

<https://doi.org/10.4467/2543733XSSB.24.017.20041>

NIKOS PAPADAKIS  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3640-1768>

Centre for Political Research & Documentation (KEPET/ UCRC),

Department of Political Science, University of Crete

STYLIANOS IOANNIS TZAGKARAKIS  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9393-8991>

School of Social Sciences, Hellenic Open University

The “April” Dictatorship’s Policy in Universities and Students’ Activism and Resistance against the Dictatorship, in Greece

Abstract

This paper analyzes the main components, ideological features and practices that constitute the (overall) educational and specifically, the higher education policy of the “April” Dictatorship in Greece (1967–1974).

The analysis of the relevant research material shows that this policy was characterized by:

- the intention to redefine the relations of the Universities with the (“occupied”) State,
- the coordinated effort to insert specific ideological authoritarian interpretations in the discourses and policies for higher education and consequently, in the reform efforts of the Dictatorship,
- the institutionalization of a new economy of power based on control technologies which favored the formation of (ideologically over-determined) discipline and extended state intervention into every aspect of the Higher Education Institutions,
- the construction of a surveillance, punishment, control and discipline framework, strictly demarcated and authoritarian.

Simultaneously, the above-mentioned policy aimed a) at the extensive criminalization of behavior, as well as of the “non-nationalistic” and ideologically “un-orthodox” thinking in universities and in other Educational Institutions, b) at the reduction of any degree of teaching staff and students autonomy, and c) at the promotion of some alleged- ostensible, seemingly “liberal”, measures and proposals. The ultimate objective was both these specific measures and the overall (authoritarian) higher education policy to become feasible (legitimizing-permissible strategy) and subsequently implemented.

In addition, students’ (persistent, influential and multi-level) resistance (at the level of both discourse and political action) to the higher education “reforms” attempted by the April Dictatorship, as well as against the Dictatorship per se and subsequently against the state and constitutional infringement, will be also analytically examined and contextualized.



Keywords: higher education policy, universities' regulatory framework, dictatorship (Greek "Junta"), authoritarian regime, nationalistic ideology and policy agenda, censorship, suppression and violence, disciplinary, control & punishment practices, students' activism, resistance and uprising, academic freedom

Introduction

The period of the Greek military junta, also known as the Regime of the Colonels (Georgios Papadopoulos was the leader and later Dimitris Ioannidis with the collaboration of Stylianos Pattakos, Dimitrios Ioannidis, and Phaedon Gizikis), was a turbulent and significant period in the modern Greek history Greece, lasting from 1967 to 1974¹. The coup d'état that brought the military regime to power was orchestrated by a group of the junior officers who were concerned about the perceived governmental instability and communist influence². They were driven by a desire to suppress left-wing and liberal influences while promoting a more nationalistic and traditional vision of Greek identity³. The immediate causes of the 1967 Greek coup can be traced to the political turmoil that had been brewing in the country for several years.

The junta's efforts to reshape Greek education were a central part of its nationalistic agenda. The regime sought to militarize physical education and sport, placing them under the control of the armed forces to instill military discipline and patriotic values in the youth. School textbooks were also heavily revised to redefine what it meant to be Greek, emphasizing "traditional" Hellenic and Christian values over more progressive or internationalist perspectives⁴. This highly centralized approach to education policy was enabled by the junta's authoritarian structure, which had significant control over the formulation and implementation of educational policies.

Methods

To analyze the main influence and interventions of the Greek military junta (1967–1974) on higher education, historical political analysis is used. Historical events, contexts, and narratives are examined systematically to understand the influence of the political actors. Primary and secondary sources were gathered, especially laws which describe the main undemocratic interventions in higher education as well as the hidden and visible ideological parameters which influenced the implemented policies.

¹ J. Sakkas, *The Greek dictatorship, the USA and the Arabs, 1967–1974*, "Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans" 2004, vol. 6(3), pp. 245–257.

² S.G. Xydis, *Coups and Countercoups in Greece, 1967–1973 (with postscript)*, "Political Science Quarterly" 1974, vol. 89 (3), pp. 507–538.

³ N. Mouzelis, *On the Rise of Postwar Military Dictatorships: Argentina, Chile, Greece*, "Comparative Studies in Society and History" 1986, vol. 28(1), pp. 55–80.

⁴ T.G. Zervas, *Greek school textbooks at a political crossroads*, "American Educational History Journal" 2016, vol. 43(2), pp. 117–127.

Historical political analysis has been selected as it offers the opportunity to understand how past events and decisions have led to the present and have changed⁵, provides a deeper understanding of contemporary political issues through their historical analysis⁶, uncovers hidden influences⁷, while providing a comprehensive perspective on political phenomena⁸ and enhancing theoretical development⁹.

1967–1974: The “April” Dictatorship in Greece. An Overview

The “Dictatorship of the Colonels” (Junta) in Greece (1967–1974) has been and remains the subject of numerous studies and analyses. In this paper, an extremely concise presentation of the situation at the political, social, educational, ideological and economic levels, during the period of the dictatorship will be conducted. This is a reference to those aspects that allow us to understand the educational policy of the dictatorship for the higher education level, and specifically its choices regarding issues of surveillance, punishment, control, discipline and supervision in universities.

On April 21, 1967, the democratic regime was overthrown, and the dictatorship of the colonels was established, under the leadership of Georgios Papadopoulos, with the active collaboration of Stylianos Pattakos, Dimitrios Ioannidis, and Phaedon Gizikis. The invocation of the “internal danger”, combined with the pre-existing anti-communist ideology and rhetoric, would become the dominant discourse of the dictatorship, along with the ideology of “nationalism”. In the name of ensuring public order and protecting “national ideals” (as they are formed within the semantic framework of “homeland-religion-family”), the colonels and their associates established a powerful network of surveillance and repressive mechanisms. Political persecution, censorship of the press, abolition of the “freedom of assembly”, extensive policing of public life, ideological control of education, torture and punitive practices (such as banishment, imprisonment, exile, etc.) were implemented¹⁰.

These practices were reinforced by corresponding legislative measures and governance arrangements. Such laws often reflect the intention to strengthen auditing mechanisms,

⁵ P. Pierson, *Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

⁶ T. Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*, Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1992.

⁷ J. Mahoney, K. Thelen, *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

⁸ P.A. Hall, *Politics as a process structured in space and time*, in: *The Oxford handbook of historical institutionalism*, O. Fioretos, T.G. Falleti, A. Sheingate (eds.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 31–50.

⁹ R.C. Lieberman, *Shaping Race Policy: The United States in Comparative Perspective*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

¹⁰ See T. Vournas, *Ιστορία της σύγχρονης Ελλάδας* [Istoria tis sygchronis Elladas; History of Modern Greece], Athens: Afoi Tolidi, 1977, p. 10–15, N. Svoronos, *Επισκόπηση της Νεοελληνικής Ιστορίας* [Episkopisi tis Neoellinikis Istorias; Overview of the Modern Greek History], Athens: Themelio, 1994, p. 153; G. Papandreou, *Αντι-δικτατορικό μαγνητοφωνημένο μήνυμα της 21^{ης} Απριλίου 1968* [Anti-didaktatoriko magnitofonimeno minima tis 21 Apriliou 1968; Anti-dictatorial Recorded Message of April 21, 1968], in: *George Papandreou. Political Discourse*, G. Anastasiadis, P. Petridis (eds.), Athens: University Studio Press, 1995, pp. 557–559; Hellenic Political Science Association, *Η Δικτατορία. 1967–1974* [H Diktatoria. 1967–1974; The Dictatorship. 1967–1974], Athens: Kastaniotis, 1999.

impose ideological uniformity, enforce repression, discipline, and enhance the presence of the (occupied) state in society¹¹. Some others had a more “moderate” character, aiming at legitimizing the regime. Most importantly, the “Constitution” of 1968 was initially put to a (clearly fraudulent) “referendum”¹² and then published in the Government Gazette. The “virtual”¹³ constitution of 1968/73¹⁴, of the Junta, constituted a project of “replacing” lawlessness and constitutional deviation with a (even if seemingly) “renewed” and clearly re-established “legality”. It was dictated by a series of developments, including the movement of the navy, the freeze of the Greece-EC association, and the overt opposition of Papadopoulos and Grivas over the Cyprus issue¹⁵. Essentially, the “Constitution” of 1968/1973 was integrated into a series of legalization practices, which included the final collapse of the monarchy, the lifting of martial law, and the granting of asylum to political prisoners, and it constituted a native (as it turned out) “experiment of liberalization”¹⁶. Regarding education, it made clear the intentions of the ruling authorities. Article 17(2), following a trend of Law No. 129/67¹⁷, stipulates that “the determination of the general lines of national education is implemented, as the law provides, after the opinion of the National Council of Education”. This followed a broader trend of paternalism and panopticon approach (in Foucault’s terms¹⁸) while facilitating the transfer of these trends into educational measures¹⁹. The Constitution’s clarification that “education aims at [...] the development of the national consciousness of young people based on the values of Greek and Christian culture”, sought to contribute to the embedding of the major propositions of

¹¹ See also G. Papadimitriou, *Η ατελέσφορη προσπάθεια για τη συνταγματική οργάνωση του δικτατορικού καθεστώτος* [H atelesfori prospatheia gia ti syntagmatiki organosi tou diktarikou kathestotos; The unsuccessful attempt for the constitutional organization of the Dictatorship Regime], in: Hellenic Political Science Association, *The Dictatorship, 1967–1974*, Athens: Kastaniotis, 1999, pp. 53–60.

¹² See in detail: R. Glogg, *Συνοπτική ιστορία της Ελλάδας. 1770–1990* [Synoptiki Istoría tis Elládas. 1770–1990; A Concise History of Greece. 1770–1990], Athens: Istoritit, 1995. pp. 176.

¹³ According to N. Kaltsoyia-Tournaviti, *Προβληματική της σύγχρονης ελληνικής συνταγματικής ιστορίας, 1935–1975* [Provlmatiki tis syxronis ellinikis syntagmatikis istorias, 1935–1975; The Problematics of Modern Greek Constitutional History, 1935–1975], Athens, 1981, p. 215.

¹⁴ Σύνταγμα 1968/73, στο Π. Δ. 370/ 1973- ΦΕΚ 266/ 4-10-1973 [Syntagma 1968/73, sto P.D. 370/1973, FEK 266/4-10-1973; Constitution 1968/73, in Decree 370/1973-Government Gazette 266/ 4-10-1973].

¹⁵ See also Hellenic Political Science Association, *Η Δικτατορία. 1967–1974*, p. 247. During the Greek Military Junta (1967–1974), a significant and overt opposition developed between the leader of the junta, Colonel Georgios Papadopoulos, and General Georgios Grivas over the Cyprus issue. This opposition was rooted in their differing visions and strategies for Cyprus, which was embroiled in intercommunal tensions and the broader geopolitical conflict between Greece, Turkey, and the Cypriot communities. While Papadopoulos had a more cautious approach of the Cyprus issue, Grivas stance was aggressive, by supporting direct intervention to achieve the “Enosis”, that is Cyprus to be part of Greece (C. Hitchens, *Hostage to history: Cyprus from the Ottomans to Kissinger*, London: Verso, 1997).

¹⁶ See G. Papadimitriou, *Η ατελέσφορη προσπάθεια...*, p. 53–60.

¹⁷ The law 129/67 abolished the law 4379/64 (i.e., the emblematic legislative act of the 1964 democratic educational reform), reintroduced Katharevousa (the puristic Modern Greek literary language) as the language of instruction at all levels of education, and established Inspection Councils to enhance the supervision of education.

¹⁸ See in detail M. Foucault, *Εξουσία, Γνώση και Ηθική* [Exoysia, Gnosi kai Hthiki; Power, Knowledge and Morality], Athens: Ypsilon, 1987 (transl. Z. Sarikas) and M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, New York: Vintage Books, 1977.

¹⁹ An indicative example of this concrete transcript is the Order of May 13, 1967, “Our decision regarding the suspension of the teaching of Democratic Ideology also applies to the course of Civic Education”. In short, the course of Civic Education was abolished.

the Junta in the entire structural-functional framework of education. National identity was prioritized, being infused with moral values and predicates. Clearly, Greek-Christian civilization is both a perspective and a premise in the legislation and politics of the Junta for education and society at large. It attempted to be projected as the proper imagined community, thus creating exclusions (non-nationalistic thinkers do not belong to it)²⁰.

On June 1, 1973, Papadopoulos declared the overthrow of the king and the establishment of a so called “Presidential Democracy”²¹. The attempted symbolic transformation of the homo militaris into the homo civilis was not successful, or at least it had not the success desired by its creator (staying in power). The student uprising in November 1973, which shaped but also maximized the popular reaction-resistance, the bloody suppression of it, the internal crisis of the autocratic regime that led to the replacement of Papadopoulos by Ioannidis (eventually), as well as the Turkish invasion of Cyprus (July 1974), eventually led to the fall of the Junta and the establishment of the Third Hellenic Republic.

The Higher Education Policy of the April Dictatorship: “Hanging the Axe” of Discipline²²

Based on decisions of the “President” and “Vice President” of the “Government”, (namely the Dictatorship’s Leaders) and the Minister of Education, Professors and Assistant Professors, whose conduct is considered “incompatible with their status as public officials and professors or assistant professors” or “whose actions and occupations outside their assigned school duties were evidence of lack of dedication to the science and position they held”, are placed on leave²³. Accordingly, the Minister of Education decided to dismiss any professor or lecturer who “was infected with communist or anti-national ideas or who

²⁰ For the structure and symbolic dynamics of imagined communities, see B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1983, pp. 197–213.

²¹ See also Th. Veremis, *Ο στρατός στην πολιτική μετά τον πόλεμο* [O stratos stin politiki meta ton polemo; The Army in Politics after the War], in: *Les Tempes Modernes, Greece in Evolution*, Athens: Exantas, 1986, p. 143.

²² The origin of the title is from the speech of the leader of the Junta of the Colonels, President of the (dictatorial) Government and Vice-King, George Papadopoulos. In the same speech (enlightening of intentions and actions), Papadopoulos warned: “I will hang an axe over the head of everyone [...]. Because I am not willing to tolerate anyone being shot from behind, each one who does not sit well, even if it costs me dearly as a state, I will place them under restraint. And I will keep them under restraint [...]. I will not let them become beasts under communist orders. Because if they become beasts and are released from the cage, I will have to shoot them like the police shoot the lion that escapes from the zoo cage and threatens the lives of citizens. So, in order to shoot them and spill blood on the asphalt, I will not let them go, even if the advanced humanism of some is offended [...]” (quoted in: A. Manesis, *Ο εύκολος βιασμός της νομιμότητας και η δύσκολη νομιμοποίηση της βίας* [O eykolos viasmos tin nomimotitas kai h dyskoli nomimopoihsi tis vias; The easy rape of legality and the difficult legalization of violence], in: Hellenic Political Science Association, *The Dictatorship, 1967–1974*, Athens: Kastaniotis, 1999, p. 37.

²³ E/1967 const. act, as quoted selectively in: K. Papapanos, *Χρονικό-ιστορία της Ανώτατης μας εκπαίδευσης* [Chroniko-Istoria tis Anotatis mas Ekpaideyseos; Chronological-Historical Account of Our Higher Education], Athens: American College for Women in Athens, Pierce College, 1970, p. 377. See also K. Krimbas, *Ιδεολογικές Επιδράσεις στην Ανώτατη Παιδεία* [Ideologikes Epidraseis stin Anotati Paideia; Ideological Effects on Higher Education], “Anti” 1979, B, vol. 11 (24–26), pp. 138–139.

propagandized in favor of them, or in any way...²⁴. The control over the activities of university officials and the actions that may be perceived as deviant or non-compliant with the function of the university academic staff's behavior was wide-reaching and varied. Just as numerous and varied were the disciplinary practices of the Junta that concerned students. The establishment of the Student Department of the Third Security Division is a characteristic example of an "outside the law" method of repression²⁵.

The framework of disciplinary mechanisms expanded, along with the new possibilities that control technologies brought, within the conditions created by the new order that followed the violent seizure of power by the colonels and their collaborators²⁶. The obsession with detail, the clarity with which "offenses" are described, and the breadth of the body of actions or potential violators referred to, suggest an ideal combination of two of the most fundamental rules of disciplinary systems: the rule of absolute certainty and the rule of oblique effects. The former proposed that "laws that define crimes and establish penalties must be absolutely clear, so that every member of society is able to distinguish between criminal and virtuous acts", while the latter clarifies that "punishment must primarily affect those who have not committed offenses"²⁷. Meanwhile, once again, the national ideology as well as the anti-communist discourse were used to punish academic staff with non-academic criteria, inaugurating a new regime of ideological surveillance²⁸. Ideological compromise was the only option for everyone who wishes to continue to exercise their teaching-research work in their natural field. However, even this did not seem to secure their tenure and prevent the possibility of their criminal prosecution. The corresponding legislative acts which followed in the same year (I and IE/67, which reduces the age limit to 65, activating a more painless way of departure for unwanted individuals²⁹), forced several members of the academic staff out of universities (dismissal, availability, or mandatory departure).

In the legislation of the Regime, disciplinary power holds a significant position. "Morality is linked to the ideological in terms of remarkable circularity"³⁰. Control, surveillance, punishment, supervision, and redefinition of what ultimately constitutes injustice in universities were all central to the institutional framework promoted by the Junta. The art of power takes on new dimensions, that concern all "residents" in the field of Higher Education. Law 553/1968,

²⁴ T/1967 const. act. The same Constitutional Act requires the submission of declarations of legitimacy by the teaching staff in the Universities, as quoted in: K. Papapanos, *Χρονικό-ιστορία της Ανότατης...*, p. 377. See also K. Krimbas, *Ιδεολογικές Επιδράσεις...*, pp. 138–139.

²⁵ See M. Papazoglou, *Φοιτητικό Κίνημα και Δικτατορία* [Foititikon Kinima kai Diktatoria; Student Movement and Dictatorship], Athens: Epikairota, 1975, p. 13; and Chr. Lazos, *Ελληνικό Φοιτητικό Κίνημα 1821–1973. Κοινωνικοί & Πολιτικοί αγώνες*, [Elliniko Foititiko Kinima 1821–1973. Koinonikoi kai Politikoi Agones; Greek Student Movement 1821–1973. Social and Political Struggles], Athens: Gnosis, 1987, p. 354.

²⁶ Generally, on the functions of the State of Emergency and the components of its invocation, see also N. Poulantzas, *Φασισμός και Δικτατορία* [Fasismos kai Diktatoria; Fascism and Dictatorship], Athens: Olkos, 1970, p. 425.

²⁷ See M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, New York: Vintage Books, 1977, pp. 125–126.

²⁸ See N. Papadakis, *Η παλίμψηστη εξουσία: Κράτος, Πανεπιστήμιο και εκπαιδευτική πολιτική στην Ελλάδα* [H palimpsisti exousia: Kratos, Paneistimio kai Ekpaieytiki Politiki stin Ellada; The Palimpsestion Power: State, University and Educational Policy in Greece], Athens: Gutenberg, 2004, p. 347.

²⁹ See K. Papapanos, *Χρονικό-ιστορία της Ανότατης...*, p. 378.

³⁰ N. Papadakis, *Η παλίμψηστη εξουσία...*, p. 345.

On the auxiliary teaching staff of higher education institutions, clarifies that “candidates [for the occupation of positions as auxiliary teaching staff] must possess unimpeachable moral qualifications and general suitability for the position they occupy, as well as the qualifications required by public servants. For this purpose, they must submit a written declaration, signed by them, containing information about every aspect of their life that may influence the judgment about their suitability (A. 6, par. 1c).

At the same time, Law 670/70 created a new context in the administration of universities as well as in their relations with the “occupied” state, as it provided for the appointment of Rectoral Authorities. The exercise of central control and supervision of universities by those in power became increasingly blatant, demonstrating the anxiety of the constitutional authorities a) for complete, if possible, control of the field, but also b) for the insertion of the corresponding institutional-legal coverage and weight in it.

Universities have always been a field of power diffusion. However, their “massification”, which took place during the dictatorship period, modified and clarified the power coordinates. What then happened within the universities concerned 70,000 more students than in the pre-dictatorship period³¹.

Things took their real (or rather final) dimensions in 1973. The “constitution” of 1968/73, by the Junta, activated a series of developments in universities. Although it mentions “self-government”³², it definitively legitimized the restoration of a “forgotten” institution, giving it new dimensions³³. This refers to the institution of the Government Commissioner (Art. 17 par. 4), launched by the Law Decree 93/1969 “On the Government Commissioner”. This development was complemented and supplemented by the draft Legislative Decree “On Higher Education Institutions” of 1973³⁴, which attempted to

³¹ See L. Anderson, *Προσωπικότητα και στάσεις των φοιτητών των ελληνικών ΑΕΙ* [Prosopikotita kai staseis ton foiton tvn ellinkon AEI; Personality and Attitudes of Greek University Students], Athens: n.p., 1980, p. 32.

³² See also N. Kaltsosia, *Η έννοια της αυτοδιοίκησης των πανεπιστημίων και τα όρια της κρατικής παρέμβασης* [H ennoia tis aytdioikisis ton panepistimion kai ta oria tis kratikis parembasis; The Concept of University Autonomy and the Limits of State Intervention], in: Sakis Karagiorgas Foundation, *The University in Greece Today. Economic, Social and Political Dimensions*, Proceedings of the 1st Conference at Panteion University, November 28–December 1, 1990, Athens, Sakis Karagiorgas Foundation, 1990, p. 62.

³³ Amidst other suffocating provisions for Education but also the formation of an institutional framework for restricting individual freedoms. See more detailed analysis in N. Alivizatos, *Οι πολιτικοί θεσμοί σε κρίση (1922–1974). Οψεις της ελληνικής εμπειρίας*, [Οι politikoι thesmoi se krisi (1922–1974). Opseis tis ellinikis empeirias; Political Institutions in Crisis (1922–1974). Aspects of the Greek Experience], Athens: Themelio, 1983, p. 602.

³⁴ Προσχέδιον Νομοθετικού Διατάγματος για την Ανώτατη Εκπαίδευση, όπως δημοσιεύεται στα *Νέα*, φ. 17–23⁹⁶ Ιανουαρίου του 1973 [Prosxedion Nomothetikou Diatagmatos gia thn Anotati Ekpaideyis, opos dimosiyetai sta *Nea*, f. 17/23-01-1973; Draft Legislative Decree “On Higher Education Institutions” of 1973, as published in *Ta Nea*, no. 17/23-01-1973].

This is actually a “Constitutional Charter” of Higher Education Institutions, drafted by a committee formed specifically for this purpose, chaired by academician I. Xanthakis, and with the participation of professors from the universities of Athens, Thessaloniki, and Patras, as well as the eloquent interpretation (taking into account the ideals of the Greek Christian culture that permeated the dictatorial discourse and action) of the General Director of the Church of Greece. Accordingly, “not only does the educational knowledge but also a significant part of the Greek social reality consider Orthodoxy to be a distinct characteristic of ‘Hellenism’. In the Greek political and social context, the term ‘Hellenic-Christian culture’ was used to emphasize the Greek identity...” (E. Zambeta, *Religion and national identity in Greek education*, “Intercultural Education” 2000, vol. 11 (2), p. 148).

supplement and summarize the previous legislation on higher education, especially regarding the administrative and disciplinary part.

This compulsory law was full of disciplinary and regulatory provisions. From its first paragraphs, the draft legislation proposed the establishment of a central consultative body with the aim of “determining the government’s policy in the field of higher education”. This was the seven-member Council of Higher Education, consisting of three academic equal Professors, three Rectors and one Dean of a School (Art. 2). Government Commissioners (one per Higher Education Institution) represented and supervised the government’s policy in universities. The position of Government Commissioner could be held by “a serving regular university professor or another higher education institution, an active or retired senior public official or **military officer**, a senior judicial officer, or a recognized scientist of high standing” (Art. 36, par. 1). The term of the Government Commissioner was five years. His responsibilities varied: he monitored the application of laws in the Higher Education Institution he supervised and informed the Ministry of Education about the operation of the Higher Education Institution and contributed to the settlement of pending issues of the Higher Education Institution in the Ministry and other State Authorities. Finally, a very interesting but (probably deliberately) vague responsibility of the Commissioner was that “the Minister of Education may transfer his authority, facilitating the overall operation of the relevant Institution” (Art. 35d). To effectively perform his duties, the Government Commissioner was provided with the ability to attend (without voting rights) all meetings of the Senate, the General Assemblies of the professors of the institution he supervises, the meetings of the schools, committees and councils or associations of the professors. *Expressis verbis*, everywhere. In these meetings, sessions, etc., he submitted proposals “on each of the above issues under discussion”, while he can initiate “at the command of the competent Minister”, the discussion of any matter by the competent bodies (Art. 35 b & c). Finally, to be able to exercise his responsibilities effectively, he had access to any information he deems necessary (Art. 35 d).

The numerous and diverse responsibilities, as well as the right to participate (even without voting rights) in every collective legislative, administrative and executive body (even in the general assembly of professors), made the Government Commissioner an absolute supervisor of the internal functioning of the University. Thus, the introduction of this institution violated the autonomy of the university, delivering every form of collectivity to direct control and supervision by the (formerly political and in this case military) authority. It is obvious that “this authority is not content with top-down control, but by providing these rights to the Commissioner, it expands to internal supervision. We would not be exaggerating if, especially for the Government Commissioner, we used the term ‘eye of power’ of Foucault”³⁵.

Unquestionably, the articles referred to the Council of Higher Education and the Government Commissioner are not the only ones worth-mentioning. Articles 2 and 43 provided for the possibility of a student representative to participate in the meetings of the senate and the school, respectively, however, without the right to vote. The right was limited to cases where student issues were being discussed. These restrictions made this “grant” resemble more of a facade of recognition of students’ right to participate in decision-mak-

³⁵ N. Papadakis, *Η παλιμνήση εξουσία...*, p. 351 and M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish...*

ing processes. Moreover, if (as it should be) the fact is considered that, according to Law 93/1969³⁶, the administrative councils of student unions were not elected but appointed (by the regime), then the aforementioned facade of "democracy" decisively closed to become another method of control and legitimization.

The provisions regarding the procedure for the election of professors are particularly interesting, especially those related to the aftermath of the election. The minutes of the election and the explanatory report are submitted to the minister. He retains the right to refuse to appoint the elected professor if he considers that "certain information provided by the competent state services indisputably shows that the elected candidate does not meet the requirements of Article 123 of the Constitution" (Art. 66 par. 3). In case of disagreement by the minister, a committee of specialists (in the field) of professors of the "relevant department, or even of similar professors of all Higher Education Institutions" takes over the election process. The multiplication of possibilities for political (more precisely military, given the Junta of the Colonels' Constitution) intervention in the formally internal matter of Professors' election is obvious. It is linked to "the panoptic logic and paternalistic practice that dominates, as we have already seen, the basic choices of the architects of the 'Aprilian' educational policy in the Universities"³⁷.

If the trend of strengthening state paternalism, tempered with the disposition of supervision and control, significantly defines the legislation for the higher academic staff, for the rest of the teaching staff, things are clearly less favorable. As a sign of specific intentions and actions, the paragraph referring to unpaid assistants states: "The School may, by decision, establish further obligations for unpaid assistants, appoint them to teach or to conduct exams in the relevant subject independently or in collaboration with the professor of the respective department, without, however, granting them the status of commissioned assistants" (Art. 79, par. 2). Discipline (here in the sense of "academic" conformity), structured in a strict (and non-disputable) hierarchy, is disseminated to the lower ranks of the system with increasing intensity. The centrifugal intensity of the results (in Foucauldian terms), as well as the anticipation of immediacy of the result (which is only ensured through punishment in disciplinary systems), alienate, both as a target and as a rationale, of the Higher Education Policy of the dictatorial government. This is reinforced by provisions, such as the one regarding the punishment of Professors and Assistant Professors who "exhibit behavior inconsistent with their status". In addition to the reference to classic (and previous university legislation) cases of behavior that demonstrate academic customs, the legislator introduces another case of misconduct: "inciting students to disobedience towards university and state authorities, etc." (Art. 118, par. 6).

At the University, consciences were pricked and identities are (re)constructed. It was expected that the professor would mediate between the process of disseminating knowledge and the processes of social structures and institutions. The lack of discipline in major issues, as expressed by academic and especially government authorities, and especially the encouragement to show disobedience (by those who are expected to enforce it) opened the way for small, yet potentially dangerous, demolitions for the regime. This was not at

³⁶ Law 93/1969: *Περί Κυβερνητικού Επιτρόπου* [Peri Kyvernitikou Epitropou; On the Government Commissioner] (Government Gazette 77/1969).

³⁷ N. Papadakis, *Η παλιμνηση εξουσία...*, p. 352.

all pleasing to the dictatorial legislation that rushed to discourage the enthusiasts of such a prospect, while also reminding those who may be “willing” to disobey, university professors, that their earlier life is not exempt from the legislator’s attention: “Offenses committed prior to appointment to a university are punished disciplinary if they justify the final dismissal, except if they have been adjudicated during previous service” (Art. 125). The legislator’s reference to retroactive punishment of professors for offenses committed prior to their appointment to the university is a transposition of Article 332 of Law 5343/32³⁸. And it can only be interpreted in one way. Just as then, now the “purpose of the legislator is to demonstrate that no (ideologically) delinquent act can remain unpunished”³⁹.

Compliance and discipline, as expected to emerge from mechanisms and surveillance technologies (and where necessary) punishment, constituted key determinants of the dictatorial legislation for universities concerning student unionism and representation. Thus, the Draft Law played a role of summary, synthesis, and (mainly) complements recent relevant legislative production. If the legislator in Law 93/1969⁴⁰, provided for the appointment of the administrative boards of student groups, directly attacking any form of their autonomy and aiming (apparently) at monitoring and manipulating their trade union work, in Article 114 clarifies even more the intentions of those governing and legislating:

Students intending to call together students from one or more Schools or a group of students must request the permission of the Student Care Council, from the Rector or Dean of the University, stating the place, day, time and purpose of the assembly. Those who omit this, as well as those who, despite the denial of the President or the Dean, proceed with the invitation, are disciplined. Within twenty-four hours of the assembly’s formation, those who invited it must notify the President or the Dean in writing of the decisions taken, otherwise they will be punished (Art. 96).

Obviously, the residents of the field either accepted the supervision regime of their collective activities and learned to operate within its limits, or they underwent “punishment”. The assessment of violation-penalty enters the regime of strict accountability. The consequences of this direct correlation between “violation” and punishment are not suffered only by the organizers of collective events who do not inform the authorities of the institution, as appropriate. Those who were also subject to the above-mentioned were the ones:

- allowing the attendance of individuals without student status in student events, who nevertheless attend without permission from the Rector or the Dean (Art. 115 par. 2),
- who participate in “gatherings of students seeking the dissemination and application of subversive ideas” (Art. 115 par. 3),
- who are members of the administration of student organizations and do not inform the Rector or the Dean about its establishment, its operating statute, and its possible dissolution (Art. 116 par. 2).

At this point, the fate of student “gatherings” depended on their “evaluation” by the rector, the vice-rector, or the professor authorized by either of the two previous individuals,

³⁸ Law 5343/1932: *Περί οργανισμού του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών* [Peri Organismou tou Panepistimiou Athinon; On the Organization of the University of Athens], (23-3-1932).

³⁹ N. Papadakis, *Η παλίμψηστη εξουσία...*, p. 353.

⁴⁰ Law 93/1969: *Περί Κυβερνητικού Επιτρόπου...*

who monitor them⁴¹. This is because they “have the right to dissolve it, if it deviates from the purpose for which it was called, or if it is conducted in an inappropriate manner” (Art. 115 par. 4). Once again, power is mainly exercised. The legislator seems to know this and therefore shows due care for its exercise.

Certainly, the discipline that the dictatorial regime envisaged, as well as the related surveillance and control methods, did not concern exclusively the student body at a collective level. They also had their individual objectives: “A student is punished disciplinarily if he exhibits behavior incompatible with his student status” (Art. 121). The “incompatibility” consisted of violating the legislation for universities, displaying “inappropriate” behavior towards the authorities and the professors, copying in exams, but also in cases where the student “obstructs his colleagues from attending classes and exercises and behaves in a manner that offends national ideals, the fundamental principles of the state, or the dignity of the university...” (Art. 121).

About a year after the publication of the draft Legislative Decree of the Xanthakis’ Committee⁴², the recommendation of the Special Committee “on matters of Higher Education” (September 1973) was made public⁴³. This Committee was one of the three Sub-Committees established through the proposal of the broader Education Committee of the Junta⁴⁴. Its proposals differed significantly from those of the Xanthakis Committee, although sometimes they appear to act complementarily (as in the case of the central Council of Higher Education). It is difficult to say, therefore, that they are moving in the exact same direction with the official (or semi-official) educational policy of the Junta for the Universities⁴⁵.

Furthermore, the aforementioned Special Committee proposed the establishment of a central advisory body that was expected to contribute to the shaping of government policy in universities, as well as to mediate between the state and higher education institutions. It proposed approximately the same administrative structure for universities, with the only difference being the existence of two vice rectors, each of whom would take on one of the two main “branches”: academic and administrative. The “higher body for the adoption of administrative (executive) decisions” was the University Council, 60% of its composition consists of the Rector, the Vice Rectors and the President of the Senate (ex officio), members of the teaching staff, and representatives of the Council. The innovation here was the composition of the remaining 40%. In the name of linking the university to society and economic development, university administration became a product of corporate governance between university authorities and external bodies. The importance of the presence of these representatives of the economy, to some extent, in the University Council and especially in such a large percentage, becomes evident if we take into account the

⁴¹ See N. Papadakis, *Η παλίμψηστη εξουσία...*, p. 354–355, for a detailed analysis.

⁴² The subcommittee was established by the Ministerial Decision 156279/15-11-71. See: Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs, *Απόφασις αρ. πρωτ. 156279: συγκρότηση Ειδικής Επιτροπής Ανωτάτης Εκπαιδευσεως* [Αποφάσις αρ. Πρωτ. 156279: συγκρότηση Ειδικής Επιτροπής Ανωτάτης Εκπαιδευσεως; Decision No. 156279: Establishment of a Special Committee for Higher Education], Athens, 15 November 1971.

⁴³ The proposals of the Special Committee were delivered much earlier to the Committee on Education: on December 27, 1972 (see Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs publication from 1974: 109).

⁴⁴ See: Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs, *Ενημερωτικόν Τεύχος επί των εργασιών της Επιτροπής Παιδείας* [Ενημερωτικόν Τεύχος επί των εργασιών της Επιτροπής Παιδείας; Information Bulletin on the work of the Committee on Education], Athens: National Printing Office, 1972, pp. 13–14.

⁴⁵ See N. Papadakis, *Η παλίμψηστη εξουσία...*, p. 356–357, for a detailed analysis.

responsibilities of this institution: “The University Council is responsible for deciding on every educational and administrative issue related to the regular operation of the Institution in the fulfillment of its goals”⁴⁶.

The Committee went even further as it delegated part of the administration of the universities to “prominent citizens”, directly affecting the autonomy and independence of the institutions. It is one of the few times in educational policy that there was a direct alignment of intentions, action, and interpretation. The only right granted to Higher Education Institutions was to “elect” them (in fact, to nominate them). However, this did not negate anything from the previous statements.

Closing our analysis on the work and proposals of the “Special Committee on Higher Education Issues”, we must emphasize that the proposed institutional framework for universities was imbued with the (already since the 1960s) emerging perspective of aligning higher education with the needs of economic development⁴⁷. It should be clarified though that with economic autonomy, the Special Committee refers to a proposal that is undemocratic: the abolition of free education “in light of the limited capabilities of the state budget”⁴⁸.

In summary, the proposals of the “Special Committee on Higher Education Issues” were much less “aligned” (in the sense of aligning with the wider policy of the Junta) than the corresponding draft law of the Xanthakis Committee, even in terms of their subject matter. They seem to reflect mainly the views of their authors, rather than the dictates of the dictatorial regime⁴⁹. This is one interpretive aspect of the matter and with this, other researchers seem to agree as well⁵⁰. However, one could argue that the tolerance shown by the regime in drafting and, to some extent, publishing proposals that were quite far from its core political and practical agenda in higher education was part of its effort to quasi “liberalize” its profile. In such an endeavor, the Junta had already engaged, particularly towards the end of its rule, facing escalating reactions against it. If this was indeed the case, then the proposals and the Special Committee itself constituted a component of a legitimizing strategy. Therefore, essentially, it was a constituent of the policy of the dictatorial regime, in its later period.

As has already been mentioned, the Special Committee was operating under the supervision and coordination of the Central Education Committee. Specifically, by decision of the Dictator G. Papadopoulos, “a Committee on Education was constituted for a comprehensive study of the country’s educational problem and the submission of its study conclusions to the Government”⁵¹. The Education Committee held its first meeting on

⁴⁶ Special Committee for Higher Education, *Εισήγηση για την Ανώτατη Εκπαίδευση, 1973* [Eisigisi gia tin Anotati Ekpaideysi, 1973; Report on Higher Education 1973], as quoted in: A. Vrychea, K. Gavroglou, *Απόπειρες Μεταρρύθμισης της Ανώτατης Εκπαίδευσης. 1911–1981* [Apopeires Metarrythmisis tis Anotatis Ekpaideyisis, 1911–1981], n.p., 1982, p. 253.

⁴⁷ See also N. Mouzelis, *Ο εθνικισμός στην ύστερη ανάπτυξη* [O ethnikismos stin ysteri anaptyxi; The Nationalism in Late Development], Athens: Themelio, 1994.

⁴⁸ Special Committee for Higher Education, *Εισήγηση για την Ανώτατη Εκπαίδευση, 1973*, pp. 256–257.

⁴⁹ See N. Papadakis, *Η παλιμνηστη εξουσία...*, p. 359–360, for a detailed analysis.

⁵⁰ See for example A. Vrychea, K. Gavroglou, *Απόπειρες Μεταρρύθμισης της Ανώτατης Εκπαίδευσης. 1911–1981* [Apopeires Metarrythmisis tis Anotatis Ekpaideyisis, 1911–1981; Attempts of Reforming Higher Education. 1911–1981], Thessaloniki: Synchrona Themata, 1982, p. 70.

⁵¹ Education Committee, *Εισαγωγικόν σημείωμα στο ΥΠΕΠΘ, Πορίσματα Επιτροπής Παιδείας 1971–73* [Eisagogikon simeioima sto YPEPTH, Porismata tis Epitropis Paideias 1971–73; Introduction note to the Minis-

August 17, 1971. After 68 sessions, its main objective was “the study and formulation of proposals on each of the basic issues of Education in order to shape a healthy National Educational Policy for the next fifteen years” (Decision No. 5600, Gov. Gazette, p. 9.). The minutes of the Committee’s sessions were three volumes, totaling 1,500 handwritten pages. The conclusions and minutes were delivered by the President of the Committee, Charalampos Frangatos, to G. Papadopoulos, Sp. Markezinis (Prime Minister of the Regime’s Government), and P. Sifneos, Minister of Education, during an official ceremony (October 23, 1973). The chapter of conclusions, which pertains to Higher Education, is divided into an “Explanatory Report” and “Proposals”. Essentially, it is composed of:

- a) the aforementioned “draft submitted by the special Recommendation Committee on Higher Education on 27/12/72 and distributed to members of the Education Committee for study”⁵²,
- b) a written report by the coordinator of the Special Committee’s work and a member of the Education Committee, Professor P. Christou, and
- c) the proposals of the Xanthakis Committee, as presented in the Draft Legislative Decree on “Higher Education Institutions”.

Specifically, the Education Committee proposed:

- the establishment of a Higher Education Council within the Ministry of Education, consisting of as few members as possible, “which is composed of four active or former Professors, two distinguished personalities, and the General Director of Higher Education of the Ministry of Education” (who participates as a rapporteur with voting rights). “All are appointed by the Minister for a six-year term”⁵³,
- the extension of the term of office of the Rectors, Dean, and Academic Senate members, and “broad administrative jurisdiction [to the Rector so that] the universities, as institutions, are exempt from the obligations of the slow and complex state mechanism”⁵⁴,
- participation in the University administrative bodies of “extra-university” personalities (obviously approved by the Regime).

Students’ Resistance to the Dictatorship and Its Higher Education Policy

The student resistance commenced with the formation of various groups and networks, which often operated secretly due to the pervasive surveillance and repression by the

try of Education and Religious Affairs, Findings of the Education Committee 1971–73], Athens: National Printing Office, 1974, p. 5.

⁵² See: Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs, *Πορίσματα Επιτροπής Παιδείας 1971–73* [Porismata Epitropis Paideias 1971–73; Conclusions of the Committee on Education 1971–73], Athens: National Printing Office, 1974, p. 109.

⁵³ Special Committee for Higher Education, *Προτάσεις, όπως δημοσιεύονται στο ΥΠΕΠΘ, Πορίσματα Επιτροπής Παιδείας 1971–73 (1974)* [Protaseis, opos dimosieouontai sto YEPETH, Porismata Epitropis Paideias 1971–1973 (1974); Proposals, as published in the Ministry of Education, Commission Reports 1971–73 (1974)], Athens: National Printing Office, 1974, p. 118.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 123.

military junta. Key groups were the “Democratic Defense” and the “Panhellenic Anti-Dictatorial Student Front”⁵⁵. The student resistance utilized a variety of tactics, including strikes, sit-ins, and demonstrations. These activities were often coordinated through clandestine meetings and communication networks to evade the junta’s security forces. Leaflets and graffiti, as means of propaganda, played a significant role in spreading anti-junta sentiments. Furthermore, Greek students abroad played an important role in the resistance, as they organized protests and lobbied international organizations to condemn the military regime in Greece. The global student movement of the 1960s and 1970s, with its emphasis on democracy and human rights, provided a supportive backdrop for Greek student activists⁵⁶.

The policy of the Junta towards universities, as well as its other legislative practices and daily actions in universities and beyond, met with strong resistance from students and led to an escalation of repression. The repressive action of the dictatorship reached its peak with the bloody suppression of the student uprising at the National Technical University of Athens (“Polytechnio”) on November 17, 1973.

The aforementioned uprising, which reached its peak during the three-day period of November 14–17, 1973, was the natural evolution of a series of resistance events (an assassination attempt on G. Papadopoulos and the death sentence of the key resistance figure namely A. Panagoulis, the self-immolation of student Kostas Georgakis in Matteotti Square in Genoa, the publication of the first anti-dictatorship magazines such as “Pro-sanatolismo!” produced by the first presidents of the pre-dictatorship EFEE [National Student Association], the circulation of “semi-illegal” records such as “Free Besieged”, anti-dictatorship protests, the conversion of the funeral of the Nobel poet Giorgos Seferis into an anti-dictatorship rally, the elections and the appointment of administrative boards in local student associations, the presence of representatives of the old [democratic] political context and intellectuals as defense witnesses in student trials, the occupation of the Law School building in Athens on February 21 and 22 and March 20, 1973).

It was the response to a series of demonstrations of authoritarianism and escalating violence by the Regime (torture, disappearances and murders, concentration camps, “re-opening” of exile sites for “dissidents”, establishment of an Index of banned books, police presence on university campuses, expulsions of students from their Schools for anti-national activities, obligatory conscription of “dissident” students⁵⁷, arrests and arbitrary detentions of students, the violent dissolution of the Hellenic-European Youth Movement [EKIN] and the Society for the Study of Greek Problems [EMEP], which had become centers of resistance with the organization of open discussions and other anti-regime events, the conviction of 140 students and several professors by emergency military tribunals, the activation of the Disciplinary Councils of Universities against students who collected signatures or wrote memoranda on the problems of their Schools without permission, the violent police raid on the occupied Law School in early 1973 with the permission of the Rectorate Authorities, the cancellation of the deferment and immediate conscription

⁵⁵ N. Papadogiannis, *Militant Around the Clock?: Left-Wing Youth Politics, Leisure, and Sexuality in Post-Dictatorship Greece, 1974–1981*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2015.

⁵⁶ A. Klapsis, C. Arvanitopoulos, E. Hatzivassiliou, E.G. Pedaliu, *The Greek junta and the international system: a case study of southern European dictatorships, 1967–74*, London: Routledge, 2020.

⁵⁷ See Law 1347/1973: *Περί υποχρεωτικής στρατεύσεως φοιτητών* [Peri ypochreotikis strateyseos ton foiton; On the compulsory military service of students] (Government Gazette 115/12-2-1973).

of 91 students who participated in the occupation of the Law School in Athens) connected Greek reality with the international context and its liberating components (the practical opposition of some American students to the Vietnam War, Prague Spring, May ’68 in France, the revolutionary action of Che Guevara in Latin America, Allende’s governance in Chile, the emergence of new social movements)⁵⁸.

The army, under the orders of the Regime, invaded Polytechneio and bloodily suppressed the student uprising, killing (jointly with the Police) dozens of students, while many others were imprisoned and tortured. However, the Athens Polytechnic student uprising in 1973 was supported by many citizens and contributed significantly to the eventual collapse of the Dictatorship.

Conclusions

All the legislative, regulatory and political practices of the April Dictatorship in Universities, demonstrate the intentions of the Junta for universities concerning:

- the redefinition of their relations with the “under occupation” State,
- the institutionalization of a new economy of power that is based/constructed on control and discipline methods and favors the reduction of discipline and the legitimized state intervention as an exemplary sign of the (under-formation) new ecology of Higher Education Institutions,
- the construction of a framework of surveillance and punishment, control and discipline, strictly defined and with minimal possibilities of deviation⁵⁹. Such a form of

⁵⁸ For all the above, see in more detail, inter alia, A. Rigos, *Φοιτητικό Κίνημα και Δικτατορία* [Foititiko Kinima kai Diktatoria; Student Movement and Dictatorship], in: Hellenic Political Science Association, *The Dictatorship. 1967–1974*, Athens: Kastaniotis, 1999, p. 224–251; M. Stathopoulos, *Προσφώνηση στην εκδήλωση για την Επέτειο των καταλήψεων της Νομικής Σχολής Αθηνών* [Prosfonisi stin ekdilosi gia tin Epeteio ton katalipseon tis Nomikis Sxolis Athinon; Speech at the event commemorating the anniversary of the occupations of the Law School of Athens], in: *National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Official Speeches from 31.8.88 to 31.8.91*, vol. 30, part C, 1991. Athens: National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 1998, pp. 1039–1040; D. Kapsalis, *Αντιδικτατορικό φοιτητικό κίνημα* [Anti-Diktatoriko foititiko kinima; Anti-Dictatorship Student Movement], “Politis” 1979, vol. 30, November, p. 55; G. Floros, *Αντιστασιακές οργανώσεις στη Δικτατορία* [Antistasiakes organoseis sti Daktotoria; Resistance organizations in the Dictatorship], “Anti” 1987, vol. 344, pp. 47–50; V. Panagiotopoulos, *Η εξέγερση του Πολυτεχνείου ως αντικείμενο του πόθου και της Ιστορίας* [H exegersi tou Polytechneiu os antikeimeno tou pothou kai tis Istorias; The Polytechnic uprising as an object of desire and History], “Eleftherotypia” 1973, iss. of November 17; D. Papachristos, *Εκ των υστέρων* [Ek ton Ysteron; Ex Post Facto], Athens: Nea Synora-Livani, 1993; M. Papazoglou, *Φοιτητικό Κίνημα...*; O. Dafermos, *Το αντιδικτατορικό φοιτητικό κίνημα 1972–1973* [To anti-diktatoriko foititiko kinima 1972–1973; The Anti-dictatorial Student Movement 1972–1973], Athens: Themelio, 1992; Chr. Lazos, *Ελληνικό Φοιτητικό...*; P. Kanellopoulos, *Κείμενα από τον αγώνα του εναντίον της Δικτατορίας* [Keimena apo ton agona ttou enantion tis Diktatorias; Texts from the Struggle against the Dictatorship], Athens: n.d., 1987; Papadakis 2004. Specifically, for the international “liberatory-revolutionary” framework of the end of the 1960s and early 1970s, see, for example, J. Habermas, *Towards a Rational Society: Student Protest, Science and Politics*, London: Beacon Press, 1971.

⁵⁹ Such a framework can convince the field’s individual that it is under constant supervision and control and to obey the “rules”. This is because it persuades that the identification of behavior that exceeds the established limits can happen at any time. “The individual who is delayed in a field of visibility, and knows it, takes on the same constraints of power. He spontaneously adjusts to them; he makes them part of himself. He becomes the principle of his own subjection” (M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish...*, p. 268). The student uprising of November ’73, however, demonstrated that the project of institutional and practical subordination and the

organization presupposes (but also favors) the development of a specific form of pre-determined consciousness, which is closely linked to discipline.

- the extensive criminalization of behavior, as well as non-nationally and ideologically orthodox thinking, in universities,
- the overwhelming reducing of the degree of autonomy of the teaching staff and Higher Education, in general.

Ultimately, once again, the central authority's refusal to recognize the power of a certain group/entity seems to provide a pretext for the construction of a new center that simply seeks to obtain power⁶⁰. The shrinking (or rather, relativization) of autonomy automatically favors the development of micro-political activity. Throughout its rule, the Junta seemed to desire the dominance of discipline in the policy for universities, as it was integrated into the broader political scheme of the regime for the policing of all forms (perceived or named) of political, moral, and ideological deviance. As is customary, a specific ideology of control emerged. This was expected to be inscribed in the inhabitants of the monitored field. Since this was a condition for the formation of the (under occupation) state, the agents of the ideology were expected to show particular concern for achieving their goals.

For the such intentions to receive the necessary institutional expression, the Junta (in some cases) turned to the oldest (under democratic governments) legislation, instrumentalizing it. The reinstatement of "useful" provisions – measures that had been institutionalized in the past, adapted to the objectives of the regime (Government Commissioner, student file, reinstatement of the certificate of social ideas as a *conditio sine qua non* for appointment to any level of teaching or even support staff) – was one of the main components of the higher education policy of the Junta. There were also a series of measures that constituted the peculiar and extremely authoritarian "novum" of the regime's designers of higher education policy.

Regarding some "popular" measures, the most important was the granting of free textbooks to students (Law 95/1969 Government Gazette A' 25). The "simplistic view of the case leads to the conclusion that it is a social measure"⁶¹. This is because the measure, at first glance, could be considered somehow democratic with a providential character, which moved in the direction of facilitating economically weaker students and mitigating inequalities. However, its integration-contextualization into both the reformist and broader historical-political context requires mentioning other (more possible and evident) dimensions of it, which are not providential and liberal at all. The free provision of textbooks should not be seen independently of the wider effort of the Junta for central control of universities and the establishment of mechanisms for multi-level supervision in them.

related (re)construction of consciousness failed, at least as far as the student population (or at least a large part of it) is concerned.

⁶⁰ See I. Solomon, *Πειθαρχία και Γνώση: εισαγωγικές σημειώσεις* [Peitharchia kai Gnosi: eisagogikes simeioseis; Discipline and Knowledge: Introductory Notes], in: *Discipline and Knowledge*, I. Solomon, G. Kouzelis (eds.), Athens: Society for the Study of Human Sciences, Local a', 1994, p. 9.

⁶¹ See I.E. Pyrgiotakis, N.E. Papadakis, *Ερμηνευτική Μέθοδος και έρευνα γύρω από την Εκπαιδευτική Πολιτική και Μεταρρύθμιση. Ζητήματα Αλήθειας και Μεθόδου* [Ermineytiki Methodos kai ereyna gyro apo tin Ekpaideytiki Politiki kai Metarrythmisi. Zitimata Alitheias kai Methodou; Hermeneutic Method and Research on Educational Policy and Reform. Issues of Truth and Method], in: Pedagogical Society of Greece, *Greek Educational and Pedagogical Research*, Athens: Atrapos, 1999, p. 858.

Given the relationship between power and knowledge, we could (understandably) suggest that this reformist action by the Junta aimed to:

1. create the expectation of a “popular” character in its overall policy, with the goal of constructing or at least seeking the consensus it lacked,
2. control the knowledge provided and further managed the field of higher education.

In any case, the reasoning, practices, and legislative action of the regime regarding the universities are characterized by the pursuit of maximizing supervision and control over them by the central authority (namely the regime), as well as the intention, at all costs, of disciplining students of higher education. The many and varied (sometimes implemented and sometimes not) legislative actions aimed at legitimizing an illegally held power and violence that, thanks to the new (repressive) “legitimacy”, was exercised.

However, the mixture of suppression and disciplinary practices and (rarely, yet always pretext-ostensible) displays of tolerance by the regime (due to its helplessness in facing the rising challenges against the regime⁶²), was unable to manipulate or tame the escalating discomfort and mood of dynamic resistance by the students (gradually supported by many other citizens), resulting in a multi-dimensional struggle against the dictatorship.

Additionally, the student resistance, particularly during the Polytechnic uprising in Athens, became a symbol of democracy for post-junta Greece, up to the present day. The events of the Polytechnic have significantly influenced higher education legislation since the fall of the dictatorship and the consequent re-turn to Democracy (3rd Hellenic Republic, since 1974), inter alia, by establishing laws which enhance democratic governance in the universities, such as academic asylum. The latter is synonymous with the idea of academic freedom, insofar as it pertains to the rules and conditions governing police intervention within the premises of higher education institutions⁶³. Thus, it is obvious that the events of the past and their impact characterize in a sense the historical context providing valuable lessons for the future, since they cast the light on the persistent significance of (major) values, such as academic freedom, tolerance and Democracy.

References

- Alivizatos N., *Οι πολιτικοί θεσμοί σε κρίση (1922–1974). Όψεις της ελληνικής εμπειρίας*, [Οι πολιτικοί θεσμοί σε κρίση (1922–1974). Opseis tis ellinikis empeirias; Political Institutions in Crisis (1922–1974). Aspects of the Greek Experience], Athens: Themelio, 1983 (in Greek).
- Anderson L., *Προσωπικότητα και στάσεις των φοιτητών των ελληνικών ΑΕΙ* [Prosopikotita kai staseis ton foititon tvn ellinkon AEI; Personality and Attitudes of Greek University Students], Athens: n.p., 1980 (in Greek).
- Anderson B., *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1983.

⁶² i.e. the peak of the latter was the organization of student elections in November 1972, aimed at relieving the discomfort, which, however, did not avoid the coercion to withdraw the candidacy of the non-regime candidates in most schools.

⁶³ G. Kakarelidis, N. Georgiadou, *Academic Asylum, Academic Freedom, And Police Jurisdiction in Law Enforcement at Universities: Comparative Study of Greece and Other Countries’ General Practice*, “Global Journal of Politics and Law Research” 2022, vol. 11(1), pp. 30–39.

- Προσχέδιον Νομοθετικού Διατάγματος για την Ανώτατη Εκπαίδευση, όπως δημοσιεύεται στα *Νέα*, φ. 17–23^{ης} Ιανουαρίου του 1973 [Prosxedion Nomothetikou Diatagmatos gia thn Anotati Ekpaideyis, opos dimosieyetai sta *Nea*, f. 17/23-01-1973; Draft Legislative Decree “On Higher Education Institutions” of 1973, as published in *Ta Nea*, no. 17/23-01-1973] (in Greek).
- Σύνταγμα 1968/73, στο Π. Δ. 370/1973- ΦΕΚ 266/4-10-1973 [Syntagma 1968/73, sto P.D. 370/1973, FEK 266/4-10-1973; Constitution 1968/73, in Decree 370/1973-Government Gazette 266/4-10-1973] (in Greek).
- Dafermos O., *Το αντιδικτατορικό φοιτητικό κίνημα 1972–1973* [To anti-diktatoriko foititiko kinima 1972–1973; The Anti-dictatorial Student Movement 1972–1973], Athens: Themelio, 1992 (in Greek).
- Education Committee, *Εισαγωγικών σημείωμα στο ΥΠΕΠΘ, Πορίσματα Επιτροπής Παιδείας 1971–73* [Eisagogikon simeioima sto YPEPTH, Porismata tis Epitropis Paideias 1971–73; Introduction note to the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Findings of the Education Committee 1971–73], Athens: National Printing Office, 1974, pp. 1–5 (in Greek).
- Floros G., *Αντιστασιακές οργανώσεις στη Δικτατορία* [Antistasiakes organoseis sti Daktotoria; Resistance organizations in the Dictatorship], “Anti” 1987, vol. 344, pp. 47–50 (in Greek).
- Foucault M., *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, New York: Vintage Books, 1977.
- Foucault M., *Εξουσία, Γνώση και Ηθική* [Exoysia, Gnosi kai Hthiki; Power, Knowledge and Marality], Athens: Ypsilon, 1987 (transl. Z. Sarikas) (in Greek).
- Glogg R., *Συνοπτική ιστορία της Ελλάδας. 1770–1990* [Synoptiki Istoria tis Elladas. 1770–1990; A Concise History of Greece. 1770–1990], Athens: Istoriitis, 1995 (transl. L. Papadaki) (in Greek).
- Hall P.A., *Politics as a process structured in space and time*, in: *The Oxford handbook of historical institutionalism*, O. Fioretos, T.G. Falleti, A. Sheingate (eds.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 31–50.
- Hitchens C., *Hostage to history: Cyprus from the Ottomans to Kissinger*, London: Verso, 1997.
- Kakarelidis G., Georgiadou N., *Academic Asylum, Academic Freedom, And Police Jurisdiction in Law Enforcement at Universities: Comparative Study of Greece and Other Countries’ General Practice*, “Global Journal of Politics and Law Research” 2022, vol. 11(1), pp. 30–39.
- Habermas J., *Towards a Rational Society. Student Protest, Science and Politics*, London: Beacon Press, 1971.
- Hellenic Political Science Association, *Η Δικτατορία. 1967–1974* [H Diktatoria. 1967–1974; The Dictatorship. 1967–1974], Athens: Kastaniotis, 1999 (in Greek).
- Kaltsoyia-Tournaviti N., *Προβληματική της σύγχρονης ελληνικής συνταγματικής ιστορίας, 1935–1975* [Provlimatiki tis sygxronis ellinikis syntagmatikis istorias, 1935–1975; The Problematics of Modern Greek Constitutional History, 1935–1975], Athens, 1981 (in Greek).
- Kaltsoyia N., *Η έννοια της αυτοδιοίκησης των πανεπιστημίων και τα όρια της κρατικής παρέμβασης* [H ennoia tis aytoδιοikisis ton panepistimion kai ta oria tis kratikis parembasis; The Concept of University Autonomy and the Limits of State Intervention], in: Sakis Karagiorgas Foundation, *The University in Greece Today. Economic, Social and Political Dimensions*, Proceedings of the 1st Conference at Panteion University, November 28–December 1, 1990, Athens, Sakis Karagiorgas Foundation, 1990, pp. 59–74 (in Greek).
- Kanellopoulos P., *Κείμενα από τον αγώνα του εναντίον της Δικτατορίας* [Keimena apo ton agona tou enantion tis Diktatorias; Texts from the Struggle against the Dictatorship], Athens: n.d., 1987 (in Greek).
- Kapsalis D., *Αντιδικτατορικό φοιτητικό κίνημα* [Anti-Diktatoriko foititiko kinima; Anti-Dictatorship Student Movement], “Politis” 1979, vol. 30, November (in Greek).
- Klapsis A., Arvanitopoulos C., Hatzivassiliou E., Pedaliu E.G., *The Greek junta and the international system: a case study of southern European dictatorships, 1967–74*, London: Routledge, 2020.

- Krimbas K., *Ιδεολογικές Επιδράσεις στην Ανώτατη Παιδεία* [Ideologikes Epidraseis stin Anotati Paideia; Ideological Effects on Higher Education], “Anti” 1979, B, vol. 11 (24–26) (in Greek).
- Law 5343/1932: *Περί οργανισμού του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών* [Peri Organismou tou Panepistimiou Athinon; On the Organization of the University of Athens], (23-3-1932) (in Greek).
- Law 93/1969: *Περί Κυβερνητικού Επιτρόπου* [Peri Kyvernitikou Epitropou; On the Government Commissioner] (Government Gazette 77/1969) (in Greek).
- Law 1347/1973: *Περί υποχρεωτικής στρατεύσεως φοιτητών* [Peri ypochreotikis strateuseos ton foiton; On the compulsory military service of students] (Government Gazette 115/12-2-1973) (in Greek).
- Lazos Chr., *Ελληνικό Φοιτητικό Κίνημα 1821–1973. Κοινωνικοί & Πολιτικοί αγώνες*, [Elliniko Foititiko Kinima 1821–1973. Koinonikoi kai Politikoi Agones; Greek Student Movement 1821–1973. Social and Political Struggles], Athens: Gnosis, 1987 (in Greek).
- Lieberman R.C., *Shaping Race Policy: The United States in Comparative Perspective*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Mahoney J., Thelen K., *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Manesis A., *Ο εύκολος βιασμός της νομιμότητας και η δύσκολη νομιμοποίηση της βίας* [O eykolos viasmos tin nomimotitas kai h dyskoli nomimopoihsi tis vias; The easy rape of legality and the difficult legalization of violence], in: Hellenic Political Science Association, *The Dictatorship, 1967–1974*, Athens: Kastaniotis, 1999 (in Greek).
- Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs, *Απόφασις αρ. πρωτ. 156279: συγκρότηση Ειδικής Επιτροπής Ανωτάτης Εκπαιδεύσεως* [Apofasis ar. Prot. 156279: sygkrotisi Eidikis Epitropis Anotatis Ekpaideuseos; Decision No. 156279: Establishment of a Special Committee for Higher Education], Athens, 15 November 1971 (in Greek).
- Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs, *Ενημερωτικόν Τεύχος επί των εργασιών της Επιτροπής Παιδείας* [Enimerotikon Teychos epi ton ergasion tis Epitropis Paideias; Information Bulletin on the work of the Committee on Education], Athens: National Printing Office, 1972 (in Greek).
- Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs, *Πορίσματα Επιτροπής Παιδείας 1971–73* [Porismata Epitropis Paideias 1971–73; Conclusions of the Committee on Education 1971–73], Athens: National Printing Office, 1974 (in Greek).
- Mouzelis N., *On the Rise of Postwar Military Dictatorships: Argentina, Chile, Greece*, “Comparative Studies in Society and History” 1986, vol. 28(1), pp. 55–80.
- Mouzelis N., *Ο εθνικισμός στην ύστερη ανάπτυξη* [O ethnikismos stin ysteri anaptyxi; The Nationalism in Late Development], Athens: Themelio, 1994 (in Greek).
- Panagiotopoulos V., *Η εξέγερση του Πολυτεχνείου ως αντικείμενο του πόθου και της Ιστορίας* [H exegersi tou Polytechniou os antikeimeno tou pothou kai tis Istorias; The Polytechnic uprising as an object of desire and History], “Eleftherotypia” 1973, iss. of November 17 (in Greek).
- Papachristos D., *Εκ των υστέρων* [Ek ton Ysteron; Ex Post Facto], Athens: Nea Synora-Livani, 1993 (in Greek).
- Papadakis N., *Η παλινψιση εξουσία: Κράτος, Πανεπιστήμιο και εκπαιδευτική πολιτική στην Ελλάδα* [H palimpsisti exousia: Kratos, Paneistimio kai Ekpaieytiki Politiki stin Ellada; The Palimpsiston Power: State, University and Educational Policy in Greece], Athens: Gutenberg, 2004 (in Greek).
- Papadimitriou G., *Η ατελέσφορη προσπάθεια για τη συνταγματική οργάνωση του δικτατορικού καθεστώτος* [H atelesfori prospatheia gia ti syntagmatiki organosi tou diktarikou kathestotos; The unsuccessful attempt for the constitutional organization of the Dictatorship Regime], in: Hellenic Political Science Association, *The Dictatorship, 1967–1974*, Athens: Kastaniotis, 1999, pp. 53–60 (in Greek).

- Papadogiannis N., *Militant Around the Clock?: Left-Wing Youth Politics, Leisure, and Sexuality in Post-Dictatorship Greece, 1974–1981*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2015.
- Papandreou G., *Αντι-δικτατορικό μαγνητοφωνημένο μήνυμα της 21^{ης} Απριλίου 1968* [Anti-diktatoriko magnitofonimeno minima tis 21 Apriliou 1968; Anti-dictatorial Recorded Message of April 21, 1968], in: *George Papandreou. Political Discourse*, G. Anastasiadis, P. Petridis (eds.), Athens: University Studio Press, 1995, pp. 557–559 (in Greek).
- Papapanos K., *Χρονικό-ιστορία της Ανώτατης μας εκπαίδευσης* [Chroniko-Istoria tis Anotatis mas Ekpaideyseos; Chronological-Historical Account of Our Higher Education], Athens: American College for Women in Athens, Pierce College, 1970 (in Greek).
- Papazoglou M., *Φοιτητικό Κίνημα και Δικτατορία* [Foititikon Kinima kai Diktatoria; Student Movement and Dictatorship], Athens: Epikairota, 1975 (in Greek).
- Pierson P., *Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Poulantzas N., *Φασισμός και Δικτατορία* [Fasismos kai Diktatoria; Fascism and Dictatorship], Athens: Olkos, 1970 (in Greek).
- Pyrgiotakis I.E., Papadakis N.E., *Ερμηνευτική Μέθοδος και έρευνα γύρω από την Εκπαιδευτική Πολιτική και Μεταρρύθμιση. Ζητήματα Αλήθειας και Μεθόδου* [Ermineytiki Methodos kai erylina gyro apo tin Ekpaideytiki Politiki kai Mettarrythmisi. Zitimata Alitheias kai Methodou; Hermeneutic Method and Research on Educational Policy and Reform. Issues of Truth and Method], in: Pedagogical Society of Greece, *Greek Educational and Pedagogical Research*, Athens: Atrapos, 1999, pp. 853–858 (in Greek).
- Rigos A., *Φοιτητικό Κίνημα και Δικτατορία* [Foititiko Kinima kai Diktatoria; Student Movement and Dictatorship], in: Hellenic Political Science Association, *The Dictatorship. 1967–1974*, Athens: Kastaniotis, 1999 (in Greek).
- Sakkas J., *The Greek dictatorship, the USA and the Arabs, 1967–1974*, “Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans” 2004, vol. 6(3), pp. 245–257.
- Skocpol T., *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*, Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Solomon I., *Πειθαρχία και Γνώση: εισαγωγικές σημειώσεις* [Peitharchia kai Gnosi: eisagogikes simeioseis; Discipline and Knowledge: Introductory Notes], in: *Discipline and Knowledge*, I. Solomon, G. Kouzelis (eds.), Athens: Society for the Study of Human Sciences, Local a’, pp. 7–10 (in Greek).
- Special Committee for Higher Education, *Εισήγηση για την Ανώτατη Εκπαίδευση, 1973* [Eisigisi gia tin Anotati Ekpaideysi, 1973; Report on Higher Education 1973], as quoted in: A. Vrychea, K. Gavroglou, *Απόπειρες Μεταρρύθμισης της Ανώτατης Εκπαίδευσης. 1911–1981* [Apopeires Metarrythmisis tis Anotatis Ekpaideysis, 1911–1981], n.p., 1982, pp. 253–257 (in Greek).
- Special Committee for Higher Education, *Προτάσεις, όπως δημοσιεύονται στο ΥΠΕΠΘ, Πορίσματα Επιτροπής Παιδείας 1971–73 (1974)* [Protaseis, opos dimosieountai sto YEPETH, Porismata Epitropis Paideias 1971–1973 (1974); Proposals, as published in the Ministry of Education, Commission Reports 1971–73 (1974)], Athens: National Printing Office, 1974, pp. 118–136 (in Greek).
- Stathopoulos M., *Προσφώνηση στην εκδήλωση για την Επέτειο των καταλήψεων της Νομικής Σχολής Αθηνών* [Prosfonisi stin ekdilosi gia tin Epeteio ton katalipseon tis Nomikis Sxolis Athinon; Speech at the event commemorating the anniversary of the occupations of the Law School of Athens], in: *National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Official Speeches from 31.8.88 to 31.8.91*, vol. 30, part C, 1991. Athens: National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 1998, pp. 1039–1040 (in Greek).
- Svoronos N., *Επισκόπηση της Νεοελληνικής Ιστορίας* [Episkopisi tis Neoellinikis Istorias; Overview of the Modern Greek History], Athens: Themelio, 1994 (in Greek).

- Xydis S.G., *Coups and Countercoups in Greece, 1967–1973 (with postscript)*, “Political Science Quarterly” 1974, vol. 89 (3), pp. 507–538.
- Veremis Th., *Ο στρατός στην πολιτική μετά τον πόλεμο* [O stratos stin politiki meta ton polemo; The Army in Politics after the War], in: *Les Tempes Modernes, Greece in Evolution*, Athens: Exantas, 1986, pp. 135–148 (in Greek).
- Vournas T., *Ιστορία της σύγχρονης Ελλάδας* [Istoria tis sygchronis Elladas; History of Modern Greece], Athens: Afoi Tolidi, 1977 (in Greek).
- Vrychea A., Gavroglou K., *Απόπειρες Μεταρρύθμισης της Ανώτατης Εκπαίδευσης. 1911–1981* [Apo-peires Metarrythmisis tis Anotatis Ekpaideysis, 1911–1981; Attempts of Reforming Higher Education. 1911–1981], Thessaloniki: Synchrona Themata, 1982 (in Greek).
- Zambeta E., *Religion and national identity in Greek education*, “Intercultural Education” 2000, vol. 11 (2), pp. 145–155.
- Zervas T.G., *Greek school textbooks at a political crossroads*, “American Educational History Journal” 2016, vol. 43(2), pp. 117–127.

Nikos Papadakis, Professor and Director of the Centre for Political Research & Documentation (KEPET/ UCRC), Department of Political Science, University of Crete. Member of the Scientific Board of the National Centre of Public Administration and Local Government (EKDDA). Distinguished Visiting Professor at the AGEP of the Zhengzhou University (ZZU), China. Dept of Political Science, Gallos University Campus, Rethymnon, GR- 74 100, GREECE. Email: papadakn@uoc.gr.

Stylianos Ioannis Tzagkarakis, Adjunct Lecturer at the School of Social Sciences, Hellenic Open University. Field Manager of the Centre for Political Research & Documentation (KEPET/ UCRC), General Secretary of the Hellenic Association of Political Scientists (HAPSc). Member of the Steering Committee of the ECPR Political Culture Standing Group. KEPET/UCRC, Gallos University Campus, Rethymnon, GR- 74 100, GREECE. Email: sttvaz@yahoo.gr.