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Parakratos in Post-Civil War Greece: Reality and Interpretation

Based on a historiographical, archival and media analysis, this doctoral thesis explores the

phenomenon of parakratos (translated as deep state or parastate) in post-civil war Greece

(1949-1967). Research perspectives are fourfold: Firstly, parakratos is discussed in the

context of academic debates on parapolitics and the concepts of the dual state, the security

state and the deep state; and presented as a Cold War parallel security mechanism, analogical

to Italy and Turkey. Secondly, parakratos is analysed as part of domestic political reality

through the prism of the historical events documented in Greek historiography. In this sense,

the thesis concentrates on the emergence and operation of clandestine military groups and

parastate ultra-nationalist organisations against the backdrop of the Greek political, legal and

social environment. Both phenomena are elaborated on through the lens of the inefficient

Greek political and administrative system, a deeply divided society, the politicisation of the

public space, and the persistence of clientelist networks constructed upon political loyalties.

Third, the parakratos is examined on an interpretative level as a term and concept employed

in Greek historiography. Focusing on its presumed roots, actors, purposes and relations with

the state, three major images of the parakratos (paramilitary, military, and conspiratorial) are

being outlined. Fourth, the thesis indicates that the parakratos-related conspiratorial discourse

was linked with the anti-Right political speech, which subsequently influenced the left-wing

historiography on post-civil war Greece. In compliance with conceptual history, the case

study of the parakratos shows that, in order to take a fresh look at post-civil war Greek

history, a major revision of used terms is needed. Not only do concepts such as the parakratos

stem from the respective period but they also define it, thus determining which angle of

interpretation we are going to take.