



KADİR HAS UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
PROGRAM OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**EXPLAINING THE RISE OF THE RADICAL RIGHT
WITHIN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT:
THE CASE OF GOLDEN DAWN**

EMRE METİN BİLGİNER

PHD THESIS

ISTANBUL, JANUARY, 2020

**EXPLAINING THE RISE OF THE RADICAL RIGHT
WITHIN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT:
THE CASE OF GOLDEN DAWN**

EMRE METİN BİLGİNER

ADVISOR: ASSOC. PROF. DIMITRIOS TRIANTAPHYLLOU

PHD THESIS

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Kadir Has University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of PhD in the Discipline Area of International Relations under the Program of International Relations.

ISTANBUL, JANUARY, 2020

I, EMRE METİN BİLGİNER hereby declare that;

- This PhD Thesis is my own original work and that due references have been appropriately provided on all supporting literature and resources;
- This PhD Thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;

In addition, I understand that any false claim in respect of this work will result in disciplinary action in accordance with University regulations.

Furthermore, both printed and electronic copies of my work will be kept in Kadir Has Information Center under the following condition as indicated below:

- The full content of my thesis/project will be accessible from everywhere by all means.

EMRE METİN BİLGİNER



JANUARY 2020

ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

This work entitled **EXPLAINING THE RISE OF THE RADICAL RIGHT WITHIN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT: THE CASE OF GOLDEN DAWN** prepared by **EMRE METİN BİLGİNER** has been judged to be successful at the defense exam held on **8 JANUARY 2020** and accepted by our jury as **PHD THESIS**.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Dimitrios Triantaphyllou (Advisor) Kadir Has University

Prof. Dr. Damla Demirözü

İstanbul University

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kostas Ifantis

Kadir Has University

Prof. Dr. Serhat Güvenç

Kadir Has University

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Zuhall Mert Uzuner

Marmara University

I certify that the above signatures belong to the faculty members named above.

SIGNATURE

Prof. Sinem Akgül Açıkmeşe

Dean/GSSS

School of Graduate Studies

DATE OF APPROVAL: .../.../...

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	i
ÖZET	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
DEDICATION	v
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	viii
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. NATIONALISM: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL OVERVIEW	17
2.1. Theories of Nationalism	18
2.1.1. Emergence	19
2.1.2. Components	24
2.2. European Nationalism	43
2.2.1. Origins	43
2.2.2. Germinations.....	46
2.3. Greek Nationalism	53
2.3.1. Motivations	53
2.3.2. The European/Global Impact.....	55
2.3.3. The Greek Radical Right	56
2.4. Conclusion	58
3. NATIONALISM IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT	61
3.1. Historical Background	63
3.1.1. The Industrial Revolution	63
3.1.2. World War I & World War II	66
3.1.3. The Cold War Era	71
3.1.4. The Post-Cold War Era.....	74
3.2. Nationalism-Populism Concurrence	76
3.3. The Manipulation of Social Values	81
3.4. Conclusion	83
4. NATIONALISM IN GREECE	86

4.1. Motivations	87
4.1.1. The Greek Liberation War	88
4.1.2. Divinity	94
4.1.3. The Involvement of the Church	97
4.2. The Greek Radical Right.....	101
4.2.1. Origins	101
4.2.2. World War I, World War II and Civil War.....	102
4.2.3. The Cold War Era	104
4.2.4. The Post-Cold War Era.....	106
4.2.5. Neo-Nazi Rising	108
4.3. Conclusion.....	111
5. THE CASE OF GOLDEN DAWN	114
5.1. Emergence.....	118
5.1.1. Party Roots and Motivations.....	119
5.1.2. The Influence of the Colonels’ Junta Regime (1967 - 1974)	131
5.1.3. From Pamphlet to Political Arena	134
5.2. Parliamentary Emergence.....	137
5.2.1. Success in the Elections.....	137
5.2.2. Golden Dawn as an Organization and its Collaborations	140
5.3. Neo-Nazi Populism	143
5.4. Golden Dawn Trial.....	148
5.5. Conclusion.....	150
6. DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION: THE FATE OF THE PHENOMENON	154
REFERENCES	164
CURRICULUM VITAE.....	192
APPENDIX A – GOLDEN DAWN’S PROGRAM FOR A FREE AND POWERFUL NATION.....	193
APPENDIX B – DISTRIBUTION OF GOLDEN DAWN ELECTORATE	195
APPENDIX C – GOLDEN DAWN BRANCHES	196
APPENDIX D – GREEK LANGUAGE SOURCES.....	197

EXPLAINING THE RISE OF THE RADICAL RIGHT WITHIN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT: THE CASE OF GOLDEN DAWN

ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to analyze the rise of the European radical right movements related to the Greek case through the use of a theoretical approach and historical background. The Greek case came into prominence with the aftermath of the economic crisis and refugee crisis of the 2010s. Simultaneously, the Greek Neo-Nazi party Golden Dawn managed to enter the Greek Parliament in 2012 and became a phenomenon on the Greek political scene. Revealing the correlation between the emergence of nationalist thought and the rise of the radical right will help us understand the Greek case in depth. Golden Dawn's sudden prominence should be examined by considering the historical background of nationalism in Europe and specifically in Greece rather than only by linking it to a single issue such as the economic crisis or the refugee crisis. This study covers major arguments regarding the topic in its theoretical aspects and assembles different major perspectives of scholars that deal with the theories of nationalist thought. Identifying the organizational structure of radical right politics within the context of a theoretical framework is significant in order to comprehend the country specific factors in nationalism studies. It adopts the impact of globalization on nationalism as a framework and it analyzes the current situation primarily through the major relevant theories. The global impact of nationalism on radical right movements is an intractable fact, since radical right movements tend to have a contagious effect. This thesis aims to reveal that nationalism and relevant radical right movements like Golden Dawn are self-renewing groups and they might emerge again under the proper conditions.

Keywords: Golden Dawn, Theories of Nationalism, Greek Nationalism, European Radical Right, Neo-Nazism

RADİKAL SAĞIN AVRUPA BAĞLAMINDA YÜKSELİŞİNİ AÇIKLAMAK:
ALTIN ŞAFAK VAKASI

ÖZET

Bu tez, Avrupalı radikal sağ hareketlerin yükselişine ilişkin Yunanistan örneğini tarihsel arka plana oturtarak teorik bir yaklaşımla analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Yunanistan örneği ekonomik kriz ve mülteci krizi sonrasında ön plana çıktı. Eş zamanlı olarak Yunan Neo-Nazi Altın Şafak Partisi 2012 yılında Yunan Parlamentosuna girmeyi başardı ve Yunanistan siyaset arenasında bir fenomen haline geldi. Milliyetçi düşünün ortaya çıkışı ile radikal sağın yükselişi arasındaki korelasyonun incelenmesi, Yunanistan örneğini derinlemesine anlamamıza yardımcı olacaktır. Altın Şafak'ın aniden ön plana çıkışı, ekonomik kriz veya mülteci akını gibi tek bir olguyla açıklanmaktan ziyade Avrupa'da ve özellikle Yunanistan'da milliyetçiliğin tarihsel arka planı dikkate alınarak incelenmelidir. Bu çalışma, konuyla ilgili temel argümanları teorik yönleriyle ele almakta ve bunları milliyetçi düşünce teorileri ile ilgilenen farklı akademisyenlerin önemli bakış açılarını bir araya getirmektedir. Radikal sağ siyasetin örgütsel yapısını teorik bir çerçeve bağlamında tanımlamak, milliyetçilik çalışmalarında ülkeye özgü faktörleri kavramak açısından önemlidir. Bu çalışmanın benimsediği çerçeve küreselleşmenin milliyetçilik üzerindeki etkisidir ve bu çalışma her şeyden önce mevcut durumu majör teoriler aracılığıyla analiz eder. Milliyetçiliğin radikal hareketler üzerindeki küresel etkisi yadsınamaz bir gerçektir, zira radikal sağ hareketler özellikle son iki yüzyıldır bulaşıcı bir etkiye sahiptir. Bu tez, milliyetçiliğin ve Altın Şafak örneğinde olduğu gibi ilgili radikal sağ hareketlerin yenilenebilir materyaller olduklarını, uygun şartlarda yeniden ortaya çıkabileceklerini anlatmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Altın Şafak, Milliyetçilik Teorileri, Yunan Milliyetçiliği, Avrupa Aşırı Sağ, Neo-Nazizm

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to record my appreciation of my dear supervisor, Assoc. Prof. Dimitrios Triantaphyllou, who believed in me from the very beginning of my PhD studies and shared his expertise with me without limitations. He showed me the subtleties of being a complete academic in every sense of the word. He supported me like a father, but oversaw my work with complete professionalism. I learned how to approach the subject from an objective perspective. It has been challenging for me as a Turkish scholar to write on Greek nationalism and the Greek Neo-Nazi party Golden Dawn, but Dimitrios eased my writing process with his valuable inputs and feedback. Σ' ευχαριστώ θερμά.

Very special thanks to Müge Bilginer, my beloved wife and lifelong partner, for supporting me with the patience of a saint. She never lost her confidence in me. She helped me to quickly get back up onto my feet during the hard times and usually sacrificed our precious time together for the sake of my PhD studies. I am so lucky to have her because I would not have made it without her involvement. I am so glad that I did not disappoint you. I am always stronger when you are by my side.

Gratitude to my parents, Sedef and Ercüment, for their complete support and understanding during my studies. Thanks to my grandparents, Günay and Özkan, who have patiently funded my educational needs since my childhood.

I also want to thank Dr. Brian Harold May. Although he has not contributed anything towards my studies directly, his versatility in academia and music has always been an inspiration for me. He is a complete idol to me in this sense. His influence gave me the courage to record and release one studio album and two singles amidst my PhD studies. In this sense, my rock band “MERLYN” provided me with an alternative, artistic perspective.

Special kudos to my PhD Monitoring Committee members, Assoc. Prof. Konstantinos Ifantis and Prof. Dr. Damla Demirözü, who committed themselves to improving my writing process with their beneficial inputs. Thanks to my other PhD Defense Committee

members, Prof. Dr. Serhat Güvenç and Assoc. Prof. Zuhale Mert Uzun for their crucial feedback and support.

Special mention to Assoc. Prof. Ahmet Salih Bıçakcı, who always believed in my skills. He is a complete mentor. Not only with his academic background, but also with his worldview. I would also like to thank Prof. Dr. Sinem Akgül Açıkmeşe, Prof. Dr. Mitat Çelikpala, Prof. Dr. Gencer Özcan, Prof. Dr. Samim Akgönül and Dr. Stavros Yolcuoğlu for their support.

Many thanks to my very good friend and bandmate, Armağan Dergin, who supported me by every means possible throughout this period. I owe a lot to my PhD fellows, Dr. Şükriye Gökçe Gezer, Dr. Cihan Dizdaroğlu, Karel Franco Valansi, Mehmet Alioğlu and Selin Peker, for sharing this amazing journey with me. In different periods, we supported each other with full understanding. I believe that we will collaborate during our academic journey in the future.

Gratitude to Dimitris Psarras, Kostis Papaioannou, Prof. Vasiliki Georgiadou, Dr. Dimitris Skleparis, Giorgos Kordas and Prof. Dr. Ödül Celep for contributing to my PhD dissertation with their expertise.

A special thank you to Robert Lewis, who committed himself to editing the language of my dissertation. It has been a great pleasure to work with you.

Thanks to Burak Yetgin, Hamza Aybar, İlkay Çetinel, Dr. Christos Kypraios, Dr. Alexandros Panagiotopoulos, Burak Günsür and Athanasios Kokkinos: your being there for me without expecting anything in return was priceless to me.

Last but not least, I appreciate everyone who gave me confidence and creativity...



*To all the victims of
xenophobic violence*

LIST OF TABLES

Table 5.1 Golden Dawn's Electoral Successes..... 138
Table 5.2 When Golden Dawn's Electoral Success was Negligible..... 147



LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Voting turnouts in European Parliament Elections with country specific results between 1979 – 2019	13
Figure 2.1 Demographics of Greece in 1928	38
Figure 4.1 Pioneers of Greek Nationalism	93
Figure 5.1 Ioannis Metaxas	121
Figure 5.2 Major connections between Golden Dawn and the Colonels' Junta Regime	132
Figure 5.3 Hierarchy pyramid within Golden Dawn	136
Figure 5.4 The Nazi Salute of Golden Dawn Leader, Nikolaos Michaloliakos	143
Figure 6.1 Greek Radical Right Votes during the <i>Metapolitefsi</i> Era	163
Figure B.1 Golden Dawn votes' distribution map - 2012	195
Figure B.2 Golden Dawn votes' distribution map - 2019	195
Figure C.1 Intensity of Golden Dawn Branches	196

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AfD	Alternative for Germany (German: Alternative für Deutschland)
ANEL	The Independent Greeks (Greek: Ανεξάρτητοι Έλληνες)
CDU	Christian Democratic Union of Germany (German: Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands)
CEDADE	Spanish Circle of Friends of Europe (Spanish: Círculo Español de Amigos de Europa)
ENEK	United Nationalist Movement (Greek: Ενιαίο Εθνικιστικό Κίνημα)
EON	National Youth Organization (Greek: Εθνική Οργάνωσις Νεολαίας)
EPEN	National Political Union (Greek: Εθνική Πολιτική Ένωσις)
EU	European Union
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GD	Golden Dawn (Greek: ΧΑ, Χρυσή Αυγή, English: CA, Xrisi Avgi, Chrysi Avgi)
JOBBIK	The Movement for a Better Hungary (Hungarian: Jobbik Magyarorszáért Mozgalom)
K4A	4th of August Party (Greek: Κόμμα 4ης Αυγούστου)
LAOS	Popular Orthodox Rally (Greek: Λαϊκός Ορθόδοξος Συναγερμός)
LEPEN	Popular Greek Patriotic Union (Greek: Λαϊκή Ελληνική Πατριωτική Ένωση)
ND	New Democracy Party (Greek: Νέα Δημοκρατία)
NPD	National Democratic Party of Germany (German: Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PASOK	Panhellenic Socialist Movement (Greek: Πανελλήνιο Σοσιαλιστικό Κίνημα)
PIGS	Portugal-Italy-Greece-Spain
PVV	Party for Freedom (Dutch: Partij voor de Vrijheid)
RAD	<i>Reich</i> Labor Service (German: Reichsarbeitsdienst)
SNS	Slovak National Party (Slovak: Slovenská národná strana)
SYRIZA	The Coalition of the Radical Left (Greek: ΣΥΡΙΖΑ)
UKIP	UK Independence Party



1. INTRODUCTION

*“Imagine there's no countries
It isn't hard to do
Nothing to kill or die for
And no religion too
Imagine all the people
Living life in peace”¹(Lennon, 1971)*

The ongoing rise in radical right votes in Europe seems to reveal widespread apprehensions among those who believe in European integration. Most of these radical right movements take the floor as legal bodies such as political parties, think tank organizations, *etc.* and have started to compete with the other parties in democratic elections. Some of those movements do not hide their intentions and use radical discourses, while some of them proceed incognito. No matter how they proceed, all of the radical right parties use different tools to raise their voices and gain public support, according to the existing conditions in each country. Many factors such as public awareness, the applicability of the laws, and social values delineate the progression of these movements domestically and internationally. The extent of their mobility and progression indisputably gives courage to these movements in terms of radicalization.

This dissertation aims to explain the newly emerging radical right parties in European countries within the context of nationalism studies, with a special emphasis on the case of Greece. The recent rise of the radical right, especially in the last three European Parliament Elections of 2009, 2014 and 2019 is deeply rooted in the historical evolution of European nationalism rather than linked to a single-issue case such as economic recession or the refugee influx. Revealing the correlation between the emergence of

¹ Lyrics by John Lennon from his widely known song “Imagine”.

nationalism and the rise of the radical right will also help us understand the country specific cases in depth.

The Greek Neo-Nazi party, Golden Dawn, come into prominence with its dramatic increase in votes in Greece as a consequence of the Greek legislative elections in May 2012. The party managed to increase its votes² from 0.29% to 6.97% in only three years. Moreover, the rise of Golden Dawn is not a coincidence, since the party managed to enter the Greek parliament four times in a row in four legislative elections during a 7-year period, even though it failed to secure seats in the Greek legislative elections of July 2019. It should be noted that Golden Dawn missed out on seats by a very narrow margin according to the 3% threshold of the Greek Legislative Electoral System. Considering that Golden Dawn still holds 2.93% of the Greek electorate, the percentage of its votes is almost thirty times where it started (Golden Dawn received 0.1% in the European Parliament Elections in 1994) before the party entered the Greek Parliament. On the other hand, the rise of another radical right party, “Hellenic Solution”³ proves that the phenomenon has not been completely held up. Right through Greek political history, the names of the radical right parties have changed over the course of time, but their ideologies have remained the same. Different radical right parties with slightly different perspectives emerge from time to time, according to the necessities of Greek politics. Nevertheless, Golden Dawn distinguishes itself with its totalitarian⁴ tendencies as being on the far edge. It is an organization that does not care about its legitimacy in the eyes of the public or international powers. It is also an organization that cannot tolerate opinions that are different from its own ideology.

Therefore, this study will particularly focus on the rise of the radical right in Greece in order to explain the phenomenon and mainly to answer the following questions: Is Golden

² Official results of Greek National Elections
<http://ekloges.ypes.gr> (accessed on 15 April 2018)

³ Ελληνική Λύση in Greek.

⁴ “When totalitarian regimes close down the *cafés* and coffee houses in which opinion is formed, suppress voluntary organizations not directly controlled by the state, restrict professional autonomy, censor publication, and punish people for anti-regime talk, they eliminate civil society and public opinion (the argument goes), leaving only an artificial ‘popular opinion’ that is a reflection of regime propaganda.” (Fitzpatrick, 2009, p. 24)

Dawn an idiosyncratic case in the context of the rise of the radical right in Europe? What are the common points of the radical right parties in Europe and in Greece? Is there any correlation between Golden Dawn and the other European radical right parties? Is there any difference or similarity between Golden Dawn and the other radical right parties in Greece? What does Golden Dawn's presence mean for Greek Democracy? What does the presence of a pro-totalitarian party imply for the future of European integration?

No doubt the Great Recession (Pappas, 2014b, p. 2) of the 2000s created one of the greatest cleavages in the European continent since the end of the Cold War. Paul R. Brass, one of the most prominent scholars in the field of nationalism studies, argues that the political atmosphere is extremely significant in terms of the contagious impact of nationalism (Brass, 1991, p. 8-9). The dual presence of the economic crisis and the refugee crisis prepared the appropriate political atmosphere for the nationalist movements in Greece. Brass also emphasizes that the political atmosphere is fabricated in order to intertwine with the ideology. In this respect, modernist scholars of nationalism studies such as Eric J. Hobsbawm and Ernest Gellner do not consider that political atmosphere had an impact on the emergence of nationalism before modern times. The economic context became one of the most important indicators of political atmosphere. At this moment in time, the economic dire straits many countries have to face within the European Union have created controversies among the members of the Union. The countries with a better economic situation (Havlik, 2017) such as Germany and France, did not rush to help the countries in debt. Greece, in particular, faced economic distress more than other countries such as Ireland, Spain, Portugal, [the other three countries making up the so-called 'PIGS'] (BBC, 2010) during the time of crisis. Since Greece claims to represent civilized Europe with its Ancient Era in the terms of philosophers and scientists, the Greek debt crisis caused a bigger impact than its current sphere of influence in the region would merit. Moreover, the reluctant attitude of some European Union member states towards helping Greece sparked a new debate as to whether every member has the same leverage or not within the Union.

Greece was the country that suffered the economic crisis up to her hilt. As a relatively old member of the European Union, Greece felt solitude in every respect. Moreover, the

refugee influx⁵ (IOM, 2015) increased as an outcome of the Syrian war, because Greece became the most important transit point through Europe for the refugees. Therefore, the twin crises⁶ occurred in Greece concurrently. Golden Dawn did not enter the parliament right after the refugee crisis, but the outcome of the refugee influx consolidated the electoral support for the Golden Dawn party. In the midst of these crises, the Greek people started to question their political leadership like never before. The Greek electorate gave a chance to George Papandreou in the legislative elections in October 2009 and to Antonis Samaras in June 2012. Both leaders from the major Greek political parties, PASOK and New Democracy respectively, in the *metapolitefsi*⁷ era, could not manage to alleviate the problems of the Greek people. The economic crisis of 2008⁸ (OECD, 2014) in particular had an enormous impact on demolishing the two-party system that had shaped Greek politics since 1974, allowing relatively small parties to become mainstream (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015, p. 29). As a result, these crises toppled the 40-year-old dominance of the two major parties in the general elections of January 2015.

The aftermath of the twin crises in Greece revealed two radical movements in the Greek parliament. One of them is SYRIZA, as the left-wing radical party, the other one is the Golden Dawn as the right-wing radical party. This dissertation will try to uncover whether the twin crises triggered the rise of the radical right movements in Greece or not. Naturally, it would not be correct to compare SYRIZA and Golden Dawn in terms of their radical stances. However, both movements managed to rise up during the same period. This study will specifically focus on the case of Golden Dawn, while also considering the impact of left-wing populism during these times of crises.

The Golden Dawn case became a popular topic not only in Greece but also in Europe in terms of the rise of radical right movements concurrently. Western academia and press considered the rise of Golden Dawn as a threat to the pioneers of European Integration.

⁵ In 2015 alone, there were some 806,175 arrivals in Greece, mostly from the sea.

⁶ “Twin crises” term refers to simultaneously occurred refugee crisis and economic crisis.

⁷ Μεταπολίτευση in Greek, which covers the political era after the fall of the Greek Colonels’ Junta Regime in 1974.

⁸ The Greek economy went through recession between 2008 and 2012.

When Golden Dawn entered the Greek Parliament, almost all of the European mainstream newspapers highlighted this case of the rise of Neo-Nazis in Greece.

In 2013, the murder of leftist rap singer Pavlos Fyssas, allegedly by Golden Dawn members, rapidly intensified the debate in Greek society (Hope, 2013). Being a highly sensitive issue among the public and politicians alike, nationalist movements have become a matter of lively debate in Europe in recent years, especially after the start of the refugee influx into Europe and terror attacks all over the world from France to New Zealand. The inflow of immigrants through Europe rekindled the debate in a wider perspective.

One can see that there has been a simultaneous emergence of radical right movements all over Europe, including Greece. This study focuses on the causes of the radical right's appearance. The gap of in-depth analyses has led the author to discover the inward leaning nature of these ideologies. In Greece, nationalist movements never had a chance to radicalize after the Colonels' Junta Regime between 1967 and 1974. There had been established some radical right parties in the *metapolitefsi* era. Most of these could not manage to enter the Greek Parliament. In the aftermath of the Colonels' Junta Regime, the Greek radical right party "National Alignment"⁹ managed to receive 6.8% of the votes in 1977 and won five seats in the Greek Parliament (see Figure 6.1). This was the most substantial success of the radical right parties (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015, p. 21) in Greece in the *metapolitefsi* era until Golden Dawn managed to secure 21 seats in the Greek Parliament in 2012. Compared to Golden Dawn's triumph in the elections, the election results of former radical right parties were not worthy of note in this section.

Moreover, pure extremism never brought votes to the parties that embrace the ideology in Greece, since those parties did not use populist rhetoric in their propagandas. Golden Dawn managed to change this reality by becoming the third major political party in the Greek parliament after the 2015 legislative elections. Populist discourse was used mainly by the Junta Regime in Greece in order to represent itself as the protector of the Greek

⁹ Εθνική Παράταξις in Greek.

people's "true interests" against the morally corrupt elites (Grigoriadis, 2018, p. 18). Although Golden Dawn members try to stand distant from the Colonels' Junta Regime (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015, p. 16), they use a similar rhetoric in their discourses by insulting the "corrupt" elites and former politicians and by claiming that only Golden Dawn knows what is best for the Greek people, as the party considers itself to be the only patriotic political party in Greece.

In order to comprehend Golden Dawn's sudden upsurge and answer the main research questions, this dissertation will deal with the case of Golden Dawn by framing the theoretical overview and introducing the literature review first and foremost in the second chapter of this dissertation. There are voluminous studies on nationalism and its radicalization with a variety of aspects. The more prominent studies will be reviewed in the *Literature Review* section. However, it is still a major challenge for scholars to disentangle the main factors that lead to radicalized nationalism. Unfortunately, existing studies on the rise of the Greek Neo-Nazi party, Golden Dawn, overlook the linkage of this specific case with the process of European integration, nationalism theories, and the impact of globalization. These studies remain limited to focusing on superficial occasions such as the discourses of the party members and the election results. It goes without saying that the aforementioned contents are indispensable to make a proper analysis. Whereas Golden Dawn's sudden upsurge should be examined by considering the historical background of nationalism in Europe and specifically in Greece, it could be a huge mistake to exclude the theoretical and historical background of the nationalist ideology in Greece within the European context. That is why the second chapter of this dissertation will help us to grasp the whole concept of nationalist thinking to enable analyzing the case of Golden Dawn in theory. In this day and age, local issues are being transformed into global issues, such as the Syrian War leading to a refugee influx, which in turn has a direct impact on the domestic politics of Greece. Starting from this point of view, this dissertation will handle the case of Golden Dawn as a whole instead of considering it only as Greece's local problem. The case of Golden Dawn has become a global phenomenon since the party has traces of "Nazism", which caused the biggest war in the modern history of Europe.

Radicalized nationalism refers to the radical right in the literature of nationalism studies. In the theoretical overview part of the second chapter, the correlation between nationalism and the radical right will be underlined. In this respect, conceptualizing the commonalities and differentiations of ideologies related to the radical right will be a significant indicator to discuss which ideologies can be excluded or included as radical right among the cluster of nationalist parties. In the other respect, throughout the dissertation the term “radical right” will be used among the main terminology of this dissertation rather than the term “far-right” since “radical right” has more academic and formal connotations in the literature. Nevertheless, the journalists tend to use the terms “far-right” or “extreme right” rather than the term “radical right” in the recent years. However, the term “radical right” emerges as the umbrella of this terminology (Kitschelt and McGann, 1995). Although the existing literature on the subject is extremely wide, this study will require a drawing of the limits accurately for an understanding of the correlation between nationalism and the radical right.

Before identifying the radical right, it will be more accurate to deal with the nationalism theories in the literature review and theoretical overview parts. Some prominent scholars such as Ernest Gellner, Eric J. Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson, *etc.* suggested different perspectives to understand the roots of nationalism. They highlighted some components such as imagined communities, printing press capitalism, high culture, invention of traditions, monopoly of central education, impact of elites, impact of industrialization, *etc.* Every scholar focused on different components and unavoidably may have overlooked the significance of the other components. That is why this dissertation intends to cover major arguments on the topic in a theoretical overview and assemble different major perspectives while examining the particular case study of Golden Dawn. Considering the case related to the Greek radical right, it is required to comprehend that Greek nationalism depends upon European nationalism. As Greek nationalism succeeded European Romanticism¹⁰, notably during the establishment of the new Greek state, it is important to deal with the case in a global context.

¹⁰ An intellectual revolution in literature, art, philosophy between 1800 and 1850.

As will be seen in the second chapter, theories of nationalism do not have a long history in a modernist perspective. However, one can see that history may repeat itself even though the circumstances are changing in the course of time. Thus, theories do not lose their validity under changing conditions. These discussions seek to answer the following questions: How do nationalism theories influence radical right movements and how do these movements adapt theories to their frame of mind in practice? Identifying the organizational structure of radical right politics within the context of a theoretical framework is significant to comprehend the country specific factors in every single case. That is why this study will examine background for the country specific conditions when needed.

As this dissertation will be a multi-disciplinary work, it will contain contributions from the fields of Political Science, History, Media, and Literature in order to construe the various components of the issue. Nevertheless, nationalism theories and the history of nationalism are undeniably significant. This dissertation will develop a two-step research regarding the topic. The first step will develop through a deep literature review to comprehend how nationalism affects radical right movements and how nationalisms rise from the ashes and have an impact on each other in different countries. This type of analysis requires the collection of a variety of materials reflecting the official stances of the political parties in order to penetrate their ideologies.

History reveals that the contagiousness of nationalism is an undisputable fact, particularly during the modern history of Europe. Even though nationalism is consonant with fundamentalism in terms of identity, it is a global phenomenon, as nationalism infiltrates into societies in different forms in accordance with political and sociological atmospheres.

The second step will focus on the content analysis to reveal the dynamics of the case study. In this respect, the official website¹¹, the manifestos (national plans, political

¹¹ During the writing process of this dissertation, Golden Dawn crashed out of the Greek Parliament. Since then, Golden Dawn's official website has been allegedly hacked by anti-Fascist groups. That is why "WayBack Machine" (which saves the snapshots from older dates) had to be used for the continuation of this work. This is the latest snapshot of the website from 30th July 2019.

stances), the pamphlet and the press organs of Golden Dawn will be researched. They will be the primary sources of this dissertation. Apart from these documents, the prominent discourses of party members will be analyzed. The stance of official members of Golden Dawn will be a significant indicator in order to help us understand the ideological outlook of the party.

Although there are many studies about the case of Golden Dawn, most of them focus on the violent actions of Golden Dawn and overlook the importance of the historical and theoretical framework and ideological concept of the party. This dissertation aims to focus on Greek and European nationalisms in order to illuminate the Golden Dawn case by explaining the phenomenon utilizing nationalism theories. The following questions arise in the light of previous discussions: what is the main reason for the rise of the radical right in Greece? Did Greece's nation-state building system of the 19th century plant the seeds of today's radical movement or was radicalization one of the impacts of globalization? What are the roots of Golden Dawn's nationalism?

The rise of nationalistic tendencies in Europe coincides with Golden Dawn's sharp rise. In today's politics, the rise of the radical right induced a public debate that tends to threaten the integrity of European integration. Europe had to struggle on many levels to form an often-begrudged civilization since ancient times. There had been many wars and conflicts in the region over the course of time. The emergence of the Renaissance and the Reformation notably between the 14th and 17th centuries led Europe to come into prominence as one of the main centers of civilization. The establishment of the European Union especially strengthened the idea of an integrated and multicultural European civilization in the 20th century.

The mainstream media and non-academic studies reflect the question of the rise of the radical right as the outcome of the recent global economic crisis and refugee influx, with superficial and short-term oriented analyses (Funke, Schularick and Trebesch, 2019;

<http://web.archive.org/web/20190730191616/http://www.xryshaygh.com/> (accessed on 20 September 2019)

After some time, Golden Dawn 'partially' reopened its official website with a different domain.

<http://www.xrisiavgi.com> (accessed on 15 December 2019)

Bennhold, 2019; Davis, 2019). These broad conclusions may be correct up to a point, but we need to examine these arguments in light of historical facts and the evolution of nationalism. The end of the Cold War in particular created an ideological vacuum after the fall of Communism. Some of the formerly unsettling ideologies such as that of the radical right tended to fill this vacuum and interpret the new concept of the world on their own terms.

The third chapter will link the theoretical aspect with the evolution of European nationalism. This linkage will provide a better perspective from which to understand the Greek phenomenon in essence. Embedding recently decolonized states into the new Post-Cold War order prompted the scholars of nationalism to interpret the ideological transformation.

The third chapter will also display the breaking points of nationalism on the European continent. There are doubtlessly some milestones for nationalist tendencies in recent history, such as the independence wars of the 19th century, World War I and World War II. World War II in particular created cleavages not only in Greece but also in European countries in terms of nationalism. The world had to meet the consequences of Nazism and Fascism in the era of World War II. This era could be called the birth of radical right ideologies in a wider spectrum. The third chapter will tackle European nationalism in four sections as follows: The Industrial Revolution, World War I and World War II, the Cold War Era, and the Post-Cold War Era.

The end of the Cold War revealed national apprehensions in terms of the ambiguous atmosphere to be seen in the international system. The right-wing politicians in Europe approached the issues with preservationist reflexes. These parties tried to convince people that European Integration has corroded the nation-state structure via liberal economies and the promotion of the freedom of movement. Recently in Europe, xenophobia has gained momentum with the use of anti-immigrant discourses by those preservationist politicians. Therefore, the radical right politicians normalized these anti-immigrants and Islamophobic discourses. When Anders Behring Breivik killed 77 people (Mala and Goodman, 2011), who were supporting Muslim immigrants in Norway in July 2011, the

massacre inspired many extremists all around the globe (Taylor, 2019). As will be seen in the case of Golden Dawn, the members of the party mostly targeted Muslim immigrants and they tried to justify their actions by emphasizing their patriotism.

The fourth chapter will help us understand the essence of Greek nationalism. Although Golden Dawn leans on the Metaxas dictatorship in the 1930s and the Colonels' Junta Regime in the end of 1960s, the fourth chapter will uncover the impact of the nation building process of Greece starting from Greek Liberation War. It would not be advisable to explain the case of Golden Dawn without explaining how the European nationalism had an impact on the evolution of Greek nationalism.

In the fifth chapter, it will also be seen how Golden Dawn's ideology concentrated on Islamophobia rather than anti-Semitism in the course of time, even though anti-Semitic tendencies are still extremely strong within the party members. Interestingly, the general tendencies of global politics have an impact on most of these radical right movements in terms of their ideology. At the beginning of the 20th century, there was a racial hatred towards the Jewish communities, especially in Europe. With the changing global political conditions after World War II and particularly after the Cold War Era, the radical right parties redirected their racial hatred by targeting Muslim immigrants. Golden Dawn did not hesitate to follow this trend, which is one outcome of globalization. Naturally, Golden Dawn still keeps its anti-Semitic sentiments, but prioritizes the issue of the refugee influx, since it has become a current major issue in Greece. In this sense, we need also to examine the issues in the context of globalization.

All through the dissertation, it will be seen that radical right supporters approach "globalization" and "globalisms" as a threat to their nation-states. A researcher at the Anti-Defamation League, Mark Pitcavage defines "globalism" related to the radical right...

"For the far-right, the term "globalism" encapsulates a conspirational worldview based on racism, xenophobia and Anti-Semitism." (Stack, 2016)

At this juncture, electoral systems come into prominence. Democracy emerged as an indispensable apparatus for most of the countries on the European continent within the

20th century. The democratic electoral system has become one of the most important elements of European democracies. These democratic elections display the participatory vigor of the people in establishing their governing authority. Interestingly, the people who believe in democracy and multiculturalism prefer not to vote in General Elections in their own country, but mainly do so in elections to the European Parliament.

On the other hand, the radical right-wing supporters go to the ballot boxes in large numbers, in order to have an official voice. The “New Radical Right” approaches their voters more strategically compared to the past. These parties try to convince their societies that their party members are not racists. They tend to move forward with a “post-modern populist” strategy in an ambiguous environment. Therefore, they depend on emotions, suspicions and prejudices in their strategies for the elections (Vardar, 2004, p. 13-15). The electoral behavior of radical right voters will be analyzed in detail in the third, fourth and fifth chapters of this dissertation.

Although the supporters of the radical parties do not believe in democratic values, they interestingly tend to use democratic tools more than the supporters of those parties which have a democratic perception (Figure 1.1)¹². The center right parties’ fear of losing votes increases the compatibility between center right and right-wing parties. This transitivity between radical right and central right votes can be seen particularly in Austria and Greece. The center right parties embrace some of the values of the radical right parties in order to consolidate their electoral power. In the fourth chapter, we will see that center right parties stole significant roles from radical right parties throughout the history of Greece (Celep, 2009, p. 93). In other words, center right parties may pursue compatible policies with radical right parties on some occasions.

¹² The countries have been chosen from the top 40 democratic countries according to the Democracy Index of *The Economist*.
<https://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2019/01/08/the-retreat-of-global-democracy-stopped-in-2018>
(accessed on 6 August 2019)

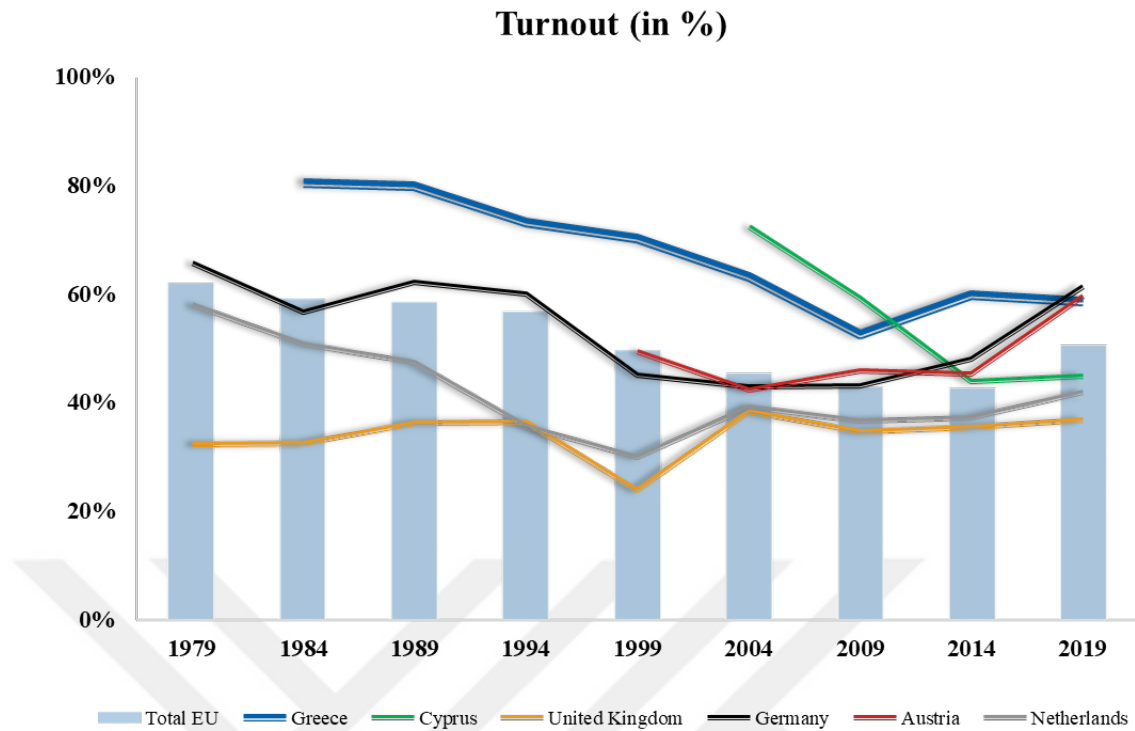


Figure 1.1 Voting turnouts in European Parliament Elections with country specific results between 1979 – 2019¹³

By 1977, in other words right after the collapse of the Colonels’ Junta Regime, the radical right reached their highest number of votes, and this result paved the way for Golden Dawn’s emergence in the 2010s (Celep, 2009, p. 137). Moreover, the New Democracy Party was successful enough to keep potential radical right votes by maintaining its ideological range between the radical right and the center right in Greece. Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou depict the change in voting behavior of the radical right electorate...

“The dynamics of party competition, as well as the de-legitimisation of right-wing extremism after the collapse of the junta, the fragmentation of the right into various far right-wing factions, the ability of New Democracy to absorb right-wing voters of all convictions, as well as the Golden Dawn’s own association with violence, prevented the party from entering the political scene. The Eurozone crisis, however, altered political dynamics. Not only did it change the dynamics of the Greek party system and party competition, opening up political opportunities for parties on the fringes; by translating

¹³ <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/elections2014-results/en/turnout.html> (accessed on 6 August 2019)

into a political and ideological crisis, it shook the foundations of the Greek nation-state challenging the basis of Greek democratic institutions and the legitimacy of the regime itself.” (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015, p. 22-23)

In order to comprehend the sentiments of the Greek radical right, it is very important to clarify the motivations of Greek nationalism. As the focus of this dissertation, Greek nationalism also took form relatively similarly to the way European nationalism did. In the fourth chapter, the history of Greek nationalist thought will be analyzed in detail. Many different theories can be adapted to examine Greek nationalism. Arguments by Benedict Anderson on print capitalism, by Eric J. Hobsbawm on the invention of traditions and by Ernest Gellner on the Industrial Revolution will be applied to defining the development of Greek nationalist thinking. Different arguments somehow served Greek nationalism with different components.

As one of the radical outcomes of Greek nationalism, Golden Dawn follows nationalist persuasions in order to expand its sphere of influence. The prominent actors of Golden Dawn never hesitate to express their nationalist tendencies. Moreover, the party members of Golden Dawn proudly emphasize the fact that they are nationalists and patriots at every turn. The English version of Golden Dawn’s official website displays the heading “The Greek Nationalists Party” and the slogan “Nationalism is not a Crime” on its opening page. It will be seen in the following chapters that Golden Dawn also claims that it carries out its activities with patriotic beliefs. They do admit their nationalist emotions, but they never consider their criminal activities as unlawful acts since they supposedly carry those out for the survival of the state. In this respect, it is worth challenging the motivations of Golden Dawn’s nationalism. The nationalist motivations of Golden Dawn are closely related to its methods for expanding its sphere of influence within Greece and throughout Europe. The ideological perspective of Golden Dawn will be discussed in the fifth chapter.

On the other hand, there is a tendency in academia to consider nationalism as a negative phenomenon. It is generally shown as one of the factors that leads to the fostering of ideologies which are harmful for humanity and scholars approach nationalism as an ideology to be abolished. This dissertation does not intend to judge nationalists for

embracing this ideology, but aims to discuss whether there is a concrete connection between nationalism theories and the simultaneous emergence of radical right movements in essence.

In most cases, the rise of the radical right goes hand in hand with the rise of populism. As the case study of this dissertation, Golden Dawn also never hesitated to use populist rhetoric in its discourses. All through the history of the party, there was a clear distinction between ethnically pure Greek people and the corrupt elites. Golden Dawn has made a slight change in conventional populism by attaching an ethnic connotation onto it.

The populist discourse provides an opportunity for actors of the radical right to be championed by the people. Of course, populism is not valid only for Rightist movements, but also for Leftist politics. This study will explain the outcomes of populist discourse from Left-wing and Right-wing politicians in the following chapters.

Many studies on the rise of the radical right emphasize the economic underdevelopment factor as a significant indicator for the emergence or the rise of the radical movements. This hypothesis seems to be valid in most cases, but it is worth challenging. In the Greek case, many scholars interpreted Golden Dawn's rise as the aftermath of the Greek economic crisis. The inductive interpretation of the results seems to provide an insight for the rise of other radical movements in Europe such as the Spanish, Italian and British examples. However, the results of the German General Elections in September 2017 appeared to challenge previous hypotheses. The German Chancellor Angela Merkel lost considerable votes even though the German economy has expanded with enormous growth (The World Bank, 2019) during her years in office. Notwithstanding this economic improvement, a self-contained nationalist party, the AfD¹⁴, increased its votes¹⁵ (Deutscher Bundestag, 2019) to an unexpected level (12.6%) in the Federal Parliamentary Elections in 2017 and it became the third party (Deutscher Bundestag, 2019) in the German parliament, regardless of the economic development in Germany. This result

¹⁴ Alternative für Deutschland. (Alternative for Germany)

¹⁵ In the last State Parliamentary Elections of Thuringia on October 2019, AfD managed to receive 23.4% of the votes and became the second party. Angela Merkel's Christian Democrats (CDU) fell to the third party in this election.

does not fit in with the equation which most of the studies suggest. It is too early to claim that this is a game changer result, but it definitely indicates that there are many dynamics which have an impact on the emergence of nationalism.

Nationalism emerges in different forms under different political climates. Umut Özkırımlı likens nationalism to a chameleon in this sense. Nationalism adapts to any political and sociological atmosphere at any time. Hence nationalism may cooperate with any other ideology (Özkırımlı, 2016, p. 267). In this context, there is a need to juxtapose the European examples and Golden Dawn's case, in order to understand whether there is a simultaneous correlated ascent. It would not be right to equate Greek nationalism with the British or French examples, *etc.* As a matter of fact, nationalist movements and their motivations have dissimilarities in every country.

2. NATIONALISM: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

*“Nationalism is like alcoholism,
a short period of exaltation,
followed by a long period of headaches.”
(Timmermans, 2017)*

In this chapter, the literature review will be introduced, and the theoretical overview will be framed. Although nationalism does not have thousands of years of history, it has had an enormous impact on the transformation of international politics, notably in the last two centuries.

In today's world, we are living in a nation-state system. Especially in the last two centuries, the nation state building system embodied the cleavages among societies and most of the European countries were exposed to nationalist tendencies. Since Greece is one of these countries regarding its nation state building process in the last 200 years, the theoretical aspect of nationalism will help readers to frame the Greek case in a wider perspective.

To facilitate a full understanding of the diversified ingredients of the related topic, the literature review will be divided into three sections. Initially, with the theoretical framework given in this chapter, the reader will be able to comprehend the core element of the topic. This chapter will cover all the major arguments of the modernist approach. Therefore, it will enable the reader to consider all of the components of the nationalist ideology. Secondly, the rise of the phenomenon and the impact of globalization will be dealt with within the given framework. In the third section of this chapter, Greece's position will be compared with the universally accepted structure of the phenomenon. Although the Golden Dawn case is idiosyncratic in terms of its upsurge, it is significant

to allocate the case its rightful place in a global spectrum. Moreover, this chapter will deal with the specific case of this dissertation within the context of a hierarchical structure of the theoretical information given in the first three sections.

Once the theoretical framework is explained, this chapter will help us to reach answers to the following questions: how do nationalism theories guide radical right movements and how do these movements adapt theories to their frame of mind in practice?

2.1. Theories of Nationalism

It is widely accepted that nationalism is not a recent phenomenon in world history. Although a nationalist perspective had dominated politics in many regions and over many decades, scholars started to discuss the germinations of nationalism systematically in the 20th century. Eric J. Hobsbawm claims that the contemporary meaning of the “nation” is not older than two centuries (Hobsbawm, 1990, p. 17). However, the academic literature on nationalism has only come into existence in the last 35-40 years. Nevertheless, scholars of contemporary nationalist ideology profess that nationalist sentiments were in evidence even in the 15th – 16th centuries. Naturally, these sentiments have increasingly influenced the political and sociological atmosphere since then.

For theoreticians of the nationalist ideology, the answers to two questions may be the most controversial ones: Did nations create nationalism? Or did nationalism create nations? Ernest Gellner argues that nationalism invented nations (Gellner, 1983). He suggests some tools for this invention such as print capitalism, the bureaucratic and centralizing state, capitalist exploitation, the culture of industrialization and the mobilizing rhetoric of political elites. According to his argument, the central authority is the most important ingredient in order for all of these tools to operate. According to the theories of nationalism, this central authority is defined as the nation state. This dissertation does not intend to probe into whether nationalism created nations or *vice versa*. However, resolving this contentious issue will help the reader to detect the dynamics of the radical right upsurge in the European continent, since radical right parties justify sustaining their nationalist sentiments through their commitment to their nations.

Eric J. Hobsbawm regards the democratization process starting in the 19th century as responsible for the centralization of power. Therefore, the concepts of nation and nation state started to engage with each other in this period. This process started irreversibly and proceeded to create many problems in the meantime. Hobsbawm expands on his approach...

“As we shall see, after 1870 democratization would make (this) problem of legitimacy and the mobilization of citizens both urgent and acute. For governments, the central item in the equation state = nation = people was plainly the state.” (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 23)

Nonetheless, Hobsbawm tries to comprehend the nature of nations in order to interpret a nationalism theory. Therefore, he labors to explain the meaning of the word ‘nation’. According to Hobsbawm, the concept of nation has changed over the course of time...

“Whatever the ‘proper and original’ or any other meaning of ‘nation’, the term is clearly still quite different from its modern meaning. We may thus, without entering further into the matter, accept that in its modern and basically political sense the concept nation is historically very young. Indeed, this is underlined by another linguistic monument, the New English Dictionary which pointed out in 1908, that the old meaning of the word envisaged mainly the ethnic unit, but recent usage rather stressed ‘the notion of political unity and independence’.” (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 17-18)

2.1.1. Emergence

Why was academia so late in becoming engaged on partaking research on nationalism? There are many arguments around this question. Eric J. Hobsbawm hesitates to respond. In this respect, Umut Özkırmılı suggests two main arguments for this delay. Firstly, academia ignored researching nationalism as it was not considered worthwhile. Secondly, there was a common opinion that there was no nationalism in established states, but patriotism. Hobsbawm argues that nationalism had kept a “low profile” in Western Europe before 1914 (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 139). He excludes Irish nationalism in this sense, as the exception that proves the rule. Nationalism was considered as a term associated with Third World countries and local conflicts at the time. (Özkırmılı, 2000, p. 13). The aftermath of World War II created an awareness within academia regarding the destructive consequences of the war.

John Breuilly, another scholar of nationalism theory, raises another idea about the emergence of nationalism in his critique to Ernest Gellner's *Nations and Nationalism*. Breuilly claims that nationalism emerged after the defeat of Fascism in 1945, and was strengthened by the decolonization of Western European powers after 1947 (Gellner, 1983, p. XIX). Gellner does not deny the impact of decolonization after 1945 on the emergence of the nationalist movements, but he considers the Post-War Era, in other words the Cold War Era, as one of "New Nationalism".

According to Gellner, nationalist sentiments go hand in hand with the development of industrialization. He considers nationalism as a major and vital instrument of industrialization. At this juncture, it would be right to expand on the impact of industrial transformation on nationalism, in accordance with Gellner's theories. Industrial development led to the most extensive transformation in human history. It would not be wrong to mention that every single detail of people's daily lives started to change in leaps and bounds. The emergence of machines, facilitation in trade, improvements in logistics, changing rituals in people's travelling habits, *etc.* became transformative elements in societies. No doubt these quick major changes touched people's lives in sociological, economic and political aspects.

In this respect, Craig Calhoun's argument gains importance in the sense of the intertwining of nationalist discourse with the everyday habits of members of societies. Calhoun argues that modern societies internalize the components of nationalism whether they want to or not. He expands on his approach...

"As moderns we are all participants in the discourse of nations whether we like it or not. Many of the categories and presumptions of this discourse are so deeply ingrained in our everyday language and our academic theories that it is virtually impossible to shed them, and we can only remind ourselves continuously to take them into account. A simple example is the assumption that "society" is a noun referring to self-sufficient units with clear boundaries." (Calhoun, 1993, p. 214)

In this sense, nationalism adapts itself to the changing conditions of daily life. Naturally, the success of the inclusion of nationalist thought and discourse depends on complex dynamics. It is essential to mention that nationalism has linearity in terms of its

components in order to expand its sphere of influence among societies. Nevertheless, the impact of the industrialization process on nationalist movements is a stubbornly prevalent fact. According to Ernest Gellner's theory, only Swiss industrialization constitutes an exception, since nationalism has not occurred as a major issue in this country (Gellner, 1964, p. 174). One must remember that Switzerland did not take part in any total war in the last century. As Paul R. Brass argues, political atmosphere is a significant factor for ideologies to infiltrate. Apparently, the Swiss example differs from other examples in the context of political atmosphere.

Nevertheless, Gellner does not pay attention to the rise of nationalism in Greece, the Ottoman Empire or the Balkan region before World War I. The effect of the joint action of nationalism and industrialization was decelerating in these countries regarding the lack of sophisticated industrialization processes. Greece, as the centre of attention in this dissertation, became a nationalist vacuum in the region. The Liberation War of Greece affected the dynamics in its region in terms of nationalist movements. As a result, nationalist sentiments in the Ottoman Empire, Turkish nationalism in other words, gained momentum as a reaction to this Greek nationalism. The rise of nationalism in Greece will be discussed in the third section of this chapter in detail, but it is worth mentioning that Greece is another exception to Ernest Gellner's theory in the context of nationalism in non-industrial states, since Greek nationalism did not proceed hand in hand with the industrialization process.

From this point onwards, Umut Özkırmılı argues that, notably, the disruptive consequences of World War I created a need for unbiased studies in order for us to understand the problems which nationalism caused. (Özkırmılı, 2016, p. 56) Nevertheless, there is no accurate consensus on the definition of nationalism in the social sciences. Every scholar approaches nationalism from different perspectives and defines it with different motivations. Özkırmılı classifies some of the prominent nationalism theoreticians...

Nationalism means...

- A doctrine for Elie Kedourie
- An ideological movement for Anthony D. Smith
- A political principle for Ernest Gellner
- A discourse for Craig Calhoun (Özkırmılı, 2000, p. 71-72)

Although nationalism holds different connotations for all of these scholars, one should remember that the destructive consequences of World War II increased awareness in academia of the sense of nationalist extremism. Every scholar had different perspectives on the reasons for and outcomes of nationalist ideology, but each of them contributed to the literature for us to comprehend the elaborate dimensions of the phenomenon. Some of the most distinct approaches will be discussed in the next section of this dissertation.

The defeat of Fascism and Nazism during the Second World War revealed that nationalism matters in terms of social sciences. Most of the 20th century scholars considered nationalism as one of the most significant issues referring to global and local conflicts. In this respect, studies about nationalism started to address the issues in international politics. Özkırmılı systematizes the study of nationalism in four major eras:

- 1- The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the idea of nationalism was born.
- 2- 1918-1945, when nationalism became a subject of academic inquiry.
- 3- 1945-1989, when the theoretical debate on nationalism became more intense and diversified, with the contributions of various disciplines.
- 4- From 1989 to the present, when attempts to transcend the classical debate (characteristics of the third stage) have been made. (Özkırmılı, 2010, p. 10)

Niyazi Kızılyürek, another scholar who specializes in Cypriot nationalism, challenges the starting point of nationalist thought. Kızılyürek asserts that the Peace of Westphalia transformed territorial states into nation states. In this respect, the German and Italian

unifications based on culture underpinned the birth of the nation state system (Kızılyürek, 2002, p. 24).

From another perspective, Gellner does not challenge the periodisation of the idea of nationalism, but he approaches nationalism as a renewable material (Gellner, 1983, p. 124). What Gellner means by renewable material is that nationalism can adapt to changing conditions in time. He suggests that nationalism can proceed under any conditions. That is why nothing can be achieved by researching nationalist ideology, according to this argument. Nonetheless, it is arguable that offering insight into a nationalist approach raises awareness on the role of the elites. This approach by Gellner can be adapted to the case of Golden Dawn, since the party started its political journey as a marginal movement with negligible election results. However, Golden Dawn managed to survive ideologically for almost thirty years with inappreciable support. When the political climate was suitable for Golden Dawn to increase its support, it managed to become the third political force in the Greek Parliament. That is why it does not mean that being out of the Greek Parliament will stop Golden Dawn from projecting itself. Even if the party cannot be effective in the Parliament, the ideological influencers of Golden Dawn will not be reluctant to disseminate their thoughts in different ways. The name of the party or the way Golden Dawn carries out politics may change, but its ideology will proceed, according to Gellner's approach. Therefore, this study focuses on Golden Dawn as an ideological phenomenon rather than as an illegitimate organization.

Hereby individual awareness broadens among societies. This awareness fructifies in terms of non-governmental organizations and research studies, such as alternative history writing and non-governmental organizations helping refugees leads to societies developing different perspectives on state-centric occasions. Therefore, this awareness causes changes in societies. One can explain the rise of anti-Racism in Europe after the 1950s with the help of awareness. Moreover, there are many de-radicalization programs carrying on all over Europe. These non-governmental organizations¹⁶ aim to change the

¹⁶ The best-known organization for de-radicalization is EXIT-Deutschland in Germany. There are many similar organizations all over Europe.
<http://www.exit-deutschland.de/english/> (accessed on 12 December 2017)

mentality of former members of the radical nationalist groups. The de-radicalization movements would not come into being without individual awareness within societies. Contrary to Gellner's approach, researching nationalist ideology may lead to positive transformations within the societies, since these academic studies have transformative power over the political culture, especially in democratic states.

2.1.2. Components

In studies of nationalism, it is necessary to comprehend the components of the ideology of nationalism. In short, elites, education, political actors, history writing, invention of print, capitalism, industrialization, religion and culture come into prominence as the most important components of the nationalist ideologies. Naturally, it seems possible to extend these components with the help of ongoing research studies. This study tends to limit its field to the major components such as printing press capitalism, the impact of the industrialization process, the invention of tradition, centralized education and the consensus on high culture, *etc.* A majority of scholars deal with nationalism within the limits of modern history. It would be advisable to define modern history in this aspect. Scholars who are experts on European history, Asa Briggs and Patricia Clavin start their book "*Modern Europe: 1789 – Present*" referring to Alexis de Tocqueville...

“There was so much change, most of it unprecedented, during the second half of the eighteenth century that both then and since most people have regarded this period in human history as the great divide between past and present. This, they have said, was the true beginning of ‘modern times’. Looking backwards, the French nobleman, Alexis de Tocqueville, one of the shrewdest of political and social commentators, could ‘find no parallel’ in history. ‘The past [had] ceased to throw its light upon the future.’ ” (Briggs and Clavin, 1997, p. 1)

In other words, nationalism is considered as an invention of modern history by these scholars. Besides, Craig Calhoun contributes to the literature as a modernist scholar. He argues that even the components differ from ideology to ideology, all of these ideologies being absorbed with universally accepted values in the period of modern history...

“Though nationalisms are extremely varied phenomena, they are joined by common involvement in the modern discourse of nationalism. They are

common objects of reference in international law, political debate, and even economic development programs.” (Calhoun, 1993, p. 216)

On the other hand, Benedict Anderson is one of the eminent scholars who have approached the phenomenon beyond modern history. Benedict Anderson approaches the theory of nationalism as an instrument of mobilizing society by the hand of authorities who are seeking to reach their goals. The goals of those elites may vary from country to country, but the methods are roughly the same. In Anderson’s perspective, nationalism is a tool of modern times. He expands his perspective when dealing with the invention of printing press capitalism. Anderson considers the printing press as a milestone in the process of mobilizing society, since it became the most efficient means of propaganda in its time. Nevertheless, Anderson claims that instruments may alter in time, but the ones who hold power use these instruments according to their times. It would be right to raise a question about the impact of the printing press in modern times. Does printing press capitalism still have an impact on today’s mass societies in terms of manipulation or mobilization? It should be noted that even television is losing its popularity and impact. Besides, the internet and social media are gaining in terms of accumulation of knowledge or as tools for manipulation. The media are still effective in mass societies, even though they change their appearance and their means of broadcasting. At this juncture, Eric J. Hobsbawm highlights two crucial points about the impact of media in the 20th century...

“The first, which requires little comment, was the rise of the modern mass media: press, cinema and radio. By these means popular ideologies could be both standardized, homogenized and transformed, as well as, obviously, exploited for the purposes of deliberate propaganda by private interests and states. (The first Ministry specifically described as concerned with Propaganda and ‘Public Enlightenment’ was set up in Germany in 1933 by the new government of Adolf Hitler.)” (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 141-142)

Therefore, modern mass media became an important tool to direct society in the 20th century by all available means. However, the indisputability of the knowledge has disappeared since most of the sources have become public. Nevertheless, the acquisition of this knowledge revealed the fact of manipulation. It became easier to mobilize societies through the internet without a source or even any evidence. The distribution of knowledge varied over the course of time, but the manipulation of information never vanishes owing to the actions of elites.

In addition to printing press capitalism, Hobsbawm agrees with Benedict Anderson in terms of instruments for mobilizing society, but he highlights divinity as a tool to manipulate society. It seems possible to synthesize Hobsbawm's and Anderson's approaches. The invention of the printing press encouraged the adoption of a centralized educational system. This intensification initiated the decline in people's commitment to the divine. Therefore, divinity had lost its fascination for people, and its tendency to influence their rationality (Hobsbawm, 1990, pp. 22). Heroism substitutes for divinity in modern times as a positive element to attract nationalist sentiments. Hobsbawm quotes an example from 19th century France:

“As the Greek liberator Kolokotronis put it, it was no longer true that ‘the people thought that kings were gods upon earth and that they were bound to say that what they did was well done.’¹⁷ Divinity no longer hedged them. When Charles X of France revived the ancient ceremony of coronation at Rheims in 1825 and (reluctantly) the ceremony of magical healing, a mere 120 people turned up to be cured of scrofula by the royal touch. At the last coronation before him, in 1774, there had been 2,400.” (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 22)

On the other hand, Anthony D. Smith, another scholar of nationalism studies, agrees with Anderson and Hobsbawm on the decreasing impact of divinity, especially by the late 19th century...

“By the late eighteenth century, new ‘imagined communities’ of the nation based on vernacular print languages and perceived as moving through ‘homogeneous, empty time’ were emerging in place of declining cosmic faiths and sacred monarchies.” (Smith, 2009, p. 5-6)

In the case of Golden Dawn, contemporary Greek nationalist and radical right parties follow more or less the same path to convince people of their **holy struggle**. As well as this, Golden Dawn highlights Greek Orthodoxy as the most important element of the Greek nation's essence, besides being ethnically pure Greek. As Eric J. Hobsbawm mentioned above, the decision makers of these movements are aware of the substitution of heroism for divinity. Thus, the creation of heroes becomes a priority issue for those kinds of parties. Alongside the Greek national heroes, these parties have started to create

¹⁷ Quoted in Hobsbawm's *"Nations and Nationalism"*.

their own heroes. Therefore, they started to give hero status to their own party members¹⁸ who were injured or lost their lives in a fight against opposition groups. Anthony D. Smith asserts that heroism is an indispensable part of the nationalist movements in order to keep their societies' sentiments and hostilities alive...

“Not only do wars mobilize large sections of the community, often under extreme circumstances, they also give rise to myths of battle and furnish examples of heroism and collective sacrifice for emulation by subsequent generations.” (Smith, 2009, p. 47)

Naturally, appropriate examples will be given in detail in the fourth chapter of the dissertation, notably concerning the Greek case. Those people are presented as the symbols of this holy struggle by the party members. Heroism virtually represents nationalism in such cases. In other words, nationalism replaces religion or divinity, since it has more influence on people's rationality in modern times. Nonetheless, Smith argues that glorifying heroism or discursive formation are not enough for nationalists to sacrifice their lives. They need to feel that their own destiny is directly related to the holy struggle they are fighting for. Smith expands on his argument...

“Given the continuing and severe conceptual difficulties raised by terms such as ‘nation’, ‘national identity’ and ‘nationalism’, it is tempting to treat nations as purely ‘discursive formations’, created and manipulated by states and their elites. But this evades the problem of ‘passion’: the strong devotion and passionate attachments felt by so many people to ‘their’ nations. People do not lay down their lives for a discursive formation. Just as ‘the nation’ is felt and willed and acted out, as well as imagined, so many of the members of today's nations feel that their own interests, needs and welfare are bound up with the welfare and destiny of ‘their’ nation.” (Smith, 2009, p. 13-14)

Although heroism seems to have replaced divinity, pure heroism is not enough to convince the society of the need for self-devotion to the holy struggle in the 21st century. It is now crucial to make the members of society feel that they are an important element of the chain of common destiny. In this respect, the exhibition of national symbols for the imagination of the nation has become an indispensable tool in modern times. Creating a

¹⁸ The website of Golden Dawn opens with the banners of two members who lost their lives during a fight. The heroic article is attached with the heading of “Immortals”.
<http://web.archive.org/web/20190626113735/http://www.xryshaygh.com/enimerosi/view/h-dikh-sas-anamnsh-pujida-kai-faros-pou-se-kairous-skoteinous-fwitzei-tnh> (accessed on 6 August 2019)

tangible background for heroism, the importance of culture emerged as an important component of nationalism in the 20th century, too. Umut Özkırmılı claims that the connection between culture and state had been coincidental until modern times. Before printing press capitalism, there was no systematic correlation between culture and the concept of the state. That is why nations did not tend to create imagined communities. In the modern nation-state system, both culture and the state need each other to feed nationalism in order to survive (Özkırmılı, 2016, p.162). Özkırmılı also asserts that people have comprehended the significance of their culture when they realize their culture has paved the way for them to get jobs or to avoid the bureaucratic process (Özkırmılı, 2016, p. 163). In particular, the Greek Orthodox society of the Ottoman Empire held important bureaucratic and commercial positions. Thus, the Greek Orthodox society of the Ottoman Empire had the chance to keep in touch with the West by using their identity (Gülboy, 2014, p. 253). Gellner defines this process of awareness of people of their culture as **high culture** (Gellner, 1983, p. 57). Therefore, the Greek *millet* of the Ottoman Empire discovered the high culture in Greek identity. This issue will be explained in detail in the later sections of this chapter and in the fourth chapter.

According to Umut Özkırmılı's approach, nationalism can cooperate with anyone or any other ideology if needed. That is why it would be too speculative to stereotype the nationalist ideology. The components in this ideology may vary as the occasions requires. When arguing that nationalism is replacing religion, this does not mean that religion is completely out of the frame. If one intends to challenge Ernest Gellner's approach by arguing the Greek case is an exception to the rule of nationalist theory, this is probably because Greek nationalists have a complicated relationship with the Church. Greek nationalism was influenced by European Romanticism and people then had an interest in secularism, ethics and philosophy (Kızılyürek, 2002, p. 29) rather than spiritual values. Accordingly, some factions of the Greek revolutionaries had been supporting a new Greek nation state based on secularism. Although there had been a tendency towards a secular Greek state at the beginning of the 19th century, the captivity of the Ecumenical Patriarchate consolidated the idea of victimhood in the minds of European societies. Most importantly, the execution of the Patriarch Grigorios V by the Ottoman Empire led European intellectuals, particularly Christian ones, to sympathize with a new independent

Greek nation state (Clogg, 1992, p. 11). Although Grigorios V was against the Greek Revolution at the time, he became a national hero for Greek nationalists upon his execution. The higher Phanariot clergy considered the Patriarchate as the essence of *Hellas*¹⁹. (Millas, 1995, p. 174). On the contrary, the lower Christian Orthodox clergy of the Patriarchate played a significant role during the Greek Revolution (Grigoriadis, 2013, p. 20)

The Church of Greece has continued to play an active role in Greek daily life. Most of the time, the Greek nationalists and the Church meet on common ground. The impact of the Church on Greek nationalism will be discussed in detail in the fourth chapter.

Divinity may not be completely potent in modern history, but nationalists consider their states (or fellow countrymen in some cases) as sacred. Thus, nationalists tend to ignore or fail to criticize these people's failed activities, policies or discourses. The unquestionable legitimacy of the nationalist agenda creates victimizations and paradoxes among societies. The decision makers garnish especially irredentist policies with the help of nationalist sentiments, and they persuade their people that those policies are for the good of the nation.

If argued that the unquestionable legitimacy had been the same in previous centuries, this would be an anachronism. Before the establishment of the modern nation states, imperial pressure was the key element to mobilize people, but the nation-states have aimed to mobilize their nations based on voluntariness. Most of the participating states were surprised when their people went to the battlefield voluntarily in terms of patriotism during World War I (Hobsbawm, 1992, 88). Eric J. Hobsbawm terms this occasion as 'homes for heroes' and he continues...

“Democratization might thus automatically help to solve the problems of how states and regimes could acquire legitimacy in the eyes of their citizens, even if these were disaffected. It reinforced, it could even create, state patriotism.”
(Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 89)

¹⁹ Ελλάς in Greek. It refers to Greece in *katharevousa*.

Hobsbawm miscalculates the correlation between the impact of democratization on state patriotism and voluntariness. His argument fails when he writes about the support of people for the Nazi government during the Second World War. Obviously, there was an authoritarian Nazi regime, but there were many organizations working for the Nazis based on voluntariness²⁰. It is not right to overgeneralize every society's reasons to go to war regarding different social homogeneities. This dissertation focuses on how authoritarian and populist governments mobilize their people when needed. In this respect, the impact of democratization on voluntariness may not be valid in every single case. In the case of Golden Dawn, it should be observed that the party also proceeds based on voluntariness. The party has authoritarian tendencies, but its electorate is ready to serve the party for the good of the nation with patriotic intentions.

On the other hand, Max Weber focuses on the monopolization of the centralized education, in order to enhance the voluntariness among the “patriots” of the state. Gellner agrees with Weber that it is more important for the new nation-states to monopolize the official education system than it is for them to control any legitimate violence. In the beginning of the 20th century, Weber was the first scholar who mentioned the monopolization of legitimate violence by nation states (Weber, 1919, p. 8). Weber explains his approach...

“a state is a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory. Note that ‘territory’ is one of the characteristics of the state. Specifically, at the present time, the right to use physical force is ascribed to other institutions or to individuals only to the extent to which the state permits it. The state is considered the sole source of the ‘right’ to use violence. Hence, ‘politics’ for us means striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within a state.” (Weber, 1946, p. 4)

Ernest Gellner identifies the centralized education system as his focal point based on

²⁰ A couple of examples can be mentioned in this aspect. Many people joined the German military based on voluntariness, particularly on the fronts outside of Germany at the time. Those people consisted of the backbone of the Waffen-SS. (for more information see Gerry Villani's *Soldiers of Germania: The European Volunteers of the Waffen-SS*)

For the improvement of the society, the Reich Labor Service (RAD) worked to decrease the unemployment rate among ethnically German citizens. This organization started its activities based on voluntariness. (for more information see <http://www.lamoth.info/?p=creators/creator&id=1137> (accessed on 1 November 2019))

Weber's 'territorial' approach. According to his functionalist perspective, education is the most important investment of mankind (Gellner, 1983, p. 34-36). The educational system emerges as one of the most crucial elements of nationalism. The same rhetoric, the same symbols, the same heroes, the same traditions, the same official history, the same enemies, *etc.*, lead people to indigenize a similar logic of the imagination. A centralized education system helps the total imagination. However, Gellner excludes the impact of education on nationalism in authoritarian regimes. He emphasizes that the impact of education on nationalism is valid only under democratic governance. Therefore, Ernest Gellner settles on education as a new 'territory' on the basis of Max Weber's argument.

Gellner's argument about education can be compared to Benedict Anderson's approach regarding printing press capitalism. Anderson's argument will also be discussed in the following pages. The formal educational system is the official way for governments to spread their nationalist perspectives or teach people who is their nation's ally or enemy, *etc.*

“Schools and armies, churches and voluntary associations not only bring people together in novel ways and seek to imprint particular messages, but these forms of association shape the way individuals feel and think.” (*critique by Breuille for Gellner, 1983, p. xlv*)

In short, the formal and centralized education system helps to create stereotypes. Besides, the textbooks are the official press of nation states based upon Anderson's approach. In this sense, Gellner and Anderson have, more or less, the same stance using different elements. Why is print important for nation-state building?

In today's world, the digital press and social media cover a wider area than the conventional methods of the printing press. Nevertheless, the essential point is to identify that governments need a positive or negative means of manipulation over its own people to mobilize or de-mobilize them. Ernest Renan, a French thinker and historian, claims that every nation has a starting point. From that point, he argues that nation states should remind their people of the national sentiments every single day. Ernest Renan defined his stance during his speech at the Sorbonne, in 1882...

“A nation’s existence is (please excuse the metaphor) a daily plebiscite, just as an individual’s existence is a perpetual affirmation of life.” (Renan, 1882, p. 10)

The plebiscite metaphor symbolizes the continuity of education, itself in his context and history writing takes the most important place in the education system. The **daily plebiscite** Renan mentions, occurs by the hand of the elites. Relying upon elites is quite contradictory in studies of nationalism. Most nationalism scholars transfer responsibility to elites in terms of the instrumentalization of nationalism. Apart from remembering the national sentiments, it is also important to forget (or make society forget in other words) some components during the process of nation building. Some components such as massacres, expropriations, *etc.*, may be excluded while creating the national identity (Renan, 1882, p. 7).

According to many scholars, elites play an important role during the process of nation building and they tend to manipulate the political situation by using nationalist discourses. In other words, elites represent the plutocrats of the society. Anthony D. Smith, an ethno-symbolist²¹ scholar, concurs with Renan’s approach, but he claims that identity cannot be built from scratch...

“(This) did not mean that the nation had to be artificially fabricated *de novo*, but it did require, as we have seen, careful selection of popular ethnic traditions, symbols and memories, and the elevation of some of them to the exclusion of others. It meant reinterpreting and adjusting the historical narratives conceived by different intellectuals to the ethnic realities on the ground, or choosing a narrative and dialect from one region or ethnic community to represent the whole. Nationalist selection, then, had to respond to the needs, values, memories, symbols and traditions of different segments of the designated population, just as the latter in turn had to be taught the virtues and ideals of ‘their’ nation at the very moment of its creation.” (Smith, 2009, p. 72)

Why does every scholar picture elites in a negative perspective? Why are these people in

²¹ “Ethnosymbolism, an approach to the study of ethnicity and nationalism that focuses on the symbolic elements of ethnic communities, emerged as a critique of both “modernist” orthodoxy and the varieties of “perennialism” and “primordialism” that modernism has largely displaced. Ethnosymbolism emphasizes the ethnic bases of many modern nations while privileging the cultural and symbolic dimensions of ethnic communities and nations.” (Smith, 2015)

charge of the monopolized education system or *monophong*²² media?

Most of the literature considers elites as the ruling group of nations. These people can be politicians, intellectuals, military, etc. Regardless of their number, their sphere of influence leads nations consistent with their interest. Paul R. Brass asserts that elites instrumentalize nationalism in order to seize their power. They do not consider ethnic identities as a given. Elites politicize these groups considering their interests by illustrating their identities. According to Brass...

“Cultural markers are selected and used as a basis for differentiating the group from other groups, as a focus for enhancing the internal solidarity of the group, as a claim for a particular social status, and, if the ethnic group becomes politicized, as justification for a demand for either group rights in an existing political system or for recognition as a separate nation.” (Brass, 1991, p. 63)

Considering the approach of Brass, nationalism is just a tool to seed sentiments into people’s minds in order to reach the aim. The aim can be anything, but this method can be applied to everyone for any aim. Depending on how intensely the elites implement this method in people in their territory, people may be polarized or radicalized. Once people indigenize their belongings to their nations, culture, *etc.* imposed by the elites, it may create cleavages within the society. As will be seen in the next section on European nationalism, authoritarian or not, every government needs the support of their people in order to justify their actions and maintain their power.

Umut Özkırmılı does not deny Brass’s argument, but he expands his perspective. Özkırmılı thinks that dynasties and aristocrats embraced people’s language and culture in favor of elites. They were afraid of being excluded from imagined communities, which depend on a common language and a common culture (Özkırmılı, 2000, p. 133-135). Nevertheless, most scholars criticize Benedict Anderson for his thesis that nationalism occurred in the times when religion started to lose its impact. Although religion has lost its intense influence on people, it is still an efficient actor for mobilizing societies in the 21st century. One can easily appreciate that the focus case of this dissertation, the Golden

²² Single voice. Monophonic.

Dawn party, still tries to win over people on their Greek ethnicity along with Greek Orthodoxy. These are two indispensable components for having a Greek identity according to Golden Dawn.

Eric J. Hobsbawm relatively strongly agrees with Paul R. Brass's argument. He also claims that national languages are semi-artificial (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 54). He gives the examples of Hebrew, Ukrainian, Bulgarian and Latvian, as languages that emerged as one selection from many dialects. It seems possible to diversify the examples in the region such as in the case of the Armenian, Turkish and Greek languages. As will be discussed in the third section of this chapter, the form of the Greek language became a controversial issue for the future of the Greek state during the nation state building process among the decision makers. The pioneers of the Greek state were aware of the importance of language and religion in providing the homogeneity of the society. Although Greek is not a dialect of another language, it underwent a change in the course of time. The purification of languages coincides with the birth of the nation state system. Also, Turkish language underwent a change in this period. The dissemination of literacy has been a significant factor in the impact of printing press capitalism.

Eric J. Hobsbawm agrees with Benedict Anderson on the unitary impact of language (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 93-96). Language had played a major role in the unification processes of Italy, Germany, France, *etc.* This role is also valid in the Greek case. Adamantios Korais, who is a major figure in the creation of Greek identity, considered centralized education as an indispensable tool for the formulation of Greek identity (Grigoriadis, 2013, p. 16). That is why language emerged as the most important instrument for him to frame the Greek education. He raised the idea of a "purifying" Greek language called *katharevousa*²³. Peter Mackridge depicts the importance of what Adamantios Korais has done for Greek identity...

"The new written language that was developed by Korais and others before and after the War of Independence was not a modernized version of Ancient Greek (as Modern Hebrew was a modernized version of Ancient Hebrew),

²³ The purist form of modern Greek used in traditional literary writing, as opposed to the form that is spoken and used in everyday writing [called demotic] (Oxford Dictionary of English, 2015).

but a superficially archaized and fundamentally Europeanized version of the language spoken by the educated middle class. This written language, which came to be known as *katharevousa*, combined ancient orthography with modern pronunciation. Almost all of its morphology was ancient, while in terms of its semantics and its syntax it was mutually translatable with the chief modern European languages and capable of expressing all the modern concepts of politics, culture, and science.” (Mackridge, 2009, p. 183)

Thus, the people who lived in the Greek territory could finally find common ground in order to complete the nation-building process. This became one of the most significant milestones for the Greek nationalists. Moreover, Greek culture and the Greek language had been harmonized with European standards.

Apart from Greece, world history witnessed many invasions, epidemic illnesses, wars, economic crises, *etc.* which have had an enormous impact on the structures of the societies; in other words, the dynamics of the nations. Therefore, many external factors influenced nationalist sentiments in both positive and negative ways. According to perennialist²⁴ thought, all of these factors have created cleavages in societies in the course of time, but the essence of nations never undergoes a radical transformation (Özkırmı, 2016, p. 94). Nevertheless, one should not overlook the industrial development notably in the 19th century. Ernest Gellner addresses industrial development as one of the key functions leading to the disclosure of modernity in human history. John Breuilly, in his critique to Gellner’s *Nations and Nationalism*, supports Gellner’s functionalism:

“Economic historians treat industrialization as a global process, its form in one country affecting that in another, or alternatively inducing de-industrialization or underdevelopment.” (*critique by Breuilly for Gellner*, 1983, p. xxxiv)

In this framework, the idea of de-industrialization provides an insight into the Greek context. Contrary to Gellner’s approach, Greece was induced into de-industrialization over the years for various reasons and this condition prepared the way for the vicious cycle of economic dire straits. Even since becoming a member of the European Union, Greece has never become a center of industrial investments. To be exposed to the

²⁴ Lasting or existing for a long or apparently infinite time; enduring or continually recurring (Oxford Dictionary of English, 2015).

backward economic programs of international powers mobilized the nationalist sentiments among Greek society. In this respect, it is obvious that nationalism may not progress conjointly with industrial development in every case. Also, Turkish nationalism occurred without the driving force of industrial development. Similarly, Greek nationalism proceeded without the driving force of industrial development, in spite of Gellner's assertion. One could cite other examples in this sense, but this study focuses on the causal link between Gellner's perspective and the emergence of nationalism in de-industrialized states. Gellner overlooks the impact of globalization starting from the 18th – 19th century. He does not pay attention to the fact that industrial development might be the most important component in the rise of nationalism in many regions, but it was not the only factor. Industrialization has been one of the elements in the globalization process. This process has penetrated into societies with variety of tools, but on different levels.

Every nationalist movement in history occurred for a reason. Each movement positioned itself according to the other movements or ideologies whenever it sensed a threat. In other words, globalization had a trigger effect on the dissemination of nationalist movements. Naturally, every movement was shaped by the country specific conditions such as traditions, conservatism, the level of literacy, *etc.* That is why we may not detect an analogy between the uprisings in Latin America and in Greece during the 19th century, but they are all in the same globalization sequence. As will be discussed in the third and fourth chapters, European Enlightenment in the 18th century and European Romanticism in the 19th century influenced every movement and every ideology, and thereby paved the way for ideologies to be disseminated.

It is almost impossible to overgeneralize the aforesaid correlation between the development of industrialism and the rise of nationalism. It is indisputable that industrialism changed the world irrevocably in a short span of time. As this did not provide for a systematic transformation for people in different regions of the world, there has been a warped transition in the life of societies. As a matter of fact, Ernest Gellner admits that industrialization became widespread in a warped way. This irregularity is seen in many parts of life, as industrialization is considered as one of the most significant shifts in human history. In the simplest terms, uncontrolled urbanization had an impact on

demographic structures, job opportunities, political organizations, *etc.* Nevertheless, nationalism is not an ideology that can be explained in terms of one phenomenon. Many different approaches from different scholars contribute and help us to comprehend the phenomenon. One should also remember that every country has its idiosyncratic nationalist structure, even though it is influenced by other countries' nationalist ideas.

❖ *Nation States*

Nation states may be the most important component of the nationalist ideology. However, it is necessary to expand on the definition of the 'nation state' more accurately, as the context is the institutionalized body of this ideology. The most significant component of nation states is the nation. Steven Grosby identifies the definition of nation...

"The nation is a territorial community of nativity. One is born into a nation. The significance attributed to this biological fact of birth into the historically evolving, territorial structure of the cultural community of the nation is why the nation is one among a number of forms of kinship. It differs from other forms of kinship such as the family because of the centrality of territory. It differs from other territorial societies such as a tribe, city-state, or various 'ethnic groups' not merely by the greater extent of its territory, but also because of its relatively uniform culture that provides stability, that is, continuation over time." (Grosby, 2005, p. 7)

Eric J. Hobsbawm approaches the term of nationality in sense of belonging. He thinks that the most important component of proto nationalism is the **state** itself. People need the nation-state in order to feel themselves belonging to a community; in other words, a nation (Hobsbawm, 1982, p. 72-73). Hercules Millas defines nationalism as a special technique for the establishment of a state (Millas, 1999, p. 24). The nation-state concept started to emerge as homogeneous countries were established in terms of ethnicity. There is a continuum between ethnicity and nation. As ethnicity does not change in the course of time, it is expected that the concept of nation should have continuity (Millas, 1999, p. 187). In this respect, nation states have emerged as the protectors of this continuum. It was almost impossible to observe an ethnically homogeneous country before the 20th century on the European continent. Hobsbawm depicts the structure of European society by the end of the 19th century...

“There were, in Europe, few enough genuinely homogeneous nation-states like, say, Portugal, though in the middle and even late nineteenth century still a very large number of groups potentially classifiable as 'nationalities', which did not compete with the claims of the officially dominant 'nation' and an immense number of individuals, who actively sought assimilation to one or other of dominant nationalities and languages of culture.” (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 93)

Even Greece was not a completely homogeneous country, since thousands of Muslim people had to remain in Greek lands after the War of Liberation. Greece had to wait until the Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece in 1923 (Figure 2.1) in order to become a homogenous society (Mavrogordatos, 2003a, p.2).

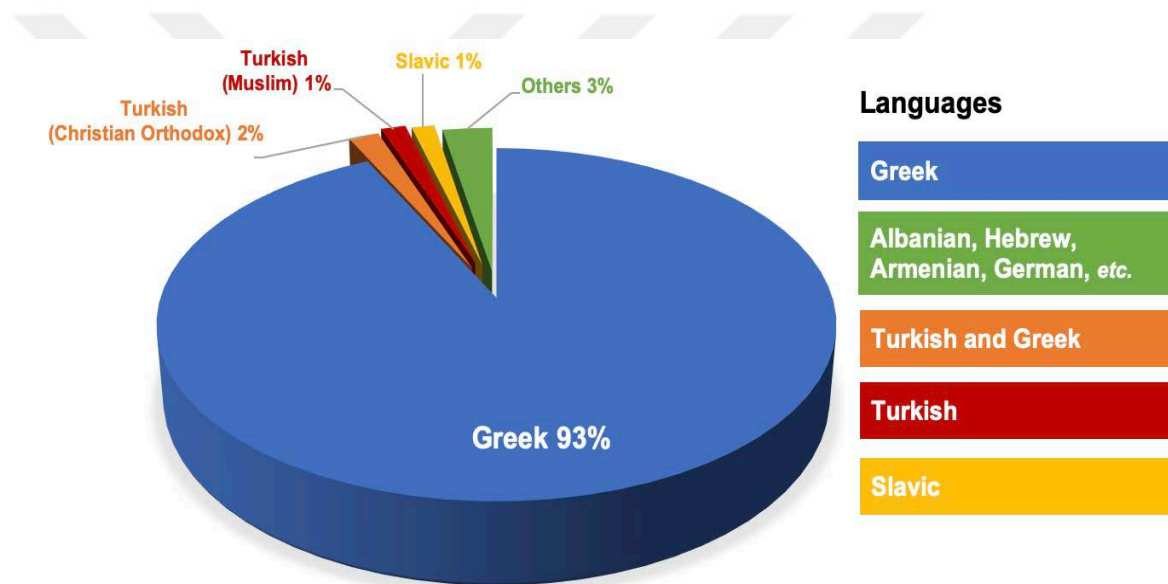


Figure 2.1 Demographics of Greece in 1928²⁵

Nonetheless, globalization has had an impact on the homogeneity of the countries, too. Greece had become more homogeneous with the Population Exchange, but the end of the Cold War led thousands of Albanian migrants to move to Greece. Similarly, the Syrian War caused thousands of Syrian refugees to seek asylum in Greece. Thus, one can see that it is impractical for a country which is attached to the global system to overlook other problems in the world. Local problems had become global problems notably by the 20th

²⁵ Data have been taken from an article which relies on official statistics. (Angelopoulos, 1979, p. 126)

century. Establishing a nation-state system did not help its founders to isolate their territory.

❖ *Emergence*

The increase in the use of symbols, which by reviving national sentiments gained momentum with the rapid development in technology, arts, industry, *etc.*, had a determined effect on the germination of nationalisms. Alongside printing press capitalism, international sports championships, and the emergence of the recorded arts²⁶ widened the field of competition for nationalists at the beginning of the 20th century. Politicians steered those jewels in the countries' crowns in the direction of national consciousness. Hobsbawm contributes...

“The gap between private and public worlds was also bridged by sport. Between the wars sport as a mass spectacle was transformed into the unending succession of gladiatorial contests between persons and teams symbolizing state-nations, which is today part of global life. Until then such occasions as the Olympic Games and international football matches had interested chiefly a middle-class public (though the Olympic Games began to acquire an air of national competition even before 1914), and international matches had actually been established with the object of integrating the national components of multi-national states.” (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 142)

Apart from sporting and artistic symbols, wars play an important role in injecting nationalist emotions into the society. Gellner partly disagrees with Hobsbawm at this juncture. Common traumas may create crystallizations among the society, according to his idea (Gellner, 1983, p. 73). From another perspective, common traumas are important to keep the nations alive (Bozarslan, 2016, p. 128) and to create a hegemonic bloc during times of crisis. For instance, the Gulf War and the Iran-Iraq War consolidated the Islamic State of Iran and created the idea of internal and foreign forces against the revolution and helped the revolution to nationalize its governance.

²⁶ Cinema, Music (radio, long plays, *etc.*)

❖ *Transformation*

In Ernest Gellner's theory of nationalism, there are three aspects: *principle, sentiment and movement*. However, a national identity might develop without a movement. Until the establishment of the state of Israel, the Jewish people managed to protect their national identity with their principles and sentiments. Primordialist²⁷ theory approaches nationalism as if the nations had been in existence since ancient times and had managed to survive without major transformations amongst them (Özkırımlı, 2016, p. 93). Similar to the perennialists²⁸, the primordialists²⁹ argue that the essence of nations does not change in any case. Paul R. Brass, who has an instrumentalist approach, considers language as the most important component for the creation of ethnic identities. On the other hand, Anthony D. Smith argues that ethnic ties are more complex, and they depend on economic, political, social, *etc.* factors (Smith, 1995, p. 33).

How could the Jewish community manage to protect its ethnic identity based on these theories? Brass's argument does not answer this question, since the Jewish communities had spread all over the world before they established their own state. Similarly, Smith's argument fails to explain the establishment of the Jewish state, as Jewish communities were exposed to different social, political and economic realities in different parts of the world. Smith thinks that Judaism, the religion itself, creates an exception explaining the establishment of the Jewish state. Benedict Anderson approaches the issues from a slightly different perspective. He claims that principles and sentiments are the most important factors to keep alive the nationalist movements. In this context, Anderson highlights the relevance of print capitalism in his *Imagined Communities*. Starting from this point of view:

“What were the characteristics of the first American newspapers, North or South? They began essentially as appendages of the market. Early gazettes contained – aside from news about the metropole – commercial news (when ships would arrive and depart, what prices were current for what commodities in what ports), as well as colonial political appointments, marriages of the wealthy, and so forth. In other words, what brought together, on the same

²⁷ Existing at or from the beginning of time; primeval (Oxford Dictionary of English, 2015).

²⁸ John Armstrong and Adrian Hastings are some prominent scholars of this concept.

²⁹ Edward Shils, Jack D. Eller and Reed M. Coughlan are some prominent scholars of this concept.

page, this marriage with that ship, this price with that bishop, was the very structure of the colonial administration and market-system itself. In this way, the newspaper of Caracas quite naturally, and even apolitically, created an imagined community among a specific assemblage of fellow-readers, to whom these ships, brides, bishops and prices belonged. In time, of course, it was only to be expected that political elements would enter in.” (Anderson, 1991, p. 62)

As Anderson mentioned, printing press capitalism had a huge impact on the transformation of societies with the help of distributed *monophthong* media. Therefore, the press started to teach people what to believe, support or hate in some cases. Manipulating people’s belief system provided the opportunity for the decision makers to draw the attention of their nations to what they were planning to do. Over time, ideologies became the focal point of the manipulative publishing. Furthermore, the nation states have been involved officially in manipulative actions aiming to transform the society according to their political agenda. Nevertheless, Anderson disregards the isolated structure of the Jewish community in his theory. The Jews from different parts of the world had not been exposed to monophonic media. The existence of the Jewish community is beyond the invention of the printing press. It should be noted that historiography is more crucial to strengthen the ties among society. Before the invention of the printing press, the history transmitted from one generation to the next held societies together. On top of that, this transmission had an impact on the structures of today’s societies.

Historiography became an issue to mobilize society in accordance with national interests. By affiliating historicism with the nationalist perspective, it is easier to take advantage of emotional reflexes. Jürgen Habermas claims that post-traditional identities took shape under the affiliation between nationalism and historicism during the 19th century (Habermas, 1996, p. 96-97). Considering nationalism, it is important to unify the society (Özkırıklı 2000, 2005) under one identity. In this respect, apart from political discourses, the idea of creating their own literature has an importance in creating the identity.

Historiography and *Belles-Lettrism*³⁰ play an important role in creating the nationalist

³⁰ *Belles-Lettres* or *Belles-Lettrism* is a unique way to write literature in praise of a special occasion, person, etc.

discourse. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, heroism is an indispensable tool of *Belles-Lettrism*. Moreover, every nation tends to write their own official history. This is one of the most efficient ways to mobilize nationalist sentiments among the society. In one form or another, historiography becomes the official discourse.

Ernest Gellner approaches the issue from a cultural perspective. He highlights the impact of “**high culture**” rather than printing press capitalism on the society. Gellner shapes his perspective with one of his aspects, the *political principle*...

“...the general imposition of a high culture on society, where previously low cultures had taken up the lives of the majority, and in some cases the totality, of the population. It means the general diffusion of a school-mediated, academy supervised idiom, codified for the requirements of a reasonably precise bureaucratic and technological communication. It is the establishment of an anonymous impersonal society, with mutually sustainable atomised individuals, held together above all by a shared culture of this kind, in place of the previous complex structure of local groups, sustained by folk cultures reproduced locally and idiosyncratically by the micro-groups themselves.” (Gellner, 1983, p. 57)

According to Gellner, divergences emerged based on culture in the pre-industrial era. Culture has become a raw material for the nationalist movements. This material was so suitable for those movements to exploit in the way they wished. Nevertheless, it is difficult to argue that culture is homogeneous. Niyazi Kızılyürek agrees with Gellner on the significance of culture on nationalism, but he claims that culture becomes an important player once it is politicized (Kızılyürek, 2002, p. 24). In the Post ‘Congress of Vienna’ Era, cultural characteristics started to become more and more important. During the unification processes of Italy and Germany in the 19th century, each country compromised on its **high culture**, but had to wait for political consensus. These unifications symbolize the foremost nation-oriented states.

As will be seen in the Greek case, the founders of Greek nationalism placed on emphasis on their **high culture** and political consensus while establishing the state apparatus. When Greeks gained their freedom from the Ottoman Empire, the pioneers of the new state had several issues to compromise on. As there were two sides in this dispute, Modernists and Traditionalists (or Conservatives), the discordance between the two camps (see chapter

four for more details) played an indicative role in the cultural development of Greece (Millas, 1999, p. 141). Since the Traditionalist bloc came out victorious in this conflict, it had a chance to delineate the **high culture** of Greece with a variety of tools such as centralized education, art, language, *etc.* On the other hand, it allowed the Church of Greece to be involved in the shaping of Greek culture. The fourth chapter of this dissertation will deal with this involvement in detail.

2.2. European Nationalism

2.2.1. Origins

The recent history of Europe is a pivotal element for this dissertation to elucidate the process of the rising nationalism within the past few decades. European nationalism during the 20th century is a key factor to help explain today's rise of the radical right. Since nationalist ideology was tainted with ethnic policies within the 20th century, the issue has now become more complex and inexplicable.

The irrepressible proliferation of capitalism led the political actors to adopt populist discourses. Therefore, populism has become an indispensable unit of politics (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 477). Populism has become one of the most significant instruments for the polarization of societies. The use of populism may create polarization among the society. Populism or populist discourses can be applicable for both left-wing and right-wing politics. This dissertation focuses on right-wing politics, but the distinctive aspects of left-wing populism will be clarified in the following sections.

Europe has been a witness to the outcomes of these cleavages, notably during the Inter War and World War II years. Democracy, as a new-born system, has been quite inexperienced in terms of its operability. There had been only three republican democracies before World War I. By the end of this war, the republican democracies had increased to thirteen in Europe (Mazower, 1998, p. 28). In other words, democracy was a new phenomenon, much as Fascism during the Inter-War years. In this sense, Fascism was also as inexperienced as democracy. Mark Mazower particularly emphasizes that Fascism emerged

and rose following the failure of democracy. During the Inter-War years, there was no government which could survive for more than one year during the years of dissemination of the democratic system in Europe. In other words, every new day concretized the legislative deadlock.

Therefore, the need for the strengthening of executive power was fostered in European countries. (Mazower, 1998, p. 35-39). That necessity paved the way for the progress of this new-born Fascism in 20th Century Europe. It is highly controversial to claim whether authoritarian regimes emerged as well-organized ideologies or not. Fascism faced difficulties and weaknesses like every other ideology in this period. Besides, it should not be ignored that every regime needs the support of its people, even the most authoritarian ones. People have become the essence of every movement throughout history. Nevertheless, Mazower argues that the success of Fascism is the failure of democratic regimes. Credit should be given to Mazower at this juncture...

“Impasse in the legislature prompted calls for a strengthening of the executive.” (Mazower, 1998, p. 58)

On the other hand, many liberals played their cards then in favor of authoritarian solutions against the rise of Communist ideology (Mazower, 1998, p. 66). The global impact of rising liberalism caused huge cleavages in the expectations of people. However, neither governments nor international institutions could succeed in responding to those expectations with fairness and justice. The duality of the governments and the institutions on human rights has confused people. As Mazower exemplifies...

“In 1919, it was the liberal powers which had rebuffed Japan’s suggestion to insert a clause affirming racial equality in the League of Nations covenant. American liberalism coexisted for years with segregation. And the British and French, too, made it very hard for colonial subjects of the wrong skin colour to acquire full citizenship.” (Mazower, 1998, p. 57)

As seen above, the double standards of liberalism led to contradictions in Western democracies. The most important proponent of liberalism, the United States President at the time, Woodrow Wilson, could not persuade his Congress to legislate the membership of The United States in The League of Nations. This was a huge failure of liberal democracies to stand up against Fascist governments at the time. This has shown that discrimination has

not happened only through the actions of the authoritarians. The liberals were also in charge of discriminative policies in the Western world.

Racist actions against minorities, notably the Jewish community, increased as a legacy of the Treaty of Versailles all over Europe. As Mark Mazower clarifies, Versailles secured states for 65 million people, but transformed 25 million people into minorities (Mazower, 1998, 98). Synchronously, Turkey and Greece happened to practice one of the biggest population exchanges³¹ in world history after World War I. This was a big step for both countries to consolidate their nation-statehood by homogenizing their nations in terms of kinship. At first sight, population exchanges and forced exiles seem an innocent way to establish nation-states compared to the Nazis' practices. However, the mass transformations among societies fostered huge problems such as the language barrier, living space (or settler colonization), unemployment, *etc.* Therefore, the nation states needed more space to locate their people and expand their sphere of influence. This so-called necessity of nation-states helps us understand the reasons for the *Lebensraum*³² policy of the Nazis or the Italian invasion of Ethiopia for colonial goals before World War II.

The impact of the two World Wars on nationalism was huge. It is important to emphasize that most governments adapted vengeful policies against each other during this period. The antagonism particularly between Germany and France lasted for many years. The European integration process had to emerge in order to stop this antagonism among the hostile states. European society's approach to ethnical identities had started to become a complex issue by the beginning of the 20th century. Considering the movement of millions of people within the European continent or throughout America, the ethnic-based politics were revealed in terms of hostility. While thinking of the mass movements of the people after World War I, one should remember that the number of people who left their lands was more than ten times that of the Post-World War II era. Too much change created fragility within societies and had an impact on people's sentiments.

Although there had been a huge transformation in people's lives and belief systems, there was one thing that never changed compared to before the two World Wars. European

³¹ Nearly 1.5 million Greek Orthodox minority in return for nearly half a million Turkish Muslim minority.

³² Living-space policy of Hitler.

society already had sentiments of hatred towards Jewish people. And anti-Semitic thought was already widespread in the European continent. This prejudice did not unveil itself only with the consequences of the two World Wars. The warfare stimulated the hostility towards Jewish people. These sentiments gained momentum with the Europeans' *laissez faire*³³ attitude. Similar attitude was seen in Greece towards the violent actions of Golden Dawn. This specific occasion will be discussed in the following chapters in detail.

In order to serve the liberal economy, the Great Powers of the West did not want to touch Hitler's self-serving actions. Therefore, he radicalized his policies against the minorities within Germany without any objection or intervention from the Western powers.

2.2.2. Germinations

The marketing of globalization during the Post-Cold War years evokes the interlude of the Inter-War years. Compared to the past, populism has started to use different instruments, too. Since then, Radical Right nationalists were not the only ones who have instrumentalized populism. In the 20th century, the Radical Left politicians have also been disposed to using populist discourses to gain power. The economy became a significant political element in the 20th century, and the populist politicians have tended to take advantage of economic problems by implementing anti-refugee policies rather than following ethno-nationalism.

❖ *European Radical Right*

In the 1990s, Jürgen Habermas argued that economic categories transformed into cultural categories (Habermas, 1996, p. 263) with the help of Capitalism. Politicians managed to persuade their people that social conflicts are not linked to capitalist policies. Therefore, the Radical Right evolved in a new political atmosphere. Piero Ignazi prefers to describe this evolution as the innovation of the old radical right (Ignazi 2003, p. 1).

³³ "Allow to do" in French. The policy of leaving things to take their own course, without interfering (Oxford Dictionary of English, 2015).

Ignazi mostly focuses on factors which have an impact on electoral behavior in his empirical comparative work. According to him, radical right parties not only corrode the parliamentary representation principles, but they are also against pluralism based on ethnicity and culture (Ignazi 2003, p. 2). Naturally, the specifications of the radical right parties in Europe vary in every country. As mentioned before, every country has different political, economic, social, demographic and geographical dynamics. That is why populism takes different forms in every country. Moreover, populism may emerge in different wings (Right or Left) according to the political traditions of the country.

Cas Mudde, another scholar who focuses on radical right movements, asserts that there are 26 definitions of far-right differing from each other (Mudde, 1995). This dissertation does not aim to identify the suitability of these terminologies for European radical right parties. Instead, it will focus on the commonalities of the European radical right with the focal point of this study, Golden Dawn. Nevertheless, Golden Dawn is considered as an extreme right movement in some part of the academia. In order to explore the nuance between ‘radical right’ and ‘extreme right’, Cas Mudde’s argument enhances this section of the dissertation. Mudde considers the extreme right and the radical right as components under a wide umbrella...

“The main distinction between “extreme” and “radical” has to do with acceptance of the basic tenets of democracy—that is, popular sovereignty and majority rule. While extremism rejects democracy altogether, radicalism accepts democracy but rejects *liberal* democracy—that is, pluralism and minority rights. (The main distinction between “left” and “right” is based on the propensity toward egalitarianism: The right considers key inequalities among people as natural and outside the state’s purview.)” (Mudde, 2014, p. 98)

The radical right parties were not able to govern any European country as a one-party government after the Second World War. The experiences during the Inter-War and Second World War years provide insight into the possible situation in the future, in terms of violence, democratic values, human rights, freedom of speech, *etc.* Nevertheless, many experts argue that the structure of the radical right is entirely transformed in today’s world. One should remember that the radical right happened to gain experience under democratic governing. Herbert Kitschelt and Anthony J. McGann throws light on this transformation

by splitting the periodization of the ideologies into two as Fascism and New Radical Right (Kitschelt and McGann, 1995, p. 31-33). Fascism is the old Radical Right as stated by Kitschelt and McGann. He clearly distinguishes these two ideologies concisely in three respects:

“First, fascism expresses an anti-capitalist, corporatist thrust, whereas the New Radical Right endorses free market capitalism with a strong, but small, state. Fascism and New Radical Right share, however, the propensity to mobilize individuals around collective friend/foe divisions and particularist conceptions of social collectivities.” (Kitschelt and McGann, 1995, p. 30)

Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany had self-enclosed structures. Those countries did not have confidence in any other state, to cooperate with in order to achieve economic growth. Consequently, war or revisionist policies emerged as the only option to sustain their own economic developments. In Kitschelt’s and McGann’s terms, the New Radical Right has been following the tenets of free market capitalism...

“Second, the New Radical Right and fascism are both authoritarian, but each authoritarianism has different sources and implications for social organization, particularly market capitalism. The New Radical right’s authoritarianism derives from its defense of capitalist governance structures, not the fascist rejection of a free market economy, and therefore at least implicitly draws on the thinking of conservative apologists of liberal market capitalism...” (Kitschelt and McGann, 1995, 31)

It is hard to argue that the New Radical Right is entirely authoritarian, since there are no major examples of this after 1945. It is not possible to test the authoritarianism of the New Radical Right, since there is no state which follows radical policies under a one-party radical right regime. Recently, there have been few authoritarian governments in Europe such as those in Hungary, Belarus, *etc.* Although Hungary’s Viktor Orbán has had disputes with its Western allies during his years in office, he has not broken off ties with the Western world. Hungary might have stood against the refugee influx, as it still does, and attempted to shut down the Central European University (Walker, 2018), but Hungary joined NATO during Viktor Orbán’s years in office. Considering Orbán’s apparent intentions against democratic functioning, he could be described as an entirely autocratic leader. Nonetheless, he preferred to create a grey zone between democracy and autocracy (Bozóki and Hegedűs, 2018, p. 1173). That is why a universally accepted definition of radical right becomes more

complex owing to leaders like Viktor Orban. Even if Hungary counts as an example in favour of Kitschelt's and McGann's argument, it is still not a great influence...

“Third, whereas racism and ethno-cultural parochialism were contingent phenomena in fascism that were in some movements replaced by militarism and nationalism, they are central components of the New Radical Right appeal...” (Kitschelt and McGann, 1995, 31)

The radical right is a broad umbrella. It is a complex process to try to gather different components in the same basket. Ulrike M. Vieten and Scott Poynting explain the rise of Fascism as the defeat of the organized labor movement in Europe (Vieten and Poynting 2016, p. 533-534). On the other hand, the New Radical Right transformed into “economic nationalism” during the Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan governments, according to Vieten and Poynting. This transformation accelerated the rise of Neo-Liberal policies. Moreover, this transformation has triggered populist discourses and widened the competitive field of populism. Interestingly, populism does not exclude the Radical Left. Vieten and Poynting elaborate the idea in their article...

“Right-wing nationalist populism **scapegoats** the **Other** instead as the putative cause of the crisis. ‘Die Juden sind unser Unglück’ (‘The Jews are our misfortune’), for example, in the case of German Nazism in the 1930s. Communists, socialists and traitors were objects of blame in the case of the proto-fascism of 1920s Germany. Radical intellectuals and what would these days be derided as ‘cosmopolitan elites’ were represented as enemies (in place of class enemies) and blamed for the decline of the nation and (the welfare of) its people in both cases.” (Vieten and Poynting, 2016, p. 534)

The refugee influx from Middle Eastern countries rekindled the same susceptibility in Western and Central Europe. The populist European politicians use the old rhetoric by referring to the changing demographics in the same way as happened in 1930s Germany. This is an easy way to gain votes from the middle class and the elites since it is a concern across all social strata.

❖ *The Impact of Globalization*

In this part of this section, the impact of globalization on radical right politics will be reviewed. While there is a concurrent rise in radical right tendencies in the Western World,

it is worth observing the distinct dimensions of globalism in this trend. David Held defines globalization as...

“a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions, assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact – generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction and the exercise of power.” (Held et al. 1999, p. 16; Goodman, 2011, p.25)

This process can be interpreted as a power struggle attempting to influence society. The methods of globalization have changed in the last century with the help of technology, but the core idea always remained the same.

In order to understand the impact of globalization on radical right ideology, it is important to expand on the terminology of “globalization”. James Goodman and Paul James define globalization in the context of nationalism...

“Globalization, as we define it, is simply the extension of matrices of social practice and meaning across world-space where the notion of ‘world-space’ is itself defined in the historically variable terms that it has been practiced and understood. This definition allows for different forms of globalization across world-history, including during the period of the European empires in the nineteenth century – an important backdrop to understanding the present.” (Goodman and James, 2007, p. 2)

In light of Paul James and James Goodman’s definition, the historical background of nationalist movements becomes more important. Other scholars who are experts on the theories of nationalism, Graham Day and Andrew Thompson define globalization in terms of geography. They consider globalization as the world becoming a single place for everyone...

“Globalization also appears to be about our changing conceptions of time and space; to use a well-worn phrase, how the world is ‘becoming smaller’. As a mid-1990s advertisement for British Telecommunications’ internet service declared: ‘Geography is history’.” (Day and Thompson, 2004, p. 170)

This definition brings us to the effect of globalization on local challenges. In the 21st century, it is impossible to overlook what is going on in different regions such as the refugee influx, terror attacks, the economic crisis, *etc.* On the other hand, Sofia Vasilopoulou and Daphne Halikiopoulou draw attention to the debate as to whether

globalization is beneficial for nation-states or not (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2011, p. 3). In this sense, they argue that nation states are still effective actors in the international order in terms of economy management...

“The roots of global corporations continue to be national, a large majority of world production is still for the domestic national market and the nation-state remains the only legitimate actor in the anarchical international order. Instead of diminishing it, globalisation in fact reinforce the state.” (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2011, p. 3)

This argument seems to be valid up to a point, but it is an overgeneralization of the behavior of all multi-nationals around the world. It could be very speculative to argue that all the global corporations behave in favor of national benefits. In this sense, Martin Wolf emphasizes the optionality of globalization...

“Globalization is not destined, it is chosen. It is a choice made to enhance a nation’s economic well-being — indeed, experience suggests that the opening of trade and of most capital flows enriches most citizens in the short run and virtually all citizens in the long run.” (Wolf, 2001, p. 182)

Martin Wolf’s argument is valid to explain the economic perspective of globalization. However, globalization brings about the propagation of the ideologies at the same time. At this juncture, it would be right to define “globalism” as well, in order to prevent confusion with the impact of globalization. Goodman and James approach the concept of globalism as tools to comprehend globalization...

“...the term ‘globalism’ is used as a short-hand concept to encompass processes of globalization, subjectivities of the global and ideologies of globalism...” (Goodman and James, 2007, p. 4)

The rise of the radical right in Europe is not about the methods or goals of the globalization process but concerns about its outcomes. Nowadays there is a common tendency suggesting that the radical right emerged with the help of the global economic crisis. No doubt this is true up to a point. When Marine Le Pen became a candidate for the French Presidency in the 2002 elections, there was no “austerity”, “Brexit” or serious economic crisis in any country of the European Union. The global economic crisis just increased the tendencies towards the emergence of the Radical Right. Polls show us that people in Europe have started to think that they are not well-represented in Europe. The Left (in general) had

difficulties in presenting itself as a credible alternative. Having no alternative has impelled people to *Euroscepticism*³⁴. That means the European Union (or the process of European Integration) could not provide a consolidative effect for European citizens. This has been a chance for radical parties to adopt anti-integration discourses. Therefore, people have to think that they are considered important in the eyes of the politicians. This idea comes into view on different levels of daily life, such as the economic, social and cultural, *etc.* Joseph Nye approaches globalism in a wider perspective than its conventional meaning and he distinguishes the former from globalization.

“Globalism, at its core, seeks to describe and explain nothing more than a world which is characterized by networks of connections that span multi-continental distances. It attempts to understand all the inter-connections of the modern world – and to highlight patterns that underlie (and explain) them. In contrast, globalization refers to the increase or decline in the degree of globalism. It focuses on the forces, the dynamism or speed of these changes.” (Nye, 2002)

Starting from Nye’s point of view, the contextualization of the global impact on nationalist sentiments should be analyzed more carefully. To make it clear, globalism is the concept which touches different layers of people’s lives and creates an impact. In other respects, globalization can be defined as the outcome of the globalist impact. This dissertation does not focus on how globalism has emerged, but it focuses instead on the after-effect of globalization in terms of the nationalist inclinations. Apart from economic, military and environmental globalism, social and cultural globalism (Nye, 2002) involves the movements of ideas, information, images and people. In these terms, the biological racism of the past has been transformed into cultural racism, since the rise in the movement of people. At this point, collaboration on discourses is seen among the actors of the radical right parties in different countries.

The rise of the Greek radical right party, Golden Dawn, is not a coincidence, since its counterparts have also risen recently in Western Europe. Actually, as it will be seen in the

³⁴ “The term Euroscepticism appears to have entered the British political and journalistic lexicon in the mid-1980s. The *Oxford English Dictionary*, which defines a ‘Euro-sceptic’ as ‘a person who is not enthusiastic about increasing the powers of the European Union’, provides a citation from a June 1986 article in *The Times* as its earliest reference to the usage of the term.” (Harmsen and Spiering, 2004, p. 15)

fifth chapter in detail, Golden Dawn has an extremist and violent character rather than the commonly held concept of a new radical right party. Increasing complexity and uncertainty in politics swells the radical tendencies. Globalism does not lead to homogenization among societies. As an evidence of this non-fulfilment, German Chancellor Angela Merkel's statement in 2010 about the failure of multiculturalism in Europe should be highlighted in this context (Weaver, 2010). In her statement, she noted the failure of multiculturalism in the European integration process. The crucial aspect of this failure has been revealed on many occasions, such as the approval of Brexit, the Grexit talks, the unwillingness of countries to agree to economic aid packages for those that are in economic dire straits, and involuntariness in cooperation over incoming refugees.

2.3. Greek Nationalism

The rise of radical nationalism became a phenomenon not only in Greece, but also across Europe. In order to analyze this phenomenon, it is advisable to approach the case in a historical and theoretical way from a wide perspective. Greek nationalism took form concurrently with other European examples. Nevertheless, Greece like every other country has its own characteristics in creating its identity. The motivations and components of Greek nationalism will be discussed in this aspect.

2.3.1. Motivations

Although Golden Dawn is the case study of this dissertation, more precisely Greece stands out in focus. Regarding Golden Dawn's ultra nationalist (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2016, p. 30), or sometimes criminal, irredentist tendencies, it would be more relevant to describe the algorithm of Greek nationalism. That is why it is significant to present what prominent sources have told us about the motivations behind Greek nationalism.

The Greek case is distinctive in contemporary European history, since Greece witnessed military dictatorships, two World Wars, *I Katochi*³⁵, Civil War, *etc.* all within the space of

³⁵ Η Κατοχή in Greek.

This word refers to the Axis occupation of Greece between 1941 and 1944.

the 20th century. Every single major event played a vital role in the transformation of society. Greek society had to struggle with all of these challenges and was inevitably driven to fragmentation. Before dealing with the factions among Greek society, it would be more cogent to dismantle the motivations of Greek nationalism in the first half of the 19th century.

After the Greek Liberation War at the beginning of the 19th century, the leading figures in Greece brought the form of the new Greek state up for discussion. The leadership of the country had disagreed about many topics. These divergences between leaders were maintained even after the new nation was established. The major issue was about being a nation state or having a federative structure. Umut Özkırımlı and Spyros Sofos reflect the mindset of the leaders in their comparative work:

“The turbulent decade of the independence war (1821-1831) made very clear the fragility and precariousness of the nation-building project. Despite the military victories of the first two years, the various political and military forces involved in the war and the administration of the independent territories demonstrated their attachment to localism and factionalism, by forming and dissolving opportunistic alliances with each other and engaging in a protracted armed confrontation that is more commonly known as the civil war.” (Özkırımlı and Sofos, 2008, p. 12)

These divergences became an issue during every major event. Every faction tried to protect their sphere of influence and they did not refrain from fighting each other in time. There were only a few issues that the leaders agreed on, according to J. S. Koliopoulos and Thanos M. Veremis:

“Religion was one determinant on which everyone agreed, while residence was accepted only to determine citizenship. Language was grudgingly conceded for spreading Greek education to all Orthodox subjects.” (Koliopoulos and Veremis, 2007, p. 246)

Therefore, official education in Greek became standardized in the hands of the Greek state. This was also a boost for nationalists, since they were claiming that Greek identity could exist with the help of clandestine schools (Bilginer, 2013, p. 7) during the period of *Tourkokratia*³⁶. At its core, creating the Greek national identity has aimed to indicate that

³⁶ *Tourkokratia* (τουρκοκρατία) is an era when Greek society lived under the aegis of the Ottoman Empire without a Greek nation-based state.

Greece is the continuation of the Ancient Greek civilization. This is considered as the Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment.

The changing national integrity and demographics of Greece during the Balkan Wars and World War I complicated the nation building process. The population exchange after the World War and annexation of a part of Macedonia further added to the difficulties. Although Greece was homogeneous in terms of ethnicity before the Balkan Wars, the distinctness of Macedonian society in terms of culture, language and religion complicated the situation (Özkırmılı and Sofos, 2008, p. 55-56).

2.3.2. The European/Global Impact

Regional wars, civil war and the population exchange have unwittingly affected Greek nationalism. In the 19th century, Greek intellectuals and elites were torn between traditional Greek history, Ancient Greece in other words, and being a part of European civilization. At the time of the rise of European Romanticism, it was extremely difficult for Greek intellectuals to remain apart from this movement. Özkırmılı and Sofos consider this period as a parallel to the progressive search for identity:

“In this dual context of the rediscovery of the *topos* and the inhabitants of Hellas of the spread of social malaise and unrest, the decisive influence of European Romanticism facilitated fusion between the two by inspiring and sustaining the intellectual and political movement that was to shape the process of nation-building in the course of the next century and beyond.” (Özkırmılı and Sofos, 2008, p. 23)

Simultaneously, the Church of Greece became an important player in Greek politics. In their foreword to Ioannis Grigoriadis’s book on instilling religion on Greek nationalism, Thanos Veremis and Ahmet Evin argue that the church came closer to the Greek state right after Patriarch Grigorios V³⁷ was executed by Sultan Mahmud II (Grigoriadis, 2013). An independent Greek Church apart from the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Istanbul started to represent religious aspects of the society at all public festivals and became one of the

³⁷ Patriarch Grigorios V was considered responsible as *Milletbaşı* for the Liberation War of Greece in 1821. *Milletbaşı* is a term for “head of their own people” in Ottoman Empire’s *Millet* system.

elements of the Greek nationalism. Culture and language were the modern elements of Greek nation, while religion was standing there as the traditional one. Koliopoulos and Veremis clarify this stalemate...

“Two conflicting trends, ‘modern’ and ‘traditional’, clashed over the suitable criteria for defining the new nation and the identity of its members; the former favoured language while the latter insisted on religion. Eventually religion prevailed as the dominant criterion for defining the modern Greek nation, marking the beginning of irredentism.” (Koliopoulos and Veremis, 2007, p. 246)

The domination of religion has sustained its impact since the establishment of the Greek state. As will be discussed in detail in the fourth chapter of this dissertation, the Greek Church still has an influence on Greek society and is involved in politics from time to time. The senior clergy of the Greek Church do not hesitate in stating their personal perspectives on social issues, the centralized education system, history writing process, daily politics, *etc.*

2.3.3. The Greek Radical Right

Golden Dawn became one of the most prominent actors between 2012 and 2019 in Greek politics, especially after becoming the third political force in the Greek parliament in the Greek Legislative Elections of 2015. Even though Golden Dawn is an old actor in Greek politics, it abruptly became an effective political game changer. Moreover, the actors might have changed over the years, but their ideology has deep roots. It is possible to go back to find them in the Metaxas dictatorship. Protecting Greece from Communism was not Ioannis Metaxas’s only mission. He was also determined to re-organize Greek society and Greek culture to the core. He had exactly the same style as Adolf Hitler to acclaim the people’s will (Demirözü, 2015, p.36). In the uncertain and violent atmosphere after the Metaxas dictatorship, the tension became more obvious between Right and Left in Greece. However, the significant progression of the Radical Right occurred after the period of the Greek military junta between 1967 and 1974. The parties established after the junta had common points such as being pro-Hellene and pro-Christian-Orthodox. They were conservatives in essence and they were trying to protect their nationalist electorate. Antonis Ellinas frames the perspective of the far-right in the post-junta years:

“The post-authoritarian far right tried to rally ‘nationally minded’ citizens, but mostly as a reaction to leftist internationalism rather than as a positive identification with the Greek nation.” (Ellinas, 2013, p. 545)

The involvement of the former dictator George Papadopoulos with his party, National Political Union (EPEN)³⁸ was a life saver for the survival of the Greek Radical Right in the 1980s. Nikolaos Michaloliakos, the head of Golden Dawn, was the head of the youth branch of this party. Moreover, his brother Takis Michaloliakos was co-operating with the Italian Neo-Fascists “Ordine Nuovo” together with the former radical right leader, Konstantinos Plevris (Hasapopoulos 2013, p. 12). Since Golden Dawn members and their former counterparts have had relations with extremists, it would not be correct to categorize Golden Dawn as a radical right party in the same way as other European examples. Ellinas distinguishes Golden Dawn from mainstream radical right parties in Europe:

“The racist ideology and violent image of GD also set it apart from radical right parties in Europe which share a nativist or nationalist worldview but do not necessarily embrace a biological understanding of national belonging or use violence as a means to achieve political ends.” (Ellinas, 2013, p. 550)

When Golden Dawn entered the Greek parliament, nothing had changed in terms of the violent tendencies of its members. On the contrary, the fierce and violent attacks against refugees gained momentum. The election results indicate that this rise seemed unexpected, but the background to the case tells a different story. This party had not been established recently, and their political figures did not emerge in the last few years. Most importantly, the party talked to the very same electorate. As nationalist literature shows, nationalism renews itself and has used more or less the same rhetoric in the last two centuries. As Ernest Gellner mentioned, industrialization or de-industrialization is all about capitalism. Benedict Anderson also remarked on the significance of printing press capitalism to spread and control the thoughts and feelings of society. In this respect, it is not wrong to mention that all these concepts are linked to each other in the triggering of nationalist sentiments. The aim of this literature review is to prepare the reader to approach the rise of Golden Dawn from a wider perspective.

³⁸ Εθνική Πολιτική Ένωση (National Political Union)

2.4. Conclusion

One of the main questions brought up by the debate was whether theories of nationalism have an impact on today's radical right movements and how those movements adapt the components of nationalism theories into their mindset. This chapter has covered major components, including notably Benedict Anderson's printing press capitalism and imagined communities, Eric J. Hobsbawm's invention of traditions and Ernest Gellner's impact of industrialization and high culture. Every one of those components had an impact on the shaping of nationalist thought. Apparently, changing sociological and economic conditions altered the progress of nationalist thought. There have been some significant cleavages during this process. The most prominent cleavages happened through the impact of those components directly on social issues and daily life. No doubt, the printing press has provided a strong tool of propaganda for the elites in order to make their way of thinking prevalent. Those elites contrived to mobilize the societies and gather them around their ideology.

Edward Hallett Carr argues that the economic system of the 19th century collapsed when British naval and British commercial supremacy were challenged at the end of the century (Carr, 1968, p. 17). This challenge created new major actors in the worldwide spectrum on the establishment of a new world system. The completion of Italy's and Germany's unifications widened the scale of turmoil in the European region. Italy and Germany instrumentalized national identities by using **high culture** among their societies, in order to consolidate their national consciousness (Kızılyürek, 2002, p. 182). As discussed before, Paul R. Brass argues that political situation is crucially important in the emergence of new ideologies. In the cases of the Italian and German examples, both states reached a consensus on high culture, but they had to wait for political consensus.

When British supremacy was challenged, Europe became economically vulnerable. Each economic crisis disclosed the corrosion of the European social fabric. Moreover, the corrosion of the social structure triggered nationalist sentiments. The trigger effect of nationalism proves that globalization plays an important role in the progress of new ideologies. For example, the rise of nationalism among the ethnic groups of the Ottoman

Empire precipitated feelings of hatred towards the Greek society of the empire. Its inevitable triggering effect led the Greek elites to rediscover their national past and build a consolidated Greek identity.

Greek elites benefited from most of the components discussed in this chapter. The designation of a Greek nation state was the first thing discussed by the pioneers of the Greek Liberation War. The amalgamation of religion and language were implemented as the major aspects of the new Greek identity. Although it has been discussed that nationalism has started to replace divinity in the last few centuries, the Greek pioneers reached a consensus on the necessity of religion for the consolidation of a national consciousness in the short term. In this respect, one can see that each state has its own country specific situation while establishing a common identity. Eric J. Hobsbawm overlooks the Greek example in this sense. The establishment of a Greek state Church and centralized education system could be the most important steps in creating a Greek identity, which is the core of nation state building. Therefore, the system could allow its community to imagine itself as a nation instrumentalizing symbols and traditions. Those components will be discussed more in detail in the fourth chapter, but one has to emphasize that the fact that these elements have to be remembered or to be forgotten by society is the most important factor towards its homogeneity. Forgetting and remembering traditions, history, language, *etc.* coincides with Ernest Renan's **daily plebiscite** concept. According to his reasoning, some events, some actors or some traditions should be sorted out in order to provide a collective mindset in the nation building process. Including all the elements of the nation into the aforementioned process may lead to divergences among the society.

On the other hand, Ernest Gellner argues that the process of industrialization goes hand in hand with nationalism. As has been seen, the Greek example does not entirely coincide with Gellner's argument. On the contrary, Greece was induced into deindustrialization in time. Nevertheless, the national sentiments were strengthened regardless of the deindustrialization process in Greece. The emerging radical right movements in Greece in the 20th century did not hesitate to be influenced by the founding fathers of Greek nationalism. As will be seen from different perspectives in the third chapter, there is always a continuum in the ideological context among the radical right parties of Greece. At this

juncture, Sofia Vasilopoulou and Daphne Halikiopoulou argue that Golden Dawn differs from its counterparts in these aspects...

“Golden Dawn differs from other right movements in Greece, similarly to Nazism. It rejects elitism and sees itself as a popular mass movement from below.” (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015, p. 6)

Apart from rejecting elitism, Golden Dawn markets itself as the only protector of the nation which is struggling to restore the past glory of Greece (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015, p. 10). In order to do that, Golden Dawn glorifies Greece’s history, language and culture.



3. NATIONALISM IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

“When Fascism came into power, most people were unprepared, both theoretically and practically. They were unable to believe that man could exhibit such propensities for evil, such lust for power, such disregard for the rights of the weak, or such yearning for submission. Only a few had been aware of the rumbling of the volcano preceding the outbreak.”
(Fromm, 1941)

In this chapter, nationalism will be reviewed in the European context with tangible examples. Since this study adopts an approach of modern scholars such as Ernest Gellner, Eric J. Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson, it is considered that the systematic thought of nationalism does not have a long history in a worldwide context. However, Europe has been the motivational center of the nationalist ideology.

It should be noted that the biggest wars in history started on the European continent as a result of the revisionist policies of ultra-nationalist governments. Naturally, World War I and World War II were the consequences of the nationalist atmosphere in the last two centuries on the European continent. In the Literature Review chapter, we have seen that many scholars examined the emergence of nationalism from different perspectives. One of the common points they agreed on is that the consolidation of the nation states system in the 19th century vivified nationalist sentiments among societies in European countries.

The case study of this dissertation is closely related to the nationalist mobilization in the European continent. Before getting into the details of Greek nationalism and the radical right movements in Greece, it will be proper to provide an overview of the historical background of the evolution of nationalism in Europe. No doubt the two World Wars³⁹ have left irreparable marks on many nations regarding their destructive consequences.

³⁹ World War I and World War II.

Nevertheless, it is significant to remember that the Great Wars were the final phase of the nationalist movements in process. This chapter aims to reveal the evolution of nationalism in the European continent. The nationalist ideology is composed of many components, as mentioned in the second chapter. In this part of the dissertation, this study will dismantle the diversification of components which benefited nationalist thought in the changing conditions of Europe's 20th century. Europe's 20th century had faced the most brutal wars in world history, the influx of ideologies such as Communism, Fascism, Nazism, *etc.* and witnessed the quickest improvement in technology. These major transformations complicated the process for scholars to be able to analyze it. Moreover, all of these factors led to 20th century Europe having ambiguity in terms of politics.

Before moving ahead, it is important to emphasize that populism had an enormous impact on the rise of the radical right movements not only in Europe but also on a global scale during the 20th century. Also, populism emerged as an efficient way to mobilize societies in the 20th century. It is a relatively new phenomenon and it is still a largely debated issue among academics whether populism is applicable only to right-wing parties or to both right-wing and left-wing parties. Specifically, this debate occurred in Greece when SYRIZA led in the Greek Legislative Elections in 2015. SYRIZA has been labeled as a left-wing populist party (Papathanassiou, Giannulli and Andreadis, 2016). Naturally, this debate may be the topic of another dissertation; thus, this chapter will approach the correlation of populism and the radical right in the European context. One can see that populist discourses go hand in hand with nationalist thought in European radical right movements.

Apart from populist discourses, this chapter will uncover the common points of the radical right parties in Europe and reveal whether there is any correlation between European radical right parties and the Greek Golden Dawn party that is the focus of this dissertation. Therefore, this correlation will help us understand the logic of the radical right resurgence, in order to comprehend the functioning of Greek radical right movements related to the particular case of Golden Dawn.

3.1. Historical Background

There have been many important milestones throughout the decades in Europe for the evolution of the nationalist mindset. The Congress of Vienna of 1815 secured the new balance of power in Central Europe after the nationalist tendencies emerged, starting with the French Revolution. Therefore, the new *status quo* on the European continent created an encouraging atmosphere for the consolidation of the nation state building system. On the other hand, the reinforcement of the nation state system led micro nationalist movements, mostly in the Balkan states, to disseminate their thoughts within those states. Those micro nationalist movements paved the way for the Balkan Wars and the two World Wars in essence. In the following subsections, the impact of the nationalist movements in the 19th and 20th century will be analyzed in order to provide an insight for the case study of this dissertation.

3.1.1. The Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution was a significant political game changer not only for the European continent but also for the whole world. The rifts that were created by the Industrial Revolution increased the gap between states in terms of their capacities. One should include economic, technological, sociological and educational developments when it comes to the terms of these capacities. Ernest Gellner has asserted that nationalism went hand in hand with the industrialization process by the 19th century. As mentioned in the second chapter of the dissertation, he argues that industrial development needs nationalist consolidation in order to create solidarity within society and establish a national goal to be achieved. Contrary to Gellner's approach, ethno-symbolist Anthony D. Smith argues that ethnicities and symbols are highly significant in creating a national consciousness...

“While individual nations might come and go, ‘the nation’ as a category and historical community was eternal, an historical datum whose origins and lineaments could ultimately be traced to human biology, but which manifested itself as a specific type of socio-cultural community.” (Smith, 2009, p. 3)

Smith criticizes Gellner's modernist approach by emphasizing the importance of the ethnic codes. People had lived in an agricultural society before the Industrial Revolution. People had not engaged with each other in terms of their ethnic similarities, due to a lack of national symbols and consciousness. Moreover, the elites were not aware that ethnicity could be a social glue. Anthony D. Smith does not challenge the importance of technological development and the Industrial Revolution, but he insists on the necessity of continuity in the minds of the society. In order to maintain the nation's continuity, culture is not an adequate component to hold the nation together, according to Smith's argument. He emphasizes the significance of sustainability no matter how instrumental religion, culture, rituals, *etc.* are ...

“We also find continuity in landscapes and in architectural heritage, in many domestic and political rituals, even in rule-based activities such as languages and games, and this despite the massive changes wrought by technological innovations.” (Smith, 2009, p. 38)

As may be recalled, Eric J. Hobsbawm has pointed out that the invention of traditions is the most important component of nationalist thought. Smith does not challenge this argument, but he carries Hobsbawm's argument a step further in the context of sustainability. The Industrial Revolution created enormous changes in people's lives in almost every aspect. The elites tried to lead these changes. According to Elie Kedourie, the process of industrialization tainted the balance between the economic elites and the people (Kedourie, 2017, p. 133). As discussed in the second chapter of this dissertation, the elites emerged as the most important decision makers in terms of the mobilization and emerging as the embodiment of society. They distinctly play a determining role in social engineering. As will be seen in the fourth chapter, the Greek elites had also come to a decision on shaping Greek society, notably after the Greek Liberation War. It was necessary to persuade people in order to mobilize them around a national goal. The national goal could be anything. The most important thing was to get the consent and support of the people.

Each scholar concentrates on different components regarding the social fabric. Eric J. Hobsbawm asserts that elites are involved in controlling society through **invented traditions**. It is significant for Benedict Anderson to have the authority of **printing press**

capitalism to shape the society according to the desires of the decision makers. Anthony D. Smith also agrees with Hobsbawm and Anderson in terms of **imagining the community**. The imagination of the communities is beyond ethnic policies and biological codes. The limits of imagining the communities can be expanded to any level. Therefore, ethnic bonds can be imagined and implemented by the hand of elites. This issue will be discussed with particular examples in the next section of this chapter and in the fourth chapter of the dissertation.

Ernest Gellner contributes to the idea of society shaping efforts with his approach through the components of language and culture. He highlights the term **high culture** in this sense. According to his theory, societies tend to follow high culture rather than religious or sacred symbols. The process of alteration in people's mindset was started by modern communities. The birth of industrialization symbolizes the first steps of modern society. Gellner proposes that there are two types of societies in modern history – agricultural society and industrial society. Naturally, the industrialization process did not proceed at the same pace in every corner of the world. However, Europe has been at the forefront of the industrialization process. That is why European society transformed more quickly than anywhere else in the world, especially starting from the eighteenth century. Thenceforth, the development of technology revealed the necessity of education. Security, honor and job opportunity closely depend on education in an industrial society, according to Ernest Gellner's argument (Gellner, 1983, p. 36). His theory claims that education became the most important investment of a human being in the modern world and level of education designates the identity of a person. Gellner supports his argument...

“Modern man is not loyal to a monarch or a land or a faith, whatever he may say, but to a culture.” (Gellner, 1983, p. 36)

Nevertheless, the necessity of education fostered a power struggle among decision makers in order to control the central education system. The elites realized the significance of the central education system for creating or developing an identity. The Reformation and Enlightenment Eras played an important role in the creation of high culture since those eras led to crucial cleavages in societies. The necessity of a central education system

derived from the transformations which had occurred in daily life of societies. Gellner, then, vocalizes the aspects of this transformation...

“the Reformation universalized the clerisy and unified the vernacular and the liturgy, and the Enlightenment secularized the now universalized clerisy and the now nation-wide linguistic idiom, no longer bound to doctrine or class.”
(Gellner, 1983, p. 78)

Therefore, this progress has been one of the most important milestones of the globalization process, since it had a contagious effect not only on the European region but also in the rest of the world. Another question emerges at this juncture. Did industrialization (technological development in other words) lead to the necessity for an educational system or did the educational system lead to the Industrial Revolution? Gellner also suggests that the de-industrialization of a country should be considered as a part of a global process (Gellner, 1983, p. 42-43). Greece’s situation will be discussed in detail in the fourth chapter, but it is highly crucial to emphasize that Greece has been exposed to de-industrialization since its establishment. In this respect, the Christian Orthodox clergy is an exception since the Greek people lived for almost 400 years under *Tourkokratia*. There was no central education system during *Tourkokratia*, but the Christian Orthodox clergy managed to teach the Greek language and culture to their people, even though there was neither industrial development nor an independent state⁴⁰. Therefore, the actors of the Greek nation state-building process managed to effectuate the continuum of the national imagination.

3.1.2. World War I & World War II

World War I and World War II are considered to be the greatest wars in the modern history of humankind. The reasons and consequences of these wars have created huge debates among academics and historiographers. This chapter tries to approach these wars in an ideological context, in order to examine the founding fathers of radical thought.

⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarji (*Küçük Kaynarca Antlaşması*) signed on 1774 between Russian Empire and Ottoman Empire helped Orthodox communities, notably the merchants, to obtain important privileges (Roudometof, 2001, p. 36). Therefore, these privileges increased the sphere of influence of the Greek Orthodox community within the Ottoman Empire even though they were living under *Tourkokratia*.

Edward Hallett Carr claims that nationalism emerged as a natural consequence of individualism and democracy in the 19th century (Carr, 1945, p. 9). Nationalist thought became a practical mechanism to mobilize societies, in order to galvanize them for a national goal. National goals differ in detail from country to country in terms of their structure and traditions. Nevertheless, ideology has become the most important ingredient for achieving those goals. The elites considered the ideological aspect as the most efficient way to mobilize society for a common goal.

As discussed in the previous chapter and previous sections of this chapter, the centralized education system has been one of the most important instruments of nationalists. Also, components such as heroism, the printing press, *etc.* that help to elucidate the case of this dissertation were instrumentalized especially during the World War I, Inter-War and World War II Eras. A centralized education system has always been in the field of interest of radical right nationalists in order to instrumentalize their ideologies. Regarding the centralized education system, history writing has been one of its most significant components. Another scholar Claudia Koonz, who is an expert on Nazi policies describes the indispensability of education for Nazi Germany...

“Success in shaping the “body and soul” of the future Nazis depended on teachers’ commitment to Nazi principles - chief among them a view of human nature centered on race and struggle, a belief in absolute Aryan superiority, and a communitarian ethnos anchored in *Volk* and Führer. Ethnic identity was enhanced by a long list of antipathies: contempt for Jewry and all “lesser” races, scorn for universal humanism, and hostility to Christianity. With swastika in their hearts, Nazi youth were taught to love fellow Aryans and expel outsiders from their moral community. Interior Minister Wilhelm Frick put Nazi aims bluntly in 1933: “The primary obligation of the school is to raise youth for service to the *Volk* and state in the spirit of National Socialism.” Progressive educators, he claimed had baffled students with too many “supposedly objective” choices and left them defenseless against the ravages of a decadent culture. Schools must end individualism and competition among ethnic comrades so that the *Volk* could fight as a unit against racial danger.” (Koonz, 2003, p. 131, 132)

It might not be correct to compare the educational approach of Nazi Germany and the case study of this dissertation, since Golden Dawn have never had a chance to rule the country as the Nazis did. However, Golden Dawn has been influenced by Nazi practices

with the organization highlighting the rules for education, blood banks⁴¹, militia forces, *etc.* Golden Dawn organized parallel elementary school classes in its branches and aimed to teach “true” Greek history to Greek children (Journeyman Pictures, 2013). This was an important step for the party in order to create a system for the collective memory. Moreover, this step was an effort to raise Greek citizens according to the goals of the party. This goal was a “purified” Greece.

Getting back to the subject of the Nazis, some of their common goals such as *Lebensraum*⁴², were more or less the same for many countries. Especially in the 1930s, *Lebensraum* became an indispensable function on the European continent (Mazower, 1998, p. 153). The increasing economic problems led states to expand their territories and follow revisionist policies in order to develop their economic conditions and provide more fertile regions for their people. The global economic shrinkage that started at the end of the 19th century caused inevitable alterations both in the social and political spectrum. Europe had lived this transformation at almost every level of politics. Antonis Klapsis depicts the political atmosphere of 1930s’ Europe...

“The negative affects of the Great Depression were reflected in election results all over the continent from Romania to Austria and Czechoslovakia to Belgium, the trend was more or less the same.” (Klapsis, 2014, p.4)

The domino effect of the election results indicated that it was enormously difficult for any government to survive for more than a year (Mazower, 1998, p. 57) since the European political atmosphere was one of turmoil. Insolubility in the region paved the way for the extremist movements to persuade people to vote for them in order to rule. As modern democracy had not been consolidated adequately at the time, it had not been considered as a universally accepted way of governing. Therefore, authoritarian regimes that came to power through elections started to appear in Europe by the 1930s. In other words, antidemocratic movements instrumentalized democratic elections in order to reach their goals. The evolution of democracy through Fascist regimes did not entirely occur

⁴¹ Special organization by the Golden Dawn party that exclusively provides blood donations from ‘ethnically-pure’ Greeks to ‘ethnically-pure’ Greeks (Journeyman Pictures. 2013) https://youtu.be/M_ukaXTgl2o?t=772 (accessed on 30 December 2019)

⁴² The territory that a state or nation believes is needed for its natural development, especially associated with Nazi Germany (Oxford Dictionary of English, 2015).

through the brute force of extremists. This had been seen simultaneously in many European countries, notably Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece. Kostas Ifantis and Dimitrios Triantaphyllou highlight German and Italian examples as a common reaction mainly to the global economic crisis at the time...

“In fact, the rise of Hitler and Mussolini in Germany and Italy, in the interwar years, could be explained as the rise of populism and nationalism as a reaction to the growing discontent to the status quo and the economic crisis of the 1930s that swept the (European) continent and the United States.” (Ifantis and Triantaphyllou, 2019, p. 5-6)

No doubt German Nazism and Italian Fascism had had a great influence on almost every country in Europe that had been suffering from the impact of the Great Depression. Apparently, these regimes influenced António de Oliveira Salazar in Portugal, Francisco Franco in Spain and Ioannis Metaxas in Greece, in terms of their authoritarian tendencies. Naturally it would not be wrong to detect that there was an ideological transitivity between those states at the time. Having said that, Nazi Germany appeared to be a leftist movement, since it had claimed to lead a socialist movement in a nationalist way. Many scholars claim that nationalism does not belong to left-wing or right-wing politics all through the course of modern history. The clear distinction between the left and right blocs materialized after World War I. Nevertheless, Edward Hallett Carr claims that nationalism became a catastrophic machine starting from 1914. He highlights three impacts on the growth of the nationalist ideology in this period...

- 1- the bringing in of new social strata within the effective membership of the nation;
- 2- the visible reunion of economic with political power; and
- 3- the increase in the number of nations. (Carr, 1945, p. 18)

Carr considers that nationalist ideology belongs to the right wing. However, he thinks that nationalist upsurges occurred during the times of political crisis in the 19th and 20th centuries. On the other hand, Elie Kedourie asserts that many politicians who claimed to be right wing actually tended to be left wing in the beginning such as Jozef Pilsudski, Benito Mussolini, Adolf Hitler, and Chiang Kai-Shek (Kedourie, 2017, p. 110). In fact, the distinction between the left and the right fell into place in the stream of history.

Whereas Ivan Krastev claims that the distinction of the left and the right was crystal clear, this dissimilarity seems to be fading out in today's politics...

“The sharp Left-Right divide, which has structured European politics since the French Revolution, is gradually blurring.” (Krastev, 2018, p. 81)

The sharpness between the left and the right materialized especially after World War I. The hostile legacies of the peace agreements and heavy economic sanctions deepened the ideological crisis in the European region. During the Interwar Era, different ideologies reached their extreme positions. Especially when Nazi Germany found an opportunity to test the limits of international tolerance to its policies. The rest of the world had no experience or capability of getting them under control. It would be more accurate to emphasize that there was no authority to fight against the extreme edges of both the left wing and the right wing since almost no government could maintain itself in power for more than a year (Mazower, 1998, p. 57). Moreover, the League of Nations could not impose its authority on its member states.

On the other hand, many European nations were living principally within the great empires⁴³ of Europe before World War I (Kedourie, 2017, p.140-141). In this respect, World War I could be considered as the struggle of micro nationalisms, since many nations still did not have their own state in Europe. Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States of America at the time, had clearly supported the right to self-determination of the nations. The complex history of European nations and the support of Wilson for the nations without a state complicated the situation in Europe (Kedourie, 2017, p. 153). Europe had been a battlefield of desires for liberation. On the other hand, micro nationalism movements led to the consolidation of ethnic policies in a discriminative context. This kind of consolidation paved the way for Fascist movements to implement ethnically based nationalist attitudes, notably during the Interwar Era. Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece came into prominence with their authoritarian and discriminatory style of government in this period. Nevertheless, it would not be right to merge Fascism and today's New Radical Right parties in every context. The radical

⁴³ German Empire, French Empire, British Empire, Austria-Hungary.

right parties of the modern era particularly avoid being compared with the 1930s and 1940s Fascist movements, even though they basically support similar ideologies. Today's radical right parties form their official discourses accordingly.

3.1.3. The Cold War Era

The aftermath of World War II revealed that Europe needed to dress its wounds, in order to maintain the democratic values in the old continent. The legacy of the holocaust and the famine of World War II created a need for a system which could protect human rights, even at the level of the individual. The existence of the League of Nations, which immediately became the United Nations, could not manage to secure even basic human rights. Although people's perspective had changed slightly on ethnic issues after World War II, ethnic nationalism never melted away. Another consequence of the Second World War was the mass displacement of people. People were displaced ten times more during World War II than they were during World War I (Mazower, 1998, p. 418). This provides a framework for us to analyze the recent refugee influx in Europe with historical data. It raises another question about the topic of this dissertation. Did extreme right parties manage to succeed in the Post-World War II Era in Europe?

The answer to this question is quite complicated. After the end of World War II, the prominent Fascist regimes were heavily defeated in Europe. The Nazi German and Fascist Italian regimes had become the symbols of extremist ideology. Their collapse had brought the future of the extreme right up for debate among academia. Although glorifying democratic values had a positive impact during the Post-World War II Era, there were still authoritarian regimes present in Europe in the hills of Portugal, Spain and later Greece. As this dissertation argues, many components have to come together for the rise of the radical right. Apart from ideological, cultural, economic and sociological factors, political traditions, history and the structure of the state apparatus also matter for the rise of the radical right. Daphne Halikiopoulou and Sofia Vasilopoulou consider those components for the survival of the radical right as parallel in Greece, Spain and Portugal after World War II...

“Greece, Portugal and Spain share a number of demand and supply-side conditions, including similar economic crisis dynamics, electoral systems, party competition dynamics, highly conservative right-wing competitors, history of right-wing authoritarianism and a fragmentation of the right, eliminating these variables as potential causal explanations.” (Halikiopoulou and Vasilopoulou, 2016, p. 28)

The western powers did not consider those remaining authoritarian regimes as a threat, since the regimes did not have the capability of having revisionist policies. Moreover, those regimes managed to survive for decades with the implicit permission of the Western powers. The world systems that emerged in the Cold War era led the great powers to ignore these regimes intentionally in the context of democratic values, since they needed allies in the region.

As will be discussed more in detail in the fourth chapter, the radical right parties started to lose their efficacy during the bipolar system of the Cold War Era, since two great powers happened to dominate international and domestic politics. Also, the radical right parties started to lose their electorate to center right parties since those parties were considered as the legacies of the massive destructions incurred during World War II. Mark Mazower argues that center right parties managed to absorb extreme tendencies in that period...

“In some cases this led to neo-Nazi parties being banned by the Federal Constitutional Court. But such measures were probably not the main reason for the relatively poor performance of the extreme Right in post-war elections. More significant, apart from public disaffection, was the success of the mainstream Right in diverting the extremists’ natural constituency into their own ranks.” (Mazower, 1998, p. 552)

Ivan Krastev approaches the impact of the radical right from another perspective. He thinks that there had been an interruption for the radical right movements during the Cold War Era. However, Krastev considers the year 1968 as a milestone for the radical right movements in terms of their revival...

“In Western Europe, 1968 symbolizes the endorsement of cosmopolitan values, while in the east it stands for the re-birth of national sentiments.” (Krastev, 2018, p. 57)

According to his perspective, the preservationist reflexes of European society reoccurred in the middle of the Cold War Era. Nevertheless, it would be inaccurate to overlook the progressions in terms of the democratization process. At this juncture, supranational independent institutions which protect the rights of the individuals started to emerge in Europe. However, the exiles started to return to the governments in Europe during the Cold War Era (Mazower, 1998, p. 405). Mark Mazower also claims that Great Britain and the United States of America started to interfere in the domestic politics of many European countries in the aftermath of World War II...

“In western Europe, occupation gave British and American policy-makers enormous influence over the internal affairs of both former enemies like Italy and Germany, and of former allies like Belgium and Greece. Soviet advisers intervened as much if not more, and took steps to consolidate their influence over the bureaucratic apparatus of the various east European states.” (Mazower, 1998, p. 503)

“The most striking case of all was Greece, where the British-backed royalist government actually fought with the left-wing EAM/ELAS in Athens in December 1944⁴⁴, crushing the main wartime resistance movement there.” (Mazower, 1998, p. 405)

The new climate of the Cold War Era increased the expectations for liberal politics such as freedom of movement, freedom of speech, *etc.* In the light of demands for liberation, decolonization also started during the Cold War Era. Therefore, the movement of migrants began in this era. In particular, the Dutch, French and British colonies started to proclaim their independence. Over one million migrants moved to France from Algeria alone in 1962 (Briggs and Clavin, 1997, p. 343). Apart from the decolonization process, predominantly Greek and Turkish workers started to find jobs in Central European countries such as Germany, Austria, Switzerland, *etc.* after World War II, in order to satisfy the need for a labor force. Thus, the demographics of the European continent started to change in this period.

⁴⁴ Although British interference took place before the Cold War, this interference maintained its impact on Greek domestic politics for decades.

3.1.4. The Post-Cold War Era

The destiny of the radical right parties is directly related to the aftermath of the Cold War Era. As the Soviet Union disintegrated, many ethnically homogeneous newly born nation-states emerged in the region. Nevertheless, it is not appropriate to mention that radical right parties managed to be more successful in the first decade of the Post-Cold War Era in terms of their election results. One of the most important reasons for the ineffectiveness of the European radical right is the weakening of Russia in the aftermath of the dissolution of the Soviet Union. In this respect, the election of Vladimir Putin can be considered as an important moment for the destiny of the European radical right. Greek scholar Antonis Klapsis categorizes some of the European radical right parties as Pro-Russian organizations. During the book launch of Anton Shekhovtsov's *Russia and the Western Far Right: Tango Noir*, Klapsis claimed that Putin had been trying to instrumentalize radical right parties as a **trojan horse** against the European Union (Klapsis, 2018). Naturally, every radical right party is not necessarily pro-Russian or there is no actual evidence to back up the claim that Russia supports the European radical right. In the case of Golden Dawn, it will be seen in the fifth chapter that Golden Dawn has shown some indications of its pro-Russian sentiments.

On the other hand, there are not many radical right parties that are ideologically and traditionally fascist in today's Europe (Golder, 2016, p. 481). As liberal democracies dominate today's politics in almost every aspect, the traditional fascist form of any political party could not be successful in Europe. However, there are still extreme movements that support traditional fascism in a political party form. Most of them are marginalized because of their motivations and actions. As a case study of this dissertation, Golden Dawn differs from today's well known radical right parties, since it was both represented in the Greek Parliament and present in criminal activities on the streets. Golden Dawn's militia forces (Georgiadou, 2019, p. 179) on the streets distinguish the party from its reputed counterparts in Europe. Golden Dawn's militia forces will be discussed in detail in the fifth chapter, but on the other hand, Cas Mudde classifies Golden

Dawn next to other marginal - traditionally fascist - movements in Europe rather than with populist radical right parties like the French National Front or British UKIP⁴⁵.

“The most prominent case of an extreme right party is Greece’s Golden Dawn (CA), which is currently threatened with a public funding ban and criminal investigations. More ambiguous cases are the virtually bankrupt British National Party and the National Democratic Party of Germany, as well as the electorally significant Hungarian Jobbik, which combines a nominally democratic party front with a clearly antidemocratic paramilitary wing, the (now outlawed) Hungarian Guard.” (Mudde, 2014, p. 99)

Matt Golder argues that many radical right parties that were established during the Cold War Era started to exist by following a traditionally fascist ideology, but most of these parties transformed into populist radical right parties in the 1980s (Golder, 2016, p. 481). Although most of those fascist parties are marginalized in Europe, a minority of them should be taken seriously. According to Golder...

“Greece’s Golden Dawn and Hungary’s Jobbik, with their youth movements and paramilitary organizations, have recently rekindled concerns with electoral forms of fascism.” (Golder, 2016, p. 481)

Correspondingly, in his book, Ödül Celep argues that European society is not concerned about old-fashioned Fascist or Nazi parties anymore (Celep, 2009, p. 97). His argument seems to be valid to some extent. However, the Greek Golden Dawn, the Hungarian Jobbik and the Slovak National Party (SNS)⁴⁶ examples disprove this argument, even though these kinds of movements are still nothing more than a few examples. Apart from the efficacy of traditionally fascist parties in the electoral process, one should examine their ideological legacies. In this aspect, Aristotle Kallis argues that some extreme ideas may be successful, but the real danger is to overlook what those ideas might bring...

“...successful extreme ideas tend to become trendsetters for new radical political thought and action across societies and state boundaries. They, too, break taboos and produce a kind of license to think the previously unthinkable, sanctioned by mainstream forces, tapping into and cognitively liberating suppressed social demand, and then becoming recontextualized in different countries, sometimes against different groups of “others,” sometimes minority populations. This is what happened in interwar Europe

⁴⁵ The UK Independence Party.

⁴⁶ Slovenská národná strana in Slovak.

with the rise and spread of fascism, as well as the concurrent radicalization of anti-Semitism in many European countries at the time, often championed by non-fascist political agents and supported by mainstream social constituencies.” (Kallis, 2013, p. 238)

Therefore, it is important to focus on the ideological aspect of today’s radical right parties rather than their electoral success.

3.2. Nationalism-Populism Concurrence

It is not a coincidence that there is a concurrence between nationalism and populism in the 20th century. There is a debate as to whether there is a correlation between nationalism and populism. In the second chapter, populism was not considered as a major component of nationalist thought, since populism emerged in the 20th century. Populism had not been a major component for the pioneers of nationalist thought at the time, but populism boosted nationalist movements in many cases during the 20th century and is becoming more and more of a factor in politics. As will be seen in the fifth chapter, Golden Dawn also managed to be a part of mainstream politics by highlighting its populist rhetoric.

Nationalists tend to use populism from time to time, but there was no populism in any corner of the world during the emergence of nationalist ideology. There is apparently a conceptual transitivity between nationalism and populism. Nationalism has become an indirect component through ideas, while the politicians demonize the “others” and their “supporters” (Papathanassopoulos, 2016, p.1; Pantazopoulos, 2013, p. 70). Apart from nationalism as an ideology, elites have also become an opponent of populism. Elites were considered to be the ones who direct the nation in a nationalist direction. In other words, elites play an important role in the mobilization of the society. In short, nationalist ideology is spread through elites, but populist movements consider elites as corrupt (Kaltwasser and Mudde, 2017, p. 11). Therefore, populists intend to mobilize societies against elites. Ivan Krastev approaches this distinction from a different perspective, by associating elites with migrants in the same category...

“Populist parties consider migrants and élites as twins. They picture them as the people who steal their job, *etc.*” (Krastev, 2018, p. 74)

How come elites are considered to be a negative component, contrary to nationalist ideology? Populist ideology claims that it focuses on the prosperity of the **people, not the elites**. On the other hand, one should question whether populists genuinely defend the interests of the people or not. Nevertheless, this dissertation approaches populism skeptically in terms of considering elites as a negative component. In order to consolidate the support of the **people**, elites would manage the process esoterically. One should comprehend that neoliberal elites support notably right-wing populist parties in Europe (Çakır, 2016, p. 233). Matt Golder approaches the function of elites from a neoliberal perspective...

“In Europe, the elite typically includes the established political parties, intellectuals, the economic upper class, and the media. These groups are targeted for promoting liberal values related to individualism, multiculturalism, and internationalism, and for colluding to keep the people away from power. These groups are considered responsible for all of society’s ills.” (Golder, 2016, p. 479)

In order to understand the issue better, one could examine the fact that many politicians who have completed their tenures in office, are appointed to the boards of international or supranational organizations (Çakır, 2016, p. 235). This transformation of European politics symbolizes the fact that globalization also has an impact on the functionalism of today’s politics. According to the populists, elites work for the will of global neoliberal actors, not for the will of their own ‘**pure people**’. Nonetheless, there are some points where populism and nationalism converge. Moreover, Cas Mudde asserts that nationalism and populism act jointly in certain circumstances...

“Populism can be merged completely with nationalism, when the distinction between the people and the elite is both moral and ethnic.” (Mudde, 2017, p. 14)

According to Mudde’s argument, it is significant to approach co-operation between nationalism and populism on a case by case basis. In the European example, the refugee issue comes into prominence much more than other issues on the cooperation of the nationalist and populist blocs. No doubt there are similar instruments in the hands of populist and nationalist politicians such as the refugee question. The refugee influx has emerged as one of the main issues for European politicians in the last few decades,

notably in the 2010s. Populist and nationalist elites agree that refugees may pose a threat to their homogeneity and the integration of European society. Therefore, these politicians pursue hostile policies toward migrants, regardless of whether they are in power or in opposition. The anti-immigrant reflex has a persuasive impact on the political atmosphere in almost every country. Thus, right-wing politics have been consolidated, regardless of whether there is a left-wing government or a coalition in any country. Indubitably one could attribute the consolidation of right-wing politics to the impact of globalization. As mentioned earlier, the refugee crisis has affected the existing state of European politics. Ivan Krastev comments on the correlation of the refugee crisis and populist movements...

“The only way to deal with the risk of disintegration is to recognize clearheadedly that the refugee crisis has dramatically changed the nature of democratic politics on the national level and that what we are witnessing in Europe is not simply a populist riot against the establishment but a voters’ rebellion against the meritocratic elites (best symbolized by hard-working, competent officials in Brussels who are nonetheless out of touch with the societies they are supposed to represent and serve).” (Krastev, 2018, p. 13-14)

Krastev remarks on the threat of European disintegration due to the impact of the refugee influx. According to his comments, the refugee crisis jeopardizes the prevailing atmosphere of European politics, since the discourses of politicians and the behavior of voters have been transformed. As mentioned in the second chapter of this study, external factors have a significant impact on the political atmosphere. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the Industrial Revolution appeared as a transformative element in people’s daily lives. Therefore, societies are shaped according to these transformations. Also, the refugee influx has emerged as a transformative element in today’s Europe. The public at large and the elites perceive the refugee crisis as a threat to the homogeneity of European society. They consider refugees as a toxic factor for their cultures. They intend to confront the deterioration of their national culture due to the changing demographics in their countries. This confrontation has been the focus of populist discourse, notably in European countries. The threat of the deterioration of homogeneity has brought nativism into the forefront. Nativist discourses have seemed to bring more votes than multiculturalist approaches. New radical right parties managed to mobilize their supporters by instrumentalizing a particular sense of history and culture (Kaya, 2020, p. 29). Refugees became their easy targets by displaying them as a threat to this common, homogenous

history and culture. Hungary tried to implement a migrant quota with a national referendum in 2016, even though it was not valid because of the turnout (Kingsley, 2016). Nonetheless, more than 98% of the voters said “yes” to this nativist referendum.

At this junction, nationalist and populist perspectives appeared to come together. Both ideologies faced the same opponent. In this case, the refugees became opponents of the **people** in the eyes of the politicians. Thus, radical right movements consider this kind of association as a perfect atmosphere in order to polarize society. In a polarized atmosphere, radical right parties embrace a discourse which is more outspoken. The radicalized political atmosphere forces the parties in the center to shift their discourses to become more radical and populist. To take an example, Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán radicalized his discourse on the refugee issue so as not to lose his reactionary voters to marginal radical right parties such as Jobbik. In this aspect, Orbán did not hesitate to stress that Europe is “under invasion” because of the refugee influx (Walker, 2018).

Greece has become the most important transit center of the refugee influx through Europe. Thus, Greek populists have not hesitated to use this fact in their discourses. One can consider this as a stance to maintain the prosperity and capitalist system in the country, since the refugees have been perceived as a threat to the Greek economy and to Greek culture. Major Greek political parties, no matter whether left or right wing, united their arguments significantly on anti-immigrant policies. The former president of the New Democracy Party and the former Greek Prime Minister, Antonis Samaras has made several statements on the refugee issue. He describes the stance of his party during the opening of the 77th Thessaloniki International Fair in 2012...

“Illegal immigrants export foreign currency from Greece to countries outside the Eurozone. This cannot go on. They cannot legally export foreign currency from illegal work! That will be checked. And it will be taxed. We cannot go after the legal workers for their last euro, while the illegals are completely uncontrolled.”⁴⁷ (Samaras, 2012)

⁴⁷ “Οι λαθρομετανάστες εξάγουν συνάλλαγμα από την Ελλάδα προς χώρες εκτός ευρώ. Αυτό δεν μπορεί να συνεχίζεται. Δεν μπορεί να εξάγουν νόμιμα συνάλλαγμα από παράνομη εργασία! Αυτό θα ελεγχθεί. Και θα φορολογηθεί. Δεν μπορεί να κυνηγάμε τους νόμιμα εργαζόμενους για το τελευταίο ευρώ και οι παράνομοι να είναι τελείως ανεξέλεγκτοι.” (Translated by the author)

Looking at an example from a different perspective, one should consider PASOK candidate Spyros Karvounis's discourse on the refugee issue in 2014...

“if we let them travel to other countries of Europe, our country will be overwhelmed by those refugees” (Poulakidakos and Kaloeida, 2015, p. 12)

The coalition between left-wing SYRIZA and right-wing ANEL is an indicator of this consolidation at a governing level. In Western European countries, the framework does not seem different. Purchasing power has increased by 66% and 20% consecutively in France and the United States of America compared to the Cold War years. However, people in those countries still believe that indigent refugees will plunder the markets in their towns. Radical right-wing parties like the National Front incite those fears with their discourses and amplify the anti-immigrant sentiments (Güzel, 1995, p. 104).

On the other hand, the times of economic turmoil (Funke, Schularick and Trebesch, 2019) are considered as having one of the major impacts on the rise of the radical right in Europe (Klapisis, 2014, p. 4-5). This perspective seems valid up to a point, but it is worth challenging. Although the support for radical right parties displays an upsurge during times of economic shrinkage, this argument is not enough to explain the rise of notably the National Front in France at the beginning of the 2000s. When Jean-Marie Le Pen managed to compete in the second round of the French Presidential Elections in 2002, there was no austerity at the time (Papaioannou, 2017, personal communication, 3 May).

The economic dire straits just helped the deep-seated sentiments to come to the surface. In other words, the economic context cannot be the only factor in people's voting behavior but can have a triggering impact on it during times of economic crisis, to increase the reactionary vote. Most of these reactionary votes do not exist for long since most of the European radical right parties do not have a wide voter base. It would be useful to compare their social media accounts, their propaganda machine in other words, and their voting rates. In this example, those radical right parties on the marginal side have many more followers on social media than voters (Bartlett, Littlewell and Littler, 2011, p. 33-35; Atikkan, 2014, p. 213). Considering this situation, Kostis Papaioannou claims that European societies do not think that they are well-represented by their politicians (Papaioannou, 2017, personal communication, 3 May). Therefore, this does not mean that

European people are radical right supporters, as they are looking for alternatives in their domestic politics.

3.3. The Manipulation of Social Values

The social context of the nationalist and populist agendas is crucially significant. As stressed in the second chapter of this dissertation, nationalists have used many tools such as education, the printing press, invented traditions, *etc.* to mobilize their societies according to their political goals. In today's political arena, the instruments may have changed, but the mobilization of society is still valid for advancing political goals. It is highly important to comprehend the nationalists' perspective on their ideal society. Radical right parties are the most extreme movements among those that expound nationalist thought. First and foremost, one of the most prominent common characteristics of the European radical right parties is the question of gender equality. They do not hesitate to make declarations on the differences of genders in terms of their role in society.

According to most radical right parties, a man should work and be the breadwinner of the family, a woman should take care of their children and only be a mother (Celep, 2007, p. 25). This perspective coincides with the general moral principles of the radical right parties. In this respect, it is significant to illustrate the nationalist perspective on the social structure of society. According to Cohn, nationalist ideology symbolizes the nation as a woman. This approach shows the man as a soldier who protects his family from an invasion and his **woman** from violence and assault (Cohn, 2013, p. 13), (Holt, 2015, p. 160). Moreover, radical right parties consider women as the protectors of their ethnic homogeneity (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015, p. 34; Rippeyoung, 2007, p. 382). As those movements follow nativist policies, they evaluate the role of women in society in the context of ethnic policies. As seen in Nazi Germany, women were crucially important. They had a certain mission to give birth and strengthen German ethnicity. In today's politics, radical right parties consider refugees as invading their ethnic homogeneity and autochthonic culture.

Although the approach of radical right parties toward the refugee issue differs from country to country, the issue of ethnic homogeneity is prominent, and the role of women is vital. Golden Dawn considers women as biological reproducers of ethnic collectivities and preservers of the Greek nation (Kaya, 2020, p. 198).

As seen in the case of Golden Dawn, women play an extremely important role, especially in the operational part of party organizations such as in terms of organizing blood donations, food donations, election campaigns, *etc.* (Koronaïou and Sakellariou, 2017, p. 269). As can be seen in the *Golden Dawn Girls* documentary, the prominence of women in the party is crucially important. Moreover, when the leader and the prime movers of Golden Dawn were arrested in 2013 prior to the trial process, the women of the party started to take more initiatives to keep Golden Dawn in the forefront of the political game.

On the political side, Golden Dawn arranged a special activity to introduce its “female only” candidates⁴⁸ for the European Parliament Elections in 2014. Therefore, the women of Golden Dawn became important actors for the dissemination of the party’s ideology even though most of its electorate consists of young males (Sakellariou, 2015, p. 9; Kaya, 2020, p. 184).

Getting back to the main topic of this section, it is clear that radical right parties are seen as a threat by various people within societies. One of the major mistakes is to estimate the radical right threat by looking at voting rates during elections. For instance, Golden Dawn was carrying out violent attacks even when the party received very low votes. These attacks will be explained in detail in the fifth chapter.

This estimation may be correct up to a point, but those parties are highly effective on the structure of society. Although some radical right parties are not worth considering in terms of their voting rates, they are strong enough to manipulate the social values of society as well as the policies of mainstream parties. This argument could be easily

⁴⁸ In this organization, allegedly the “second” man in command of Golden Dawn, Ilias Kasidiaris introduces female candidates of Golden Dawn for an “independent and free Greece”.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rjTg8FNU1wY&t=72s> (accessed 27 September 2019)

adapted to the case study of this dissertation. Golden Dawn, one of the most extreme “radical right” parties in Europe, do not hesitate to polarize Greek society with their thought and actions. In their mindset, society splits into black and white on almost every topic. Radically, Golden Dawn supports the existence of only one of those categorizations. Naturally, being a Greek citizen or not is their major reason to divide up the society, since the members of the party claim that Golden Dawn is the only defender of the Greek people. The approach of Golden Dawn to daily politics will be dealt with in detail, with examples, in the fifth chapter.

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter aimed to reveal the historical background of the European radical right movements via applying theories of nationalism. Since the main research question of this study is to uncover whether Golden Dawn is an idiosyncratic case in the context of the rise of the radical right in Europe, it is significant to examine the ideological structure of those European radical right movements that are considered to be the counterparts of Golden Dawn. On the other hand, this study intends to reveal whether there is a correlation between European radical right movements and the Greek Golden Dawn in ideological aspects. Therefore, this chapter also has tried to introduce the collaborative practices among the European radical right movements. Although the fifth chapter will deal the collaborations of Golden Dawn in detail, this chapter has presented the basics regarding the level of cooperation between European radical right parties.

As discussed in the second chapter, the industrialization process has been a significant component for the dissemination of nationalist ideology. Furthermore, the impact of printing press capitalism suggested by Benedict Anderson, the invention of traditions suggested by Eric J. Hobsbawm and the nationalization of symbols suggested by Anthony D. Smith have been significant indicators binding the nation state system in the European continent. Although Ernest Gellner seems right in claiming that the industrialization process is crucially important for the consolidation of the nation state system, considering the acceleration of globalization, ethnic origins started to become an indicator in terms of national consciousness. According to Smith, national consciousness began to become a

factor during the transition period between an agricultural society and an industrial society. Therefore, political elites found an opportunity to bring their societies into the fold by harmonizing various components such as national symbols, heroism and traditions. In this respect, Gellner suggests another concept which contains all of these components: **high culture**. According to his argument, there was a necessity for high culture since modern man is not loyal to a noble family or a dynasty (Gellner, 1983, p. 36). On this point, he suggests that the consensus on high culture led to the German and Italian unifications in terms of securing national unity. This unification was an influence on Greek politician Ioannis Kolettis in the 19th century in attempting to reach a consensus for Greek high culture (Gülboy, 2014, p. 257). In this respect, European Romanticism had a considerable impact on the evolution of Greek nationalism.

Unsurprisingly, Germany and Italy witnessed the most extreme examples of radical right governance, not only in European but also in world history. Parallel to this, Greece had the dictatorship of Metaxas during the very same period. The consolidation of the nation state system starting in the 19th century had an impact on the germination of the radical right movements. In this sense, the significance of a centralized education system has been discussed in this chapter. Actually, the monopolization of a centralized education system is an important apparatus for nationalist ideology to put into operation the aforementioned components (the nationalization of the symbols, the invention of traditions, heroism, *etc.*).

The process of history writing, and the creation of national heroes have always been at the heart of a centralized education system. All of the nationalist movements are aware that it is crucial to control such a system. Therefore, it is almost impossible to detect any radical right movement that has not emphasized its significance in the last hundred years. Moreover, traditions have been laid down – or made up on some occasions, according to Eric J. Hobsbawm – and various elements of high culture have been filtered with the help of a centralized education system according to the necessities of the political elites. As has been seen in this chapter, this type of education system was one of the major aims in Nazi Germany in order to raise a young generation who would have a national consciousness.

Although Golden Dawn did not have the chance to come into power in Greece, it is possible to examine its intentions on the regulation of the Greek centralized education system. The party has prioritized the teaching of “true” Greek history which is a filtered and modified version according to the goals of Golden Dawn’s ideology. As previously discussed, it is important for them to inject national sentiments into Greek youth, in order to have the edge in the **daily plebiscite** as suggested by Ernest Renan.

Moreover, history writing is extremely substantial for Greek nationalists in order to highlight the Greek national heroes for the strengthening of the national consciousness. Similarly, the French radical right leader of National Rally⁴⁹, Marine Le Pen visits the monument of French hero “Joan of Arc” every year in order to awaken the nationalist sentiments within society by instrumentalizing heroism. Furthermore, Le Pen tries to turn her visit into a tradition of the radical right mindset (AP Archive, 2018). These kinds of attempts coincide with Eric J. Hobsbawm’s theory of the **invention of traditions** in order to plant nationalist sentiments.

On the other hand, it has been discussed that Nazi Germany tested the tolerance of the newly born European democracies with its revisionist policies and its brutal actions against its Jewish and other communities during the Inter-war years. Similarly, Golden Dawn tested the tolerance of Greek democracy with its xenophobic and anti-immigrant discourses and actions. Most of Golden Dawn’s actions were tolerated by the Greek elites and Greek governments in the same way as Nazi actions had been tolerated with the mindset of *laissez faire, laissez passer*. The murder of anti-Fascist rap singer Pavlos Fyssas in 2013 secured the end of tolerance towards Golden Dawn in this aspect.

⁴⁹ Previously “National Front”.

4. NATIONALISM IN GREECE

“Free yourself from race also; fight to live through the whole struggle of man. See how he has detached himself from the animal, how he struggles to stand upright, to co-ordinate his inarticulate cries, to feed the flame between his hearthstones, to feed his mind amid the bones of his skull.”⁵⁰
(Kazantzakis, 2012)

Greek nationalism comprises the main body of this dissertation, since the case study subject, Golden Dawn, includes the very essence of nationalism in its ideological structure. Although Golden Dawn is considered as an idiosyncratic movement compared to mainstream nationalist radical right parties, it cannot be separated from the nationalist perspective, since it includes so many components of the nationalist ideology. This chapter will try to link Golden Dawn’s ideology with the evolution of Greek nationalism. In order to do that, this chapter will discuss the most important components of Greek nationalism, including the Greek nation building process and materials relevant to Golden Dawn’s nationalist thought.

Apart from being a political party, Golden Dawn has been involved in several criminal and violent activities. Since Golden Dawn members aim to justify their violent actions with reference to their patriotic and nationalist beliefs, it is extremely crucial to deconstruct the elements of Greek nationalism. Therefore, one will see how Greek nationalism took shape and how it influenced the radical right movements in Greece. Moreover, Greek nationalism started to take shape in parallel with the era of European Romanticism. European Romanticism began as a cultural movement which was the dream and hope of the poets and intellectuals in Europe (Liakos, 2008, p. 78). The same

⁵⁰ The original text is from 1927.

“Λευτερώσου κι από τη ράτσα' πολέμα να ζήσεις όλο τον αγωνιζόμενον άνθρωπο. Κοίτα τον πώς ξεμασκάλισε από τα ζώα, πώς μάχεται να σταθεί όρθιος, να ρυθμίσει τις άναρθρες κραυγές, να συντηρήσει τη φλόγα ανάμεσα στις πυροστιές, να συντηρήσει το νου ανάμεσα στα κόκαλα της κεφαλής του.” (Original text)

movement influenced many Greek intellectuals in contributing to the development of Greek culture.

Apparently, all nationalist movements in the last two centuries had an impact on the nation-building process in Greece. The nation-building process in Greece naturally set the course for the shaping of the Greek radical right, as well. Therefore, this chapter will help us to consolidate the answers to some of the main research questions of this dissertation. Did Greece's nation-state system of the 19th century plant the seeds of today's radical movement? What are the roots of Golden Dawn's nationalism? What is the main reason for the rise of the radical right in Greece? How has the rise of the radical right in Europe influenced Greek nationalists and the Greek radical right parties since the Inter-war Era?

In order to answer the aforementioned questions, this chapter will be divided into two sections. The first section will focus on the emergence of Greek nationalism and highlight the intentions of the founding fathers of Greek nationalism. The Liberation War of Greece in the 19th century and the domination of the Orthodox religion on Greek identity will be examined as the initial phase for the emergence of Greek nationalism. No doubt the Liberation War of Greece and the status of the Orthodox Church played a crucial role in nation building in Greece. The second section will deal with the case of extreme nationalism in Greece. Therefore, the ideological and the practical correlation between Greek nationalism and the Greek radical right will help us understand better the case of Golden Dawn. Since Golden Dawn is one of the most extremist parties in Europe, this section will lead us to bind Greek nationalism with the case of the Golden Dawn, which will be dealt with in detail in the next chapter.

4.1. Motivations

This section will try to deal with the major motivations of Greek nationalism. Motivation is an important factor for propagating nationalist thought within societies. Therefore, this section will uncover the motivational aspect of Greek nationalism. In order to do so, it would be more accurate to deal with the evolution of the Greek identity. There are two

important milestones in terms of the Greek identity building process. The first is the Greek Liberation War against the Ottoman Empire and the other one is the status of the Church within the new Greek Republic. Although the identity building process does not only include these stages, the succeeding events such as the consequences of Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922)⁵¹, the Greek Civil War and military dictatorships served to create fractions among the nationalist blocs. Therefore, this chapter will link European nationalism with Greek nationalism in order to view the full panorama of the motivations of the Golden Dawn party.

4.1.1. The Greek Liberation War

The Greek Liberation War was one of the most important turning points for Greek nationalism. This war secured the independence of the Greek state. This subsection aims to focus on the consequences of the Greek Liberation War, in order to reveal the components of Greek nationalism which formed the Post-Liberation War climate. Greek intellectuals and the vanguards of the war had different perspectives on the structure of the new Greek state. The first Greek nationalists mostly intended to highlight the influence of Ancient Greece (Clogg, 1992, p. 2). However, this influence did not last for long. Once the Greek nationalists started to discover the past of the Greek people, they realized some disconnect with their modern habits. Moreover, the centralization of the local governments made them realize the differentiations of society from region to region. Above all, the differences between the dialects of daily language made the situation more complicated for the first Greek nationalists. The annexation of Macedonia made Greek nationalists realize that the region was home to multiple ethnic groups (Özkırımlı and Sofos, 2008, p. 77-78). Besides, there were other problems, too...

“Widespread illiteracy, primitive communications, violence by brigands or gendarmes and victimisation made popular representation problematic: universal suffrage in a situation of backwardness and insecurity made peasants unwilling accomplices in a political game, which the Constitution had initiated and which had strengthened the position of the local bosses in

⁵¹ Since this occasion has different connotations in Turkish and Greek historiographies, this study prefers to use neutral terminology.

their effort to seize the government and the public purse.” (Koliopoulos and Veremis, 2002, p. 55)

Therefore, all of those aspects fell short of the first Greek nationalists’ expectations. The European Romanticism had an impact not only on Greek nationalism but also on many Balkan nationalist movements. In the light of European Romanticism, many Greek intellectuals preferred to receive an education at prominent European universities in order to avoid the domination of *Tourkokratia*. Thus, the European Romanticism influenced the Greek intellectuals in many ways such as in terms of their education, their literature, the consciousness of their identity, *etc.* This impact led the Greek Enlightenment to imagine a new Greek state in which secular, political, ethical and philosophical aspects came into consideration (Kızılyürek, 2002, p. 29). Naturally, those intellectuals perceived a central state led education as an indispensable element in order to endow the population with a national consciousness (Tağmat (ed.), 2014, p. 93).

In this respect, the new leaders of Greece had to build both the state and the nation simultaneously (Clogg, 1992, p. 47). They had to gather different blocs together and create harmony among them. The Greek Enlightenment which derived from European Romanticism was an opportunity for those leaders to homogenize society and build the Greek identity accordingly.

That is why, when the Liberation War started, the leaders prioritized the support of the people instead of their secular agenda in order to win the war in the first place. In the expectation that reaching consensus on the nation-building process of Greece was primordial, the secular leaders had to hide their intentions for the secularization of the new state (Grigoriadis, 2015, p. 5). Religion was a significant element for the unification of the society during war times. Spyridon Zambelios became the first Greek intellectual who tried to create a consensus between Greek nationalism and the Orthodox religion in his works (Grigoriadis, 2015, p. 26). Zambelios suggested that Ancient Greece, the Byzantine Era and the Roman Empire Era all included the Hellenistic components for Greek identity. That is why he refused to accept the antagonism between Greek nationalism and the Orthodox Church (Zambelios, 1857, p. 30-33).

Therefore, the leaders did not hesitate to use religion as a tool to overcome the domination of the Ottoman Empire in Greek society (Özkırmılı and Sofos, 2008, 124). It was more convenient for society to retain all its commitments and traditions. Religion was the glue to gather together all of these commitments and traditions. Ioannis Grigoriadis explains this in detail in his study titled “Instilling Religion in Greek and Turkish Nationalism: A Sacred Synthesis” ...

“...from secularist beginnings and come to point eventually to strike a compromise with religion. In that compromise religion provides crucial symbolic resources and social cohesion, while nationalism instrumentalizes religion and removes its universalistic aspects to serve national interest.” (Grigoriadis, 2013, p. 1)

The aftermath of the Liberation War did not help the Greek intellectuals to put the last touches to the Greek identity, since a considerable amount of the Greek population was still living on Turkish territory. Unavoidably, it was very problematic for the pioneers of Greek identity building to adapt Greek nationalism to the Greek minority who lived on the Aegean coast. A considerable number of Greeks were living as a diaspora and this could create a problem for attempts to build the Greek identity under a single umbrella. Richard Clogg, a British historian whose works are primarily on Greek history, claims that the Greeks have always been a diaspora society since a considerable amount of the Greek society happened to live abroad and still do. According to his argument, Greek merchants created an economic hegemony in the Mediterranean, the Balkan and Indian territories a long time before the establishment of the Greek state (Clogg, 1992, p. 4). In fact, most of the Greek intellectuals were born outside of the Greek territories and were influenced by the European Enlightenment.

The Greek minority living in Asia Minor were reluctant to be a part of the new Greek identity in the first place, mostly because of the education issue (Roudometof, 1998, p. 21-24). The *Megali Idea*⁵² emerged from the decentralized structure of the Greek society in the region. Many Greek intellectuals made efforts in different cities and countries to

⁵² *Megali idea* (μεγάλη ιδέα) was a national goal which aimed to gain all the lands that the Byzantine Empire possessed before the fall of Constantinople.

spread the idea for this huge goal by distributing printed materials⁵³ and organizing meetings with local societies. All of those efforts promoted the necessity of an independent Greek state in order to build its identity on a solid basis. It was no coincidence that a secret organization, which aimed to overthrow the Ottoman domination of Greek identity, was established in Tsarist Russia, in Odessa. This secret organization was called *Filiki Etairia*⁵⁴. J. S. Koliopoulos and Thanos M. Veremis define the structure of the *Filiki Etairia* ...

“The *Filiki Etairia* (lit. ‘association of friends’) was represented as the supreme ‘authority’, and its nationwide prestige, strengthened by the links the association’s agents had forged with powerful and influential men, made it potential source of power and legitimacy.” (Koliopoulos and Veremis, 2002, p. 13)

On the other hand, some of the Greek intellectuals pioneered Greek nationalism with their ideas. Most of them agreed on the importance of the Greek language and the necessity of the Greek education system. Language and education constituted the main axes of the Greek Enlightenment. Adamantios Korais emerged as one of the most important figures for the identification of Greek nationalism. Korais, as a person who was a member of the Greek diaspora and was educated abroad, knew that education could be the most important component for the consolidation of the Greek identity. He rejected the Ottoman Empire’s domination of the Greek identity. According to his perspective, the Greek language had to be regulated in order to remove the disjointedness between the Greek societies that were living in different parts of the region. People were speaking different dialects, and this could be a problem in establishing a centralized education system. In addition to the centralized education issue, **one** common language was necessary in order to serve the history writing process. As discussed in Ernest Renan’s quotes in the second chapter, it is always important for a nation to know what to remember and what to forget. In this aspect, Millas reminds us that the capacity to remember is limited to the lifetime of each person, whereas a nation needs a centralized education, as an ideology for a permanent memory (Millas, 1995, p. 23).

⁵³ Eleftherios Venizelos, one of the most prominent supporters of *Megali Idea*, also printed and distributed the map of *Megali Hellas* (Great Greece) as a propaganda machine for the elections in 1 November 1920 (Demirözü, 2007, p. 24).

⁵⁴ Φιλική Εταιρία in Greek.

The education system became an important tool in order to establish a system of beliefs and ideology (Millas, 1995, p. 23). Hercules Millas highlights some of the difficulties that Greek pioneers had faced after the Greek Liberation while shaping Greek identity:

- 1- Staying away from the centre;
- 2- Greek minority destitute of rights, privileges during Ottoman rule;
- 3- Disappearance of Greek aristocracy, cultural loss;
- 4- Economic weakness;
- 5- Cultural disconnection between different regions; and
- 6- Ethnic weakness due to converting religion (nevertheless the religion ensured the integration).

(Millas, 1995, p. 27)

Millas portrays the major issues for the pioneers of the newly born Greek state after the Greek Liberation War. The Greeks won the war, but it was more crucial to gather all the different elements around the table during the nation and state building process. The list Millas highlights symbolizes the Greek identity in this context. Sofos and Özkırmılı argue that the decision makers were faced with confusion and complexities during the constitution of an identity in their comparative work on Turkish and Greek nationalisms. They depict the process of identity building...

“Questions of identity are of immense complexity and continuously mutating in time and in space. They are marked by volatility, plurality and internal contradictions; they are premised on the interplay between inclusion and exclusion, empowerment and subjugation.” (Özkırmılı and Sofos, 2008, p. 73)

Greek intellectuals had different options before deciding on how to build the Greek identity. One of those options was to lean on the legacy of Ancient Greece. The other option was to highlight the Greek Orthodox Church within the Greek identity. It should be noted here that the Golden Dawn party ideologically claims to restore the past glory of Greece (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015, p. 10). Even the logo of Golden Dawn symbolizes the Ancient Greek meander (an ornamental pattern used in architecture) even though it is considered to be highly evocative of the Nazi Swastika (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015, p. 2). Nevertheless, the vision of Golden Dawn for its nationalist

way of thinking is not only based upon Ancient Greece, but also on Greek Orthodox beliefs and national heroes throughout Greek history. The components of Golden Dawn's nationalism will be dealt with in detail in the fifth chapter of the dissertation.

Accentuating Ancient Greece could be problematic for the decision makers of the new Greek state, since the Contemporary Greek and Ancient Greek languages had observable differences. It would be difficult enough to adapt the Ancient Greek language into daily life. As discussed in the second and third chapters, compromising with the **high culture** of Greek identity was the most important milestone of Greek nationalism. On the other hand, the Golden Dawn party has also been in search of something similar to high culture. This could be described as **higher culture** for Greek identity. One could even describe it as **superior culture** since the Golden Dawn party has been following policies of ethnic dominance.

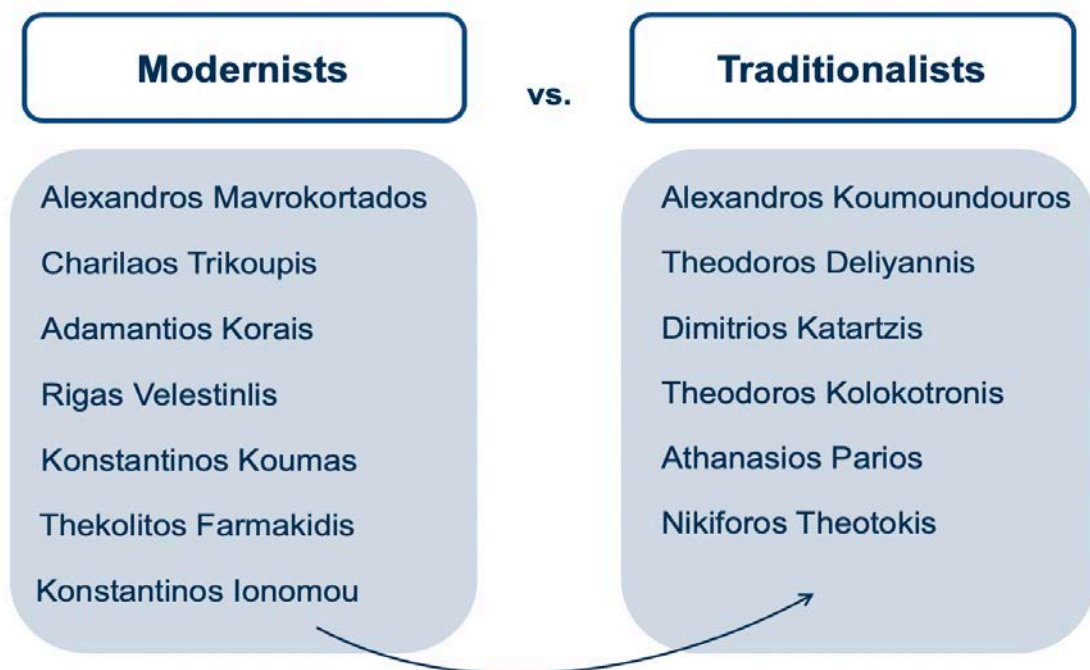


Figure 4.1 Pioneers of Greek Nationalism⁵⁵

⁵⁵ This table was prepared with the aid of different sources mainly Hercules Millas's "*Yunan Ulusunun Doğuşu*" (*The Birth of Greek Nation*) and Alexander Kitroeff's "*Greek Nationhood and Modernity in the 19th C.*"

Although Ancient Greece and the modernization of the Greek language have been the fulcrum of the Greek Enlightenment (Millas, 1995, p. 43), it should be admitted that the legacy of the Byzantine Era had an impact on the development of Greek culture. Nevertheless, it should also be noted that the compatibility of a language with the structure of its society is crucially important. Friedrich Schleiermaher claims that each person can only grow up with one language. Although a person may learn other languages in time, he or she is rooted to one mother tongue (Schleiermaher, 2008, p. 87).

There were clearly two camps involved in the decision-making process of the Greek identity, Traditionalists and Modernists (Kitroeff, 1999, p. 23-29). It was hard to deny the impact of the Orthodox leadership on Greek culture during the Byzantine Era, even though the Modernists had aspired for a secular society.

4.1.2. Divinity

The previous section introduced the Greek nation-building process by mentioning the importance of the Greek Liberation War at the beginning of the 19th century. One has seen that the Greek intellectuals were influenced by European Romanticism, notably in terms of culture, education and language. Nonetheless, the pioneers of Greek nationalism insisted on the necessity of religion to reach consensus on the **high culture** of Greece.

Nation states decide whom to include and exclude while defining the members of a society. Moreover, nation states aim to distinguish citizens and strangers in ideological and cultural aspects, in order to provide for the continuity of a nation's history (Kaliber, 2019, p. 41).

Religion is an important component in order to define a society and draw the limits for the nation state as to whom it could include. Just to clarify the significance of divinity for Greek nationalism, it would be more accurate to emphasize how religion became a main indicator within the Greek identity. One should remember that when the new Greek nation state was established, the connection with the Ecumenical Patriarchate had been discontinued for almost 30 years (Millas, 1995, p. 50). Thus, it was highly crucial for the

founding fathers of the Greek nation state to reconstruct the organic bond between the Greek identity and the Orthodox religion, in order to consolidate the **high culture** of Greece. In a logistical context, it could be very difficult for the founders of the new state to maintain the connections with the Greek society, since the Ecumenical Patriarchate was located in a different country. Moreover, the founders of the new state were not sure about the intentions of the Ecumenical Patriarchate regarding the independence of the Greek state. In other words, they considered the Ecumenical Patriarchate as the captive of the Ottoman Empire. Correspondingly, the Ottoman Empire had demanded full loyalty from the Ecumenical Patriarchate during this process (Clogg, 1992, p. 13).

As Anthony Smith argues, some occasions in history such as war, invasion, exile, captivity, *etc.* have an impact on the identity of a nation. Nevertheless, even these fundamental transformations cannot halt the idea of **continuity** in the minds of individuals (Özkırıklı, 2016, p. 214). Umut Özkırıklı expands this theory to incorporate the captivity of the Ecumenical Church...

“When the Ecumenical Church of Greeks became dysfunctional during the 19th century, the Greek nationalist movement was in quest of a new system.”⁵⁶
(Özkırıklı, 2016, p. 214)

As one of the pioneers of Greek intellectualism, Adamantios Korais had considered that the higher Orthodox clergy of the Ecumenical Patriarchate were in collaboration with the Ottoman Empire (Grigoriadis, 2013, p. 15). That is why he supported the independent church of Greece which the new state could control. Thus, the Church of Greece could be an effective player in developing the Greek educational system. Nonetheless, a part of the Phanariot clergy who were at the zenith of the Greek aristocracy, supported the independent Greek state. Hercules Millas emphasizes the fact that there were two blocs among the pioneers of Greek nationalism, but it would not be advisable to separate the Phanariot clergy into Traditionalists and Modernists. Regardless of their political stance at the time toward the independence of Greece, this clergy had called themselves

⁵⁶ “19. Yüzyılda Yunanlıların İstanbul Kilisesi işlevsiz kalınca, Yunan milliyetçi hareketi yeni bir sistem arayışına girmiştir.” (Translated by the author)

“Greeks” and spoken the “Greek language” for centuries (Millas, 1995, p. 111-112). Therefore, it was inevitable for them to lean toward an independent Greek nation state.

Although the clerics of the Patriarchate were not considered to be a part of the new Greek state, many scholars reject the idea that these clerics were against the independence of Greece, since they had been considering themselves Greeks for centuries (Millas, 1995, p. 112). Nevertheless, it was a significant issue for these founders to have an independent church which was organically connected to the Greek state. On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire considered the clerics in the Patriarchate as traitors, even though many of them were opposed to the Liberation War of Greece. The Ecumenical Patriarchate could not manage to ingratiate itself with either the new Greek state or the Ottoman Empire during the Liberation War. According to Grigoriadis, the Ottoman Empire made a critical strategic mistake at this juncture by executing Patriarch Grigorios V in 1821.

Although the higher clergy of the Ecumenical Patriarchate was not in search of an independent Greek state, the Ottoman Empire considered Grigorios V as a valid scapegoat for the uprisings in the Peloponnesian region at the time. Therefore, Patriarch Grigorios V became one of the symbols as a martyr of the revolution during the establishment of the new Greek state. As discussed in the second chapter of the dissertation, the pioneers of Greek nation building found a way to instrumentalize heroism via the execution of Patriarch Grigorios V. The most prominent indicator of this heroization was the statue of Patriarch Grigorios V at the University of Athens (Kızılyürek, 2002, p. 44). Therefore, the execution of the patriarch increased the awareness of Christians in Europe and led them to support the Greek insurgents (Clogg, 1992, p. 13). This support was also triggered by the activities of the *Filiki Etairia* and the Greek intellectuals who were living in other European countries at the time.

From then on, the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the new Greek state started to build a close relationship even though they were located in different regions (Grigoriadis, 2013. P. x). Grigoriadis also argues that the Greek revolution would not have been accomplished if the execution had not taken place...

“Without its large following of devout peasants, the revolution would probably have not lasted as long as it did. Although an enemy of all rebellions against legal authority, the Patriarch might nevertheless have been confronted by rebel priests and prelates such as Papaflessas (Grigorios Dikaios) and the general outcry of his flock. We will never know. What is for sure is that Mahmud’s blunder made Grigorios a martyr not only of the church but also of the Greek revolution. Thereafter church and state went hand in hand.” (Grigoriadis, 2013, p. x)

As a result, the execution of Grigorios V became a turning point for the independence of Greece and the Greek nation-building. This execution gave leverage to the founders of the state in order to make alliances and have a reason for the consolidation of society. From then on, religion became a driving force of Greek nationalism. As will be discussed in detail in the next chapter of the dissertation, when Golden Dawn discovered the driving force of Greek Orthodoxy, the party went through an ideological shift and leaned heavily on it.

4.1.3. The Involvement of the Church

Some of the activities or discourses of the higher Christian Orthodox clergy helped the Golden Dawn party in some respects to expand its sphere of influence. The discourses of the former Archbishop Christodoulos seemed especially compatible with the mindset of the radical right movements between 1998 and 2008. It would be advisable to mention some of the major examples in this respect. In an era when globalization and multiculturalism have risen hand in hand, xenophobia, introverted sentiments and ethnic policies have been promoted by many other leading players as well. The comments of the late Archbishop Christodoulos were quite clear in defining the requirements of being a Greek citizen in his judgment...

“Whoever does not believe in Greece, his homeland and its worth, I do not know if he has the right to live in this country and in this life.”⁵⁷
(Naftemporiki, 2005)

⁵⁷ “Οποιοσ δεν πιστεύει στην Ελλάδα, στην πατρίδα του και στην αξία του ως άνθρωπος, αυτός δεν ξέρω αν έχει το δικαίωμα να ζει στη χώρα αυτή και σ' αυτή τη ζωή.” (Translated by the author)

The direct involvement of the Church in establishing the criteria of being a **good** Greek citizen has coincided with those of most of the radical right movements in Greece. The stance of the Church harmonizes with the perception of Golden Dawn regarding “internal enemies” of the Greek nation in this context. Golden Dawn considers the “internal enemies” of the Greek nation as the collaborators of the international powers. Kostis Papaioannou defines Golden Dawn’s perspective toward the “internal enemies” of the Greek nation...

“The enemies are outside the national trunk. After the "half-blooded", those who belong to the state but not to the nation: "Greeks with different religions and cultures, minorities and immigrants, "foreigners inside". They are foreign cells within the national body.”⁵⁸ (Papaioannou, 2013, p. 86)

Recently the bishop Amvrosios, (the Metropolitan) of Kalavryta, clearly defined who should belong to the Greek nation and who should not. According to his statements, non-Greeks, non-Orthodox, homosexuals and migrants are damaging the structure of the Greek family (Ekathimerini, 2019a). From time to time, the Greek Orthodox Church is involved in the daily politics and social values of Greece. These kinds of statements get support from the Golden Dawn party and help to strengthen the discriminatory sentiments among the Greek society. In one of the most prominent cases, the Greek Church condemned the play “Corpus Christi” which was going to be put on in Athens in 2013 and called the play blasphemous (Siegel and O’Brien, 2017). The statement of the Church leaders encouraged Golden Dawn members and supporters to protest against the play outside the theatre. Naturally, this was not an innocent protest, as there was violence, verbal abuse and threats to the actors (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015, p. 84-85). In other words, the involvement of the Greek Orthodox Church is an indicator which forms public opinion.

In another major example, when Maria Repousi’s history textbook for the 6th grade started to circulate in 2006, it created an intense debate in Greece. Greek nationalists with different backgrounds considered the aforementioned textbook as threatening material in

⁵⁸ “Είναι οι εχθροί εκτός του εθνικού κορμού. Μετά οι "ημίαιμοι", αυτοί που ανήκουν στο κράτος αλλά όχι στο έθνος; "Έλληνες με άλλη θρησκεία και κουλτούρα, μειονοτικοί και μετανάστες, οι "εντός ξένοι". Είναι τα ξένα κύτταρα εντός του εθνικού κορμού.” (Translated by the author)

the path to the consolidation of Greek identity with its reformist approach. This textbook had ignored⁵⁹ some of the myths which were serving the nation state-building process of Greece. In particular, the textbook had considered the “secret school”⁶⁰ as a myth.

Afterwards, actors from all walks of Greek political life started to condemn the book. The petition on the *Antivaro* website for the withdrawal of the book widened the scope of the debate (Antivaro, 2008). The petition emphasized one of the major points which this dissertation has discussed in the second and third chapters...

“The heroism, self-sacrifice, martyrdom and national struggle that characterised the revolution were replaced by a dry list of numbers and events, stressing the socio-economic demands of various groups,” the petition says. It also stressed that “the genocide of Christian populations is silenced, and the historic dimension of the Asia Minor catastrophe is annulled.” (Gilson, 2007)

The importance of the centralized education system, heroism, historiography, common traumas, *etc.* for the nationalists were discussed in the second chapter in detail. In the light of those concepts, therefore a nationalistically purified history textbook discomforted Greek nationalism in every aspect. The nationalistically purified content of the aforementioned history textbook was considered as a threat to Greek national identity by the Greek nationalists. The involvement of the Greek Church transformed the debate into a nationwide scale. The negative statements of former Archbishop Christodoulos were enough to mobilize the society against the circulation of the book. Archbishop Christodoulos’s statements targeted the textbook in the context of Ernest Renan’s **daily plebiscite** and Eric J. Hobsbawm’s **invention of traditions** concepts.

⁵⁹ The national myths were not the only parts that Maria Repousi’s textbook ignored. The textbook also overlooked some of the important occasions or suggested different definitions contrary to nationalist expectations. When the book overlooked the case of “Child Levy” (“παιδομάζωμα” in Greek, “devşirme” in Turkish) and suggested the term “waterfront throng” (“συνωστισμός” in Greek) for “the great fire of Smyrna or the catastrophe of Smyrna”, the debate escalated around the textbook.

See my MA dissertation about the aforementioned textbook and the debate for further information.

<http://openaccess.bilgi.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/handle/11411/156> (accessed on 7 January 2020)

⁶⁰ Κρυφό σχολείο in Greek. The secret school was considered as the only way to teach Greek language and history clandestinely under the *Tourkokratia*. There is still a lively debate as to whether these schools ever existed or not. However, Nikolaos Gyzis’s oil painting in the 19th century which shows one of the secret schools sparked the debate on the existence of the schools. The “secret schools” are still considered as one of the most important components of Greek identity building process.

“They challenge even March 25 [the date chosen as the symbolic start of the revolution, to coincide with the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary], the banner of the revolution raised by [Bishop] Paleon Patron Germanos, and the heroes Kolokotronis, Makrygiannis, and all those heroes who in their struggle said first 'for the faith' and then 'for the fatherland'.” (Gilson, 2007)

"We sacrifice the historic truth on the altar of Greek- Turkish friendship."
(Gilson, 2007)

Therefore, Archbishop Christodoulos immersed himself in the ongoing debate, with his statements proclaiming him as one of the protectors of Greek Orthodox identity. Later on, Greek nationalists started to form an opposition bloc against the book with an active participation from different walks of life. As per Paul R. Brass's argument, the suitable political atmosphere came into existence for the rise of radical nationalism with the help of that debate. In this respect, the Church and the Right movements besieged the Ministry of Education for the withdrawal of the book (Kremida, 2007).

Hereby the involvement of the Church inspired Golden Dawn to interfere in the ongoing debate with its “idiosyncratic” behavior. Around 30 Neo-Nazis from Golden Dawn protested against the decision of the Ministry of Education and burned copies of the textbook in front of the Greek Parliament in Syntagma Square in Athens (Kremida, 2007). This occasion gave Golden Dawn a popularity in Greek politics. Moreover, Golden Dawn managed to stand with mainstream movements and the Church rather than standing on the margins. Golden Dawn's stance also created a bandwagon affect and the party started to attract more and more people than it had in the past.

Also, Golden Dawn has always welcomed the involvement of the Church in the shaping of Greek politics, as a support for its ideological approach. Golden Dawn officially declared its stance on the affiliation of the Church and the Greek State...

“Golden Dawn opposes the separation between Church and State. It seeks to restore the prestige of the Church and to immediately cleanse the clergy of any decadent and transnational elements. Religious tolerance should be only for dogmas that do not affect Greek Tradition and History and do not harm

the power of the nation. The regenerated Greek Orthodoxy is a pioneer again in the struggles of the nation.”⁶¹

Apparently Golden Dawn’s stance on the status of the Church is not a coincidence considering divinity still has an impact on the mobilization of societies. As seen previously, Greeks pay attention to the discourses of the Church. Therefore, it is fully understandable that Golden Dawn considers the Church as the main component of the Greek state.

4.2. The Greek Radical Right

This section constitutes one of the most important parts of this dissertation, since it focuses on the evolution of the Greek radical right. The historical evolution of the Greek radical right will be articulated along with the evolution of Greek nationalism and the nationalism theories in essence. This section will help the reader to acquire a full understanding of the ingredients of country specific issues and the theoretical framework. Therefore, a comprehension of the structure of the Greek radical right will offer insights to the reader before handling the case study of Golden Dawn in the next chapter. In other words, this section will serve as a bridge between nationalism theories, the European radical right and the rise of Golden Dawn. The history of the Greek Radical Right movements will assist comprehension of the domestic influences of Golden Dawn in an ideological context.

4.2.1. Origins

Greece is a country that has faced a large amount of turmoil in a political context, notably during the 20th century. After the Liberation War of Greece in the 19th century, the newly

⁶¹ Πολιτικές Θέσεις (Political Positions)

<http://web.archive.org/web/20190721192704/http://www.xryshaygh.com/kinima/thesis> (accessed on 5 October 2019)

“Η Χρυσή Αυγή αντιτίθεται στον διαχωρισμό Εκκλησίας-Κράτους. Επιδιώκει την αποκατάσταση του κύρους της Εκκλησίας και την άμεση κάθαρση του κλήρου από κάθε παρακμιακό και διεθνιστικό στοιχείο. Ανεξιθρησκεία μόνο για τα δόγματα που δεν θίγουν την Ελληνική Παράδοση και Ιστορία και δεν φθείρουν την δύναμη του Έθνους. Η Ορθοδοξία αναγεννημένη και Ελληνική ξανά πρωτοπόρος στους αγώνες του Έθνους.” (Translated by the author)

established Greek state experienced World War I, World War II, the Civil War and several military dictatorships in the 20th century. All of those occasions created cleavages in the political spectrum and within Greek society over time. Modern Greece has experienced many troubles in its merely 200 years of existence since its independence in 1821, in its attempt to establish and consolidate its democracy. Greece was ruled by a monarchy for more than a hundred years, on and off. Although there were many military coups (and attempted ones) in the last two centuries, Greece managed to strengthen its democracy by taking lessons from each occasion. Nevertheless, the Greek radical right movements maintained to expand their sphere of influence simultaneously, notably during the *metapolitefsi* era. Vasiliki Georgiadou, an expert on Golden Dawn and the Greek radical right, depicts the political situation of the Greek radical right parties between 1974 and 2004...

“The far-right was not as weak as the numbers and the quantitative representation of the support it received from voters showed.”⁶² (Georgiadou, 2019, p. 29-30)

“In a thirty-year period (1974-2004), more than 110 new parties with far-right profiles have been registered, and many of them have tried their luck in the electoral arena.”⁶³ (Georgiadou, 2019, p. 29-30)

4.2.2. World War I, World War II and Civil War

The aftermath of the First World War led to some dramatic transformations for the Greek nation building system and the future of Greek nationalism. The decision makers of the Greek government at the time foresaw an opportunity to put the *Megali Idea* into practice, since the Ottoman Empire was failing almost every front during the Great War.

The Greco-Turkish War⁶⁴ of 1897 was the first war with the *Megali Idea* in mind. With the help of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), the Kingdom of Greece expanded its territory

⁶² «Η ‘Άκρα Δεξιά δεν ήταν τόσο αδύναμη όσο έδειχναν οι αριθμοί και η ποσοτική αποτύπωση της υποστήριξης που εισέπραττε από τους ψηφοφόρους.» (Translated by the author)

⁶³ «Στην τριακονταετία 1974-2004 έχουν καταμετρηθεί πάνω από 110 νέα κόμματα με ακροδεξιό προφίλ, αρκετά από τα οποία δοκίμασαν την τύχη τους στον εκλογικό στίβο.» (translated by the author)

⁶⁴ War of Thessaly.

by 70% and doubled its population (Güveloğlu (ed.), 2014, p. 100). This had been one of the biggest steps proposed to lead to the *Megali Idea*.

When the Kingdom of Greece annexed Thessaloniki in 1912 after the Balkan Wars, this annexation was considered as a big step for the effectuation of the *Megali Idea* by the Greek elites. It encouraged these elites and the decision makers to follow more revisionist policies against the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, the Greek army did not succeed in Asia Minor in 1922. This failure caused the ensuing exodus of the remaining Christian Orthodox population. Therefore, this exodus had negative consequences for the *Megali Idea* since Greece lost one of its fulcrums in the region. Golden Dawn attempted to “reinvent this tradition” (*Megali Idea*) in the 21st century almost a hundred years later. When Golden Dawn managed to enter the Greek Parliament in 2012, commemorating the “fall of Constantinople” was the first thing the party did (Hürriyet Daily News, 2012). Similarly, Golden Dawn claims the *enosis*⁶⁵ of Cyprus with “mother” Greece (APPENDIX A). Therefore, this example can be considered one of the opportunities for Golden Dawn in terms of securing a continuum in Greek history and revitalising national sentiments which belonged to the previous century.

On the other hand, in a historical perspective, the supporters of extreme nationalism instrumentalized elitism as an element to be destroyed in their propaganda discourse. During the Nazi Germany Era, *Volksgemeinschaft*⁶⁶ was one of the major policies of the German regime in order to create a classless society. Kostis Papaioannou describes this era...

“(Nazi) Volksgemeinschaft first appeared in World War I and quickly became popular as a means of overcoming elitism and class discrimination with weapons of national identity and social solidarity.”⁶⁷ (Papaioannou, 2013, p. 37)

⁶⁵ *Enosis* (ένωση) means “unification” in Greek. This word also refers to the unification of Cyprus with Greece.

⁶⁶ This concept was used during Nazi Germany in order to maintain control on society by using the propaganda machine. David Welch defines the impact of *Volksgemeinschaft* in Nazi Germany: “The ‘revolutionary’ aim of the Nazi regime to bring about the Volksgemeinschaft, the true harmony of classes, highlights the remarkably ambitious nature of its propaganda.” (Welch, 2004, p. 214)

When Ioannis Metaxas started to rule Greece in 1936, he used authoritarian rhetoric toward his opponents. Like his counterparts in Germany and Italy, he did not have tolerance towards different opinions. In order to maintain his ideology, Metaxas established the National Youth Organization⁶⁸ in 1936. This organization was extremely significant for the Metaxas dictatorship in order to maintain its oppressive regime on the Greek Left and Communists (Demirözü, 2015, p. 36-37). In other words, this had been an important step for the radical right supporters to expand their sphere of influence in the Greek political scene.

4.2.3. The Cold War Era

The Cold War Era was quite contentious for Greek democracy due to a Civil War (1943-1949) during the first years of the Cold War (1946-1949, third phase of the Civil War) and there was a military dictatorship for seven years between 1967 and 1974. After the Greek Civil War, the ensuing political instability had an impact on the evolution of the radical right in Greece (Boukala, 2014, p. 486). During this period of turmoil, the anti-war activist MP Grigoris Lambrakis emerged as a key figure amidst the violence in the streets. The assassination of Lambrakis⁶⁹ by the extreme right *gladio* (Kalyvas, 2015, p. 108) in 1963 paved the way for Greek radical right movements and weakened the Leftist movements in the subsequent elections before the Colonels' Junta Regime.

Although there were many radical right parties during the Cold War Era in Greece, the “4th of August Party (K4A)”⁷⁰ of Konstantinos Plevris emerges as one of the most prominent ones in this period. Konstantinos Plevris was influenced by the ideas of former dictator Ioannis Metaxas. As be discussed in detail in the fifth chapter, Golden Dawn also embraces the ideas of Ioannis Metaxas. In fact, Golden Dawn and Konstantinos Plevris’

⁶⁷ «Η Volksgemeinschaft πρωτοεμφανίστηκε στον Α΄ Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο και έγινε γρήγορα δημοφιλής, ως μέσο για την υπέρβαση του ελιτισμού και της διάκρισης των τάξεων με όπλα την εθνική ταυτότητα και την κοινωνική αλληλεγγύη.» (Translated by the author)

⁶⁸ Εθνική Οργάνωσις Νεολαίας in Greek.

⁶⁹ See Costa-Gavras's movie “Z” (1969) in order to comprehend how the Greek deep state tried to whitewash the facts behind the assassination of Grigoris Lambrakis.

⁷⁰ Κόμμα 4ης Αυγούστου in Greek.

short-term party “Front Line”⁷¹ collaborated during the European Parliament Elections in 1999. This demonstrates the ideological continuum between the mainstream radical right movements in Greece even though Konstantinos Plevris and Golden Dawn parted company.

During the military dictatorship of the Colonels between 1967 and 1974, Konstantinos Plevris’s party was the only political party which was allowed to operate in Greece. This information alone indicates that Konstantinos Plevris and his party were in concordance with the Colonels’ Junta Regime in an ideological context.

When one takes a look at the electoral performances of the radical right parties (Figure 6.1) in Greece from the *metapolitefsi* period until the end of the Cold War Era, only one radical right party managed to enter the Greek Parliament with 6.82%⁷² of the vote. “National Alignment”⁷³ won five seats in the Greek Parliament in the 1977 Greek Legislative Elections. “National Alignment” would not have another electoral success again. Thus, it would not be correct to compare National Alignment’s one-time success with Golden Dawn’s consistent upsurge. Nonetheless, some of the National Alignment members continued their political career under the aegis of the New Democracy party, and some of its former MPs supported the Presidency of Konstantinos Karamanlis (Georgiadou, 2019, p. 27). Considering that some of the Golden Dawn members started their political career in the New Democracy party, one could argue that New Democracy provides an ideological transition between the Greek radical right parties. In spite of the fact that New Democracy has positioned itself as a central right party over the years, there has always been a radical right wing within it. Whereas New Democracy is a catch-all mainstream party, it has always tended to maintain its right-wing electorate. When a political party has tendencies to position itself on the right wing for a long time, it may

⁷¹ Πρώτη Γραμμή in Greek.

⁷² Εκλογικά αποτελέσματα (Election results) – Hellenic Parliament

<https://www.hellenicparliament.gr/Vouli-ton-Ellinon/To-Politevma/Ekloges/Eklogika-apotelesmata-New/> (accessed on 9 September 2019)

⁷³ Εθνική Παράταξη in Greek.

have a contagious impact on the other parties in the center, causing them to incline towards radical right-wing ideologies (Celep, 2009, p. 170).

4.2.4. The Post-Cold War Era

The Post-Cold War Era has been a major indicator for today's politics of Greece. Greece started to improve its economy and international alliances during this period. The state of Turkish-Greek relations has been the major issue of this period, since there have been multiple crises and a relative rapprochement era between the two countries. Apart from that, the dissolution of the Soviet Union at the beginning of the 1990s led to the emergence of the Macedonian problem, as its name created a debate between FYROM⁷⁴ and Greece in terms of claiming their legacy under the name "Macedonia". This has always been an important issue (Petsinis, 2016, p. 284) for both countries, since the region and the name have been considered as vital parts of their nation-statehood. In addition to those problems, the existing Cyprus issue gave Greek nationalists the chance to shape their discourses accordingly. In this period, center right and even center left parties adapted their discourses to a nationalist perspective according to the existing problems. Therefore, the radical right parties were marginalized, and center right parties kept their electorate who tend to vote for radical right parties (Celep, 2009, p. 93). Since the radical discourse became an instrument of the mainstream parties, none of the parties hesitated in using this tool to mobilize their supporters.

Populism also became an important instrument with which to maintain the compatibility between the radical right and the center right. When the refugee influx increased in 2011 and 2012, populist discourses became a tool for all politicians to compete with each other, in order to stand with "the people" regarding this problem. One of the prominent figures of the New Democracy Party, Spyridon-Adonis Georgiadis was quick enough to act on the issue of immigrants in Greece in 2013...

⁷⁴ The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

"We have to make life difficult for them (immigrants), so that they understand that they are unwanted in the country and leave"⁷⁵ (Proto Thema, 2013)

Therefore, a figure from a mainstream political party felt the need to be involved in this debate, in order to compete with radical right discourses. The aim of Spyridon-Adonis Georgiadis was to keep the part of his electorate situated on the margins. This competition has increased the compatibility between the radical right and the center right, so the contagiousness of the ideology of the radical right has materialized. In the context of the political atmosphere during the Post-Cold War Era, there is also a necessity of compatibility between the radical right and populism. At this juncture, there came the emergence of Georgios Karatzaferis's LAOS party, which separated from the New Democracy Party in 2000. LAOS represented the marginal side of the New Democracy party in the political spectrum.

When LAOS became a part of the governmental coalition in 2011, its compatibility with the center right increased, and two other radical right parties started to increase their spheres of influence in Greek politics, with the help of the refugee influx and the development of the economic crisis, especially starting from the end of the first decade of the 2000s. When the "Independent Greeks Party (ANEL)⁷⁶" was established in the light of the twin crises in 2012, the political spectrum had changed for the Greek radical right, and LAOS was considered responsible for the aforementioned crises since it was a partner in the governmental coalition. Nevertheless, Sofia Vasilopoulou and Daphne Halikiopoulou classify the Golden Dawn party as on the marginal side of the Greek radical right compared to LAOS and ANEL...

"the dramatic rise of the Greek Golden Dawn constitutes an anomaly. Other far right parties have enjoyed electoral success in Greece, for example the Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS) and Independent Greeks (ANEL). However, these fall within the radical right category (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2015) and their support is more consistent with the predictions of existing theories. By contrast, the Golden Dawn falls into the extreme right category." (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2016, p. 29-30)

⁷⁵ «Πρέπει να τους κάνουμε τη ζωή δύσκολη για να καταλάβουν ότι είναι ανεπιθύμητοι στη χώρα και να φύγουν» (Translated by the author)

⁷⁶ Ανεξάρτητοι Έλληνες in Greek.

The economic crisis began in the first decade of the 21st century. The refugee crisis followed the economic crisis and these twin crises turned Greek politics upside down. As will be discussed in more detail in the fifth chapter of the dissertation, the Greek people started to consider “others” (in terms of populist discourse) as responsible for their own problems.

Herbert Kitschelt and Anthony J. McGann, an expert on the European Radical Right, categorizes the societies into four groups: Blue-collar workers, petit bourgeois, white collar employees and residual population. In this respect, Kitschelt distinguishes the impact of blue-collar workers on the new politics globally. According to him, blue-collar workers are no longer voting for the leftist parties and they tend to support radical right parties (Kitschelt and McGann, 1995, p. 9).

4.2.5. Neo-Nazi Rising

This subsection will serve as a bridge between the previous chapters and the next chapter, which handles the case study of this dissertation. There has been an increase in Neo-Nazi supporters in Greece with the emergence of Golden Dawn party. This party no doubt gathered together many different elements and people. This study intends to prove that nationalist sentiments have an indisputable impact on the consolidation of the particular movement. Golden Dawn represents not only the Greek branch of the Neo-Nazi movements, the party also comes to the forefront as one of the most extremist and violent political parties to be found in European democracies. Golden Dawn managed to justify its violent and criminal activities for a long time regarding avoiding prosecution. Therefore, the party has continued operating within a legitimate framework.

Although it would not be accurate to claim that all the electorate of Golden Dawn were Nazi friendly, the party managed to convince its electorate that their criminal activities were necessary for the survival of the nation. Thus, the party did not hesitate to use populist discourses as an instrument to get wider support from the people. In addition to its populism, Golden Dawn never hesitated to highlight the supremacy of being ethnically Greek (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015, p. 3). During the times of the economic

and refugee crises in Greece, this kind of mindset attracted people from many walks of life. While people are experiencing difficulties in their daily lives, blaming irrelevant third parties has become the easiest way to gather the support of people from different backgrounds. Since the refugee influx emerged all over the European region with the start of the Syrian War at the beginning of the 2010s, there has been a tendency to blame refugees for the economic crisis in their countries. People started to think that the refugees had come to their countries to steal their jobs, as the same happened during the refugee influxes after the decolonization and dissolution of the Soviet Union (Güzel, 1995, p. 104). This exacerbated xenophobia with the deepening of the economic crisis. That is why this study considers the economic crisis and the refugee crisis as twin crises since they cannot be separated in terms of their impact.

Xenophobia does not appear instinctively. The populist and discriminatory discourses of the politicians, notably, manipulate the people and the decision makers instrumentalize populism in order to mobilize the society against the refugees. Criminal activities against the refugees seem easy to justify. Takis Pappas, who specializes in studies of populism, argues that people sometimes follow policies which are compatible with their self-interests...

“People do not always make rational choices. Their behavior is sometimes motivated by systematically biased and irrational beliefs. Thus, choose to pursue the maximization of short-term self-interest.” (Pappas, 2014, p. 9)

From this point of view, it would not be advisable to blame the society. As seen in the second chapter of the dissertation, there are many ways to mobilize the society, such as education, printing press - digital press and social media, too nowadays -, heroism, invented traditions, glorifying high culture, *etc.* Nevertheless, the refugee crisis which Greece faced at the beginning of the 2010s was just the peak of the crisis. There has been an immigrant problem in Greece for many years. after the refugee influx from mainly Albania. Antonis Liakos plays the devil’s advocate by raising a question regarding the Albanian refugees before the Syrian War deepened the existing problem...

“Where will every collected drachma be spent?

For the education of an Albanian child in Athens or for the education of a Greek child in the diaspora?”⁷⁷ (Liakos, 2005, p. 94)

Takis Pappas also expands on the immigrant problem Greece already had before the crisis...

“They became informal de facto citizens not de jure. Immigration participation in the protests helped bring to light a deep social divide, that long existed in Greek society.” (Pappas, 2014a, p. 81)

Pappas also claims that PASOK’s austerity program sparked the riots, and as a result, the violent activities of the radical right groups started to appear on the streets (Pappas, 2014a, p. 82-82). The economic policies of successive Greek governments resulted in different types of ideologies in terms of resisting the political and economic reforms. Some parts of the radical left groups and almost all the radical right groups found common ground on anti-austerity policies in their discourses. Nevertheless, they never stood together by acting against the austerity policies in the context of an alliance. Although both the right-wing and left-wing defend the same policies from time to time, it is not possible to claim that they look like each other in a political aspect.

However, there is a critical analogy at an international level for the Greek Neo Nazi movement. As Greece was invaded by Nazi Germany during World War II, the country suffered massively from Nazi practices. The Nazis were responsible for the transformation of notably Macedonia’s demography (Mazower, 1998, p. 135-136) since they displaced almost all of the Jewish society in the region by sending them to concentration camps to punish them. Apart from that, Greece had to struggle with the consequences of the Nazi invasion which left political turmoil behind. The substance of the Nazi history in Greece is to comprehend how a pro-Nazi party can emerge in Greece and how its members promote themselves as nationalists and patriots. Political scientist Partha Chatterjee has tried to explain these kinds of contradictions with his own theory: becoming similar to the “enemy” in his actions (Chatterjee, 1993). In other words, Golden

⁷⁷ “Toplanan her bir drahmi nereye harcanacak? Atina’daki bir Arnavut çocuğunun eğitimi için mi, yoksa diasporadaki bir Yunan çocuğunun eğitimi için mi?” (Translated by the author)

Dawn is becoming similar to the “enemy” by adapting Nazi practices and respecting Nazi leaders. Regardless of what the Nazis did to Greece at the time of the invasion.

The Greek dictator Ioannis Metaxas was also an admirer of Germany during his days in office, but his lifetime was not long enough to witness all the disasters Nazi Germany caused. That is why his admiration could be understandable during his days of office, but today’s modern history considers the period of Nazi Germany as the most dreadful period in the history of humankind. Considering the extent of the evil deeds of the Nazis in Greece, the phenomenon becomes more and more complicated for scholars to comprehend and analyze. When Golden Dawn appeared in the political arena, anti-Semitism was a basis for its ethnic nationalism. This contradiction does not provide enough information for scholars to explain the phenomenon. Partha Chatterjee’s theory is not sufficient to explain the Golden Dawn phenomenon, since he suggests that those societies which are living as colonies tend to become similar to the enemy (Chatterjee, 1993). The systematic assimilation aided by having control over the centralized education reveals more predictable results for those movements that follow the ideologies of their enemies. In the Greek example, it is difficult to argue the same, since Greece was not a colony of Nazi Germany, even though it suffered Nazi invasion and occupation.

4.3. Conclusion

This chapter has tried to provide a transition between the theoretical framework and the case study of this dissertation. Also, this chapter has been significant because of its cohesiveness between the components of nationalist theory and the essence of the Golden Dawn party. Since Golden Dawn members, particularly its leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos, claim that the party is more nationalist than any other party in the political spectrum, Greek nationalism has emerged as the essence of this study. As Golden Dawn claims that it is the only protector of Greek nationalism, it would be advisable to examine whether Golden Dawn provides the continuance of Greek nationalism or not.

Furthermore, this chapter has uncovered the struggle of the first Greek nationalists in the process of the Greek nation state-building system. The dichotomy of Traditionalists and

Modernists (Figure 4.1) during the Greek nation state-building had become a major determinant for the future evolution of Greek nationalism. Since Golden Dawn had ideological shifts during its existence, this chapter also became a connector between the roots of Greek nationalism and Golden Dawn's nationalist axis. The *foci* of Golden Dawn's nationalist axis have changed in the course of time. Therefore, the components which inspired Golden Dawn come into prominence in order for us to comprehend the *ethos* of the organization.

Since Golden Dawn members do not support the secularization of Greece under its governance, it would be difficult to claim that the founders of Golden Dawn were influenced by the Modernist approach after the Greek Liberation War. No doubt Golden Dawn has always been on the side of the Traditionalists even though it went through ideological shifts in time. Nevertheless, Golden Dawn benefited from some of the practices of Modernist nationalists in Greek history. When the Greek intellectual Adamantios Korais attempted to uncover the components of civilization in Ancient Greece in order to serve Greek nationalism, he had to compromise with the past he and his followers did not believe in (Özkırmılı and Sofos, 2008, p. 77-78). Similarly, Golden Dawn struggled to glorify Greece's national past such as Ancient Greece, its Orthodox tenets, and the purified Greek language (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015, p. 63).

This chapter has examined the impact of the Church of Greece on Greek nationalism and implicitly the nationalist, radical right movements in Greece. Although the Modernist bloc of the Greek Liberation War had ambitions to lessen the effect of religion on the structure of the nation state, the pioneers of this bloc realized that religion had become an indispensable part of Greek identity. The Ecumenical Patriarchate has been one of the most significant havens for Greeks in order to preserve their identities. The Modernists realized that they could not get the support of the majority of the society with their vision for a secular Greek nation state.

In this sense, the establishment of the Church of Greece was necessary for the pioneers of Greek nationalism, since the Ecumenical Patriarchate was not located on the territory of the newly born Greek state. They intended to take control of the religion of the society,

even though divinity had started to lose its influence as was discussed in the second chapter. On the contrary, the Greek Constitution guarantees the position of the Church of Greece and the Orthodox religion in articles 3, 13 and 105 (*The Constitution of Greece*). Therefore, the Church of Greece started to become more and more influential in Greece. Antonis Liakos depicts the rising impact of the Church on the Greek state as the religionization of nationalist thought (Liakos, 2008, p. 125). Moreover, Liakos claims that the Church of Greece became a partner of the Greek state in time (Liakos, 2008, p. 125). As an example, the government ministries have to consult the Church of Greece on education issues (Cin, 2017, p. 6). Moreover, the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Religious Affairs are under a single roof in Greece (*Hellenic Republic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs*).

In this respect, the Liakos' argument cannot be overlooked, since the Church still has an impact on Greek society. As discussed in this chapter and as will be discussed in the next chapter, the discourses of bishops (or Archbishops in some cases) have a political weight since they have the potential to influence debate in society, especially that pertaining to daily issues which are related to social values. Therefore, the Church of Greece has become a fundamental component of the Greek state apparatus. In the wake of Golden Dawn's approach to the position of the Church, the ideal structure of the Greek state becomes more perceptible according to the Golden Dawn's "Political Stances". Golden Dawn strictly opposes the separation of the Church and the State, since it considers the Orthodox religion as the essence and the precondition for being a Greek citizen.

This study examines the correlation between Greek nationalism and the Golden Dawn party in the axis of globalization. Simply put, the milestones in recent European history had an impact on the shaping of the Greek nation. As discussed previously, European Romanticism influenced Greek intellectuals, who were seeking a liberated Greek state. This movement unintentionally triggered Greek nationalism in the region. Although Golden Dawn has changed its methods from time to time, it has always considered the major components of Greek nationalism to be education, language, traditions, religion and the impact of diaspora Greeks.

5. THE CASE OF GOLDEN DAWN

*“I do not want them to be the government.
My intention is just to get them in the (Greek) parliament.”*⁷⁸
(Drilling, 2012)

In Greece, radical right politics has become relatively a new phenomenon in recent years, even though the Greek radical right has a long history in Greek politics. Since the military junta period between 1967-1974, Greece has made several improvements to its democracy. In this context, Greece did not face serious problems with radical nationalism until the legislative elections of 2012. In the recent history of Greece, the strongest ultra nationalist party was LAOS⁷⁹ during the 2000s. The founder of this party, Georgios Karatzaferis was at one time a deputy of center right New Democracy Party. LAOS never radicalized in its discourses or activities in the way Golden Dawn was to do. Golden Dawn is located more to the right in the radical right spectrum compared to LAOS. The results of the 2019 legislative elections show that support for the radical right seemed to return to its previous position. Golden Dawn lost the chance to re-enter the Greek parliament by a small margin of votes, and the populist radical right party Hellenic Solution managed by gaining radical right votes to enter the Greek parliament. In other words, it looked like there was a split in the power structure of the radical right in Greece. Moreover, the New Democracy Party managed as it had in the past to gather some components of the electorate of the radical right under its wings.

It is already known that the founder and leader of Golden Dawn, Nikolaos Michaloliakos, had good relations with Junta Dictator Georgios Papadopoulos. In the aftermath of the rule of the military junta, the idea of establishing a radical right party emerged among the

⁷⁸ Quote by an ordinary young Greek woman who was interviewed on the rise of Golden Dawn.

⁷⁹ Λαϊκός Ορθόδοξος Συναγερμός (Popular Orthodox Rally) in Greek.

founders of Golden Dawn (Ersland, 2014, p. 82-85). On the other hand, some of the new party members in Golden Dawn had been involved in the politics of the leading center right party, New Democracy, in the past. There have been some discussions in the Greek media about the structure of the right-wing party family, which refer to the Greek right-wing as a “multistory building”⁸⁰. Dimitris Psarras, a journalist who is an expert on Golden Dawn, not only as a party but also as an organization, applies this terminology to the New Democracy party. Psarras suggests that New Democracy is a “multistory building” (Psarras, 2019) in Greek political life (Psarras, 2017, personal communication, 2 May). According to his argument, the New Democracy Party consists of different factions of the Greek right-wing, including extremists from time to time. Thus, major radical right parties in Greece have been established by the former members of the New Democracy Party, such as Konstantinos Plevris and Georgios Karatzaferis. In another case, it happened *vice versa*, and the former members of the “National Alignment” party continued their political career in the New Democracy Party (Georgiadou, 2019, p. 27). One of the most prominent actors who continued his career in the New Democracy Party is Makis Voridis⁸¹. Voridis started his political career at EPEN with Junta leader Georgios Papadopoulos (Smith, 2011).

This implies that the administrative staff of Golden Dawn has experience in politics. Therefore, they have knowhow in how to popularize the party’s radical discourses. They also know how to drag themselves to the margins from within the New Democracy party, since that party attracts a considerable amount of the radical right electorate, as well. Before the advent of the economic crisis, Golden Dawn could not even reach the figure of 1% in any election. The rising immigrant problems and unemployment rates brought popularity to Golden Dawn’s discourses in the light of the 2008 economic crisis in Greece.

The actual rise of Golden Dawn materialized with the legislative elections of 2012. Compared to the legislative elections of 2009, Golden Dawn managed to gain 24 times

⁸⁰ Η δεξιά πολυκατοικία in Greek.

⁸¹ Makis Voridis is currently the Minister for Agricultural Development and Food in the New Democracy Government.

as many votes in only three years. In 2012, there were two elections in one month, since the leading parties could not manage to form a government. In May 2012, Golden Dawn managed to get 6.97%⁸² of the votes and a month later it showed resilience in getting 6.92%⁸³ of the votes. This was an important indication that Golden Dawn had ensured that its electorate and the party had proved that it does not only receive the reactionary votes and that it had generated its own electorate. In other words, Greece is the first democratic country (Psarras, 2012, p. 11) in the Post-World War II Era where a clearly identified Nazi party entered its parliament with almost 7% of the votes.

By 2012, SYRIZA was on the front pages of the European press due to the incredible rise of its votes in Greece. In the following years, the Golden Dawn party started to emerge on television, the printing and digital press, mostly because of its criminal activities on the streets and disruptive manners in the Greek parliament. Pavlos Fyssas's murder and the trial process turned Golden Dawn into a target among Greek society, Greek politicians and the Greek media. The Greek Prime Minister at the time, Antonis Samaras broke his silence after the murder of Fyssas and called Golden Dawn successors to the Nazi Party...

“...the government is determined not to allow the Nazi descendants to poison our social life, commit murders, terrorize and undermine the foundations of the country that gave birth to democracy.” (The National Herald, 2013)

Many members and deputies of the Golden Dawn party were arrested during the trial process. In this sense, the legislative election results of 2015 became significant indicators, as Golden Dawn became literally the third legislative power of Greek politics. Although many of its members were arrested or interned, the party did not lose its electoral power as expected in the elections. In fact, it managed to consolidate its position in the Greek Parliament.

⁸² The Official Website of the Greek Ministry of Interior:
[http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2012a/public/index.html#{"cls":"main","params":{}}](http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2012a/public/index.html#{) (accessed on 26 May 2018)

⁸³ [http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2012b/public/index.html#{"cls":"main","params":{}}](http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2012b/public/index.html#{) (accessed on 26 May 2018)

On the other hand, the civil war in Syria spread to the whole country and this war became an issue for other regional actors as well. Syrian immigrants started to move to Turkey in the first place during the course of 2013 and 2014. The illegal border crossing from the Turkish territory to the Greek islands is a long-standing issue, but the Syrians' crossing became a major political problem for the whole Europe since many died in the deathtrap boats that transported them illegally from Turkey to Greece, while the majority congested the borders of different countries. Greece had become a transit country for most of these Syrian immigrants, of which a large number could not leave Greece and they had to settle there.

Golden Dawn, which emphasizes the connection between the economic crisis and immigrants who are thronging large cities such as Athens and Thessaloniki, has gained much popularity in recent years. As its claims of immigrants stealing jobs from Greeks began to be seen as realistic by certain sections of society, Golden Dawn started to transform its discourse into acts of violence. On the official website of Golden Dawn, the party displays its official "Political Stances"⁸⁴ topic by topic. One of its subsections reveals Golden Dawn's stance toward illegal immigrants in Greece as "Every Foreigner Worker, One Greek Unemployed"⁸⁵ (*Golden Dawn Official Website*). In this subsection, the party emphasizes that it has been supporting this idea for almost 26 years. It does not hesitate to reveal that has published its pamphlet with xenophobic mottos for almost three decades.

Arson attacks, the pillaging of immigrant shelters and barring access to certain humanitarian aid transferred Golden Dawn's behavior to the criminal level. As the chief of Golden Dawn as well as many of its deputies and administrators were charged with involvement in organized criminal activities, anti-immigrant and xenophobic sentiment had already taken hold in society. Especially in large cities and in towns, Golden Dawn managed to increase its sphere of influence. By the time two members of Golden Dawn

⁸⁴ Πολιτικές Θέσεις (Political Stances)

<http://www.xrisiavgi.com/kinima/thesis> (accessed on 22 August 2019)

⁸⁵ "Κάθε ξένος εργάτης ένας Έλληνας άνεργος" (Translated by the author)

were killed in a revenge attack, the party had started to recover its reputation, according to the opinion polls at the time (Reuters, 2013).

Being aware of discrimination against immigrants, SYRIZA used a proposed law allowing immigrants born in Greece to more easily obtain Greek citizenship as an election promise. However, the sensitivity to the issue which had arisen in the majority of society meant that Greece was not prepared to deal with the thousands of refugees (IOM, 2015), most of them from Syria, who began arriving in Greece, mainly from Turkey. This issue had not become an agenda item in Greece, as in many other countries, until the bodies of Aylan Kurdi and his sibling washed up on a Turkish beach in Autumn 2015, even though the impending disaster was obvious to see coming. Furthermore, the refugee wave taking place in the summer months caused people of many nationalities at holiday resorts to directly experience the tragedy. Aristotle Kallis displays the significance of immigration as one of the highlighted issues on a political basis. He recommends three main pillars in order to comprehend the rising impact of immigration on world politics...

- Expansion of immigrant communities;
- Diminishing sources, increasing demands and the global economic crisis; and
- Security concerns (Kallis, 2013, p. 229)

Immigration incontrovertibly became one of the major issues, not only in Europe but also around the globe. As this dissertation displays, globalization renders some issues possible, such as an open market economy, freedom of movement, freedom of speech, uncontrolled dissemination of local cultures, *etc.* Globalization unavoidably offers positive and negative sides to the nations in a package where no one is able to filter out the negative ones. Radical right parties like Golden Dawn come to the forefront claiming to filter out the negative sides of globalization, particularly the immigration issue.

5.1. Emergence

It is worth mentioning how Golden Dawn emerged and evolved as a political force in the course of time. Golden Dawn appeared through the publication of a pamphlet in the first place and it survived for a long time even though it had only a small group of core

followers. Golden Dawn was the name of the pamphlet, and it still is. In fact, many people had not even heard of Golden Dawn until the 2000s in Greece.

The Neo-Nazi movement of Greece officially came into existence in December 1980, when Nikolaos Michaloliakos and his friends created a political pamphlet. The official name of this Neo-Nazi movement was “Popular Association – Golden Dawn⁸⁶”. The group remained inactive for few years, but the party did not change its name during this period.

Before the establishment of Golden Dawn, Nikolaos Michaloliakos started to be visible in politics when he was only 19 years old. He worked for another Neo-Fascist political party the “4th of August Party” of Konstantinos Plevris (Psarras, 2012, p. 18). Apart from Nikolaos Michaloliakos, many actors who had a past in the 4th of August Party continued their activities in other radical right parties such as ENEP, ENEK, EPEN, Front Line⁸⁷, Hellenic Front⁸⁸, LAOS and Golden Dawn (Georgiadou, 2019, p. 56). In other words, the 4th of August Party had been the *Filiki Etairia* of the Greek radical right in the sense of gathering together volunteers who were willing to reassert Greek nationalism to the core.

5.1.1. Party Roots and Motivations

It is extremely important to focus on the roots and motivations of the Golden Dawn party, in order to examine the compatibility of nationalism theories and the essence of Greek nationalism with the activities of the party. Golden Dawn initiated its activities by bringing out a regular pamphlet at the beginning of the 1980s. This represented and promoted marginal and radical right discourses.

Nikolaos Michaloliakos, the leader of Golden Dawn had studied⁸⁹ at the Faculty of Mathematics of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens (*Golden Dawn*

⁸⁶ Λαϊκός Σύνδεσμος – Χρυσή Αυγή in Greek.

⁸⁷ Πρώτη Γραμμή in Greek.

⁸⁸ Ελληνικό Μέτωπο in Greek.

Official Website). He took part in a number of political demonstrations during his studies in the 1970s. Also, his brother Takis Michaloliakos was a person who was involved in politics at the time and they were both trying to create an organization which was compatible with their radical ideologies. They used to gather in Ristorante Verona in Athens to discuss the structure of the organization they were planning to establish. Takis Michaloliakos was also co-operating with the Italian Neo-Fascists “Ordine Nuovo” at the time (Hasapopoulos, 2013, p. 12). At the beginning of the 1980s, Nikolaos and Takis Michaloliakos managed to start the Golden Dawn publication with Antonis Karras, Giorgos Iliopoulos, Fotis Papathanasiou and Dimitris Avramopoulou. An unknown financier helped the former members of the 4th of August Party to start up the Golden Dawn pamphlet (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015, p. 16). In 1982, Golden Dawn opened its first office in Zoodohou Pigis, which is now a shelter for Greek anarchist groups. When Golden Dawn put up posters of Adolf Hitler to commemorate his 100th birthday on the streets of Athens in 1989, the organization started to draw wide attention (Hasapopoulos, 2013, p. 22-23).

Although the founders of Golden Dawn consider themselves as anti-globalists and anti-European, they were clearly influenced by movements abroad, notably from Europe. No doubt this is one of the consequences of the spread of the nationalist ideology in the continent over the course of a 200- year period. In other words, the dissemination of Fascist and pro-Nazi approaches has found a sphere of influence with the help of globalization. Nikolaos Michaloliakos has always been reluctant to admit that Golden Dawn is a Neo-Nazi party. However, Golden Dawn has always glorified the Greek dictator Ioannis Metaxas’s “4th August” regime (Georgiadou, 2019, p. 80) while differentiating itself from the Colonels’ Junta Regime (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015, p. 16).

⁸⁹ “Ποιος είναι ο Ν. Μιχαλολιάκος;” (Who is N. Michaloliakos?)
<https://web.archive.org/web/20190616205644/http://www.xryshaygh.com/gengramateas> (accessed 1 October 2019)

It is well known that Ioannis Metaxas was an admirer of Nazi Germany and he even had the same “salute” as Adolf Hitler (Figure 5.1). Whenever Golden Dawn members were seen performing the “Nazi salute”, they preferred to state that they were replicating Ioannis Metaxas’ salute. Apart from Adolf Hitler’s “Nazi salute”, Golden Dawn does not hesitate to make use of other Nazi rituals. When the leader of Golden Dawn, Nikolaos Michaloliakos, ends a speech at political rallies, it is possible to hear the Greek version⁹⁰ of the Nazi anthem called “Die Fahne hoch” (Papaioannou, 2013, p. 209). One is reminded of Eric J. Hobsbawm’s argument on the consolidative impact of sports, arts, *etc.* for the unification of the nation. Interestingly Golden Dawn prefers to use a German Nazi anthem to awaken national sentiments rather than using something from the enriched past of Greece.



Figure 5.1 Ioannis Metaxas

At this juncture, Golden Dawn is considered as a Nazi (Koronaïou and Sakellariou, 2017; Navoth, 2013) or Neo-Nazi (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015; Lazaridis and

⁹⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CeKzVWsJX0A&bpctr=1570635650> (accessed on 9 October 2019)

Skleparis, 2015; Karayiannis and Malkopoulou, forthcoming; Ifantis and Triantaphyllou, 2018; Petrou and Kandylis, 2016; Ellinas, 2015; Mudde, 2014; Koronaiou, Lagos, Sakellariou, Kymionis, and Chitaki-Pouli, 2015; Grigoriadis, 2018) party by the majority of academia. It would be more accurate to approach the identity of Golden Dawn in its historical background. Golden Dawn is a Neo-Nazi party since it emerged after the Socialist Nationalism of Adolf Hitler (Papaioannou, 2013, p. 33). At this juncture, one should take a look at the official discourses found in the Golden Dawn pamphlet on the ideological perspective of the party...

“We are Nazis if this does not bother you linguistically (we are bothered), because in the miracle of the German Revolution of 1933 we witnessed the Power that would lead us to a new European Renaissance.”⁹¹ (*Golden Dawn (pamphlet)*)

Therefore, one can see that Golden Dawn does not deny the Nazi impact on its own structure. At least the founders of Golden Dawn did not bother to deny their admiration for the Nazis when Golden Dawn was made up of a marginal group at the beginning of the 1980s. However, religion has been an important instrument for Golden Dawn since its inception. Although it was discussed in the second chapter that religion is losing its sphere of influence on mobilizing societies, Golden Dawn preferred to insist on the existence of theology in its ideological perspective.

Golden Dawn went through a spiritual shift over time. As discussed in the fourth chapter of the dissertation, Greek nationalists had more or less the same dilemma during the establishment of the Greek nation state as to whether they should lean on the Byzantine influence or on that of Ancient Greece. Golden Dawn may not have had such a dispute in the beginning, but it needed to change its ideological influence in time. Golden Dawn members embraced the Twelve Gods of Ancient Greece as their primary tenet at the beginning of the 1980s. In order to reflect the paganism of Golden Dawn, it would be

⁹¹ «Είμαστε ναζιστές εάν αυτό δεν σας ενοχλεί γλωσσικώς (εμάς μας ενοχλεί), γιατί μέσα στο θαύμα της Γερμανικής Επανάστασης του 1933 είδαμε την Δύναμη που θα μας οδηγήσει σε μια καινούργια Ευρωπαϊκή αναγέννησι» (Translated by the author)

better to take a look at an article which is called “We” from the Golden Dawn pamphlet, which clearly identifies Golden Dawn’s approach to spirituality...

"We are pagans because our existence respects and travels over the tones of the music of natural laws without ignoring the magic of the unpredictable, the uniqueness of the moment and the positive subjectivity of the human element of nature..."⁹² (*Golden Dawn (pamphlet)*)

“We are pagans because we could never put prophets of darkness and bloody kings in the position of our heroes and philosophers of an impoverished nomadic society.”⁹³ (*Golden Dawn (pamphlet)*)

As can be seen in the official press of Golden Dawn, the party clearly had a shift of axis in its ideological and spiritual perspectives. Although Golden Dawn’s increasing interest in the religiosity of Orthodox belief seems not to fit in with the declining impact of religion in modern history, this argument is worth challenging. Apparently, Golden Dawn intended to transform itself into a mainstream political force. In order to drag the religious, conservative electorate from the other center right and radical right parties, Golden Dawn aimed to focus on Greek Orthodox identity. Similarly, the pioneers of Greek nationalism had a number of discussions as to whether the newly born Greek state should be a secular state or not. Golden Dawn seemed to have a similar intention of discussions in order to get the support of a bigger share of the electorate.

Therefore, Golden Dawn decided to consolidate its ideological relationship with Greek Orthodox Christianity at the beginning of the 1990s. The members of Golden Dawn thought that this ideological shift would help the party integrate into mainstream politics. This led Golden Dawn to transform its main discourse from “National Socialism” to “patriotism” and “nationalism” (Tipaldou, 2015, p. 198). Nevertheless, Golden Dawn

⁹² «Είμαστε παγανιστές γιατί η ύπαρξίς μας σέβεται και πορεύεται πάνω στους τόνους της μουσικής των φυσικών νόμων χωρίς να αγνοεί την μαγεία του απρόβλεπτου, την μοναδικότητα της στιγμής και το θετικό υποκειμενισμό του ανθρώπου-στοιχείου της φύσεως.» (Translated by the author)

⁹³ «Είμαστε παγανιστές γιατί στη θέσι των ηρώων και των φιλοσόφων μας δεν θα μπορούσαμε ποτέ να βάλουμε προφήτες σκοτεινούς και βασιλιάδες αιμοσταγείς ενός άξεστου νομαδικού λαού.» (Translated by the author)

locates its **idiosyncratic** approach⁹⁴ to nationalism on its official website as somewhere between Socialism and Capitalism...

“Between these two absolutely materialistic aspects of the same Zionist currency, transnational Marxism – “Socialism” and globalized Capitalism – “Liberalism”, Nationalism rises. That replaces the "class struggle" with the cooperation of all professional disciplines for the prosperity of the nation. It honors work and avoids "Nepotism" and parasitism. That values employers for their creativity and employees for their work. That puts the economy at the service of the nation, not the nation at the service of the economy. This kind of Nationalism, which is meritocratic, just, truly humanistic and has the realistic vision of a powerful state in the service of the whole nation.”⁹⁵
(*Golden Dawn Official Website*)

In this part of the dissertation, it is important to examine Golden Dawn’s ideology in detail. Although this study considers Golden Dawn as part of the radical right party family, it would be more accurate to specify Golden Dawn’s position in this concept. Golden Dawn’s ideology consists of nationalist, populist and xenophobic sentiments, like almost every other radical right party in Europe. However, Golden Dawn’s ideology contains other motivations which differ the party from its counterparts; these include anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, nativism, Neo-Nazism, authoritarianism, paramilitarism, *etc.* Among all of these tendencies, Golden Dawn developed anti-Semitic sentiments first. Fighting against Zionism (Papaioannou, 2013, p. 86) has been the first duty of Golden Dawn’s members. Since the beginning of the 2000s, the refugee influx into European countries led Golden Dawn to jump on the bandwagon of the Islamophobic trend of European radical right parties. Although both the Metaxas Regime and the Colonels’ Junta Regime influenced Golden Dawn’s main ideology, both regimes had a fear of Communism as well. As mentioned before, Golden Dawn also opposes Communism,

⁹⁴ Δουλειά στους Έλληνες: Το σκεπτικό μας... (Work for Greeks: Our thoughts...) <http://www.xrisiavgi.com/enimerosi/view/grafeio-ergasias-ellhnwn-to-skeptiko-mas> (accessed on 1 September 2019)

⁹⁵ “Ανάμεσα στις δύο απόλυτα υλιστικές όψεις του ίδιου σιωνιστικού νομίσματος, τον διεθνιστικό μαρξισμό-“σοσιαλισμό” και τον παγκοσμιοποιημένο καπιταλισμό-“φιλελευθερισμό”, υψώνεται ο Εθνικισμός. Που αντικαθιστά την “πάλη των τάξεων” με τη συνεργασία όλων των επαγγελματικών κλάδων για την ευμάρεια του έθνους. Που τιμά την εργασία και απεχθάνεται το “βόλεμα” και τον παρασιτισμό. Που εκτιμά τους εργοδότες για τη δημιουργικότητά τους και τους εργαζόμενους για την εργασία τους. Που θέτει την οικονομία στην υπηρεσία του έθνους και όχι το έθνος στην υπηρεσία της οικονομίας. Ο Εθνικισμός που είναι αξιολογικός, δίκαιος, πραγματικά ανθρωπιστικός, με το ρεαλιστικό όραμα ενός ισχυρού κράτους στην υπηρεσία του συνόλου του έθνους.” (Translated by the author)

Marxism, Liberalism, *etc.* but over the course of time, Golden Dawn's main focus transformed into the fear of refugees or in other words, xenophobia.

Although Golden Dawn started as an anti-Semitic political organization, the party added Islamophobia to its – virulently – ideological portfolio. Apart from being ethnically nativist, Golden Dawn is also spiritually radical. This might have been a reason to highlight Greek Orthodoxy as one of the conditions for being a 'pure' Greek. That is why, Golden Dawn has always been against the construction of the state funded mosque in Athens. It is seen as a threat to the purified Greek identity in the eyes of Golden Dawn members. The party members did not hesitate to lead protest against the "official mosque" in Athens (Ekathimerini, 2018).

In order to clarify the differentiation of Golden Dawn's ideology from the other radical right movements, notably in Europe, it is important to comprehend the domestic structures of the societies at a country specific level. Herbert Kitschelt and Anthony J. McGann argues that there has to be a proper basis for the existence of anti-Semitism...

"Where Jews were not popularly perceived as an important social group, such as in Italy, anti-Semitism did not play a role in fascist mobilization."
(Kitschelt and McGann, 1995, p. 30)

In this sense, the existence of anti-Semitic sentiments depends on the existence of a Jewish community in the country. Since most of the Jewish community in Greece disappeared in World War II, the popularity of anti-Semitism declined among Greek radical right supporters over the course of time. Although Golden Dawn tried to embrace anti-Semitism as a priority for its ideological belief system, the party did not manage to break the shell of being a marginal movement during this period. In other words, turning to Islamophobia, anti-refugee policy and nativism brought political popularity to Golden Dawn.

While going into detail about Golden Dawn's ideological stance, it is best to review its individual components. Golden Dawn is clearly defending the superiority of Greek ethnicity. Cas Mudde tries to define the overlapping points of those components in theoretical terms...

“Nativism is a combination of nationalism and xenophobia, holding that a country should be exclusively inhabited by members of the native group (“the nation”), and that non-native elements (persons and ideas) are fundamentally threatening to the homogeneous nation-state. Authoritarianism is the belief in a strictly ordered society, in which infringements of authority are to be punished severely. Populism, finally, is an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, “the pure people” and “the corrupt elite”; it argues that politics should be an expression of the general will of the people.” (Mudde, 2014, p. 99)

When looking at Golden Dawn’s activities and discourses, nativism is the most important component in the party’s motivation. The party organizes activities such as blood donations, food allowances, *etc.* from which only Greek citizens can derive benefit (Kallis, 2013, p. 224). The party volunteers inspect the identity cards of those wanting to take part, in order to identify their “genuine” Greek origins (Kourounis, 2015).

All of these voluntary activities are only open to Greek origin citizens. Moreover, merging these voluntary activities with Golden Dawn’s tendency to paramilitarism distinguishes the case of Golden Dawn from other European examples (Georgiadou, 2019, p. 179). Golden Dawn members also offer protection from attacks on people by immigrants (Journeyman Pictures, 2013) only to Greek citizens. (Kallis, 2013, p. 224). Golden Dawn’s paramilitary tendency is well-known, as has been officially revealed during the prosecution against the party...

“Golden Dawn – like other Nazi-style formations – has been constructing a “secret army”, calculated at around 3000 people by the time its leadership was arrested in late 2013.” (Tipaldou, 2015, p. 197)

Golden Dawn prefers to display its power with its militia forces (Papaioannou, 2013, p. 92) and violent image. Vasiliki Georgiadou, an expert on the Greek radical right and Golden Dawn’s ideological evolution, claims that Golden Dawn’s tendency of having militia forces originated from the 4th of August Party...

“...Golden Dawn seems to have copied the anti-democratic and pro-Nazi ideas of the K4A (4th of August Party), as well as its paramilitary organizational structure.”⁹⁶ (Georgiadou, 2019, p. 56-57)

From another perspective, another scholar who is an expert on Golden Dawn, Sofia Tipaldou detects similarities between Golden Dawn’s “secret army” and Ioannis Metaxas’s Youth Organization...

“Evidence (Inner Code)⁹⁷ shows that Golden Dawn members have guns and military equipment, that they undergo “special training,” and that they resemble the youth section of former dictator’s Metaxas National Youth Organization (Ethniki Organosi Neolaias—EON) of 1936.” (Tipaldou, 2015, p. 197)

Moreover, the “Greek Volunteer Guard”⁹⁸ participated in the Bosnian War on the side of the Serbian Chetniks, especially during the ethnic cleansing during the Srebrenica massacre in 1995 (Konstantinidis, 2017). This volunteer secret army allegedly had connections with Golden Dawn members dating back to the 1990s (Stai and Koutelos, 2003). This proves that Golden Dawn was always perceived as having a tough image in the eyes of society, even when the party was on the fringes of the political spectrum. Golden Dawn tried to keep its violent and tough profile after it became a well-known political force.

To set an example for the efforts to maintain Golden Dawn’s tough image, one should remember the day when Golden Dawn managed to enter the Greek Parliament for the first time in 2012. When the party leader Nikos Michaloliakos entered the room for the press conference, one of the Golden Dawn members, Giorgos Germenis commanded⁹⁹ the journalists present to “Stand Up!¹⁰⁰” and “Be Quiet!” out of respect for the leader. This was a clear show of force in order to foster **fear** in society.

⁹⁶ «...η Χρυσή Αυγή δείχνει να έχει αντιγράψει τις αντιδημοκρατικές και φιλοναζιστικές ιδέες του Κ4Α, όπως και την παραστρατιωτική οργανωτική του δομή.» (Translated by the author)

⁹⁷ One of the pieces of evidence that reveal Golden Dawn’s structure. The document was found during the Golden Dawn’s trial process after the murder of Pavlos Fyssas.

⁹⁸ Ελληνική Εθελοντική Φρουρά in Greek.

⁹⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yJesgmdpBTM> (accessed on 17 September 2019)

¹⁰⁰ The member commanded journalists to “Stand Up” with a military saying – Εγέρθητι.

However, Golden Dawn has always demonstrated criminal activities since its establishment. The Golden Dawn party accentuated its political views with brutal attacks, especially during the 1990s. According to Paul R. Brass's argument, there was a suitable political atmosphere for nationalist movements to increase their efficiency in the Greek political context in the 1990s because of the disputes with Turkey. For example, one should remember that during the Imia / Kardak crisis at the beginning of 1996, there was a relatively Leftist government in power in Greece. Although the Greek prime minister at the time, Kostas Simitis, reached an agreement with the Turkish government in Madrid in order to decrease tensions in the region, the Greek media, the opposition parties and the intraparty opposition in PASOK did not hesitate to criticize (Cem, 2009, p. 99) Simitis for his compromising attitude (Athanasopoulos, 2001, p. 103) during the crisis.

Although, there had been nationalist incitements in both countries, the dispute resulted in a stalemate. Nevertheless, Golden Dawn was not happy with the resulting balance on the Imia / Kardak issue. After that, party members started to gather every year for the commemoration of this incident in front of the Greek Parliament on Syntagma Square, by singing the Greek national anthem and the slogan below...

“In Imia three officers dead, traitors we will burn you with the (Greek) Parliament”¹⁰¹ (Hasapopoulos, 2013, p. 57)

“To burn, to burn the *bordello*¹⁰² (Greek) Parliament”¹⁰³ (Hasapopoulos, 2013, p. 57)

It makes sense to recollect Eric J. Hobsbawm's argument on the **invention of traditions** in order to disseminate nationalist sentiments among the society. In this example, Golden Dawn clearly tried to create a tradition by commemorating annually the Imia / Kardak incident in order to circulate and consolidate the agitation within Greek society. This incident could become a national holiday in the event of Golden Dawn acceding to power, according to Eric J. Hobsbawm's argument.

¹⁰¹ «Στα Ίμια νεκροί τρεις αξιωματικοί, προδότες θα σας κάψουμε μαζί με τη Βουλή» (Translated by the author)

¹⁰² Μπουρδέλο means “brothel” in Greek slang.

¹⁰³ «Να καεί, να καεί το μπουρδέλο η Βουλή» (Translated by the author)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KVHXxTD4eyo> (accessed on 30 September 2019)

On the other hand, the types of slogans above are reminiscent of the Nazi Germany Era, when the *Reichstag* was set on fire to demolish the democratic governance in 1933. “Blood, Honour, Golden Dawn!”¹⁰⁴ has always been the main slogan of Golden Dawn for years. It is obviously reminiscent of the Nazi slogan: “Blood and Honour!”¹⁰⁵ (Sotiris, 2015, p. 177). Although some Golden Dawn members refute that they have ideological connections with the Nazis, their practices are closely reminiscent of Nazi practices. One of the major actors of Golden Dawn, Panagiotis Iliopoulos, has a tattoo (Tipaldou, 2015, p. 197) of a word which reminds one of the Nazi chant: “*Heil*” When he was asked on television why he has this tattoo (The Guardian, 2013b), he stated that he did not know the meaning of the word (Info War, 2013). Even if some of the Golden Dawn members refute that they are Neo-Nazis, there have been clear statements from former party members about the ideology of the party. Former Golden Dawn member, Christos Rigas, founded another radical right party called LEPEN (Popular Greek Patriotic Union)¹⁰⁶ in 2015. In one of his statements, Rigas accuses Golden Dawn of being a Nazi organization and highlights this as the reason for his separation from the party to establish his own nationalist political party (TRT World, 2019).

Nevertheless, apart from the specific violent actions of Golden Dawn, the migrants in Greece have been constantly the target of Golden Dawn’s militia forces, no matter if they are legally in the country or not. Golden Dawn has been constantly harsh on the migrants in Greece (Bustnes, 2017). Interestingly, the violent attacks of Golden Dawn have increased in parallel with its electoral success.

Simultaneously, Golden Dawn started to receive an increase in support in public opinion for its violent activities, when the economic crisis started in Greece in the first decade of the 2000s. As was discussed previously, Golden Dawn tried to convince people that migrants were stealing jobs from Greek people. Therefore, the party managed to escalate the hatred against migrants in Greek society. This rising aggressiveness was not limited to migrants. There has always been a violent rivalry between Golden Dawn members and

¹⁰⁴ “Αίμα, Τιμή, Χρυσή Αυγή!” in Greek.

¹⁰⁵ “Blut und Ehre!” in German.

¹⁰⁶ Λαϊκή Ελληνική Πατριωτική Ένωση in Greek.

Leftists and Anarchists. One can see that a Golden Dawn deputy at the time, Ilias Panagiotaros, carried a gun. He explains that he carried a gun as a means of protection from Leftists and Anarchists in one of the videos on the organization (Journeyman Pictures, 2013). Golden Dawn misinterpreted the indifferent attitude of society toward its violent actions against migrants, and this miscalculation led Golden Dawn to be involved in the murder of rapper Pavlos Fyssas. This murder caused many eyebrows to be raised regarding its violence. Therefore, Golden Dawn happened to be testing its limits of violence among Greek society. In reaction, two party members were then murdered in a counterattack. During the trial for the murder of the rapper, party members tried to emphasize the hero status of those two victims in order to consolidate support among party voters. As discussed in the second chapter, heroism has been used by nation states in order to inject nationalist sentiments over long periods of time. Since the overwhelming majority of Greek society does not consider Golden Dawn as a representative of the Greek nation state, the instrumentalization of the heroes did not work on this occasion. Nevertheless, there are ongoing studies that intend to prove the correlation between Golden Dawn's votes and local narratives (Palaiologou, forthcoming).

On the contrary, one should not forget that Golden Dawn never gave up targeting the democratic governance system in Greece. Even during the times when it came closer to becoming a mainstream organization, some of its marginal ideas did not change. Although Golden Dawn had been updating its “Political Stances”¹⁰⁷ on its official websites from time to time, some of the core ideas had remained ...

“The aim of Golden Dawn is to overthrow the corrupted *metapolitefsi* system of governance through the electoral process. We are struggling for national independence, popular sovereignty and political cleansing. To punish those who invested in the rebuilding of our homeland and won from the descent of Greece. The kleptocrats and perjured public officials have to go to jail while we need to confiscate the properties of those who abused the property of the Greek people. The Greeks should decide on major national and social issues for the people to be truly sovereign and not to be called to the ballot boxes only every four years to respond to virtual dilemmas. To achieve these goals,

¹⁰⁷ Πολιτικές Θέσεις (Political Positions)

<http://web.archive.org/web/20190721192704/http://www.xryshaygh.com/kinima/thesis> (accessed on 8 October 2019)

we need an absolute majority in parliament to allow for a Constitutional Review to make it possible.”¹⁰⁸ (*Golden Dawn Official Website*)

One can understand from this quotation that the authors of the manifesto have not thought it through properly, since there are too many contradictions in it. Golden Dawn is calling for people to help the party actuate a parliamentary system via the electoral process as well as to demolish the system of democratic governance. This brings us back to 1933, when the Nazis were elected to parliament before dismantling it. This might be proof that the radical right electorate tends to go to the ballot boxes during election periods.

5.1.2. The Influence of the Colonels’ Junta Regime (1967 - 1974)

The relationship between Golden Dawn and the military junta is quite blurry and complicated. The leader of Golden Dawn, Nikolaos Michaloliakos, was arrested multiple times. The first time he was arrested was outside the British Embassy in 1974 (Nedos, 2008). Then he was arrested in 1976, and he happened to share a prison cell with the junta leader Georgios Papadopoulos (Georgiadou, 2019, p. 118). Then he was arrested again because he was carrying explosives during a demonstration in 1979 (Kyriakidou, 2012). When Georgios Papadopoulos established his political party EPEN¹⁰⁹ at the beginning of the 1980s, Nikolaos Michaloliakos joined this party. The years Papadopoulos spent in Korydallos prison helped him to employ EPEN’s administrative staff since he made connections in the prison (Georgiadou, 2019, p. 105-106). That is why the Colonels’ Junta Regime continued to have an impact on the Greek radical right even from jail. Nonetheless, EPEN was not able to become successful in the elections. Many Golden Dawn members started their political adventure under the aegis of EPEN. EPEN can be

¹⁰⁸ “Στόχος της Χρυσής Αυγής είναι η ανατροπή του διεφθαρμένου μεταπολιτευτικού συστήματος εξουσίας, μέσω της εκλογικής διαδικασίας. Αγωνιζόμαστε για εθνική ανεξαρτησία, λαϊκή κυριαρχία και πολιτική κάθαρση. Να τιμωρηθούν όσοι επένδυσαν στον διασυρμό της Πατρίδας μας και κέρδισαν από τον κατήφορο της Ελλάδος. Να πάνε στη φυλακή οι κλέφτες πολιτικοί και οι επίορκοι δημόσιοι λειτουργοί και παράλληλα να δημευθούν οι περιουσίες όσων καταχράστηκαν την περιουσία του ελληνικού λαού. Οι Έλληνες να αποφασίζουν για τα μείζονα εθνικά και κοινωνικά ζητήματα και ο λαός να είναι πραγματικά κυρίαρχος και όχι να καλείται στις κάλπες μόνο κάθε τέσσερα χρόνια για να απαντήσει σε εικονικά διλλήματα. Για να πετύχουμε τους στόχους αυτούς χρειαζόμαστε την απόλυτη πλειοψηφία στο κοινοβούλιο, ώστε να είναι εφικτή η Συνταγματική Αναθεώρηση.” (Translated by the author)

¹⁰⁹ Εθνική Πολιτική Ένωσις (National Political Union) in Greek.

considered as one of the transitional political organizations which helped give birth to Golden Dawn.

As mentioned previously, Konstantinos Plevris managed to survive on the political stage longer than any other movement during the Colonels' Junta Regime with the help of his connections with the Junta leader Georgios Papadopoulos. Considering the close relationship of Nikolaos Michaloliakos with Georgios Papadopoulos, Golden Dawn's connection with Konstantinos Plevris could only be viewed as inevitable. Although there had been some disagreements between Golden Dawn and Konstantinos Plevris in recent years, both sides participated in the elections of 1999 as coalition partners, under the name Front Line¹¹⁰. When Georgios Karatzaferis established his party LAOS in the beginning of the 2000s after his resignation from the New Democracy Party, Konstantinos Plevris preferred to join forces with LAOS.

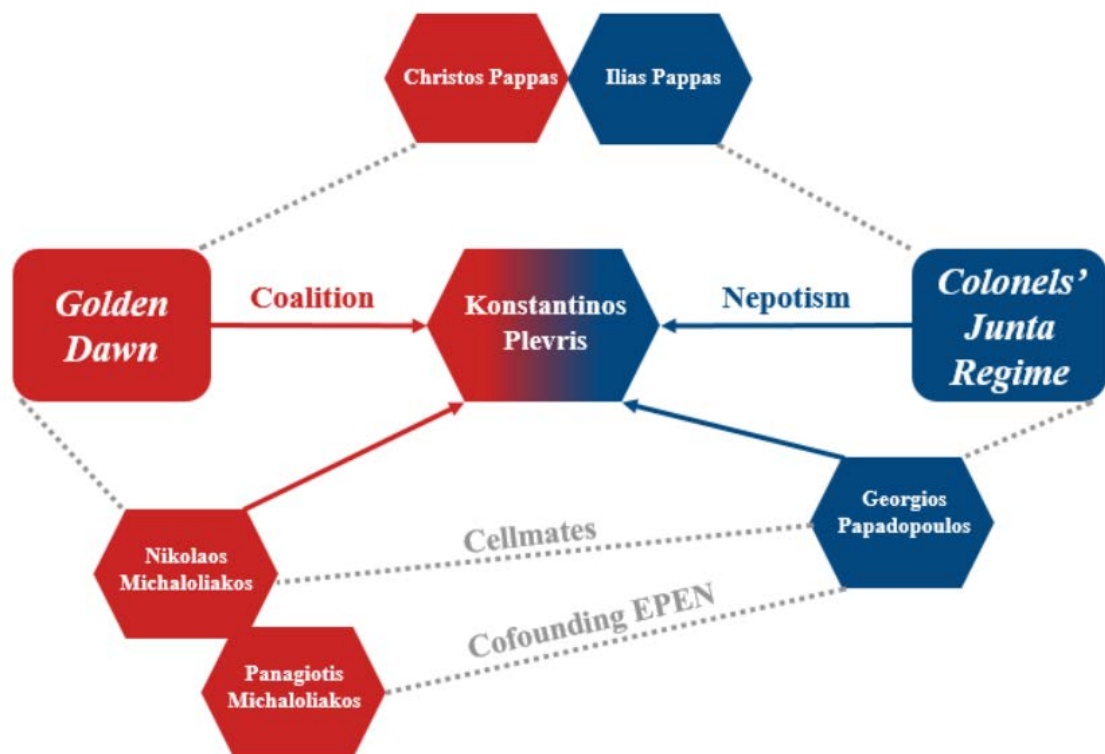


Figure 5.2 Major connections between Golden Dawn and the Colonels' Junta Regime¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Πρώτη Γραμμή in Greek.

¹¹¹ This table has been prepared mostly with the help of Dimitris Psarras's book on Golden Dawn. (Psarras, 2013, p. 48-49)

Golden Dawn managed to remain more marginalized on the radical right than Konstantinos Plevris, even though he has been one of the biggest influencers and trendsetters of the Greek radical right cult. The disagreement between Konstantinos Plevris and Golden Dawn, especially on the issue of illegal immigrants, came to light when Konstantinos Plevris and one of the major actors of Golden Dawn, Ilias Kasidiaris, participated in a discussion on Greek television in 2012, after Golden Dawn's first electoral success (Iefimerida, 2012). Konstantinos Plevris accused Golden Dawn of attacking poor migrants to the dismay of Kasidiaris. This incident revealed that Golden Dawn remained on the margins compared to other Greek radical right movements.

Although Golden Dawn members had a close relationship with the members of the Colonels' Junta Regime, they did not aim to maintain the same ideological perspective. Nevertheless, the Colonels' Junta Regime ideologically influenced Golden Dawn in particular ways. Although Golden Dawn puts it with slightly different way¹¹², the main slogan of Colonels' Junta Regime had been a guiding spirit for the party: "Greece for Christian Greeks¹¹³".

Golden Dawn has considered the "4th August Regime"¹¹⁴ as closer to its ideology than the "Colonels' Junta Regime". Golden Dawn differentiated itself from the Colonels' regime by emphasizing its Nationalist Socialist principles (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015, p. 17; Psarras, 2002, p. 35). Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou argue that there are three reasons for Golden Dawn to avoid the influence of the Colonels' Junta Regime Era...

"First, the fragmentation of the right into various movements unwilling to coalesce rendered these groups weak electoral contenders that were often competing against each other. Second, the association of far-right groups with the Colonels' Junta regime rendered them illegitimate in the eyes of the Greek voters. It could be argued that the centre-right New Democracy was able to attract votes from those Greek voters with ultra-nationalist, pro-monarchist and generally far right-wing views while offering a more legitimate option.

¹¹² "Greece belongs to the Greeks!" (Η Ελλάδα ανήκει στους Έλληνες!)

¹¹³ "Ἐλλάς Ἑλλήνων Χριστιανῶν" in Greek.

¹¹⁴ The regime that was established by the Dictator Ioannis Metaxas during the Inter War Era in Greece.

Third, the Greek party system of the metapolitefsi era has not been conducive to far right-wing parties.” (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015, p. 21)

In this section, it is also important to make reference to the 4th August Regime of Ioannis Metaxas. As the leader of Golden Dawn, Nikolaos Michaloliakos, had a close relationship with Colonels’ Junta Regime, he embraced the views of Ioannis Metaxas on many topics. First of all, Ioannis Metaxas had thought Greece lacked discipline on many issues. That is why he was an admirer of the German philosophy of discipline (Gallant, 2001, p. 157) and culture during his time. However, Metaxas did not live long enough to witness the consequences of World War II. That is why it would be too speculative to claim that Ioannis Metaxas was clearly a Nazi admirer. On the other hand, Golden Dawn also tried to imitate German discipline in an organizational structure. At this juncture, it is important to emphasize that Golden Dawn formed an alternative police force (militia forces) similar to the Nazi SS, and sang SS anthems during their demonstrations (Smith, 2014b).

Going back to the Colonels’ Junta Regime, it is significant to mention the impact of Konstantinos Plevris in the political arena. Konstantinos Plevris and his party, the “4th of August”, clearly supported the junta regime. Therefore, Plevris’s party became the only political party that remained operational during the Colonels’ Junta Regime in return, for its support of the regime (Tipaldou, 2015, p. 195). Sofia Tipaldou expands on the impact of Konstantinos Plevris and his party on the establishment of Golden Dawn’s pamphlet...

“K4A (4th of August Party) was dissolved in 1977, but its influence remains. In December 1980, a group of people steeped in the K4A milieu, including Nikolaos Michaloliakos, published the first issue of the eponymous *Chrysi Avgi* (Golden Dawn) magazine.” (Tipaldou, 2015, p. 195)

5.1.3. From Pamphlet to Political Arena

Although Golden Dawn started its journey as a mere pamphlet, the party acquired significant experience in promoting its ideas. This is why the party has never stopped publishing written materials in order to amplify its voice. Accordingly, with Benedict Anderson’s theory of printing press capitalism, Golden Dawn has attempted to offer diversity in the sense of promoting the glorification of Greek history, the supremacy of Greek ethnicity, and the demonization of Greek political elites.

This extreme nationalist movement did not bother to change its name over the course of time. It is interesting that this movement did not give up publishing its pamphlet even during difficult political times for the party. Correspondingly the “think tank” of the party has not changed in almost thirty years. After being extremely active when publishing its own literature, Golden Dawn did not consider participating in politics during the 1980s. It is significant to remember that the refugee influxes have always been an indicator of Golden Dawn’s political situation. Golden Dawn was registered officially as a political party in 1993. When Albanian immigrants were entering Greece in the beginning of the 1990s, Golden Dawn started to amplify its voice with its xenophobic rhetoric. Considering that Golden Dawn gained popularity with its xenophobic discourses in this situation, the members of Golden Dawn interpreted the public reaction as a signal to establish a political organization.

Similarly, when the refugee influx increased due to the Syrian Civil War, Golden Dawn instrumentalized the same rhetoric anew. In this case, this popularity brought them into the Greek Parliament, with the additional impact of the economic crisis. Golden Dawn leaned on the excessive refugee influx, especially from the Turkish coast, which led to a number of Greek islands making its residents amenable to xenophobic discourses that their land would be full of strangers, that they would lose their jobs because of the refugees, and that the refugees would alter the local culture. That is why Golden Dawn highlighted its incitement with a big slogan with the help of its leader: “Greece belongs to the Greeks!”

The leader of the party, Nikolaos Michaloliakos, has always been the leader of not only the party but also the movement. His leadership has never been questioned by Golden Dawn members or supporters. One can consider the concept of leadership in the Golden Dawn party to be similar to that of the Nazis. In other words, the members and supporters of the party consider their leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos to be a sort of *Führer*. This assumption by Golden Dawn members and supporters coincides with the handwritten

notes of Christos Pappas¹¹⁵ which were found during the investigations¹¹⁶ into the hierarchy within the party (Tipaldou, 2015, p. 196-197).

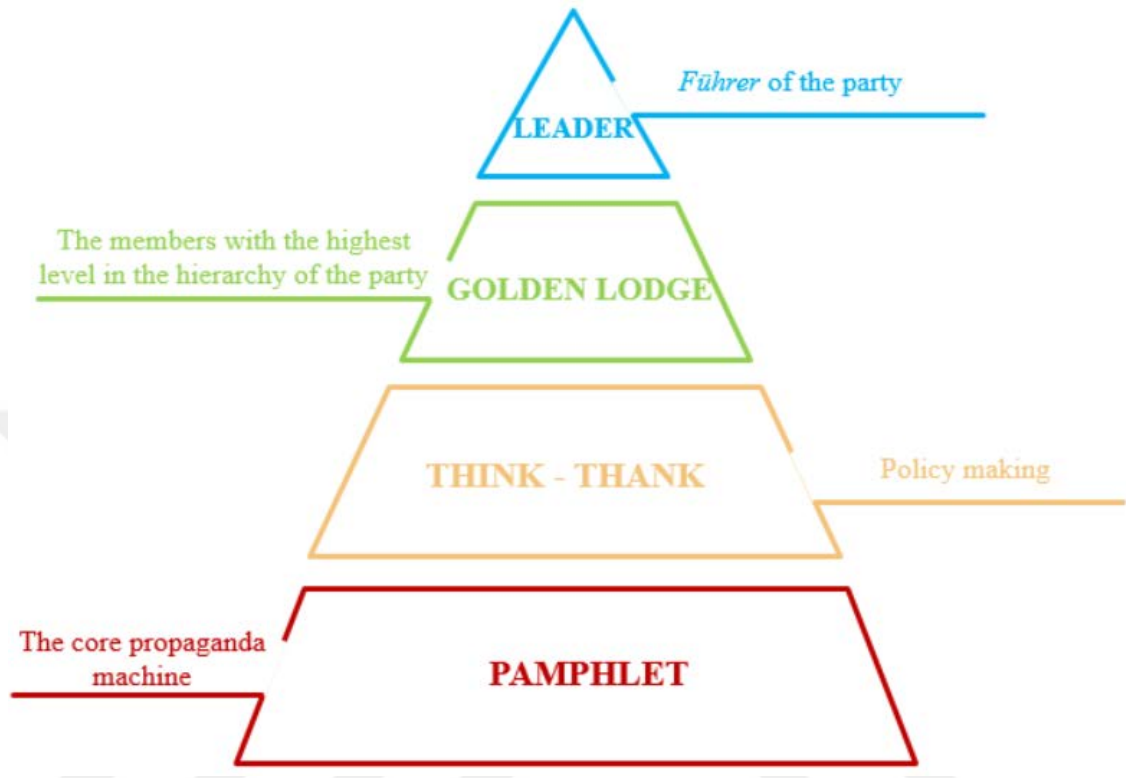


Figure 5.3 Hierarchy pyramid within Golden Dawn

Throughout the past almost 40 years, Nikolaos Michaloliakos has always been the natural leader of Golden Dawn, although some major party members such as Ilias Kasidiaris, Christos Pappas, Ilias Panagiotaros, *etc.* have contributed to the party’s popularity. However, Michaloliakos’ leadership has never become a matter for discussion within the party.

Golden Dawn listed 12 major points that would be implemented in the event of it acceding to power (APPENDIX A). This will be discussed in detail in a later section of this chapter,

¹¹⁵ Christos Pappas has been cooperating with Nikolaos Michaloliakos since the 1980s and he is allegedly the number two of Golden Dawn even though Michaloliakos’ daughter Ourania strictly emphasizes that Golden Dawn does not have number two, or number three. Golden Dawn has only one leader according to her statements. (Bustnes, 2017)

¹¹⁶ After the murder of Pavlos Fyssas, the police started investigations into Golden Dawn (Smith, 2013).

but it would be accurate to emphasize that this political program of Golden Dawn contains many populist arguments. Populists broadly categorize society into two camps as **pure people** and **corrupted elites** (Mudde, 2007, p. 23). Golden Dawn does not hesitate to address political purification at the beginning of its manifesto (APPENDIX A).

5.2. Parliamentary Emergence

When Golden Dawn managed to enter the Parliament, the result astonished both the Greek people and European society since they were not expecting a Neo-Nazi Party to emerge in a country that was a member of the European Union. Golden Dawn increased its electoral impact during a time where academia and journalists were discussing the reasons for the rise of radical right movements in Europe. Naturally, the rise of Golden Dawn is not a coincidence in this sense, but it differs in its violent nature from the other popular radical right movements in European countries. Nevertheless, analyzing the electoral success of Golden Dawn would offer an insight into the uniqueness of its case.




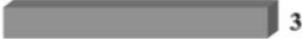
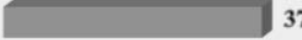

5.2.1. Success in the Elections

Golden Dawn's success is not limited to a single election. As discussed previously, there have been some Greek radical right parties that managed to get considerable numbers of votes in previous elections, but none of those parties could sustain their success in the subsequent elections. Golden Dawn managed to hold on for six elections in a row during a 7-year period. In four Greek Legislative Elections, 74 deputies in total were elected under the Golden Dawn banner, while in two European Parliament Elections, Golden Dawn managed to elect five deputies (Table 5.1).

Besides Greece, the results of the European Parliament Elections were also distressing. In the history of the European Parliament Elections, only EPEN managed to win one seat in the European Parliament in 1984 as a radical right-wing party. For almost twenty years, the Greek radical right movements could not manage to elect a deputy in the European Parliament Elections. LAOS broke with tradition and managed to elect a member of the European Parliament from the Greek radical right in 2004. Nevertheless, this was not

enough to render this election as a success story for the Greek radical right. After 2004, LAOS managed to enter the European Parliament one more time in 2009. When Golden Dawn received 9.4% of the votes in Greece in 2014 for the European Parliament Elections, the party had officially become the third political power in Greece with this result. Even after the criminal investigations and media blockage towards Golden Dawn, the party entered the European Parliament one more time in 2019. Therefore, the Greek radical right managed to get into the European Parliament four times in a row and consolidated its presence in Europe.

Table 5.1 Golden Dawn's Electoral Successes¹¹⁷

	# of Votes	Vote %	Seats Won	Rank
May 2012	 440.966	7,0%	21/300	#6 ▲
Jun 2012	 426.025	6,9%	18/300	#5 ▼
*May 2014	 536.913	9,4%	3/21	#3 ▲
Jan 2015	 388.387	6,3%	17/300	#3 ▼
Sep 2015	 379.581	7,0%	18/300	#3 ▲
*May 2019	 275.821	4,9%	2/21	#5 ▼

***European Parliament Elections**

The 2019 European Parliament Election result is important for another reason as well with reference to the Greek radical right. Another radical right party, Hellenic Solution, managed to get one seat in the European Parliament alongside Golden Dawn. Nonetheless, even though Golden Dawn lost more than 100,000 voters in two months

¹¹⁷ The Parliament: The Political System: Elections (Hellenic Parliament) <https://www.hellenicparliament.gr/en/Vouli-ton-Ellinon/To-Politevma/Ekloges/Eklogika-apotelesmata-New/#Per-14> (accessed on 12 November 2019)
 Results by national party: 2014-2019 (European Parliament) <https://election-results.eu/national-results/greece/2014-2019/constitutive-session/> (accessed on 12 November 2019)

after the European Parliament Elections, there is a sense of transition between the Greek radical right electorate. Thus, the phenomenon does not lose its significance but changes its outfit according to the political circumstances. As was discussed in the second chapter, Umut Özkırmılı likens nationalism to a chameleon, since nationalism adapts to different political situations in different periods or in different countries. The same applies to Greek radical right movements, including Golden Dawn. Even this party changes its image from time to time. Golden Dawn emerged in a political pamphlet, then it transformed itself into a political party. As will be discussed in the next sections of this chapter, it then decided to affiliate itself politically with different parties. Therefore, Golden Dawn remained politically inactive between 1996 and 2007. Similarly, with the murder of Pavlos Fyssas, Golden Dawn's brutal attack against the student Dimitris Kousouris poisoned reactions towards the party in 1998. In one of his interviews, Dimitris Kousouris emphasized that defeating Golden Dawn ideologically is not enough to provide solutions to the issues of unemployment, education, *etc.* (Reinform, 2013).

On the other hand, Golden Dawn did not mention the importance of education in its "Political Stances", even though there are some significant criticisms of the Greek education system on its official website. Golden Dawn blames Marxists and Neo-Liberal Right movements in its manifesto for the deterioration of Greece, and it claims that it is the only nationalist movement that can fight against this degeneration. It clearly supports an education system which is consolidated by national **myths**. Starting from this point of view, Golden Dawn stands behind the "Secret School" myth by criticizing its opponents including Maria Repousi...

"A new "secret school" was born as a response to the new theft. The Greeks will not revolt as a "class society" against a vague and indefinite imperialism, but as a NATION that wants to live, against the globalization of markets and the tyranny of the bankers. The monster of globalization cannot be tackled by internationalists, but only by Nationalists who unite the people and do not divide them into classes. The Golden Dawn of Hellenism is rising..."¹¹⁸
(Golden Dawn Official Website)

¹¹⁸ «Ένα νέο «κρυφό σχολειό» γεννήθηκε και στο κάλεσμά του ανταποκρίνεται η νέα κλεφτουριά. Οι Έλληνες δεν θα επαναστατήσουν ως «ταξικός πληθυσμός» ενάντια ενός θολού και αόριστου ιμπεριαλισμού, αλλά ως ΕΘΝΟΣ που θέλει να ζήσει, απέναντι στην παγκοσμιοποίηση των αγορών και την

5.2.2. Golden Dawn as an Organization and its Collaborations

This section will reveal the “virtual” supporters of Golden Dawn. The words “virtual supporters” refer to the collaborators of the movement within and outside of Greece. In addition, this section will try to deal with the capacity of Golden Dawn in its local organizations. There have been always rumors that Golden Dawn has collaborators inside Greece, including among military officials, policemen and the Church. Although there was no tangible evidence to prove the existence of those collaborations, the Greek newspaper *Ta Nea* revealed that some police officers had been hiding some Greek criminals connected to Golden Dawn party in 2004 (Areti, 2004).

Considering the activities of Golden Dawn in the 2010s, the attacks against migrants come into prominence. However, one of the victims of its attacks in 1998, Dimitris Kousouris claims that Golden Dawn belonged to the more marginal side of politics before the 2000s and Leftist, Anarchist groups were the main target of its activities (Kourounis, 2015). Apart from the collaborators among the police force in particular, Golden Dawn has also tried to follow marginal European radical right movements. Like its counterparts in the rest of Europe, Golden Dawn tried to consolidate its connection with other radical right parties, since it was aware that its influence is mainly limited to the Colonels’ Junta connections and its own publications. In order to expand its sphere of influence, at the beginning of the 1980s, Nikolaos Michaloliakos tried to drag Golden Dawn into the neo-Nazi Spanish Circle of Europe’s Friends¹¹⁹ (CEDADE). This organization was holding meetings on the dissemination of National Socialism, Adolf Hitler, *etc.* (Tipaldou, 2015, p. 200). Although these kinds of movements remained more marginal during the first decade of the Post-Cold War Era, leaders like Jean-Marie Le Pen started to increase their popularity, especially with a xenophobic and populist stance, not only in France but also in Europe as a whole. In 1993, Michaloliakos did not hesitate to hold meetings with Jean-Marie Le Pen (Tipaldou, 2015, p. 201).

τυραννία των τραπεζιτών. Το τέρας της παγκοσμιοποίησης δεν μπορεί να αντιμετωπιστεί από διεθνιστές, αλλά μόνο από τους Εθνικιστές που ενώνουν τον λαό και δεν τον διχάζουν σε τάξεις. Η Χρυσή Αυγή του Ελληνισμού ζυγώνει...» (Translated by the author)

¹¹⁹ Circulo Español de Amigos de Europa in Spanish.

Therefore, Golden Dawn managed to have partners not only in Greece but also in other Western countries. In the 2000s, Golden Dawn improved its relations with the Italian Forza Nuova, the German NPD, the British National Party, *etc.* as well. Those parties came together in 2014 just before the European Parliament Elections (Savaricas, 2014), in order to create ideological and political solidarity with each other. The leader of Golden Dawn, Nikolaos Michaloliakos was in jail because of the investigations into the murder of Pavlos Fyssas at the time. However, during this meeting, the leader of the Italian *Forza Nuova*, Roberto Fiore, condemned the Greek government and Greek democracy for not allowing Michaloliakos to lead his party. Interestingly, the leader of *Forza Nuova* urged the Russian media and Russian intelligentsia to highlight the shameful prosecution of Golden Dawn¹²⁰. This statement was interesting since it happened right before the European Parliament Elections, and Russian elites were asked to be involved in Greece's domestic affairs.

Also, before the statements of Roberto Fiore, Ilias Kasidiaris was prepared to call in the Russian army to enter Greece in order to protect Russian oil pipelines, while he was addressing the Greek Parliament on 26 October 2012 (Ravanos, 2014). The increasing influence of Russia on the European radical right movements cannot be overlooked in terms of its negative impact on the European Integration process. A Ukrainian scholar, Anton Shekhovtsov, also elucidated many connections between Russia and the European radical right parties in his book "*Russia and the Western Far Right: Tango Noir*" (Shekhovtsov, 2018). Although this dissertation does not aim to reveal Russian influence on the Western radical right parties, it would be helpful to mention here that Russian influence provides an adhesive impact between European radical right movements.

It would be accurate to include the Hungarian Jobbik party as one of the counterparts of Golden Dawn in Central Europe, since it shares the same violent, Eurosceptic and xenophobic perspective as Golden Dawn. Anton Shekhovtsov describes Jobbik's perspective on the European Union with tangible evidence of Russian influence...

¹²⁰ Ο Πρόεδρος της Forza Nuova Roberto Fiore για τις διώξεις κατά της Χρυσής Αυγής (The President of Forza Nuova Roberto Fiore on the prosecutions against Golden Dawn) [translated by the author] <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oQZUU-3-yRA> (accessed on 27 October 2019)

“In his lecture at the Moscow State University in 2013, Jobbik’s leader Gábor Vona said that Hungary would have to decide whether to stay in the EU, join the EEU, or try to remain independent. One way or another, Jobbik would have Hungary leave the EU, ‘give way to transcendent values and quit the matrix of global capitalism.” (Shekhovtsov, 2018, p. 91)

“In a later interview, Vona referred to the works of the Russian theorist of Eurasianism Nikolay Trubetskoy and Russian neo-Eurasianist Aleksandr Dugin, and argued that ‘the advantage of Eurasianism is that it allows for the preservation of the independence of the regions, and is based on the continental cooperation in contrast to the exploitation by the European Union.” (Shekhovtsov, 2018, p. 91)

As already shown, Jobbik, like Golden Dawn is also against global capitalism. Nevertheless, anti-globalization and anti-Europeanism are not the only pieces of Golden Dawn’s and Jobbik’s common perspective. Although Golden Dawn does not have an official connection with the Hungarian Jobbik party, the activities of both parties can be considered as parallel on many levels. Jobbik also has a militia force that is promoted as an alternative police force called the Hungarian National Guard (Channel 4 News, 2013). Similar to Golden Dawn’s criminal activities against migrants, the Hungarian National Guard¹²¹ also conducts violent attacks on gypsies (Petsinis, 2017, p. 5).

Apart from its counterparts abroad, Golden Dawn opened branches in different countries including Australia, Canada, Germany, the United States, *etc.* Considering the fact that the Greek diaspora is almost as big¹²² as the population of Greece, this was reckoned to be an opportunity to expand its sphere of influence. As happened in Greece, Golden Dawn also faced many difficulties abroad in terms of extending its organization. Nevertheless, getting in touch with the Greek diaspora has always been important for Golden Dawn, to provide funds for the party (Safi, 2014).

Golden Dawn also opened local branches around Greece starting since 1993. After 2009, Golden Dawn managed to open tens of new local branches in all around Greece, notably

¹²¹ *Magyar Gárda Mozgalom* in Hungarian

¹²² The official data for Greek population around the world. (NationMaster)
Estimate of the Greek population is around 7 million in the world excluding Greece.
<https://www.nationmaster.com/country-info/stats/People/Greek-diaspora/Number-of-Greeks-in-all-countries/Number-of-ethnic-Greeks> (accessed on 12 November 2019)

with the driving force of its electoral success in 2012 (Figure C.1) where Golden Dawn has more voters (Figure B.1; Figure B.2).



Figure 5.4 The Nazi Salute of Golden Dawn Leader, Nikolaos Michaloliakos

5.3. Neo-Nazi Populism

Golden Dawn emerged as a pro-Nazi movement and never failed to represent itself as an ultranationalist movement. It has many of the characteristics of the radical right party family such as patriotism, Euroscepticism, xenophobia, anti-immigrant views, *etc.* Apart from the aforementioned, Golden Dawn has another important characteristic which helps to increase the attractiveness of the party to its electorate. Golden Dawn instrumentalizes populism in most of its discourses. One of the most prominent examples of its populism is to be found in the speech by Nikolaos Michaloliakos during the youth festival¹²³ of the party in 2012...

¹²³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a8YPRx4x8ME> (accessed on 25 August 2019)

“They have called us Nazis, once, twice, ten times. But they have never called us thieves. These hands may sometime greet like that [as he greets in Nazi salute], but these are clean hands. They are not dirty; they have not stolen.” (In, 2012)

As was discussed in the previous two chapters, Golden Dawn does not hesitate to awaken populist sentiments among society at large. The party clearly represents itself as the protector of the “pure people” with their **clean hands** against the **corrupt elite**. Moreover, Golden Dawn promotes itself as the protector of not only the nation state but also the nation’s race (Kaya, 2020, p. 183). As was discussed in the previous chapter, Golden Dawn embraces different ideological components. That is why it claims to stand “against all” (the enemies of the Greek nation) (Papaioannou, 2013, p.86).

Also, Golden Dawn’s voluntary activities indicate the distinguished side of its populism. This voluntary political activism might be called “ethnic populism”. In analyzing Golden Dawn’s populist discourses, the party members are not reluctant to use terminology which is peculiar to left-wing movements, such as **solidarity**, **comrades**, **socialism**, **communism**, *etc.* (Koronaïou and Sakellariou, 2013, p. 336). To give an example from one of the manifestos on the party’s official website...

“With the title "The (Greek) People's Money Returns to the People", we organized, and we will continue to do so - food distributions for our compatriots, who are in real need. With the ‘jobs for the Greeks’ program, we try - and we will continue to do so - to comfort our fellow compatriots who are looking for a job. By setting up a ‘blood bank’ only for Greeks, we accomplish another duty for our race, giving our most sacred possession to the Greek people. **THIS IS OUR SOCIALISM!**”¹²⁴ (*Golden Dawn Official Website*)

Naturally, Golden Dawn had too many means of leverage to consolidate its populist rhetoric in the eyes of the public. The refugee crisis provided it with one important leverage and the party members harmoniously adapted this crisis into their discourses.

¹²⁴ Ο δικός μας πραγματικός σοσιαλισμός! (Our Real Socialism!)
<http://www.xrisiavgi.com/enimerosi/view/o-dikos-mas-pragmatikos-sosialismos> (accessed on 2 September 2019)

Kostis Papaioannou portrays Golden Dawn's successful adaptation of the refugee crisis into the party's populist rhetoric...

“It (Golden Dawn) managed, by emphasizing the fundamental feeling of fear and through the prism of Manichaeism over-simplification, to rapidly polarize the debate between the “friends” and “enemies” of immigrants.”¹²⁵ (Papaioannou, 2013, p. 23)

This kind of discourse displays a blame-shifting strategy by Golden Dawn. It would be correct to raise the question of the definition of “blame-shifting strategy” in this context. In their joint article, Sofia Vasilopoulou, Daphne Halikiopoulou and Theofanis Exadaktylos define blame and blame-shifting...

“Blame is an essential tool available to political actors who engage in a populist rhetoric, as an attempt to maintain the existing state of affairs and their own political legitimacy. This entails an engagement in a populist blame-shifting game – that is, a focus on who is to blame for the crisis, directing responsibility to a range of ‘others’.” (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou and Exadaktylos, 2014, p. 312)

The political atmosphere is exceptionally convenient for Golden Dawn to turn political elites, parties or groups, *etc.* into targets to blame. In contrast to the other Greek mainstream parties which also participate in the blame-shifting game, Golden Dawn uses this populist rhetoric in a more radical way. During the refugee crisis, it was obvious that they were using this rhetoric. To provide one example, at a demonstration that Golden Dawn organized opposing the creation of a refugee center in 2016, the demonstrators were shouting: “They are selling out Greece and bowing to the foreigners.” (Zafiropoulos, 2016)

For this kind of radical right party, populism serves to awaken the collective subversive psychological mechanism among society. Besides, the economic crisis encouraged Golden Dawn to highlight its discourses even more, since the public tended to vote less for conventional political parties in Greece. As mentioned in the second chapter of the dissertation, Paul Richard Brass suggests that political atmosphere is crucially important

¹²⁵ «Κατάφερε, πατώντας στο θεμελιακό συναισθήματα του φόβου και μέσα από το πρίσμα της μανιχαϊστικής υπεραπλούστευσης, να πολώσει ταχύτατα τη συζήτηση ανάμεσα στους «φίλους» και τους «εχθρούς» μεταναστών. (Translated by the author)

for the emergence of nationalist sentiments. Apparently, the political atmosphere in Greece at the beginning of the 2010s was extremely suitable for the upsurge of Golden Dawn, based on Brass's argument. Golden Dawn proved very astute at observing the expectations and disappointments of society and adapted its discourse accordingly. In other words, the party's major actors knew what could catch the attention of society and the media, as do all populist parties (Papathanassopoulos, Giannouli and Andreadis, 2016, p. 6).

Golden Dawn considered the times of crises as an opportunity to raise its profile in the political arena. It did not need to hide its Nazi friendly thoughts for almost 30 years when the party stood on the margins of the political spectrum. Without highlighting its Neo-Nazi character, Golden Dawn started to gain political support by instrumentalizing the refugee crisis and the economic crisis (Georgiadou, 2019, p. 172-173).

In the documentary *Golden Dawn: A Personal Affair*, the interviewer goes to a local branch of Golden Dawn and witnesses off the record conversations by Golden Dawn members who warn each other about the tone of their discourse...

“there will be the journalists, they will have the cameras rolling, and they will ask questions. Be careful of what you say, OK?”

“We are not racists”, just... Hey, listen to me!

You will craftily avoid anything we usually say.

“We are not racists. We are nationalists.”

“Say moderate things, but not departing from our principles”

“We are nationalists. We are not racists. We are not Nazis. We are nationalists.” You got it?” (Kourounis, 2015)

As seen here, Golden Dawners are not unambiguously expressing their pro-Nazi sentiments in front of the public anymore. When the refugee crisis and the economic crisis emerged concurrently, a majority of Greek people started to be concerned about their future starting from 2008 and 2009. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to consider Golden Dawn's upsurge as a substantive phenomenon, regarding the rise of similar movements outside of Greece. The economic crisis and the refugee crisis simultaneously affected the

other European countries directly or indirectly. Some European countries were not transit points as was Greece for refugees, but their politicians prepared their societies for subsequent refugee influxes. One of the prominent examples for this situation is German Chancellor Angela Merkel’s reaction to a crying Palestinian girl. Merkel underlined that Germany would not be able to help every refugee (Connolly, 2015).

Table 5.2 When Golden Dawn’s Electoral Success was Negligible

	# of Votes	Vote %	Seats Won	Rank
*1994	7.242	0,1%	0/25	#19 –
1996	4.537	0,1%	0/300	#14 –
*Jun 2009	23.566	0,5%	0/22	#12 –
Oct 2009	19.636	0,3%	0/300	#10 –

***European Parliament Elections**

The Greek Legislative Elections in 2012 and 2015¹²⁶ have been an indicator to detect the impact of populist discourses on Greek politics. Two main parties adopted populist discourse during these elections. According to Dimitris Psarras, people who despaired about Greek politics voted for radical left-wing SYRIZA. On the other side, people who had nothing to lose voted for Golden Dawn (Psarras, 2017, personal communication, 2 May). SYRIZA’s main slogan was “Hope is coming – Greece is moving forward – Europe is changing” during the pre-election period in 2015 before the party came to power (SYRIZA, 2015). On the other hand, Golden Dawn preferred to use a negative tone in its discourses, although Golden Dawn was unsure (Georgiadou, 2019, p. 210) for a while about how to react to the austerity policies implemented in Greece since it did not include this issue in its party program before the elections. Later on, the party tried to take

¹²⁶ Both legislative elections in 2015 in Greece.

advantage of the sense of fear in society by adopting anti-austerity and anti-immigrant discourses. Before the Greek Legislative Elections of 2015, party leader Nikos Michaloliakos clearly emphasized “No to the memorandums. No to illegal immigration”. Moreover, he aimed to alarm society about the impact of the possible refugee influx on the future of Greece and screamed “We will not allow them to make us a minority in our own country!” (Smith, 2015). The fragility of the political atmosphere at the time allowed relatively marginal movements to get consent for their radical discourses from significant parts of society. As might be expected, Greek politics could not be examined without the international context. Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou consider Greek populism as incomplete without paying attention to European politics...

“Why focus on populism? Theories of populism may only provide a partial explanation for the roots of the Greek crisis. After all, any account of the origins of the crisis is at best incomplete without considering the significance of the international environment, and more specifically the crisis of global capitalism and the endemic weaknesses of the European integration.” (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2013, p. 399)

Additionally, Greek scholars Stylianos Papathanassopoulos, Iliana Giannouli and Ioannis Andreadis have categorized Golden Dawn as “complete populist” party. (Papathanassopoulos, Giannouli and Andreadis, 2016)

5.4. Golden Dawn Trial¹²⁷

Investigations into Golden Dawn’s criminal activities officially began right after the murder of rap singer Pavlos Fyssas in 2013. At the time the government was criticized for not attempting to prosecute Golden Dawn for its activities before the murder of Pavlos Fyssas. Before the murder, the party was involved in several violent attacks, especially against the shelters of immigrants in Greece. Moreover, the members of Golden Dawn were exceedingly proud of their violent activities until the prosecution process was held. The criticisms towards the government escalated with the arrogance party members displayed about the incidents they were involved in. Golden Dawn was not expecting such a consolidated public reaction against it. Correspondingly, there was a belief that

¹²⁷ As of 7 January 2020, no decision has been made regarding the Golden Dawn trial.

even the most independent members of the Greek judiciary would pay attention to public opinion in this sensitive case (Papaioannou, 2017, personal communication, 3 May). Therefore, the murder of Fyssas became a “wake up call” for Greek democracy in terms of Golden Dawn’s violent attacks, according to Papaioannou.

Nevertheless, the Greek polity even overlooked the attack of Golden Dawn MP Giorgos Germanis at Giorgos Kaminis, Mayor of Athens at the time, in 2013 (The Guardian, 2013a) just a few months before the murder of Pavlos Fyssas. The assassination of Pavlos Fyssas sparked the debate on the legitimacy of Golden Dawn as a political party. This debate has been ongoing since the party’s entrance to Parliament in the 2012 Greek Legislative Elections. Kostis Papaioannou recalls the constitutional limits for the political parties, regardless of their ideological radicalism...

“...the far-right may be nationalist, xenophobic and populist, but it does not necessarily act outside of the constitutional parliamentary order.”¹²⁸
(Papaioannou, 2013, p. 29)

Although Golden Dawn implemented its criminal activities notably against the migrants and Leftist and anti-Fascist groups with an invisible immunity in the first half of the 2010s, the increasing reaction of society forced Antonis Samaras, the prime minister at the time, to take steps against Golden Dawn’s illegal activities. Also, the leakage of a conversation between Golden Dawn’s Ilias Kasidiaris and Antonis Samaras’s aide Panagiotis Baltakos drove the government into a corner in order to take action regarding Golden Dawn’s trial process (Smith, 2014a). SYRIZA had stood up against their activities when in opposition at the time and urged authorities to take steps in order to accelerate the trial process (Naftemporiki, 2013). The Samaras government was losing legitimacy because of the twin crises, and societal reaction against Golden Dawn’s illegal activities accelerated its further loss of electoral support.

At this juncture, Lena Karamanidou suggests another perspective for the approach of the Greek state regarding Golden Dawn’s criminal activities. She argues that there have been

¹²⁸ “...η Ακροδεξιά μπορεί να είναι εθνικιστική, ξενοφοβική και λαϊκίστικη αλλά δεν κινείται συνολικά και κατ’ ανάγκην εκτός συνταγματικού κοινοβουλευτικού τόξου” (Translated by the author)

connections between Golden Dawn and some police officers. Therefore, it could sustain its actions against the migrants. Until the murder of Pavlos Fyssas, the party managed to maintain its activities with an invisible immunity provided by its connections among the police officers. Lena Karamanidou expands her perspective...

“The refutation of racism among the police is not only discursive: Despite substantial evidence of the close links between the police and the Golden Dawn, an internal affairs investigation on police corruption in 2013, following the murder of activist Pavlos Fyssas by the Golden Dawn, concluded within just one month that the Hellenic Police is not institutionally racist. Inadequacies in investigating attacks against migrants were attributed to the ‘inaction and unwillingness’ of demotivated officers.” (Karamanidou, 2016, p. 2012)

In other words, the murder of Pavlos Fyssas, a Greek citizen, motivated Greek institutions and Greek society against Golden Dawn’s increasing threat.

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter has covered the milestones in the trajectory of Golden Dawn. Golden Dawn has a long run history considering that its leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos dates his involvement in politics from the 1970s and that he was an acquaintance of Junta leader Georgios Papadopoulos. In other words, Michaloliakos has witnessed the whole process of the Greek radical right, notably after the Colonels’ Junta Regime.

This study tries to answer the question as to whether the case of Golden Dawn is unique in the European context. Also, this chapter has tried to examine the European counterparts of the Golden Dawn party along with the contributions from previous chapters. Although thousands of radical right parties have emerged since the Inter War Era, in almost every European country, it would not be advisable to categorize all of them in the same grouping. One of the main reasons to differentiate those radical right movements is the rising power of the populist discourse in the political scene. It was also discussed that most of the radical right parties departed from their “traditionally Fascist” stances. Of course, there are marginal movements all over Europe. However, since their electoral success has been negligible, the radical right parties have started to adopt populist

discourse, especially since the end of the Cold War Era. Ayhan Kaya depicts the impact of populism on the evolution of the new radical right as an achievement of the new radical right leaders in blending the elements of economic and cultural resentment (Kaya, 2020, p. 17).

Therefore, most of the radical right parties such as Marine Le Pen's "National Front", Nigel Farage's UKIP, or Geert Wilders's "PVV" favored populist discourses in order to position themselves in mainstream politics. As has been covered all through this study, most of the radical right parties introduced a populist discourse in order to produce electoral realignment notably with mainstream center right parties. Thus, the differences between center right and radical right parties started to become blurry with the help of populism. As mentioned in the second chapter, even the most authoritarian regimes need the support of the 'people'. In this sense, Nazi Germany was one of the first examples of states that used populist discourse with the help of versatile propaganda machines. Nevertheless, the usage of populism differs from country to country or even from party to party. Also, Golden Dawn started to use populist rhetoric at the beginning of the 2010s in order to appear to be in the mainstream of the political scene. It would not be wrong to underline that affiliating itself with the mainstream political scene brought popularity to Golden Dawn and this popularity was transformed into a considerable number of votes in the elections. In this respect, it is also significant to deal with the reasons for the emergence of populism in Greece. The lack of political stability and opposition to reformist policies led Greek politicians to remain in the comfort zone so as to be elected again. Populist discourses represented the safety zone of Greek populism in this sense. Takis Pappas describes the political reflexes which cause the resistance to reforms...

"Politicians learned that there was no mileage in reformism, society would only penalize them for it at the ballot box. This explains why Greek politicians of all stripes became intent on outperforming the electoral market by giving voters the foolish policies they asked for." (Pappas, 2014a, p. 132)

In this context, one can claim that Greek society tends to punish its conformist mainstream politicians, notably during the times of crisis. It is true that Golden Dawn had the chance to emerge with the help of the twin crises. As defined by the quote at the beginning of this chapter, many people did not expect Golden Dawn to govern, but they wished Golden

Dawn to have the power to challenge the mainstream politicians whom they blamed for their ills. Hence, Golden Dawn's entry into the Greek Parliament was a warning from Greek society to mainstream Greek politicians to become more meticulous and reformist in their policies.

On the other hand, Golden Dawn has always been aware of the components of Greek nationalist thought. Considering the major theories that this study covers, Golden Dawn benefited from most of the components which are the basis of nationalism in theoretical terms. It was seen that Golden Dawn tried to instrumentalize heroism, to invent traditions and to have a voice in the centralized education system. In this context, Golden Dawn aptly applied theories of nationalism as the leverage of its ideology. Throughout this chapter, the evolution of Golden Dawn's political adventure has been depicted. Golden Dawn started to be involved in politics during the Colonels' Junta Regime in Greece. At that time, it preferred to disseminate its ideological perspective via printed materials.

The party also collaborated with Italian Neo-Fascist groups while it was establishing its organization. In the beginning, Golden Dawn emerged as a marginal, extreme movement rather than a radical right party. In the wake of the end of the Cold War, Golden Dawn modified its activities by no longer plastering posters of Adolf Hitler on the streets of Athens and being involved in the harsh beatings of Leftist students. On the other hand, the pictures of Golden Dawn's stalwarts, including that of its leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos doing the Nazi salute in front of the Nazi flag seeped into the public consciousness, contributing to the perception among Greek society that Golden Dawn is a Nazi devotee. Albeit the existence of printed articles that praise "National Socialism" and Nazi practices by members, allegedly the party's second in command, Christos Pappas denied that Golden Dawn is a Neo-Nazi organization during the trial process after the murder of Pavlos Fyssas (Ekathimerini, 2019c). Moreover, it is clearly emphasized by its members that their value system is close to that of former Greek dictator Ioannis Metaxas. During the same trial process, a former Golden Dawn MP, Michail Arvanitis, claimed that the party has always been ideologically close to Metaxas's regime rather than the Nazis (Ekathimerini, 2019b). It was also suggested that Golden Dawn went through an ideological transformation in the course of time from "National Socialism" to

“Greek Nationalism (Patriotism)”. This transformation can be explained due to the impact of globalization. As Fascist organizations lost their appeal during the Post-Cold War Era, as previously mentioned, so organizations like Golden Dawn faced political extinction. Three major options were available for parties like them in this sense:

- 1- Steadfast commitment to their ideology or face eventual extinction;
- 2- To make coalitions with mainstream parties; or
- 3- To undergo an ideological shift.

Interestingly, Golden Dawn tried all of these options in the course of time. At the beginning of the 1990s, the party started to shift ideologically, but remained conservative and avoided becoming mainstream with the help of populist discourse. During the late 1990s, Golden Dawn made electoral coalitions with different radical right parties and had to compromise on ideological and political divergences. Nevertheless, Golden Dawn is one of the most persistent political organizations ever. Its party members did not give up and tried different alternative strategies in order to survive. Adapting to populism and diehard Greek nationalism seemed to work for the seven-year-long period between 2012 and 2019, but these political manoeuvres may not be the last ones allowing for Golden Dawn’s survival, seeing as it failed to enter the parliament in the 2019 legislative elections.

6. DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION: THE FATE OF THE PHENOMENON

*“You may say that I’m a dreamer
But I’m not the only one
I hope someday you’ll join us
And the world will be as one”¹²⁹
(Lennon, 1971)*

This dissertation has examined the case of Golden Dawn within the European context. Golden Dawn’s sudden upsurge in the Greek Legislative Elections of 2012 widened the debate on the threat and impact of radical right parties in Europe. The rise of the radical right parties in Europe has been an issue for almost two decades, notably after radical right and populist Jean Marie Le Pen had a chance to run in the second round of the French Presidential Elections in 2002. Although Le Pen did not manage to win the Presidency, the scale of support for a radical right movement in one of the founding members of the European Union was enough to attract attention. Since then, the media has started to pay more attention to the rate of radical right votes across the European continent. Academia then started to categorize the types of radical right parties in each European country.

Since Europe had to live with the most radical regimes in its modern history during the Inter War and World War II years, the rise of radical right parties has been perceived as a possible resurgence in authoritarian regimes such as those of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Franco’s Spain or Salazar’s Portugal, *etc.* Nevertheless, the new generation of radical right parties had to recast themselves, their discourses and ideological perspectives in order to be competitive in the new political order of the Post-Cold War Era. In the second chapter, it was argued that nationalism had started to become a dominant global

¹²⁹ Lyrics by John Lennon from his widely known song “Imagine”.

phenomenon, especially over the course of the last two centuries. As Ernest Gellner asserted, nationalism started to gain momentum with the help of the industrialization process, and managed to adapt itself to the most rapid transformations in the daily life of humankind in the 20th century, with the help of technological advances. Therefore, the radical right movements had to adapt themselves to the new way of life and politics accordingly. When the dictatorships fell from power in Portugal, Greece and Spain in the 1970s, Europe went through a democratic transformation, much as it did during the Inter War Era. The stability of the Cold War Era, the improvement of supranational institutions and rapid economic growth in Western European countries challenged the *raison d'être* of traditionally fascist movements (Celep, 2009, p. 97).

Nevertheless, most of the radical right movements failed to attract many votes in the elections between the 1970s and the 1990s. In 1994, Silvio Berlusconi's *Forza Italia* formed the first coalition which included a Neo-Fascist party, the "Northern League"¹³⁰, in Post-Cold War Era Europe (Powell, 1994). Although the structure of radical right parties displays divergences from country to country, these parties possess some similarities in principle. In this context, Ödül Celep claims that radical right parties in Europe do not embrace traditionally Fascist or Nazi-like ideologies on today's political scene, but these movements do not embrace democratic and institutional values either (Celep, 2009, p. 59). Considering the case of Golden Dawn, this proposition does not seem entirely valid. First of all, it has been stressed that Golden Dawn is a 'pure' Neo-Nazi party. This study categorizes Golden Dawn within the radical right party family since it contains major characteristics of a radical right party such as anti-multiculturalism, xenophobia, ultra nationalist sentiments, support for a strong state, support for an anti-immigrant approach, an anti-minority approach, authoritarianism, anti-Semitism, relative populism, traditional ethics and internal homogenization (Celep, 2009; Ignazi, 2003; Mudde, 2007; Kitschelt and McGann, 1995), *etc.* It was assessed that Golden Dawn adapted populism to its political rhetoric in order to become more mainstream. This was the only way for a Neo-Nazi party to be a part of the European radical right party family on today's political scene. On the other hand, it is not adequate

¹³⁰ Lega Nord in Italian.

to claim that new radical right parties do not embrace democratic, multilateral (or supranational) institutions. In fact, Golden Dawn participates in the European Parliament Elections and has held seats in the European Parliament since 2014. Although Golden Dawn MPs in the European Parliament preferred to remain unaffiliated with the main European-wide political groups, they participate in the parliamentary sessions¹³¹, contribute to plenary debates¹³² and share written explanations of their votes on various topics. On the other hand, it can be claimed that Golden Dawn is not opposed to all kinds of collaborations and supranational institutions considering its “Political Stances” manifesto (APPENDIX A). Golden Dawn clearly emphasizes in this manifesto the withdrawal of the austerity policies of the European Union. However, it suggests an alternative way forward for Greek foreign policy, which involves cooperation with Russia and China rather than Europe (APPENDIX A). There are also some contradictions in Golden Dawn’s ‘Political Stances’. Golden Dawn asks for 500 billion euros in compensation from Germany for the damage incurred by the Nazi occupation of Greece during World War II, even though its party members ensured that posters of Adolf Hitler adorned the streets of Athens, and have published many articles which depict their admiration for Nazi Germany, *etc.* In other words, these contradictions display the opportunism and populism of Golden Dawn. This study has aimed to analyze Golden Dawn’s ideology in the context of nationalism theories, in order to comprehend these contradictions in its ideology.

This study benefited from a variety of perspectives on nationalism studies. Since the European radical parties claim that they are the true nationalists and patriotic toward their nations, it would not be advisable to separate the rise of the radical right and these theories of nationalism. In this respect, the European radical right parties draw their strength from their nation’s past. Although globalization has been the engine driving nationalist ideologies in modern history, its sustainability in radical right parties is quite complicated.

¹³¹ Activities of Golden Dawn’s MP Athanasios Konstantinou in the European Parliament https://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/197740/ATHANASIOS_KONSTANTINOU/home (accessed on 25 November 2019)

¹³² Activities of Golden Dawn’s (former) MP Ioannis Lagos in the European Parliament https://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/197737/IOANNIS_LAGOS/home (accessed on 25 November 2019)

It has been argued that some components such as invention of tradition, the printing press, industrialization, centralized education, *etc.* have been largely effective for the dissemination of nationalist ideology, not only in Europe but also around the globe. Globalization has impacted on almost every issue that touches daily life. Most of these issues coincide with the components suggested as constituting nationalist thought. They have been very significant factors for the process of globalization. It was previously argued that globalization transformed the world into a single place for everyone. Local issues are becoming global issues day by day with the help of increasing movement between societies. When the Syrian War started, it suddenly became an issue for almost every European and Middle Eastern country. On a humanitarian level, the Syrian refugees had to move to the four corners of the earth. When the Greek economic crisis happened in 2008, it suddenly became a global issue affecting Greece directly (BBC, 2018). The new radical right parties appear to sort of hibernate until the next local or global crisis, in order to take advantage of it with the help of their populist discourses.

As Benedict Anderson argues, the political elites instrumentalize nationalism in order to mobilize their societies for their own goals. In the case of Golden Dawn, Greek nationalism has been a crucial instrument for its party members over the course of time. In the first decades of Golden Dawn's existence, anti-Semitism became the ideological focus of the party since it justified the party's priorities at the time. As refugees started to move to the European continent in the 2010s, Islamophobia seemed to replace anti-Semitism since the former was perceived as a threat to European Integration. Between 2010 and 2016 alone, the Muslim population of Europe increased by approximately 25% (Pew Research Center, 2017). Golden Dawn did not hesitate to use the Syrian refugee influx as an instrument in its discourses in order to mobilize society. As discussed in the second chapter, Ernest Gellner asserts that nationalism is a renewable material. In this case, Golden Dawn saw the refugee influx as an opportunity to inject nationalist sentiments into society. It preferred to mask the essential problems of the country via highlighting Greek nationalist sentiments, in order to justify its violent activities in the eyes of the public. It thus evaded responsibility for taking a stand on the essential problems of Greece. Stylianos Papathanassopoulos defines this kind of populist rhetoric as a "blame-shifting" game...

“...fringe blame-shifting is expressed by the smaller parties, and it should be understood as a form of populism, where the blame is diffused over a wide range of actors (the party of government, the party of opposition, external elites, interest groups, and the collaborations among them)” (Papathanassopoulos, 2016, p. 6)

Similarly, Sofia Vasilopoulou, Daphne Halikiopoulou and Theofanis Exadaktylos emphasize that the blame-shifting game is an instrument for populists to secure their political position...

“Blame is an essential tool available to political actors who engage in a populist rhetoric, as an attempt to maintain the existing state of affairs and their own political legitimacy. This entails an engagement in a populist blame-shifting game – that is, a focus on who is to blame for the crisis, directing responsibility to a range of ‘others’.” (Vasilopoulou, Halikiopoulou and Exadaktylos, 2014, p. 312)

Hence, Golden Dawn successfully instrumentalized the failed policies of former governments in the 2000s, via criticising every single issue such as economic crisis, the Cyprus problem, unemployment rates, *etc.* (APPENDIX A). In this sense, Golden Dawn seized the opportunity, since Greece began to experience major problems such as economic crisis, political crisis (short-term coalition governments), refugee crisis, *etc.* This was a convenient atmosphere for Golden Dawn to play a role in the Greek political setting, according to the argument of Paul R. Brass.

Golden Dawn is apparently an idiosyncratic case in the context of the European radical right. Of course, there are many movements that are even more extremist than Golden Dawn in Europe, but none has managed to become so successful in parliamentary elections or to be as influential. Golden Dawn managed to survive for more than 30 years in the Greek political scene. As it was discussed in the previous chapter, the movement undertook three options over the course of time: Steadfast commitment to its ideology, making coalitions with mainstream parties and undergoing an ideological shift. Golden Dawn may not be a spent political force in the aftermath of the election failure in 2019. It is a persistent movement which is capable to adapt tactically in order to avoid eventual extinction. Moreover, Golden Dawn is a unique case since it prefers to remain unattached in the European Parliament regardless of the presence of other European radical right movements. In addition, Golden Dawn is officially a political party which leans on its

paramilitary wing. Among mainstream radical right parties, Golden Dawn is the only party which is accused of being a criminal organization.

Although there has been reference to different radical right parties and leaders throughout the dissertation, these prefer to stand within the existing political order with a populist discourse. Those parties are relatively compatible with the mainstream center right and they do not hesitate to collaborate with other movements such as forming groups within the European Parliament (Deutsche Welle, 2019). Golden Dawn has never become a part of any political group with these mainstream radical right groups even though it has similar visions on particular topics such as the refugee influx, Islamophobia, xenophobia and nativism. Although there have been rumours that Golden Dawn has ties with these European mainstream radical right parties, there is no tangible evidence to prove these relationships. After the investigations started into Golden Dawn's criminal activities in 2013, the French National Front leader Marine Le Pen released a statement on the possibility of cooperation with Golden Dawn in a nationalist context (Michalopoulos, 2014). Nevertheless, this 'flirting' never evolved into a real cooperation between these two parties.

On the other hand, there is one European radical right party which managed to become mainstream and it has perpetrated similar actions. The Hungarian Jobbik party started its political adventure in 2003 and carried out violent attacks on gypsies in Hungary. The party has a strictly anti-Semitic and anti-immigrant vision. In contrast to Golden Dawn's approach toward the Muslim population in Greece, Jobbik is more prudent toward the Muslim population in Hungary (Cain, 2012). The leader of Jobbik, Gábor Vona, has made several statements regarding Muslim immigrants. Although he supports the suspension of the refugee influx into Hungary, he considers globalism and liberalism more dangerous than the existence of a Muslim population...

“Islam is the last hope of humanity in the darkness of globalism and liberalism.” (Krekó, Hunyadi and Szicherle, 2019)

Moreover, Jobbik vetoed Victor Orban's draft law in 2016 on putting a quota on the residency of immigrants in Hungary (Financial Times, 2016). In this respect, Jobbik's immigrant policies do not seem to coincide with Golden Dawn's. There is only one major

point of consensus between the two parties. They both have tendencies to form an “alternative police force” of their own militias which aim to protect their ethnic majorities from the criminal activities of minorities. At an ideological level, both parties are accused of being Neo-Nazis. The Jobbik leader clearly denied those allegations in 2015 (Daily News Hungary, 2015). On the other hand, Golden Dawn members and its leader have shown their admiration for Nazi practices and Nazi leaders such as Adolf Hitler and Joseph Goebbels on different occasions. Although they denied that Golden Dawn is a Neo-Nazi party in the ongoing trial process, party leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos considered being Neo-Nazi as an insignificant detail as long as they serve the Greek people.

This dissertation has also examined the roots of Golden Dawn’s nationalism. Golden Dawn represents itself as a Greek nationalist organization. As previously discussed, Golden Dawn proudly markets its ideology as nationalist on all occasions. Therefore, the fourth chapter discussed the roots of Greek nationalism, in order to examine whether the pioneers of Greek nationalism influenced Golden Dawn’s ideology. It would not be advisable to emphasize that nationalism has directly affected radical right parties. However, it is possible to detect some compatibility between historical background, theoretical framework, and the present case study.

It was suggested that when the Greek Liberation War ended, the structure of the newly born Greek nation state was the biggest challenge for the pioneers of Greek nationalism. The Modernists hoped to establish a completely secular Greek state under the influence of European Romanticism. On the other hand, the Traditionalists preferred a state that brought Greek Orthodoxy to the forefront. In this respect, the Traditionalists managed to implement some systems which coincide with the theories this study has discussed. As Max Weber asserts, the Traditionalists prioritized centralized education in order to strengthen the Greek identity. Additionally, the printing press and school textbooks had an impact on the consolidation of Greek identity, coinciding with Benedict Anderson’s theory. This made it possible to invent common traditions and a common language in accordance with Eric J. Hobsbawm’s approach. There followed discussion of Ernest Renan’s claims that all of these aforementioned components are extremely important for

the political elites to mobilize their societies. The unifications of Italy and Germany influenced the Greek pioneers in this sense while they were establishing the state.

Although Ernest Gellner asserts that the industrialization process is the most important component in the dissemination of nationalism, it is difficult to apply it in the Greek case. Greece did not have the chance to proceed with the impact of industrialization. However, many Greek intellectuals lived in diaspora communities, notably in Europe, during the period of *Tourkokratia*. These intellectuals were considerably effective in carrying the wave of nationalist sentiments into Greek society.

When the Church of Greece was established in 1833, religion also started to have an impact on the formation of a Greek identity. As presented in the fourth and fifth chapters, the Church of Greece does not hesitate to deliver its opinions on a variety of issues. Therefore, during the establishment of the Greek state, religion had an impact on the rituals of Greek society and the shaping of Greek nationalist movements. Thus, it was inevitable for Greek nationalist movements to be influenced by the involvement of the Church of Greece in Greek society. It is seen that most of the Greek radical right parties had and still have a religious dimension in their ideological perspective. Considering the recent examples, the LAOS party even contains the word “Orthodox” in its name, Hellenic Solution suggests a religious alliance with Russia (Giannakidis, 2016), ANEL pushes for an education system which is compatible with Greek Orthodoxy (ANEL, 2012) and Golden Dawn considers Greek Orthodoxy and Greek nationalism as inseparable (*Golden Dawn Official Website*).

The main goal of this thesis has been to comprehend the phenomenon rather than the agent - Golden Dawn - itself. Golden Dawn managed to become one of the major actors on the Greek political scene, especially between 2012 and 2019, but the party had to wait almost thirty years to enter the Greek Parliament. Greek radical right parties in the *metapolitefsi* era started their journey with relatively high voting rates. Naturally, the Post-dictatorship era has been dominated by the establishment and sustainability of democracy. As was discussed in the previous chapters, the first radical right parties of the *metapolitefsi* had a close relationship with the former military personnel that were part of

the Colonels' Regime. The end of the Cold War paved the way for liberal economies to integrate into the new world order through causing radical right movements to become marginalized. As seen in Figure 6.1, there had been only one or two radical right parties competing in each election until the 2000s. Since then, at least three major radical right parties started to compete in each election in Greece. This demonstrates that radical right parties started to get ideologically closer to the mainstream political parties. Radical right parties took advantage of the multiple crises to increase their popularity by blaming the political elites. the Greek Legislative Elections of 2019, the trendline shows us that the radical right phenomenon has become more relevant over the course of the last 45 years.

Although the radical right parties ANEL and Golden Dawn could not manage to enter the Greek Parliament in the Greek Legislative Elections of 2019, the trendline shows us that the radical right phenomenon has become more relevant over the course of the last 45 years. Many parties competed in only one election, but the actors kept establishing new parties or making alliances with other parties in order to take part in future elections. On the other hand, Figure 6.1 shows us that Golden Dawn has been the most persistent radical right organization during the *metapolitefsi* era. It would be inadvisable to assert that Golden Dawn is likely to achieve this type of success again, but the major actors of the party will pursue their political careers and discourses in various ways. In this respect, the fate of the party may not be seen to prevent the rise of the radical right in Greece again, unless society takes the decision not to consider Golden Dawn's ideology as threatening not only for Greece but also for the whole of humanity.

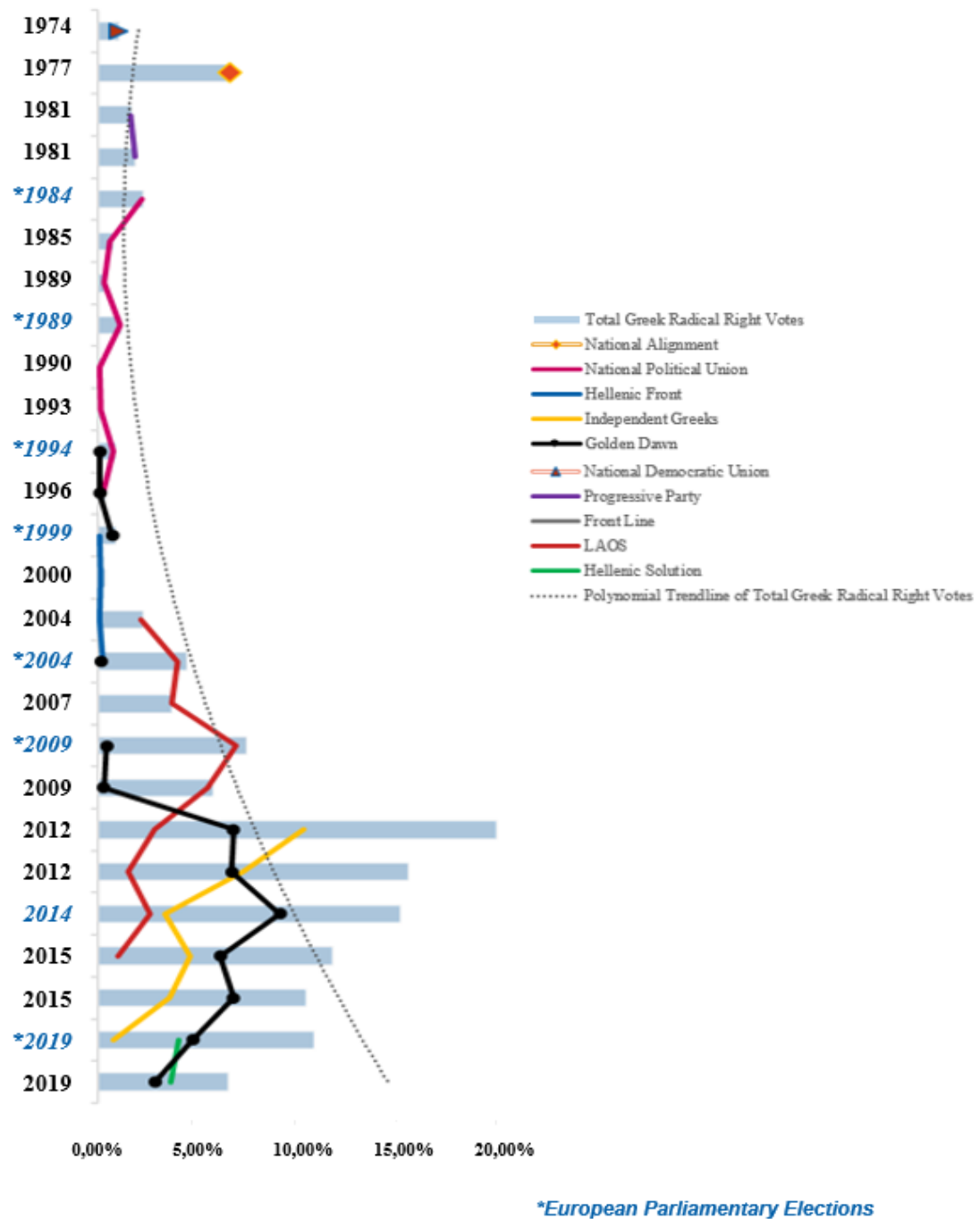


Figure 6.1 Greek Radical Right Votes during the *Metapolitefsi* Era¹³³

¹³³ Source: Greek Ministry of the Interior

<https://www.ypes.gr/en/elections/> (accessed on 8 December 2019)

Golden Dawn made an alliance in the 1999 European Parliament Elections with “Front Line” and became a partner of “Patriotic Alliance” in the 2004 European Parliament Elections. Different shapes have been used to display the parties who participated in Greek elections only once. The trendline has been generated with polynomial formula.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

ANEL, 2012. “I parousiash tou kommatos” (The presentation of the party) 11 March, accessed on 8 December 2019, <http://anexartitoiellines.gr/files/parousiasi.pdf>

Deutscher Bundestag, 2019. *CDU/CSU remains strongest parliamentary group in the Bundestag despite losses*, accessed on 31 October 2019, <https://www.bundestag.de/en/#url=L2VuL2RvY3VtZW50cy90ZXh0YXJjaGl2ZS9lbGVjdGlubi0yMDE3LzUyNzI4NA==&mod=mod453306>

Golden Dawn Official Website, account suspended during the writing process of this thesis, <http://www.xryshaygh.com>

Golden Dawn Official Website, accessed on 15 December 2019, <http://www.xrisiavgi.com>

Golden Dawn (pamphlet), 1981. issue 5, May-June.

Golden Dawn’s Program for a Free and Powerful Nation, accessed on 3 October 2019, <http://web.archive.org/web/20170903113229/http://www.xryshaygh.com/en/view/golden-dawns-program-for-a-free-and-powerful-nation>

Hellenic Republic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, 13 December 2019, <https://www.minedu.gov.gr>

Hellenic Republic Ministry of Interior, accessed on 15 April 2018, <http://ekloges.ypes.gr>

OECD. 2014. *Country statistical profile: Greece 2014/1 (Years covered: 2005-2012)*. accessed on 20 September 2019, https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/country-statistical-profile-greece-2014-1_csp-grc-table-2014-1-en

SYRIZA. 2015. “I Elpida Erhetai – I Ellada Prohoraiei - I Evropi Allazei” (Hope is coming – Greece is moving forward – Europe is changing). accessed on 27 August,

<https://www.syriza.gr/article/id/59821/H-ELPIDA-ERCHETAI---H-ELLADA-PROCHWRAEI---H-EYRWPH-ALLAZEI.html>

The Constitution of Greece (The Fifth Revisionary Parliament of The Hellenes Resolves), accessed on 13 December 2019,

<http://www.hri.org/docs/syntagma/artcl25.html>

The Hellenic Parliament, 2004. *The Constitution of Greece: As revised by the parliamentary resolution of April 6th 2001 of the VIIth Revisionary Parliament*, accessed on 13 December 2019

<https://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/en/gr/gr220en.pdf>

The Official Twitter Account of Golden Dawn, account suspended during the writing process of this thesis, <https://twitter.com/xryshaygh>

The Official YouTube Account of Golden Dawn, accessed on 31 July 2019,

<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC8JIEYdQR5v9ooX0RPviXxg>

The World Bank. 2019. *World Development Indicators*, accessed on 1 October 2019,

<https://databank.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG/1ff4a498/Popular-Indicators>

Secondary Sources

Afonso, A., Zartaloudis, S. and Papadopoulos, Y. 2015. "How party linkages shape austerity politics: clientelism and fiscal adjustment in Greece and Portugal during the eurozone crisis" *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22:3, pp. 315-334.

Aktar, A., Kızılyürek, N. and Özkırımlı, U., 2010. *Nationalism In The Troubled Triangle: Cyprus, Greece And Turkey*, Basingstoke [England]: Palgrave Macmillan.

Aktoprak, E. and Kaya, A. C., 2016. *21. Yüzyılda Milliyetçilik: Teori ve Siyaset*. İletişim Yayınları.

- Allen, J. T. 2017. "All in the party family? Comparing far right voters in Western and Post-Communist Europe" *Party Politics*, Vol. 23 (3), pp. 274-285.
- Anagnostou, D. and Skleparis, D. 2015. "Trends In Radicalisation That May Lead To Violence: National Background Study Greece" *ELIAMEP*, July.
- Anderson, B., 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London, Verso.
- Angélique Kourounis, 2015. *Golden Dawn: A Personal Affair (What's in the mind of the neo-Nazi next-door?)*. Production by Omniatv, accessed on 3 October 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4P8gyTPy-kM>
- Angelopoulos, A. 1979. "Population Distribution of Greece Today According to Language, National Consciousness and Religion (On the Basis of Official Statistics and Census Returns)" *Balkan Studies* 20, pp. 123-132.
- Angouri, J. and Wodak, R. 2014. "They became big in the shadow of the crisis': The Greek success story and the rise of far right" *Discourse and Society*, SAGE.
- Antivaro. 2008. *Sholiko vivlio Istorias 6th Dhmotikou (History Textbook for 6th Grades)*, accessed on 12 September 2019, <http://www.antivaro.gr/article/45>
- AP Archive, 2018. *Le Pen lays flowers at Joan of Arc statue in far-right tradition*, accessed on 9 November 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MCKH5YnzcKQ>
- Arapoglou, V., Kavoulakos, K. I., Kandyliis, G. and Maloutas T. 2009. "The new social geography of Athens: immigration, diversity and conflict" *Contemporary Issues* 107.
- Arendt, H., 1994. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, Penguin Books.
- Areti, A. 2004. "Astynomikoi kalyptan ton «Periandro»" (Police officers were covering "Periandros") *tanea.gr*, 17 April, accessed on 9 October 2019,

[https://www.tanea.gr/2004/04/17/greece/astynomikoi-kalyptan-ton-
periandro/](https://www.tanea.gr/2004/04/17/greece/astynomikoi-kalyptan-ton-periandro/)

Art, D., 2011. *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of the Anti-Immigrant Parties in Western Europe*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Athanasopoulos, H., 2001. *Greece, Turkey and the Aegean Sea*. McFarland.

Atikkan, Z., 2014. *Avrupa Benim: Batı Avrupa'da Aşırı Sağın Yükselişi*. İstanbul, Metis Yayınları.

Barth, F. (ed.). 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. Waveland Press.

Bartlett, J., Birdwell J. and Little M. 2011. "The rise of populism in Europe can be traced through online behaviour...", *The New Face of Digital Populism*, DEMOS.

BBC, 2010. Europe's PIGS: Country by country. *BBC.co.uk*, 11 February, accessed on 11 November 2019, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/8510603.stm>

BBC, 2018. Greek bailout crisis in 300 words. *BBC.com*, 20 August, accessed on 15 December 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-45245969>

Bennhold, K. 2019. "Bad News for Germany's Economy Might Be Good News for the Far Right" *NYtimes.com*, 16 August, accessed on 31 October 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/16/world/europe/germany-recession-afd.html>

Betz, H. and Immerfall S. (ed.) 1998. *The New Politics of the Right: Neo-Populist Parties and Movements in Established Democracies*, Macmillan.

Bilginer, E. M. 2013. "Recent debates on Greek history textbooks: The case of the contemporary history textbook for 6th grades by Maria Repousi" *Eckert. Beiträge*, 2013/02.

Birtek, F. and Dragonas T. (ed.). 2005. *Citizenship and the Nation-State in Greece and Turkey*. Routledge.

- Bistis, G. 2013. "Golden Dawn or Democratic Sunset: The Rise of the Far Right in Greece" *Meditarranean Quarterly*, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 35-55.
- Boukala, S. 2014. "Waiting for democracy: Political crisis and the discursive (re)invention of the 'national enemy' in times of 'Grecovery'" *Discourse & Society*, Vol. 25(4), pp. 483–499.
- Bozóki, A. and Hegedűs, D. 2018. "An externally constrained hybrid regime: Hungary in the European Union" *DEMOCRATIZATION*, VOL. 25, NO. 7, pp. 1173–1189.
- Brass, P. R., 1991. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*. New Delhi and Newsbury Park, Sage Publications.
- Briggs, A. and Clavin P., 1997. *Modern Europe: 1789-Present*. Pearson Education Limited.
- Cain, P. 2012. "Hungary nationalists whip up anti-Roma feelings" *BBC.com*, 1 September, accessed on 1 December 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-19439679>
- Calhoun, C. 1993. "Nationalism and Ethnicity" *Annual Review of Sociology*, Volume 19, pp. 211-239.
- Carr, E. H., 1945. *Nationalism and After*. Macmillan & Co.
- Celep, Ö., 2009. *Aşırı Sağ ve Demokrasi*. Tasam Yayınları.
- Celep, Ö., 2016. Professor at *Işık University*, Conversation on "Radical Right", 6 June, Istanbul.
- Cem, İ., 2009. *Türkiye, Avrupa, Avrasya: Strateji. Yunanistan. Kıbrıs*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.
- Channel 4 News, 2013. *The rise of the far-right in Hungary*, Rep. Paraic O'Brien, accessed on 22 October 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zxOKZ5sYW18>

- Chatterjee, P., 1993. *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, Princeton University Press.
- Christopoulos, D, (ed.) 2014. *Mapping Ultra-Right Extremism, Xenophobia and Racism within the Greek State Apparatus*. Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, Brussels, March.
- Cin, T., 2017. “Yunanistan Anayasasına Göre Devlet Kilise İlişkisi” *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, Cilt: 19, Sayı: 2, pp. 1-59
- Clogg, R., 1987. *Parties and Elections in Greece: The Search for Legitimacy*. Durham, NC, Duke University Press.
- Clogg, R., 1992. *A Concise History of Greece*. Cambridge University Press.
- Connolly, K. 2015. “Angela Merkel comforts sobbing refugee but says Germany can't help everyone” *TheGuardian.com*, 16 July, accessed on 27 August 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/16/angela-merkel-comforts-teenage-palestinian-asylum-seeker-germany>
- Corner, P. (ed.). 2009. *Popular Opinion in Totalitarian Regimes: Fascism, Nazism, Communism*. Oxford University Press.
- Çakır, M. 2016. “Sağ Popülizm: Neoliberal Dönüşümün Egemenlik Aracı”, in *21. Yüzyılda Milliyetçilik: Teori ve Siyaset* (pp. 231-245), ed. A. and Kaya, A. C. İletişim Yayınları.
- Dahbour, O. and Ishay, M. R. (ed.) 1995. *The Nationalism Reader*, Humanity Books.
- Daily News Hungary, 2015. Jobbik not Nazi party, says leader, *dailynewshungary.com*, 28 April, accessed on 1 December 2019, <https://dailynewshungary.com/jobbik-not-nazi-party-says-leader/>
- Dalakoglou, D. 2013. “‘From the Bottom of the Aegean Sea’ to Golden Dawn: Security, Xenophobia, and the Politics of Hate in Greece”, *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, vol. 13, issue 3, pp. 514-522.

- Davis, A. 2019. "Far-Right extremism on rise in Germany, report warns", *Telegraph.co.uk*, 28 April, accessed on 31 October 2019, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/04/28/far-right-extremism-rise-germany-report-warns/>
- Day, G. and Thompson, A., 2004. *Theorizing Nationalism*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Demirözü, D., 2007. *Savaştan Barışa Giden Yol: Atatürk- Venizelos Dönemi Türkiye-Yunanistan İlişkileri*, İletişim Yayınları.
- Demirözü, D., 2015. *İşgal, Direniş, İç Savaş: Yunan Edebiyatında II. Dünya Savaşı Yılları*, İstos Yayınevi.
- Deschouwer, K. (ed.) 2008. *New Parties in Government: In Power for the first time*, Routledge.
- Deutsche Welle, 2019. Far-right parties form new group in European Parliament, *dw.com/en*, 14 June, accessed on 1 December 2019, <https://www.dw.com/en/far-right-parties-form-new-group-in-european-parliament/a-49189262>
- Diani, M. and Maria K. 2014. "The Duality of Claims and Events: The Greek Campaign Against the TROIKA's Memoranda and Austerity, 2010-2012", *An International Quarterly* 19(4): pp. 387-404.
- Dinas, E., Matakos, K., Xefteris, D., Hangartner, D. and Marbach, M. 2017. "Does Exposure to the Refugee Crisis Make Natives More Hostile?" *IPL Working Paper Series*, no. 17:02, September.
- Dinas, E. & Matakos, K., Xefteris, D. and Dominik Hangartner. 2017. "Waking Up the Golden Dawn: Does Exposure to the Refugee Crisis Increase Support for Extreme-right Parties?" *Working Paper*.
- Dinas, E. & Georgiadou, V., Konstanidis, I. and Rori, L. 2013. "From Dusk to Dawn: Political Opportunities and Party Success of Right-wing Extremism" *Party Politics*.

- Drilling, D. 2012. “A warning from Athens” *NewStatesMan*, 12 December, accessed on 11 October 2019,
<https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/politics/2012/12/warning-athens>
- Duncan, S. A. B. 2003. “Mythscapes: Memory, Mythology, and National Identity” *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. No. 54, Issue No. 1, pp. 63-81.
- Eger M. A. and Valdez, S. 2015. “Neo-nationalism in Western Europe” *European Sociological Review*, Vol. 31, No. 1, Oxford, pp. 115-130.
- Ekathimerini, 2018. Golden Dawn protests Athens mosque plans, *ekathimerini.com*, 6 September, accessed on 7 January 2020,
<http://www.ekathimerini.com/232350/article/ekathimerini/news/golden-dawn-protests-athens-mosque-plans>
- Ekathimerini, 2019a. Bishop Amvrosios of Kalavryta resigns. 2019. *ekathimerini.com*, 18 August, accessed on 28 September 2019,
<http://www.ekathimerini.com/243684/article/ekathimerini/news/bishop-amvrosios-of-kalavryta-resigns>
- Ekathimerini, 2019b. Former Golden Dawn MP denies being a neo-Nazi, *ekathimerini.com*, 3 October, accessed on 21 November 2019,
<http://www.ekathimerini.com/245146/article/ekathimerini/news/former-golden-dawn-mp-denies-being-a-neo-nazi>
- Ekathimerini, 2019c. Golden Dawn’s number two denies party’s Nazi ideology. *ekathimerini.com*, 23 October, accessed on 21 November 2019,
<http://www.ekathimerini.com/245759/article/ekathimerini/news/golden-dawns-number-two-denies-partys-nazi-ideology>
- Elchardus, M. and Spruyt, B. 2016. “Populism, Persistent Republicanism and Declinism: An Empirical Analysis of Populism as a Thin Ideology” *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 51, No. 1, pp. 111–133.
- Eleftheriadis, K. 2016. “Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, and Sexual Politics in the European Periphery: a Multiscalar Analysis of Gay Prides in Thessaloniki,

- Greece” *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, pp. 190-198.
- Ellinas, A. A. 2013. “The Rise of Golden Dawn: The New Face of Far Right in Greece” *South European Society and Politics*.
- Ellinas, A. A. and Lamprinou I. 2017. “How far right local party organizations develop: The organizational buildup of the Greek Golden Dawn”, *Party Politics*, vol. 23, no. 6, pp. 804-820.
- Ersland, B. H. L. L., 2014. *One step further to the right: Right-wing extremism in Greece and the rise of Golden Dawn*, MA thesis in Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Oslo.
- Exadaktylos, T. and Zahariadis.N. 2012. “Policy Implementation and Political Trust: Greece in the Age of Austerity” *Hellenic Observatory Papers on Greece and Southeast Europe*, GreeSE paper no: 65, December.
- EXIT Deutschland*. accessed on 12 December 2017, <http://www.exit-deutschland.de/english/>
- Financial Times, 2016. Hungarian bill to block refugee quota defeated. *FT.com*, 8 November, accessed on 1 December 2019, <https://www.ft.com/content/ee82924c-a5b3-11e6-8b69-02899e8bd9d1>
- Fitzpatrick, S. 2009. “Popular Opinion in Russia Under Pre-war Stalinism” in *Popular Opinion in Totalitarian Regimes: Fascism, Nazism, Communism* (p. 17-32) ed. Paul Corner. Oxford University Press
- Fortna, B., Katsikas, S., Kamouzis, D. and Konortas, P. (ed.). 2013. *State- Nationalisms in the Ottoman Empire, Greece and Turkey: Orthodox and Muslims, 1830-1945*, Routledge.
- Fromm, E., 1941. *Escape from Freedom*. United States, Farrar & Rinehart.
- Funke, M., Schularick, M. and Trebesch, C. 2018. “The Financial Crisis Is Still Empowering Far-Right Populists: Why the Effects Haven't Faded”

- ForeignAffairs.com*, 13 September, accessed on 31 October 2019, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2018-09-13/financial-crisis-still-empowering-far-right-populists>
- Gallant W. T., 2001. *Brief Histories: Modern Greece*. London, Oxford University Press.
- Gee, J. P., 1999. *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*. Routledge.
- Gellner, E., 1964. *Thought and Change*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Gellner, E., 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Cornell University Press.
- Georgiadou, V. 2017. Associate Professor at *Panteion University*. School of Political Sciences, Conversation on “Golden Dawn”, 3 May, Athens.
- Georgiadou, V., 2019. *I Akra Dexia stin Ellada 1965-2018 [Far-Right in Greece 1965-2018]*. Kastanioti.
- Gerodimos, R. 2015. “The Ideology of Far Left Populism in Greece: Blame, Victimhood and Revenge in the Discourse of Greek Anarchists” *Political Studies*, vol. 63, issue 3, pp. 608-625.
- Giannakidis, K. 2016. “Tha mas sosei o Velopoulos;” (Will Velopoulos Save Us?), *protagon.gr*, 7 October, accessed on 8 December 2019, <https://www.protagon.gr/epikairotita/tha-mas-swsei-o-velopoulos-44341246693>
- Gilson, G. 2007. “Battle Royal Over History Book”, *helleniccomserve.com*, 12 April, accessed on 12 September 2019, <https://www.helleniccomserve.com/battleroyal.html>
- Golden Dawn tattoo-wearers 'asking for them to be removed*. 2013. INFOWAR, accessed on 3 October 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FMspRq0Tpn8>
- Golder, M. 2016. “Far Right Parties in Europe” *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 19, issue, 1.

- Goodman, J. and James, P. (eds.) 2007. *Nationalism and Global Solidarities: Alternative Projections to Neoliberal Globalisation*, Routledge.
- Greenfeld, L., 2016. *Advanced Introduction to Nationalism*. Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Griffin, R., 1993. *The Nature of Fascism*. London, Routledge.
- Grigoriadis, N. I., 2013. *Instilling Religion in Greek and Turkish Nationalism: A "Sacred Synthesis"*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Grigoriadis, N. I., 2018. *Democratic Transition and the Rise of Populist Majoritarianism: Constitutional Reform in Greece and Turkey*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Grosby, S., 2005. *Nationalism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Gülboy, G. P. E. 2014. "Yunanistan'ın Bağımsızlığı ve Elen Milliyetçiliğinin Dış Etkileri" in *Türk Yunan İlişkileri Üzerine Makaleler* (pp. 251-266), ed. Yeliz Okay, Doğu Kitabevi: Tarih ve Uygarlık Dizisi 11.
- Güveloğlu, G. K. 2014. "Yunan İç Savaşı'nın Türk Basımındaki Yansımaları", in *Türk Yunan İlişkileri Üzerine Makaleler* (pp. 109-135), ed. Yeliz Okay, Doğu Kitabevi: Tarih ve Uygarlık Dizisi 11.
- Güzel, M. Ş., 1995. *Fransa'da Aşırı Sağ ve Irkçılık*. Belge Yayınları.
- Habermas, J., 1996. *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. The MIT Press.
- Hainsworth, P. (ed.) 1992. *The Extreme Right in Europe and the USA*, Bloomsbury.
- Halikiopoulou, D., Nanou, K. and Vasilopoulou, S. 2012. "The paradox of nationalism: The common denominator of radical right and radical left Euroscepticism" *European Journal of Political Research*, 51: pp. 504–539.
- Halikiopoulou, D. and Vasilopoulou, S (eds.) 2011. *Nationalism and Globalisation: Conflicting or complementary?*, Routledge.

- Halikiopoulou, D. and Vasilopoulou, S. 2016. “Breaching the Social Contract: Crises of Democratic Representation and Patterns of Extreme Right Party Support”, *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 53, No. 1, pp. 26-50.
- Harmsen, R. and Spiering, M. 2004. *Euroscepticism: Party Politics, National Identity and European Integration*. Amsterdam: Brill Academic Publishers.
- Hasapopoulos, N., 2013. *Chrysi Avgi: I Istoría, ta Prosopa kai i Alitheia [Golden Dawn: The History, the Individuals and the Truth]*. A.A. Livani.
- Håvard Bustnes, 2017. *Golden Dawn Girls*. 2017, Production by UpNorth Film, accessed on 3 October 2019, <https://goldendawngirlsdoc.com/>
- Havlik, Peter. 2017. “EU, EAEU and Greater Eurasia: Integration or Competition of Integrations?” OSCE Concluding Meeting of the 25th OSCE Economic and Environmental Forum, Prague, 7 September 2017.
- Hobolt, S. B. and Tilley, J.. “Fleeing the centre: the rise of challenger parties in the aftermath of the euro crisis” *West European Politics*, 39:5, pp. 971-991.
- Hobsbawm, J. E., 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hope, K. 2013. “Greeks join in protest against Golden Dawn stabbing” *FT.com*, 18 September, accessed on 15 December 2019, <https://www.ft.com/content/85837f48-2084-11e3-9a9a-00144feab7de>
- Hürriyet Daily News, 2012. Neo-Nazi Golden Dawn says Istanbul will be Greek. *HurriyetDailyNews.com*, 1 June, accessed on 13 November 2019, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/neo-nazi-golden-dawn-says-istanbul-will-be-greek-22118>
- Iefimerida, 2012. Kasidiaris: Akou antrapako... - Plevris: Vges exo na se xaploso kato (Kasidiaris: Listen, you little man... Plevris: Go outside and I will knock you out). *iefimerida.gr*, 6 June, accessed on 29 October 2019, <https://www.iefimerida.gr/news/54241/πλεύρης-βγες-έξω-να-σε-ξαπλώσω->

[κάτω-κασιδιάρης-ακου-ανθρωπάκο-βίντεο](#)

- Ifantis, K. and Triantaphyllou, D. 2018. “Introduction: A Note on Populism in Crisis-ridden Greece” *Uluslararası İlişkiler (Special Issue: Deciphering the Greek Crisis: Issues, Failures, Challenges)*, Cilt 15, Sayı 58, p. 3-8.
- Ignazi, P., 2003. *Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- In, 2012, «Hairetame Nazistika» paradehetai o Nikos Mihaloliakos (Nikos Michaloliakos admits «we salute in the way of Nazis»). *in.gr*. 21 October, accessed on 25 August 2019, <https://www.in.gr/2012/10/21/greece/xairetame-nazistika-paradexetai-o-nikos-mixaloliakos/>
- Info War, 2013. Neo-Nazi tattoos fall out of fashion in Greece after Golden Dawn crackdown. *infowar.com*, 1 November, accessed on 14 December 2019, <https://info-war.gr/neo-nazi-tattoos-fall-fashion-greece-golden-dawn-crackdown/>
- IOM, 2015. *EU Migrant, Refugee Arrivals by Land and Sea Approach One Million in 2015*, 18 December, accessed on 20 September 2019, <https://www.iom.int/news/eu-migrant-refugee-arrivals-land-and-sea-approach-one-million-2015>
- Journeyman Pictures, 2013. *Is Greece turning into Nazi Germany?*. Pro. Garry McNab, accessed on 26 September 2019, https://youtu.be/M_ukaXTgI2o?t=238
- Kai A. 2005. “The AfD: Finally a Successful Right-Wing Populist Eurosceptic Party for Germany?” *West European Politics* 38, (in print).
- Kaliber, A., 2019. “1964 Rum Sürgünü ve Kıbrıs Sorunu: Bir Ötekileştirme Siyaseti Olarak Dış Politika”, in İ. Ö. Romain (ed.) *İstanbulu Rumlar ve 1964 Sürgünleri: Türk Toplumunun Homojenleşmesinde Bir Dönüm Noktası*. Tarih Dizisi 139, pp. 31-70.
- Kallis, A. 2013. “Far Right “Contagion” or a Failing “Mainstream”? How Dangerous

Ideas Cross Borders and Blur Boundaries” *Democracy and Security*.

- Kallis, A. 2014. “The Radical Right in Contemporary Europe” *SETA, Analysis*, No: 13.
- Kalyvas, S. N., 2015. *Modern Greece: What everyone needs to know*®. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Karamanidou, L. 2016. “Violence against migrants in Greece: beyond the Golden Dawn” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39:11, pp. 2002-2021.
- Karayiannis, Y. and Malkopoulou, A. (forthcoming) “Political rhetoric on the refugee crisis in Greece”, Forthcoming in Rountree C. and J. Tilli, *A Comparative Study of National Political Rhetorics on the Refugee Crisis*, Penn State University Press.
- Kaya, A. 2020. *Populism and Heritage in Europe: Lost in Diversity and Unity*, Critical Heritages in Europe, Newcastle UK, Routledge.
- Kazantzakis, N. 2012. *Çileci (Ασκητική)*. İstanbul, istos yayın.
- Kedourie, E., 1960. *Nationalism*. Blackwell Publishing.
- Kedourie, E., 2017. *Avrupa’da Milliyetçilik*. Köprü Kitapları.
- Kessler, A. E. and Freeman, G. P. 2005. “Support for Extreme Right-Wing Parties in Western Europe: Individual Attributes, Political Attitudes, and National Context” *Comparative European Politics*.
- Kızılyürek, N., 2002. *Milliyetçilik Kıskaçında Kıbrıs*. İletişim Yayınları.
- King, C., 2010. *Extreme Politics: Nationalism, Violence, and the End of Eastern Europe*. Oxford University Press.
- Kingsley, P. 2016. “Hungary's refugee referendum not valid after voters stay away” *TheGuardian.com*, 2 October, accessed on 4 November 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/02/hungarian-vote-on-refugees-will-not-take-place-suggest-first-poll-results>

- Kitroeff, A., 1999. "Greek Nationhood and Modernity in the 19th c." *Balkan Studies*, Vol 40 #1, p. 21-40.
- Kitschelt, H. and McGann A. J., 1995. *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. University of Michigan Press.
- Kitschelt, H., 1994. *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Klapisis, A. 2014. "Economic crisis and political extremism in Europe: from the 1930s to the present", *Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies*.
- Klapisis, A. 2018. "Russia and the Western Far Right: Tango Noir", Book launch of Anton Shekhovtsov, Brussels, 6 March,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9pd7OpXlqQA&feature=youtu.be&t=1192>
- Koliopoulos, J. S. and Veremis, T. M., 2002. *Greece: The Modern Sequel From 1821 to the Present*. C. Hurst & Co. (Publishers) Ltd.
- Konstantinidis, P. 2017. "The Greek Militiamen Involved in the Srebrenica Massacre" *Medium.com*, 8 December, accessed on 14 December 2019,
<https://medium.com/athenslivegr/the-greek-link-to-srebrenica-bf5f844e892>
- Koonz, C. 2003. *The Nazi Conscience*. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England.
- Kordas, G. 2017. PhD Candidate at Panteion University. School of Political Sciences, Conversation on "Golden Dawn", 1 May, Athens.
- Koronaïou, A., Sakellariou, A., Lagos, E., Kymionis, S. and Chiotaki-Poulou, I. 2015. "Golden Dawn, austerity and young people: The rise of fascist extremism among young people in contemporary Greek society" *Sociological Review*, volume S2, issue S2, pp. 231-249.
- Koronaïou, A. and Sakellariou, A. 2013. "Reflections on 'Golden Dawn', community

organizing and nationalist solidarity: helping (only) Greeks” *Oxford University Press and Community Development Journal*, volume 48, issue 2, pp. 332-337.

Koronaïou, A. and Sakellariou. A 2017. “Women and Golden Dawn: reproducing the nationalist habitus” *Gender and Education*, 29:2, 258-275.

Krastev, I., 2017. *After Europe*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Krekó, P., Hunyadi, B. and Szicherle P. 2019. “Anti-Muslim populism in Hungary: From the margins to the mainstream” *Brookings.edu*, 24 July, accessed on 1 December, 2019, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/anti-muslim-populism-in-hungary-from-the-margins-to-the-mainstream/>

Kremida, D., 2007. “Greek-history textbook stirs flame”, *TurkishDailyNews*, 26March, accessed on 14 September 2019, http://users.auth.gr/users/9/6/053269/public_html/PS/ENG/PUBLICATIONS/Greek-history%20textbook%20stirs%20flame.pdf

Kyriakidou, D., 2012. “Special Report: Greece's far-right party goes on the offensive” *UKReuters.com*, 12 November, accessed on 3 October 2019, <https://uk.reuters.com/article/us-greece-crisis-dawn/special-report-greeces-far-right-party-goes-on-the-offensive-idUSBRE8AB09F20121112>

Laclau, E. and Mouffe C., 1985. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, London, Verso.

Lamprianou, I. and Ellinas, A. A. 2017. “Institutional Grievances and Right-Wing Extremism: Voting for Golden Dawn in Greece” *South European Society and Politics*, 22:1, pp. 43-60.

Laruelle, M. 2015. *Eurasianism and the European Far Right: Reshaping the Europe–Russia Relationship*. Lexington Books.

Lazaridis, G. and Skleparis, D. 2015. “Securitization of migration and the far right: the case of Greek security professionals” *International Migration*.

- Lennon, J. 1971. EMI Records Ltd, accessed on 20 October 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YkgkThdzX-8>
- Liakos, A. 2008. *Dünyayı Değiştirmek İsteyenler Ulusu Nasıl Tasavvur Etiler?*. İletişim Yayınları.
- Lialiouti, Z. and Bithymitris, G. 2017. “A Nation Under Attack: Perceptions of Enmity and Victimhood in the Context of the Greek Crisis” *National Identities*, 19:1 pp. 53-71.
- Lyrintzis, C. 1987. “The Power of Populism: The Greek Case” *European Journal of Political Research* 15, pp. 667-686.
- Mala, E. and Goodman, D. J. 2011. “At Least 80 Dead in Norway Shooting” *NYtimes.com*, 22 July, accessed on 1 December, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/23/world/europe/23oslo.html>
- Mammone, A., Godin, E. and Jenkins, B. (eds.) 2012. *Mapping the Extreme Right in Contemporary Europe: From Local to Transnational*, Routledge.
- Mavrogordatos, G. 2003a. “Οι Ethnikes meionotites [The National Minorities] (in Greek)” *academia.edu*.
- Mavrogordatos, G. 2003b. “Orthodoxy and nationalism in the Greek case”. *West European Politics*, 26:1, pp. 117-136.
- Mazower, M., 1998. *Dark Continent: Europe’s Twentieth Century*. Allen Lane The Penguin Press.
- Melzer, R. and Serafin, S. (eds.) 2013. *Right-Wing Extremism in Europe: Country Analyses, Counter-Strategies and Labor-Market Oriented Exit Strategies*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Forum Berlin.
- Michalopoulos, S. 2014. “Marine Le Pen and Golden Dawn ‘flirting’” *Euractiv.com*, 23 May, accessed on 1 December 2019, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/eu-elections-2014/news/marine-le-pen-and-golden-dawn-flirting/>

- Millas, H. 1995. *Yunan Ulusunun Doğuşu*, İletişim Yayınları.
- Millas, H. 2000. *Türk Romanı ve "Öteki": Ulusal Kimlikte Yunan İmajı*, Sabancı Üniversitesi.
- Millas, H. 2002. *DO's & DON'Ts: For Better Greek-Turkish Relations*. Papazisis Publishers.
- Millas, H. 2016. *Nations and Identities: The Case of Greeks and Turks*, Istanbul Bilgi University Press.
- Mudde, C. and Kaltwasser, C. R. 2017. *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press.
- Mudde, C. 1995. "Right-Wing Extremism Analyzed. A Comparative Analysis of Ideologies of Three Alleged Right-Wing Extremist Parties (NPD, NDP, CP'86)" *European Journal of Political Research*.
- Mudde, C., 2007. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mudde, C. 2014. "The Far Right and the European Elections" *Current History*, Vol. 113, Iss 761, pp. 97-103.
- Naftemporiki, 2005. «Opoios den pistevei stin patrida tou, den xero an ehei dikaioma na zeï» ("Whoever does not believe in Greece, I do not know if he has the right to live", *Naftemporiki.gr*, 29 September, accessed on 10 November, <https://www.naftemporiki.gr/story/104258/opoios-den-pisteuei-stin-patrida-tou-den-ksero-an-exei-dikaioma-na-zei>)
- Naftemporiki, 2013. D. Papadimoulis "I anohi pros ti Chrysi Avgi efere nekro (D. Papadimoulis: Tolerance for Golden Dawn has brought death), *Naftemporiki.gr*, 18 September, accessed on 24 October 2019, <https://www.naftemporiki.gr/story/699839/d-papadimoulis-i-anoxi-pros-ti-xrusi-augi-efere-nekro>)
- Navoth, M. 2013. "The Greek Elections of 2012: The Worrisome Rise of the Golden

Dawn” *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs* VII : 1.

Nedos, V., 2008. “To Klouvio «avgo tou fidiou»” (The Rotten Egg «snake’s egg»), *ToVima.gr*, 24 November, accessed on 3 October 2019, <https://www.tovima.gr/2008/11/24/archive/to-kloybio-abgo-toy-fidiou/>

Nye, J. 2002. “Globalism Versus Globalization: What are the different spheres of globalism — and how are they affected by globalization?” *TheGlobalist.com*, 15 April, accessed on 10 November 2019, <https://www.theglobalist.com/globalism-versus-globalization/>

Okay, Yeliz (ed.) 2014. *Türk-Yunan İlişkileri Üzerine Makaleler: Dağlar Dağlar Viran Dağlar*, Doğu Kitabevi.

Oxford Dictionary of English, 2015. Oxford University Press.

Özkırmı, U. and Sofos, S. A., 2008. *Tormented by History: Nationalism in Greece and Turkey*. Hurst Publishers LTD.

Özkırmı, U., 2000. *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Özkırmı, U., 2005. *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Özkırmı, U., 2016. *Milliyetçilik Kuramları: Eleştirel Bir Bakış*. Doğu Batı Yayınları.

Özsüer, E., 2018. *Türkokratia: Avrupa’da Türk İmajı*. Kronik.

Palaiologou, E. forthcoming. “Interrupted Continuities: The Effect of Local Narratives on the Trajectory of Political Legacies”.

Papaioannou, K. 2013. *Ta «kathara heria» tis Chrysis Avgis [The «Clean Hands» of Golden Dawn]*. Metaixmio.

Papathanassopoulos, S., Giannouli, I. and Andreadis, I. 2016. “Greece: Populism Between Left and Right” Accepted Manuscript of a book chapter edited by

Toril Aalberg, Frank Esser, Carsten Reinemann, Jesper Strömbäck, and Claes H. de Vreese published by Routledge as *Populist Political Communication in Europe* on July 26.

Pappas, T., 2013. “Why Greece Failed?” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol: 24, n. 2, April.

Pappas, T., 2014a. *Populism and Crisis Politics in Greece*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Pappas, T., 2014b. “Populist Democracies: Post-Authoritarian Greece and Post-Communist Hungary” *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 49, No. 1, pp. 1–23.

Petsinis, V., 2016. “Russophilia as a Component of National Populism in Greece” *Critique & Humanism*, vol. 46, No. 2/2016, pp. 281-298.

Petsinis, V., 2017. “The Banality of Golden Dawn: Return to Political Normality?”, *Global Affairs*.

Poulakidakos, S. and Kaloeida, S. 2015. “Greek public discourse on migration: The merchants of fear and mercy” Paper presented in the IAMCR 2015 Conference, 12-16 July 2015, Montreal Canada.

Powell, C. 1994. “Berlusconi and Cabinet With Neo-Fascists Take Office in Italy” *nytimes.com*, 12 May, accessed on 13 December 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/1994/05/12/world/berlusconi-and-cabinet-with-neo-fascists-take-office-in-italy.html>

Proto Thema, 2013. Adonis: Prepei na kanoume ti zoi dyskoli stous metanastes (Adonis: We have to make life difficult for immigrants), *ProtoThema.gr*, 10 June, accessed on 17 September 2019, <https://www.protothema.gr/politics/article/285345/adonis-prepei-na-kanoyme-th-zoh-dyskolh-stoys-metanastes/>

Psarras, D. 2012. *I Mavri Vivlos tis Chrysis Avgis [The Black Book of Golden Dawn]*. Polis, Athens.

Psarras, D. 2017. Columnist at newspaper *efsyn*, Conversation on “Golden Dawn”, 2

May, Athens.

- Psarras, D., 2019. “Apo ton Plevri ston Kyriako” (From Plevris to Kyriakos), *efsyn*, 5 January, accessed on 21 August 2019, https://www.efsyn.gr/themata/thematis-efsyn/177991_apo-ton-pleyri-ston-kyriako
- Papaioannou, K. 2017. Former chairman of the National Council Against Racism and intolerance, Conversation on “Golden Dawn”, 3 May, Athens.
- Pew Research Center, 2017. Europe’s Growing Muslim Population. *Pewforum.org*, 29 November, accessed on 28 November 2019, <https://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/>
- Ravanos, A. 2014. “I Rosia, i Chrysi Avgi kai oi opadoi toy... Moskovou” (Russia, Golden Dawn and the followers of... Moscow) *tovima.gr*, 12 April, accessed on 29 October 2019, <https://www.tovima.gr/2014/04/12/politics/i-rwsia-i-xrysi-aygi-kai-oi-opadoi-toy-moskoboy/>
- Reinform, 2013. Let’s get done with the system that breeds fascism – An interview with Dimitris Kousouris, *reinform.nl*. 2 October, accessed on 13 December 2019, <http://www.reinform.nl/?p=6487>
- Rennan, E. 1992. “What is a Nation?”, text of a conference delivered at the Sorbonna on March 11th, 1882, in Ernest Rennan, *Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?*, Paris, Presses-Pocket.
- Reuters, 2013. Greece’s Golden Dawn gains support after members killed-poll, *reuters.com*, 16 November, accessed on 13 December 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-acw-greece-poll/greeces-golden-dawn-gains-support-after-members-killed-poll-idUSBRE9AF0AD20131116>
- Rippeyoung, L. F. P. 2007. “When Women are right: The Influence Of Gender, Work And Values On European Far-Right Party Support” *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 9:3, pp. 379–397.

- Roberts, D. D. 2006. *The Totalitarian Experiment in the Twentieth-Century: Understanding the Poverty of Great Politics*. Routledge.
- Romain, İ. Ö. (ed.), 2019. *İstanbulu Rumlar ve 1964 Sürgünleri: Türk Toplumunun Homojenleşmesinde Bir Dönüm Noktası*. Tarih Dizisi 139.
- Rooduijn, M., Burgoon, B., van Elsas, E. J. and van de Werfhorst, H. G. 2017. “Radical distinction: Support for radical left and radical right parties in Europe” *European Union Politics*, vol. 18:4, pp. 536-559.
- Roudometof, V. 2001. *Nationalism, Globalization, and Orthodoxy: The Social Origins of Ethnic Conflict in the Balkans*, Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Roudometof, V. 1998. “From Rum Millet to Greek Nation: Enlightenment, Secularization, and National Identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453–1821,” *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Vol. 16, no. 1.
- Safi, M. 2014. “Golden Dawn: far right Greek party members pay 'stealth visit' to Australia” *TheGuardian.com*, 10 November, accessed on 10 December 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/10/golden-dawn-far-right-greek-party-members-pay-stealth-visit-to-australia>
- Sakellariou, A. 2015., “Golden Dawn and Its Appeal to Greek Youth” *Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*.
- Samaras, A. 2012. ‘Omilia tou Prothipourgou, Antoni Samara’ *sta egkainia tis 77th diethnous ekthesis Thessalonikis*, Thessaloniki, accessed on 5 November 2019, <https://primeminister.gr/2012/09/08/9707>
- Savaricas, N. 2014. “Greece's Golden Dawn seeks allies in EP” *EUobserver.com*, 20 May, accessed on 27 October 2019, <https://euobserver.com/eu-election/124170>
- Schleiermaher, F. 2008. *On the Religions: In on Religion: Speeches to its cultured despisers*. [Translated and edited by Richard Crouter], Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 95-124

- Shekhovtsov, A., 2018. *Russia and the Western Far Right: Tango Noir*. London, Routledge.
- Siegel, Z. and O'Brien, M. T., 2017. "When Golden Dawn and the Greek Orthodox Church align" *theGroundTruthProject.org*, 24 May, accessed on 12 November 2019, <https://thegroundtruthproject.org/golden-dawn-and-greek-orthodox-church-unite/>
- Skleparis, D. 2017. Lecturer in the Politics of Security at *Newcastle University*, Conversation on "Golden Dawn", 2 May, Athens.
- Smith, A. D., 2009. *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach*. Routledge.
- Smith, A. D. 2015. Ethnosymbolism. In *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism* (eds A. D. Smith, X. Hou, J. Stone, R. Dennis and P. Rizova).
- Smith, A. D., 1995. *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*. Polity Press.
- Smith, H. 2011. "Rise of the Greek far right raises fears of further turmoil" *TheGuardian.com*, 16 December, accessed on 13 December 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/dec/16/rise-greek-far-right-turmoil>
- Smith, H. 2013. "Golden Dawn MP Christos Pappas surrenders to Greek police" *TheGuardian.com*, 29 September, accessed on 13 December 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/29/golden-dawn-mp-christos-pappas-greek-police>
- Smith, H. 2014a. "Greek prime minister facing resignation calls after aide's Golden Dawn gaffe" *TheGuardian.com*, 3 April, accessed on 24 October 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/03/greece-antonis-samaras-golden-dawn-takis-baltakos>
- Smith, H. 2014b. "SS songs and antisemitism: the week Golden Dawn turned openly Nazi" *TheGuardian.com*, 7 June, accessed on 13 December 2019,

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/07/greece-golden-dawn-fascism-threat-to-democracy>

Smith, H. 2015. “Greek election 2015: Golden Dawn rises on austerity-driven despair” *TheGuardian.com*, 16 September, accessed on 28 August 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/16/greek-election-2015-golden-dawn-austerity>

Songülen İ. Z. and Çetin, S. 2011. “Avrupa’nın Kendine Döner Silahı: Dışlayıcılık ve Ayrımcılık” *Stratejik Düşünce Enstitüsü*.

Sotiris, P. 2015. “Political crisis and the Rise of the Far Right in Greece: Racism, nationalism, authoritarianism and conservatism in the discourse of Golden Dawn” *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict*, 3:1, 173-199.

Stack, L. 2016. “A Far-Right Conspiracy Theory Buoyed by Trump”, *NYtimes.com*, November, accessed on 17 February 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/15/us/politics/globalism-right-trump.html>

Stai, A. and Koutelos, K. 2003. “The Revival of The Extreme Right and Fascism in Greece”. *Mhrmi.org*, 16 December, accessed on 14 December 2019, http://mhrmi.org/news/2003/december16b_e.asp

Stavrakakis, Y. and Katsambekis, G. 2014. “Left-wing populism in the European periphery: The case of SYRIZA” *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 119-142.

Sternhell, Z., 2005. *The Birth of Fascist Ideology*. Princeton University Press.

Tağmat, Ç. D. 2014. “Türk ve Yunan Kaynakları Çerçevesinde Megali İdea Değerlendirmeleri”, in *Türk Yunan İlişkileri Üzerine Makaleler* (pp. 89-108), ed. Yeliz Okay, Doğu Kitabevi: Tarih ve Uygarlık Dizisi 11.

Tambini, D. 1996., “Explaining monoculturalism: Beyond Gellner’s theory of nationalism, Critical Review” *A Journal of Politics and Society*, 10:2, pp.

251-270.

Taylor, A. 2019. “New Zealand suspect allegedly claimed ‘brief contact’ with Norwegian mass murderer Anders Breivik”, *washingtonpost.com*, 15 March, accessed on 15 December 2019,
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/03/15/new-zealand-suspect-allegedly-claimed-brief-contact-with-norwegian-mass-murderer-anders-breivik/>

The Economist. 2019. *The retreat of global democracy stopped in 2018*. accessed on 6 August 2019, <https://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2019/01/08/the-retreat-of-global-democracy-stopped-in-2018>

The Guardian, 2013a. Golden Dawn MP 'swung at mayor of Athens but hit 12-year-old girl instead', *theguardian.com*, 2 May, accessed on 7 January 2020,
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/may/02/greek-rightwing-mp-attacks-mayor>

The Guardian, 2013b. Golden Dawn tattoo-wearers 'asking for them to be removed'. 1 November, accessed on 14 December 2019,
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FMspRq0Tpn8&feature=emb_title

The National Herald, 2013. New Turmoil as Greeks React to a Golden Dawn-Linked Killing. *TheNationalHerald.com*, 19 September, accessed on 13 December 2019, <https://www.thenationalherald.com/28424/new-turmoil-as-greeks-react-to-a-golden-dawn-linked-killing/>

Theodossopoulos, D. (ed.) 2007. *When Greeks Think About Turks: The view from Antropology* London & New York: Routledge.

Timmermans, F. 2017. *Europe-Wide Day of Remembrance for the victims of all totalitarian and authoritarian regimes*, accessed on 15 December 2018,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tj6ISXDagLo>

Tipaldou, S. 2015. “The Dawning of Europe and Eurasian? The Greek Golden Dawn and its Transnational Links” in *Eurasianism and the European far right* :

reshaping the Europe-Russia relationship, ed. Laruelle, M., Publisher: Lanham, MD: Lexington, pp.193-219.

Trevor, J. A. 2017. "All in the party family? Comparing far right voters in Western and Post-Communist Europe" *Party Politics*, vol. 23, issue. 3, pp. 274-285.

Triandafyllidou, A. and Gropas, R. 2009. "Constructing Difference: The Mosque Debates in Greece" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 35, no. 6, pp. 957-975, July.

TRT World, 2019. Has Greece's neo-Nazi Golden Dawn party come to an end?, *TRTworld.com*. 27 September, accessed on 30 September 2019, <https://www.trtworld.com/europe/has-greece-s-neo-nazi-golden-dawn-party-come-to-an-end-30164>

Tsatsanis, E., Freire, A. and Tsirbas, Y. 2014. "The Impact of the Economic Crisis on the Ideological Space in Portugal and Greece: A Comparison of Elites and Voters" *South European Society and Politics*, 19:4, pp. 519-540.

Van Evera, S., 1997. *Guide to methods for students of political science*, Cornell University.

Vasilopoulou, S., Halikiopoulou, D. and Exadaktylos, T. 2014. "Greece in Crisis: Austerity, Populism and the Politics of Blame" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 52, No: 2, pp. 388-402.

Vasilopoulou, S. and Halikiopoulou, D. 2013. "In the Shadow of Grexit: The Greek Election of 17 June 2012" *South European Society and Politics*, 18:4, 523-542.

Vasilopoulou, S. and Halikiopoulou. 2015. *The Golden Dawn's Nationalist Solution: Explaining the Rise of Far Right in Greece*. Palgrave MacMillan.

Vasilopoulou, S. 2009. "Varieties of Euroscepticism: The Case of the European Extreme Right" *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 3-23.

- Vieten, M. U. and Poynting, S. 2016. "Contemporary Far-Right Racist Populism in Europe" *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 37: 6., pp. 533-540.
- Villani, G. 2019. *Soldiers of Germania: The European Volunteers of the Waffen-SS*, lulu.com.
- Volkan, V. D., 1979. *Cyprus: War and Adaptation: A Psychoanalytic History of Two Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. University of Virginia.
- Volkan, V. D., 2015. *A Nazi Legacy: depositing, transgenerational transmission, dissociation, and remembering through action*. London, Karnac Books.
- Walker, S. 2018. "Hungarian leader says Europe is now 'under invasion' by migrants" *TheGuardian.com*, 15 March, accessed on 4 November 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/15/hungarian-leader-says-europe-is-now-under-invasion-by-migrants>
- Walker, S. 2018. "University founded by George Soros 'forced out' of Hungary" *TheGuardian.com*, 25 October, accessed on 11 November 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/oct/25/university-founded-by-george-soros-forced-out-of-hungary>
- Weaver, M. 2010. "Angela Merkel: German multiculturalism has "utterly failed" " *The Guardian.com*, 17 October 2010, accessed on 12 May 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/oct/17/angela-merkel-german-multiculturalism-failed>.
- Weber, M., 1946. *Politics as Vacation*. New York Oxford University Press.
- Welch, D. 2004. "Nazi Propaganda and the Volksgemeinschaft: Constructing a People's Community" *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 39, No. 2, Understanding Nazi Germany.
- Wolf, M. 2001. "Will the Nation-State Survive Globalization" *Foreign Affairs* 80/1.
- Woshinsky, O. H., 2008. "Explaining Politics: Culture", *Institutions and Political*

Behavior. Taylor & Francis.

Zafiroopoulos, P. 2016. "Golden Dawn seeks to exploit Greek refugee crisis" *DW.com/en*, 19 February, accessed on 12 November 2019, <https://www.dw.com/en/golden-dawn-seeks-to-exploit-greek-refugee-crisis/a-19059975>

Zambelios, S., 1857. *Vyzantinoi Meletai: Peri Pigon Neoellinikis Ethnotitos apo I Axri I' Ekatontaetiridos M.H.*. [*Byzantine Studies: On the Origins of the Neohellenic Nation from the Eighth to the Tenth Century A.D.*] (Athens: Nikolaidis Philadelphus [Νικολαΐδης Φιλαδελφεύς]), pp. 30–33.



CURRICULUM VITAE

Personal Information

Name and Surname: Emre Metin Bilginer

Place and Date of Birth: Istanbul, Kadıköy, 13.06.1986

Education

Graduate : Istanbul Bilgi University, Graduate School of Social Sciences, International Relations (emphases on Turkish-Greek Studies) – English

Dissertation: “Recent Debates on Greek History Textbooks: The Case of the Contemporary Textbook for the 6th Grades by Maria Repousi”

Undergraduate : Istanbul University, Faculty of Letters, Modern Greek Language and Literature – Greek (2004-2010)

University of Ioannina, School of Philosophy, Greek Philology – Greek (2008-2009)

Foreign Languages : English (Professional), Greek (Professional)

Professional Experience

2019 - TurkStream Project, Data analyst and Media Monitoring related to the project in Greek, English and Turkish.

2018 - Kadir Has University, CIES, Project on Turkish and Greek Elites’ Perceptions on Turkish Foreign Policy and Greek-Turkish Relations

Contact Information

Telephone: +90 535 354 62 77

E-mail address: bilgineremre@gmail.com

APPENDIX A – Golden Dawn’s Program for a Free and Powerful Nation¹³⁴

1. Political purification, thieves in prison, return what was stolen from the Greeks. Everyone who has stolen public money has to go to jail together with the politicians and the corrupted public employers who abused the sweat of the Greek people. We demand the immediate withdrawal of immunity for every parliament member. Disconnect the public life from the corrupted and the liars.

2. Termination of the memorandum audit and delete of the illegal debt Golden Dawn remains steady in its position for unilateral termination of the memorandum.

On the contrary, Syriza has already agreed with the international moneylenders to continue the memorandum policy through the ECCL line. Immediate termination of the memorandum and start of the negotiations with the troika.

3. Repealing of the taxes for property Immediate withdrawal of the catastrophic measures which led thousands of fellow citizens to commit suicide. End of real estate taxes and reduction of VAT (Sales Tax) to increase economic activity and increase government revenues.

4. Delete bank debts with social criteria. Restructuring of the share capital of the banks which have been subsidized from the memorandum. Removal of bank debts for the Greek families and alleviation for the lower levels of society. Strong national bank under state control to increase national production.

5. National independence, territorial waters in 12 miles, a single defensive area between Greece and Cyprus Mapping Greek exclusive economic zone from Evros river till Kastelorizo island. Complaint to the UN security council of the Turkish “casus belli” threat and expansion our territorial water borders to 12 miles. Application of the doctrine Greek-Cypriot joint defense space which will mean the union of Cyprus island with mother Greece.

¹³⁴ Golden Dawn’s Program for a Free and Powerful Nation.
<http://web.archive.org/web/20170903113229/http://www.xryshaygh.com/en/view/golden-dawns-program-for-a-free-and-powerful-nation> (accessed on 3 October 2019)

- 6.** Popular sovereignty referendums on every national and social issue. The president of the republic to be elected directly from the people, the parliament members shall be reduced to 180 from today's¹³⁵ 300. All the privileges and the immunities of the MPs and the ministers will be deleted. The political parties will not be funded by the Greek state.
- 7.** Exploitation of mineral, research and drilling for hydrocarbons in the exclusive economic zone. According to Deutsche Bank there is a certain consideration for the existence of rich natural gas deposits in south of island Crete estimated of 427 billion euros. Different profits will come from the deposits of western Greece and the north Aegean oil.
- 8.** Geostrategic turn to Russia and China Greece's energy map to the international energy map, open to the new markets of Russia and China.
- 9.** Primary production with a goal of Greek self-sufficiency. Golden Dawn strongly declares yes to the national production because as Panagiotis Kondilis says "1% of industrial development worth a hundred times more than 1% of tourism development. Because only industrial development contribute to the self-sufficiency of the land.
- 10.** Demand for German compensation and registration of the war loan to the state budget In 1946 the occupation loan of Germany to Greece was 100 billion euros. since then the debt ceased to be interest free. As a result the amount today reaches 500 billion euros. Only a national government would be able to claim what German loan sharks owe to Greece.
- 11.** Priority to every Greek in any area of public life First the Greeks in every aspect of public life (health work etc). Repatriation of all illegal immigrants to their home countries. Immediate suppression of imported and local crime.
- 12.** National planning for the demographic problem Tax concessions and privileges for couples with many children. Large subsidy of maternity so that we do not become a minority in our own homeland.

¹³⁵ Typos are not corrected. Golden Dawn released the text as it is shown.

APPENDIX B – Distribution of Golden Dawn Electorate¹³⁶

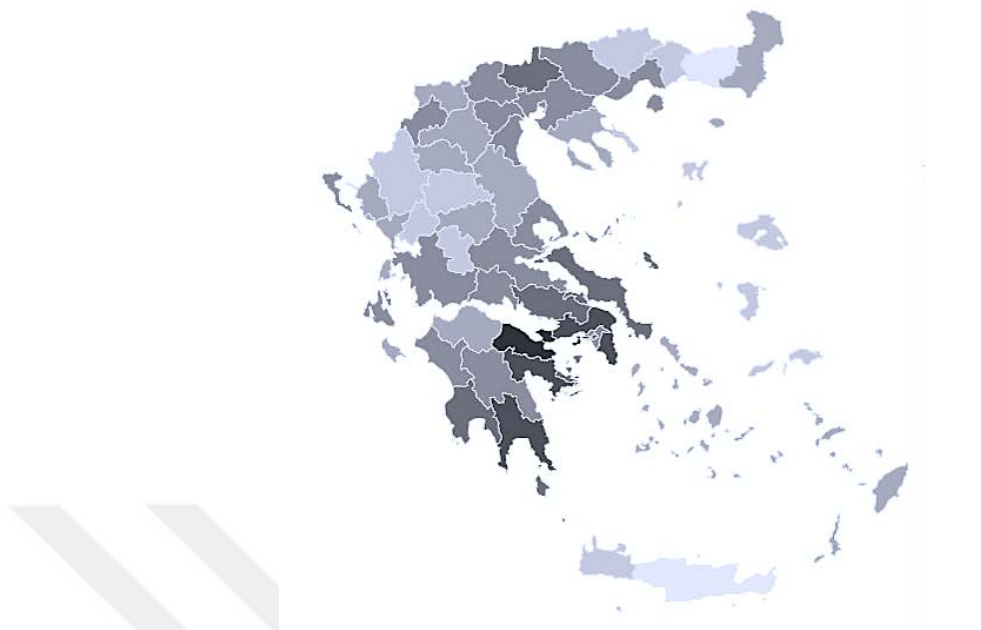


Figure B.1 Golden Dawn votes' distribution map - 2012

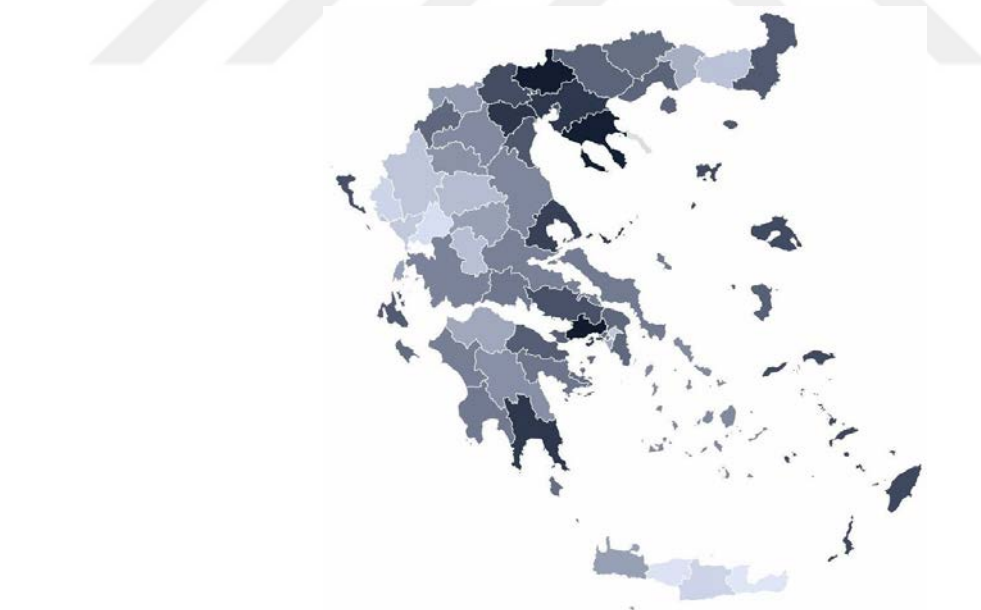


Figure B.2 Golden Dawn votes' distribution map - 2019

¹³⁶ Source: Greek Ministry of the Interior
<https://www.ypes.gr/en/elections/> (accessed on 8 December 2019)

APPENDIX C – Golden Dawn Branches

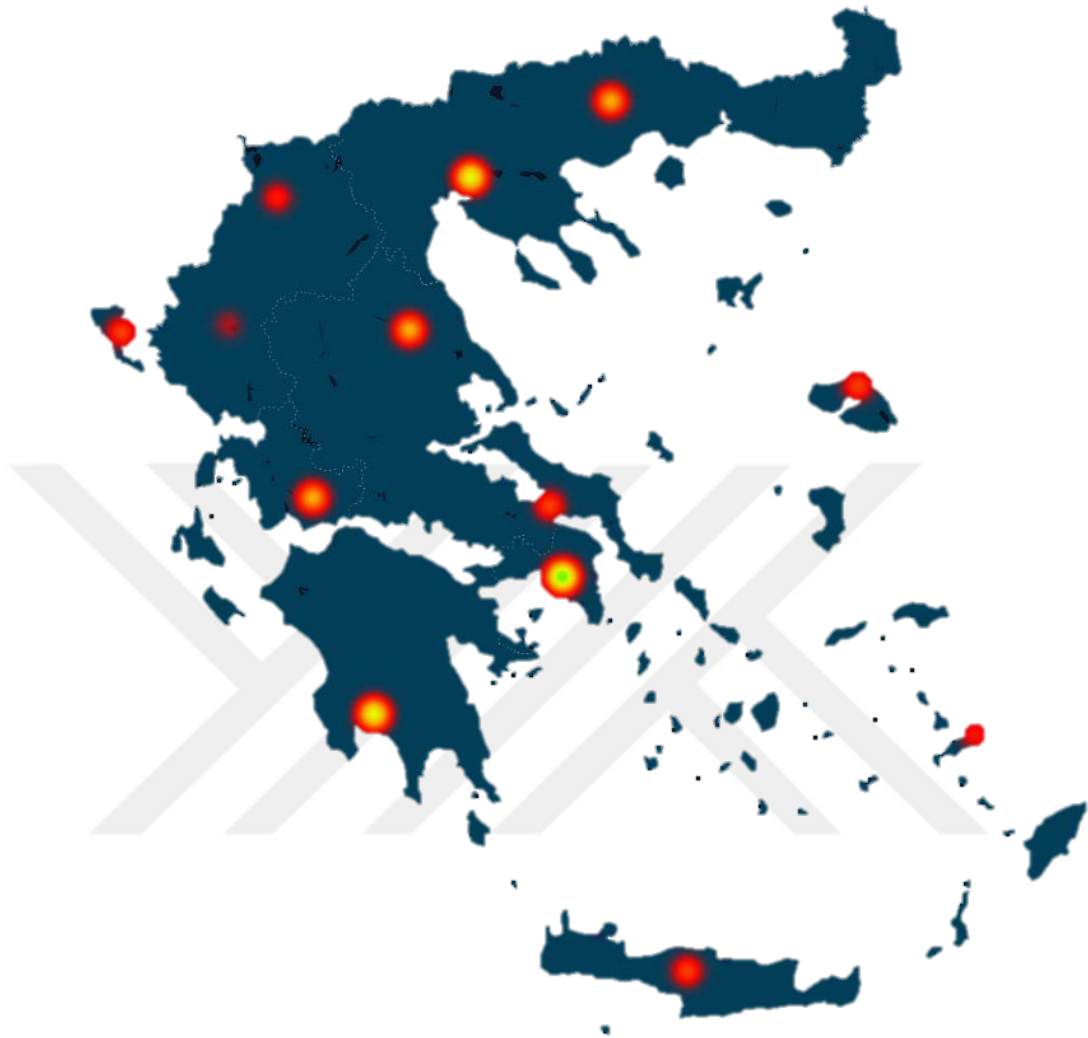


Figure C.1 Intensity of Golden Dawn Branches¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Golden Dawn opened more than 50 branches after its electoral success in 2012. Therefore, Golden Dawn almost completed its political organization in a countrywide scale. Golden Dawn prioritized the regions where the party had electorate. This table has been prepared according to Antonis A. Ellinas and Iasonas Lambrianou's research called *How far right local party organizations develop: The organizational buildup of the Greek Golden Dawn* (Ellinas and Lambrianou, 2017). As of January 2020, this data is not up to date since Golden Dawn started to close its branches one by one after the failure in the legislative elections in 2019. This map intends to display the compatibility between the Golden Dawn's political organization and its electoral success.

APPENDIX D – Greek Language Sources¹³⁸

Αδωνις: Πρέπει να κάνουμε τη ζωή δύσκολη στους μετανάστες (Adonis: We have to make life difficult for immigrants). 2013. *ProtoThema.gr*, 10 June, accessed on 17 September 2019,

[https://www.protothema.gr/politics/article/285345/adonis-prepei-na-kanoyme-th-zoh-dyskolh-stoys-metanastes-/](https://www.protothema.gr/politics/article/285345/adonis-prepei-na-kanoyme-th-zoh-dyskolh-stoys-metanastes/)

ΑΝΕΛ, 2012. “Η παρουσίαση του κόμματος” (The presentation of the party) 11 March, accessed on 8 December 2019, <http://anexartitoiellines.gr/files/parousiasi.pdf>

Αντίβαρο. 2008. *Σχολικό βιβλίο Ιστορίας ΣΤ' Δημοτικού (History Textbook for 6th Grades)*, accessed on 12 September 2019, <http://www.antibaro.gr/article/45>

Αρετή, Α. 2004. “Αστυνομικοί κάλυπταν τον «Περίανδρο»” (Police officers were covering "Periandros") *tanea.gr*, 17 April, accessed on 9 October 2019, <https://www.tanea.gr/2004/04/17/greece/astynomikoi-kalyptan-ton-periandro/>

Γεωργιάδου, Β., 2019. *Η Ακρά Δεξιά στην Ελλάδα 1965-2018 [Far-Right in Greece 1965-2018]*. Kastanioti.

Δ. Παπαδημούλης, 2013. “Η ανοχή προς τη Χρυσή Αυγή έφερε νεκρό” (D. Papadimoulis: Tolerance for Golden Dawn has brought death) *Naftemporiki.gr*, 18 September, accessed on 24 October 2019,

<https://www.naftemporiki.gr/story/699839/d-papadimoulis-i-anoxi-pros-ti-xrusi-augi-efere-nekro>

Γιαννακίδης, Κ. 2016. “Θα μας σώσει ο Βελόπουλος;” (Will Velopoulos Save Us?), *protagon.gr*, 7 October, accessed on 8 December 2019,

<https://www.protagon.gr/epikairotita/tha-mas-swsei-o-velopoulos-44341246693>

¹³⁸ The sources in Greek has been transliterated in the bibliography (see References). APPENDIX D displays the original versions of sources.

Ζαμπέλιος, Σ., 1857. *Βυζαντιναί Μελέται: Περί Πηγών Νεοελληνικής Εθνότητος από Η' Αχρι Γ' Εκατονταετηρίδος Μ.Χ.* [Byzantine Studies: On the Origins of the Neohellenic Nation from the Eighth to the Tenth Century A.D.] (Athens: Nikolaidis Philadelphus [Νικολαΐδης Φιλαδελφεύς]), pp. 30–33.

Κασιδιάρης: Ακου ανθρωπάκο... - Πλεύρης: Βγες έξω να σε ξαπλώσω κάτω (Kasidiaris: Listen, you little man... Plevris: Go outside and I will knock you out). 2012. *iefimerida.gr*, 6 June, accessed on 29 October 2019, <https://www.iefimerida.gr/news/54241/πλεύρης-βγες-έξω-να-σε-ξαπλώσω-κάτω-κασιδιάρης-ακου-ανθρωπάκο-βίντεο>

Μαυρογορδάτος, Γ. 2003. “Οι εθνικές μειονότητες [The National Minorities] (in Greek)” *academia.edu*.

Νέδος, Β., 2008. “Το κλούβιο «αβγό του φιδιού»” (The Rotten Egg «snake’s egg»), *ToVima.gr*, 24 November, accessed on 3 October 2019, <https://www.tovima.gr/2008/11/24/archive/to-kloybio-abgo-toy-fidioy/>

«Όποιος δεν πιστεύει στην πατρίδα του, δεν ξέρω αν έχει δικαίωμα να ζει» (“Whoever does not believe in Greece, I do not know if he has the right to live”, 2019. *Naftemporiki.gr*, 29 September, accessed on 10 November, <https://www.naftemporiki.gr/story/104258/opoios-den-pisteuei-stin-patrida-tou-den-ksero-an-exei-dikaioma-na-zei>

Παπαιωάννου, Κ. 2013. *Τα «καθαρά χέρια» της Χρυσής Αυγής [The «Clean Hands» of Golden Dawn]*. Metaixmio.

Ραβανός, Α. 2014. “Η Ρωσία, η Χρυσή Αυγή και οι οπαδοί του... Μόσκοβου” (Russia, Golden Dawn and the followers of... Moscow) *tovima.gr*, 12 April, accessed on 29 October 2019, <https://www.tovima.gr/2014/04/12/politics/i-rwsia-i-xrysi-aygi-kai-oi-opadoi-toy-moskoboy/>

Σαμαράς, Α. 2012. ‘Όμιλία του Πρωθυπουργού, Αντώνη Σαμαρά’ στα εγκαίνια της 77ης Διεθνούς Έκθεσης Θεσσαλονίκης, Thessaloniki, accessed on 5 November 2019, <https://primeminister.gr/2012/09/08/9707>

ΣΥΡΙΖΑ. 2015. “Η Ελπίδα Έρχεται - Η Ελλάδα Προχωράει - Η Ευρώπη Αλλάζει” (Hope is coming – Greece is moving forward – Europe is changing). accessed on 27 August, <https://www.syriza.gr/article/id/59821/H-ELPIDA-ERCHETAI---H-ELLADA-PROCHWRAEI---H-EYRWPH-ALLAZEI.html>

«Χαιρετάμε ναζιστικά» παραδέχεται ο Νίκος Μιχαολιάκος (Nikos Michaloliakos admits «we salute in the way of Nazis»). 2012. *in.gr*. 21 October, accessed on 25 August 2019, <https://www.in.gr/2012/10/21/greece/xairetame-nazistika-paradexetai-o-nikos-mixaloliakos/>

Χασαπόπουλος Ν., 2013. *Χρυσή Αυγή: Η Ιστορία, τα Πρόσωπα και η Αλήθεια [Golden Dawn: The History, the Individuals and the Truth]*. Α.Α. Livani.

Ψαρράς, Δ. 2012. *Η Μαυρή Βίβλος της Χρυσής Αυγής [The Black Book of Golden Dawn]*. Polis, Athens.

Ψαρράς, Δ., 2019. “Από τον Πλεύρη στον Κυριάκο” (From Plevris to Kyriakos), *efsyn*, 5 January, accessed on 21 August 2019, https://www.efsyn.gr/themata/thema-tis-efsyn/177991_apo-ton-pleyri-ston-kyriako