country ostensibly part of the "West" seems to have stimulated academic interest. It is to be hoped that probing analytic studies on the Greek military will be forthcoming.

Papacosma's study is one such effort to fill the existing vacuum, particularly in the English language. Unfortunately, *The Military in Greek Politics; the 1909 Coup d'Etat*, is of limited value, particularly for those who are familiar with Greek sources. It is a detailed, descriptive, historical account of the events that transpired prior to, during and subsequent to the intervention of a group of military officers — The Military League — in Greek politics in 1909. In that sense the book is quite informative. The account however is not presented within any kind of analytic framework; it does not have a focus or a central theme. Whatever significant points the author makes are imbedded in the details, and are well known for the most part to Greek experts; e.g. except for a minority the Military League did not aspire to direct political rule; the military rule was precipitated by dissatisfaction with the disastrous military defeat of 1897, the continued inadequacy of the Greek military and the failure of Greece's political leaders to further the goals of the Megali Idea; the coup enabled the rise to political leadership of "new men" in particular Eleftherios Venizelos.

Missing from this study is any analysis of the interconnection or interrelationship between the actions of the Military League and / or its members and the society at large. Thus although the author discusses at length dealings among the League, the civilian political leaders and the monarchy, absent is the socio-economic context within which all these events took place. Papacosma alludes frequently to "the people" and to the extent of their support for the Military League at various stages. But he does not define "the people" nor indicate on what evidence he judges their attitude toward the Military League. Periodically, reference is also made to trade associations and labor groups, but the reader is left guessing as to the links between them and the military. The early twentieth century was a time when an incipient bourgeoisie and a labor movement were emerging. The impact of these developments on the military coup and its policies needs further elaboration. It is insufficient to merely assert that Venizelos whom the League brought to the fore was perceived as a liberal by contrast to the traditional conservative leaders.

In the preface Papacosma states that he has used diplomatic archives in Great Britain, Germany and Austria. One would expect that use of this new material would provide additional insights or a new perspective on the military coup. Except for an occasional quotation from diplomatic correspondence, little new knowledge has been added. If one were to look for a more extensive elaboration of the role of the foreign powers during those years than that which has hitherto been available, which this reader did, he/she would be disappointed.

It is difficult to write on the military without using one or another of the prevailing theories of the military as a reference point. Papacosma is not subject to any such constraints. As a consequence he has provided the reader with a historical sequence free of any overall theoretical or conceptual framework. As a history of the events of the military coup, from which the reader can surmise his/her own generalizations, the book is useful.

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George P. Nakos, Ὁ Πολιτειακὸν Καθεστῶς τῆς Ῥωμαίας ἐπὶ Ὁθωνος μέχρι τοῦ Συντάγματος τοῦ 1844 — Ἐκ τῶν Δημοκρατικῶν Ἰδεών τῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως τοῦ 1821 εἰς τὴν Ἀπόλυτον Μοναρχίαν [The Governmental Regime in Greece under Otho until the Constitution of 1844. From the Democratic Ideals of the Re-
volution of 1821 to the Absolute Monarchy], Thessaloniki, Scientific Yearbook of the School of Legal and Economic Sciences, University of Thessaloniki, Vol. 17, 1974, pp. 273.

Those who know George Nakos's earlier work, [The “Great Powers” and the “National Lands” of Greece (1821-32)], will not be surprised to learn that this latest study is also a careful exegesis of the official documentary record of the period, using the texts of laws, decrees, proclamations, constitutions, etc. The author, Ὑπερμελητής at the School of Legal and Economic Studies of the University of Thessaloniki, has undertaken research in the Bavarian state archives for this doctoral dissertation, though the principal sources upon which he draws to support his thesis are published and well-known Greek contemporary documents.

The thesis, to be succinct, holds that the eleven years of absolute monarchy under the Bavarians constituted a perverse interruption in the normal development of Greece’s indigenous democratic institutions. The unfortunate hiatus resulted from foreign pressure in opposition to the common will of the liberated nation which desired representative government. Greek sovereign rights were forcibly surrendered to alien forms of rule until the introduction of a constitution in 1844 ended the hiatus.

The essential proposition of this thesis asserts that there existed in pre-Bavarian Greece a discernible collective will which wanted democratic rule. The author acknowledges that political concepts were not clearly or fully elaborated during the revolutionary period. The central preoccupation of the embattled Greeks was, after all, national liberation. The numerous charters and constitutions which appeared during this period often represented little more than the individual opinions of their authors, or were designed to favorably influence foreign powers to assist the national struggle. Participants in the successive regional and national assemblies could claim to be representative at best only of small districts or special interest groups. Despite great political and social heterogeneity, the author nevertheless finds that the “constitutional idea” gained ground steadily under the impetus, first, of a series of liberal constitutions introduced and discussed in successive assemblies; secondly, from the writings of Greek scholars abroad (e.g., Korais) and of foreign liberals in Greece (e.g., Palma); and thirdly, from the gradual creation of a leader class which worked toward the political education of the people. The popular desire for democratic rule found its clearest expression in 1832 when the so-called Fifth National Assembly, while yielding under foreign pressure to the practical necessity of accepting a monarchy, voted a constitution which subordinated royal authority to the popular will as expressed through parliament. If the Great Powers and Ludwig of Bavaria had taken more seriously Greek determination to be governed democratically and had adopted voluntarily the 1832 constitution, there would have been no need for popular action eleven years later to compel Otho to accept a constitution. Instead of exercising good judgement, the Powers ignored Greek sovereign rights and disregarded the popular will in unilaterally imposing an absolute monarchy.

There follows a close examination of the institutional structure and legal foundations of Bavarian absolutism in Greece. The monarch was the fundamental source of law and ruled arbitrarily in accordance with his own will and through alien institutions brought to Greece from Central Europe. Special attention is given to opposition efforts to modify the absolutist character of Otho’s rule by strengthening and making more independent such key institutions as the judiciary and the Ministerial Council. In the absence of representative channels for the expression of the people’s will, the press played a major role in dramatizing the popular demand for constitutional government, despite measures by the rulers to restrain the newspapers.

The influence upon this work of legal historian Nikolas Pantazopoulos, the author's
supervising professor, is unmistaken. Aside from stylistic similarities to the abstract and highly formal writing of his mentor, Nakos’s interpretation bears the mark of Pantazopoulos’s thesis that Greek custom law and local traditions of self-government which survived the Turkish domination could have served as the basis for viable national institutions had foreign intervention not imposed alien and centralizing forms of rule which deflected Greek legal development from its true course.

One is not fully persuaded by the evidence presented that there existed a “genuine Greek political ideology” or “a collective will of the nation” during the chaotic war of independence. Too little consideration is given to the social and regional diversity, the political disharmonies and the continual internal strife which characterized this period. Against such a background, reliance upon formal documents is especially apt to produce a truncated and unreal image of political and social realities. Constitutions and resolutions appeared one after the other during the revolution, promoted by various interests. It is hazardous to maintain that any of them corresponded to the true convictions of the Greek people. The historiography of the War of Independence has advanced sufficiently to reveal the national movement as extremely complex with cross currents which defy one-dimensional interpretations.

Dr. Nakos has methodically scrutinized the major legal and administrative documents and offers an interpretation which places Othonian absolutism within the larger perspective of Greek constitutional development.

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Ξανθοπούλου - Παλαμάς Χ., Διπλωματικό τρίπτυχο, Αθήνας 1978 [Xanthopoulos Palamas Ch., Diplomatic Triptych], Athens 1978, pp. 298.

The late ambassador Christian Xanthopoulos-Palamas belonged to the group of leading Greek diplomats and has carried out successfully very difficult assignments during his long career 1929-1973. His book deals with foreign policy in general, Greek foreign policy, impressions on some Greek statesmen and diplomats with whom the author had had the opportunity to collaborate, notes on Greek political developments, last but not least comments on Greek foreign policy and guidelines for its future. I knew rather well the author but of course did not often have the opportunity to discuss his ideas. In reading his book I understand some of his actions and have had the possibility to learn how the author tried and often succeeded to guide Greek foreign policy usefully for his country. I further learned about the barriers imposed on the foreign policy of a small country by its allies who, of course, consider exclusively their own interests. The author is very critical of the tendency of many of those who were in 1929-73 in charge of Greek foreign policy to abandon claims, to yield to foreign “allied” requests without securing concessions for their own country, to accept sacrifices which were not unavoidable. He mentions in this connections inter alia the granting of, let me say, colonial facilities to the United States’ Mediterranean fleet in the Athens area, without any United States concession, the carelessness of the Greek authorities to avoid smuggling of alcoholic drinks from the United States’ air base near Athens, to those selling same, in the city, the delay of the Greek Government in settling on an appropriate basis the relations with the Soviet Union and China, simply because this was agreeable to the United States, the latters’ indifference to the Turkish threats against Greece.

In dealing with foreign policy, in general, Chr. Xanthopoulos Palamas is very keen to stress the importance of its support by public opinion which of course is unable to do so