## Table of Contents

Abbrariations				
	Abbreviations Introduction			
In	troduction	15		
1.	The Parakratos: The Definition of the Term and Its Positioning			
	in the Scientific Debate	30		
	1.1 The Parastate and the Debate on Parapolitics	33		
	1.2 NATO's Stay-Behind Armies: Italy, Greece, and Turkey	39		
	1.3 The Rise of the Deep State as a Concept	50		
	1.4 The Deep State as a Conspiratorial Discourse	55		
2.	Greek Anti-Communism (1914–1967): The Anti-Communist			
	Legislation and the "Para-Constitution"	59		
	2.1 The Emergence of the KKE	63		
	2.2 The Interwar Anti-Communist Legislation	68		
	2.3 Towards the Civil War	73		
	2.4 Civil War-Related Anti-Communist Rhetoric	78		
	2.5 Anti-Communist Legislation in Civil War Greece	81		
	2.6 The Continuation of Anti-Communist Legislation			
	in Post-Civil War Greece	85		
3.	The "Right-Wing Establishment" (1949–1967):			
	Authoritarian or Democratic?	93		
	3.1 The Post-Civil War Division of Political Power	96		
	3.2 Foreign Involvement	102		
	3.3 The Political Opposition	108		
	3.4 The Character of the Post-Civil War Regime	116		
4.	The Post-Civil War Parakratos in the Greek Historiography:			
	Historical Reality and Interpretation	125		
	4.1 The Interwar Roots of the Parakratos	128		
	4.2 The Parakratos of Wartime Collaborators	133		

	4.3	The Parakratos in the Post-War Power Vacuum	136	
	4.4	The Parakratos in the Civil War	142	
	4.5	The Agents of the Post-Civil War Parakratos	146	
		4.5.1 The Military Parakratos	147	
		4.5.2 The Paramilitary Parakratos	151	
		4.5.3 The Parakratos as a Broad Conspiracy	158	
	4.6	The Position of the Parakratos towards the State	164	
	4.7	The Purpose of the Parakratos	168	
5.	The	"Parallel Structures" in the Greek Military	173	
	5.1	Wartime Ideological Struggles inside the Greek Army	177	
	5.2	The Emergence of Anti-Communist "Secret" Organizations	182	
	5.3	The IDEA on the Rise	184	
	5.4	The 1951 Coup and Its Aftermath	187	
	5.5	IDEA in Decline	190	
	5.6	The Establishment of the EENA	193	
	5.7	The Pericles Plan	196	
	5.8	The ASPIDA Scandal	202	
	5.9	The 1967 Coup	208	
6.	The	Parakratos of Citizens' Organizations	213	
	6.1	The Mobilization of the Youth Movement	215	
	6.2	The Parakratos of the Youth	219	
	6.3	The Parakratos of the Indignant "Patriotic" Citizens	233	
	6.4	The Case of Xenophon Giosmas	240	
	6.5	The Assassination of Grigoris Lambrakis	245	
Co	Conclusion			
Su	Summary			
List of References			271	
Bibliography				