

Verdacht, daß die griechischen Kommunisten im Auftrag Moskaus die sowjetische Expansionspolitik unterstützen.

Es ist richtig, daß bis heute nicht nachgewiesen werden konnte, daß die Kommunistische Partei Jugoslawiens den griechischen Aufständischen umfangreiche Hilfe unter der Bedingung versprochen hätte, daß die KKE einwilligt, nach einer Machtübernahme die griechische Provinz Makedonien an Jugoslawien abzutreten. Aber allein durch den Umstand, daß die Demokratische Armee vom jugoslawischen Boden aus mit jugoslawischer Hilfe die Operationen startete, konnte die KKE leicht in den Verdacht geraten, einen nationalen Verrat verübt zu haben, wenn man die damalige Makedonienpolitik Titos berücksichtigt. Die seit 1924 von den breiten Schichten des griechischen Volkes als antinational empfundene Politik der KKE bezüglich Makedoniens mußte in den Jahren 1944-1949 (insbesondere nach dem Fünften Plenum des ZK der KKE im Januar 1949) verhängnisvoll für die Partei gewirkt haben<sup>3</sup>. Wenn man auch die bitteren Erfahrungen der Briten in der November-Dezember Krise 1944 in Betracht zieht, versteht man, warum sie und die griechischen Regierungen gegenüber den Versöhnungsvorschlägen der KKE sehr skeptisch waren. Zachariadis war nicht bereit, seine Friedensangebote an eine vorherige Entwaffnung der Aufständischen zu knüpfen, wie es die griechische Regierung verlangte. Insofern kann die Wahlenthaltung als ein schwerer Fehler bezeichnet werden, weil dadurch der politische Handlungsspielraum der KKE erheblich eingeengt und das Mißtrauen gegen die friedlichen Absichten des Generalsekretärs Zachariadis noch mehr verstärkt wurden.

Das griechische Drama 1944-1949 ist ein vielfältiges Problem und bedarf noch einer tiefgreifenden Analyse. Vlavianos hat zwar einen Beitrag dazu geleistet, nicht aber das letzte Wort gesprochen.

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SPYRIDON SFETAS

Harry J. Psomiades - Stavros B. Thomadakis (eds.), *Greece, the New Europe, and the Changing International Order*, New York 1993, 439 pp.

Pursuing a tradition started in 1976, Pella Publishing House of New York has presented volume IV of its *Modern Greek Research Series*, which

3. Vgl. Risto Kirjazovski (Hrsg.), *Dokumenti za odnosot na komunističkata partija na Grcija kon makedonskoto nacionalno prašanje 1918-1974*, Skopje 1982.

contains some of the presentations delivered at the Conference entitled "Greece, the New Europe and the Changing International Order", which was held by the Center for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies of Queens College, the City University of New York, from May, 20, to June, 1st, 1991.

Focusing on the three key-elements of the conference as indicated by its title (which also applies to the volume), i.e. Greece, the new Europe and the new world order, experts of Greek origin from Greece and abroad examine various aspects of contemporary Greece within the context of the European Union and in view of the revolutionary changes which are reshaping Eastern Europe and the growing sense of United States world domination. Although most contributions have not been updated with respect to subsequent developments up until the time of publication, they none the less offer a solid basis for any further analysis of issues affecting Greece, the European Union and the shifts in the international setting. The papers primarily deal with various economic phenomena (eight out of the seventeen chapters), foreign policy and defense, issues of national identity, administration and culture.

The admission of Greece into the (then) European Economic Community is singled out as the most significant development in post-war Greek history. A whole decade before the latest cosmogonic changes in the eastern half of Europe, the choice of connecting Greece's fate even more closely to that of the Western democracies has proved a major turning point in the course of the Modern Greek State, on that came at the most propitious moment. The significance of this choice is widely acknowledged within Greece today, as Europe undergoes a period of nationalist fervour marked by outbreaks of violence in parts of the former Eastern bloc.

The section of this volume dealing with the economy (Part II) at first provides the student of Greek affairs with useful information, tables and statistics on the various indexes of the Greek economy with particular reference to its integration into the European Union. The papers on the economy cover the entire range of Greece's interwoven economic relations with the European Union, Eastern Europe and the Balkans; added to that is an elaborate picture of economic developments between 1980 and 1990/91.

Following the signing of the Treaty of Maastricht in December 1991, whereby the ruling European élites intend to change the course of the European Union, the convergence of the economies of the member-states and even more so of those less well-to-do countries such as Greece, Ireland and Portugal has become a primary aim of the Union. This task has become all the more urgent following the changes in Eastern Europe and the pressing demands of more and more states to join the European Union.

If the point at issue is for the Greek economy to extricate itself from its stagnant growth rates and low productivity in order to embark upon a course of sustained growth, it may be interesting to follow the different approaches and strategies towards this vitally important end as suggested by the contributors. According to G. Alogoskoufis (chapter 7, pp. 163-178), it is vitally imperative for Greece's drachma to participate in the European Monetary System; such a move would entail a measure of monetary discipline which could in turn compel the country's public and private sectors to change attitudes in order to achieve some macro-economic balance by means of an inflation rate closer to the European average and, in the longer run, to improve the terms of trade between Greece and the Union (pp. 176-177). By way of contrast, L. Papademos (chapter 6, pp. 125-162) maintains that a country like Greece might better be advised not to join the EMS, since this could aggravate her debt accumulation process, and hence jeopardise the continuation of her monetary policy (p. 154); instead, a far-reaching taxation reform and a drastic reduction in the country's public debt are suggested.

As the first critical decade from Greece's admission to the European Union came to its close, a new framework for European and global relations began to take shape, rendering the entire structure of international relations rather vulnerable and unstable. Greece, still having to overcome the significant difficulties resulting from her entry into a common European economy, also had to turn her attention to her isolated —since World War II—Balkan neighbors. What is more, Balkan developments have become directly connected with the threat of the Yugoslav crisis spreading across the entire region. At this time, the Greek economy has acquired a vast hinterland which presents it with a unique opportunity to escape from its preexisting narrow limits and to evolve into a dynamic factor of Balkan developments. A necessary condition, however, as S. Valden points out, for Greece's economic *Ostpolitik* to go beyond border-level contacts and transactions is to abandon past practices and to go ahead with its "European" opening to the Balkans by means of multilateral regional co-operation while taking advantage of the prestige and prospects of the European Union itself (pp. 307-308).

In so sensitive a region as the Balkans, developments in external relations and security matters are bound to play an all important role. The point made by the only non-Greek author in this volume (chapter 17), R. Clogg, is quite indicative in this respect: throughout the post-war period, the foreign policy debate absolutely dominated the domestic political scene in Greece. During the 1950s and 1960s Greece was faced with the Cyprus question, in the 1970s Cyprus became part of the wider conflict with Turkey, during

PASOK's 1980s the stage was taken by Greece's entry into the EEC and the debate over benefits and losses arising thereof, while the early 1990s are marked by the Macedonian question (p. 422).

The section on foreign policy and security (Part III, pp. 379-435) deals with Greek-American relations, the US involvement in the perpetual Greek-Turkish antagonism, particularly after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974, Greece's political relations with the European Union and, finally, the prospects for Greece and her Balkan neighbors in the 1990s.

After the Second World War, US support constituted the cornerstone of Greece's defence doctrine as well as the basis of her economic reconstruction following the devastation of the occupation and civil war years. At the same time, the prominent US military presence in Greece and the various agreements signed by the two countries gave rise to certain assumptions which have considerably influenced the course of Greek-American relations over the last fifty years. The question of the bases and other US military facilities in Greece, their use, particularly after the collapse of the rival socialist bloc, the role of NATO today and its identification with the US set the framework for Greek-American relations. According to T. Couloumbis (chapter 14, pp. 379-390), it is essential for Greek-American relations no longer to be viewed in the context of the Cold War and their civil war background. Greece is a member of the European Union and, therefore, her relations with the US ought to be gauged by this new reality (pp. 389-390).

Following the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the, by now, traditional Greek-Turkish conflict, as V. Coufoudakis notes (chapter 15, pp. 391-404), has entered a new phase. The new conditions in the Balkans and the entire region as far as the Caucasus add a new dimension to the options of Turkish foreign policy, which exceeds the familiar context of high-pitched exchanges with Greece over the Aegean and Cyprus (pp. 402-403). Indeed, following the virtual freezing of Turkey's admission to the European Union, Turkey seeks to expand her influence in the Balkans and the former Soviet republics, having virtually secured the consent of the guarantor of the "New World Order" the USA.

Greece's political relations with the European Union and the need for Greece to enhance and modernize her political and administrative structures constitute the main theme of the current decade, as P. Ioakimides suggests (chapter 16, pp. 405-420). If, during the early years after her admission, Greece was predominantly preoccupied with the convergence of her economy with those of the other member-states, today it is imperative for Greece to promote by all means available her integration within the political structures of the

European Union to the fullest extent possible. Moreover, given the fact that Greece can claim a record of adaptation to the common institutional framework greater than any other member-state as well as the most committed "pro-European" public, it seems that the country is capable of remaining party to European developments (pp. 419-420).

The volume's last chapter, that is R. Clogg's paper on Greece and the Balkans (pp. 421-436), is of particular interest, mainly on account of the following reasons: (i) the author is not Greek and, for this reason, is well-poised to review in a dispassionate manner developments in this area; (ii) his record as an authority on contemporary Greece lends a special weight to his views; and, (iii) the distance between the time of the presentation and subsequent developments gives R. Clogg's text a certain amount of charm regarding the views of its, then, possibly unsuspecting author on things to come in the Balkans. Almost a month after the conclusion of the conference in New York, war broke out in Yugoslavia leading to the current, still unpredictable, deadlock and, a little later, the Macedonian question surfaced with all its "particular" aspects.

Those with a knowledge of the Balkan situation are well aware of the fact that the current nationalist and religious conflicts, which brutally ravage the formerly unified Yugoslavia, are nothing new but survived even after the end of the Second World War, only they were pushed to the edge of historical collective memory by the ensuing communist order, and then only superficially.

The extent of intra-Balkan difficulties is demonstrated by the realization that, whenever two Balkan states maintain or try to maintain a close relationship, then a third Balkan country automatically feels herself threatened by such a *rapprochement*, since her relations with at least one of the parties are usually troubled. Factors accounting for such friction may be a historical past of wars and uprisings, a minority question, a contested border, the exploitation of water resources *et al.* The triangle between Greece, Serbia and Albania provides a characteristic case in point: the traditional Greek-Serbian (or-Yugoslav) relationship poses a constant obstacle in the way of a Greek-Albanian *rapprochement* on account of the bitter dispute between Albania and Serbia (Yugoslavia) over Kosovo (p. 434).

It is worth-noting the final point which Clogg makes in his paper on Greece's post-war Balkan policy, which to a certain extent helps explain the confusion still prevalent in Greece regarding the maze of intra-Balkan relations. Balkan studies and, more specifically, the study of external relations in the Balkans had almost totally been neglected in Greece in the past (p. 435),

as the country, particularly after the restoration of democracy, made an effort to transcend her narrow and wretched neighborhood, then under communist rule, and to reaffirm her European identity through her admission to the European Communities. In spite of all post-1974 Greek initiatives for closer co-operation with the northern Balkan states, which owed a great deal to the personal appeal of Constantine Karamanlis, the Balkans remained an "exotic" place for Greece, being overshadowed by the vision of Europe. Moreover, it should not be disregarded that all those moves in the Balkans after 1974 were rather aimed at countering Turkey with a view to maintaining a balance in the region than stemmed from a Greek desire to approach and to really get to know the other Balkan peoples.

A chief characteristic of the post-war trend of Greek policy in the Balkans is the construction of very stable relations with Bulgaria, a country with which Greece hardly ever found herself on the same side in time of war. There are many factors which contributed to the development of friendly relations between Greece and Bulgaria: (i) both countries considered that no national minorities lived on their territory; (ii) both countries considered that Turkey constituted a permanent threat to their sovereign rights; (iii) Orthodoxy constitutes the predominant religious confession in both countries. Moreover, Bulgaria has today become a real hinterland of great investment opportunities for the Greek entrepreneurial spirit (p. 434).

Minority questions are also an essential characteristic of the Balkan political landscape. R. Clogg makes a special reference to these issues. With regard to Greece, he refers to the difficulties which were likely to arise from the, then only possible, secession of the "Republic of Macedonia" from the Yugoslav federation in connection with the issue of a Slav-Macedonian minority in Greece. According to Clogg, the Greek government ought not to go on denying the existence of such a minority, nor should it continue its practice to refer to the Turks in Western Thrace as "Muslims", since the latter in their vast majority feel Turks (p. 433). He further expresses the view that Greece should ignore any provocations on the part of either the "Macedonians" or the Turks and should not give in to their nationalistic activities. Greece may fear nothing, Clogg continues, since it is one of the most homogeneous countries in the world and, therefore, may become a model state in what regards the protection of minorities by permitting those living on her soil to organize themselves in any way they wish. In following such a policy, Greece has got nothing to lose and a lot to gain in terms of prestige (pp. 433-434).

Already from the 1980s the international community displayed a keen interest in the legal protection of minorities of all kinds within the framework

of international organizations. More specifically, the CSCE has provided a rather comprehensive framework for the protection of minority groups in Europe and beyond. One may safely predict that the coming century will be the century of minorities and of the protection of human rights. In this respect, however, the Balkans, which throughout the modern era have become synonymous to nationalism, bad faith and intolerance of all things foreign, could hardly serve as a model case for the application of international regulations on minorities; any illusion to the contrary would only help create erroneous assumptions, which do not correspond to the historic realities of the region.

What, for instance, could a European politician or analyst expect of Albania in the case of the Greek minority, which after fifty years of imposed insulation attempts to come to terms with contemporary developments and to organize itself on a national basis. What could be the attitude of the newly formed Republics of former Yugoslavia towards their minorities, when, for example, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has based its nation building process upon minority claims against neighboring countries, which it also took care to enshrine in its Constitution (Art. 49, para. 1). This reality is implied by R. Clogg (p. 433), who, however, suggests that Greece act wisely and not play into the hands of Skopje on the minority issue. What is then the general attitude of Turkey as the mother country towards the Turkish minorities in other Balkan countries, at a time when minorities inside that country experience an intolerable situation, to say the least (the analogy is also used by Clogg, who refers to the lamentable conditions facing the few remaining Greeks in Turkey, which are in no way comparable to those prevailing in Western Thrace; p. 433).

Apart from these examples of particular Greek interest, the same is true with regard to other minority groups in all Balkan countries, which at the same time act as the national focal point, the "mother-country" to their own kin abroad. One should also not overlook the important question of the Gypsies (Rom) throughout the Balkans, who lack a national center to protect them against the arbitrariness of their host countries. Besides, it is not an exclusively Balkan phenomenon for a state to follow an assertive policy and to try to protect its co-nationals abroad, while being full of distrust and on the defensive when it comes to minorities within its own boundaries.

The Balkans need time and peaceful conditions before they become able to overcome their past in order to respond to the demands and challenges of the new world order. Concepts which are common place and self-evident elsewhere, such as democracy, freedom of opinion, human rights, democratiza-

tion of the state, market economy or fiscal conscience, need time to take roots here. What is more, the Balkan countries, especially those which have experienced a controlled economy for decades, must overcome their economic problems without delay in order to enable themselves to look upon a brighter future. Greece has the advantage over the rest of the Balkans of having been a member of the European Union for thirteen years and a democratic state for an uninterrupted period of twenty years. It remains to be seen what will be the course of both Greece and her Balkan neighbors in the post-Cold War era.

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John Loughlin (ed.), *Southern European Studies Guide*, London-Munich 1993, 233 pp.

In 1993, the British publisher Bowker (London) and the German publisher Saur (Munich) published the second book in the *Area Studies Guides* series, entitled *Southern European Studies Guide*. The publication was edited by Professor John Loughlin of the Dutch Erasmus University in Rotterdam and the Centre for Mediterranean Studies at the University of Bristol.

The book is made up of eleven chapters containing presentations by university professors and scholars. It is a bibliographic guide to Southern Europe, which to some extent includes or is identified geographically with the Mediterranean region. The guide relates first and foremost to the southern member-states of the European Union (Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece) as well as the Mediterranean's two island democracies, Cyprus and Malta, both of which intend to become EU members in the near future. The bibliography on these specific countries principally includes the titles of books and articles (with brief comments on each work), and cites the main specialist magazines and Institutes on the matters dealt with by the specific bibliographic guide. These are shown in relation to the general picture of each country through the course of its history, the internal political situation, the system of government, the community and the economy. Additionally, depending on the country, there are further, more detailed, references to matters of culture (Spain Cyprus and Greece), the women's movement and the position of women (Greece), Law (Italy) and the Church (Malta). The publication's eleven chapters are supplemented by citations of bibliographic details