

of these subjects would have meant not only digressing seriously from the main purpose of the volume, but even if I had, the result would have still been very sketchy. Indeed, several tomes can easily be written on any one of these topics.

In short, in reviewing my book Chary has consistently ignored my objectives in writing it. He has moreover overlooked factual information which a more careful perusal on his part would clearly show to be included. Most important of all, in his criticisms of my supposed lack of objectivity, he himself appears to have forgotten to be objective.

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JOHN GEORGE OFF

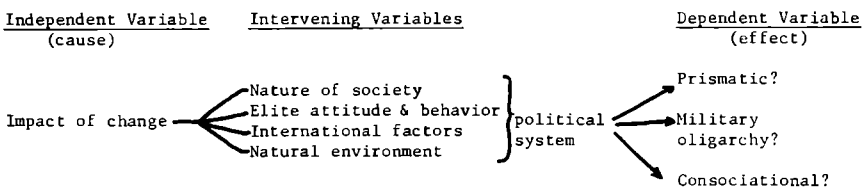
Keith R. Legg, *Politics in Modern Greece*. Stanford, California: Stanford University, Press 1969. Pp. 367.

To write about Greek politics implies immediately the untangling of the labyrinthine evolution of the Greek political culture, the recounting of national traumatic experiences, and above all the need for explaining the current political events and the fateful state of Greek affairs since 1967. Greek politics and the vagaries of strong political strife are a focal and important part of any discussion of the country. But the preoccupation with politics and the Greek political culture is another characteristic example of fascination with symptoms and not with underlying causes. This is particularly true when one is also faced with the difficulty of describing at the same time a modernizing nation and a society described as "transitional," "contrapuntal," "bimodal," "contradictory," or "prismatic." These terms reflecting the essential polarity of Greek life imply not only the capacity of persons to act in contradictory ways but also suggest a potential for extreme behavior, and the vacillation between extremes, such as the presence of unbridled democracy and of shades of strong totalitarianism.

The book of Legg makes it possible to see Greek politics not as a sui generis scientific task, but as part of a larger effort toward an understanding of forces shaping modern Greece. His work is a most welcome addition to the few careful works which attempt to provide a dispassionate picture of political developments, trace the historical roots of Greek political parties, and explicate the ideological background of Greek poli-

tics. In a skillful combination of primary and secondary data and with insightful theoretical propositions, he builds cogent explanations of political forces operating in the realm of limited resources. Limited resources, indeed, become the central theme and common thread tying the quest for modernization and the instability of political institutions. This theme and grand conclusion of the author that the basic limitation for true development is still the limited quantity of Greek resources, poses immediately a major definitional problem, since such a realistic approach ignores that there are other resources beyond plain "natural resources" that the author obviously has in mind. Given, however, limited resources, chronic insecurity has sustained attitudes of distrust prevalent throughout Greek society, and the competition for limited spoils has accentuated an early historical system of clientage that linked leaders and supporters through mutual bonds of obligation. Using extensively the historical background on the evolution of Greek parties provided by the outstanding volume of Petropoulos, *Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece, 1833-1843*, Legg provides a careful, although in parts lengthy, narrative of political development since 1821, with historical excursions into foreign interventions, and with detailed analysis of the political system between 1936 and 1969.

The author's model of analysis and methodological design can be summarized in the following simplistic diagram:



After a thorough review of the existing literature on political science (heavily influenced by the behavioral approach, and exhaustive and many times obtrusive typologies of political systems) the author leans towards the hypothesis that Greece vacillates between a "consociational" system of unstable equilibrium among various political sectors and the military subtype of a more general bureaucratic model. In either case,

elite behavior is a crucial variable for an understanding of the Greek political culture.

The last becomes a central and most original contribution of Legg to the study of Greek politics, namely the description and analysis of the process of politicization and the changing patterns of socialization and political recruitment. Data collected through a questionnaire completed by 55 deputies from the Parliament elected in 1964 and other secondary material reinforce the observation of an inability to accommodate the emerging social forces of modernization into an outdated political system based on patron-client relationships. The military intervention (discussed briefly, but perceptively in a chapter added after the original completion of the field research of the author) becomes, then, a natural consequence of the effort to impose the only emerging impersonal bureaucratic machine on what has been defined as a corrupt, non-working democracy. As a matter of fact, the military establishment and the left-wing political organization (EDA) are according to the author the two major components of the consociational system, the two extraparlimentary structures possessing the essential characteristics of "modernizing" forces, i.e., hierarchic authority, impersonal bureaucratic organization, and ideological coherence. This is a most interesting hypothesis, which could be further elaborated by a distinction between two different classes of military in Greece. The older military (primarily elitist and highly involved in politics, as well as deeply divided by the Venizelist-Royalist feuds) and the new officers' corps emerging after 1949 and composed mainly of rural origin persons, trained subsequently in the managerial techniques of various NATO schools in Western Europe and the United States.

The book contains quite a wealth of material, skillful synthesis of findings and theoretical insights and in the opinion of the reviewer is among the better works to appear on Greek and comparative politics. Needless to say, because of the complexity of the topic and the broad discussion of the fabric of modern Greek politics, the reader can argue about certain inferences and the interpretation of historical events. Some points that require serious challenge are such assertions as the impact of geographical determinism on Greek pessimism, the old theme of child swaddling and its impact on Greek personality, the notion of *philotimo*, the perennial mistrust towards out-groups, and a number of other underlying assumptions of a "mythology" of Greek social life based either on idealized conceptions of Greek culture or on inferences

from a fast vanishing rural world. At the same time, the reader may want to question the brief and obtruse interpretation of the impact of the civil war after World War II on the political behavior of the Greek people, as well as the influence of communism as a form of social movement in contemporary Greece. Similarly, there are occasionally some sudden sweeping conclusions in the form of short sentences like: "National identification was more a presumption of outside powers than an internal reality." Or, "One hundred years ago Greece was very like many Western countries, and her borrowed political institutions operated as their Western European prototypes did." And a rather startling social commentary: "Until the end of the last century, the Greek Kingdom could be viewed as an almost ideal state. Similar education, intermarriage, and a shared life in the Athenian social and political milieu had created a fairly homogeneous (though not cohesive) elite from the children of the early leaders." Two larger issues of the author need also qualification, i.e., his contention that the postwar Greek army was united and above politics and that no party continuity characterized the pre-1967 period.

It is gratifying, though, to read a book that has the theoretical scope, methodological incisiveness, and insight into Greek social life. There are two themes that the reviewer personally finds most appealing and enticing for further reflection and research. One is the role of scarcity and chronic insecurity on the development of Greek character and society. The other has to do with Legg's assessment of the long-term impact of the current military regime in Greece. Almost five years later, it is more than apparent that new political forces and ideologies are developing in the country. Who will carry out modernization? Who will respond more effectively to the challenge of an organizational society? And, finally, what are the implications for the right, center or left, and most important, for Greek society as a whole of the hiatus in "normal" political evolution? These are fascinating questions that social scientists in all fields should start anticipating and carefully collecting data on. Legg's work provides a stimulus and an example, especially for Greek social scientists, to move away from the superficial, descriptive and so often polemic diatribes, to systematic, consistent, and imaginative analysis and synthesis of trends and forces shaping modern Greece.