MODERN GREECE
A History since 1821

JOHN S. KOLIOPOULOS AND THANOS M. VEREMIS
MODERN GREECE
A NEW HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

This series provides stimulating, interpretive histories of particular nations of modern Europe. Assuming no prior knowledge, authors describe the development of a country through its emergence as a modern state up to the present day. They also introduce readers to the latest historical scholarship, encouraging critical engagement with comparative questions about the nature of nationhood in the modern era. Looking beyond the immediate political boundaries of a given country, authors examine the interplay between the local, national, and international, setting the story of each nation within the context of the wider world.

Published

Modern Greece: A History since 1821
John S. Koliopoulos & Thanos M. Veremis

Forthcoming

Modern France
Edward Berenson

Modern Spain
Pamela Radcliff

Modern Ukraine
Yaroslav Hrytsak & Mark Von Hagen

Modern Hungary
Mark Pittaway

Modern Poland
Brian Porter-Szucs

Czechoslovakia
Benjamin Frommer

Yugoslavia
Melissa Bokovoy & Sarah Kent
To the memory of Ergenia Hatzidaki
as a token of gratitude by the two authors
## CONTENTS

List of Figures and Map .................................................. viii
Acknowledgments .......................................................... x
Introduction ................................................................. 1
1 The Greek War of Independence (1821–30) ......................... 15
2 Statecraft and Irredentism (1831–62) .............................. 28
3 A New Dynasty and Lingering Problems (1862–97) ............... 44
4 Distribution of Land and the Consolidation of the Segmentary Society .......................................................... 57
5 The Twentieth Century: An Overture ................................ 64
6 The Venizelist Decade (1910–20) .................................. 68
7 The Asia Minor Debacle (1922–3) .................................. 89
8 The Turbulent Interwar Period (1923–41) ........................ 101
9 Occupation and Conflict (1941–9) .................................. 111
10 The Post-Civil-War Period (1949–67) ............................ 127
12 Opposite Poles in Politics. Karamanlis vs. Papandreou ....... 184
13 Southern and Southeastern Europe: The Greek View .......... 202
Notes ............................................................................. 216
Selected Bibliography ...................................................... 235
Index ............................................................................... 249
FIGURES AND MAP

Figures

0.1 Constantine Cavafy’s (1863–1933) poetry revives Greek history in his contemporary cosmopolitan setting. The etching is by artist Yannis Kephallinos (1884–1957)

6.1 Eleftherios Venizelos (1864–1936), reformer and statesman

8.1 On October 28, 1940, following an Italian ultimatum, Greece refused to concede to Fascist occupation. The victory of the Greek forces against Mussolini’s legions inspired the victims of Axis aggression in the darkest hour of Europe. Punch magazine celebrated Greek defiance with this cartoon

10.1 President Charles De Gaulle of France met with Greek Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis in Athens, on May 16, 1963. The visit was part of an effort to divert Greece’s exclusive relationship with the NATO powers

12.1 Andreas Papandreou: “To tell you the truth I prefer Swiss Socialism.” “But the Swiss don’t have Socialism!!” A.P. “So much the better.” The cartoon by Yannis Ioannou is part of his collection O trypios dromos (The Road Full of Holes), Athens, Kastaniotis, 1986, p. 30

12.2 The 2003 European Union summit in Athens. Greek Prime Minister, Costas Simitis, in the middle of the first row, brought Greece into the Economic and Monetary Union in 2002
Map

1. This map demarks the consecutive territorial enlargements of Greece, including the Greek mandate in Izmir (1919–22)
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This volume is the product of a joint effort to combine the experience of many years in the business of teaching modern Greek history to Greek and foreign university students. Vocational proximity and a lasting friendship that dates since our graduate studies made this task a pleasure.

Our gratitude should go to Basil Gounaris, Iakovos Michailidis, Soteroula Vassiliou and Mark Dragoumis for their sound advice and to Evi Pouloupolou and Maria Konstantaki for most of the typing.

J.S.K
T.M.V
May 2009

Text Acknowledgments


Map 1 This map demarks the consecutive territorial enlargements of Greece, including the Greek mandate in Izmir (1919–22)
INTRODUCTION

Nation-states are still considered the primary actors of international politics. Their origins vary widely. Some were born out of revolutions, others out of major wars and the collapse of empires, the more fortunate being the products of colonial fatigue. What do we know of the heritage, the birth pangs, and the social history of most nation-states?

Nation-states can be divided into those with fairly recent cultural idiosyncrasies and those that look for their origins in the distant past. Some are homogeneous in cultural terms, as are Greece and Portugal, others are multiethnic entities such as the USA or the former USSR. Even the latter however share a common political credo, be it Lockean Liberalism or Marxism-Leninism. Some were blessed with a peaceful social history, others suffered violent divisions, especially in the twentieth century.

Greece’s state-building began with a war of independence in 1821 and continued along the lines of its Western prototypes – the twentieth-century French administration, the German legal system, and British parliamentary practices. Greek society suffered two violent divisions during the twentieth century that left deep marks on its cohesion. More importantly the social nexus is permeated by extreme familism that defies the formation of an accomplished civil society.

In writing this work we thought it should contain the perspective we have gained from years of research into Greek sources of political and social history, rather than the views of George Finlay and William Miller, both British scholars who wrote important works on their favorite subject. Their conclusions on modern Greece recur in most of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century histories in English.

There are certain recurring themes in modern Greek history that the reader will find dispersed in our text: state-building, nationalism,