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**A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE  
METAXAS REGIME AND GOLDEN DAWN**

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A Comperative Analysis of the  
Metaxas Regime and Golden  
Dawn

Metaxas Rejimi ve Altın Şafak'ın  
Karşılaştırmalı Analizi

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

EON: Ethnikos Organismos Neoleas / National Organisation of Youth

GD: Golden Dawn

LAOS: Laikos Orthodoxos Synagermos / Greek Popular Orthodox Rally

ND: New Democracy

PASOK: Panhellenic Socialist Movement

NP: EPEN / National Political Union

OCG: Orthodox Church of Greece

NPD: National Democratic Party of Germany

KKE: Kommunistiko Komma Elladas / Communist Party of Greece

## **ABSTRACT**

This study aims making a comparative analysis of the Ioannis Metaxas period of Greece (1936-1941) regarding the regime's ideological and organisational structure along with the paramilitary characteristics with the far right party of Greece, Golden Dawn. Golden Dawn as the triumphant in 2009 municipal elections followed by the national breakthrough in 2012 by a well- received 6.97 per cent of votes secured the third place in the Greek Parliamentary. Then after attracted the scholar attentions.

This study also covers the political roots of the far right in Greece, up to the period of 1936-1941, the regime of Metaxas and focuses on the mentioned period regarding its similarities with GD referring the party rhetoric, organisational structure along with the paramilitary characteristics. While the used method for the study is defined as the comparative analysis along with in-depth approaches, besides investigation of the literature along with some media news and articles also with the manifesto of Golden Dawn and with its leader's articles on the party's website are the among the analysed documents.

GD as far as its ideologies, organisational structure and the paramilitary characteristics considered, seems being a continuation of the Metaxas period but still with the main differences which occurs due to the requirements of the periods as explained in the study. The mentioned difference mostly occurs in described enemy of the nation in Metaxas period was the communists and the mainstream parties' representatives along with parliamentarism on the ideological bases.

On the other hand, the description of the new enemy during the Golden Dawn period since until now, built on Zionism. While Metaxas stayed neutral towards the Jewish community, parliamentarism and the mainstream politicians still described as the enemies of the party by Golden Dawn.

Golden Dawn distinguishes with its expansionist rhetoric mostly towards Turkey, the party's mostly named enemy while taking the Metaxas' communist at the backseat, named as the Zionist which is followed by the migrants regardless their being legal or illegal.

Keywords: Greece, The Freethinkers' Party, Ioannis Metaxas, Golden Dawn, Neo-Nazi Parties, Anti-system Parties, Far-right in Greece, Nikolaos Michaloliakos

## ÖZET

Bu çalışmada Ioannis Metaksas döneminin (1936-1941) ideolojik ve organizasyonel yapısıyla birlikte paramiliter karakteri göz önüne alınarak aşırı sağ Yunan partisi Altın Şafak ile kıyaslanması konu alınmaktadır. Altın Şafak Partisi 2009 belediye seçimlerinin galibiyetini izleyen 2012 yılı ulusal seçimlerinde edindiği yüzde 6.97 oy oranı ile Yunan Parlamentosu'na üçüncü parti olarak girişinin ardından akademik ilgiyi de üzerine çekti.

Çalışma, Yunan aşırı sağının politik kökenlerini konu alarak 1936-1941 dönemine, Ioannis Metaksas yıllarına odaklamakla birlikte söz konusu dönemi Altın Şafak Partisi ile söylem, organizasyonel yapı ve paramiliter karakteri açısından karşılaştırmaktadır.

Çalışmada kullanılan metotlar karşılaştırmalı ve derinlemesine analiz yaklaşımları olmakla birlikte, literatürün incelenmesi, parti manifestosu ve medyada yer alan bazı haber ve makaleler ile Altın Şafak Partisi liderinin parti sitesinde yer alan makale ve açıklamalarının incelemesini kapsamaktadır.

Altın Şafak Partisi'nin ideoloji, organizasyonel yapı ve paramiliter karakteristik özellikleri göz önüne alındığında Metaksas döneminin devamı niteliğini taşıdığı görülmektedir. Ancak bu devamlılıkta bazı önemli farklılıklar da bulunmaktadır ki çalışmada bahsedilen bu farklılıklar dönemsel gerekliliklere bağlı olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bahsedilen farklılıklar daha çok ulusun düşmanının tanımı üzerinden olup, Metaksas döneminde bu düşman komünist ve ana akım partilerin temsilcileri ideolojik bazda ise parlamenter sistem olarak tanımlanmıştır.

Diğer taraftan, Altın Şafak kuruluşundan bu yana düşman tanımının daha çok Siyonizm üzerine inşaa etmiştir. Metaksas Yahudi toplumuna karşı nötr bir tutum sergilerken, Altın Şafak'ta ise parlamenter sistem, ana akım siyasi partiler ve temsilcileri ideolojik bazda iç düşmanlar olarak gösterilmektedir.

Altın Şafak yayılcı söylemi ile farklılaşırken, özellikle Türkiye'ye karşı, partinin temel düşman tanımı Metaksas'ın komünistini ikinci plana atarak, Siyonizm üzerinden yapılmakta, onu yasal, yasa dışı ayrımı yapılmaksızın tüm göçmenler izlemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yunanistan, The Freethinkers' Partisi, Ioannis Metaksas, Altın Şafak Partisi, Neo-Nazi Partiler, Anti-Sistem Partiler, Yunanistan'da Aşırı Sağ, Nikolaos Michaloliakos.

## **INTRODUCTION**

On the night of the elections of 6 May 2012, overwhelmed by the score of 6.97 Nikolaos Michaloliakos, leader of the Popular Association-Golden Dawn shouted on camera “Veni, vidi, vici” with this Latin phrase, originally attributed to Julius Caesar and his facile victory against Pharnaces II of Pontus in 47 BC, he wanted to state loathe and revenge vis-a-vis rival parties and the media (Dinas, Georgiadou, Konstantinidis and Rori 2013, p.2).

Golden Dawn supports racist ideas with cultural and biological connotations. Being described as anti-parliamentarian, anti-political and anti-communist party, which also detects globalization, EU and multiculturalism among its fundamental enemies. The organization defends the idea of an organic inter-classist state, which is a people's state that protects the biological and cultural unity of the Greek nation while gaining a significant success expressed in numbers by 0.29 per cent of vote in the 2009 election and a well-received 6.97 per cent (441.018 votes) in 2012 which made the party finally a scholarly interesting topic (Dinas, Georgiadou, Konstantinidis and Rori 2013, p.554).

While the scholar works are mostly focused on the party's electoral success others mainly to make discursive analysis between Golden Dawn and the well known far right parties of Europe such as Jobbik of Hungary, the National Front of British covers political history of Greece to define the party's roots with the Colonel's Regime (1967-1974) or the ideological similarities with Ioannis Metaxas period of 1936-1941 stayed at a very limited level as some covered under one headline of a chapter or a research. This study aims making an in-depth analysis of the Golden Dawn's ideological roots regarding the right wing political history of Greece defined as going back to the Metaxas period.

When the rise of the far right in Greece explained by the economic voting theory and demand-supply reality after the harsh economic crisis the country faced, some

studies concluded the success of GD as a psychological reaction of the masses to the corrupt mainstream political parties, by giving the new comer a chance. Whereas the authoritarian legacy of the Greek political history as the provided ground it supplied for the rise of far right is not covered well enough in details.

Thus, in order to contribute to the literature the study focuses around the mentioned period of Ioannis Metaxas (1936-1941) and his party the Freethinkers' and Golden Dawn party of Greece since its foundation as a bulletin in 1983 until today. While the frame work is defined in accordance with the research question; if regarding the ideological discourses and the organisational structure along with the paramilitary characteristics considered, is Golden Dawn party of Greece the continuation of the Ioannis Metaxas period and his political ideology.

The question will be explained under three chapters. In the first part, the period of Ioannis Metaxas will be told in details. In the second part, the Golden Dawn party of Greece since its foundation years to its electoral success first in 2009 municipal elections followed by 2012 national elections and will be told. Besides the party's political success this part mostly focuses on the party's ideological and paramilitary characteristics and structural organisations of which assumed sharing similarities with the Metaxas period of 1936-1941.

In the findings and conclusion part of the study, the found similarities and differences in order to find out the answers for our research question, will be put forward once more and discussed.

The adopted methodology of the study is the comparative analysis along with in-depth analysis approach. While the Golden Dawn's electoral success' analysis is being excluded in order being able to focus more on our framework area, GD's ideological comparison with the far right of Europe also very limitedly mentioned.

As the study aims making a depth investigation on the GD's ideological roots in

Greece defined as going back to the 4 of August Regime. Thus, in-depth analysis of both discourses along with qualitative analysis of the party documents of GD besides investigation of the literature on both period forms the applied methodology of this study.

Considering the Golden Dawn part of the study by employing the qualitative analysis method some attention attracting articles of the party leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos with party manifesto that is declared on the party's website are also among the used tools of the study.

Whilst this study also pays attention to the right wing's evaluated authoritarian history, Metaxas period will be taken as the first step of the process while as the paper is defined within the framework of a comparative analysis of the Metaxas period and the Golden Dawn, the Colonel's Regime (1967-1974) will be mentioned only as a short referencing thus more space will be provided on the two focused periods; Metaxas period of 1936-1941 and the Golden Dawn from its establishment until today.

To answer the similarities or the case of continuation discussions, after making a general analysis of the political climate of interwar years in European continent, Metaxas with his party of Freethinkers' constructs the first part of the study.

Thus, in the first part, Metaxas' political career with the certain support of the King, his party of Freethinkers' ideological pillars will be mentioned. While monarchy, family and religion was the praised traditional values of the system, Metaxas's ideological vital discourses third way (nationalism) anti-communism, anti-parliamentarism along with collectivism in order to create the transformed society ideal of Metaxas with the help of disciplined freedom will also be explained. While the shared similarities also on the perception of the religion and the replacement of the Orthodox Christianity in the parties discourses will be told throughout the first two parts of the paper.

Because of the political circumstances' being very different in Metaxas' period of 1936-1941 and the Golden Dawn period of now days, making a very parallel analysis is not possible. Metaxas having the ultimate power provided by the king without facing any difficulties had the chance of shaping the society as he wanted while still due to his poor public support. (For instance in the elections of the January 1936 The Freethinkers' Party of Metaxas only collected the four per cent of the votes with seven seats).

When his political efficiency has been a congruent argument, excluding the afterwards of the oxi period (28 October 1940, indicates the Metaxas given famous answer of no to the Italian invader) during which Metaxas had been arisen to a national hero stage. Following him becoming the prime minister Metaxas spread his power and ideologies into the whole system from education to the security. (Police was under his total control while the army was partly so).

His devoted efforts for the public's well being's such as arrangements on the national insurance and on the working days, hours and on minimum wages, establishment of collective labour agreement to decrease the unemployment also had been welcomed by the public during his time while is being applauded by Golden Dawn also today, as mentioned on the party manifesto. Golden Dawn's taking the responsibility of attributing historical justice for Metaxas, shows the felt proximity for the Metaxas regime (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2015, p.58).

As Metaxas was indicated as the national hero in GD party publications the party's reference to the ancient times significantly to the Spartans as their anti-democratic idol model seems similar with the 4th of August regime's perception. All those ideological mutual rooting will be mentioned in each part.

As the study aims making a more comparison of the political ideologies and on the organisational structure (legal or and illegal) on both continued with the

Metaxist political constitution's organisational structure with its paramilitary sections' compared similarities with the Golden Dawn's.

For instance the EON (Ethnikos Organismos Neoleas) of Metaxas with its compulsory publication of E Neolea, reminds the Golden Dawn's Youth Front established in 1990 as the young wing of the party, along side with its publication Antepithesi (Counterattack). Both published with the similar aim, reaching at the hearts of the youth as both targeted for the existence of their party and ideologies in the future.

The study moves from the idea that Golden Dawn as far as its rhetoric and organisational framework considered seems overlapping with the Freethinkers' Party of Ioannis Metaxas at some points, in order define the shared similarities firstly, the Freethinkers' and its rhetoric and General Ioannis Metaxas's period (1936-1941), the conditions in which the party grew up and developed, the inner and outsider factors effected the political spheres of the country will be studied. Along with the party discourses, organisational structure with paramilitary construction.

At the second part of the study, Golden Dawn with its ultra nationalist party discourse represents the similarities with the Metaxist approach such as the absolute and personalized leader authority, the perception of nationalism, third way, religion, Greek history, culture and their mutually used symbols will be examined in detail.

During the first and the second part of the study, paramilitary characteristics of both Metaxist period's and GD's structural frame will also be discussed under specific headlines. In the third part, the similarities and differences between the Freethinkers' and Metaxas' regime's regarding their discourses and party structures, organisational (legal or illegal) and the Golden Dawn's rhetoric and organisational characters will be comparatively discussed.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The literature has lacked a comparative analysis into Greece's far right party of Golden Dawn regarding the party's ideological discourses with the Metaxas Period of 1936-1941 along its organisational and paramilitary structure. Golden Dawn also as the most extreme right party of the Greek Parliamentary after its significant electoral breakthrough of 2012 with 6.97 per cent of the votes gained 18 seats for the first time in the party's history.

Being founded by Nikolaos Michaloliakos in 1983 the party achieved the goal of being the third biggest party of the Greek Parliament in 2012 elections while attracting the scholar attentions on itself since then. While the party regarding its ultra nationalist agenda along with faced accusations of criminal actions also has been announced as a threat to the democracy as some members along with its leader has been put on trial.

Because of the party's becoming a scholarly interesting topic since 2012 elections, literature on GD has been increased in the last five years time. As much as its crime related actions also its paramilitary organisational framework has attracted the scholar attention, alongside electoral success definers of the party.

On the other hand, due to the deficiency of the evidence of the paramilitary structure of the party the literature on GD's paramilitary face is very limited. As the most significant studies besides few articles on the literature on GD paramilitary structure were written by the Greek journalist Dimitris Psarras, this study also makes reference to the mentioned writer's work, 'The Golden Dawn On Trial'.

In the aforementioned work, Psarras argues on the judicial process of the GD members arrest, the found evidences of the party's illegal actions while giving the party's paramilitary organisational structure in details.

One of the significant studies among the used materials of our work is also A. Ellinas and Iasonas Lamprianou's co-written article of, 'How far Right Local Party Organizations Develop: The Organizational Build up of the Greek Golden Dawn'. If divide the Golden Dawn organisational structure in two parts as one legal; party organisational structure and the other as the paramilitary structure, Psarras contributes to the second while Ellinas and Lamprianou's study mostly strengthens the legal party structure studies besides the 2013 part activities' analysis.

'The Rise of Golden Dawn: The New Face of the Far Right in Greece', written by Antonis A. Ellinas, gives the historical summary of the Greek politics with the establishment of GD. The party ideology, organisational framework and success along with elector portrait of GD among the covered headlines of the study.

While the studies mainly focus on GD's electoral success the most applied theoretical explanation is the economic voting theory and supply-demand reality. But also some recent explanations on the social psychological factor that leads to vote shifting towards the far right is an interesting perspective added to the literature as Thalia Dragonas' study has done.

In the study Dragonas (2015) as many scholars did, asks how a party with the rhetoric of national socialism with the adoption of swastika as its symbol, has a paramilitary organisational framework could embraces such popularity that carries it to the third place in the 2012 and following in January 2015 elections. Answer to that questions is on the basis of lost political trust towards the politicians and emerged ground for establishment for another reality to manage with the unpleasant situation and humiliation the society faces since the economic crisis (Dragonas 2015, p.59).

As mentioned before mostly the literature related to GD is occupied with the party success analysis while equally some others are concentrated on the ideological comparisons of it within the fascist descriptions (neo-fascism and the rest of the

terminologies also were being explained and being compared) ideological comparison of the party made with well-known far right parties of Europe such as Hungarian Jobbick, the National Front etc.

The literature lacks of a direct comparison of the GD regarding its rhetoric, legal and illegal organisational structures compared within the far right's evolution in the Greek history which goes back to the period of Ioannis Metaxas (1936-1941) and the Colonel's Regime of (1967-1974) while in some media news also in some scholar works the mentioned periods are being referred to the GD party, those analysis are still very limited.

For instance Eleni Kouki and Dimitris Antoniou's work, 'Making the Junta Fascist: Anti-dictatorial Struggle, the Colonels and the Statues of Ioannis Metaxas' is also among the recent studies being conducted on the period of Ioannis Metaxas in comparison with the Colonel's Regime.

The study of Eleni Kouki and Dimitris Antoniou's argues that the ideological relations of Metaxas period with the Junta is without doubts obvious. (Kouki and Antoniou 2017, p.4) While most of the junta members were brought up under the Metaxas the 4th of August Regime. Since the majority of the dictatorship's high-ranking officers had graduated from the military academies of the 4th August Regime.

The article argues that the Colonel's Regime's adoption of Metaxas as their logical ancestor or their idol by replacing Metaxas statues significantly on the country's borders along with the cities is evident. Also the identification between Metaxas and Colonel's was clear fact for the opponents of the junta while on the evening of 19 April 1972, the urban guerrilla group LEA, (Popular Revolutionary Resistance) blew up a bust of Ioannis Metaxas, just two days before the Greek military junta's fifth anniversary (Kouki and Antoniou 2017, p.451).

The mentioned source (Kouki and Antoniou, 2017, p. 460-61) with its analysis on the ideological continuation of Metaxas Regime and the Colonel's Regime, emphasizes how strongly the Colonel's Regime had identified itself with Metaxist ideologies and presented themselves as the followers of the Metaxas' path. Making the analysis throughout the statues of Metaxas' replacement on the streets, borders and even in the small villages during the junta years are the explanations of the study on that fact while also Junta's and Metaxas shared ideologies and continuation theme was explained and proven throughout the mentioned movie of Theo Angelopoulos's *Day's of 36*.

As after the GD's electoral breakthrough in 2012, also as a reminder of the Greek dictatorial past the Colonel's Regime of 1967-1974 also gained some popularities. A co-written work of Dimitris Antoniou, Kostis Kornetis, Anna-Maria Sichani, and Katerina Stefatos' Introduction: 'The Colonel's Dictatorship and Its Afterlives' is one of the recent studies of that type.

The aforementioned work above also puts forward the continuation dispute. While concluding that Metaxas and also Colonel's as a propaganda method used the kitsch as Mussolini and Hitler had done the shared similarities emphasized while in the study all three were offered as fascist (Antoniou, Kornetis, Sichani, and Katerina Stefatos 2017, p.297).

As 'Change and Continuity: Comparing the Metaxas Dictatorship and the Colonels' Junta in Greece' of Vangelis Angelis argues that neither of those regimes could be understood without investigating the period's requirements. Metaxas profited the Kings support while the Junta, the antagonism between the monarchy and the army alienated the conservative Greeks from Junta as sharing the power was not at the advantage of the palace while it partly was in the Metaxas period. In summary social environment was not as fertile as the Metaxas days for the future members of the Junta to gain support (Angelis 2016, p.41-42).

As the study emphasises the political climate was not also supportive on the junta's account while the dominant paradigm of the period was against the juntas. Thus junta could not legitimate itself by nation and blood-earth discourses of the previous periods as Ioannis Metaxas has profited. The study also makes an underline on the fact that Metaxas also along army, profited the police force while the junta definitely lacked it.

Whilst, torture was the mutual implementations of the both on political education. While study repeats the fact that major figures of the Junta was raised in the military academies founded by Metaxas, the leaders of the junta was likely fervent supporters of the Ioannis Metaxas's ideologies.

For instance one of the leader of the Greek military junta Dimitrios Ioannidis admitted to the academy in 1940. Junta leaders shared the intense anti-communist stances with Metaxas, as most of them were also the participants of the Sacred Bond of Greek Officers and National Young Officers.

As summarised in the mentioned study (Angelis 2016, p.45-46) the coup of 1967 was an ideological representative of the Metaxas term or was its continuation at the ideological bases, but within a different framework due to the different requirements of political circumstances of 60's, thus then they had to accordingly adjust themselves to survive until 1974.

As mentioned above literature recently has gained a wider contributions on Metaxas and Colonel's periods analysis while still a comparative analysis at the three angle Metaxas, Colonels and Golden Dawn on the ideological and structural perspective is significantly absent.

Turning back to the literature on Golden Dawn party, the materials being used in that study regarding the GD part of the study are picked up among the most contributed recent works, one of them is, 'In the New Political Opportunities for

an Old Party Family? The Case of Golden Dawn'. (Dinas, Georgiadou, Panteion Konstantinidis 2012, p.1-3) In the study, Golden Dawn's political stance of the far right is estimated by the ideological criteria of Falter, Schumann and Mudde while the contemporary mainstream far right parties of Europe such as French National Front, German NPD etc. for instance were compared with GD.

In the mentioned source also the political roots of the party goes back to interwar years. Party ideology of GD also is told through party leaders' quotations while the analysis of violence as propaganda tool is a new perspective the study adds to the literature.

Golden Dawn's far right ideologies' implementations to everyday life, regarding the party members violence in daily life is covered in the article, 'Naturalizing Racism in the Centre of Athens in May 2011: Lessons from Greece' written by Anna Triandafyllidou and Hara Kouki. In the study how far right party ideology became normalized in terms of public discourses is the question while the answer provided by conducted interviews with residents of Athens.

As the religion is among the vital elements of the Greek identity also one of the significant discourses of the Golden Dawn party (as it was same for the 4th of August Regime) has been investigated through the work of Konstantinos Papastathis's 'Religious Discourse and Radical Politics in Contemporary Greece (2015). And also through 'Fascism and Religion: The Metaxas Regime in Greece and the Third Hellenic Civilisation' and 'Some Theoretical Observations on Fascism, Political Religion and Clerical Fascism'.

In the first study, the ideological relationship between the institutional Greek Church and GD party is investigated. In the second study Kallis (2007) analyses the myth of nation and the role of religion as the two main pillars of the Greek identity and the clerical fascism has been absent in the 4th of August Regime while only described as an alternative model of fascism as political religion.

Religion was a central facet in Metaxas' regenerative project while it was put in good use of alignment of the nation or the sacrifice for the national salvation was the case, (Kallis 2007, p.233) at what point the official church and Orthodoxy was congruous with.

As comparative publications related to fascism in Greece is only had one example until 1980, the existing literature on Metaxas period of 1936-1941 (both in English and also in Greek) regarding Metaxas' personality, ideas and his governing style is also limited. Regarding the studies on Metaxas, two official ideologues of the Metaxas Georgios Mantzoufas and Nikolaos Koumaros the writers of the Neon Kratos (New State) has been the main figures that explained the ideological discourses of the regime (Kallis 2007, p.236).

But in the last three decades Metaxas regime had been put into representation in the scholar works by Roger Griffin, Roger Eatwell, Stanley Payne, Martin Blinkhorn and Philip Morgan. Most of those studies described the Metaxist regime as an uncompleted form of the mimetic fascism with the term of strong conservative-authoritarian tendencies. Authoritarian, para-fascist, abortive fascist were the most applied terms to Metaxas's regime. While some part of Greek scholar work made a definite fascist analysis; as Aristotle Kallis names it as authoritarian, autocratic and dictatorial in conservative terms. Jon Kofas prefers the term of monarcho-fascism of one man and caesarism because of the Metaxist regime's oblique character with its shared fascist paradigms with the rest of Europe.

Hagen Fleischer on the other hand, named it as old-style authoritarian dictatorship with a desire towards the fascist style. As the Germany and Italy was the head of the fascism in Metaxas periods the ideological comparative studies on the literature mostly concludes that while comparing them with Metaxas regime, the 4th of the August Regime lacked radical ideological profile along with a motivation into a revolutionary dynamism. While bearing on mind that Metaxas

had lacked the charismatic leader appearances unlike the period's fascist leaders had he also did not have any popular public base.

Arguments on fascism also focuses on the religiosity dispute. For Metaxas nation and religion were the two main pillars of the regime, A. Kallis puts Metaxas regime into the category of alternative models of fascism-as- aspiring a political religion neither than to be clerical fascist as National Socialist Germany was (Kallis 2007, p.233-234).

Author also contributes to the comparative studies of fascism in his works *Neither Fascist nor Authoritarian the 4 of August Regime in Greece (1936-1941)* and the dynamics of fascism in 1930's Europe, also attracts attentions on Greece's never being the witness of fascism as socio-political movement while Spain with Spanish Falange had been. As Kallis describe Metaxist regime being distinctly Greek facet of the fascism of interwar European right, it was hybrid political phenomenon alongside Portugal, Romania, Hungary (Kallis 2010, p.2-21).

As mentioned the literature regarding the personality of Metaxas's was in deficient while few recent significant work has some made contributions. 'Popular Autocracy in Greece 1936-1941: A Political Biography of General Ioannis Metaxas' is among one of those studies attributed to the literature by P.J Vatikiotis published in 1998. The study starts with the formative years of the leader from his education with early military career to the Balkan Wars, The Great War, exile years and his active representation in the Greek political scene until the establishment of the 4th of August Regime is told.

While study also covers the ideological background of the system the Metaxist ideology's replacement in the fascist description had been suspected while the author concludes that it would be risky assigning Metaxas and his regime into fascism or extreme right easily. While Metaxist ideology had reflected some figures of the fascist trend of the period, the author also argues that his politics did

not really represent the political right while maybe a part of it did, but it was more alike a traditional right by its incorporation of diverse elements from conservative forces (Vatikiotis 1998, p.189-190).

Mogens Pelt in his study 'The Establishment and Development of the Metaxas Dictatorship in the Context of Fascism and Nazism, 1936-1941' also contributes to the literature of comparative analysis of the 4th of August Regime with the fascist movements. As the author concludes that it would be wrong to call Metaxas dictatorship as fascist due to the regime's lack of intention in territorial expansions, which was faded away in the Asia Minor in 1920-22 Pelt (2002).

On the other hand, Pelts stresses that Metaxas' wholeheartedly pursuit on the transformed society and regeneration efforts represents analogy with Hitler's and Mussolini's and also with the Stalin's 'new man'. Pelts also describes Metaxas regime as the extensive use of brutality even at the expense of parliamentary principles along with democratic rights (Pelt 2002, p.167).

Another work included in the study is with its contributions to the literature is belong to Harry Cliadakis, (1979) 'The Political and Diplomatic Background to the Metaxas Dictatorship, 1935-1936' explains the background details of the establishment of the 4th of August Regime. As Cliadakis represents more the inclinations for putting Metaxas under the fascist descriptions, gives the details of internal and external political factors affected the establishment of the regime.

Regarding the biographies of Ioannis Metaxas one significant work contributes to the weak literature is a recently study of Marina Petrakis. In the mentioned book Petrakis (2006) explains discourses of Metaxas accompanied with the paramilitary organisational structure of EON. Petrakis' analysis of the implemented propaganda techniques of the period makes a contribution to the literature.

While 'Authoritarianism in Greece: The Metaxas Regime' by Jon V. Kofas is also

among the important sources of Metaxist period, Kofas (1983) analysis of the social, economic and political portrait of the interwar years before and during the Metaxas period also the parallel ministers of the Metaxas' deep state is evidently represented and intriguing content of the study. Metaxas' corporate state, his stance against communism and devotion for the nationalism is among the details of the ideological analysis of the study. While the repression and resistance of Metaxas regime is one of the contributed chapters of the mentioned study.

Regarding to the literature on Golden Dawn another highly cited study is belong to Sofia Vasilopoulou and Daphne Halikiopoulou, 'The Golden Dawn's Nationalist Solution: Explaining the Rise of the Far Right in Greece' (2015).

By the employment of the supply-demand approach the study is rich in the party success analysis and also has a detailed drawing of the supporter portrait of GD. The party's populist nation-statism and its ultra nationalism also covered in detail.

While the political history of Greece is told, the far right history is particularly emphasized during the related chapter. The work takes the subject into considerations with a wide range of topics related to GD in the literature since it is a good reference source largely used by the conducted study as well. But as mentioned at the beginning the literature proves deficiency for the direct comparison on our study's framework.

## **METHODOLOGY**

In the study comparative analysis along with in-depth analysis approaches are being used while the analysis of the party success of Golden Dawn is being excluded as the most studies on the party are covering it. Nor the comparison of the Golden Dawn with the rest of the far right European countries is not the main arguments of this study.

While the scholar attention is very high on the comparative studies regarding the party discourses throughout European continent, it is very limitedly cited in this study in order having more time and space for focusing on Golden Dawn's party ideology, organizational structure and its paramilitary character.

While this study aims making a depth investigation on the party ideology, one main question of the study is defining the roots of the far right legacy in Greece. From that point on, the political history of Greece is covered from the interwar years and the Freethinkers' Party's founder, Ioannis Metaxas period (1936-1941). The main argument of the paper is focused on making a depth analysis of Golden Dawn party ideology and organizational structure with the 4th of August Regime of Ioannis Metaxas, mentioned period also covered in details in the first part of the study.

Also as in some scholar studies and some media news and articles has cited the similarities of the Golden Dawn's political character with the Colonel's Regime, alongside of Ioannis Metaxas, the Colonel's Regime of 1967-1974 regarding the political stance and the ideological character also being covered to define its left legacy for the contemporary far right of today.

While the psychological factors on the voting decision for the extremist parties, also cited as important definers for the constituent to shift their vote from the

previous right wing to Golden Dawn, that aspect of the topic is also mentioned in this study.

The recent articles of the party leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos with party manifesto that declared Golden Dawn's website along with the recent studies conducted by the scholars studied in-depth analysis method. While the qualitative analysis of party documents besides the mentioned literature review consist the main methodology of the study.

## **Part I. METAXAS REGIME**

### **1.1.BEFORE AND DURING THE EARLY YEARS OF METAXAS REGIME THE POLITICAL TRENDS IN EUROPE**

For most of the scholars Metaxas Regime was one of the examples of political and ideological hybridity of its era and could not be understood without studying interwar European political circumstance was under the influence of fascist political experiments.

20th century was the political transformation time for the European continent. Germany was the main power initiated that change. Germany had the intention of spreading its power into the south eastern Europe to rearrange the area accordingly to the Berlin's 'new order' plan. New political power balancing arrangement in the region made an impact in revisionist states such as Bulgaria and Hungary while national insecurities spread over the status quo states such as; Greece, Romania and Yugoslavia (Pelt 2002, p.43). The internal instability was also disturbing those states. The reinstatement of monarchy on 10<sup>th</sup> of October 1935 and the establishment of Metaxas dictatorship just about ten months later was the consequences of those political movements for Greece.

The Great Depression gave the great change for Hitler for increasing his power while it devastated the Greek economy's stability which made Greece fragile against fascist and Nazi movements and also the trend of parliamentarism crisis, as it was the mutual case for the states in the same region also reached at Greek political life (Pelt 2002, p.144).

While 1930's was the time of fascination of radicalised conservatives inspired by Nazi Germany, Metaxas was indirect contact with Hitler regime even before he grasped the power (Kallis 2010, p.7). His first aim was strengthening the economic relations and being accepted in the southern European economical

block that Germany was the leader of. Improving military relations with Hitler's Germany was also among Metaxas' aims.

A constant psychological mobilisation of the masses was vital condition of the dictatorships of the era, the leader who could capture the minds and hearts could create a bond of mutual trust and loyalty. Petrakis explains the German case as the example of that mass would die for the ideology they were totally conquered by. But masses could not act without a leader, a leader who could electrify the masses through his words and gestures and sets an example.

During the recent Anschluss of Austria, Hitler delivered a speech in Berlin which was transmitted by radio over the whole country. It was the power of that speech that transformed the people of the country as the pawn of his regime. In this regard, the EON in its publish of January 1939 emphasised the absolute necessity of an efficient propaganda to capture the public support and urged its members to follow the German example. Hitler's strategy has given an idea for Metaxas on which he should construct his propaganda methods (Petrakis 2006, p.42).

## **1.2. Greece before and in the early years of Metaxas Regime (The socio-political portrait)**

The political history of modern Greece had witnessed many authoritarian governments dates back to King Otto (1832-1862). Like many other Eastern European nations, Greece also faced authoritarian dictatorship during the interwar years (Kofas 1983, p.7).

Before the Metaxas years particularly during the First World War period there was a certain cleavage between the King Constantine I and the leftist leader Eleftherios Venizelos. The argument was mostly on the Greece's position during

the WWI, and the Megali Idea. The King was claiming Greece to stay neutral course while Venizelos was insisting Greece to be at war by the side of Entente powers. King Constantine was related to German Kaiser because of his wife's being from the Royal German family. (Sophie was Wilhem's sister) The King was also as Metaxas was educated in Germany and the admired German militarism.

The confrontation between the King and Venizelos divided the political life but also the society in two parts. The royalist 'Old Greece' and the Venizelists 'New Greece' with two governments one under the direction of Venizelos in Salonica and the other by Constantine in Athens. While Entente powers decided to support Venizelos it was the only option for the King renouncing his throne. As a result, Greece headed into the World War I under the leadership of Venizelos (Pelt 2002, p.145).

Greek landing with the consent of the British to Izmir gave the impression that the time for completing the Megali Idea had come. Venizelos' setback in the elections of 1920 (November) gave the opportunity to King Constantine to comeback while Venizelos had been sent to in exile in Paris. National Schism had deepened to extend of the Holy Synod even (Pelt 2002, p.145). Holy Synod excommunicated King Constantine, while in return Athens cut the financial support of the Patriarchate of Istanbul.

Afterwards the final defeat of the Greek army in the Asia Minor caused over a million Asia Minor Orthodox left for Greece, the lost also meant the end of the Megali Idea in the Greek History. The influx of 1.2 million meant 20 per cent increase in total population for Greece. Immediate relief was a must while the influx's consequences meant political and economical chaos.

The refugees were mainly supporters of Venizelos and they accused the King for the defeat. Constantine sent to in exile the six well-known anti-Venizelist politicians, soldiers executed as the responsible of the disaster (Pelt 2002, p.146).

The failure of the Greek army in Asia Minor caused the collapse of the 'Great Idea' which was also the dream of Venizelos. After that fatal failure Greek army had to withdraw in September 1922. That disaster also was a shatter of prestige for the King. Asia Minor Greeks (Around eight to nine hundred thousand refugees) specifically blamed the King for that result (Macar 2009, p.13). As the consequence of that throwback tens of thousands of frightened sufferer and refugees, flooded the mainland and the Aegean islands (Clogg 1988, p.98).

Army had declared seize of control in 13th September by Colonel Nikolaos Plastiras as the head of the Venizelist officers (Macar 2009, p.13). Which also was the beginning of the Venizelist power on the Greek political life being significantly representative until 1950 (Clogg 1988, p.99). Army has forced the King to resign and sent him into exile at the 30<sup>th</sup> of September while Konstantinos' son King George the II ascended the throne (Macar 2009, p.14).

The new civilian government was installed but the power by no doubt was lay in the hands of the revolutionary committee. The army was a critical factor in the political scene throughout the interwar period (Clogg 1988, p.100). Eight politicians, including the military commander of Asia Minor, General Hadzianestis were court-martialled on the charge of high treason. As mentioned before six of those accused were executed. 'The trial of the Six', incite the feud between the Venizelists and its opponents. Interwar political climate was finally a bit softened by Venizelos' diplomatic abilities just after the Lausanne settlement with Turkey.

One of the political consequences of the Asia Minor catastrophe and Anatolian refugee population increase in Greece was KKE's seizing more power than ever before. Most of the KKE leaders were Anatolian refugees in the following years. The catastrophe of 1922 paved the way for a military coup. But the catastrophe's only outcome was not just on the political face of the country also the sociological portrait had changed; national schism has escalated especially after the

announcement of the death sentence of the six. While the influx of Anatolian refugees has accelerated that change; the new citizens had brought some capital with them and added a new colour in to the cultural life. (Gursoy 2009 p.122)

The country's ethnic balance significantly changed due to the new population as the majority of the refugee's has installed accordingly to the Venizelos' demographic programming. Macedonia was rare in Greek population before the Balkan Wars, Venizelos's goal was settling the new population on that area to make the Greek population the majority of the region due to his political intentions; making Greece ethnically one of the most homogenous countries of the Balkans.

According to the Census of 1928, almost half of the Macedonian population was consist of the refugees (Clogg 1988,p. 101-106). And the majority of the refugees were fervent followers of Venizelos, who was the rival of Metaxas or the populists. Thus they were the fervent voters of the abolition of Monarchy in the 1924 referendum. (Clogg 1988, p. 111) After the elections Venizelists won and as the consequence of the March 1924 plebiscite (by 70 per cent of the votes) kingdom was abolished (Macar 2009, p.14).

Afterwards until his overthrow by a military coup in 1926 the country was ruled by pompous dictatorship of General Pangalos (Clogg 1988, p. 111). Then after, Venizelos become the president in 1928 and during his period he aimed improving relationships with Balkan states. His signed agreement with Turkey regarding the issue of Anatolian immigrants of Greece, (1930) cost him loosing the support of the Asia Minor Greeks that settled in New Greece due to the agreement's restraint for the refugees to go back to their homelands. Because of loosing support of the refugees who was the political fortress of Venizelos, Liberal Party of Venizelos lost the 1933 elections (Macar 2009, p.14).

Royalist was putting significant pressure for restoration of monarchy triggered the

counteraction of the Venizelist officers. Although it had been planned better than the 1933 Coup of Plastiras, March 1935 Coup of the Venizelists also ended in failure, while Venizelos had joined Plastiras in exile in France.

While Kondylis were dealing with the restoration of the monarchy, after the twelve years of exile in England King George was headed to the throne for the second time. The People's Party received 143 seats while The Liberals acquired 141. While then the Communists gained a significant role with their 15 seats would balance the power at the advantage of either on liberals or republicans (Clogg 1988, p. 115).

Finally, the monarchy has restored as the consequence of the plebiscite of 26th November 1935 scored the 97.87 per cent of votes. Metaxas' campaign which resulted in gaining only 7 per cent of vote, also had done very badly in Peloponnesus, which was the fortress of the royalist mostly consist of the farmers population.

On the day of coup, Tsaldaris send the foreign minister to talk to the King in exile to promise providing the atmosphere for a successful transition from republic to the constitutional monarchy. Just three days before the rigged plebiscite King send a letter to the Greek people asking them give a chance to a crowned democracy. As Cliadakis mentions in his work the plebiscite was a project of the junta and resulted in 97 per cent success on the behalf of the monarchy (Cliadakis 1979, p.122).

The secret dealings of both political parties with KKE in order to instalment a strong government did not welcomed by the army. As being restless on that contacts General Papagos took the matter with the King, but his rude attitude played an important role in King's decision on him. Following the meeting the King replaced Pangalos with Metaxas, who was more a type of King's man was announced as the successor of the King (Clogg 1988, p.117).

Soon after Venizelist sending into exile, the prosecution law against the communist approved in 1936. KKE had become new enemy of the government while many members were being arrested (Macar 2009 p.17).

Just before the Metaxas regime came to power, Greece was under economical pressures as well. Significantly economic disturbances were provoking the social unrest and those conditions also were restricting the foreign investments. American minister described the economically poor portrait as a fertile field for professional communist agents of Moscow to act (Cliadakis1979, p.124).

The British was the main investor for Greece while Germany was watching it closely. On the restoration day of 25<sup>th</sup> November, Ernst Einsenlohr the German minister underlined the King's fatal need for an established dictatorship. He had to tie the army to this throne with royalty. The support of a reliable bulwark from the army would be very helpful on the King's account. Metaxas name was not heard before for such a position, at that time he was found the most suitable person for it by the King and the British (Cliadakis1979, p.125-126).

### **1.3. Political biography of Ioannis Metaxas**

Born in 1871 on the island of Ithaca Ioannis Metaxas graduated from the officer's cadet school as second lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers. During the Turkish-Greek War of 1897 he was among the officers of Crown Prince Konstantine's army. The prince then chose Metaxas with two other officers to provide them state scholarship at Berlin War Academy, where he spent three years. His studies in Germany gave him the chance of getting to know the German culture had affected all his political view and even formed his 'ideal Greek nation' ideology by imitating the German way (Papastratis 2005, p. 27).

He was an admirer of German regimentation, particularly discipline he longed in

the Greek society in general. Because according to him Greeks were lacking the discipline due to their individualistic character (Gallant 2001, p.157). Metaxas was a devoted admirer of the German and Prussian military machine, as he was sent to Germany for military education at the Academy of War, returned to Greece with the virtues of Ordnung and Ernst (Order and Seriousness). He also found out the importance of the Bildung (education and self cultivation) would only make the state and society achieve its ideas with (Pelt 2002, p.147).

Metaxas' political career had shined after he got acquainted with the royal family. During the Balkan War he became the staff member of the armed forces meanwhile he got in contact with the royal family, particularly with the Crowned Prince Konstantine. Because of his friendship with the Prince, Metaxas soon promoted to the Chief of Staff position.

Also when Venizelos became the prime minister had appointed him on his first aide-de-camp in his 1910 government. During that time until the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 the two were acting in unison. On behalf of Venizelos Metaxas made negotiations with Bulgaria and Serbia. (Papastratis 2005, p. 27-28). But soon after he broke his close ties with Venizelos and during the fervent quarrels continued he was sent into exile on Corsica.

After the restoration of monarchy he has been upgraded to the rank of general but because of the King's support of Venizelos in the Asia Minor involvement to protest that decision he resigned in 1920 (Gallant 2002, p.157).

Just after the death of prime minister Constantine Demertzis the caretaker of government, the King used his initiative and without consulting the leaders of the political parties appointed Metaxas as vice-prime minister. He received a very high rate of vote of confidence from the parliament; with 240 supporting of his government while 16 opposed by the Communist Party.

During his political career, Metaxas tried to be careful on not to reflecting his real ideas. He always knew that his political existence was depended on the King's support controlled the army and on the tolerance of the British also. His dependency prevent him at the beginning of his political career not to attempt any vivid radical change on the existed regime even after he came to power.

His recognition of the Republican regime of 1924 was for instance, also among his tactical moves. Even while he detested the parliamentary system, he was reflecting a personality keen on taking active part in the system. Papastratis (2005) predicts that the contradiction in Metaxas's actions could be explained by Metaxas' not to be very sure of his ideology's acceptance by the Greek society.

Because at the beginning of his political career the only important thing for Metaxas was being able to exist in the political scene thus he was ready to be in accordance with any circumstances lead him to the Greek political scene.

Although he did not truly reflect his political preferences clearly at the beginning and even in his diary documents, indeed he was fascist at heart. As he wrote down on his diary during his exile years in Italy, he had tried to meet up with II Duce ended up as a disappointment. He also got in contact with the future Romanian dictator of Ion Antonescu in November 1923, with whom he shared the same nationalist and anti-communist feelings. That meeting also did not satisfy him. Antonescu had told him off not to staying in Greece and fighting for his ideas, as Metaxas note down to his diary.

Metaxas did not mention any of his admiration for Nazi policies nor gave any details in Hitler's move as he must be watching him with great interest. Papastratis explains that detail as the evidence of Metaxas' delicate caution not to expressing his ideology even in his diary.

His political tendencies were not reflected in his personal library too. Metaxas had

a library of 24,000 titles in Greek, German, French and Italian. His books were mostly on literature and philosophy and additionally on the history, military history significantly. Poetry, geometry and economics were among the are of his interests while nor Hitler's neither Mussolini's any publishes were represented but II Duce's only 1934 published work, and Hitler's *Mein Kampf* were on his bookshelves.

Metaxas only few days before his death reflected his ideological future aims for Greece. He had dictated the draft of his regime's constitution secretly. His previous political writings of 1917-18 during his exile in Corsica has been found. During that period Metaxas' ideology was being formed and also was not change much after all. (Papastratis 2005, p.31-36).

He was a fervent anti-communist while was not very close to right wing he attended the political contest with his party of 'Freethinkers' (The *Eleftherophroness*), which did not bring any success therefore his political success had to be depend on his close relations with the throne. At the time when King George ascended to the throne in 1935, Metaxas was next to him as an old family friend the King could trust to (Gallant 2001, p.157).

While Metaxas carefully not reflecting his ideologies obviously, he was sharing similarities and also differences with the leaders of his time. If comparing Metaxas with Hitler on the ideologies, political qualities and motivations, it is clear that Metaxas had lacked of a genuine fascist social constituency with a revolutionary programme while the Hitler regime had those. Neither Metaxas had the truly charismatic leadership aura of Hitler (Kallis 2010, p.20).

Whilst his era was the period of fascist trend, scholars mostly describe Metaxas' regime as 'authoritarian' rather than fascist. Kallis (2010) describes the regime as being at the junction of authoritarianism-fascism', even more, represents multiple heuristic paradox that transcend the conventional authoritarianism-fascism divide.

As Italy and Third Reich the leading examples, leadership cult was one of the conditions of fascist regimes. Charismatic leadership formulated with authority by Max Weber, which also rested on the heroism or exemplary character of the leader. Those qualities acquired the leader being accepted as supernatural or superhuman with exceptional powers. (Pettrakis 2006, p.14) But those qualities were absent in Metaxas' personality, while King Constantine and Eleftherios Venizelos benefited those to improve their public support.

Although Metaxas had longed those qualities, his regime's propaganda network conducted a pervasive leadership cult constructed on the image of 'a safe great governor' and fatherly figure of the nation. The Chief was a competent orator but was uninspiring one, gentle but also a distant figure also lacked a community that recognised him as the leader of extraordinariness.

Metaxas was more like a leader who gained the leader charisma after he had assumed power through the official state institutions and functions just as Dolfuss, Salazar and even Franco had done (Kallis 2010, p 19-.20).

As mentioned before Metaxas needed the King to maintain his dictatorship and therefore depended on his support to remain in power. This dependency was made known in every manifestation and speeches delivered by Metaxas. "*We need the Royal throne as a symbol and guarantee of national unity*" he remarked in one of his speeches. That claim was supported by the relevant photographs of the chief and the King next to each other, emphasizing the harmonious relationship of the prime minister and his King (Pettrakis 2006, p.45).

Metaxas gained his legitimacy by the support of King, Venizelos, the rival of Metaxas, Venizelos was at the opposite side of the political spectrum. National schism's roots goes back before the Metaxas period. Domestic issues were handled by monarchist or parliamentary prerogatives. After King went into exile (1925) the constitutional issue boosted among the both sides.

The Republicans versus royalists feud represented by the assassination attempt to the Liberal Party leader of Eleftherios Venizelos in 1933. That is followed by the March Revolt of the Republican officers. The political life was extremely polarised in 1935 while the last two incidents lead to a coup by General George Kondylis. In 1936, Venizelos died in exile; that year the dictatorship of the 4th of August was being established. After the coup the rigid plebiscite followed while consequently the King George returned to throne in November 1935.

While Venizelos was the ultimate political rival for Metaxas, his involvement was being highly implied in the assassination of Venizelos but never was proven. As Metaxas praised the terrorist in his party's publication of Helleniki, as the man who were trying to save sacred Greece (Cliadakis 1979, p.117-118).

Metaxas and Venizelos were at the opposite sides of the national schism. While without doubt Venizelos represented the nineteenth-century conception of 'laissez-faire' liberalism also was being described as the man of ideas while his constitutional programme was highlighted three priorities: the rationalised parliamentary system, guaranteed individual liberties under the constitution, and the facilitation of the interventionist role of the state in the economy. (Kitromilides 2008, p.251)

On whole Metaxas was not very keen at all. As he explained his ideological debate with Venizelos in his article on 23 January 1935 as follows (Vatikiotis 1988 p.144):

*Venizelos and I invited you to look backwards to the past. Now I urge you to look forward to the future; and since you can not live without ideals, the only suitable ideal is that of the Hellenic Idea. The Great Idea (I megali Idea) itself did not fail; only the attempt at its territorial implementation. The Greco-Byzantine perception of it has failed, but not its ancient form of Hellenism. Our (my) disagreement with Venizelos, in the final analysis, is over three understanding, the meaning, significance and form of the Hellenic Idea.*

According to Metaxas the public was tired and failed and only could be rescued by the establishment of the monarchy.(Popular Aristocracy in Greece (Vatikiotis 1988, p.143-144). Since the discursive debates between Venizelos and Metaxas was established on the matter of parliamentarism vs. dictatorship it was not possible for both to come to terms.

Metaxas was accusing the national schism and Venizelos of the transformation of national values. He believed that return to the pre-liberal age values of Hellenism was a must. That cultural Hellenism Metaxas offered was rooted in the period of 1880-1910 (Vatikiotis 1988, p.143-144).

In his regime's last year, the period before Christmas was particularly difficult for him as the King and the most of the Royal Court did not attend to the annual anniversary celebrations of the 4th of August Regime. As the prince was not content about EON Metaxas was suspicious of the royal support's withdraw on him while few months before he had informed the cabinet the massive conspiring against him, with the involvement of the some of army members.

While during the last year of his regime Metaxas was struggling with those suspicions but the Italian ultimatum on 28 October 1940 changed the final portrait. It was the moment Ioannis Metaxas has longed for along time while he was complaining not to be loved by his people. He became a national hero for the sake of his famous oxi (no!) answer to the Italian invaders.

The following day the streets of Athens were full of people who swept Metaxas on their shoulders across to Army's Headquarter. Soon after due to health problems Metaxas passed away on 29 January 1941 (Vatikiotis 1988, p.179-180).

#### **1.4. Establishment of Freethinkers' Party**

Metaxas's Freethinkers' Party (The Eleftherophroness) has been founded as an alternative choice for the two significant parties; the Liberals and the Populists in 1922. According to the party manifesto, The Freethinkers' aimed to 'replace the methods of the condemned past'. The party never gained a satisfactory sum of supports and was dissolved as soon as Metaxas came to power.

While never gaining wide public acceptance, Metaxas still dominated the Greek political and military sphere over thirty years. Had to create his own supporters for the regime's future through EON, moulding the Greek youth was one of his initiatives. Building up his faithful followers to be the disseminators of its values and ideologies became the regime's supreme goal (Pettrakis 2005, p.18).

Metaxas believed that the country was in political chaos and among the Greek voters there was a deep political cleavage, and he was blaming the past political system; a 'rotten system,' 'a dead organism' with the only intention of manipulating the Greek people and collecting their votes'. Such system was unconcerned to the voter's need, and was using every unethical means to remain in power. Moral and economic degradation was also natural consequences of that 'rotten system' (Pettrakis 2005, p.18).

Metaxas believed the parliamentary system was inhibitory agent for country's progress. Often he declared his antipathy towards the old parties (including traditional conservatism) mostly he called them as the 'drones of the political parties' and at any chances he professed an active anti-parliamentarism. Under those negative conditions political instability was inevitable which necessitated the constitution of the 'Fourth of August' State (Pettrakis 2006, p.18).

Metaxas regime was underlining the fact that, The British Parliamentary system was only beneficial for its country but not for the rest of the Europe. The regime's

publications as well as the EON booklets, were warning nation about parliamentarism which since the ancient times had damaged them until the eve of the 'Forth of August' State. Parliamentarism was a massive danger which would lead to civil war and if Metaxas had not come along at the right time, collapse of Greece would be completed.

In the published propaganda, The Fourth of August was being described as a totalitarian state, who was non violent state because it was a powerful state not a political dictatorship. Metaxas' political thinking was 'anti-parliamentarist' and 'anti-communist'. Communism was the vital element of degradation of the nation and loss of all the significant values compose the Greek nation (Pettrakis 2006, p.33-34).

According to Metaxas the governing party was consist of all Greek people except the traditional politicians and representatives of the 'red thread', the communist (Pettrakis 2005, p.33-34). For wiping out the danger of communism, Metaxas' vital buttress was Constantinos Maniadakis, the Deputy Minister for Public Security, the police and the chorofylaki (gendarmerie) which had grown in numbers with the enactment of Emergency Law 1075- Peri Metron Asfaleias tou Kinonikou Kathestotos ke Prostasias Ton Politon (Measures for the Safety of the Social Regime and the Protection of the Citizens of 11th February 1938) Diselimination of the communist in the society and economic life was one of the priorities of Maniadakis, Article 11 gave him unlimited power on that mission.

Applying for job, citizens were obliged to hand in the Pistopietiko Kinonikon Fronimaton- Political Loyalty Certificate from the ministry. (Pettrakis p.34) Maniadakis had described the goal of the regime as biceps; one mopping up the community from the pests and replacing the new forged generation of EON to the key positions which shapes the society and the nation (Kallis 2010, p.16).

The communist hatred was obvious in many EON's speeches as it was on the

occasion of Ioannis Metaxas' name-day (7<sup>th</sup> January 1938) reflected by Kostas Kotzias (The Minister of Capital) as follows (Petrakis 2006, p.35): Look towards the future and close your ears to those who wish to instil doubts in your souls. They are subversive people who are plotting against this society and this country; towards those people you must be ruthless and cruel; you must be merciless.

The regime did not only hate the communist, also hated the books of 'subversive ideas' which would harm the 'nation of Metaxas'. Article 3 of Emergency Law 1078, prohibited the publication of that sorts, while those books were burnt at central squares by the beloved supporters of the regime (much like the attitude of the Nazis of Germany on May 1933), people had those books at their homes were arrested. Some of the books were belonged to Goethe, Freud and Bernard Shaw and to many famous Greek writers. Maniadakis' 5<sup>th</sup> of November 1938 order prohibited the circulation of the works of even Thucydides, Sophocles and many other ancient and contemporary writers' (Petrakis 2006, p.37).

### **1.5. Metaxas' Greece**

Metaxas regime supported by the King and had a definite authoritarian character; parliament's jurisdiction was restricted while the King's power strengthened. The Greek Communist Party as the fatal enemy of the system was banned and right of demonstrations was forbidden. Metaxas regime was not only ideologically imitating the Hitler's regime but also was imitating its propaganda methods and youth movements while creating a personality cult to be respected and to be obeyed by the public. Finally it became a police state (Papastratis 2005, p.34).

As Metaxas with his regime the 4<sup>th</sup> has governed Greece for about four years. During his first two years his regime was described more mild authoritarian by most scholars, but soon after the first two years, after the establishment of his paramilitary organisations and parallel ministers and also with taken the full

control of the police, became more strict during which also his social regulations has been applauded by the public and still being praised by contemporary Greek right parties.

**1.5.1. Ideological characteristics of the 4th of August Regime: Anti-parliamentarism and anti-communism, third way, collectivism, exaltation of the traditional values; monarchy, family and the religion**

Metaxas rhetoric defined by himself as the III. Hellenic Civilisation which was imitation of the Hitler's III. Reich. Metaxas' ideal civilisation type was the Spartan democracy rather than the Athenian. His target was achieving the Spartan militaristic and oligarchic character. He exalted the First Hellenistic Civilisation's soul and described the Byzantine as the Second Hellenic Civilisation which also achieves embracing the Christian values but on the contrary to the First Hellenic Civilisation failed at achieving its big ideas.

Whereas the First Hellenic Civilisation was failing at fulfilment of Christian faith. For Metaxas his regime, the Fourth of August Civilisation was the continuation of the I, II; The Third of Hellenic Civilisation which was rooted deeply to the Christian-Orthodoxy (Macar 2009, p.17).

The 4th of August State was an anti-communist, anti-parliamentarian state, a state with an agrarian and labour foundation; anti-plutocratic and also a totalitarian. Communism, KKE, Komounistiko Komma Ellados (Greek Communist Party) was to be blamed for the degradation of the nation and lose of sacred values (Petrakis 2006, p.33-34).

Metaxas' writings during his exile years in Corsica, represents his political ideas. According to those writings he was not at all an egalitarian. He called

egalitarianism as 'the new religion of equality' and declared that inequality between human beings was the natural state of society. He argued that actually there was only one political party in Greece the 'bourgeois party'. He identified the Greek worker as 'future petit bourgeoisie'. That one party according to him, had divided into several while each with different leader profiles and different ideologies had the same programme (Papastratis 2005, p.32).

Metaxas thought social change was vital for solving the social problems of Greece which was mostly occurred because of the unfair wealth distribution. He was unhappy about the 'parasitic mercantile class'. Social reforms were also a must for the idealised Greece. He described his reforms as rational, from above by reviving the Greek patriotism, under the control of the state.

Redistribution of wealth in accordance with Greek traditional values must be done carefully, without damaging the pillars of the society; the church and the family. Each individual who had socially important role had the right of having wealth for his new state (Vatikiotis 1988, p.204).

In his diary Metaxas makes reference to a danger of political and social erosion and he foresees the possibility of that danger extremely high for Greece. The revolution that Metaxas was scared of was the type of one from above similar to Spanish Revolution, happened in front of his eyes in Europe, just two weeks before he declared his dictatorship (Cliadakis 1979, p.130,132).

But it was not an anti-semitic at all, surely besides the EON as it was a different case. It was a fully Orthodox-Greek Organisation where Jewish members and the other ethnic minorities were forbidden for membership (Macar 2009, p.20). Although most scholars describe Metaxas as fascist or semi-fascist, he defines himself and his regime differently. His draft constitutions reflect that (1940) he envisaged an autocratic state that incorporated the monarchy and the government with its three branches (legislature, executive, judiciary) Final word of the

judiciary was belonged to the executive. Metaxas preferred naming his belonged state as nationalist corporatist rather than corporatist. In his nationalist state the political parties were forbidden. All property in the state's lands were belong to the state as the society's benefit required so. Properties considered belong to society, the state reserved the right to intervene if the society's benefits was at risk. In Metaxas understanding the King had to be strong in the political arena and should have the right of appointing the prime minister without consulting any institution.

Metaxas had identified his regime as anti-communist, antiparliamentary and totalitarian state while criticising Hitler and II Duce for their honesty on the ideologies they represented. If they truly believed their announced ideologies they would support Greece. While attacking Greece they were indeed attacking their represented ideologies but the fact showed that they were not. They were only determined by conquest and self-interests therefore their ideology was not true. In Metaxas' eyes therefore they were just as the British, nothing more than imperialist. According to Metaxas was Mussolini and Hitler betrayed their ideologies unlike himself (Papastratis 2005, p.36).

Metaxas' turning his face towards Germany was, besides his admiration for Germany, due to the domestic political problems; as Mogens Pelt argues, Metaxas had realised that to achieve the problems that Greece was facing applying neither anti-Venizelist manners nor Greek tradition was not enough. He had to find a new rhetoric and political manner.

Then after he began to look outside Greece. Solving the domestic problems his exemplary, first option was the Nazis and Germany. That was why on 29 September 1936, he admitted the German Minister of Propaganda (Josef Goebbels) that success of the National Socialism in Germany had impressed him deeply and he was wishing that he could achieve the same goal in Greece.

Jon Kofas (1983) describes Metaxas regime or the Greek authoritarianism as Monarchy-Fascism, different than Italian fascist or German Nazi models, while borrowing some similarities. The major difference of Metaxas regime was its not being a expansionist. While during his first two years he represented a conservative dictatorship. After 1938 with some radical changes conducted by Metaxas, Greece turned into an extreme (quasi-fascist) regime (Kofas 1983, p.7).

During the Greek history particularly in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries parliamentary system was many times damaged by the dictatorial politicians, military and by the King. While during the four-year period of interwar eleven coups and counter coups and pronunciamientos took place due to the power struggles of military on politics. Although as Kofas describes Metaxas dictatorship besides being a failure also left a legacy for the Colonels in 1967-1974 to pursuit.

“For us the problem is not how we will remain parliamentary system but how we will escape from it” declared Metaxas in 1934. According to Metaxas, the liberal-parliamentary model was not only damaging for his nation but also was ill matched to the Greek history.

Metaxas argued that Europeans forced Greece to adapt the parliamentary system was their own invention, while just after Greece became a nation in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Therefore that forced unnatural system was no suitable for Greece never had the change of developing his own political system. Parliamentary democracy was dividing the nation and that wound only be cured by class collaboration as He wrote as follows (Kallis 2010, p.12): The cooperation of workers, will prevail in all fields, as well as that of industrialists and professional men will cooperate together. Therefore cooperation will replace class confrontation and class struggle prevent every country's revival.

Metaxas' excuse for objecting parliamentary system was its lead to the class antagonism. And authoritarianism was the solution for ending that antagonism.

New regime would be a safeguard of the peace of labour and capitalist (Vatikiotis 1983, p.56-57). Thus, he believed that the end of the parliamentary system was a must. Moreover he was aiming to create a new weltanschauun (worldview) even though he used the term for his new regime as 'kosmo theoria' (world theory).

That new Hellenic civilization was to be a synthesis of the ancient Greek and Byzantine civilizations. State of a total discipline where the individualism was highly restricted in accordance with the state's profits (Vatikiotis1988, p.185).

Metaxas' regime as Mogens Pelt (2002) put it was best be described as one of the national activism, destruction of parliamentary principles and the democratic rights. By its attitude towards the corporate organisations and the labour market and the society and the politics culture and implemented rearmament policies made Metaxas regime far different than the previous governments of Greece.

In general the antipathy towards the parliamentarian system in Europe was due to the Great Depression's destructive results with liberal economy's failure. Under that circumstance the modern world's request was not fulfilled. European solution for this failure was formulated as National Socialism and Fascism (Pelt 2002, p. 167). As it seemed to be the case for Greece as well.

Metaxas did not have a governing party technically, but in Metaxas's understanding all Greek people but the communist and reactionary old parties were the governing party of Greece. Metaxas as a strong anti-communist used every opportunity to wipe out each traces of communist influence in society (Petrakis 2006, p.63).

All the strict implementations on the communist was due to Metaxas' fear rather than despising it. By outlawing KKE and imprisoning its leaders and members he represented that fear. Communism was standing for everything he disliked, while it was advocating internationalism, proposal of a classless society along with

ethnic and racial equality, destruction of capitalism were among its principles. Also communism's stand for atheism could not be accepted while religion, Christian Orthodoxy was among the Greek nation's formulated pillars in its identity. Kofas underlines that Metaxas was scared of communism because it was a revolutionary movement which might attract the masses and the intelligentsia of Greece. Metaxas proposed authoritarianism for the alternative of communism to attract masses while he thought fascism and communism were the only two political systems (Kofas 1983, p.129-130).

The 4th of August Regime drafted a special law to remove communist from society while sending them to concentration camps for 'rehabilitation'. As the anti-communist law damaged the intellectual capacity of the country while many professors, students, journalists, labour leaders and civil servants, workers were imprisoned. Association with the KKE was also a reason for punishment at minimum three months of imprisonment.

While in 1936 the police arrested 1.330 citizens and charged them with political crimes while sending around a thousand of them to the remote islands while the rest faced heavy prison sentences. Even some KKE deputies and leftist leaders were sent to prison without trials.

While Metaxas announced Nikos Zachariades (the General Secretary of KKE) as soviet agent who was a threat for the public's safety as the security police arrested him. Metaxas' Deputy Minister of Security Constantinos Maniadakis was taking the subject in great importance and was in contact with the Gestapo particularly with Heinrich Himmler, German Minister of Security (Kofas 1983, p.131).

Metaxas regime was in accordance with Germany on the mission of preventing the communist spread in the continent while besides that for Metaxas the communist, as the republicans who were blamed of the national schism they caused, also were a threat for the national unity.

Indeed, he was only using the Mussolini's way for legitimising his authoritarianism by scapegoating the communist. What was more communists were a real threat for his regenerated Greece ideal.

Metaxas intended making a new beginning in the political history of the country; he was after something new; 'third way' as he called it or 'metavoli' the vision he described as a 'post-Venizelist transformation. A new concept of 'trans class nationalism'

Metaxas' Neon Kratos (New State)' primary pillars identified as family, nation, religion (Christian-Orthodoxy and the Church) and the Greek traditions. These were the elements which were inspiring the national transformation the regime was planning to achieve. 4<sup>th</sup> of the August regime's muse was Greek customs and history.

Particularly ancient Spartan discipline and medieval Byzantine type of devotion to religion. (Kallis 2010, p.9-10). His personally designed the Third Hellenic Civilisation exalted in his speeches as below (Kallis 2010, p.11):

*Let not our Greek previous civilisations intimidate you... You will perfect-  
The Hellenic Civilisation-... And you, modern Greeks, do you not have the  
ambition to create your own civilisation derived from those two other  
civilisation-ancient and medieval Greek?- Do you not like such a supreme  
ideal and a paramount objective ?*

For Metaxas, 'Disciplined freedom' was primary goal for building the new society, regenerated Greek society in which individualism had been attacked and described as divisive. In Metaxas understanding each member of the society could find superior sense of liberty through their fully active participation into the community. That collective consciousness only could be created by education and social mobilisation. And that task must be put on work through family and schools, leisure and work organisations beside's EON (Kallis 2010, p.13).

As A. Kallis underlines, the vision towards revival of a glorious historic inheritance and nationalism proposed by Metaxas' as third way was too similar with Third Reich of Nazi Germany and Third Rome of Fascist Italia. In the Chief's understanding to reuniting and revitalising Greece was depend on a new outlook, which was carefully designed by himself and on that path the historic mission of Metaxas was to wiping out the 'red thread' from Greek society and politic world. But Metaxas' regeneration of Greece mission had shifted as defending Greece due to the Italian-Greco war (Petrakis 2006 p. 34).

The King, country, religion and the flag were the prominent figures of Metaxas' regime's discourse (Petrakis 2005 p.196-197). Whereas nation (ethnos/phyle), fatherland (patris) was the nucleus of the regime besides the religion. It was without doubt was an innovative ideological platform also were the political discourse of almost every Greek government (with the Megali Idea) since the mid-nineteenth century (Kallis 2010, p.12). Metaxas' found solution was propaganda of the king, religion, country and family as the safeguards of the nation while as most countries of the interwar years (Petrakis 2006 p.196-197).

For the transformed Greece Metaxas' first tool was shaping youth. While unprovided with a political party of supported by the masses, Metaxas established the Ethnikos Organismos Neola (EON) which he hoped would replace a party mechanism that could supply him devoted supporters. Applied an extensive programme of propaganda and indoctrination to mould the public opinion at his advantages and maintain his regime powerful (Petrakis 2006, p.196)

Metaxas' propaganda technics were similar to the Hitler and Mussolini's. EON was similar to the Hitler Youth as organisation and with its functions. The salutation of the EON also was alike Hitler Youth's. Its main difference from the Hitler and Mussolini's regimes was mostly its weak public support.

As Pelt argues, Metaxas regime not to be a mass movement but his idea of a transformed Greek mind, a newly established regenerated Greece was too much similar with the Hitler, Stalin or Mussolini's 'new man' discourses. 'New Order' understanding of Metaxas was also similar to the fascist and Nazi ideologies (Pelt 2002, p.156).

On the other hand, Metaxas had declared from the very beginning of his regime that he had anti-semitic views. He often through the media underlined that Jews of Greece were equal to the Greeks as citizens. The Jewish Chronicle in London printed a short article in September 1937 for exalting Metaxas because of his attitude. But, EON was reflecting that Metaxas' Greece was a race-conscious state. The Chief's the most precious institution, EON was a complete Greek Christian in character. No Jews, Muslims or the other nations of Greek minorities were forbidden.

The EON's mission was firstly creating a nationalistic feeling and also identity among the youth of Greece. Cultural and ethnic homogeneity was its primacy. Minorities of Greece, significantly Muslims Slavic people, Albanians were forced to compromise and education in Greek were obligatory. Pressure on the minorities and the Asia Minor refugees was significant. Forcing them to manifest their identity caused social and cultural troubles.

This discomfort was being reflected in the rembetiko tradition. Rembetiko songs were perceived as politically and morally subversive and were prohibited the police closed down rembetiko clubs and arrested performers (Pelt 2002, p.156).

Metaxas' idealised Greece was culturally heterogeneous, reflection of the classical Hellas and Byzantium. Perceived the Sparta as the first of Three Greek civilisations. The second, Byzantium representing the Christian Orthodox ideal, the third was the Metaxas' regime, the 4<sup>th</sup> of August; Third Greek Civilisation.

According to Metaxas the Greek Civilisation was completely destroyed by Turks during their four hundred years of domination. Creating a pure race of disciplined and uncorrupted men and women working for Greece as it used to be during the classical period was Metaxas' ultimate goal.

While Mogens Pelt reports a similarity between Metaxas and the German architect (who was well known after the Napoleon's destroy in Germany) Wilhelm von Humbold. Humbold aimed purging the French footprints of the German culture and rising Germany to a civilisation of higher class (Pelt 2002, p.159).

According to some, Humboldtian reforms were the reasons of the extraordinary achievements of the modern Germany was a sort of pursuit of the ideals of the ancient Greece. In other words in that understanding Germans were transformed into ancient Greeks. German admiration for Greek antiquity and the ideology of Humboldt caused a bilateral emotional proximity between Germany and Greece. Also some scholars think that the similar sentiments considering racial attachment to nation was being seen in the northern European countries while those people defined as National Socialists.

Albert Speer underlined Hitler's being deeply effected by Greek architecture and defined it as the highest imaginable perfection. The belief (of people like Guido von List, a racial history propagator) on Aryans being originally came from the North Pole but spread to Mediterranean where they bred the ancient Greeks. Gobbel wrote as follows (Pelt 2002, p.160-161):

*My soul filled with beauty. Blessed antiquity, which lived in eternal joy free from Christianity An evening stroll through the town. This joyful highest life. This smell of happiness. How pleased the Fuehrer would be if he were here with us! On Acropolis. O, this shattering view! The cradle of Aryan culture.*

While the vanguard of fascism in Europe the Third Reich was admiring the Greek culture whereas the roots of fascism was not deeply rooted in Greek contemporary political history. According to P. J. Vatikiotis fascism was not evident in Greece

or was represented in a meaningful example. Vatikiotis also made reference to Andrikopoulos, only five fascist organizations were countable in Greece before the 4th of the August regime.

Those organisations were mostly used by the authoritarian regimes as the tools of discipline the society first of those was founded in Salonica under the name of 'Ethniki Enosis Ellados' (The National Unity of Greece) known as anti-semitic as far as patriotic. The second was founded by George Mercouris (the son of ultra royalist mayor of Athens which also was one of the comrades of King Constantine during the Great War) in 1933 which seems more close to Metaxas' movement, was compared to Hitler's movement but concluded mostly as a poor imitation of it. The third one was led by Colonel Niklambis also comrades of General Pangalos as 'Iron Peace'. The Iron Peace's most members were the officers of the Pangalos regime.

National-Socialist Party of Macedonia and also The University of Athens' University Student Club were the other significant one. University Student Club was founded to prevent strong communist student clubs expansion. Also a not strong but local based one, Italian Fascio was another organisations founded in Greece just before Metaxas came to power.

On the other hand, there was not any link between Metaxas and those groups at all. What's more National Young Organization of Metaxas or in the rest of the European countries as Vatikiotis cites could not be shown as any motivation or as an evidence of any fascism. As he puts it, it was the result of a search for finding a way out of a failed parliamentary system and partisan politics which had brought the country to at the edge of the cliff.

Those sort of organizations as mentioned above were efforts of the regime to discipline the society. While those sort of governments were not necessarily synonymous with fascism as describing them autocracies would be more suitable.

The new state and new order was among the popular topics of the interwar era publications, so it was in Greece. Although pro-Germans were exist in Greece no biological racist theories or any eye catching fascist programmes were represented. On the other hand, during those years it is true that many Greeks were sent to study in Germany and influence as far as the culture considered was a reality.

Metaxas also was aware of the critics of himself for being a German admirer and gives his reply as follows (Vatikiotis 1988, p.188-189):

*Gentlemen, I've been accused of two things: One, the first, that I am a Germanophile, and two, the second, that I lack the sensitivity and imagination of Venizelos. It is true I was educated in Germany and had many ties with that country. But as one who comes to hate a friend who betrayed the friendship, that is how I hate Germany now.*

The 4th of August regime disseminated its ideologies until Metaxas' death on 29 January 1941. Afterwards accordingly to the new political and military conditions policy shifts were the requirement of the era regarding the external and foreign policies (Petraakis 2006, p.191).

Few weeks after the establishment of Metaxas government the president of the Council declared the new regime's intentions. The first paragraph was formulated on the monarchy: 1.The strengthening of the throne as the basis and the guarantee for national unity and independence (Kofas 1983, p.64) Therefore, from the beginning of his regime, Metaxas was keen on protecting the throne.

While Metaxas thought of himself as the gifted leader of a brand new regime. His first promise was the unity and the regeneration of the nation which was necessary especially after the two mainstream parties' quarrels which over two decade had created big ruptures in the political and social life. One of his priorities was also a viable restoration of monarchy and expunge of Venizelist traces in political and social life (Kallis 2010, p.5).

In Metaxas' regime the traditional Greek institutions of society such as family and youth were fundamental discursive tools. In his speeches he always underlined the importance of those values for himself. Those speeches also helped him to gain sympathy of the masses and softened his didactic style of a dictator. He significantly emphasised the importance of the Greek Youth while EON was the apple of the eye of his regime.

That was why just few days after (on 10th of August) he announced the establishment of the 4<sup>th</sup> of August Regime, gave a special speech to the Greek youth, messaging them holding their national values tightly while resisting the foreign ideas which were devastating for the country. In his speech of 19th October 1939, Metaxas highlighted the importance of the family and described it as the vital institution of society as follows (Vatikiotis 1988, p. 186):

*It is important to us here in Greece, and we are not particularly interested in what other societies and foreign countries think of it. Here it is simply linked to the very existence and survival of Greek society. For many centuries, having suffered so many catastrophes and enslavements, the Greek national identity was not really encompassed in a territorial state so that all the cultural heritage of the Greek nation was concentrated in and transmitted from generation to generation by the family.*

According to P. Vatikiotis, Metaxas was wise enough to know that his new authoritarian national state could not survive after his death. Because of that fact, through all his reforms he aimed creating a constitutional monarchy would make his personalised regime to survive. Because of that fact he wrote his Last Political Will and Testament in the form of a strong monarchic or presidential state.

While Metaxas's regime was rooted in Greek tradition and history. Metaxas himself emphasised that the 4th of August regime was continuation of the Greek history it was named as the Third Hellenic Civilisation which had the iron discipline of ancient Sparta and devoted to the religion of medieval Byzantine, continuation of the ancient Greek and Byzantine empire.

Orthodox Christianity was one of the fundamental pillars of the Third Hellenic Civilisation. Metaxas repeatedly spoken of importance of the religion and the church for the spiritual regeneration of the modern Greek society he believed that was necessary.

Because Metaxas believed that orthodoxy was the moral guardian of the Hellenic soul (Elleniki psichi) Helleno-Orthodoxy was the vital elements of the Greek culture therefore religious rituals and symbols were everyday function that Metaxas regime heavily relied on. Only an established church could guarantee and support the ethnical transformation of the Greek society that Metaxas idealised. Besides supporting of Metaxas regime Greek Orthodox Church had played significant role in the Greek politics and popular culture which and also succeed preserving its strength after the Metaxas regime (Kallis 2010, p.11-12).

Strengthening of the national church under the Metaxas regime's declared fifteen goals of government just as he came to power (KOFAS P.64-65) In his speech dated on 19 October 1939 he remarked that: "Greeks are mainly Orthodox in religion, so that of eight million Greeks in the modern state, barely 250.00 belong to other religions, rites, sects. The Church emphasizes the two sacraments of marriage and baptism! The family therefore was the cell of Greek society and nation meant the society. So the family must participate in education of the children; the major forces of the society other than the nation, polity or the state was the church.

While in the West there was a total separation between Church and the State, and the Church is denied a role in education, in Greece, since the rise of Christianity the church and nation constitute one whole sharing the same history. Thus, the state in Greece never dared seeking anti-religious aims (Vatikiotis 1988, p. 187).

### **1.5.2. Apotheosizing the leader, image building process of Metaxas and arguments on his dictatorship**

EON songs were a very good example of apotheosizing of Metaxas and also example of how successfully image building process was conducted by his team:

“You came like sweet-smelling air, to lighten up the sky. You came like a God Chief, Chief and Father of the Truth...” (Pettrakis 2006, p.52)

Whereas the name day of the leader has been celebrated as national holiday, establishment day of the regime; Fourth of August 1936 were also perceived as a milestone of the nation just as 25 March 1821; the faithful day of Greek independence from 'long slavery'. Fourth of August 1936 was also symbolisation of the will of Greek nation's freedom desire. Metaxas was the Saviour of the Nation and warranter of the Greek nation's unity.

One of the outstanding evidence of the apotheosising Metaxas as his regime's propaganda method was the postmarks on letters, stating the message of 'Do not forget that the 4<sup>th</sup> August Greece was saved by Ioannis Metaxas'. Same mottoes awas being seen on the bus tickets, leaflets and posters, while the photographs of Metaxas adorned the electricity bulbs (Pettrakis 2006, p.29-51).

Ioannis Metaxas, knew Greek mentality well and also had the talent of mastering the psychology of the masses in order to achieve his ambitions (Pettrakis 2006, p.21). On the other hand, his dictatorship worsened by his weak communication abilities with masses and drew a rougher picture of himself as well as his disadvantaged physical appearance did not help creating charismatic leader image.

Metaxas was much older than the other politicians of the era, who definitely lacked the striking appearance of a national leader. He was short, overweight and always wearing spectacles; representing the negative model of the charismatic leader (Pettrakis 2006, p.26).

As Marina Petrakis explains, during his image building process he had succeed all his negative physical characteristics to put in good use. His image was an ordinary man, an ideal modest civil servant working for his beloved nation, an ordinary father-grand father; the good natured Barba Yiannis (Uncle Yiannis), who were able to embrace each members of the community regardless the class they were belong to.

Metaxas was the man of duty and the watchman of the ethical values rather than a swindler with pompous appearance, and that was the message formulated and propagated to the masses through the press propaganda.

He had paid a lot of attention for creating an intrinsic link with the past values and noble ideas of the nation, which his regime epitomised and promoted. Therefore, the emblem of the 'Fourth of August' State, the Greek flag with the burning torch and number 4 in the middle, and the two Cretan Axes would harmoniously coexist with the Royal Crown and the National flag, while the raising of the right hand would revive the model of the ancient Greek salute (Petrakis 2006, p.28-29).

Also the national mottoes of the regime were inspiring phrases chosen by the Chief himself such as; Greece is our Great Mother; when you love Greece, you love yourselves or Get up Greek Youth; there exist no another reality for you apart from the Greek nation'. Those slogans were also being used in his speeches.

Metaxas' name day on 7 January had been celebrated as the national holiday of the regime. The following quotation from EON speech reflects the effort of linking the Chief's name day with his 'sacred' mission (Petrakis, 2006 p.29-30).

*This celebration today is not just another conventional holiday like all the others. The reason for this difference is the fact that our leader is not a conventional leader but a leader who has been acknowledged by all Greeks as the creator and saviour of the Greek Nation (...) We do not celebrate this day only as an ordinary name-day but also as a day which symbolises our ideology, our values and our policies, all of which are embodied in one person; this person is our Chief. Thus, the whole nation as one man, one soul*

*and one spirit celebrates the name day of the man whom the whole nation had been expecting for such a long time: the man who came and resurrected the nation and will lead it to greatness. Indeed the whole nation, the Greek nation, celebrates (...) but for us in EON, the rejoicing is much greater because we celebrate the name-day of our real father.*

For Metaxas possessing the image of a caring leader was also important. For this reason he inaugurated several institutions in the suburbs. Metaxas was a leader who had enjoyed keep flattering the masses. In his speeches he gave to the peasants of Evros he stated; “It is I who thank you for your enthusiasm. I am dedicated to you. I have nothing else in my life but you” (Petrakis 2006, p.58).

Exaltation of the farmers and workers was one of the Metaxas strategy as he called out to the peasants children to cherish their father's occupation, as he called it the noblest occupation (Petrakis 2005, p.58). Also in his speeches he often appreciated the members of working class. He stated in one of those speeches that there was no greater honour than being a worker. As he named himself as the 'First Peasant' (Protos Agrotis): “Now you, the Workers of Greece, came along and attributed this status to me. This is the greatest satisfaction which I have as a human being” (Petrakis 2006, p.59).

At this point, catching the heart of ordinary people in the street EON was a very useful instrument for the Chief. Simple working people were being convinced through their children who also were the EON members. As being aware of that Metaxas was spending time for face to face conversation with EON children, and also was shaking the hands of the workers in front of his media in order to establishment of the image of warmth, solidarity and appreciation of the regime by the public. Metaxas' propaganda magazine 'E Neolea' reflects such an effort-success relation with an article titled ‘Ioannis Metaxas: The Friend of the Worker’ (Petrakis 2006, p.62) among the others.

From the very first day Metaxas' government had targeted the agrarian population with a carefully planned programme. The speech of 2 October 1936 reflects his

policy towards the agrarians. He stated as follows (Petrakis 2006, p.54): “Special attention will be given to the peasants, because they constitute the main factor of the nation's wealth-production and from the largest section of the Greek nation.”

Peasants and farmers were forming the majority of the Greek population. They were probably the most illiterate population and the easy target for exploitation and manipulation for Metaxas that was why probably he had focused on this class of the community first. The chief's successfully applied strategy of taking the agrarian and farmers as individuals and not only the potential voters seemed worked.

As Metaxas presented himself as an aristocrat who had the soul of a peasant, of a farmer and of a people of earth, he stated himself as someone who was aware of the fact that the nation's strength were depend on the agriculture. He also identified himself with them, by claiming to be an agrarian by birth while using his inherited status of his family (as his mother and father were also farmers) he succeeded creating an emotional link. As to be a member of that large family received a silver cup with full of grain and on which written in golden letters that (Petrakis 2005, p.55): To our National Governor Ioannis Metaxas, with gratitude, we proclaim you the First Peasant: the Agrarian Organisation of Greece.

Finally, he announced himself as an aristocrat who had the soul of the people of earth who was aware of the fact that nations future was depend on the cultivation. The regime at a dinner party given on the pride of the people of earth has announced the 1<sup>st</sup> of the August as the Day of the Peasant.

As underlying that he was coming from practical profession Metaxas cited that although he was respecting the intellectuals, because of his professional background, he was communicating better with the practical profession holders. Confessed; (Petrakis 2006, p.60-63) “I have been a worker for my whole life; a poor worker (...) If I ever have to choose between the people at the top and the

people at the bottom I will choose the people at the bottom; the poor people.”

While also as naming himself as The First Worker (Protos Ergatis) Metaxas was aiming identifying himself with the workers as also Hitler did. (Hitler had claimed the same title for himself) In his speech of 8 January 1937 Metaxas declared as follows (Petrakis 2006, p.59-60):

*A nation can not prosper when its foundations upon which the whole nation structure is based, suffers; and these foundations are its working class, its agrarian class and the wage-earners (...) You must be aware that the main objectives of the Fourth of August State are the two solid pillars on which Greece stands: The Workers and the Peasants.*

Metaxas also established the Labour Battalions in 1937 manned by unemployed four hundred workers. Under the leadership of John Vezanis Inspired in the Nazi Sturmabteilung (SA). They were dressed in grey uniforms when Metaxas gave them the speech in December 1937, urging them to work with pickaxes and shovels... without shame but with a sense of honor and pride. Courage for the work with the hands, which is the base of all cultures.

As later on it was put under the direction of EON to strengthening all paramilitary organizations of the 4th of August Regime under one umbrella brand, the EON. Labour Battalions was a propaganda method with its participations into worker and farmer parades while waving flags and articulating the slogans for praising the regime. By those organized propagandas through the Labour Battalions Metaxas tried to increase his popularity on the basis of workers and farmers.<sup>1</sup>

At the Mass Rally on 2 October 1936 Metaxas announced himself as the protector of those the worker and the peasant class from the explosion by crooks, probably increased his popularity among those social classes. To constituency (of whom Metaxas called as 'his people') their social conditions aimed to be improved. His pressure was among every aspect of the nations. Trade unions were brought

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<sup>1</sup> Markessinis Andreas -The Metaxas project Inside Fascist Greece (1936-1941), [www.metaxas-project.com](http://www.metaxas-project.com)

under the state control as whole decisions regarding the workers were taken by the government in collaboration with the union. Because of the authoritarian character of the regime as expected strikes and lockouts were proclaimed as illegal (Petrakis 2006, p.59-60).

Metaxas has introduced as 'Barba Yiannis' to gain sympathy of the masses, but whatever the Chief did, he could not actually become 'Barba' (uncle) of the nation. According to Wallace, the reason of not having sufficient support of the public was mostly because of the government's over-taxation policies. Furthermore, as also Wallace emphasised that it was because of the over centralised administration which was inhibiting the citizens from expressing their public opinions and not allowing discussions (Petrakis 2006, p.178).

As a result all those unfavorable situation against Metaxas, produced a falsified picture of widely accepted Chief of the Fourth of August government. Antipathy against Metaxas was especially at its highest in New Greece, particularly at Crete. (the city where Venizelos was born) While Cretans known as the most devoted republican population of the country they were roughly rejecting any kind of authoritarianism including the monarchy. For this reason the Chief had received very cold public reception in that region (Petrakis 2006, p.180).

For the majority of the community the antipathy towards Metaxas might be explained by the Greek community's individualistic character, but in the case of the agrarian, the majority of the population in numbers, it might be more explained by his over-taxation practices on the working class. The government's reforestation policy restricted the pasturage of goats caused the peasants decrease in their livelihood. Over-taxation implementations were effective especially on the upper classes were forced to contribute to EON and cover the government's war expenses (Petrakis 2006, p.188-9).

The liberty of financial transactions were being restricted in a very detailed way as

caused complaint of the superclass. Their leave of the country on pleasure or even on business were strictly followed by the police, every aspects of their life was being watched by the Metaxas' government.

Supervision, surveillance and the control was the main characteristics of the Metaxas regime. The society significantly. The eminent were under the strict observance of the Security Police who hold the surveillance reports on beliefs and actions of people.

Metaxas' dictatorships control was exercised by its police who physical and even psychologically practiced its power on the members of the society. As a consequence of that tough implementations, the portrait of a supportive Greek society was only true in the regime's propagandas.

The regime employed political agents in great numbers, while the wasteful expenditure of the state on propaganda and indoctrination was another fact. As the inflation and the high cost of living wages were not be able to keep in line with rising prices, poverty was the summarised result of all.

Moreover, the financial and political scandals that EON had got involved penetrated the feeling of suspect, fear and finally hate in public's conscience for Metaxas regime.

While Metaxas had promised breaking down the social classes and balanced income distribution, it was not successful at all. It could not even destroy the class consciousness. Under those conditions the antipathy towards Metaxas regime in the society had escalated swiftly (Petракis 2006, p.187-189).

On the other hand, Metaxas's negative image had changed overnight by his famous “oxi!” answer to the Italian invaders and made the Chief the 'great patriot'. “Kallitera na apethanoun” (would rather die) than surrender to the Axis powers”,

he wrote in his diary, twenty five days before his death. While leftist argued that 'oxi' (no!) was an outcome of the Greek people's patriotic feelings actually had forced Metaxas to give that answer. Even if they were right on that claim or not, the crystal clear reality as the outcome of that 'oxi' answer was its huge effect on creating Metaxas legend as the 'great patriot', ' Leader of the all Greek people'. Metaxas received public admiration and love at its highest.

As much as the famous answer, it was also the way that Metaxas had handled the Greko-Italian war also was the reason of his risen reputation. The following morning of the 'oxi' answer, outside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, whole of Athens was out in the streets shouting and cheering. Thousands were surrounded Metaxas's car. Metaxas was enjoying the affection of the people which swept him on its shoulders while singing the National Anthem as headed to the Army Headquarters.

It was obvious that the war, had altered the perception of masses for Metaxas and shifted an unpopular leader image into a 'heroic' figure (Petraakis 2006, 192-8). As also Petraakis makes the comparison, while Hitler sharply loosing his charismatic leader image during the war, on the contrary Metaxas had increased or more rightly had made his artificial charismatic leader image into a reality during the Italian war.

His death had reported as a great lost while also intellectuals of the country shared the same opinion. At his funeral thousands of people queued up on a rainy winter day. After his death the King had difficulty for fulfilling the Metaxas' position. He was described as a symbol, inspiration for the great national struggle as the actor Georgis Tzifos had summarised at Metaxas funeral (Vatikiotis 1988, p.2003):

*At that moment Metaxas was the symbol and inspiration of our great national struggle at its most critical moment. The same fear possessed both friend and foe... So much talent, determination and glory were gone forever. In my eyes Metaxas does not represent a mere ordinary mortal, but an idea, an it was impossible for me to accept that he was gone forever, never to return.*

While also as the Metaxas' dictatorship has been criticised harshly his defends of ideology still finds some followers too. Metaxas describes democratic leadership as defective, just as the Golden Dawners. Metaxas explains his idea on democracy as follows (Kofas 1983, p.63-64):

*The leaders of democracy are not recognised as being superior but rather as servants of the sovereign mass. This leadership becomes identified with the manipulation of people and is not the reflection of equity. Democratic leaders are no more than personal aggrandizers. Democratic leadership is defective. The reason that they want democracy is so that the mediocre can survive and become leaders. Democracy (is a religion) and as a religion, as an all pervasive condition become sickness, an to the extend that countries adopt democracy will be sick.*

For Metaxas democracy was antithesis concept of his ideal government, not as harmful as the communism but still not good while considering its wasting effect on the nation.

Metaxas applied his authoritarian ideas as the state policy and adapted them into each sectors of the society. He used the royalist to gain power and after that he replaced them with Metaxists. He gradually became politically autonomous and even independent of the king, established his paramilitary youth organisation EON which might be the proofs of his dictatorship intentions while

Togliatti and Dimitrov argues that there would be not a standard receipt for fascist descriptions rather than having paramilitary organisations. Fascism even can be displayed with different aspects in the same country from different times.

Metaxist nationalism was something fatal for continuation of his government. Each citizens' soul was embodied in the nation and nation was an ideal embodied in the government. For creating his new civilisation he needed a permanent authoritarian state, embodied the nations' interest (Vatikiotis 1988, p.54-55).

It was no possible for the Eleftherofrones, (Freethinkers) to negotiate on equal

terms with the mainstream party of conservative group, Laiko Komma- the Popular Party, due to the repeated lack of electoral support. In the long term, indeed it was on Metaxas' advantage that his party failed to enter mainstream conservative politics until 1935. Although in 1935 elections the party received a disappointing result (five per cent of the national vote), the King's respect and trust in Metaxas' was a blessing that carried him to the power, he became war minister (March 1936) first, later prime minister in April with received confidence vote from the parliament his party had just six deputies (Kallis 2010, p.18).

When Metaxas' dictatorship was established in Greece, the leadership demand was high throughout Europe. The success of the totalitarian regimes were depend on the success of the image of charismatic authority, the most successful concept of a charismatic leadership of era was employed by Fascist Italy and Third Reich.

Authority, according to Max Weber; was depend on having charismatic leadership, which was rested on extraordinary or exceptional powers, while magnetism as Hitler had nor pompous appearance that Mussolini took the advantage of were absent qualities for Metaxas (Petraakis 2006, p.26).

Although Metaxas has been described as fascist dictatorship, according Richard Clogg, (1988) it lacked the dynamism of German Nazism or Italian fascism which was authoritarian, old fashioned, paternalistic dictatorship with the quasi-fascist rhetoric and style. Not having much in common with the Portuguese corporate state of Salazar. Clogg also describes the 4th of the August of Metaxas as an ultra-conservative regime with demotic oratory style (Clogg 1988, p.119).

Aristotle Kallis describes Metaxas regime as, failure of democracy which obviously was a descent into authoritarian dictatorship but not at all fascist. Comparing with all contemporary European countries of the interwar years. Greece could not be included in comparative studies of fascism.

Kallis (2010) describes Metaxas' 4<sup>th</sup> of August as an in completed exercise in mimetic fascism a regime of a limited character and strong conservative-authoritarian tendencies which was close to the description of authoritarianism with the qualifications of 'abortive' or 'monarcho'. While the earlier scholars had described the regime as essential 'fascist'. Kallis, finally agrees that it was non-fascist which even treated as irrelevant to the inclusion of interwar fascism.

Metaxas mostly being described as fascist was due to his obsession with discipline of the Nazis. One of his missions was instilling the discipline of Third Reich into his nation as seen on his speech of 1939 (Clogg 1988, p.119) as below: We must subordinate our appetites, our passion and our overweening egotism before the totality of the national interest... Then we shall be people that is truly free. Otherwise, under the false cover of freedom, anarchy and indiscipline will rule over us.

While scholar comparison over Metaxas regime, mostly describes it as fascist at first and quasi-fascist later on and finally mostly located as irrelevant among the fascist classifications, on the other hand, Metaxas himself described his mission as a regime of which firstly aimed an organic unity of its nation. In that nation traditional pillars of the Greek society; monarchy, church and the military were playing vital roles.

Establishing a nationalist 'third way' idea came into the mind of Metaxas during the WWI, and surely improved on the bases of a conservative and anti-Venizelist political platform. He acknowledged himself as self-styled outsider, sort of radical but never revolutionary (Kallis 2010, p.6).

According to A. Kallis, fascist regimes of the interwar years of Europe, particularly Italy and Germany, did not emerged in a political vacuum, they were the results of a processes of ideological and maybe more importantly political hybridisation of radical fascist constituency and conservative-authoritarianism.

While Metaxas regime had developed into a hybrid political phenomenon, injecting new radical ideas into conservative-authoritarian ideology Metaxas was also relying on National Socialism and Fascism it was a form of more 'radicalised right' of interwar European regimes, that regime had to operate into a de facto polycentric structure of power in which its leader had to act in line with monarchy and military.

On the organisational and ideological base Metaxas regime might be seen as adaptation of specific 'fascist' attributes of conservative establishment or the traditional institutional pillars of the state is mostly described by many commenters as a fascist movement shaped from above, while hybridisation from above is already problematic in the Greek case just with the absence of a native fascist political constituency.

On the other hand, the approach of the conservative right towards populism is can also be explained by its increasingly radicalised opposition of liberalism and socialism and also explains its approach to nationalism.

Griffin's 'para-fascism' explanation is also a significant one. In his meaning para-fascism explains a fascist intended regime's failure, also a product of hybridisation, failed, abortive or not quite fascism. Although Metaxas was described as mostly authoritarian rather than fascist, he held a deep admiration for the fascist leaders of the era, such as Portuguese and German. He even command study of 'Estado Novo' as the future template of Greek constitution, which shows his arrival point.

He also advocated that there was no way but allying with other totalitarian regimes of the period such as Germany, Italy, Portuguese and even to Soviet Union (Kallis 2010, p.8-10). At the same time was very careful about his relationships with those powers.

He was abstaining any political commitments that would get on the nerves of Nazi Germany, particularly with Italy, but finally Mussolini's aggressive policies pushed him into an alignment attempt with Britain.

### **1.5.3. Deep state of the 4 of the August Regime: From EON to the parallel ministers, police**

EON was the private paramilitary organisation of Metaxas his own Praetorian Guard securing his autonomy. With its a million members, it was the massive tool for him to make the third civilization dream come to true (Kofas 1983, p.84).

EON was a successfully designed totalitarian device for the social engineering of Metaxas to create his constituency. According to Metaxas, there was a problem of a deeply divisive political legacy of the previous decades. And the solution of that problem for Metaxas was depended on overcoming the political schism and creating a mass obliged to him.

By the outbreak of the war, EON with the characteristic of a truly totalitarian militarised institution ready for Metaxas to use in his envisioned transformation of Greek society ideal. The institution was under his close watch (Kallis 2010, p.15).

EON (Ethnikos Organismos Neoleas) was being established under the Emergency Law 334, on 7 November 1936 by the General, admiring the image of fascist youth organisations of Italy and the Nazi youth of Germany.

Regenerating Greece was the mission of the EON. As being mentioned in the Phalanges song dedicated to its leader, Alexandros Kanellopoulos, who was also one of the most dedicated voices of the Metaxas's regime (Petrakis 2005, p. 20) as follows:

*You will arrive to a new Olympia, and prophecy will come true.*

*Listen youth calls you, with a brotherly voice, waiting and longing.  
To walk triumphantly with you, you who will lead them  
To a 'regenerating Greece'*

Greek national youth was the primary target of the Metaxas' regime for political indoctrination and manipulation. The entire Greek youth was the target of EON, the dictators' aspiration for the future of the nation and the survival of the supreme ideals like king, nation, religion and family was depend on the success of that organisation.

Metaxas announced EON as the state institution and incorporated that institution into the schools, so that they supplement each other. By 1939 every other youth organisation had been abolished. School children were obligated to attend all meetings of the EON hold on Wednesdays and Sundays. Twenty days of absence at meetings punished by expel from school (Petraakis 2006, p.20).

National Youth Organization (EON) was indeed completely alien to the commonly accepted standards of the period. The Greek people as Metaxas criticized were individualistic in character, while EON was aiming to create a new nation who was not fighting for himself, fighting for the Greek society.

In many dicta's of himself, Metaxas explained his point of view on states having the full right on the Greek youth at raising them in accordance with the state's own good. Because children of the Greek parents were belonged to Greece. The goal of the institution was summarised by Metaxas' own words as: King, homeland, Religion. The new Greece of Metaxas as he defined it as the renaissance of Greece, young phalanges had to swear an oath of allegiance to the King, to the leader and for the idealised Greek nation.

EON was the most precious institution for Metaxas to build his imagined Greek society. Thus to supervise the youth closely in 1938 he took the personal control of the ministry of education (Papastratis 2005, p.34-35).

Education was the most useful tool for Metaxas to clean out the evils of the past and the danger of the 'red thread'; communism while protecting the youth from the danger of those evils was the priority of Metaxas. Thus reorganisation and centralization of the education system was necessary.

With the enactment of Emergency Laws 2007/39, 2025/39, 2026/39 elementary schools and basic schools were put under the control of the ASE Anotaton Symvoulion Ekpedefseos (High Board of Education) the higher institutions were going to be supervised by DAE Diefthinsis Anotatis Ekpedefis (Higher Education Office) both offices were under the direct authority of the Chief.

Metaxas has fully renewed the education system, re-wrote school books with the exalted tone of his regime's fundamental values. The schools were adorned with the books of new spirit, values and ideologies of the state.

EON's publication of 'E Neolea' was strongly recommended. Students were buying and reading the magazine together. EON's propaganda activities were covering massive school dinners. Metaxas' wife Mrs Lela Metaxas was hosting them as a voluntary offer from one member of the society to another; as the motto of it was from a brother to another (Petraakis 2006, p.37).

While EON had an organisational structure, its propaganda device the Third Office was the most important section of it. Establishing and supervising the training schools of propaganda officers was the other responsibility of the department. National and moral education of the youth was the first responsibility of the Department A. Press Office's vital task was the publication and distribution of press materials. The 'E Neolea' (Youth) was also the weekly magazine of the regime. In 1938 the magazine's circulation had reached at around 70.000, which might be estimated as a high number.

Greek history with the references of its glorious past, moral lectures, extracts from

Gospels, announcements of the EON's activities and equally political messages of Metaxas' were the among of its important content (Pettrakis 2006, p.21-22).

With the goal of creating a 'Golden Youth' (Ta Chrysa mou Pedia) EON was pointed out as the most precious thing the dictator possessed. Metaxas explained the importance of EON for himself on 26 May 1940 as follows (Pettrakis 2006, P.21): “The success of EON constitutes the success of my political life; even more, its success ensures a successful future for our nation.”

EON was a social project of Metaxas to create a regenerated society with the collective conscience of Helleno-Christians. As Aristotle Kallis puts it, it was the laboratory for Metaxas to pursuit his experiment in 'fascism from above', with installed foundations for the future constant fascism the Greek society.

In other words 'national regeneration of the society was depend on the preparation of the young generation, and that regeneration obviously was towards the fascism of the Helleno- Christian.

EON was being build up by the chief with the imitative manner of German and Italian similar groups or paramilitary organisations like the Hitlerjugend in Nazi Germany. The possibility of it turning into a total paramilitary organisation by Metaxas, caused reactions in the armed forces. Also the King was not pleased with the EON especially after Metaxas abolished the rest of the all youth organisations in order to make the EON only power, the umbrella organisation of the whole youth. Eliminating all other youth organisations of whom the natural leader was the King meant lose of prestige for the throne (Kallis 2010, p.14-15).

The regime's real, autonomous paramilitary organisation was indeed the Work Battalions (Tagmata Ergasias) which was also formulated by the chief himself and administrated by Constantinos Kotzias and Constantinos Maniadakis. The Work Battalions was like the Nazi model of the SA (Sturmabteilngen).

It was actually a 'Praetorian Guard' under the command of Governor of Athens, Constantinos Kotzias, ostensibly this force's function was utilising the unemployed in the public tasks.

The Work Battalions mission formulated by the Chief as 'fighting the nations materialistic and moral obstacles (Petrakis 2005, p.24). They wore a grey uniform and as a symbol they had a hammer and shovel in their flag and participated in the parades of the labourers and farmers while waving flags with the slogans in favour of Metaxas. Shovels, wheelbarrows, hoes were their symbols as they carried those with them in the parades.

It was a short-lived organisation while its abolition decision was a personal choice of the chief. Just like in Germany the Sturmabteilung after its dissolve as its members incorporated into the SS, also the Labour Battalions had been incorporated into the National Youth Organization of EON.<sup>2</sup>

But finally it incorporated into EON by the order of Metaxas. Two organisations also formed a separate division named the EON- DTA and were bound by the same regulations. Under the paramilitary organizations umbrella brand of EON the number of its members reached at 750.000 in 1939 (Petrakis 2005, p. 24).

It was the future combat army of Metaxas of whom members were mentally and physically transformed patriotic. Although Metaxas underlines it was a voluntary to be a part of EON, the fact was different. There was a great social and political pressure on the prospect youth (Vatikiotis 1988, p.188).

Metaxas' wealth was also coming from the trade relationship with Germans. The British Foreign Office learned from the sources in Germany that ten per cent of the value of the German arms was being paid to Metaxas. Being aware of that his proximity with Germany would annoy the British he used the money received by

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<sup>2</sup> *Markessinis Andreas* -The Metaxas project Inside Fascist Greece (1936-1941), [www.metaxas-project.com](http://www.metaxas-project.com)

the arm material trade for strengthening his regime and its propagandas. Economical wealth gave the power to Metaxas against the King, because while having his own money Metaxas was less dependent to the King.

While gaining more power he established his parallel ministers as he replaced his loyal people to the newly created position of that sort. Neither the British nor the American's thought that Metaxas was under control of the King while indeed Metaxas was holding the economical institutions of the state under his control. Metaxas developed close relationships with the Bank of Greece and the private institution of the National Bank of Greece while all the trade was being done with Germany through those banks as the King had stayed in the dark (Pelt 2002, p.158-161).

That high purchase was of course bringing the risk of deterioration of relations with great powers. Such as France would warn Greece buying such a high amount of war equipment as a violation of the Treaty of Versailles. While Germans warned the Greek Foreign Ministry about that, Minister Theotokis told the Germans to ignore the French because that trade was of great importance to Greece while informing the German minister that, Greece was going to spend all its money for rearmament. Afterwards of that massive trade transactions, Greek-German relations had improved intrinsically.

Germany was also a huge market for Greece on tobacco selling and Germans were also blackmailing Greece on cutting of the tobacco trade if Greece gave up the armament trade with them (Pelt 2002, 153- 154).

Over the Metaxas period, civil liberties and personal freedoms were restrained. Strikes were forbidden, unions were suppressed. Secret police was very strong during the regime and was under the direction of Konstantine Maniadakis. The prior target was the opposition of all and particularly the leftist who were under constant repression.

Over 30.000 of leftist were arrested or sent into exile in concentration camps or to remote Greek islands. Torturing was a daily practice of the police in that camps and used as the method of forcing the arrested to confess and sign the required documents which was including the names of their collaborators for branding them also as the communists (Gallant 2001, p.158).

The regime was a planned regime of the King George II of Greece, aiming to prevent the communism. The King decided pursuit that policy due to the international circumstances. New regime was following that purpose in long run that deepened the social cleavages (Cliadakis 1979, p.117). Its result was the emergence of the national schism between the leftist and rightist was finally going to drag Greece into the civil war of 1946-1949 (Gallant 2001, p. 158).

The society from the beginning was suspicious of Metaxas due to his tough regulations against communists would push the country into the civil war as the consequence of his dictatorship. During his regime Kondylis was his first man of support, speaking of fascist rhetoric that the masses was disturbed by. He was aggrandizing the Mussolini and Hitler regime's which soon or later would be triumphant in every nation (Cliadakis 1979, p.120).

To maintain its power, the police was the most important instrument for Metaxas. Because he did not have any strong political party backing him nor an army found of him (The army was only royal to the King and the only reason the army did not act against Metaxas was just because of his collaboration with the King.) Therefore for suppressing the opposition and also reforming the society as his ultimate goal, the only power in his hands was the police.

During the Metaxas dictatorship, the eagerness of the police to fulfil the all tasks being expected and also so it was during Venizelos term significantly in between 1910-1920, and 1928-1932. Interference of police to the election results had been relatively limited during Venizelos period. After anti-Venizelist rise the inference

became widespread. The representation of the Metaxas police was efficient even in the municipal elections and political meetings.

Strengthening and the establishment of the Chorofilaki (gendarmerie, the dominant force) candidate officers (1919) and Astinomia (city police) were among the most of significant efforts of that period. While it would not be wrong telling that politization of the police increased at the time when anti-Venizelist returned to power in 1932. When Metaxas became the minister of the interior in 1932 had replaced most of the chorofiliki. Also purged had been followed during Plastiras' pronunciamento in 1933. While the purge of 1936 was mostly targeting the Creteans origins.

Espionage and counter-subversion was one of the fundamental task of the foundation in general and the first national organization with that task was established by Pangalos regime in 1925. That was replaced by the Fidiki Asfelia (Special Security) was put under the direction of Chorofilaki with the inclusion of hired civilian spies.

While Pangalos had been investigating crimes under the direction of Chorofilaki, Konstantinos Maniadakis (Minister of Public Security) was doing it through Astinomia. The experts of counter-subversion and counter espionage was the Yeniki Asfelia (General Security). Under that department a small branch that called as Omas Kommounismou (Anti-Communist Squad) particularly was assigned to combat with the communists. Law of 1929 expanded the scope of Astinomia and Chorofilaki for persecuting the communist.

The capacity of police has been reinforced even before the Metaxas dictatorship. Service for the Defence of the State had been recently established under the Minister for the Army. When 4<sup>th</sup> of August regime established replaced it by the Service of the Aliens under the Sub-minister for Public Security. While since then the number of the police has been increased sharply (Close 1986, p.93).

Emergency Law of 1075 (PeriMetron Asfaleias tou Kinonikou Kathestotos ke Prostasias Ton Politon; Measures for the Safety of the Social Regime and the Protection of the Citizens /11 February 1938) had give the opportunity for increasing the number of police and expanding its power.

The legal regulations supported the regime at its actions in eliminating the communist party supporters and the rest of the Greek social, trade and business life members whoever bothering the regime.

Article 11 introduced the issuing of the Certificate of Political Loyalty (Pistopietiko Kinonikon Fronimaton) a document which was required at employment applications even more at other transactions. Metaxas' top aide Maniadakis as the sub-Ministry of Public Security benefited well these measures backed up by the Article 11; seizing all the communist archives, arrests and exile of the KKE members including the leader of KKE, Nicos Zachariadis and the Central Committee's members.

Declaration of condemning the KKE's ideology was signed by the KKE members; Declarations of Repentance (Deloseis Metaneias) was taken under psychological and physical pressure included the torture of notorious ice and castor oil method. Metaxas' using the police as his tool had started even before he came to power. British Ambassador Sir Sydney Waterloo described the general election of June as the most corrupt election of the modern times. Official coercion was the case, the police put pressure on citizens for a compulsory voting stating that coherent to the law and was observing the polls.

The referendum of re-establishing of the monarchy was systematically rigged by the police as mentioned before. A British officer reported that the police were exposing pretty tranny significantly in Venizelist districts in mid-1936's. Chorofilaki's violence was being nourished from their extensive military trainings, that explains the unprecedented unpopularity of the Chorofilaki's in mid 1936's.

Especially Cretans, Macedonians and Thracians (Venizelist Population Regions) were under the harsh suppression. The director of Eidiki Angelata was Metaxas' most important agent reporting him all the suspicious activities or person even if they were among the royalist officials.

Although with the official *raison d'etre*, the department of the Public Security was fighting with communist, its main mission indeed was finding out the opponents of Metaxas regime. His first man on the mission Maniadakis was attentive in his relations with the all police foundation. He preferred face to face meetings with them rather than communicating through papers.

Relations between the authority and the officers were improved into a more friendly way rather than restricted militaristic character. Being the president of chrofilakis graduation ceremonies Metaxas was in each ceremony underlining the importance of the institutions high role as the representative of the state and its duty on the evils of the parliamentary system.

Metaxas' and Maniadakis' effort was significant in improving the status, efficiency and life conditions of the police foundation in general. (Close 1986, p.91-102).

Metaxas was neither successful in the political life nor was a popular figure. His party never had gained more than seven per cent in the elections his only political victory was his overthrow of Pangalos' a year longed dictatorship in 1926 elections.

On the other hand, managed holding the ministerial position in the People's Party government until his dictatorship established in 1936 (Papastratis 2005, p.29).

Although the regime had tried hard to become the public's loved government, had failed in achieving that purpose. It was also not successful at imbuing the national pride and euphoria was the vital aims of Metaxas. Petrakis argues that the regime besides achieving that goal has failed breaking down the social economic barriers.

While public was far from than being impressed in spite of the regime's intensive propaganda by the media which was under the strong surveillance of the regime. This was the nightmare of Metaxas from the very beginning of his established dictatorship.

As Petrakis mentions, he was very often had deep doubts about the impact of his regime's propaganda, the loyalty and love of the Greek people for him and their belief in the regenerated Greece project of himself. Even despite the strong backing of Maniadakis and his entourage Metaxas' self doubt has continued during his regime.

Antipathy towards Metaxas was reflected at the mass purchase of the popular rembetiko song with the title 'Barba' (As Metaxas loved being called as the barba of the nation) thousands of gramophone records were sold in the streets and shops while the regime's police had confiscated the records and prosecuted the hundreds of shopkeepers with the makers of those records.

The trial (in 1937, Athens) had attracted thousands from all social classes. Greek public expressed their resentment of government while queued up to watch the trial while police presence outnumbered the crowds (Petrakis 2006, p.185-187).

The most obvious reason of the masses for raising such dislike towards Metaxas and his regime was mostly due to the everyday problems of the each members of the public, such as unemployment, inflation and low wages and high cost of living whereas the substantial economic recoveries could had not kept in line with the rising price, mostly because of the high investments in the army forces, along side the EON's expenditures (Petrakis 2006, p.34).

#### 1.5.4. Metaxas' Government with its foreign policy and social regulations

As the consequence of the failed coup of 1935, the elimination of five thousand Venizelists in the army created the most homogenous Greek army of its history. While also the replacement of a thousand and five hundred King devoted strong officers had relieved the throne. The new chief of army forces, Metaxas' first goal was strengthening the loyalty of the army by investing more in the military expenditures such arms, barracks uniform and pay (Veremis 1997, p.132-133).

At the beginning of Metaxas' prime ministry, the social and political conditions was rough. As the consequence of the leftist surge industrial unrest has been escalated. Also the socio-economical portrait of the Europe was not much different. World economical slump had hit the tobacco market significantly. Tobacco workers were on strike in Salonica in the demonstration twelve workers were hit by the police. That occasion has given the opportunity to Metaxas for asking the King for a strong government (Clogg 1988, p.117).

Metaxas' explanation for his regime was being made by a letter to the King as follows (Kofas 1983, p.43-44):

*Your majesty the country finds itself in an abnormal situation and on the eve of a subversive rebellious movement. This situation is the result of the communistic propaganda which has been growing daily, and which after having long ago penetrated dangerously into the rank of the employ threatening to paralyze the state machine..., is now extending its penetration into the armed forces of the nation, cultivating a spirit of anarchy among soldiers. Now communism, taking advantage of the political anarchy created by the incurable quarrels of the numerous and uncontrolled political parties... Believed that the moment has come to overthrow the social regime and to disrupt Greek society... The initial manifestation of this seditious action will be the general labour strike organized for tomorrow most systematically and most intensively which even according to the official declaration made to Government itself by the communist deputies on Jul.31, in an insolent tone, is intended to develop immediately into a strike of long duration and to take the form clearly of a civil war.*

Concluding that it was the prime ministers duty to prevent the revolution because of the requirements of martial law. Under that circumstances George II had to

accept the installation of the dictatorship while suspending the constitutional government was also a must for his throne's future.

Finally, with the back up of the King, parliamentary majority has allowed Metaxas to form the government. The King's authorisation of Metaxas emerged among the public the sentiment of betrayal by the King. But for the King's keeping the army under his control was his priority, even if it cost the establishment of dictatorship.

Early protestations against Metaxas displayed in Macedonia while he had been assigned as the war minister. Protestations had spread over the country, after the first general strike held in Salonika, more strikes followed with the slogans of comparison of Greece with Spain that has ended in civil war and dictatorship. As Cliadakis comments the public was not any wrong on its prediction for the Greece's near future.

The American minister had also described Salonika as a possible Barcelona case: "The spectre of social revolution has really appeared in Greece finally because of the blindness of Athens to the north." Greek and American businessman mostly claimed that money and the organisation of the protest was arranged by Moscow. But in reality the King even had rejected his own royalist were willing to form a coalition government as Sophoules insisted that he could not form the government before six months. However the King and Metaxas were hurrying for declaration of the dictatorship, to prevent a civil war whereas according to Cliadakis they were only preventing a parliamentary solution.

In official proclamations they defenced that rapid act for saving the country from a revolution. To backup his prediction Metaxas indicated the declared general strike of 5<sup>th</sup> of August. Cliadakis argues that, the dictator was at the alert of the communist rise which would eliminate the King, the source of power that was paramount for Metaxas (Cliadakis 1979, p.131).

Cliadakis comments that, what communists were after indeed was not threatening the democratic state or overthrow it but participate in it. On the other hand, Metaxas also explains that he did not expected a straight away communist takeover (Cliadakis 1979, p.134) as below:

*I don't say that the Communist would have prevailed and takeover the power immediately. But I do say that they would have created such an overturn in the great bourgeois centres, spreading their influence gradually to the smallest centres, that we should have entered, without knowing it, a revolutionary atmosphere from which we surely could not have emerged without bloodshed.*

The KKE leaders were admitting that they were not referred a revolution during the summer of 1936 as the King and Metaxas had claimed. But particularly after the Hitler's capturing Rhineland had changed the balance of European political life on the benefit of Germany, Greek government became determined than ever that alliance with left was unacceptable.

The King's effort on political parties to come to terms with him and parliament to be prorogued voluntarily for six months and announced that the interim government's prime minister was Metaxas. The King was not only declaring his preference he was also threatening the opposition in the parliamentary that if they do not obey, he would set extreme measures and suspend the constitution. After all, royal proposal was accepted while so-called committee was established only as the face saving formality. Thus and so, as the American minister reported that, in practice the dictatorship of King had taken place in the form of government.

Metaxas reasoning for establishing the Fourth of August regime was to prevent a communist inspired revolution. Metaxas declared that it was planned in connection with 24-hour general strike announced due to 5<sup>th</sup> of August. His interview given to the daily newspaper Vradini explains that by establishing his regime he had forestalled bloodshed.

In addition to that his long term aim was attracting the communist on his side, to the nationalist side. Metaxas disliked the parliamentary system and communism. But under the political circumstances the King and Metaxas would agree on holding an election but the election did not brought a satisfactory result. Alliance of two major parties with the communists nor the republican success would be acceptable (Cliadakis 1979, 133-136).

Metaxas had to face challenges while the opposition to Metaxas in the army was significant, conspiracy by Popular Liberties was also foiled in the Athens garrison in March 1938, after the General Platis (A Germanophile commander) dismiss by the Chief. Also the Crete attempt of 28th July 1938 whit the participation of the well known Venizelist politicians such as Emmanuel Tsouderos, Periclis Argyropoulos, Aristomenis Mitsotakis was prevented by the regime (Veremis 1997, p.133).

Political historians argue that, Metaxas had taken good advantage of the political crisis and death of several significant political figure (such as Venizelos, Kondilis, Tsaldaris) was a contribution of luck (Cliadakis 1979 p.152).

Metaxas was an admirer of German and Italian fascism and also because of the King's close relations with the Britain, had to act in accord with that circumstances (Macar 2009, p.21). His regime has accepted Italy and Germany as the friends of Greece, while the Greek-German relations on the trade was increasing it was indeed a more of penetration of Germany into Greek market.

Greek and German relations was particularly improved in 1935 due to war material trade. Greece was buying around 75-100 m. Reichmarks material from Germany meant outstanding increase of purchasing in 1935. Before the purchase was in total around 32 m. Greece was a greedy buyer due to the competitions between the Great Powers meant a great risk of involvement in war. Not to provoke the Great powers he was careful to keep the trade transactions in secret.

Metaxas paid attention to keep the peace conditions with Great Powers, that was why he was expressing his admire for Germany at any occasion, with underlining that maintaining friendship with both Germany and Britain was very important for him (Pelt 2002, p. 153-156).

His extra delicacy on the Greek-British relationship was not only because of the King's sympathy towards the Great Britain but also was due to the British fleet possibility at being a threat agent for his nation.

On the other hand, while Greece's foreign policy's first aim was preventing the Italian expansionism, the British would also accompany the needed backing up for Greece against a possible Italian attack (Gallant 2001, p.158).

The major threat for Greece was identified as Italy and even as the Slavic countries while Greece asked for the guarantee against Bulgaria from the British has never received any satisfactory answer.

While the British had advised the King Metaxas as the suitable candidate for the King's needed established dictatorship in 1935 in few years time London has changed its opinion about Metaxas. The British has been advising the King getting rid of Metaxas as he was keeping the King under his pressure while Metaxas regime was getting more authoritarian and fascist each day.

Indeed, the British was disturbed by Metaxas' expanding his power on the state even on the foreign policy but at most by his sympathy for Germany. The British ambassador Mac Veagh described the situation as the King's being in a feeble position while his fascist Frankenstein, the German educated General Metaxas was holding the control (Pelt 2002, p.163).

While the regime was heading towards fascism, the Italian provocations has being increasing. Metaxas even has asked protection from Hitler against Italy. Advised

the King meeting up with Hitler secretly but George II had not respond on his request. Then finally in 1940 Italian invasion was finally inevitable.

Italian invasion was not a surprise while the Greek and the Italian interests were clashing on the Mediterranean and in the Balkans, significantly on Albanian lands. Thus, Mussolini first headed for Albania in April, while Metaxas had found it hard to walk the fine line with the two groups; the axis powers and allies (Gallant 2001, p.159)

Then finally inevitable took place when the invasion declaration handed on the night of 28th of October 1940, Metaxas without asking the King and the cabinet gave his answer without any second thought; “Donc, Monsieur, C'est la guerre” This clear and prompt reply had translated into Greek history as only as one word: “Oxi !” (No) (Macar 2009, p.22-25).

Three months afterwards, Metaxas died, as Gallant comments, the famous 'oxi!' was his last acts-he did which was the most successful manoeuvre to rebuild the Greek national pride of him (Gallant 2001, p.159). While that reply gave the chief a tremendous popularity among his people, he has been dreaming for along time.

Metaxas wrote down to his diary that Greece soon or later would be in war with Germany as well (Macar 2009, p.26). Soon after the funeral of Metaxas in 29 of January 1941 the Germans have arrived. During the German invasion Greek government was being established in exile in Egypt with the support of the British. The British's intentions was still significant in Greece, its plan was pulling Greece out of the Nazi scope and attract on their side (Pelt 2002, p.167).

Self-commitment to the state, self-sacrifice for the nation's well-being were among the virtues of the Metaxas regime. His essential target was to reshape the national character into a more disciplined and established common consciousness. To achieve this goal, the most important social class for him was the workers.

Therefore to approach them he called himself as the 'First Worker' while he declared the 1<sup>st</sup> of May as the national holiday (Gallant 2001, p. 158).

Metaxas endeavoured to be perceived as the man of building a regime was anti-plutocratic. Which was an alternative to trade unions. His efforts in increasing the wellbeing of the public praised even today. Among his welcomed social regulations started with the working hours. Eight hours limit had become compulsory while Foundation of Social Insurance (IKA- Idryma Koinonikon Asfaliseon) had been established in his time.

Improvement of the health conditions of the workers and decrease of the unemployment were among the other priorities as remarked success of the regime (Petrakis 2006, p.59-60).

While also enforcement of the labour legislation was the vital achievements of the Ministry of Labour. Official documents shows that in 1939, 616.000 workers and 141.00 public servants were covered by the labour legislation.

The increase of the wages were at the rate of 50 per cent between 1935-40, (But if considering the highly increase of consumer prices due to the interwar years situations that was still no satisfactory) while the basic wage was enforced first time by Metaxas.

Bringing down the unemployment was the regime's prime goal. According to the German Embassy, during his first years of Metaxas' government the unemployment number has been pulled down to 26.000 from 128.000, and by 1939 the number was drawn to 15.000. (Pelt 2002, p. 156).

Ioannis Metaxas has managed a significant programme of public works. The drainage projects to gain the support of the peasant managed with success. Supporting the production of the farmers, his offered moratorium on debts,

regulations on grains distribution and collections were his arrangements regarding the farmers. While the industrial workers wage rates the working hours and days were regulated on the advantage of the workers (Gallant 2001, p.158).

Metaxas with its planned dictatorship of the 4 of the August by the King and the British with a very low public support and sympathy of the masses by standing at the right time just when Venizelos's power was fading away in the political scene of Greece (as Venizelos the primary obstacle for the monarchy) stood in the right place, among the entourage of the royal throne with his certain admiration for the Germany, along with the support of the British succeeded establishing his five years longed dictatorship.

The rise of fascism was the trend of the era, an ultra nationalism found its roots back in the back to the Spartan of Greece to introduce his own rhetoric the 'Third Way' he called it. The continuation of the first and the second Hellenic Civilisations, an attempt of reaching at his idealized nation, the transformed Greek society of himself.

While being criticized as being incompetent in gaining the public's support he formulated his way of creating his own constituent which would carry his third way mission to the future, established EON, 'The Praetorian Guard' of Metaxas Regime, also the paramilitary organization and the army of Metaxas which also caused antipathy among the society for him while he wanted to be the 'barba' of the nation even called himself as the First Worker and the first to build the close tie with his people but could not feel that proximity until his famous 'oxi' to the Italian invaders.

Finally, he succeeded becoming 'the barba' of the nation just before the Italian invasion and with the defeat of Mussolini's army. 'Oxi!' has brought him the best moment of his political career while being carried on the shoulders of his people in the street of Athens, in the following day. Since he did not witness his predicted

German invasion which took place after his death Metaxas was welcomed with his social regulations into the Greek society are even are praised today.

But on the other hand his transformed Greece dream faded away soon after his death as the EON, as he called it as the 'Golden Youth' (Ta Chrysa mou Pedia) as the most precious thing claimed that he ever had also has.

Metaxas' political legacy with its rhetoric is still evident today, while also has been nourished and praised during the Colonel's Regime (1967-1974), in the manifesto of the far right Greek politics.

Golden Dawn of Greece founded in 1983 by Nikolaos Michaloliakos. An entourage of Constantine Plevris, the leader of 4 of August Party named on praise to Ioannis Metaxas, represented on the political scene between 1965-1977. Metaxas was being praised with his social regulations and most importantly by his rhetoric, declared among the national heroes of Greece, while the Chief's Third Way occurs to be alive in the party rhetoric of the Golden Dawn's party rhetoric and in the articles of the Michaloliakos as the 'Chief' they call him.

## **PART II. THE POPULAR ASSOCIATION OF GOLDEN DAWN**

### **2.1. AFTER THE WW II FALL OF FASCISM AND RISE OF NEW RIGHT**

After the end of WWII, fascism has been denounced by all political and social actors of liberal-democracy. While the extreme-right parties were considered to be on the margins of mainstream politics, their organisational and electoral strength was also limited (Triandafyllidou and Kouki 2014, p.418).

As the right wing extremism has been announced de-legitimated throughout Europe the radical authoritarian nationalism alike Hitler's in Germany or Mussolini's in Italy or Franco's in Spain and Salazar's in Portugal lost its appeals and lead the way progressively to the democratic ideals and representative institutions.

Whereas the far right parties who became the successful examples of the new right wing of Europe has emerged among the ones that could modernise their ideologies with democratic principles and respectful attitudes towards citizenship and law while also certain rejection of the fascist label and violence was among their rhetoric (Vasilopoulos and Halikiopoulou 2015, p.2).

In 1980's, multiculturalism was loosing its charm against the new right. In 1990's significantly in Western Europe the new-right's popularity ascended due to its successfully use of anti-immigrant rhetoric.

1990's were the era of new right parties strengthening their scope. Comparing with the traditional fascism their main difference was at their central value system, race was shifted with culture. The propaganda of new right for cultural difference could only be achieved by keeping cultures separated (Triandafyllidou and Kouki 2014, p. 418-419).

Soon after the WWII, although Greece did not vote for a fascist formation, the

civil war's (1946-1949) winner was the army governed the country during the period of 1967-1974, known as the Colonel's Regime (Vasilopoulos and Halikiopoulou 2015, p.2)

After the World War II, marginal political presence and electoral charm of the extreme right parties was the result of left legacy of the political schism of the previous years and was due to the supremacy of the right wing since the junta years.

While in 1990's as in the rest of Europe also in Greece right was gaining strength with its nationalist rhetoric. In the more contemporary Greek political life in the 2000's, the centre right party of LAOS's success was outstanding while the party has entered the house in 2007 and 2009, since organisational and electoral success of the far right wing of Greece was still limited.

Elias Dinas explains the restriction of the far-right success as an outcome of the efficient democracy which did not permitted neither the conditions of the 1936-1941(Metaxas' period) nor the 1967-1974 (The Colonel's Regime) to repeat itself (Dinas, Georgiadou, Konstantinidis, Marantzidis and Rori 2012, p.2).

And today since 2012, as the extreme right's representative Popular Association-Golden Dawn has become the third biggest political party of Greece while attracting attentions on its ideology resembles to the Colonel's period with its attitudes, authoritarian, army like discipline.

While praising the period of Ioannis Metaxas (1936-1941) on its implementations in the social life mostly besides its virtues and proclaims Metaxas 'as the national Chief' as they also call their general secretary, the leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos as the 'Chief' (Vasilopoulos and Halikiopoulou 2015, p.2).

As mentioned similarities with the Colonel's and the 4th of August, GD seems proving its pursuit of the ultra nationalist legacy of the Greek political history.

## **2.2. The roots of the ultra nationalism in Greece**

Golden Dawn is one of the most extremist parties of Europe. Its outstanding breakthrough in the 2012 elections has attracted the attention on the party most explained its success as the voters reaction against the failed mainstream parties. But that anti-system, anti-immigrant party still succeed preserving its constituents even after the 2012 elections. In 2015 election while facing a slightly fall in its votes (around 0.30 per cent) in few months the party regained its lost seat back in September as fixed its third place in the parliament.

After the re-establishment of democracy in 1974, the first party appeared on the right wing political scene of Greece was New Democracy, that conservative party's cadre was consist of the former junta officials and army officers, hard core royalists and fervent anti-communist. It was morally conservative with the aim of protecting the Helleno-Christian traditions. Targeted the national minded votes the party reflected the reactions against the leftist internationalism rather than identifying itself with Greek nationalism.

In 1974 ND while announcing its place as the major centre-right party won the election with 54.4 per cent. In the European Parliament election of 1984 a newly established party, The National Political Union also entered into the system (EPEN). EPEN replaced the Progressives by a received 0.6 per cent vote but without seat.

EPEN was directed by George Papadopoulos an imprisoned former colonel. While the party attended several national elections during 80's and 90's could only received between 0.1 and 0.6 per cent votes and no seats.

On the other hand, EPEN's youth group was supplying a platform for the future leaders of far right, including the Golden Dawn's leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos. Members of EPEN later on joined the National Party founded in 1989 with the

ideal of revitalising the far right but only received 0.1 votes in the 1990 elections.

NP described the nation as its supreme unit of politics and also represented an expansionist policy of liberating Greeks abroad, demanded repatriation of its diaspora workers.

In 1994 Hellenic Front has been established with the participation of Makis Vorides and former NP members who has been brought up in EPEN's youth with Michaloliakos. Establishment of the Hellenic Front by Vorides and former NP members and Political Spring's (A party being established by the former ND members under the leadership of Antonis Samaras) dispute over the name of Macedonia was the significant move of the right wing. Illegal immigration and identification with nationalism was the main discourse of the far right during the period.

Hellenic Front made ally with Front Line, the party of Holocaust denier of Constantine Plevris in 2000 elections competed with the Hellenism discourse against capitalism, socialism and communism. After the election most members of the both parties joined to LAOS (Greek Orthodox Rally) including Vorides.

LAOS established in 2000 by George Karatzaferis who was a fervent nationalist and xenophobic. Protection of the nation, racism, faith, cultural identity, exaltation of the history and expulsion of illegal immigrants were among its declared discourses.

LAOS accused the immigrants of rising unemployment and increased crime rates as also the Western European counterparts of it had done. During the first years LAOS used anti-semitic and anti-American rhetoric while warning Greeks living in a country run by Jews and accusing the both mainstream parties of turning country into an American slave.

In 2004 four of the future Golden Dawn members were active in LAOS. In the same year the party gained 2.2 per cent in the national elections and 4.1 in the European election while in 2007 it received 3.8 per cent at home and secured ten seats. In 2009 percentage was 5.6 and LAOS' seat has risen to 15.

But in 2010 due to its support for the Memorandum of Understanding and for the May 2010 bailout, besides taking part in Loukas Papadimos government (2011-2012) the party lost of its constituent. In May 2012, the votes of the party had dropped to 2.9 per cent and to 1.6 per cent in June. While also the party lost its distinguished members, while ND successfully collected them under its roof (Ellinas 2013, p.545-547).

GD, in the context of Greek modern history seems relevant to the Greek Junta, the Regime of Colonels (1967-1974). George Papadopoulos as the leader figure of the military junta gave the re-emerging opportunity to the far-right groups such alike Security Battalions, which was at the point of diminishing by the end of civil war (1946-1949) and also other formations for example Units of Raiding Squads and the Units for Rural Security which constituted the background for current far-right parties and formations of the far-right, of whom ideology could be identified as relevant to long before, back to Metaxas's the 4th of August Regime (1936-1941).

EON, the National Organisation of Youth, established by Ioannis Metaxas, regarding structure and ideology represents similarities with those formations. Also the contemporary Greek far-right groups' ideologies as far as the family, religion and hard work or discipline as their abstract notions for building up a new Greece (the transformed nation ideal) have similarities with the Metaxas regime's rhetoric (Angouri and Wodak 2014, p. 543).

The Greek far right's rise also is an outcome of the fragmentation of the Greek party system. The fragmentation of the party system; division of parties on between pro-versus anti-bailout stance, the rise of anti-established forces,

supporting Greece EU membership or proposing the Grexit by some political parties have been the most characteristics of the Greek political chaos since 2012.

Greece, regarding its post-dictatorship history obtained two party system until the elections in 2012 which shook the main pillars of the political system and as its consequence the system has been collapsed.

Two main parties ND (New Democracy) and PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement) has been governing Greece by turns with single-party governments for 40 years until 2012. But the 6 May 2012 elections subvert the balance since none of the two dominant parties could obtain over 30 per cent of the votes to form the majority government.

Therefore the May 2012 elections identified winners was anti-bailout, anti-established and popular forces; Syriza from the left wing and Golden Dawn from the extreme right made their biggest profit. While Syriza succeed in becoming second electoral force, GD gained parliamentary representation for the first time with its received almost 7 per cent of votes.

Coalitions in Greek political history has appeared rare and lasted shortly. Greece has been a representative of two party system since 1974. The last election before the crisis of 2012, PASOK and ND shared minimum 251 seats in 2009. In the last 6 elections two parties' total vote was over 85 per cent (Vasilopoulos and Halikiopoulou 2015, p.523-525). Which represents 'all or nothing' attitude of the Greek party system being criticized as lack of consensus and communication culture in Greek politics.

In the Greek political system, the winner of the election has a bonus seat privilege which leads the strongest party being able to form a strong government also feeds the dominant culture of the political system (Vasilopoulos and Halikiopoulou 2015, p.532).

As Legg and Roberts argues that polarisation of political conflict and rhetoric is the characteristic of Greek politics. Polarisation can be estimated as the left legacy of the civil war years which led the country into authoritarianism by the hands of rightists (Vasilopoulos and Halikiopoulou 2015, p.525).

That tradition, right against left legacy of the Greek political history with the sudden rise of the far right also brings to mind the possibility of authoritarian characteristic of Greek politics is even after the collapse of the junta in 1974 and entrance of EU is being still alive today. Following the civil war years the established right-wing state was overthrown by the military dictatorship in 1967.

Finally, when the junta collapsed Greece has turned its face from authoritarian regime of Colonels to its roots democracy in 1974. Joining the European Union in 1981, meant peace and prosperity, end of long struggle, given chance for democratic development. 1981 was the era of change for Greece while Andreas Papandreou established the first left -wing government. Change also has been Papandreou's governing party of PASOK's (Panhellenic Socialist Movement) electoral campaign slogan.

During the Papandreou period EU's provided prosperity and benefits caused Greece not implying the reforms that EU required since obtaining a job in exchange for votes has also become a tradition (Konstandaras 2012, p.80). Not only regarding the financial institutions also its political culture Greece did not hurry to a democratic way, rather established its two party system, which is mostly estimated as an authoritarian alike in its characteristic.

As mentioned ND as the major competitor of Syriza in the election of 2012, used nationalist existence rhetoric, as the slogan of ND explains: “ Our vote will decide for Greece, for the future of our children (Vasilopoulos and Halikiopoulou 2015, 532). That reminds the Metaxist nationalistic existence rhetoric that often being used by GD. While bearing on mind that ND was replaced by GD as the vanguard

spokesman of the right, however it is definite that current conditions along with the left legacy of the strong rhetoric of the authoritarian regimes provided the fertile ground for GD which finally had 18 seat in the parliamentary.

Golden Dawn being described as 'Leninist way' built around a bulletin under the name of People's Association-Golden Dawn first in a political publishing format while later in 1993 registered as political party since then Nikolaos Michaloliakos has been its constant leader.

The party describes itself as a popular movement with the ideology of nationalism. Being inactive until 1993 when the nationalist fervour conquered the country during the Macedonian dispute. Tired of interwar ideas of national socialism and fascism the formation ideologically settled down with popular nationalism then until 1990's the party decided to represent itself with Greek nationalism (Ellinas, 2013, p.250-251).

During the 1996 national election received 0.07. In the 1999 by cooperating with Plevris reached at 0.75 per cent. Golden Dawn has shifted its agenda from nationalist right (with the national issues and stance against communism) to a new anti-immigrant and pro-security. As no longer focused on the national presence put the priority on establishment of strongholds in the specific local areas, since then the party gained its highest vote in the municipal election.

Elias Dinas (2013) in his co-written article of 'From Dusk to Dawn: Political Opportunities and Party Success of Right-wing Extremism' argues that, Golden Dawn's left of the political margin was already a fait accompli before the economic crisis' outbreak. And adds, its explained by demand-side explanations.

While just after the 2004 Olympic Games preparations were completed the influx of immigrants accelerated Golden Dawn's change of its rhetoric from a nationalistic to an anti-immigrant stance. Significantly after the Afro-Asian

immigrant flow arrived to the certain districts of Athens, that shifting in the rhetoric was distinct.

During the period the party succeeded accessing the locals by offering goods and services. In that way the party achieved being identified as an organization, protector of the citizens and eliminator of the immigrants in the public eye (Dinas, Georgiadou, Konstantinidis and Rori 2013, p.20).

And finally Golden Dawn clearly achieved a remarkable success by 14.7 per cent in the disadvantageous areas regarding the highly immigrant populated regions of Athens while around one out of three immigrants were living in the area of Agios Panteleimonas.

Far right's leading party of contemporary politics of Greece LAOS was replaced by New Democracy. ND absorbed the anti immigration and ultra nationalist agenda of LAOS successfully while (Dinas, Georgiadou, Konstantinidis, Marantzidis and Rori 2012, p.2). LAOS decision on not participating in the municipality elections in 2010 was due to the party's support to the ND for collecting far right votes.

ND also was an anti-immigrant party, the voters' disappointment with the governmental parties created the natural circumstances for GD, with its anti immigrants rhetoric it was successful in the election.

LAOS's participation in the coalition with PASOK and the ND in November 2011-February 2012 had caused a shift in the far right voters from LAOS to GD. According to Elias Dinas' study (2012), the 4 and 6 municipal departments were anti-immigrant view holders intensively lived areas, while in a year period the populations tolerance for GD has increased, regardless of the what department people lived in Athens, people of all over, started taking the party more legitimate electoral choice (Dinas, Georgiadou, Konstantinidis and Rori 2013, p. 2-14).

### **2.3. Golden Dawn and shared similarities with the far right European parties**

Golden Dawn's shared similarities and differences with its far right family of Europe also has been an interesting study area for the literature. To mention those similarities and the differences in summary firstly the differences can roughly be stated as follows, the party's constituency profile seems similar, young males with reasonable education level and mostly without job. Golden Dawn has a wider support up to 7 per cent in the 2012 elections and up to 11-12 in 2013, which has turned out to be the third biggest party of Greece.

On the other hand, its counterparts in significantly with the high violent discourses alike Golden Dawn such as Dutch Centre Party'86 or the German National Democratic party could not gain more than 5 per cent in the national elections (Ellinas 2013, p.560).

Whereas GD's tactics and methods are representing some similarities with the European far right parties. Such as Jean-Marie Le Pen also manifested the social protest in favour of his party while the stance against the migrants, penetration into society by grass root organisations such as unions, associations was among the party's used propaganda methods.

Giving priority to the native and safeguarding the county's ethno-cultural character was also undertaking responsibilities of the Partido Nacional Renovador (PNR) of Portugal. GD is also compared by Hungarian Jobbik which won 17 per cent of the vote in the 2010 national parliamentary elections.

Although economical crisis caused a request for a deeper analysis on the extreme right, also cultural dimensions should be studied for each country separately. While as Despina Papadimitriou mentions as the outcome of crucial events and structures Greek mental attitudes and political traditions has changed in the recent

Greek history, the suggested analysis seems necessary in Greek case as well.<sup>3</sup>

As far as grassroots activities concerned GD, represents similarities with prominent far right parties of Europe alike the Dutch Party for Freedom, the French National Front. While the party devotes its significant amount of resources to train its militants by imposing its ideological principles and historical narratives. Mentioning its street-based activities GD, proves more similarities with extreme right parties of such as, neo-fascist British National Party, Forza Nuova, Casa Pound of Italy and neo-Nazi German National Democratic Party.

Through its dissemination of party propaganda pamphlets and also by even distribution of social services GD argued have been aimed for political and social legitimacy. Antifascist groups combats with state authorities affects the party's received economical sources, which on GD case was restricted after 2013 incident dramatically.

Also in Germany, Netherlands, Britain sanctions had challenged far right parties while in Belgium, Czech Republic, Israel the state authorities also targeted the extreme parties (Ellinas and Lampianou 2016, p.21-24).

GD's distinguishes from most extreme neo-fascist parties by its social and community-based activities, while National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD) had been occupied by those activities admittedly (Sakalleriou 2015, p.336).

#### **2.4. Political Biography of Nikolaos Michaloliakos**

Nikolaos Michaloliakos has been the leader of Golden Dawn since 1983. While it was founded as a political publishing, played an active role as a political party since the mid 90's. Nikolaos Michaloliakos was one of the significant figures of

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<sup>3</sup> Papadimitriou Despina, The Golden Dawn and the Extreme Right in Greece, E-International Relations, 5 March 2014.

the Greek nationalist movement since he was 16 years old (Ellinas 2013, p.552).

He was associated with the extreme right since he was a member of the Fascist National Association of Greek Students in Italy in his political career's early years (Psarras 2015, p.58). He also participated in the Greek-Cypriot paramilitary organization of EOKA-B's local organization in Athens. He met the Greek military junta (1967-1974) leaders in prison, for whom he respected them as much he did for Hitler. Following on his release he joined the Army and became a commando at forces.

In July 1978 he became a member of a far right extremist group, soon after for illegal carrying guns and explosives he was sentenced to prison for a year. He was expelled from the army due to his illegal involvements. Then after he published the *Chrysi Avgi* (Greek for Golden Dawn) in 1983 was a representative publishing of National Socialist belief.

Michaloliakos was among the entourage of Constantine Plevris, anti-semitist political figure and the leader of the 4 of August Party named on praise to Ioannis Metaxas, the party was on the politic scene between 1965-1977.<sup>4</sup> Michaloliakos as the collaborator of the junta leader the EPEN in 1984.

On his join to National Political Union, Michaloliakos ceased the publication of Golden Dawn for a while when he was the responsible of the youth section in EPEN.

After broke away from EPEN he registered Chrysi Avgi Popular Association-Golden Dawn as a political party, which was active in the political scene since 90's.<sup>5</sup> He exposed his political view in a number of historical, political and ideological books he has been the author of. As recently announced on the party's

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<sup>4</sup> Papadimitriou Despina, The Golden Dawn and the Extreme Right in Greece, E-International Relations, 5 March 2014.

<sup>5</sup> Dabilis Andy, Greek Reporter, www.greekreporter.com, 28 September 2013

web-site that his written book 'Enemies of the Establishment' with additional articles will be republished with the title of 'The First Years' soon.<sup>6</sup>

### **2.5. GD with its ideological portrait: The party discourse (from nationalism, to anti-communism, anti-semitism and the nation-statism), exaltation of the 4th of August Regime and GD's approach towards the church.**

From the beginning of the economic crisis, Golden Dawn has been against the bailout agreements and blaming the illegal immigrants as one of the reasons of the crisis. Besides, the party has been complaining for social dissolution of Greek society while mostly accusing the 'so-called' leftist for that collapse.

The party perceives the nationalism as 'the third major ideology of history' while aiming a state grounded nationalism guides the individual and collective life. A national state and citizenship with homogenous ethnicity is among the party's ideologies. 'Demos with ethnos, state with its people', the people which has the common ancestry is praised in GD understanding.

Golden Dawn's anti-system, anti-semitic, anti-communist discourse makes its ideology come a step further to Nazi ideas. Party's founder Nikolaos Michaloliakos defines the Greek political system as 'a pseudo-democracy' and rejects any authority including the dictatorship of Parliamentarism. Also accuses the system as a 'corrupt political establishment' that takes orders from abroad who sells the Greek national sovereignty. Moreover, indicates the media to be participant of that loot.

Golden Dawn argues that the political authority must be belong to the people, without any party patrons which explains the formulation of the idealised national state (Ellinas 2013, p.549). The idea of an organic inter-classist state, a People's

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<sup>6</sup> Nikolaos, Michaloliakos, 24 years back and we are still declared we are Nationalists no ... Nazi!, Popular Association of Golden Dawn, *November 2017*

state with the aim of protecting the biological and cultural unity of the nation while indicates multiculturalism, EU and globalization as its vital enemies. As revealing an ultra-nationalist, xenophobic, pro-Nazi rhetoric GD exalts nativism with biological and cultural unity (Dinas, Georgiadou, Konstantinidis and Rori, 2013, p.4).

Golden Dawn's election success mostly explained by three crises it answered for; economic, political and ideological. Its solution is a nationalist one, the proposed social rebirth is based on a holistic radical Third Way. The party's emphasis on the social decadence myth is a characteristic of the fascist movements. Nation-statism, paramilitarism, transcendence and cleansing, collective will and the action of the masses and progress through struggle, force and violence is the key words of the movement's characteristics.

The party's aimed progress, to end the rotten system and replace it with a nationalist movement from above, should be achieved by not in elitist way but rather by the embodiment of the public will (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2015, p.52). Party's Manifesto summarises the characteristics and aims of the organisation as follows<sup>7</sup>:

*Our faith is loyalty, knowledge, power, self-sacrifice. You must realise that integration in to Golden Dawn is not a hobby or waste of time, but a gesture of wholehearted allegiance to the secret voice of blood for the nourishment and deployment of the fighting spirit in the service of the three pillars of Believe- Obey- Fight and in order to add a small but important brick to the holy struggle of the movement for a greater Greece in a free Europe, against globalisation and multicultural societies, against capitalism and its minions, against the complete impunity of capitalist and their interests, against immigrants, legal and illegal, and the misery of the popular masses sacrificed for the benefit of speculators and those who deliberately drive the Greeks into poverty, hunger and unemployment. In the great Greek family of Golden Dawn, the old welcome the new, not with selfishness or snobbishness, but as comrades, as brothers-in arms, in the eternal battle of the sun against darkness, as fellow fighters in the common struggle against the eternal Jew, who is the flagship of hate and of the domination of Zionism over the whole planet.*

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<sup>7</sup> The manifesto of Golden Dawn, xaameriki, [www.xaameriki.worldpress.com](http://www.xaameriki.worldpress.com)

Nationalism described as the third major ideology of the history, in the party's manifesto it is also called as the most rooted ideology of the Greek community. Placed at opposition to communist internationalism and universal-liberalism. In the fourth paragraph of the manifesto, nationalism is addressed as the only absolute and true revolution because of its character gives birth to new ethical, spiritual, social and mental value system.

Thus, being a Golden Dawner requires following of the ultimate goal; forming a new society and a new type of man. Golden Dawn denies the National Socialists and Nazi label that mostly used for describing the party. Ideological lineage between Golden Dawn and the interwar ideologies is evident (Ellinas 2013, p.549).

Psarras mentions an article, published on Golden Dawn's website on 17 March 1995. The article with the headline of 'What nationalism is not' the third ideology explains the party's ideology as follows (Psarras 2015, p.41):

*In this century, the third way in politics is the path of the popular nationalist movement of interwar Europe. This form of politics prevailed in Greece under the 4th August regime, in Italy under fascism and in Germany under national socialism. It is clear that the nationalism of our time is directly related to those interwar regimes.*

While in the same publication's 16 September 1994 issue under the title of 'Nationalist and Nationalists' described its discourse as, "Our nationalism is particularly tribal and social in nature and is not a general belief in favour of the nation but has specific ideological structure and view" (Psarras 2015, p.41).

Not only an arithmetic totality of individuals but also the same biological and cultural heritage they shared constructs the nation for Golden Dawn.

The Biological basis that Golden Dawn puts as the priority in its understanding of nationalism distinguishes itself from the most of the far right parties in Europe. As A. Ellinas (2013) mentions in his article, even the parties being called under the label of 'neo-Nazism' do not expose such an explicit racist appeal in their party discourses.

In the term of policy, Golden Dawn adopts a solid stance on national issues similar to far right Greek parties significantly similar to LAOS regarding immigration and citizenship issues at most. Such as the party's insists on the name of Macedonia during 1990's and also its call for the liberation of northern Epirus (southern Albania) where Greek speaking population was high, one of the examples of that similarities in character.

The party established the anti-Hellenic activity centre for stigmatize people in close collaboration with the immigrants. By that foundation for instance, identifying the people who is employing immigrants or renting property to them in the close watch of the party. According to the party if some one was accused of that activity must be punished by the state through their properties being put on hold.

According to the party Greek society had to be classified in two parts; as the one holding fully political right and the other holding only civil rights. In their understanding only the people with the Greek conscience and of Greek descent should have political rights accompanied with property rights while the rest' property should be belong to the state (Ellinas 2013, p.550-551).

The party's exaltation of the state by giving it the whole control of the private property also reminds fascist regimes. The party's manifesto requires that being a Golden Dawner means being an enemy of the vast exploitative wealth either locally or internationalist. As the ultimate goal of the social state also described as elimination of tired false-value of money by its use of as a trading mean.<sup>8</sup>

State as the political organization of the nation perceived as the highest spiritual entity. The manifesto's paragraph nine explains the Golden Dawn's racist -statist rhetoric in more details as follows:

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<sup>8</sup> The manifesto of Golden Dawn, xaameriki, [www.xaameriki.worldpress.com](http://www.xaameriki.worldpress.com)

*The People are born from the tribes, the types of a race and its existence gives birth to the nation as a superior spiritual manifestation (moral, cultural, religious). Derived from the people, the nation – race, needs to be strengthened and developed through the state. It may exist without a state but will be steadily declining.*<sup>9</sup>

In the mentioned paragraph also defined as the undermining enemies of the nation are international communism along with liberal cosmopolitanism with the implementation of class divisions.

In March 2010 Greek parliament voted law of obtaining citizenship and the voting right of legal immigrants that has been criticized by the conservative party, New Democracy and by the radical right party of LAOS while also attracted the attention of the public. While mainstream parties acted ambiguous in expressing their ideas on the immigrant issue, Golden Dawn's employ of anti-immigrant rhetoric might have been answered the nationalist voters requirement (Dinas, Georgiadou, Konstantinidis, Rori, 2013, p.6).

The well reply of the nationalist voter's on that anti immigrant maybe lead the party for a further anti-immigrant rhetoric. In Golden Dawn's ideology Greek nation was an organic entity of ethnic identifiers, biological and cultural elements such as blood, language, religion and community of birth as the elements of defining tools of the exclusive Greek nation club of whom membership was restricted.

Racism was the party's informed political agenda while the Greekness status could only be gained by birth. Golden Dawn argues that there is not a thing as legal immigration and all immigrants would be expelled. The party's manifesto declares that granting full political rights to any non Greek leads to spoil of the Greek nation and puts the continuation of its nation at a great risk (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015, p.3).

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<sup>9</sup> The manifesto of Golden Dawn, xaameriki, [www.xaameriki.worldpress.com](http://www.xaameriki.worldpress.com)

Golden Dawn's first aim is ending the social cleavages and cleaning the nation until it ethnically becomes fully Greek. According to the party, true democracy means a system, represents the collective will of the people and that can be done only after the political eliminations is completed. That aim can be achieved by the third biggest ideology, 'nationalism'. National freedom is a must and if the artificial cleavages created by anti-communism, anti-liberalism if be eliminated then after the ideal democracy could be found.

Cleavages also serves the foreign interests and brings the country to a social bankruptcy. Golden Dawn promises destroying the old rotten system which is blamed for stagnation and corruption. European Union, Germany, the United States and international Zionism defined as the outsider enemies while all internal enemies holding anti-Hellenic policies as the internal enemies. Communism is also another significant enemy as it intends internationalism and as leading to opposite concept of nation-state.

Greek democratic regime counts as junta who is not legitimate truly and its corrupt and incompetent puppets are defined as being concerned only for their interests. Golden Dawn blames the politicians and accuse them leading Greece to cultural destruction by accepting the Memorandum of Understanding and locking the country into contract of austerity measures. Contemporary democratic regime is named as a sinful status quo. Golden Dawn stands before all that internal and outsider monsters eager to destruct Greece and its nation (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015, p.59-60).

Golden Dawn's party manifesto emphasises the importance of the society, while the individual had no importance if not participates in the society as a good function of the whole system like an organ of the body, while the tradition also praised the society with all the aspects of the beauty and the good. The new creation, the transformed society ideal of GD, is something that grounded in the tradition and in the incessant evolution. GD Manifesto is ended up with two lines

consists of capital letters as stating Aristocracy was born of meritocracy, this was why they had to fight with all forms of oligarchy.

*Hellenism is on a downward slope .. The economic crisis is the tip of the iceberg. Behind it lies a decline of values, an unprecedented political decline, a political bankruptcy, the decline of a whole nation, the Greek Nation of the Greeks. Many worked towards this decline for decades. These are not only foreigners, but also some Greek speakers. That is, only Greek speakers, but not Greeks, because a Greek is only the one that has Greek consciousness.*<sup>10</sup>

The social decay is being described as sickness in party's declaration and indicated as the reason of the atomisation of Greek society and the cause of Greek's turning into slaves while the whole nation and civilisation was degenerated (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2015, p.56).

In the party manifesto the only state that completes its role throughout history is defined as the social state form, where political power came from the people but not the party promoters. Nationalism estimated the people not only as a numerical entity but as a qualitative synthesis of people with the mutual biological and spiritual heritage.

As the biological and spiritual heritage was the source of all creation it expressed all of its power in the social state. Social state thus, is the only type of state that could represent the people as an organic and spiritual living as whole. In the manifesto the social state also defined as the only way to the democracy.

Golden Dawn makes a call for a radical transformation in the society. According to the party that goal could only be fulfilled by the establishment of a nationalist state. The nationalist state could only create the new society with the new type of individual. Repair of damaged social values and elimination of the fake onesis also a must for saving the nation from decadence. New moral, spiritual, social, mental values only be possible by an absolute nationalism (Ellinas 2013, p.549).

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<sup>10</sup> The manifesto of Golden Dawn, xaameriki, [www.xaameriki.wordpress.com](http://www.xaameriki.wordpress.com)

The myth of social decadence and a need of reborn nation by a statist movement from below is GD's initial goal what also makes GD a fascist formation. As mostly ultra nationalism used for explaining far right character in general, under GD's circumstances it is most specifically the party's myth of national rebirth, phoenix-like resurrection. The Great Greek Nation as the creator of the civilisation, built two world empires and was reborn like a phoenix from its ashes in 1821.

GD's understanding of nationalism is alike a political religion because they believe the nation was chosen by God. Greece is identified as a chosen land and the party's mission is saving that special nation from domestic and external enemies who are mostly working together against Greece's interests. The struggle GD members who have godlike characteristics (as Titans, Giants and Semi-Gods) go through will bring the divine enlightenment for a better future so then Greeks will not fall apart.

A moral calling has been made by GD, one for the soul of every Greek who had to feel the sacred duty of struggle to obtain the liberation as the right of birth, was a divine call. GD describes its culture as alike in the past, had to rise and again be the helm of Western civilisation in that 'chosen' land as the 'chosen nation'. Each Greek has to be patriot as it was a birth trait.

The party's symbolic colours being black, white and red was chosen also in accordance with revolution flags of 1821 (the Independence War) heroes. As Golden Dawn declares; white resembles the innocence of Greeks against the tyrants, black means death for fatherland and red reflects the self-determination of the Greeks as the colour of revolution, blood and race, which also was the colour of Spartan's robes, Alexander the Great's flag. Red was also the colour of true socialism and social revolution.

GD emphasizes its strong ties with ancient Greece, past wars including against the

Ottomans and during the invasion of 1940. Throughout all those struggle periods, the heroes of those times being exalted for their heroism, bravery, sacrifice. The party officially recognised those historical events, personalities and national identity traits and places them within ethnic election framework also successfully integrates into its ultranationalist palingenetic ideology.

Described the Greek nation as unique because of its individuality and with its history and destiny as superior, belong to a higher civilisation. Fighting with heroism by knowing that Greeks are special and will restore the past glorious days by sacrificing.

The concept of sacrificial death is the central component of the collective nationalism, giving up one's life for the group parallels with religion, those who dies for the nation are ethno martyrs or the neo-martyrs of the Genos (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2015, p.63-74).

Nationalism is proposed as an alternative to communism. Ideologically Golden Dawn holds an anti-communist and also anti-plutocratic rhetoric. The party is against plutocracy because plutocracy undermines the production of indigenous by the hand of retailer chains that promotes important goods which causes the undercut of Greek goods.

GD has gained anti-immigrant rhetoric since the 1990s. The party has referred to incidents of violence and Nazi Propaganda while members of Golden Dawn were involved in some notorious actions against the immigrants and leftists more recently. Human Rights Watch documents puts forward that after the election of 2012 elections in June, Violence has risen in Greek streets against the immigrants significantly following the Golden Dawn candidates and MPs being put on trial for their violent activities.

Those activities were focused on cleaning Athens of immigrants and claimed

protecting Greeks from the criminal immigrants. While after GD's violence represented on TV against two female politicians same reactions occurred in the public. But even after that televised violence the party still secured its 6.92 per cent votes and 18 seats in the June 2012 elections (Ellinas 2013, p.548-551).

MP Ilias Panagiotaros in his interview explained his party's immigrant stance as being in a war alike condition is explained as follows: Greek society is ready for a new type of civil war. On one side will be nationalist like us, and Greeks who want our country to be as it used to be. On the other will be illegal immigrants and anarchists<sup>11</sup>

Another significant immigrant attack of the party was the political council member Antonios Androutsopoulos and a group of party members' attack to three leftist students, while nearly killed one of them as he was sentenced for 21 years.

The anti-immigrant attitude of Golden Dawn roots back to 1990's while during the period was the time of massive immigrants flux from the Balkans and Eastern Europe. That was also the time for Golden Dawn, to shift its focus on immigrants, regardless of their immigration status asking the immigrants to leave Greece.

While the anti-immigrant stance did not give the party any political back up by the constituent while in the election of 1994 the party only gained 0.11 per cent of the total vote. In the 2009 agenda of immigration, criminality and security supplied the party a better result by 0.46 at the European Elections and 0.29 per cent in the national elections (Dinas, Georgiadou, Konstantinidis and Rori 2013, p.4).

Golden Dawn's violence was apparent since the party's establishment as a bulletin in 1983. External enemies were defined by their ethnic background. (Turkish, Kurdish refugees and also African, Asian immigrants and significantly Albanians during the 1990s.) And the internal enemies were defined as their political rivals.

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<sup>11</sup> Golden Dawn Watch, Golden Dawn Watch. Org. 27 Jan, 2018.

The party's involvement in violence continued after the 2012 elections, market and small shop owners and manual workers of origin non Greeks were the mainly targets. Violence was in the streets on public transport vehicles and at squares, arsons and property damaging was also included while physical violence on the immigrants was also the case.

Also Greek students of mainly leftist, Communist Youth of Greece (KNE) was their target during 1990s. Left-wing student Dimitris Kousouris was killed in 1998 and in 2013 the murder of Pavlos Fyssas, an activist rap singer, lead to arrests of twenty Golden Dawn members and MP's for being involved in or taken a part in the management of a criminal organisation.

Also the leader team of the party including Nikolaos Michaloliakos, Elias Kassidiaris, Nikos Mihos, Elias Panagiotaros and Iannis Lagos with some police officers were arrested. Beating and attempt of murders, blackmailing and money launderings were the claimed crimes. Recruitment of children and forcing them to Nazi practices were also described as the acts required punishment by the authorities.

All the crime cases against Golden Dawn was put in the public eye significantly during 2014. But although the crime cases expected to lead the party loosing its support opposite happened. Especially after its MP's prisoned, the party maintained its support and became the third party in the 2014 European Parliament election once again (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2015, p.4-5).

Golden Dawn is alike rest of the European far right parties holds an anti-semitic attitude, accusing Jews or Zionists of pursuing the eliminating of the Greek nation through globalisation and cosmopolitanism which was believed to be directed by US. While the holocaust also articulated by Michaloliakos in an heedless volume as follows (Ellinas 2013, p.551): There was an extermination of the Jews in the concentration camps. Regarding the number of those

exterminated-if it was six, four or three million, nobody knows. They were exterminated by all people.

GD defines the representative democracy as the child of capitalism, a which tool is being used by capitalism for dominating the masses. Thus after denying liberal democracy and its institutions, the party turns its face to fascist and totalitarian regimes.

Exalts fascist personalities as the heroes. Party material's makes references to such fascist leaders alike Ioannis Metaxas of Greece, or Spanish Francisco Franco and Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera. While the ideal regime for Greece is described as the 4th of August regime of Ioannis Metaxas.

According to Golden Dawn during that period (1936-1941), Greece became an anti-communist, anti-parliamentarian and totalitarian state, which is anti-plutocratic with an agricultural and working base. During the Metaxas term, Greece was not ruled by one party; the Freethinkers' of Metaxas was embodied by the whole people, except the communists.

Also Metaxas' implied economic policies for the sake of welfare state, introduction of national insurance; arrangements on the working days, hours and on minimum wages, establishment of collective labour agreement to decrease the unemployment are the frequently praised actions of the 4 of the August regime. Golden Dawn takes the responsibility of attribute historical justice for Metaxas, of whom contributions to whole nation was claimed to be distorted by plutocrats.

As Golden Dawn disassociate itself from German Nazism and carefully skips not exalting Hitler while indicating Metaxas as the national hero of the history. Legendary 'No' of Metaxas in 28 October 1940 was the refusal of Greece not to co-operate with Nazi Germany. Hence his reply makes Ioannis Metaxas as the hero of Greece for his stance (symbolised with famous oxi reply) against the

Germany while 28 October is celebrated as the national holiday, as it is till today.

Golden Dawn also follows the path of welfare provisions of Metaxas'. Offering alternative services which are indeed among the responsibilities of the state in accordance with its ideal to encompass all aspects of social life. Golden Dawn's job providing and blood donation centres and soup kitchens are open to benefit of only for Greeks for fulfilling that task (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2015, p.58).

The party also has a health providing service in case of the national health service's to collapses. Also support for socially vulnerable people is being financed from the GD MP's salaries which reflects the sacrifice, selflessness and popular supremacy ideas of the party (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2015, p.39).

While Golden Dawn represented share similarities with the 4th of August Regime, regarding the party's social support programmes this is covered by the media with the argument of being the continuation of the regime of 1936-1941 emphasised.

According to Golden Dawn Nazi's aim was clearing the Aryandised Christianity of the slightest residues of Jewish sperm and Orient that purified Christianity to the constant values of the community (Papadimitriou 2014). Party declares: "We have to reject old Testament and reveal the genuine Greek cultural identity which for centuries were suffocated under the layer of Jewish tradition."<sup>12</sup>

Although Metaxist or the Colonel's understanding of conventional religiosity is not the same as the understanding of it by GD, Michaloliakos has declared that the church and the army were the nation's pillars many times in his speeches.

As Greece is no exception the radical right parties has always had special relations

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<sup>12</sup> Papadimitriou Despina, The Golden Dawn and the Extreme Right in Greece, 5 March 2014, E-International Relations.

with religion. After the party systems fragmentation due to the economic crisis, religious constituent of the traditional centre right party of New Democracy has lost its attachment with the party while GD was taking duty of protector of the religious collective conscience. As religion is a clear central factor within prestigious hegemony in the Greek society as institutional (legal) and structural (social and political) perspective.

Considering the fact that Greece is as having a state church that taking advantages of the various legal and financial privileges, one of the most institutionally de-secularized states of Europe. Church in Greece also acts as a mechanism shaping the social consent whereas a constructor pillar of the Greek national identity. As looking at the religiosity statistics of Greek society the church's hegemony's occurs as an unquestionable fact.

Religion has been taking differently in the party's ideological history, at first GD during 1980's has represented an open anti-Christian political character while in 1990's, the party's stance against religion has shifted in accordance with its explosion of church's social influence and alignment of religious officials to an ultra-nationalist agenda.

While GD strictly opposed the abortion, which was a mortal threat for the nation, due to its carried risk for the historical discontinuity. While morning school prayers and school church attendance rewarded to a special value, family is accepted as the nucleus of the society while homosexuality declared as an unacceptable stigma.

For example, GD proved its protector of religion and clergy image with its stance at Pastitsios affair. On a facebook account the elderly monk Athos Paisios has been ridiculed. As the guardian of the collective conscience of religion through its employed mission of the protector of honour and authority of the church and its people GD's took legal action against the attacker.

While among the traditional value pool religion was one of the makers of the national identity and had been successfully employed by GD. As the outcome GD was no more an outcast. Racist ideology along with Orthodox traditional premises on the top of which nationalistic rhetoric the party took up the opportunity to the party to increase its electoral power and social influence.

Golden Dawn was able to profit the votes provided by applied religious manner OCG (Orthodox Church of Greece) preferred staying neutral in the political measurements for protecting its dominant status. Conservative wing's representative prime-minister Samaras has also been profited the religion by spoken in favour of the church repeatedly in his time.

Church in Greece as legalised by Law 4182/2013 has its own real estate free from impediments of the state. Because of economic independency OCG had dominant position in the society while preferred mostly staying neutral in political disputes. But nor OCG has never showed any eagerness to actively support for GD.

Although only a small group of bishops had condemned party's practices while carefully avoiding mention of the party's name, instead mostly gave indirect and generalised advices to it. Such as, pointing out that all humans were brothers native and immigrants were equal before God and should be treated with dignity.

While Archbishop Hieronymus expressed his stance against violence and racism by not an open declaration format, instead through a press leak and also again without naming the party underlined that OCG did not need any party's protection and youth should think twice before voting to whom to vote.

On the other hand, some bishops advocated Golden Dawn while some others stayed neutral or kept the intervention at lowest. Even after Pavlos Fyssas murder the OCG reaction was mild while still some group in the bishops, openly declared GD as a threat for democracy and defined it as an enemy of Orthodoxy.

For the Greek clergy GD can be viewed as a second-order factor but not its political bastion, while a clear condemn of GD by the church would mean deprivation of help from a political actor for the OCG as Papastratis argues.

OCG and extreme right had developed a close relationship significantly between 1944-1974 period. By then Church stand behind the ultra conservative establishment against the left, moreover acted as its ideological pillar. In the name of protection of Orthodox tradition and national defence church made alliance with the far right, the ancestors of GD. That alliance was useful for legitimising the regime and generating the social consensus. After the restoration of democracy OCG, preferred staying close to LAOS, the dominant party of far right until 2012.

While authoritarianism accepted as an arguable topic within Orthodoxy while Orthodox Trinitarian theology represents positive view of democracy and advertises social freedom and equality, OCG and GD ideologically close to each other in respect to the party's value system; authoritarianism, nationalism, populism, anti-westernism, and anti-immigrant.

The power system of Orthodox East has been defined as 'caesaropapism' which proposes that the head of the state is image of God on earth as his being the representative of God, disputing on his power or criticising his decisions is condemned by God. Thus the society should obey his authority, as the chosen one should not attempt changing the status quo. The OCG operates from a top to bottom structure instead of applying equality principle among its members.

As Papastratis argues, that absolute power produces a despotical system, certain absence of laity and the clergy in decision making process, bishop's centralised rule over its canonical territory and financials with highly centralised administration provides the ground for the social acceptance of authoritarian spirit

of which the church attendants are mostly accustomed. OCG's public advocacy of nationalist politics also effects the public's perception of radical right at a more legitimised stance.

The ideological convergence between OCG and GD does not mean that OCG directly has contributed to GD on strengthening the party's position. But on the other hand, the produced value system through OCG works at the advantage of the party regarding the party's social penetration. The discourse of the late archbishop Christodoulos (1998-2008) contributed to GD in that meaning.

The archbishop's ideas was very close to GD's while he was an authoritarian person, though of himself as supreme leader chosen by God, saviour of the nation. His populist discourse was exalting nationalism advocating the jingoist ideas.

According to the archbishop, the church was able to speak for its people of whom will was above the parliament and the constitution. Moreover the membership in the polity should depend on religious identity rather than citizenship. Religious officials portrayed the church also as the custodian of democracy whereas in reality it violated the democracy's principle of representation.

Christodoulos's act was not a step further towards democratization, centralized his authority, while he put the church in the position of protector of the nation he also reduced the society from a group with the ability of acting for its account to a passive mass. As his elitist populism had an exclusionist character, West alongside with the Islamic East has been pointed out as the existential enemies of the Greek society; the evil externals that threaten the nation's unity.

In this understanding, Europeans identified as unethical with the globalization conspiracy (which was an instrument of the establishment of the New World Order) was a threat to the national value system.

According to Christodoulos, Greece's national homogeneity was a blessing of God, was under threat by immigrants on historical continuity of the Greek DNA. His orientalist stereotypes excluded the Muslim as 'the other' as well. While since nationalism, authoritarianism, populism and exclusionism were the central elements of the both rhetoric OCG and the GD's similarities are evident.

For Golden Dawn the ideological breeding ground with political respect and social acceptance might be provided by OCG, considering the archbishop's influence (he was the most influential religious figure in the last 50 years in Greece) was dominant until 2008, while GD has gained its first outstanding success in 2009 elections. As Christodoulos' discourse is still respected in Greek social life today since very few of the church people showed eagerness to oppose GD (Papastathis 2015, p.3-18).

## **2.6. Irredentist Policy, violence as party propaganda and the approach towards the youth**

GD also pursues irredentist policy, which seeks restoration of the former lands of Byzantine Empire including some part of modern Turkey and Cyprus perceived as the deserved lands as it seems in accordance with the policy of Cypriot far right party of the National Popular Front (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2015, p.72).

The party has reacted against bailout agreements and calls for the cancellation of the Memorandum and proposes an immediate write off debts as defines it illegal and unbearable. Audit of the public debt and loan agreements of since 1974 with the expectation of by it aims to expose the politicians has been taking bribes.

Golden Dawn defines the standing in Euro currency as a disaster for the country destructs the national independence (Ellinas 2013, p.551). On the contrary to Euro, Greece should have a national currency provides national independence.

Although Golden Dawn do not make a request to exit from the European Union, accuses the Union for the destruction of the Greek economy significantly on the Greek industry and primary sector. As since it has been a marginalised radical organisation, Golden Dawn exposes an extremely hostile stance against the neighbour countries, significantly towards Turkey. While the main discourses of the party establish on the nationalism base, in the foreign policy also nationalist conflicts are put on priority.

The first is in the early 1990's on the name of newly independent Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia for adopting the name Macedonia. During that discussion the massive demonstration on the nationalist account was significant.

The second example was the dispute between Greece and Turkey over a rock (Imia crisis) in the Aegean in 1996 (Dinas, Georgiadou, Konstantinidis and Rori 2013 p.4).

As the party exposes racist ideas with cultural and biological connotations while denying the existing geographical borders, anti European party's spokesman Ilias Kasidiaris also recently has congratulated the British on their decision for leaving the European Union of whom the financial oligarchic was the Germany.

Kasidiaris underlined his thought on Brexit being the start point on empowered patriotic and nationalist inspirations across the EU, shows the party's stance on the EU issue has not altered any recently. While the party representative reflects the external enemy on EU, party representative concludes that the union was an undermining the Greece's national sovereignty. The union was also being scapegoated of illegal immigration rise in the country. More over, EU also was blamed for blocking the relations between Greece and Russia.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Versandaal Harry, The Rise and the Rise of golden Dawn, E-Kathimerini.com, 3 June 2014.

GD was perceived as a 'sub-state' group until 2010. Campaign of 2012 elections violence attacks and menaces with the slogan of “ Let's rid this land of filth” against for both immigrants and MP's from opposite parties arisen.

GD party discourse is grounded on welfare chauvinism, hate speech and mobilising insecurity feelings while conducting national pride as propaganda tool. Significantly since 1990's immigrants had been treated as a national security problem, while supporting the 'jus sanguinis principle' to be entitled to citizenship.

Murder of Manolis Kantaris by unknown people believed to be immigrants in May 2011 triggered the hate speeches and violence of GD against immigrants. By that period racist incidents significantly in the 6th district of Athens was regular but after the mentioned incident violence was usual act even during the daylight.

A day after the murder an immigrant found stabbed while police made a relevance of the murder with Kantaris' death. GD mostly damaged immigrant's shops while filmed the attacks and uploaded online.

Mass media's stance for the criminality obviously worked at advantage of GD while media linked criminality with the influx of migrants. An interview by To Vima reflects GD's attitude for migration and its violent actions as a defence and also a way of propaganda to gain support of society. “Our rights as Greeks and European citizens are creating self-defence groups so as to survive in this sea of foreigners.” To Vima, 2011 As the related article argues that if state did not protect its citizens racism would takes place as its natural consequence was the general judgement.

The study concludes that the majority of Greek society of different political and ideological backgrounds reflected an opinion enabled racism to appear as normal. Feeling of abandonment by the state gave the opportunity to GD to replace the state in its absent areas.

As one right party deputy mayor has remarked to Personal Communication it was a natural reaction of the society as follows (December 1011): “What would you expect from citizens who feel abandoned by the state?” The study's most responders put emphasise on blame on parliamentary parties, politicians, and authority which did not prevent the issue of migrants before it becomes unsolvable problem (Triandafyllidou and Hara Kouki 2014, p.422-423).

Party representatives declared that they were indeed not blaming the migrants, but the state as well as the parliamentary parties, politicians and all in charge who did not prevent the problem nor solved it. As a civil society representative explains the situation as follows: “People are not racist; our state is wrong, our politics is wrong from transforming the centre into a ghetto...”

According to A.Triandafyllidou and H.Kouki's research results, they people they made interviews defined the problem while ignored the state of supplying the racist premises, or while rejecting being called themselves as fascist, they were only the people disappointment in growing migration policies and mainstream politics in general, as they were the victims as well.

GD organised its grass root politics as the stronghold of the party in the Agios Panteleimonas, gained visibility, as the consequence of that visibility also as the consequence of violence or loud discourses in the area had the change of entering the mainstream political arena (Triandafyllidou and Hara Kouki 2014, p.426-428).

According to Elias Dinas, absolute respect (Fürherprinzip) for the leader was not only a demand of far right but also conducted strategy by the party. Violence was a strategy of making the party recognisable. (Dinas, Georgiadou, Konstantinidis, Marantzidis and Rori 2012, p.4).

By 2008, over presented areas of the migrants, the city had become a battlefield for fighting with racist terms against 'ghettoization'. According to Hellenic Police

Spokesman, it was a natural reaction of any 'normal' person to this new urban reality as written on Personal Communication, December 15, 2011 as follows: “If a man who has been living there for ages finds himself sitting on the balcony of his house and listening to so many foreign languages from the streets and seeing so many different things, how can he adapt so easily, how much can we ask from him ?”

While it is obvious for the multiculturalism was a totally new thing for the locals of Athens to adapt, and in that matter many people the researcher interviewed responded that the only actor who has accessed them was GD as a respond to inequality, while they did not accept racist attitude nor tolerate it while they did not identified themselves with extreme-right ideology. While a former deputy mayor summarises on Personal Communication December 6, 2011) as below (Triandafyllidou and Kouki 2014 p.429).:

*No there is no racism here; these were simply the adjunct consequences of a phenomenon that is difficult to deal with... If there is, this is not a political or ideological problem- racism is ideological, military based, criminal- here it is not like in other countries. What is happening is not racism: it is a reaction against some circumstances; the image of immigrants not positive. And how could it have been different when you bring millions of migrants here. What do you expect?*

As councillor adds, to be accused of racism a group had to identified with a permanent and stable characteristic and also can not be justified on the basis of daily incidents or local circumstances while even if some people act in accordance with xenophobic way; this could not be related with classical ideology of racism. While the police spokesman also agrees with racism with its classical definition did not exist in Greece.

According to the findings of the mentioned study also the respondents had allowed themselves justifying racist attitudes while defending liberal values, while racism in Greece did not appeared in action and if did then the daily circumstances had to be blamed for it which was the fault of the mainstream

political elite. While also its normalisation or even naturalisation was also the fault of the same group (Triandafyllidou and Kouki 2014 p.428-433).

Creating a new political culture is essential of Golden Dawn while spreading that message the method of propaganda is being used. The party's website publishing 'Golden Dawn', 'Forward' and 'Target' is used for dissemination of the information or as the propaganda tools. Also includes televised broadcasts by GD members. Golden Dawn website contains well-detailed news sections, also includes ideological text on history and civilisation with links to multi-media section enriched with interviews of the leader and members.

By its propaganda machinery GD emphasises the need of cleansing of internal and external enemies to end social, political, moral and economical decay. Cleansing can be achieved by militarism which is also the key of party's ideology is also being rooted in the rhetoric.

The army is the party's supreme value enclosed with blood, sacrifice. Uniform is the honour. While the great leaders' has never removal of their uniforms is also emphasised often. Sacrifice for the nation makes the army the supreme value for GD. It is perennial value from antiquity until today, including the battle of Marathon, Salamina, Leonidas'300, Constantine of Byzantium, 1821 Greek War of Independence, fight for Macedonia, Balkan wars, 1940 epic and also the struggle of Cyprus.

The party members also being accepted as the street soldiers with all inherent Greek traits of bravery, honour, self-sacrifice and super human strength and dignity. Ask from its constituency, discipline, ultimate respect for the leader, uniformed marching and saluting as admired army.

GD's regional paramilitary groups were accused of its violent actions in the last 20 years, fulfils that mission. Being known as Phalanx 'Golden Eagles' or

'Protesilaus' that groupings have a hierarchical structure, practising army like trainings with various weapons and in charge of planning attacks on immigrants and political targets while they also have protection mission of their value system as well (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2015, p.62).

GD rejects democratic political system established in 1974. According to Alexandros Sakellariou's study on GD's Appeal to Greek Youth, Greek youth is the most support group of the party as the writer suggest that fact can be explained by the insufficient historical knowledge of Greek youth. (Also they were depoliticised from mainstream politics.)

As A.S. Mentions in his work youth always had a special place in fascist movements as the symbol of the 'new', creative force needed for national rejuvenation which also counted as omnipotence force that fascist states seek to control and manipulate. Thus a valuable source for their militant groups

Ioannis Metaxas had also praised the youth and intended shaping them under the establishment of EON which he also called as the most precious project of his political life. GD regarding its approach to the youth follows the same road whit the 4 of August Regime while declaring that was a political movement of Greek youth and workers as very similarly to Metaxas's rhetoric. While significant majority of the party consist of the Greek youth, students, scholars along with farmers, artists, employees and unemployed are the rest of its constituents.

In 1990's Youth Front established as the young wing of GD, along side with its publication Antepithesi (Counterattack) in order to gain more youth's support. (Sakalleriou 2015, p.2-7). Which also reminds the EON of the 4 of August Regime with their compulsory magazine for the youth 'E Neolea'.

Young men and women because of their inexhaustible energy, courage, fighting spirit, resistance and rigid reaction also with their untainted mind which was not

poisoned by the post 1974 political system the youth is has been defined as the target of GD. Thus because of its character and pureness the youth has been considered as the vanguard of the national resurrection. GD propagated its ideology on popular areas of the youths in gyms, football fan clubs, music schools and on social media ant internet platforms.

Music particularly had a special place in neo-Nazi culture, it was no surprise that Greek White Power music attributes to GD. The party employed the British far-right strategy of 70's for reaching at young people through music subcultures while mostly organising the White Power music festivals (Sakalleriou 2015, p.7).

Golden Dawn also organises youth courses mostly on history of Greece significantly for the small children. During the courses party's premises was told besides ancient glories of Spartans or Revolution of 1821.

Regarding the near history, condemning Bolshevik atrocities during the civil war and praising the period of Ioannis Metaxas (1936-1941) along with the Regime of Colonel's (1967-1974) were the common tasks of those meetings.

GD's political activities targeted Greek youths of all age the party's supporters were exposing the symbols including Swastika and the Nazi salute, in history courses small children's photos while giving the Nazi salute also displayed on GD website. GD's attempt at influencing the education system is also evident significantly in secondary schools significantly. The schools teachers were also the target of the party with the intention of turning the teachers into fervent supporters so as to keeping the environment under control.

On the party's website GD represented itself as the hope of youth. In the GD's camps, young members were admitted train military, shooting, running, boxing, self-defence and winter survival skills. While GD's hope is high in the youth, and the party described itself as a rising star, GD claims that future elections will

represent intergenerational battle, while the majority of youth will be the supporters of Golden Dawn.

According to exit polls of June 2012, GD support of youth was ranged in the age group of 18-24 and in the age group of 25-34 supports the percentage was 13-16. Moreover, according to the poll GD was second party among young of 18-24 aged range with the 13 percentage which was almost close to the rate of New Democracy who collected 16 per cent of youth support. The results of the MY SPACE survey (conducted with 1207 interviewers aged between 18-24) support of youth for GD stated it as 16.7 per cent while Syriza received 32.7, ND, 11.2, KKE 9.2 ANEL 7.9, DIMAR 5 per cent (Sakalleriou 2015, p.7-10).

### **2.7. Arguments' on Golden Dawn: Is it Neo-Nazi or a fascist group? Psychological explanations the symbol of swastika**

Secretary General of People's Association-Golden Dawn, Nikolaos G. Michaloliakos, in his article published on the party's website under the title of '24 years back and we still declared that we are Nationalists, no Nazi!' defends his party as the victim of unfair attacks mostly from the 'notorious leftist' he mentions the name of Dimitris Psarras and previous prime minister Antonis Samaras on their conspiracy on GD's being an illegal organisation.

Michaloliakos makes a reference to his article written 24 years ago and published in the newspaper Golden Dawn, underlines that GD's being an illegal organisation assertors has been the same people over decades. Michaloliakos claims that the party's publication was horrifying the anti-nationalists and antiracists.

As a type of an open answer letter formed written article of his Michaloliakos says, as declared being the Greek nationalist and not accepting the Nazi label, regarding GD's being named as the criminal organisation. Michaloliakos answers those claims as their being only the pure fantasies as follows: Honestly, you are

unable to realize that nobody believes you? Is it possible, a legal political party, with the declaration at Arios Pagus, to proceed to illegal actions?

While Michaloliakos continues with some more accusations. As one regarding a recent alleged of a student on GD members for attacking him while marking swastika on the students hand, the party leader defends GD as the forensic examinations along with police investigation proved that the incident was far from the reality while as (previous prime minister) A. Samaras did, years ago as also Andreas Papandreou had asked for the party's persecution (during the 90's) after each legal investigation it became clear that the GD was not illegal.

The article ends up with the leaders finally words regarding to mentioned incidents, “The same, again and again, for twenty years, till September of 2013” Michaloliakos adds: “We still do, towards their persecutions and their calumniations! Our power is our Flag, our Ideas, our Ideals.”<sup>14</sup>

Antonis Samaras described the party as Nazi descendant, an enemy which has been poisoning and terrorizing the social life, committing crimes and undermines the foundations of the country that gave birth to democracy, in his given interview to Christian Science Monitor on 3 October 2013.

As GD claims on its website, which has been used as an active platform of the party members to follow and share the latest information, that people call them as Neo Nazis just because of Greece being in the European continent, the occident.

They claimed that the party's enemies used that term intentionally to make them look like crazy lunatics rather than being normal people, the people with the

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<sup>14</sup> Michaloliakos Nikolaos, 24 years back and we are still declared we are Nationalists no ... Nazi!, Popular Association of Golden Dawn, 27 *November*.

patriotic feelings, who had families and only hold the intention of protecting their custom and cultures, their flag and country.<sup>15</sup>

While the party defends itself as declaring not being fascist. Exalting Nationalist Socialism and embracing the nationalism while describing it as the third biggest ideology in history, combined with strong state backed up by a wide sovereignty and as the party's logo is the Greek meander, the reminiscent of the Nazi swastika brings forward to Nazi accusations. While emphasising two principles as blood and honour, defining the racism as the supreme ethnical value as glorifying leadership Adolf Hitler.

According to Golden Dawn, Nazism is unique type of National Socialism that only applied to Germany thus it would be inappropriate defining the Greek type as the variant of Nazism. Whereas National Socialism could not be disassociated from Nazism on ideological grounds. GD's biological and cultural oriented form of nationalism is similar to Nazi's. Its stance against communism and liberalism is another similarity of the party ideology with Nazism.

Golden Dawn strongly opposes democracy while it could not be put in practice and was not also approved by the ancient Greeks, due to its giving power possibility to people who even did not have nationalistic ideals.

The party's militant type of organizational structure centred on violence, exalt of discipline and respect for the leader (in the press conference media members were asked to stand up and salute the leader on his arrival).

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<sup>15</sup> Walsh Jason, Golden Dawn: Five Things to know about Greece's neo-Nazi party, 3 October 2013, The Christian Science Monitor

Golden Dawn because of its attitude towards democracy distinguishes from the contemporary right wing parties. Also its espousal of fascist, Nazi ideals supports its fascist characteristics that also fulfils the Mann's criteria of fascist group.

According to Mann criteria of fascist groups are; Nationalism, statism, paramilitarism, transcendence, cleansing while the all of those criteria evident in GD's rhetoric. Also its anti-bourgeois, anti-liberal and anti-Marxist rhetoric defines its character more clearly. Golden Dawn while sharing similarities with those criteria the party describes itself being a popular mass movement supported from below and rejects elitism. Its leader considered being the leader of the whole nation embodying the singular will of the nation. The party's main goal is also holding the full power in the name of the whole nation.

Golden Dawn is with the national exclusiveness asks for ethnic election while describing itself as the representatives of the past fascist movement the party as the defender of the national mission requires a fully transformed nation, from the ashes of a collapsed social order like a phoenix. While the national rebirth and social decadence are two myths of fascism, they are very strong in GD's discourse.

Golden Dawn's effort in legitimising its fascist ideals has been put in a framework with four angles of ethnic election as Smith has defined. First, Greeks are morally, racially and culturally superior to non Greeks who are the inferiors. Greek language which has survived from antiquity, also the Greek Orthodoxy since the glorious days of Byzantine Empire is the proof of the supremacy.

Second, bravery, valour, heroism and to be ready to sacrifice for the nation's sake are the traits of Greekness which also distinguishes 'us' and 'the other'. Greek nation has special destiny and to complete that destiny a radical reversal was a need for releasing Greece from its current underdog status. The ultimate goal is stated as restoration of the glorious past and stand for the enemies of all sort.

The past glorious days only can be achieved by authentic nationalists who are the Golden Dawn members or supporters. Greece should be back to its glorious days while its leader must have all the power in hand who is elitist but also the one representing the embodiment of the public will (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2015, p.2-11).

Golden Dawn uses term of 'us' relates the patriots who were let down by the political mainstream while 'the other' as described above external, foreigner, immigrants of all sort regardless of their legal papers and also the domestic traitors significantly the mainstream parties as the rivals of the party and also leftist, communists.

Golden Dawn's nationalist solution discourse can be achieved by two fascist myths by societal decline and national rebirth. According to Mann, fascism is a response to four crises and it was so during the interwar years; economic, politic, ideological and militaristic. Only fascism could prevent the social decay and with only a total plan of a statist third way the class conflicted bourgeois society can be achieved by.

While the social purification can be achieved by populist nation-statism, a popular movement from below. While democracy legitimated by its leader's being the mirror of its people in fascist party, the leader is not being the representative of the people but is the embodiment of the people's collective will.

That single will can be achieved through transcendence of social cleavages, bourgeois element as well as liberal democracy; Communism, socialism and proletarian elements has to be eliminated. Military power as the ultimate force for protecting the nation and achieving the social cleansing a vital tool being used by all fascist movements also exalted in GD's rhetoric (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2015, p.53.)

In 2006 following the Periandros' trial the organisation expressed itself as more of a political experiment, identifying itself nationalist. On the party's website many times presented itself as an ideological movement while denying fascism or Nazism as labels while arguing the hard core of GD's belief was nation-race. While Psarras (2015) defines it as another example of German national socialism.

Golden Dawn and German National Socialism's similar ideological parameters explained through GD's publications. For instance, Michaloliakos in his book published in 2012 is not only apologetic Hitler, but also praises him, besides the crimes committed during the German occupation. Another example can be point out as the New Sparta's (Publishing Firm of GD) books on Hitler, while the publishing firm's logo is NS, with the direct reference to national socialism.

Moreover, in the funeral of two GD members murdered outside a branch of Athens in November 2013 along with the meander, GD supporters wore the Yr-symbol from the rune alphabet- used by the SA. While the meander in the publishing described as a sort of evolved swastika (Psarras 2015, p.41-42).

GD demands that swastika was belong to Greek culture not as commonly known was belong to Nazis. As Greek MP Kasidiaris also claims it to be a purely Greek symbol. As the MP being identified with Nazism because of the swastika tattoo on his left arm explained that the symbol of his tattoo was not in fact, Hitler's swastika but Schliemann's Trojan symbol, referring to a German archaeologist of 19th-century added that if he wanted a swastika, he would have had a normal tattoo, leaning clockwise rather than anticlockwise.

As Psarras adds that Kasidiaris's tattoo was clockwise as the Nazis but was being tilted about 45-degree angle as exactly Adolf Hitler had intended. In the organisations newspaper also emphasised that swastika was Greek origin while Hitler was thought like a Greek and the Germans were the most honourable conquerors who had gone through Greece, added the author of the article.

The traditional division of the highly polarised electors has collapsed during the 2012 parliamentary elections. One of the outstanding results of the de-alignment of the voters was the breakthrough of the People's Association-Golden Dawn with 6.92 per cent vote in 2012 elections. Even when its leadership was arrested few weeks ago, in the European elections the party rose its votes to even 9.4 per cent.

According to Konstantinos Papastathis, therefore, GD's success was not able to explain by protest vote, nor it would be announced only as one election winner. As Papastathis summarises, the party's success in accordance with economic-voting theory and explained by dissatisfaction of the masses with deficiency in the democratic functioning of the system and by the successful rhetoric built up on immigration and criminality along with the efficient grass root activities of the party (Papastathis 2015, p.2).

Jo Angouri and Ruth Wodak argue that the rise of GD could not be explained only as a mass reaction against the politicians and the system that triggered ultra nationalist rhetoric while it was due to lose of face and of national sovereignty. The rise of the party even sound harmless to its voters, while following the murder of anti-fascist Greek singer, Pavlos Fyssas in 18th of September 2013 an obvious increase in the party's popularity was also a surprising fact Angouri and Wodak 2014, p.542).

Thalia Dragonas (2015) on her article 'Golden Dawn through a psychosocial lens' attracts attention to how a party with the rhetoric of national socialism with the adoption of swastika as its symbol, has a paramilitary organisational framework embraces such popularity that carries it to the third place even in the January 2015 election. Dragonas' answer to this question was that the political impoverishment which clearly accelerated after the memorandum arguments triggered the rise of national populism in Greece.

While soon after the 2010 fiscal policies working and lower classes fell in to

desperate situation, the unemployment rate reached at 28 per cent (which meant 4.5 million and or even more unemployed people had to survived with the income of 3.5 million with work) Severe economical measures and recession has created an anxious mass. Loose of trust in political parties, EU and its institutions were obvious.

Thus, the extremist movements benefited that situation in 2011 by occupying the Syntagma Square shouting the slogans against the government and parliamentary. While the Public Issue's survey of November 2014 shows 80 per cent of Greeks were trusting army, 70 per cent to police while only 26 trusted the parliamentary and political parties stayed at 11 per cent. A year after the army rate was reached at 87 while the rest remained almost the same (27 and 10 per cent)

Also according to Eurobarometer, 81 per cent of Greeks did not trust the European Union, highest percentage in all Europe while Greece was before one of the most pro-European member. The conditions of Greece was a given chance for the GD with its anti-system, anti-parliamentary characteristic attractive for discontent masses as Dragonas mentions. As LAOS' national priority discourse made a call for deporting immigrants, GD also followed the calling. Dragonas adds, that ethno-national populism, out dated national myth of exceptionalism with nation building struggle was the ideal mixed up and put forward to Greek political scene since 1950.

Finally, the multi faced crisis created a huge sense of insecurity caused fear and anger in society. Economical deprivation caused people the feel of failure, shame, guilt, humiliation, sense of loosing dignity, self-respect and pride. Dragonas points out that the damage was on identity and sense of one's self as well. That was discovered by the government who promised the restitution of the damaged national dignity during the 2015 referendum. Under that circumstances masses was in need of being a member of a group which could create another reality, as mentioning the reality would be whatever the group wanted it to be, while the

creation of the reality is also a way of destructing the reality (Dragonas 2015, p.58-59). While the personal boundaries are loosen one's could find itself absorbed by a group a new, large but also false self.

And Dragonas adds GD proposes a substituted reality appeases the threatening reality. To preserve the constructed reality the group needs rituals, myths and invests in memories. GD's uniform like black t-shirts-boots appearance, swastika like symbols on the arm and chest, the Nazi salute, military like marching, holding its ceremonies in the historical places emphasising the chosen glories rhetoric reminds Nazis. Especially carrying huge torches at ceremonies creates similarities with Nazis.

While in all totalitarian regimes the homogeneity of the nation was priority GD also proposes that as vital goal. Disappointed and vulnerable people with the expectation of creation of a new, more promising reality headed towards GD. In GD's values leader is very important as the figure of an idol with omnipotence powers, standing up as the leader enters into press conference for instance is the signal of ultimate respect for the leader and its supremacy.

Also as Draganos cites that much idealisation of the leader is a vital characteristic of the totalitarian approach. Adds that totalitarian systems are enriched by collective false self, by the false we. The author argues that, the chosen glories were emphasised to cover up the national shame. Humiliated Greek people had to find its way combine with its glorious past, GD promises that under the direction of the supreme leader. The members of the group are perceived as us, good while the outsiders were bad, demonised 'the others' responsible of the threat. The other is created by the group accordingly the need of.

In Greek case to recreate Greece again, nationalism was the key. Thus, the other is who is not Greek essentially, an empty categories could be filled by gays, HIV positive or immigrants. Also Dragonas argues that, as in the 'paranoid-schizoid

approach' reversal of roles between victim and victimiser as GD had transformed immigrants from victims to victimisers is a known fact. For the transformed society idea of the party, cleaning the nation is vital and that could be possible by excluding the immigrants to create a homogenous pure Greek nation.

GD cadres constant humiliation on immigrants and sadistic pleasure on violent attracts aim purring the community by violence. And GD found the chance of appealing the masses because of occurred democratic deficiency in Greece which supplied fertile soil to burgeoning (Dragonas 2015, p.60-64).

While in the mentioned article Antonis A. Ellinas (2014) in his co-written article 'Political Trust in extremism' makes an analysis of sharp economic decline with people's shifted attitudes towards political parties, institutions. According to the writer during the extraordinary shocks political trust even gain more importance for the democracy's future. Meanwhile those sort of shocks citizens relations with political actors and institutions may change, if into a worse direction that creates a fatal danger for the democracy.

As Ellinas underlines, the way of schools and hospitals runs defines the final portrait during those sorts of times. According to research results conducted after the economic crisis of 2012, Greek distrusted citizens had distanced themselves from political institutions, while they did not leave the democratic principles and ideals.

While majority feels political institutions has affected much worse than their individualistic financial conditions. GD's success also defined by some as the outcome of ramification of growing Greek distrust. On the other hand, the party's provided social services on food and even blood might be affected the constituent behaviours while the party aims fulfilling inadequate social services the state lacked to satisfy.

GD was there while able to create perception of being a strong mechanism which already deserved to be on the power (Ellinas and Lampianou 2014, p.23). The economic crisis has wiped off almost fifth of Greek national income, considering that in the post war period no developed country faced such a sharp decline which resulted lose or decrease of trust in the public for the politicians or the system that deep while arson attacks on government buildings and public insults against the politicians became a fact after the crisis. Even military coup possibility were heard on national media with comparisons of Weimear Germany.

As the writer argues, during the extraordinary economic shocks, the government's economic and social performances has a much importance on shaping the political trust than normal times if that trust could not establish then democracy faces a crucial threat.

## **2.8. The party structure of GD and the active membership**

According to the literature as Antonis Ellias mentions far right parties develops strong organisational structure and as far as they organised better they do better in the polls. Also the party's successful organisational framework provides it much autonomy finally creates a more authoritarian characteristics.

With its 'Fuerhrer-Prinzip (Leadership principle), GD regarding its party structuring shares similarities with most of the European far right parties. Strict hierarchical frame and one man authority and violence in its actions are the most known characteristics of the European far right parties (Ellinas and Lampianou 2016, p.2-3). The leader, the party secretary has the absolute authority while he is formally and informally the last decision mechanism (Ellinas 2013, p.553).

Becoming a party member one is required a recommendation of two existing members. And Greek citizenship or being Greek in genus without any doubt is the

first condition. After the authorisation of the related committee new member has to spend a year in active position. Then after only the new member acquires the voting right or become eligible to be elected in intraparty elections.

While anyone with the required conditions might apply for the membership, whereas the party already reached at enough members as Michaloliakos stated: “We do not aim at a large new membership base. The party already has around three thousand members today.”

Golden Dawn was more concerned in establishment of new local organisations, reported the central committee. Just in October 2012 the party established 15 new local cells while increasing the total number to 43 (Ellinas, 2013, p.553). Michaloliakos states that they are extra careful against incoherence and opportunism regarding to applications for establishing new local branches.

He adds: “If someone tell us he wants to set up a local organisation, we do not simply tell him go ahead. We examine who this person is, for how long he has been a member of the party, if he has been a loyal member, an active member, etc. We do not want opportunists in the party.”

Michaloliakos defines the party's organisational character and structure and institutional set-up as follows; “We have a military organisational model. We have a first, second, third and fourth office dealing with operations, personnel, etc. just like in the military” (Ellinas 2016, p.553-554).

The party's grassroots activities are mostly takes places at the Athenian district of Agios Panteleimonas. GD organises its activities through its around 69 local branches and 9 local cells with the code of the activity as nation or local based to take part, also with its branch or cell code. Its branches have offices while the cells do not. Also branches listed on the party's website while the cells not.

Even during the arrests of the members in 2013 the party' seemed very active in the streets. In its 69 local branches, in the same year 103 activities were being organised per month, more than half of the branches participated at least in one activity.

According to research on party activities in 2013 most of the meetings were held for speeches. 2047 out of 3594 were being held for speeches while 32 per cent was organised to discussion of current affairs. 7 per cent of GD meetings were on ideological issues, such as 'Discipline', 'Church' 'Zionism', 'Historical events'.

Epic victory of ancient Greeks, atrocities of the civil war of 1946-1949. (12 per cent of the historical topic was related to civil war) While the 35 per cent of the grass root party activities undertakes as political action by local members and supporters and during those activities they disseminate the party materials mostly the bulletin of Golden Dawn.

By 21 per cent of the annual historical events celebration is followed by social community work mostly regarding to food and clothes distribution 'for Greeks only'. Blood donation 'for Greeks only' with cleaning up historical monuments with 8 per cent of total activities (Ellinas and Lampianou 2016, p.6-11).

During the party's participation in elections in 1990s party set up local branches in the main urban areas of Athens such as Thessaloniki, Piraeus and in Kalamata. Before 2012 elections nine new branches founded in major urban municipalities such as Nikaia (Piraeus B), Patra (Achaia) and Aspropyrgos (West Attica), by the September 2013 arrest, the party reported setting up 40 new offices.

As A. Ellias uses the term of 'militants', GD members following the 2012 electoral victory intensified their work on those 69 branches for 34 months. The most active branch of Athens had organised 331 activities with an average of 2.3 per week. GD's intensified area is Attica region, including the Athens, Piraeus and

broader Attica suburbs. Central Macedonia and Thrace's four out of the five prefectures were the most actives. Kalamata and Piraeus follows before Thessaloniki branch. Nine branches displayed no activity, while four located on Chios, Koss, Lesbos, Zakyntos. Messini and Kyparissia with just one activity, Kilkis, Larissa and Phthiotis were also among the in actives.

Interestingly, expansion of the branches was not based on electoral success or fails. The party set up branches even in single seat districts like Samos, while was absent in the districts like Ioannina, considering the better electoral results gained there it was a mid-sized district. As the party explains in 2015 (Ellinas and Lampianou 2016). "We do not necessarily go by the electoral result. We open a branch where there is local interest for building up a branch." Also in 13 branches in municipalities where GD averaged 8.16 per cent compared to 6.92 average of national based of June 2012 elections were shutdown.

Shutting down of some branches was due to GD's opponents such as anti-fascist groups consists of heterogeneous combination of human rights activist or organisations, immigrant supporters, ant-capitalist, radical and extra-parliamentary leftists' stiff resistance. Isolated from other branches strongholds also faced the same result, like that of in Thessaloniki. Patra, Thesaloniki, branches were also moved after antifascist attracts in 2013.

But older branches even if faced anti-fascist attacks had to stay at their location because of their duty on supplying militants to participate indoor local activities and had to protect the premises of nearby branches, such as the branch of Northern Suburbs of Athens after deadly attracts on its two members. Nikaia branch which was one of the most actives of, until 2013 murder of Pavlos Fyssas.

Most of this branches functionaries were arrested of involvement of the murder. Iarepetra and the Nemea were also shut down after the leaders accusations (Ellinas and Lampianou 2016, p.6-11).

The party's organisational structure is built on the ultimate power of the leader and within very detailed framework. Firstly, the congress is the highest organ in the party. The congress defines the ideological and political principles and sets the strategies. The party congress meets every three years while its 300 members take a part in the congress are elected from the party's local cells. Those members chooses the general secretary and also selects the member of the central committee.

The general secretary is defined as the highest organ while his decisions are bind all party organs. The general secretary is being authorised in choosing the party manager and the candidates in national, European and local elections. This centralised power in the secretary creates a significant hierarchical distance between the leader, the general secretary and the rest of the party members.

The authorised leader is also being called as the 'Chief' by all members including his wife who is also Golden Dawn MP, Eleni Zaroulia.

After the general secretary and the party congress the third highest central organisational structure of the party is the central committee. The central committee is consist of 60 elected members while the head of its the party secretary. The function of the committee is helping the general secretary in defining the ideological verges of the party ideologies and electing the ethnics and audit committee is in charge of fiscal policies.

The execution of the general secretary's decisions is duty of the political council while it is also in the charge of the party's daily operations. Council members can be replaced by the general secretary's decision. Michaloliakos, Germenis, Kasidiaris, Lagos, Panagiatros are the 5 members of the council who signs the latest version of the party council's status regarding its member number.

The ethics committee examines the disciplinary issues also includes the social behaviours of the members. The central committee appoints ethic committee. The audit committee with its five members is responsible for finding resources for the

party and makes the budget and controls the financials (Ellinas 2013, p.552-553).

Due to the deficient of media support Golden Dawn had to create its own communication channels with its voters. Firstly it distributed a journal, 'The Voice of the Resident of Agios Panteleimonas' Also employed the door-to-door techniques with grass-root politics to create its strongholds. To be in constant touch the party also moved its headquarters close to Agios Panteleimonas.

The party leader, Nikolaos Michaloliakos explains the party's communication technique and its intention (Dinas, Georgiadou, Konstantinidis and Rori 2013, p.4) as follows:

*They had'nt calculated some uncertain factors, like the existence of crazy volunteers. Because campaigns do not demand only money; they demanded the guts of being a fighter. The same happens in Athens. Dozens of fighters thresh on a daily basis door-to-door, from one car to the other, from one coffeshop to the other, from one neighbourhood to other in order to inform the people. This is how they will liberated the square of Agios Panteleimonas and the square of Attiki. And then, there will follow other neighbourhoods and quartiers and the whole city. Because the city belong to us.*

While being aware of the significance of the media the party, People's Association-Golden Dawn was build around a bulletin called Golden Dawn. Besides having its on way to communicate with its possible constituency, the party had a distance with the media. The party declares that it was difficult to penetrate into national media and had to find ways of diffusing its message. Month before the municipal election the party's second man Elias Kassidiaris explained the position of the party as (Dinas, Georgiadou, Konstantinidis and Rori 2013, p.14) follows:

*The slogans for our political action is 'Break the conspiracy of silence'. The sign that we already have is that we will face a tremendous war by the mass media. Nobody will mention us; do not expect such a thing. Hence the only thing that we are obliged to do is to be 24 hours per day in the streets in order to propagandize this effort.*

GD active membership requires a lot of social task to be completed. Party fulfils its socialist mission through its members active work for the public. Food or clothes donations are the routine jobs of the new comers. As party with those donations as the party propaganda method, attracts more votes also same time profits its member potential at maximum.

On 15 January 2012, the party aggrandized its socialist approach on its website; “Finally, with the formation of the blood bank, only for Greeks, we accomplish another duty for our race, giving our most valuable good for the Greek people. (then ends with capital letters)This is our socialism.” (Sakalleriou 2015, p.337).

GD uses left-wing discourses; solidarity, comradeship evens socialism and communism while those were purified and transformed by GD's organization. That sort of helping activities are in Greece most commonly undertaken by left wing, civil society and the church, GD adopts it among it fundamental duties of its own free will.

GD members since 2013 were escorting vulnerable Greeks in the streets. That mission was adopted very seriously in short time, even GD members were forcing the non paying immigrants out of the Greek landlords' apartment just after the Greek owner gives them a call, they are even sometimes paint the flat before giving it back to. While A.Koronaïou and A. Sakellariou doubts those stories' reflection of the reality they still admit that those sort of 'urban myths' given the opportunity to the party for increasing its votes.

While those sort of activism were not officially declared as the party's responsibilities supplied the insecure areas. While as some media news on GD members with taken photos waiting at the bank ATM to protect old ladies, later proved to be fake. But the mainstream media still kept disseminating the image of 'GD boys helping everybody' image.

The party after the 2012 elections started a nationalist solidarity activity series for only Greeks on health, unemployment and food distribution. Health matter was in the hands of the 'Green Wing' section as they call it. The established blood bank uses the slogans such as: 'Donate Blood- Save a Greek Soul'. Emphasised on the posters the help was only offered to Greeks: 'Blood Banks and platelets, only for Greeks, who need our help' while the phrase of 'Only for Greeks' were underlined with the national blue colour.

They also established a non-profit organisation called OAED-Manpower Employment Organization, to find jobs only for Greeks. While the Ministry of Labour declared that GD did not ask permission for establishing that organization whereas that type of organisation needed special permission of the ministry, OAED was an illegally established organisation of GD.

GD members' visits to the local factories, enterprises, petrol stations to inform or warn the owners for only hiring the unemployed Greeks received some reactions. While GD explained that they were expecting the patrons acting with the responsible attitude to community, the party also denied the threats (Sakalleriou 2015, p.333-336).

## **2.9. Arguments on the paramilitary characteristics and the penetration into police**

GD membership is divided into two categories as full membership or probationary. Also there are the supporters and the friends. Regarding the organisational structure Psarras uses the term of 'chameleon-like organisation', acts in accordance with the needs of the moment and successfully camouflaged.

The only fact stayed same was the strictly hierarchical structure of the organisational framework. The distinction between the leader and the operational

arms (even named in various ways as task force, combat cell, phalanx or golden eagles) and the public (Psarras 2015, p.54).

Psarras (2015) argues that GD's organisational structure divided in to political and military sections, known as the organisational wing and the administrative wing while new members are admitted through recruitment cells (Psarras 2015, p.44). GD's MP's are also appointed as district leaders, each of whom coordinates violent activities. Also cell leaders are responsible for the smaller branch's activities. Cell leader (pyrinarchis) is the name given to the leader of each group consists of friends or supporters of the party.

In time some cells expands and upgraded to local branch. After the party's representation in the parliament since May 2012, even each cell leader had the access to the local MP's as Psarras adds.

Psarras claims that the party's paramilitary division trains its hit squads in special camp on the Neda river (Psarras 2015, p.51-53). Also political bureau of general secretary commands its members as follows, which uses the terms of function and liberation army together (23 April 2013) as explained below:

*The continuing successful course of the movement will depend on its compact, seamless and well-ordered organisational structure.... We will have to work closely with the movement's organs and function as a nationalist political liberation army; we will have to be faithful in our enforcement of the established principles of the military dogma: unwareing loyalty and obedience to thee hierarchy.*

As with the ending motto of “ Long live victory! Long live the leader!” on which Psarras attract the attentions of its resemblance to the German “Sieg Heil, mein Führer”, as another evident to the party's proximity with fascist culture.

Psarras suggests that this was not a party relies only on a cult of personality, but also provided the ground for the leader principle (Führerprinzip). The party

creates the required grounds for establishing parallel organisational structures which functions as a party militia.

Its paramilitary structure, hierarchical framework and the omnipotence of the leader who has the direct knowledge of each actions taken by its squads supports the Nazi character of the organisation concludes Georgiadou.

Psarras supports this argument with found mobile phone message of Giorgos Patelis to Yiannis Lagos MP (also the district leader) on 12 September 2013, on the night of murderous attack on Perama, proves that direct communication line (Psarras 2015, p.32-53).

According to the GD party manifesto, the people only needed the leader as the authority but nothing else. Leader seemed as a position through which the real sovereign, the people ruled themselves. As providing the ultimate political and social equality without having any social stratification based on income, the society defined as like a living body of harmony.

Solidarity is exalted for the sake of social-organic classes. Few people with the intention of damaging the organic relationship labelled as the members of the 'plutocratic oligarchy' with cosmopolitanism and or Bolshevik party-union oligarchy with their internationalism. The other enemies of the nation and its people are claimed to be the money and political parties 'oligarchies and trannies'.<sup>16</sup>

While absolute authority is in the hand of its leader, the 'Chief', Nikolaos Michaloliakos who had been the leader of the party since its foundation in 1983. The party's organisational structure is similar to the Western European far right parties' (Ellinas 2013, p.552).

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<sup>16</sup> The manifesto of Golden Dawn, xaameriki, [www.xaameriki.wordpress.com](http://www.xaameriki.wordpress.com)

The parameters of the leadership are also proves similarities with the ancient Greek but circuitously through the filter of Nazi theory. February 2013 Speech shows the absolute obedience to the leader as follows (Psarras 2015, p.56):

*At the pinnacle of this hierarchical pyramid is the man we all respect and follow. The pure exponent of our ideology, our leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos. Our ideology concept of the leader-guide is of metaphysical substance. And by metaphysical substance we mean the firm believe of all Golden Dawners that our leader is the man who will lead our ideology toward final victory against the forces of darkness that are plotting the death of Hellenism, and who will lead the entire country to the creation of the third Greek civilisation of which we all dream.*

The mainstream media's reaction against the murder of Pavlos Fyssas accelerated the arrest of GD leaders while the state funding for GD was suspended until the next parliamentary final decision. Socio-political polarisation was clear after the two people reported as GD members found shot dead following Fyssas death, in November 2013.

According to the The Guardian newspaper's analysis, with 1497 posts, in the Greek society's eye there is a significant perception that GD and the Greek police has a close relationship. One of the outstanding result of the conducted online research is that the Guardian readers blame Greek police for its believed incorporation with GD or its ignorance for the violent attacks (Angouri and Wodak 2014, p.544).

After the arrests of the significant party members, critics of the government have frequently focused on Golden Dawn's penetration into the Greek police. While the claim has been denied by GD, two senior policemen was resigned while seven were transferred, and the head of the country's intelligence service was replaced.<sup>17</sup> Which has supported the claimed involvement of GD within the police foundation by penetrating into it.

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<sup>17</sup> Walsh Jason, Golden Dawn: Five Things to know about Greece's neo-Nazi party, 3 October 2013, The Christian Science Monitor

## **FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION**

Ioannis Metaxas Regime has been mostly described as an authoritarian rather than being fascist. On the other hand, has been also defined as semi-fascist by some scholars. Golden Dawn Party is also being described as neo-Nazi. At first glance they both seem on the same track, an imitation and admirer of fascist movements. But both put that aim in practice with limited abilities due to the political conditions of Greece during their time.

While 'Is the 4th of August Regime of Ioannis Metaxas regarding its ideological content, party structure and paramilitary characteristic, a continuation of the Greek far right party of Golden Dawn' is our research question, the aforementioned similarities and the differences of both will be reconsidered here with a comparative perspective to find out the answer for our research question.

GD as far as its ideologies, organisational structure and the paramilitary characteristics might be defined as the continuation of the Metaxas regime, but still with the main differences which occurs due to the requirements of the periods which will be mentioned during this part.

Whilst Metaxas power was coming from the King's support (while the army was under the direct control of the King only) and also was at least until his first years, depend on the courage and the tolerance of the British. Soon after establishment of his regime Ioannis Metaxas held the ultimate power in his hands.

Therefore the 4th of August Regime had no difficulties at penetrating into the each department of Greek society by his parallel ministers, EON and education system while also the espionage was rewarded. The police and the secret police has served at maximum and also the media was under the constant control of the regime.

While Jon Kofas argues that Metaxas' regime was conservative dictatorship at its first two years and evaluated into the quasi-fascist characteristic since 1938 (Kofas 1983, p.7).

Thus as a short lived dictatorship, Metaxas' footprints in the Greek political history should be considered as significant which is still being perceived as inspiring by some. In Golden Dawn's speeches and manifesto Metaxas and his regime the 4th of August is praised and evidently mentioned as the inspiration and the prototype for the party for instance.

GD as only being an opposition party of Greece with a limited 7 per cent of votes has not any strong efficiency on the society. It is more a party of the ultra nationalism's representative. While it is also the mechanism who is supplying the grounds for attracting the constituents to ultranationalist side mostly by making donations to the public as the propaganda method to fulfil the nation's saviour mission.

Sacrifice notion of Metaxas in the road of third way is fulfilled by GD with those donations. As also some part of that donations are financed with GD MP's salaries, which also proves the mentioned sacrifice mission.

As Procopis Papastratis (2005) argues, Metaxas had showed no courage in making a serious attempt at changing the regime into a more fascist way, because he was aware of his dependency on the King.

His recognition of parliamentarianism even was a tactical movement only while he lacked the self-confidence while suspected the Greek voters' acceptance for his true opinions.

Golden Dawn with its limited constituent support and without back up of any authority even while praising the fascist values might had also not much chance at

exposing its real rhetoric too. Because the Greek law does not allow using any symbols or the flags of the previous dictator regimes nor publishing the photos of those leaders' on the propaganda material, the party could not use neither any emblem, flag nor the photos of the leader of the 4th of August Regime.

Thus, the only proof on the continuation discussion could be established on the investigation of the party's manifesto, rhetoric and ideological characteristics of the dictatorship.

While the party exalts the regime of the 4th of August and praises Ioannis Metaxas and mentions about him as the national hero, the felt proximity can be evidently seen at first glance. While GD exalts fascist personalities as heroes, describes the 4th of August regime of Ioannis Metaxas as the ideal regime for Greece.

Golden Dawn exalted the period of 1936-1941 during which Greece has become an anti-communist, anti-parliamentarian and totalitarian state, which was also anti-plutocratic with an agricultural and working base as those mentioned traits were also among the party's goals.

GD believes that during the Metaxas term, Greece was not ruled by one party, while the Freethinkers' of Metaxas was an absolute embodiment of whole people, except the communists. Also Metaxas' implied economic policies for welfare state, introduction of national insurance; his arrangements on the working days, hours and on minimum wages, establishment of collective labour agreement to decrease the unemployment are among the frequently praised implementations of the 4th of August regime by Golden Dawn.

On the other hand, Golden Dawn as never before such distinctly by any political party owns the rhetoric of the 4th of August's. While takes the responsibility of attribute historical justice for Metaxas, of whom contributions to whole nation

was claimed to be distorted by plutocrats (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2015, p.58).

GD argues that, Greek history has been damaged by many dictatorial politicians, colonels and by the King that damage was intensified during the interwar years, as in the four year period eleven coups and countercoups took place.

Metaxas period can also be explained as the King's intervene to the democratic system which also made a contribution to that intervene by providing the ideological bases for the Colonel's Regime of 1967-1974.

Thus, far right's ultranationalist rhetoric was the characteristic of the Greek politics since its foundation in 1821 has been feed by Metaxas during his regime constantly.

While Metaxas' the most valuable contribution to this rhetoric was his invented 'third way' discourse which was not actually an original invention by him while it was the imitation of the Third Reich. But Metaxas' appliance of that rhetoric into the Greek politics was being embraced by the far right wing as we can still see its impact on the far right while GD still praises and claims it. While also exalting the 4th of August Regime distinctly, describes the nationalism of today as the third way nationalism.

As in the publication of the party's Golden Dawn (on 17 March 1995) its leader explains the party's nationalism approach declared as follows (Psarras 2015:41):

*The third way in the politics is the path of the popular nationalist movement of interwar Europe. This form of politics prevailed in Greece under the 4th of August Regime, in Italy under fascism and in Germany under nationalism. It is clear that the nationalism of our time is directly related to interwar regimes.*

To continue with the ideological comparison of both, firstly as Ioannis Metaxas

educated at Berlin War Academy was also a fervent admirer of German culture, discipline and seriousness. He avoided exalting Hitler during his era, to keep the political balance and not to disturb the King as the possible exaltation of Hitler would receive the suspicion of the King on Metaxas intend for being the ultimate leader of the nation.

But indeed, Metaxas also kept his political aims in secret even avoided writing in his diary but in his last Political Will and Testament Metaxas admitted his stiff belief in a strong monarchy or strong presidential state as it reminds Golden Dawn's embodiment of the public will in the nation's leader rhetoric, which foresees a strong authoritarian characteristic (Kallis 2010, p.11).

While in GD case, Germany also exalted in details while the party defines Germany as the most honourable conquerors of Greece, the sympathy for the Germany also seems as a left legacy of Metaxas in GD rhetoric. In the party declaration as the mentioned article above the third way was also owned and exalted by GD.

Germany was ideologically the prototype for the 4th of August Regime with its symbolized discipline. Metaxas praised that discipline while criticized Greek individualism hindered it. For the both Metaxas and Golden Dawn's rhetoric the transformed society ideal through third way nationalism is the goal at creating a society with an army discipline and defined as the vital requirement of both or the mutual rhetoric.

But on the other hand, GD as an anti-European party due to the economical austerity measurements the country faces since 2000s, expresses its certain dislike in its speeches for Germany on the representation of Angela Merkel's personality significantly. As while the German aggression had become a threat in his time Metaxas also shifted his friendly stance against Germany. As describing himself felt betrayed by a friend who since then becomes the new enemy. As both cases

prove that the sympathy and also the left sympathy is argumentative while the political, economical factors defines the final portrait.

The historical continuation of the Greek greatness defined in as third way. Metaxas believed that his regime was the continuation of the First and the Second Hellenic Civilisations, which was strongly identified with Christian-Orthodoxy. While GD supported Metaxas at his argument the party declares its following in the Metaxas' transformed society goal.

While GD express its belief in the ethnic supremacy asks for the ethnic election while defining itself as the defender of the national mission, the party thought of itself being the representative of the past fascist movement and also stands for the fully transformed nation idea of Ioannis Metaxas.

As also the national rebirth and social decline are the myths of fascism, they are mostly mentioned by GD. As Metaxas indicates communism as main reason of social decline and destruction of the moral national values, in GD rhetoric also the social decline and moral values' destruction is being mentioned with referencing to the need of racist statism of Metaxas to solve those problems. The nation race needs to be strengthened and developed through the state. Nation race would be exist without a state but it would finally be declined without state.

While in today's world GD describes the Zionism as its eternal enemy defines its fight with the Jewish as the eternal battle of the sun against the darkness and makes a call for its fellows to be arm-in-arm with itself in that battle. While Metaxas has not established any anti Jewish rhetoric, GD declares an Hitler type of anti-Jewish rhetoric today, which might be taken into consideration with the under economical conditions of today, to explain the difference.

Metaxas believes the democracy's being a religion thus as an religion, as all pervasive conditions leads to sickness while all nations adopt it finally would

become sick, while GD also strongly opposes democracy and counts it as 'junta' because which does not have genuine legitimacy.

It is described as being corrupt and invented to put the incompetent in power who are indeed the puppets and only caring about their own interests. While emphasises that its not being approved by the ancient Greek whom the party also takes as the perfect example especially for its discipline and fighter spirits.

But Metaxas since his first step into the politics has emphasised his strong belief in religion, GD at its early years seems ignorant in the religious aspect then after since it discovery at the religion's importance in the Greek national value pools shifts its rhetoric towards religion.

Metaxas often emphasises the importance of religion at the regenerated society idea of the regime, while the Greek Orthodox Church was the moral guardian of the Hellenic Soul (Elleniki Psichi) which also was the symbol of the Metaxas regime of 1936-1941 has been relied heavily on.

While the Christian Orthodoxy was among the Greek nation's formulated pillars in its identity, communism because of its certain denial on God was among the vital enemies of the nation. As only with the help of the church ethnical transformation of the society could be fulfilled with, thus, OCG was important in the regime's rhetoric.

As the EON was also an Orthodox Christian in its character (while non-Greeks including the minorities of all nations were excluded), Metaxas' transformed society was representing the biological racism with the belief of cultural supremacy of Greekness. As also in Golden Dawn's rhetoric the biological Greekness is the first case, while the cultural supremacy is still praised.

While GD also excludes Greeks who lacks the Greekness maturity (non racist in

their minds) and the leftist in its representation. Metaxas defines the communist also as the excluded element in his established regime which was ultimate embodiment of the Greek nation.

As Greece being the most institutionally de-secularized state in Europe OCG, with also its legal and financial privileges is very strong and has major effect on shaping the social consent. While the right wing with its strong nationalism in its rhetoric has been supported by the church, LAOS (the dominant right wing party of Greece until 2012) for instance, had profited that support at its maximum.

While also the archbishop Christodoulos (1998-2008) who was a fervent nationalist and also was the most influential religious figure in the last 50 years, has supported GD, the party also profited the support of the clergy as Ioannis Metaxas and also the Colonel's of 1967-1974 had profited it at maximum.

While Golden Dawn knowing the importance of the religion's for the society, takes the responsibility of protecting the church while with its attempt sometimes being criticised by some clergy stating that the church was not in need of protection of anyone's. But the Church has not proved any disapproval or any negative declarations for GD. Even after the Pavlos Fsyass murder, the church still stayed neutral for GD.

In Greece helping the people in need is mostly taking as the responsibility of the church and left, GD's adopts it as its fundamental duty. While Metaxas has contributed to the poor; by the social implementations on their welfare, for the agrarian and workers significantly even with the intention of gaining the title of being the First Worker and the First Agrarian focuses on improving the state's services on that classes, GD follows the same path to gain the constituent's sympathy to increase its votes.

As not being at the state position and with its limited sources it can not be

expected from GD to make huge contributions as Metaxas had made with state's incomes. But the same sentimental aim, being the vulnerable or the poor people's comrade discourses of both surely designed with the same political aims. While GD's social help activities defined as party propaganda activities.

Also exaltation of the history and referencing the supremacy of the Spartan militaristic and oligarchy is the same in both rhetoric. GD's organised meetings for the children mostly contains the history lessons with the bravery stories of the Greeks in 1821, while the national heroes of the Greeks are among the themes.

GD also describes Metaxas as the saviour of the nation in EON's speeches Metaxas also has been named as the saviour of the nation, throughout EON publication Metaxas even described itself as the 'real father' of the nation.

The mission of saving the nation is even reflected on the postmarks on letters, on bus tickets with the phrase of “Do not forget that the 4<sup>th</sup> of August Greece was saved by Ioannis Metaxas” slogans (Pettrakis 2006, p.51).

GD follows the same path with Metaxas regarding the party's social support programmes which also estimated by Greek media as the proof of GD's being the continuation of Metaxas regime. The party's provided health system and covering the vulnerable Greeks needs with GD MP's salaries taken as fulfilled proofs of the selflessness and sacrifice mission's of Metaxas regime's primacies.

Thus, GD announcing Metaxas as the national hero and saviour of the nation rhetoric and following it in the same paths shows the felt proximity once more. As Ioannis Metaxas described the EON as the success of his political life, EON was Golden Youth (Ta Chrysa mou Pedia) of Ioannis Metaxas, which shows similarities with GD's youth perception as the party propose that while the majority of the youth will be the supporters of GD, the futures elections would represents an intergenerational battle.

As also Metaxas by moulding the youth under his authoritarian paramilitary establishment of EON, aimed making the youth its regime's ideological disseminators for the future. While by approaching the youth with similar attitude both Metaxas and GD shows distrust in their political constituent capacity as clearly they showed their strong need of investing for the future by cultivating their own voters.

GD established its youth wing Youth Front in 1990's along with its publication 'Antepithesi' (Counterattack), as also reminds the EON of Metaxas with its compulsory magazine of 'E Neola'.

While the Metaxas's the most precious thing, the success of his political life, EON was consisting of the Greek youth of whom Metaxas believed would be the future guards, 'the Praetorian Guard' of his regime (Petrakis 2006, p.18-33).

The same attitude applied by GD as the party penetrated into the schools, secondary schools significantly. Schools, gyms, parks, concerts were the target of the party to reach at the young hearts.

While Metaxas had no difficulties in reaching at the youth as he took the education portfolio on himself, the schools were under his constant authority. But GD had to struggle to reach and persuade the youth, as Metaxas had no need of persuasion while the absence in EON's meetings meant certain expel from school.

Golden Dawn as mentioned had to find his way to penetrate into the youth communities with its organized music festivals mostly. As music has significance in the neo-Nazi culture, GD applied the British far-right strategy of 70's and followed the same path as White Power music is attributed to GD in Greece.

As the party organises music festival in order to meet with the youth. Besides the music, organised social meetings aims the party propaganda and dissemination of

its ideologies, while as the exposing the symbols of swastika and Nazi salute is eye catching details of the propaganda activities. While also the share of the photos of the small children with Nazi salute on the party's webpage is among the eye catching details.

GD gained its visibility mostly with its aggressive discourses also violence was among the habits of its supporters against to any opposition with included physicals attacks. The second man of the party's physically assault on two female politicians during a TV debate, the murder of Pavlos Fssyas' which lead the party leaders to imprisonment were among the explicit proofs of the violence of the party, while also risen the questions on the paramilitary characteristic of it.

While the Greek journalist Dimitris Psarras admitted that party's paramilitary division practises its squads fighting abilities in special camps on the Neda River (Psarras 2015, p.51). Named as 'Phalanx', 'Golden Eagles' or the 'Protesilaus' those paramilitary groups had hierarchical structure of the characteristic of all army type of organisations, besides the mission of protecting the national values, they plan the attacks for immigrants on their camps with various weapons.

Psarras in his book 'Golden Dawn On Trial' argues that each GD MP's were also the secret district leaders, they were the organizer of the violent incidents in a great secret. While Psarras adds, the leader with its omnipotence also has the direct knowledge of each move of its military, which reminds the Nazi characteristic. Also while on the Perame murder the discussion continues with the certain information of the leader of the incident as the text message informing the violent attack to GD MP's Yiannis Lagos has been send by the Giorgos Patelis, the murderer on the night (12 September 2013).

While as the army is among the supreme values of the party enclosed with blood, sacrifice. As it was the constant value since the antiquity until today with the exaltation of its victories the battle of Marathon, Salamina, Leonidas'300,

Constantine of Byzantium, 1821 Greek War of Independence were among the often defined national heroic examples told by GD.

As also Ioannis Metaxas was a soldier in his origin, GD's members of each also described as the street soldiers with all the inherited Greek traits of bravery and honour, self-sacrifice etc. As Metaxas also put the discipline at its central of expectation from the community, GD also expects the same iron like discipline from his soldiers, with ultimate respect for the leader while the party's uniformed marching and the army alike saluting reflects the deep admiration for the army.

Also the organisational structure of the party also shows the deep admiration for the army with its leader's words as follow: "We have a military organisational model. We have a first, second, third and fourth office dealing with operations, personnel, etc. just like in the army" (Ellinas 2013, p.554 ).

Although as expectedly the party refused the claims on paramilitary division of itself, Nikolaos Michaloliakos answered those questions on a recently published article of himself on the party's webpage while describing all accusations as only being imaginery, lies of the political rivals.

While EON (Ethnikos Organismos Neola) of Metaxas was the Chief's the most prestigious paramilitary organisation with its nation wide compulsory participation collected around a million members, while also GD is in the pursuit of the same path regarding investigating for its future on youth.

The Work Battalion was Metaxas' first established paramilitary organisation while it was consist of unemployed workers who were gathering at the protest with the flags in their hands and spreading out the exalting words for Metaxas.

As the members were dressed in one type of uniform with a created symbol of axes, shovel that organisation also brings the minds that, the similarities with the

GD supporters dressed up one type of black t-shirts, holding the torches on hands which also reminds the emblem of the 4th of August Regime while all mentioned here supports the found similarities of both as also the Chief's saluting, Hitler style salute as also adapted by both Metaxas propaganda machine the Work Battalion besides the GD members on the public demonstrations.

While as the police was under the direct command of Ioannis Metaxas, by his man Konstantine Maniadakis the Public Security Minister. Omas Kommounismou (Anti- Communist Squad) was established to crush the communist by the expanded Law of 1929, Astinomia and Chorofilaki strengthened by the same purpose. Espionage and counter-subversion was the vital task as the secret police and the regimes agents were in extreme numbers.

Whilst the army was loyal only to the King, Metaxas has intensified his efforts on the police to maintain his regime. On the other hand, GD lacks of that legal private army of itself, its only option was penetrating into the Greek police as the rumor supports it which also risen some suspicions in the society.

As a recent research conducted by The Guardian newspaper on the internet proves the society's opinion on the issue. According to the result of the mentioned survey, people mostly blamed the police for tolerating GD in its violent activities, as the majority also agreed on the secret cooperation of between.

After the arrest of the party members critics has increased while the government launched investigation on GD's paramilitary organisational functioning, penetration into the police issue was the focus point of the investigations. While the claim was refused by the party, resign of some police members or their compulsory transfer backed up the allegations as the head of the intelligence service's replacement even strengthened the suspicions.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Walsh Jason, Golden Dawn: Five Things to know about Greece's neo-Nazi party, 3 October 2013, The Christian Science Monitor

Metaxas excluded communist (who were the responsible of the lost sacred values) and the traditional parties in his governmental representation, as he was a fervent foe of the nation's impediments the communist, he defined the party's enemies as the communist and the externals mostly, besides the traditional parties.

While the same attitude reflected in GD's rhetoric as well. Metaxas first man in aide the Minister of Public Security, Maniadakis expressed the aggressive attitude of the regime for the communists in EON's speeches, while advised the youth to be cruel towards them at the name day celebrations event of Metaxas' in 1938 (Petraakis 2006, p.35.).

Also, there was no need of mentioning the leftist, communist's faced bad treatments in remote island camps as the regime was identical with its notorious castor oil torture methods. While in the recently published article of Nikolaos Michaloliakos, the leader of the GD, mentions on party supporters' torture on a leftist student by marking the students hand with the symbol of swastika, as Michaloliakos admitted the claim's not to be true, but still the party members verbal and physical attacks on leftist proves the continued hatred for the leftist, the communist with the GD rhetoric in today's Greek political scene.

On the other hand, as aforementioned some scholar works estimates GD's violent activities only as the party propaganda method to be more visible, while the violence is downloaded on youtube and its high circulation rates seems supporting the argument.

In some of those violence proving videos immigrant shops are mostly being targeted while during the few of those incidents also some serious injuries and even deaths has taken place.

Thus, in a most basic comparative framework it can be defined that while the regime of Metaxas has targeted its internal enemies through its legitimate

institutions with the back up of law, GD has to target its internal enemies through its paramilitary activities, while the party succeeds excluding itself off those violent activities as Psarras described it as a 'chameleon like' organization. The party has to pursue that way in order to escape the trials and maintain its legitimacy, adds the author.

While also Metaxas had a whole nation under his command and almost hold the endless power in his hands as he managed keeping the King under his control The British ambassador MacVeagh described Metaxas as the King's German educated fascist Frankenstein against him the King was at a feeble position and General Metaxas was the one who were holding the control (Pelt 2002, p163).

Golden Dawn with its limited power was also the target of the leftist as few arson attacks took place on GD branches in Athens recently. To add more on the violence comparison of both, might mention that, the main enemy of the regime was the communists in the 4th of August, while in 2000s the communist is still the target of the right, as GD defines the communist the threat for the nation besides the immigrants (without making any legal-illegal separation even).

While also the Zionism is emphasised as among the great dangers for the society. On contrary, during the Metaxas regime Jewish people were treated neutrally. But they were still excluded from the EON membership as it was close to all nations. Besides Metaxas' ignorance on genocide issue, his moderate attitude for the mentioned was praised by some Jewish communities on their publications.

But again the differences on the treatment or the perception of the Jewish by both might be explained by the changed time period's requirement; on political, economical aspects mostly. As the Jewish population was not the dominant power of the Metaxas period as it was claimed of today's by GD. The party defines the Jewish community as the control mechanism of the whole banking system. GD also even claims Zionism as the ultimate controller group of the masons.

The perception of the external threats of both also agrees on Turkish hostility too. As Ioannis Metaxas thought the Greek civilisation was destroyed by Turks during the four hundred years of the Turkish domination. Metaxas' the ultimate goal of the transformed society was aiming to create the pure Greek race, as it was before the Turkish destruction.

But while Metaxas was not expansionist as did not also support the Asia Minor invasion of 1919-1923 (Mostly because of being well-aware of the socio-political and economical conditions better due to be a soldier perhaps) GD also represents the hostility for the Turks and also reflects expansionist feelings.

Turning back to the ideological comparison of the 4th of August Regime of Metaxas with GD Party, both seems agreed on anti parliamentarism among their central ideologies. While Metaxas admitted defining it as a non suitable system for the Greeks as he declared “The main problem is not how to remain the parliamentarism, it is how to escape it ” in 1934. While it was leading to class divisions also described as ill matched with Greek history.

Thus, he cultivated his new rhetoric 'kosmotheoria' he called it, (new world view) a new synthesis of the ancient Greek and Byzantine, the third way, third Hellenic civilisation. As his Hellenism was the cultural Hellenism rooted back in 1880. As the parliamentarism was only beneficial for his inventors the British, the exactly same idea of Metaxas on parliamentarism shared by Golden Dawn.

While also the system has been described by both as the 'rotten', 'dead system ' which since the ancient times has been damaging the nation. Metaxas even defined it as a possible danger in leading to a possible civil war (Pettrakis 2006, p.33).

Considering that Metaxas had convinced the King to establish his authoritarian regime which only could prevent the spread of the communist thread that

preserved the risk of leading the country into the civil war, it is clear that the civil war threat had been employed as a useful tool by Metaxas at his difficult times to protect his own political benefits.

While also the both reflect high opposition for the traditional parties and describe them as the 'drones of the politics'. Metaxas established its rhetoric on antiparlamentarism while his opponent until his regime's establishment in 1936, Venizelos was a fervent parliamentarist.

Regarding to the made ideological comparison so far GD seems an imitation of the 4th of August Regime with just a little differences which occurs due to changed circumstances accordingly to the time requirements.

While the number one target of Metaxas has been shifted with communism with immigrants as the influx of immigrants became a vital problem of the Greek society since 2004 Olympic Games, the time of Afro-Asian influx of immigrant into the country intensified by then significantly in Athens. GD changed its rhetoric since then from nationalist to anti-immigrant way.

As just before the Metaxas period, also the influx of 1.2 million Asia Minor immigrants caused tremendous social, economical and political effects on the country, as it meant 20 per cent increase in the total population. As Venizelos was blamed mostly because of that massive population exchange, even the comers were biologically from the Greek origin the society's acceptance of the arrival was still a though case.

At first the immigrants supported Venizelos and contributed to the country's economy at high rates, after their disappointment with Venizelos's signed agreement with Turkey in 1930, their returning back home possibility was ended while since they withdrew their votes from the Liberal Party of Venizelos as the communist party of KKE benefited it in 1930.

At from what point then in Metaxas perception they become a threat for the monarch. As refugees became the supporters of the communist since 1934, by their support in directly they had contributed to the establishment of the Metaxas regime, if considering the refugee populations being a million while the Greece's total population was around 2.8 million by then, their efficiency was indisputable.

The immigrants were identified with the communist during the Metaxas period as the communist was the main target of the regime, were also the needed 'the other', the enemy of the nation in Metaxas's discourse, on which he built his legitimacy. As the natural consequence the regime's pressure on the minorities, Asia Minor refugees in more specific description was significant while they have often been forced to manifest their identities.

The reaction of the refugees were symbolised within the rembetiko culture, as the record called 'barba' (indicating Metaxas indeed, as he liked being called the uncle of the nation while barba meant 'uncle' in Greek.) even brought into trial, and police rested the performers and closed down the all rembetiko clubs.

But in GD time, refugees was a different case, a totally different nations Asian, African, Albanian etc. And as mentioned they were put in a good use on the party propaganda throughout which GD had achieved its visibility due to its violence on immigrants. While the enemy produced within the boarders of the nation was leftist of the residents which also might be taken as the left legacy of the population exchange's result so far. If the mentioned exchange did not take place the leftist portrait and tradition might be different than its final portrait of today's Greece.

On the other hand, in GD's understanding Metaxas' eternal enemy after the parliamentarism, the communism is still being hit badly today. But it seems while communism still being defined as the national threat today, Zionism has been declared on the party's speeches as the biggest threat the world faces today, so

then Zionism might be described at the number one enemy of the party after communism and the migrants while it was absent almost in Metaxas' speeches as Metaxas was even neutral to his Jewish communities.

Within his nationalist corporatist state perception Ioannis Metaxas claimed that if at the condition of society's benefit being at risk the government had the appropriating the property right of its citizens. GD in its speeches also emphasis the same belief while the party mentions the categorisation of the citizenship in two classes, while the first class with biological connotations also with its high representation of the political legitimacy of being described to be Greek.

While the second group should not even had the political rights while they were not in their political opinions genuine Greeks (describing probably all oppositions significantly or the Greeks who does not share their exact nationalist ideas while also the Greek passport owners with different origins are included under that category.)

In both understanding mutual perspective is that they are the ultimate owner of the society in all aspects, as even GD shares the idea of Metaxas on the Greek parents children being belong to Greece with Metaxas. Considering the leader's positions and perception in both very much similarities are apparent also.

Metaxas lacked the requirements of the heroic leadership criteria of Marx Weber's to established authority, until becoming the nation's saviour with his famous 'oxi' (no) answer on 28 October 1940 to Italian invaders. Until then although he spend tremendous attempt in gaining the sympathy and love of his people with also making important social implementations for gaining that love that he had been longing for, also announced himself through his controlled media as the 'barba' (uncle) of the nation, the 'First Worker' and the 'First Peasant'.

As Metaxas was also being called as the 'Chief' on EON publications, Nikolaos

Michaloliakos the general secretary of GD is also being called as the 'Chief' by his party members today. While the ultimate respect for the leader is also seems a left legacy of the Metaxas' authoritarianism to GD, in the party's organisational structure is the leader's decision as the final word reflects the ultimate leader principle of Metaxas (Führerprinzip) indeed.

Since Michaloliakos has been the leader of the party since 1983, in his early terms of his political career he was among the close friends of Constantine Plevris, the leader of the 4th of August Party, active until 1977, praise to Ioannis Metaxas.

As the famous 'oxi' (no) created a national hero for Greece, Metaxas has seized his leader cult after that event and still being a praised leader by the far right significantly by GD in even the party manifesto. While Michaloliakos uses the same the national embracing rhetoric while excluding the aforementioned groups and oppositions as Metaxas had done, does not have attempt at gaining any assumed names while only being called as the 'Chief' and the ultimate leader (Führerprinzip).

While the absolute respect for the leader is a must in GD discourse when the leader is described as the one who could save the nation only, as the same description of the national saviour leader profile had been created by Metaxas himself.

Metaxas hold the media under his control with very heavy censorship implementations due to its political limited representation and not having any authority on the society, GD and Michaloliakos lacks that massive support in their aims on shaping the nation in the transformed society mission.

GD being aware of the fact since its propagandas of 2009, as the party's slogans has been formulated as 'breaking through the conspiracy of silence' the party's second man Elias Kassidiaris states the lack of media support by his declaration to

the party members: “ Do not expect that the media mentions us. There will not be such a thing.” While Michaloliakos proudly emphasises his party supporters' voluntary door to door propaganda activities to cover up that inefficacy.

While as the party profits the new media at its maximum, GD uses the internet actively and shares videos of interviews with leader and members on the party's web-page and uses the channels such as youtube for its propagandas even of its violence activities as mentioned before. As also the party's publishing firm New Sparta publishes Michaloliakos political books with its NS logo according to Psarras (2015) also represents the National Socialism propaganda of the party.

Whereas the party rejects accusations of being neo-nazi, uses the swastika symbol in its flag while Metaxas created its regime own flag with a torch and number of 4, as referencing the establishment day of the 4th of August with two Cretan axes which was in harmony with the Royal Crown and the National flag, while raised right hand was reviving the ancient Greek salute.

GD could not use Metaxas flag's any emblems in its party flag as due to mentioned Greek law's restrictions on it, thus, finding a direct relation between on the symbols of the party emblem or flags is not option. On the symbolic meaning the use of the torches during the protests and marching style of GD members might be discussed as the showed intention of the party to make reference to the 4th of August values or the representation of the shared values of both in the ancient glorious of Greece.

Also party members explained swastika's being an originally Greek rooted symbol which was taken by Hitler who was a Greek culture admirer and because of his deep admiration of himself used the ancient Greek symbol of swastika at the centre of its flag. While as exaltation of the ancient Greece is also a case in German culture too.

For instance, Humboldtian reforms could be showed as one example of that admiration which also called as the pursuit of the ideals of the ancient Germany. Albert Speer has also underlined Hitler's being admirer of the Greek architecture while defining it as the highest imaginable perfection also some racist historians such as Guido von List argued that Aryans has originally come from the North Pole and spread to Mediterranean where they bred the ancient Greeks is also among the historical rumor.

As to prove the admiration of Hitler for the Greek supremacy Gobbel wrote (Sorensen and Mallet 2002, p.161): "My soul filled with beauty. Blessed antiquity, which lived in eternal joy free from Christianity. How pleased the Fuehrer would be if he was here with us!" His joy while seeing Acropolis in 1939 for the second time inspired him further he wrote: "On Acropolis. O, this shattering view! The cradle of Aryan culture."

While mentioned during the second part of the study there was no biological racist theories in Greece, although pro-Germans was existed in Greece during the interwar years while most of the intellectual and army personnel cadres were educated in German as also Metaxas was.

To talk on the comparison of the symbols between the Metaxas regime and the Golden Dawn Party, GD uses Swastika on its flag but within a different angles, with its original position and surrenders it by the Apollon's Crown (laurel wreath) as the reminder of the ancient Greece to reflects its ideological rooting with its ancestors.

GD with its rhetoric, the organisational structure besides the symbols makes references with the swastika refers to the interwar years. Defined its nationalism as the nationalism of the interwar years, while the marching and saluting style of is similar with the 4th of August regime's EON's and also the Hitler's.

With its ultimate respect principle for the leader and represented and the shared ideology of the 4th of August, Metaxas' contribution to the Greek political ideology, the third way along with the drawn organisational structure of the party accordingly to the Michaloliakos's army alike structure makes a good summary for us in the found evidences in one example as follows (Psarras 2015, p.56):

“At the pinnacle of this hierarchical pyramid is the man we all respect and follow and who will lead the entire country to the creation of the Third Greek civilisation of which we all dream.”

Ioannis Metaxas as the founder of the 4th of August Regime of Greece with the certain support of the King and indirect support and tolerance of British, strengthened his power in the first two years of his regime became almost the ultimate control mechanism of the socio- political environment of Greece.

As he was not a very loved by the public nor was popular figure of the political scenery while had only received 5 per cent of votes in 1935 national elections, Metaxas was finally enjoyed his longed missed public acceptance in his last days of his semi-fascist regime and even became a national hero with his famous 'oxi' (no) answer to Italian invaders, just before his death also on 29 January 1941.

Whereas in the Greek political history left versus right rhetoric was well rooted and it become very significance during the period of Metaxas as he was the vital enemy of the leftist, 'the communist's as he defined it. While the representation of the communist actually had been strengthened after the Asia Minor Catastrophe by Venizelos' hands who had signed the agreement with Turkey for bringing the Anatolian immigrants in Greece. As the migrant influx nourished the communist constituency with added a million vote capacity at the time of Greece while the total population was 2.8 million.

First, the migrants as the political fortress of Venizelos contributed to the Liberal Party by their certain supports until their felt betrayal due to Venizelos signed

agreement with Turkey which closed the doors of the left behind home of the migrants since then they withdrew their support in Venizelos they become the fervent supporters of the KKE (the Communist Party of Greece ) since 1930.

The communist also since that period become the target of Metaxas. As because communist was the threatening element for the royal throne, the only support that Metaxas had to maintain his regime. That was the reason why Metaxas put great pressure on immigrants.

While the political schism as among the essential troubles in the Greek political history was received a significant contribution by Metaxas during his period of 1936-1941. After Metaxas the civil war of two sides even represented in bloodshed incidents.

The following regime of the Colonel's was also being established on the supremacy of the right political thinking which also besides the Metaxas period is mentioned as the ideological nourishing period of the right at its maximum which also compared with the Golden Dawn Party of Greece that recently became the third popular party with its discourses.

The party's firstly in 2009 and followed by 2012 and 2015 elections breakthroughs attracted scholar attentions on its party success analysis while also the ideologies resembles of the 4th of August Regime and the Colonel's which with deficiency in detailed studies was still represented in few examples the comparisons at ideological level between the 4th of August Regime of Ioannis Metaxas with the ultra right party of Golden Dawn was left empty mostly as some studies relatedly cited it or it was mentioned in the limited media covers without any deep analysis.

While the research question has been formulated within the framework of the GD Party's being the continuation hypothesis of the 4th of August Regime on its ideological bases, has been covered with in the three parts in that study. While the

found evidences reconsidered with comparison in the third part, the discussion and the findings part of this study, the general assumption of the continuation case is mostly positive.

Firstly, GD's being the continuation of the 4th of August Regime regarding of its ideological traits, its historical perceptions and also in the reflected some similarities as the army like discipline and structuring, the ultimate respect for the leader and also with its paramilitary functioning as explained in details in the discussion part of the study shows analogies.

Secondly, while at the same time some vital differences are also representative; such as apply of the religious rhetoric, approach to the Jewish community and the Zionism, expansionist foreign policies.

To explain all mentioned if started with the religion, Metaxas was a very religious from the beginning defined the religion among the vital element of the society and he exalted the religion as virtual values of his regime. From the beginning of his regime he represented the religious middle class man type of leader image, mostly described as the 'safe governor' as Marina Petrakis in her book 'The Metaxas Myth' (2006) calls it.

Whereas GD started with neutrality in religious discourses while the Greece the most religiously established state in Europe later on obtained the religion's protector role since the late 90's.

While the approach for the immigrants has also changed in both as the migrant profiles changed due to the time requirements, the hostility for the Turkish stayed at the same level while Metaxas was not expansionist as GD is.

In spite of the previous migrants was mostly the established communities in Greece they were still being excluded in EON but they were not attacked by

Metaxas regime including the Jewish community living in Greece. Also since the political portrait has changed during the GD time today, the perception of the Jewish communities has shifted from neutrality of Metaxas period towards hatred for the Zionism in GD's speeches. Hatred for the Zionism even replaced Metaxas' number one political enemy, the communist.

As the Zionist described as the biggest danger for the whole world, which also reminds the Nazi approach mostly can be explained with Jewish community's representation and domination on the banking system as GD also refers to it.

With the consideration of the country's facing up harsh economic measurement since 2000, GD's economically explained reasoning for the Jewish also shared with less hostility towards Germany. As which with its admitted admiration for the Greek antiquity as mentioned previously, besides the Hitler's inspirations to the party and the declarations on the Germany (on its being the most honourable invader Greece has ever seen), hostility towards Germany is new formation which as also aforementioned due to the economical crisis between Greece and the EU.

While the discourse of the communists the dangerous threat for the society is continued in the GD's speeches among the external enemies the Zionist and Germany on behalf of the EU is also added to it the external rival family.

And finally as the idea of arriving the perfect nation by the national rebirth like a phoenix as it was Metaxas' dream with pursuit of the third way of is the embraced discourse of GD.

As the party defines its nationalism alike of the interwar period and exalts the regime of the 4th of August to its prototype stage the representation of the praised value and ideologies within the style of a fairy tale “Once upon a time Greece was anti-parliamentarian, anticommunist, authoritarianism by the command of Ioannis Metaxas” praising the regime and the personality of Ioannis Metaxas as

the national hero. The Chief as Metaxas called himself in EON's publications and speeches also Michaloliakos has been called as.

While besides another ideological continuation clue is among the eye catching ones is in the leader's political entourage portrait lays behinds. As Michaloliakos entered into the political scene of Greece among the entourage of the previous Junta (1967-1974) and Constantine Plevris the founder of the 4th of August Party on praise of Ioannis Metaxas regime as the only party existed in Greece during the seven years duration of the Junta shows the ideological continuity of the 4th of August Regime in the Colonel's and also in the foundation and present ideological bases of the GD Party evidently.

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