

Abstract

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 power 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 dominant images of the *parakratos* (paramilitary, military, and conspiratorial) are 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 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 will take.