is Clogg and his circle, which chose to move on to other topics, for instance, the realities of the postjunta period,[69] abandoning the study of the junta even though his academic work during the dictatorship provided Greek historiography with one of the most thorough works on the regime.

The turning point of 1989

In the 1990s, a period of big transformations that set new standards in the study of the junta, Marxist approaches to the junta began to wane. The collapse of the Soviet Union, which marked the end of the Cold War, led to a general reappraisal of political theory, in Greece and elsewhere. Specifically in Greece, the year that communism collapsed found the country in the midst of a serious political crisis due to a financial scandal that cost Pasok its hold on government. Pasok was the type of new party that emerged after the fall of the junta. After its rise to power in 1981, a heroic version of the junta history became a crucial tool of the state's symbolic apparatus. During the eight years of Pasok government, a certain narrative of the dictatorship became official: it was the period when the Greek people, and especially the youth, victoriously confronted reactionary authoritarianism as well as foreign (that is, US) intervention. Although the kind of history examined in this article has nothing to do with such simplistic and idolising narratives, the end of Pasok's hegemony also affected the production of academic history. It created the space for a particular revisionism of any left narrative; thus the engagement with junta history now demanded new justifications.

The alienation of Greek society from the junta experience was due to other occurrences as well. In the 1990s, the Greek state was in a completely different economic situation than it was in the late 1970s, especially after 1995 when a period of rapid economic growth began. The image of the dependent state seemed one from an irreversible past. Thus, the main question that triggered the discussion in the 1970s, that is, how to build a state that would break with the detrimental legacies of dependency, was outdated. Indeed, the interest in the study of the junta decreased, especially in terms of the

kind of Marxist historical production that had hitherto been the trend.

The abandonment of the neo-Marxist approach signalled a new historical production, characterised by a boom of thematic and scientific approaches that included methods like diplomatic history, cultural history and microhistory. Instead of a big narrative that organised every aspect of the issue and inevitably suppressed those that did not serve a central purpose, a centrifugal approach emerged.

Conclusions

This article has tried to show how the historians and social scientists who dealt with the junta grasped the period and conceptualised its temporal dimensions, that is, how they explained the phenomenon of the junta by placing it in the flow of Greek history. It highlights that the imposition of the dictatorship had a tremendous effect on the formation of an entire generation of young academics. Their interest in the junta began as part of their political activism against it but it also resulted in the reshaping of modern Greek historical culture. The urgent need to explain the dictatorship shifted the historical focus to the rather neglected topic of Greek contemporary history. This "contemporary turn" reshaped Greek historiography and laid the foundations for academic production that has continued to the present.

The transformation of the junta into an object of historiographical research came under the strong influence of several neo-Marxist theories that had begun to hold sway in the academic world. While personal research choices were an important factor, the preoccupation with the junta required a certain political view and interpretation of the Greek situation. For Marxists, the junta became the paradigmatic event through which they could expose the mechanism of the whole political structure of Greece. For liberals, the junta remained an episode, however dark and whatever the severe complications for the country, that mainly represented a deviation.[70] Their emphasis on the persistent cultural dimensions of the underdevelopment of Greece enabled them to undermine the dictatorship as yet another expression, however exceptional, of this culture of compliance with authority that supposedly tormented Greek political life, as Adamantia Polis argued, for example.[71]

So, the study of the junta became a monopoly for neo-Marxist academics, not because they managed to impose their agenda and exclude all others, but because for a significant period no one else cared enough to embark on the study of the period. That said, it was not a polarised academic field where two camps of thought, the neo-Marxists and the liberals, opposed each other. On the contrary, the extreme political situation that the junta created allowed different political-academic agendas to coexist in the common struggle against the dictatorship. After the fall of the junta, this alliance continued, although in a different, mainly academic sense. It was the alliance of those who believed in the

significance of the study of the history of the present. For instance, the way Veremis praised the work of Mouzelis in the late 1970s and early 1980s is an indication of this coexistence, which continued up to the end of the 1990s.[72]

The abrupt fall of the junta created the presuppositions for the hegemony of the neo-Marxist outlook. As high ranking representatives of the old political system emerged in the first weeks after the fall of the junta to undertake the restoration of democracy, reassuring the people that the junta period was a parenthesis that should be left behind, a young generation of academics looking on feared that the new situation could as easily become a more subtle continuation of authoritarian politics behind a persuasive democratic façade. Furthermore, another concern was that the structural elements of Greek economic and political life could, at any moment, revitalise authoritarian solutions in any form. The sense that the junta had not ended overstimulated the need to study it as a symptom whose deeper causes needed to be fixed as soon as possible. The body of journalistic pieces written by Mouzelis in the late 1970s shows that his academic work stemmed from a deep political concern about what should be done in Greece in order to decisively overcome its dysfunctional past. Indeed, at least up the 1990s every endeavour in the study of junta was entangled with the production of political thought over what form political activity should take. The political significance of the junta was why the period was not left to oblivion and was incorporated into Greek history as one of its essential moments.

The specific path through which the junta became a significant period of Greek history formatted the way it was studied. There was more an emphasis on the causes of the dictatorship than on the dictatorship per se. The very phenomenon of the junta was left out of the research scope. The 21 April dictatorship mattered only for the general lessons its study could deliver about the “Greek problem”.

The macroscopic and abstract examination of the junta, which could only add to a discussion of the grand themes of Greek history, was also due to the formation of the academics who engaged with it. Most were political scientists and sociologists, not historians. They represented typical examples of the international shift in the social sciences towards historical interpretation.[73] Accordingly in Greece, the entrance of social scientists to the field of history was a major event that revitalised historical thought and generated new concepts about the history of the Greek state.[74] However, in the case of junta studies it did not result in the enrichment of the archive; it did not produce research programmes aiming at the collection and processing of factual elements about the junta. Indicatively, both Mouzelis and Charalambis, when they needed to support their analysis with factual material, resorted to the work of journalistic accounts by Grigoriadis and others. Consequently, the issue of society under military rule did not attract their interest. Even more surprisingly, the history of the resistance movement received little academic attention before the 1990s. In his work, Charalambis formulated a theory on why the left movement, which was extremely active before the junta period, especially during the political crisis of 1965–1966, did not oppose the coup in its early hours. His analysis, however, ended up

once again in an abstract interpretation of the fabric of political power in predictatorial Greece that did not require any further research.[75] Thus, the social element is absent from these works. Only during the 1990s was interest revitalised with the publication of Olympios Dafermos' *Students and Dictatorship*.[76] Yet again, as the author admitted, it did not attract enough academic attention to create a new subfield.[77] The next monograph on the issue, Kostis Kornetis' *Children of the Dictatorship*, would appear 14 years later.[78]

The neo-Marxist approaches, with the stress on questions concerning the enduring structures of the state and political power in Greece, succeeded in overthrowing a hegemonic political discourse after the fall of the junta that suggested the regime must be forgotten as an irrelevant and absurd episode, a mere parenthesis in the sequence of Greek history. However, at one level, their view on the history of the junta incorporated the parenthesis concept. Their studies, beyond any doubt, managed to include the junta in the Greek historical agenda as a crucial period whose roots needed to be studied. However, the junta itself remained a "black hole", either at the level of state or of society.

Nowadays, the old Marxist approaches on the junta history seem outdated, to the point that they are sometimes excluded altogether from historiographical accounts of the field.[79] On the contrary, the argument here is that in two decades from the fall of the junta in 1974 to the mid-1980s were of outmost importance because they witnessed the formation of major historiographical concepts about the dictatorship. Even if these concepts no longer assist us in organising our research of the junta, we still need to reflect on them, historicise them and realise their legacy.

The new approaches on the study of the junta that begun in the 1990s, did not emerge from a systematic critique of the previous neo-Marxist analysis. They simply surpassed it and never clarified to what extent they were using patterns from the old historiography or whether they rejected the neo-Marxist approach altogether. Thus, it is a case of a historiographical transition where the new trends do not base their emerging strength on the successful critique of the old ones. For that reason, they are perpetuating an unexplored relationship between the two.

---

* I would like to thank Professor Maria Stassinopoulou and the Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik of the University of Vienna, where, while I was teaching the course "Between Cold War and Radical Sixties: Toward a Cultural History of the Dictatorship of 21 April 1967", I started writing this article. I have benefitted from the comments and advice of the two anonymous reviewers. I am also particularly grateful to Vangelis Karamanolakis, who challenged me to take on the writing of this article and supported me with his advice and comments.

[1] For the path of how the Spanish word *junta* entered the Greek political vocabulary and especially the way it was inextricably linked with the dictatorship, see Leonidas Kallivretakis, "Χούντα: σημαίνον και σημαινόμενα. Οι περιπέτειες μιας λέξης" [Junta: signifier and signified. The adventures of a word], *Archeiotaxio* 15 (2013): 109–32.

[2] "Greece: The besieged king," *Time*, 28 April 1967, 28. The article is mentioned in Nikolaos E. Mpras, "Greece: The Colonels' Puritan Revolution" (MA diss., Portland State University, 1970), 6.

[3] Kristina Winther-Jacobsen and Evanthis Hatzivassiliou, eds., *Η Δανία, το Συμβούλιο της Ευρώπης, το ΝΑΤΟ και τα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα στην Ελλάδα κατά τη διάρκεια της χούντας* [Denmark, the Council of Europe, Nato, and human rights in Greece during the junta] (Athens: Patakis, 2019).

[4] On the perplexities and dilemmas that the transition of 1974 posed, see Vangelis Karamanolakis, Ilias Nikolakopoulos and Tassos Sakellaropoulos, "Εισαγωγή" [Introduction], and Ilias Nikolakopoulos, "Τα διλήμματα της Μεταπολίτευσης: Μεταξύ συνέχειας και ρήξης" [The dilemmas of the Metapolitefsi: Between continuity and rupture], in *Η Μεταπολίτευση '74–'75: Στιγμές μιας μετάβασης* [Metapolitefsi '74–'75: Moments of a transition], ed. Vangelis Karamanolakis, Ilias Nikolakopoulos and Tassos Sakellaropoulos (Athens: Themelio, 2016), 23–33 and 35–46.

[5] It is indicative how two academics describe the transition of 1974 in their introductions in the two best-known multivolume popular historical editions. Yannis Voulgaris speaks about a total rupture that affected all levels of social life in "Η δημοκρατική Ελλάδα" [Democratic Greece], in *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού* [History of the new Hellenism], ed. Vassilis Panagiotopoulos (Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 2003), 10:9–50. Evanthis Hatzivassiliou describes it as the "Greek miracle" in "Η σύσταση και εδραίωση του δημοκρατικού πολιτεύματος 1974–1981" [The founding and consolidation of the new constitution 1974–1981], in *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους* (Athens: Ekdotiki Athinon, 2000), 16:294–308. For an overview of the literature on the Third Hellenic Republic, see Manos Avgeridis, Effi Gazi and Kostis Kornetis, *Μεταπολίτευση: Η Ελλάδα στο μεταίχμιο δύο αιώνων* [Metapolitefsi: Greece on the verge of two centuries] (Athens: Themelio, 2015), 9–26.

[6] Leonidas Kallivretakis, "Επταετία: Σοβαρό έλλειμα στην ιστορική έρευνα" [Dictatorship 1967: Serious shortfalls in historical research], *Ta Nea*, 21 April 2007.

[7] Antonis Liakos, "Η δικτατορία 1967–74: τι θέλουμε να μάθουμε;" [The dictatorship of 1967–1974: what do we want to learn about?], in *Δικτατορία 1967–1974: Η έντυπη αντίσταση. Έκθεση ντοκουμέντων* [Dictatorship 1967–1974: The resistance of the Press. Exhibition of documents] (Thessaloniki: Educational Foundation of the Macedonia–Thrace Daily Newspaper Journalists' Union, 2010), 88–92.

[8] Christos Tsakas, "21η Απριλίου 1967: Τι (θα έπρεπε να) γνωρίζουμε 50 χρόνια μετά;" [21 April 1967: What (should we) know of 50 years later], *Ta Istorika* 65 (2017): 107–30.

[9] Kathleen Davis, *Periodization and Sovereignty: How Ideas of Feudalism and Secularization Govern the Politics of Time* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 3.

[10] Reinhart Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 100–14; Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

[11] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

[12] Henning Trüper, Dipesh Chakrabarty and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, eds., *Historical Teleologies in the Modern World* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

[13] On the dilemmas of the 1974 transition and the concepts created to describe them, see Vangelis Karamanolakis, *Ανεπιθύμητο παρελθόν: Οι φάκελοι κοινωνικών φρονημάτων στον 20ό αιώνα και η καταστροφή τους* [Unwanted past: The security files in the 20th century and their destruction] (Athens: Themelio, 2019), 159–67.

[14] See Averoff's speech marking the 25 March national holiday (*Kathimerini*, 25 March 1975, 1), as well as the inauguration of the Athens War Museum (*To Vima*, 19 July 1975, 1).

[15] Theodore A. Couloumbis, "The Greek Junta Phenomenon," *Polity* 6, no. 3 (1974): 361.

[16] "Δ΄ Ψήφισμα: Περί του πραξικοπήματος της 21ης Απριλίου 1967, διώξεως εγκλημάτων και ρυθμίσεως συναφών θεμάτων" [Fourth Resolution: On the coup d'état of 21 April 1967, the prosecution of crimes and the settlement of related matters], *Efimeris tis Kyverniseos*, no. 6, A, 18 January 1975.

[17] Konstantinos Svolopoulos, ed., *Κωνσταντίνος Καραμανλής: Αρχείο. Γεγονότα και κείμενα* [Konstantinos Karamanlis: The archive. Events and texts], vol. 7 (Athens: Konstantinos G. Karamanlis Foundation, 1995), 13.

[18] *Ta Nea*, 25 July 1975, 14.

[19] Stavros Psycharis, *Τα παρασκήνια της Αλλαγής* [Behind the scenes of the change] (Athens: To Vima Vivliothiki, 2010), 11.

[20] Couloumbis, "Greek Junta Phenomenon," 372–74.

[21] Marios Nikolinakos, *Αντίσταση και αντιπολίτευση 1967–1974* [Resistance and opposition, 1967–1974] (Athens: Olkos, 1975).

[22] A short description of the debate over the true meaning of the transition to democracy can be found in Diamandouros and Petronoti's article, which clearly expresses the perspective of those who believed that the fall of the junta signalled a genuine democratic achievement. Though it was published in 1983 when the debate was outdated, it is safe to say that it was written before 1981 due to a reference on page 56 to Pasok as the main opposition party. Nikiforos Diamandouros and Marina Petronoti, "1974: Η μετάβαση από το αυταρχικό στο δημοκρατικό καθεστώς στην Ελλάδα: Προέλευση και ερμηνεία μέσα από μία νοτιο-ευρωπαϊκή προοπτική" [1974: The transition from authoritarianism to democracy in Greece: Origin and interpretation through a southern European perspective], *Epitheorisi Koinonikon Erevnon* 49 (1983): 55–57.

[23] Nicos Poulantzas, *La crise des dictatures: Portugal, Grèce, Espagne* (Paris: Maspero, 1975). The book was translated and published in Greece the same year by Papazisis [*Η κρίση των δικτατοριών: Πορτογαλλία–Ελλάδα–Ισπανία*].

[24] See indicatively the critique of Kostas Hatziargiris, "Οι στόχοι και τα λάθη του κυρίου Ν. Πουλαντζά" [Goals and mistakes by Mr. Nicos Poulantzas], *Tetradio* 14 (1975): 50–55.

[25] Jean Meynaud, *Rapport sur l'abolition de la démocratie en Grèce* (Montreal: Etudes de Science Politique, 1967).

[26] On the research that Meynaud conducted prior to the coup, see the introduction to the first Greek edition published after the fall of the junta, *Πολιτικές δυνάμεις στην Ελλάδα* [Political forces in Greece] (Athens: Bairon, 1974).

[27] On the multiple ways Meynaud engaged himself with the international movement against the Greek junta, see Anna Karapanou, ed., *Aidez le peuple Grec: Η αντιδικτατορική συλλογή της οικογένειας Meynaud* [Help the people of Greece: The antidictatorial collection of the Meynaud family] (Athens: Hellenic Parliament Foundation, 2019), published in conjunction with an exhibition of the same title, organised by and presented at the Hellenic Parliament Foundation in April 2019, http://foundation.parliament.gr/VoulhFoundation/VoulhFoundationPortal/images/site_content/voulhFoundation/file/Ekdyloseis/Maynaud/meynaud_FINALnew.pdf.

[28] See indicatively, "L'abolition de la democratie en Grèce," *La Pensée* 137 (February 1968): 51–71; *Bericht über die Abschaffung der Demokratie in Griechenland* (Berlin: Klaus Wagenbach, 1969). In 1972, shortly after Meynaud's death, an extended edition was published including the events from autumn 1967 up to the end of the same year, focusing especially on the king's aborted countercoup, see Jean Meynaud, *Rapport sur l'abolition de la démocratie en Grèce*, vol. 2 (Montreal: Nouvelle Frontière, 1972).

[29] For instance, the way the British government established "good working relations" with the junta is indicative of this stance. See Alexandros Nafpliotis, "A Gift from God: Anglo-Greek Relations during the Dictatorship of the Greek Colonels," *Historical Review/La Revue Historique* 11 (2014): 67–104,

https://doi.org/10.12681/hr.329.

[30] Foteini Dimirouli, "A View on the Greek Dictatorship from the 'Lighthouse' of *The New York Review of Books* (1967–1974)," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 35, no. 2 (2017): 374, https://doi.org/10.1353/mgs.2017.0024. For a small, initial sample of this rhetoric, see also "Η συζήτησις διά το Ελληνικόν εις την Αμερικήν" [The discussion over the Greek issue in the USA], *To Vima*, 3 October 1971, 3; Charles C. Moskos, "The Breakdown of Parliamentary Democracy in Greece, 1965–67," *Greek Review of Social Research* 7–8 (1971): 3–15.

[31] Eric A. Nordlinger, "Soldiers in Mufti: The Impact of Military Rule upon Economic and Social Change in the Non-Western States," *American Political Science Review* 64, no. 4 (1970): 1131–48.

[32] Richard Clogg and George Yannopoulos, eds., *Greece Under Military Rule* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1972).

[33] John A. Katris, *Η γέννηση του νεοφασισμού στην Ελλάδα, 1960–1970* [The rise of neofascism in Greece, 1960–1970] (Geneva: Editex, 1971). The book was also published in the United States under a different title: see John A. Katris, *Eyewitness in Greece: The Colonels Come to Power* (St. Louis: New Critics Press, 1971).

[34] Andreas Papandreou, *Democracy at Gunpoint: The Greek Front* (New York: Doubleday, 1970).

[35] From the outset of the coup, many articles, especially in the French press, insinuated or even expressed openly the idea. See, for example, the first declaration of the Defence Committee of the Greek People (Comité de Défense du Peuple Grec) with prominent members such as Jean-Paul Sartre and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, "Constitution à Paris d'un comité de défense du peuple Grec," *Le Monde*, 24 April 1968.

[36] C.M. Woodhouse, "Η 'επανάσταση' στο ιστορικό της πλαίσιο" [The "revolution" in its historical context], in *Η Ελλάδα κάτω από στρατιωτικό ζυγό* [Greece under military rule], ed. Richard Clogg and George Yannopoulos (Athens: Papazisis, 1976), 33–55.

[37] C.M. Woodhouse, *A Short History of Modern Greece* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968).

[38] Woodhouse, "Η 'επανάσταση'" [The "revolution"], 39.

[39] Constantine Tsoucalas, *The Greek Tragedy* (London: Penguin, 1969).

[40] Constantine Tsoucalas, *Εξάρτηση και αναπαραγωγή: ο κοινωνικός ρόλος των εκπαιδευτικών μηχανισμών στην Ελλάδα, 1832–1922* [Dependence and reproduction: the social role of educational mechanisms in Greece, 1832–1922] (Athens: Themelio, 1977).

[41] Antonis Liakos, "Modern Greek Historiography (1974–2000): The Era of Tradition from Dictatorship to Democracy," in *(Re)Writing History: Historiography in Southeast Europe after Socialism*, ed. Ulf Brunnbauer (Münster: LIT, 2004), 351–78.

[42] Antonis Liakos, "Το ζήτημα της 'συνέχειας' στη νεοελληνική ιστοριογραφία" [The issue of "continuity" in modern Greek historiography], in *Ιστοριογραφία της νεότερης και σύγχρονης Ελλάδας, 1833–2002* [The historiography of modern and contemporary Greece], ed. Paschalis M. Kitromilides and Triantafyllos E. Sklavenitis (Athens: Centre of Neohellenic Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2004), 1:60–62.

[43] George Dertilis, interview by Effi Gazi and Alexis Franghiadis, 19 April 2016, conducted as part of the Greek Historiography in the 20th Century: The Formation of Modern Greek Studies project, http://historiography.gr/index.php/en/encounters-with-historians-5/%CE%B3%CE%B9%CF%8E%CF%81%CE%B3%CE%BF%CF%82-%CE%B4%CE%B5%CF%81%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%BB%CE%AE%CF%82.

[44] Heinz Richter, "Προβλήματα της σύγχρονης ιστορίας, 1" [Problems of contemporary history, 1], *Anti*, 6 March 1976, 31–35; Richter, "Προβλήματα της σύγχρονης ιστορίας, 2" [Problems of contemporary history, 2], *Anti*, 20 March 1976, 41–43.

[45] Author's note: in Germany, the Nuremberg Trial was the occasion for the shift to modern history.

[46] Kristina Spohr Readman, "Contemporary History in Europe: From Mastering National Pasts to the Future of Writing the World," *Journal of Contemporary History* 46, no. 3 (2011): 506–30, https://doi.org/10.1177/0022009411404583.

[47] Nikos Kakaounakis, *2.650 μερόνυχτα συνωμοσίας* [2,650 days and nights of conspiracy] (Athens: Papazisis, 1976).

[48] Periklis Rodakis, ed., *Οι δίκες της Χούντας* [The Greek junta trials] (Athens: Dimokratikoi Kairoi, 1976).

[49] Solon N. Grigoriadis, *Ιστορία της Δικτατορίας* [The history of the dictatorship] (Athens: Kapopoulos, 1975).

[50] See for instance, Loukas Th. Apostolidis, *Μαρτυρία από το ματωμένο φοιτητικό κίνημα 1967–1974* [A testimony from the bloody student movement 1967–1974] (Athens: s.n., 1974); Nikos Kastrinos and Voula Kastrinou, *Πολυτεχνείο: Μέρες του Νοέμβρη 1973: Χρονικό* [Athens polytechnic uprising: Days of November 1973: Chronicle] (Athens: Minima, 1974); Kostoula Mitropoulou, *Το χρονικό των τριών ημερών: Σχολή Πολυτεχνείου* [The chronicle of the three days: Athens Polytechnic Uprising] (Athens: Boukoumanis, 1974). Many thanks to Dimitris Garris for directing me to these publications.

[51] Nicos P. Mouzelis, *Modern Greece: Facets of Underdevelopment* (London: Macmillan, 1979), 11.

[52] On the influence of Parsonian theory in social theory, see Theda Skocpol, "Η ιστορική φαντασία της κοινωνιολογίας" [Sociology's historical imagination], in *Ιστορική Κοινωνιολογία: Όραμα και μέθοδος* [Historical sociology: Vision and method], ed. Theda Skocpol, trans. Spyros Marchetos (Athens: Katarti, 1999), 20–23.

[53] Mouzelis, *Modern Greece*. On the way he treated neo-evolutionary social theories, see Mouzelis, "Το 'φτάσιμο' της Δύσης" [Becoming equal with the West], *To Vima*, 13 May 1976, 1 and 7.

[54] Sanjaya Lall, "Is 'Dependence' a Useful Concept in Analyzing Underdevelopment?," *World Development* 3, no. 11–12 (1975): 799.

[55] For a complete account of how the concept of dependency was used in the literature on the junta, although from the perspective of someone who opposed the concept as misleading, see Spyros Sakellaropoulos, *Τα αίτια του απριλιανού πραξικοπήματος* [The causes of the April coup] (Athens: Livanis, 1998), 60–96.

[56] Nicos P. Mouzelis, *Κοινοβουλευτισμός και εκβιομηχάνιση στην ημι-περιφέρεια: Ελλάδα, Βαλκάνια, Λατινική Αμερική* [Politics in the Semi-Periphery: Early Parliamentarianism and Late Industrialization in the Balkans and Latin America] (Athens: Themelio, 1987), 16–23.

[57] Ibid., 18.

[58] Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon, 1993).

[59] Constantine Tsoucalas, *Κοινωνική ανάπτυξη και κράτος* [Social Development and the State] (Athens: Themelio, 1993), 36.

[60] Mouzelis, *Κοινοβουλευτισμός και εκβιομηχάνιση* [Parliamentarianism and Industrialization], 29–136.

[61] Ibid., 169–298.

[62] Nicos P. Mouzelis, "Φορμαλισμός και πολιτική" [Formalism and politics], *To Vima*, 19 February 1976, 1 and 8.

[63] *To Vima*, 17 March 1976, 2.

[64] Thanos Veremis, "Το κοινωνιολογικό βιβλίο: Για να βρεθεί ο δικός μας δρόμος" [Sociological editions: how to find our path], review of *Modern Greece: Facets of Underdevelopment*, by Nicos P. Mouzelis, *Kathimerini*, 27 July 1978, 8.

[65] Takis Mastrantonis and John Milios, "Η θεωρία της Αριστεράς για την εξάρτηση του ελληνικού καπιταλισμού: όρια και συνέπειες" [Left theory on the Greek capitalism's dependency: limits and consequences], *Theseis* 2 (1983), www.theseis.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=41&Itemid=29.

[66] Dimitris Charalambis, "Η θέση του στρατού στη δομή της κρατικής εξουσίας στην Ελλάδα μετά το δεύτερο Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο" [The position of the army in the structure of state power in Greece after the Second World War], *Theseis* 4 (1983), http://www.theseis.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=54&Itemid=29.

[67] Dimitris Charalambis, *Στρατός και πολιτική εξουσία: Η δομή της εξουσίας στην μετεμφυλιακή Ελλάδα* [The army and political power: The structure of power in post-civil war Greece] (Athens: Exantas, 1985).

[68] John Milios, "'Εκσυγχρονισμός' ή (και) οικονομική ανάπτυξη: Η σταθεροποίηση του κράτους δικαίου" ["Modernisation" or (and) economic growth: The stabilisation of the rule of law], *Theseis* 1 (1982), http://www.theseis.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=33&Itemid=29.

[69] Richard Clogg, ed., *Greece in the 1980s* (London: Macmillan, 1983).

[70] On the basic themes of the two approaches, the neo-Marxist and the theory of modernisation, see Yannis Voulgaris, *Ελλάδα: μια χώρα παραδόξως νεωτερική* [Greece: a paradoxically modern country] (Athens: Polis, 2019).

[71] Adamantia Pollis, "The Impact of Traditional Cultural Patterns on Greek Politics," *Greek Review of Social Research* 29 (1977): 2–14, http://dx.doi.org/10.12681/grsr.330.

[72] Veremis, "Το κοινωνιολογικό βιβλίο" [Sociological editions].

[73] Skocpol, "Η ιστορική φαντασία της κοινωνιολογίας" [Sociology's historical imagination].

[74] On the interactions between history and the social sciences in Greece, see Christos Hadziiossif, "Η ιστορία και οι άλλες κοινωνικές επιστήμες" [History and the other social sciences], in Kitromilides and Sklavenitis, *Ιστοριογραφία της νεότερης και σύγχρονης Ελλάδας* [Historiography of modern and contemporary Greece], 1:283–305; Eleftheria Zei, "Η μελέτη του κοινωνικού από τη Γαλλία στην Ελλάδα στη Μεταπολίτευση: Κοινωνική ιστορία ή κοινωνιολογία;" [Studying the social from France to Greece during the Metapolitefsi: Social history or sociology?], in *Συναντήσεις της ελληνικής με τη γαλλική ιστοριογραφία από τη Μεταπολίτευση έως σήμερα* [Encounters of Greek and French historiography from the metapolitefsi until today], ed. Vangelis Karamanolakis, Maria Couroucli and Triantafyllos E. Sklavenitis (Athens: Institute of Historical Research, 2015), 201–10.

[75] Charalambis, *Στρατός και πολιτική εξουσία* [The army and political power], 242–43.

[76] Olympios Dafermos, *Φοιτητές και δικτατορία: Το αντιδικτατορικό φοιτητικό κίνημα 1972–1973* [Students and dictatorship: The antidictatorial student movement, 1972–1973] (Athens: Themelio, 1992).

[77] On the reception of Dafermos' book, see the author's foreword to its third edition: Olympios Dafermos, *Φοιτητές και δικτατορία: Το αντιδικτατορικό φοιτητικό κίνημα 1972–1973* [Students and dictatorship: The antidictatorial student movement, 1972–1973] (Athens: Gavriilidis, 2009), 9–10.

[78] Kostis Kornetis, *Children of the Dictatorship: Student Resistance, Cultural Politics and the "Long 1960s" in Greece* (New York: Berghahn, 2013). Greek translation: Kostis Kornetis, *Τα παιδιά της Δικτατορίας: Φοιτητική αντίσταση, πολιτισμικές πολιτικές και η μακρά δεκαετία του εξήντα στην Ελλάδα*, trans. Pelagia Marketou (Athens: Polis, 2015).

[79] Christos Tsakas, "21η Απριλίου 1967" [21 April 1967], 107–30.