

## ARTICLE

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## The Far Right's Quest for Cultural Dominance

### *Radical Publishing in Greece since 1974*

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**Abstract:** *The article explores the influence of far-right publishing in Greece since 1974. It examines the role of publishers in spreading ultranationalist and neo-Nazi ideologies, highlighting the connection between publishing and political action. It discusses the rise of the Golden Dawn party and the shift from traditional Greek nationalism to international far-right extremism. The study reveals how far-right publishers operate outside mainstream channels, using specialized networks to distribute materials. It also notes the emergence of new publishers and the integration of international far-right themes into Greek politics. The research underscores the cultural impact of far-right publishing, emphasizing its role in shaping public discourse and normalizing extremist ideologies. The article provides a comprehensive analysis of the far-right publishing landscape, documenting its evolution and influence on Greek society.*

**Keywords:** Greece, book publishing, far right, neo-Nazism, Hellenocentrism, nationalism, ideology

Greece has traditionally held a marginal position in the study of fascism and far-right movements. Previous studies chiefly focused on the 4th of August regime of Ioannis Metaxas (1936–1941) within the context of authoritarian regimes before World War II in Europe and on the subsequent seven-year military dictatorship (1967–1974) (Kallis 2010; Anastassakis and Lagos 2021). Scholarly interest increased significantly when the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn party entered parliament in 2012. The unexpected rise of the neo-Nazi organization, with its electoral support increasing from 0.29 percent in the 2009 national elections to 6.97 percent in 2012, led to a rapid proliferation of research and publications, ultimately making Greece a focal point for studying the emergence of extremist right-wing movements (Ellinas 2013; Ellinas 2015; Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2015). Recent research has systematically examined the presence and genealogy of far-right ideology in Greece, revealing the growth of “Greek nationalism” among romantic nationalist intellectuals around the turn of the twentieth century (Avdela et al. 2007; Gazi 2020; Matalas 2021). Nonetheless, these studies have not fully investigated the neo-Nazi leanings that became prominent during the prolonged economic crisis after 2010—leanings that can be traced back to editorial choices made soon after the return to democracy in 1974.

This article explores how book publishing contributes to the far right's efforts to gain cultural influence in Greece and traces the publishing activities of far-right groups and individuals since 1974, following the fall of the Colonels' dictatorship and the restoration of parliamentary democracy. Greece was then considered immune to far-right extremism, given that the memory of authoritarianism was still fresh. However, my research identifies two far-right ideological perspectives manifest in print production as early as 1975: an ultranationalist Hellenocentric view and a neo-Nazi extremist stance. It demonstrates how publishing choices can illuminate distinct trends within the far-right political landscape and uncovers how those trends are linked to international far-right extremism rooted in joint operations between the Greek junta and neofascist groups in Italy in the late 1960s. While much of the existing research has focused on party politics, electoral behavior, and anti-immigrant violence (Ellinas 2015; Georgiadou and Rori 2022; Georgiadou 2013; Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2015; Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2016), it is important to examine the cultural factors that influence these movements in more detail. This empirical study constitutes the first comprehensive effort to systematically document the cultural references and ideological tendencies of the far right in Greece. My research involved ethnographic fieldwork and semi-structured interviews with far-right publishers, booksellers, authors, and former activists of different generations.<sup>1</sup> They were conducted mostly in 2022 and 2023 after the COVID-19 isolation measures were lifted. I have gathered valuable information about publishing houses established since 1974 concerning their strategies, titles (such as books, magazines, and fanzines), and associated political activities. This research has provided firsthand insights into radical groups and organizations, allowing for a qualitative analysis of various strands of far-right ideology in Greece. It must be stressed that the term "far right" is generally rejected by those to whom it is typically attributed, including publishers (Mudde 2019, 5). In my interviews, they consistently expressed their disapproval of the label and preferred to identify themselves as Hellenocentric or "patriotic nationalist."

I define far-right print materials as those nativist books that emphasize the ancient and unique origins of the Greek people, the distinctiveness of the Greek language, Greek national superiority, and the concept of a homogeneous nation-state that

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1 Extensive interviews have been conducted with Polydoros Dakoglou (leader and writer of ENEK, the United Nationalist Movement; Nafplio, April 20, 2022), Konstantinos Plevris (politician, lawyer, author, and publisher of *Electron*; Athens, December 15, 2021), Ioannis Yannakenas (publisher of *Pelasgos* and bookseller; Athens, August 31, 2021, and in regular meetings to December 2023), Sotiris Schoinas (publisher and heir of *Nea Thesis*, Athens; February 2, 2022), Michalis Georgilas (publisher of *Logchi* and bookseller; Athens, November 25, 2022), Sotiris Yannelis (copublisher of *Exodos* and writer; Athens, October 7, 2022), Christos Goudis (academic and prolific writer; by phone, May 18, 2022), Giorgos Dimitroulias (former activist and publisher of *Antidoto*; Kalamata, July 13–15, 2022), Alexandros Karras (publisher of *Nea Genea*, *Hektor*, and *Nymphios*; via Zoom, May 12, 2022), Dimosthenis Koukounas (writer and publisher of *Metron* and *Historia*; Athens, May 30, 2022), Petros Mylonas (former activist and book collector; Athens, May 30, 2022), and Konstantinos Tsopanis (publisher of *Omni Publishing* and writer; Athens, May 19, 2022).

excludes nonindigenous elements. Additionally, I include publications that advocate for authoritarian rule over parliamentary systems and promote conspiracy theories, antisemitism, and historical revisionism. Moreover, I have cataloged works authored by Nazi and fascist leaders, post–World War II defenders of Nazism and fascism, and by individuals associated with Greek dictatorial regimes or related organizations. For consistency, I have excluded books on esotericism, paranormal phenomena, and Dodecatheism (a revival of ancient Greek polytheism presented as Greece’s “native religion”), unless they hold political significance, as is the case with the works of Julius Evola and Savitri Devi (Versluis 2017; François 2022).

Public and academic libraries do not usually hold books from radical right-wing publishers, nor are they documented in official statistics. Nevertheless, my research in private collections, secondhand booksellers, and publishers’ booklists revealed a remarkable editorial trend and a substantial collection of far-right publications of over four thousand titles, which can be considered representative of a production spanning fifty years and involving more than fifty active publishing houses. All this data is available to researchers in an open-access spreadsheet.<sup>2</sup> The analysis of the compiled material has highlighted significant tendencies in far-right publishing in Greece. Thus, I will delve into the editorial choices of the Greek far right, tracing the shift from Hellenocentrism and traditional Greek nationalism to neo-Nazi extremism and, ultimately, to alt-right beliefs and ideas. First, I examine how the publishing industry supports far-right political ideology and subculture. Then, I analyze how this segment operates independently of the traditional book market, with its own principles and priorities.

### **Publishing and Politics**

The relationship between publishing activities and political actions is undeniable. Publishers are pivotal in selecting, producing, and distributing books and magazines that propagate political ideologies, offering a platform for politicians and intellectuals. They collaborate with booksellers, the press, and online platforms to maximize their reach. Despite publishers’ critical political role, the dynamic interplay of the book circuit—comprising authors, publishers, printers, booksellers, and readers—with the political sphere remains insufficiently explored. While numerous studies have scrutinized white power music, festivals, and music scenes for their role in fundraising, attracting new members, spreading far-right ideologies, and shaping collective identities, the similar function of publishing communities, bookstores, book fairs, and print and digital magazines have not been thoroughly examined (de Boise 2024). Furthermore, the potential evidence provided by co-editions and translations is often overlooked when

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<sup>2</sup> For the full list (in Greek) of the publications studied in this article, visit [https://www.dardanosnet.gr/wp-content/uploads/%CE%9A%CE%91%CE%A4%CE%91%CE%9B%CE%9F%CE%93%CE%9F%CE%A3-1974-2023\\_add.xlsx](https://www.dardanosnet.gr/wp-content/uploads/%CE%9A%CE%91%CE%A4%CE%91%CE%9B%CE%9F%CE%93%CE%9F%CE%A3-1974-2023_add.xlsx).

identifying global connections between far-right organizations. Publishing activity is typically viewed as a sign of either the emergence of new political factions or the fragmentation of existing ones (Camus and Lebourg 2017). However, a detailed analysis of print production unveils how metapolitics operates to normalize far-right political views by systematically “deconstructing the dominant cultural and ideological mindset” and building an alternative narrative (*Radical Right Analysis*, n.d.).

Publishers have always been considered an important asset by the far right (François 2022, 111–21). Grassroots organizations aiming at far-right cultural dominance were established in Greece as early as 1975, as confirmed by Polydoros Dakoglou, known as the “historical leader” of the United Nationalist Movement (Eniaio Ethnikistiko Kinima / ENEK):

In addition to their ability to confront on the streets, the nationalists of the movement were also aware that the “mother of all battles”—for Greece—would be fought in the field of cultural dominance, and they were preparing for it.

They read a lot, not because they wanted to strengthen their existing nationalist beliefs, but because they wanted to connect with the intellectual roots of previous generations and simultaneously gain knowledge to respond to the demands of discussions or confrontations with ideological-political opponents. (Dakoglou 2016)<sup>3</sup>

At a political rally in June 2003, Georgios Karatzaferis, a prominent publicist and politician who founded the right-wing populist party LAOS (Laikós Orthódoxos Synagermós / Popular Orthodox Rally),<sup>4</sup> celebrated the coalition of various far-right organizations under the LAOS banner. He especially underscored the essential role of many publishers in this movement, lauding them as true “cultural warriors” dedicated to regaining ground lost to the left (Hunter 2006, 28; Bures 2023, 6):

What is happening today is a big deal. It is a huge ideological victory. It is a response to the erosion of the ideological battle, in which New Democracy contributed a lot: the losers of the national struggle are today the winners in all forums.<sup>5</sup> Today we are making history for Greece.

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<sup>3</sup> All translations are the author’s unless otherwise noted.

<sup>4</sup> LAOS participated in a coalition government with the conservative New Democracy (Nea Dimokratia) and socialist PASOK in 2011–2012.

<sup>5</sup> New Democracy is the ruling conservative party in Greece. It has been in power for approximately twenty-four years since 1974. The term “losers” refers to the Greek left, which was defeated in the civil war that lasted from 1946 to 1949.

Because when you see up here three publishers, Adonis Georgiadis, Yannis Schoinas, and my best man Liakopoulos (cheers of “worthy”), it means we are winning the book battle. And this is an important battle. If we win them back, where for forty years we had ceded the stronghold, then the victory will be great, profound, and irresistible. I congratulate the publishers who have this strength. For some time, we were indeed lulled within the fold. But now we have escaped to fight and win all that was always ours. (Psarras 2010, 133)

Concerning far-right activism in Greece, the connection between publishers and politics can be even more direct. Two far-right political parties, the United Nationalist Movement (ENEK) and Golden Dawn, originated as publishing ventures. Additionally, two prominent far-right politicians, a party leader and a minister who currently serves as vice president of the ruling conservative New Democracy party (Kyriakos Velopoulos and Adonis Georgiadis respectively), initially gained public recognition through their roles as ultranationalist publishers and highly popular book telemarketers.

### **Far-Right Subculture**

A political subculture refers to a specific group within a broader culture that possesses distinct beliefs, values, norms, and practices related to politics. These subcultures often emerge from shared experience, social identity, geographical location, ethnicity, religion, or socioeconomic status, resulting in unique political participation and perspectives on political matters (Miller-Idriss 2020; Gordon 1947). I will focus here on the role of publishers and booksellers in creating new forms of participation and affiliation to extremist nationalist, xenophobic, or authoritarian ideologies (Larsen and Jensen 2023; Miller-Idriss 2020; Wodak 2015). Interestingly, in the digital age, print still holds importance for the far right. As stressed in the announcement of the publication of the Greek edition of *Zentromag* magazine, “the continuous restrictions on the internet bring back the necessity of print as a means of action and dissemination of ideas” (“Periodiko Zentropa” 2020).

### ***The First Publishing Houses***

#### *Eleftheri Skepsis*

In October 1975, young nationalists in Athens—students and early career professionals—launched a thirty-two-page magazine called *To Kinima* (The Movement). For the first two years, *To Kinima* was a low-cost, typewritten publication reproduced by mimeograph and distributed by militants. In October 1976, the founding team took a significant step: it established a small bookstore and publishing house, Eleftheri Skepsis (Free Thought), located on Ippocratous Street, in the center of Athens. The management was entrusted to Vladimiros Psiakis

(1943–2017), a prominent organization member born in Alexandria, Egypt.

According to their public statements, the motivation behind this initiative was to provide essential texts on Greek nationalism to a growing number of young nationalists who felt disoriented after the fall of the military dictatorship in 1974 (Dakoglou 2016). These texts consisted at first of out-of-print nationalist books from the first half of the twentieth century that no mainstream publisher dared to reprint during the dynamic early years of the *metapolitefsi*, a term that refers to this period of regime change in Greece. The inaugural titles published in 1978 included a book by the nationalist diplomat Ion Dragoumis (1878–1920), a short essay on heredity laws, and a humor book. Just before the 1977 election, the group decided to enter politics and joined a new ultraconservative party, Ethniki Parataxis (National Alignment)—which absorbed junta supporters, royalists, and ultranationalists—as its youth organization, ENEP (Elliniki Neolaia Ethnikis Parataxeos / Greek Youth National Front) (Georgiadou 2019). Although their activism resulted in remarkable electoral success and seven seats in parliament, the alliance lasted only two years. In May 1979, the party imposed its leader, Theodoros Perrotis, a pro-junta militant, on ENEP. As a result, a splinter group headed by Polydoros Dakoglou left *To Kinima* and created ENEK, the United Nationalist Movement.

The 1979 fracture within the nationalist movement resulted in duplicating publishing mechanisms. As a first move, ENEK established its own bookstore and publishing house, Nea Thesis (New Position). At the same time, those loyal to the original group rallied around Eleftheri Skepsis with Andreas Dendrinis (1933–2016) as their pundit. Dendrinis's group also kept control of the magazine *To Kinima*, which continued publication until at least 1983.<sup>6</sup> Eleftheri Skepsis published more than five hundred titles prior to 2017, when it officially ceased to exist at Psiakis's death.<sup>7</sup> It soon became apparent that its political orientation went beyond romantic nationalism. From the beginning, it specialized in extremist antisemitic, anti-communist, pro-Nazi, and historical revisionist works. Of the fifteen titles I found within the first five years, eleven were translations of WWII speeches by Nazi Germany's leaders, including Adolf Hitler, Joseph Goebbels, and Joachim von Ribbentrop. Approximately one-fifth of the titles published by 1995 consisted of translations of Nazi and antisemitic literature authored by individuals such as Dietrich Eckart, Julius Evola, Richard Wagner, Friedrich Stieve, Robert Faurisson, and André Lefèvre, often translated by Andreas Dendrinis himself.

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6 In 1980, the financial situation of Dendrinis's group was strong enough to support a second store in Thessaloniki and allow countrywide distribution through the Athens News Agency. The last issue I have been able to locate is from June 1983, designated as issue number 103.

7 Psiakis's three sons now operate the business by selling backlist titles and reprinting the most popular ones. However, they have relocated and renamed the bookstore Labyrinthos following several arson attacks that targeted the original store.

Dendrinos has been described as “a Greek national-socialist intellectual, internationalist, writer and nationalist militant, one of the greatest personalities of post-war Greek nationalism” (Metapaideia, n.d.). He had studied political science in Paris and Geneva, and in a 1984 book, *Elliniki Proklisis* (Hellenic challenge), he identified as a firm believer in “Hitlerism” (Dendrinos 1984, 10).<sup>8</sup> Dendrinos sought to establish links between the Greek far right and the then-rising New Right in Europe. He wrote over fifteen controversial works praising ultranationalist authoritarian government. He also translated approximately twelve titles by authors linked to far-right movements of the interwar period, such as Maurice Bardèche and Léon Degrelle, or by proponents of the French New Right (Nouvelle Droite) and the German Conservative Revolution, including Alain de Benoist, Robert Steuckers, and Armin Mohler. Long articles from Nouvelle Droite journals such as *Éléments* and *Krisis* and the Belgian *Vouloir*, published under the auspices of the French ethnonationalist think tank GRECE,<sup>9</sup> founded in 1968 by de Benoist, were translated and released in book format without delay. Nevertheless, the initially outward-focused stance of Eleftheri Skepsis gradually subsided around 1995, likely due to the limited impact of foreign titles, as suggested by the individuals interviewed. Until the passing of its director, Vladimiros Psiakis, in 2017, Eleftheri Skepsis redirected its booklist toward domestic concerns, emphasizing the exposure of politicians in general, with special scrutiny on communists, and the glorification of the ancient Greek heritage.

### *Nea Thesis*

The Nea Thesis publishing and bookselling firm was directed by Yannis Schoinas (1951–2016) and intellectually guided by Polydoros Dakoglou (b. 1949), a trained mathematician. I have recorded nearly seven hundred publications from Nea Thesis, most of which were copy edited by Schoinas.<sup>10</sup> Dakoglou stated that ENEK operated 190 offices throughout Greece, which also functioned as points of sale for books.<sup>11</sup>

This second far-right publishing house focused primarily on Hellenocentrism and works related to early Greek nationalism. It became known for publishing the complete works of romantic turn-of-the-century intellectuals Pericles Giannopoulos (1869–1910) and Ion Dragoumis (1878–1920), both staunch supporters of the irredentist ideology known as the “Great Idea.” The “Greek nationalism” tradition has

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8 This book had sold over seven thousand copies by 1987 and is now in its sixth edition as of 2017.

9 An acronym for Groupement de Recherche et d’Études pour la Civilisation Européenne (Research and Study Group for European Civilization).

10 Yannis Schoinas passed away in 2016, leading to his spouse and son’s subsequent management of the house. During this period, the focus primarily shifted toward reissuing previously published titles, with only a limited number of new releases.

11 Author’s interview with Polydoros Dakoglou, Nafplio, April 20, 2022.

historical roots in the nationalist movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Greece sought to expand its borders to the north (Macedonia), south (Crete), and east (Asia Minor) and include all ethnic Greeks still living in Ottoman territory into the Greek state (Koulos 2021). Giannopoulos and Dragoumis played significant roles in shaping the theoretical foundation of Greek nationalism, viewing it as synonymous with patriotism and fostering the idea of Greek cultural supremacy over the Levant and western Europe (Demertzis and Stratoudaki 2020; Mazis 2014). The prominence given to culture may be contextualized within the framework established by Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer's 1830 study, titled *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters* (History of the Peloponnesian peninsula during the Middle Ages), which critically examined the racial purity and unbroken historical continuity with ancient Greece claimed by modern Greek-speaking inhabitants of the region. Under the weight of the fiery public controversy that followed, the significance of the biological factor was diminished in favor of other parameters that demonstrated the disputed national continuity, such as geography, climate, location, and, notably, language and culture. Greek responses to Fallmerayer's assertions centered on the enduring preeminence of a "cultural and spiritual Hellenism" (Greenberg and Hamilakis 2024, 406), according to which Greeks had repudiated external influences while maintaining a continuous presence within a distinct geographical domain (Koulouri 2007, 19–21, 38–39; Veloudis 1982; Demertzis and Stratoudaki 2020).

Far-right Hellenocentrism uses pseudoscientific arguments to promote a distorted view that diminishes the achievements of other cultures and peoples. It embraces the controversial idea of hyperdiffusionism, interpreting similar cultural and intellectual accomplishments in various geographical locations as evidence of ancient Greece's dominant influence. From this viewpoint, the Greeks are seen as an indigenous group (the Pelasgians) unrelated to the Indo-Europeans, and the Greek language is considered the origin of all languages. Scientific subjects are enveloped in mystique and approached with a conspiratorial mindset akin to that found in political matters. Historical and political phenomena are often reduced to oversimplified narratives and presented with conclusive interpretations, circumventing the necessity for thorough intellectual analysis. Some indicative titles are *Ellinika: I Glossa ton protoplaston: Foinikia-Kadmia. I Apati ton Foinikiston, oi opoioi stirichthikan ston mythomani Irodoton* (Greek: The language of Adam and Eve and the fraud of the Phoenicians based on the mythomane Herodotus) by the journalist Dimitris Droumboukis (Nea Thesis, 1999); *I Inca milousan ellinika: I archaioellinikes katavoles stin glossa tous* (The Incas spoke Greek: The ancient Greek origins of their language) by the engineer Kostas Chadziannakis (Eleftheri Skepsis, 1989); and *I elliniki riza ton Vaskon: Glossologiki periigisis* (The Greek roots of the Basques: A linguistic survey) by the same author (Eleftheri Skepsis, 2001). The proponents of Hellenocentrism encompass diverse backgrounds, including self-taught "experts" from fields like engineering, medicine, physics, and journalism. Their primary belief is based on the antiquity of the Greek language, which they consider a sign of superiority. They present an alternative vision of ancient Greece featuring astonishing technological artifacts, flying vessels, anthropoids, and even computing devices to

support their claim (Papanastasiou 2006, 437). In the context of Greek supremacy, Nea Thesis's publications emphasize a strong defense of Hellenism against supposed ongoing threats while also embracing various conspiracy theories, particularly those that are anti-American and antisemitic.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to publishing activities, the Hellenocentrism movement's political action included participating in nationalist events of "memory and honor" in Meligalas, Makrygianni, and other nationalist *lieux de mémoire* from the civil war period. These events sometimes led to confrontations with members of ONNED, the youth organization of New Democracy, which also claimed these spaces. Other initiatives involved a protest march in Athens on May 9, 1986, following the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, and an energy policy gathering in Athens in 1984. The movement organized monthly speeches by Polydoros Dakoglou, which required an entrance fee, and three-day events titled "Nationalist Summer—Struggle without Vacations," partially funded by book sales. For the inaugural "Nationalist Summer 1986" the title "The Power of Our Will" was chosen, inevitably evoking the 1934 Nuremberg Nazi Party Congress made famous by Leni Riefenstahl's film *Triumph of the Will*. I found evidence for a second "Nationalist Summer 1987" with the central slogan "Resist Degradation," but the initiative seems to have stopped there (ethnikismosgr, n.d.).

### *Two Distinct Trends*

In the 1980s, the trends emerging in the initial publishing ventures evolved into distinct comprehensive publishing programs by new specialized publishers. Pelasgos, Kadmos, EL, and more recently Exodos (Exit) endorsed the concept of Greek supremacy. At the same time, Golden Dawn and its successors took over the task of spreading extremist neo-Nazi literature in Greece. During this period, Greece underwent a major transformation. The country saw its first social democratic government, achieved significant progress in

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12 For instance: Jean Boyer, *Oi Echthrois tis Ellados* (The enemies of Greece) (Nea Thesis, 1984), probably an excerpt from the original published in French in 1979 under the title *Les pires ennemis de nos peuples*, misleadingly naming Bogotá as its place of publication; Roger Garaudy, *Oi Themeliodeis Mythoi tis Israilinis Politikis* (The founding myths of modern Israel) (Nea Thesis, 1996), published the same year as the highly controversial French original; Athanasios Strigas, *Oi Tympanistes tou Pentagonou: I Diataragmeni Afosiosi ton HPA ston Diamelismo tou Ellinismou* (The Pentagon drummers: The demented commitment of the US to Hellenism's dissolution) (Nea Thesis, 1993); and Georgios Georgalas, *Pos themeliothike i Pax Americana* (How the Pax Americana was established) (Nea Thesis, 1997, 2 vols). Antisemitism is particularly pronounced in the works of Konstantinos Plevris (b. 1939), a Greek ultranationalist politician, lawyer, and author associated with neo-Nazism. Plevris was tried for his 1,397-page book *Oi Evraioi: Oli I Alitheia* (The Jews: The whole truth) (Electron, 2006) under the provisions of the Anti-Racist Law. He was sentenced in the first instance in 2007 to fourteen months imprisonment with a three-year suspension for incitement to racist acts against Jews and for insulting the Jewish people but was acquitted by the Court of Appeal in 2009 on both charges. See Michal Navoth, *Anti-Semitism in Greece: The Trial of Konstantinos Plevris* (Tel Aviv: Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism, 2011), <https://bit.ly/ΔίκηΠλευρη>. In 2002, Plevris founded his own publishing house, Electron, and gathered there all his works that had been published by various publishers up to that time.

democratization and modernization, and experienced extensive changes that promoted mass upward social mobility. The governing party (PASOK) followed “a specific blend of anti-Western rhetorics and pro-Western practice” (Martinelli 2004, xvii). As one scholar noticed, “the policies of joining the European Community and consolidating Western democracy were pursued while expressing an essentially nationalist, populist and anti-Western ideology” (Sotiropoulos 2013, 185–205). Although radical right-wing parties had yet to assume a significant role in Greece’s political life, their publishing efforts proved influential.

### *Ultranationalism*

The Greek-centered approach in far-right publishing focuses on limited translations and the release of works by Greek authors on topics of national interest. This approach considers foreign models less relevant and prioritizes national paradigms, including support for the domestic authoritarian regimes of 1936 and 1967. The emphasis on Greek supremacy covers a wide range of subjects, from reverence for classical Greece to speculative theories regarding the extraterrestrial origins of the Greek people. However, it generally excludes “foreign” fascist and neo-Nazi literature, which appears only sporadically in the catalogs of “Greek nationalism” publishers.

Pelasgos was established in Athens in 1985 by Ioannis Yannakenas (b. 1961), an engineer turned publisher and bookseller. Recognized for its extensive catalog of approximately nine hundred titles on various subjects, it publishes studies in political history and covers the historical presence of Greeks globally. Starting in 2015, it was also the first to produce a thorough series of apologetic works regarding the Colonels’ dictatorship from 1967 to 1974. This genre of literature typically highlights the leaders’ resolve, efficiency, and dedication to national principles, while juxtaposing these traits with the perceived deficiencies of parliamentary democracy.<sup>13</sup> The company holds a prominent position among nationalist publishers. Besides Pelasgos, Yannakenas operates three additional imprints (Protovoulia, Machi, and Rissos) and supports several weekly publications and specialized magazines of local interest. Since 1982, he has organized the annual memorial ceremony to commemorate the anniversary of Ion Dragoumis’s assassination by political adversaries in 1920. Moreover, he has been a parliamentary candidate for various nationalist parties on several occasions. In June 2008, when his bookstore was destroyed by arson, a fundraising campaign among his colleagues was initiated to support its recovery. It has since been renamed “The Friends’ Solidarity.”

In the early 1990s, Yannakenas and other nationalist publishers saw a rise in the readership of Greek nationalist literature due to two distinct factors. The first was the Macedonian name issue that emerged in 1991, following the dissolution of Yugoslavia. The newly independent state, previously known as the Socialist Republic

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13 I have identified fifty-two titles about the Colonel’s dictatorship, which is 5.5 percent of the total Pelasgos production up to 2024.

of Macedonia, sought to use the name “Macedonia” without any geographical qualifier. Greece contended that this usage implied territorial claims over the northern Greek province bearing the same name and consequently refused to recognize the new state. This situation led to massive nationalist mobilizations in Athens and Thessaloniki, with rallies allegedly attended by more than a million participants each, during which ethnocentric and xenophobic discourse was prevalent. A central aspect of this debate was the Greek identity of ancient Macedonians, prompting many readers to seek historical and scientific explanations for contemporary political issues and boosting relevant titles and book sales (Skoulariki 2021).

The second factor that benefited the nationalist book market during the same period was the introduction of private TV channels in 1989, which initially broadcast only locally. These channels soon reached a wider audience, offering an alternative to state-controlled television programs. Much of their content consisted of telemarketing shows, including those promoting Greek nationalist books. Georgios Karatzaferis was among the first to establish private radio and TV channels (Radio City and Tele City, later renamed Tele Asty), where he hosted publishers Adonis Georgiadis, Kyriakos Velopoulos, and Dimosthenis Liakopoulos to discuss current political affairs and promote their books. This platform allowed them to rapidly gain public exposure, and they subsequently joined Karatzaferis’s party LAOS (Popular Orthodox Rally), founded in 2000 (Grammenos 2019).<sup>14</sup> Adonis Georgiadis, born in 1972, managed the family publishing business, “The Library of the Greeks,” which was established by his father, Athanasios, around 1950. The company specializes in translating historical ecclesiastical and ancient Greek texts into modern Greek. Georgiadis, a history degree holder from the University of Athens, has been reprinting backlist titles and introducing new publications, such as works on Greek-Turkish relations, children’s textbooks for learning ancient Greek as a living language, Georgiadis’s critiques of the purported “myth” of homosexuality in ancient Greece,<sup>15</sup> controversial claims surrounding the “discovery” of Alexander the Great’s tomb in Egypt, explorations of Greek mythology as an inspiration for modern science, and analyses of communism as a utopian ideology. He largely embraces pseudoscientific and conspiracy theories that support the central position of Greek antiquity in global developments in all fields and the malevolent concealment of this truth by various dark centers. These titles present an intricate blend of Hellenocentric perspectives, incorporating elements

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14 LAOS, a populist party in Greece, played a significant role in mainstreaming far-right discourse. Notably, several prominent members of LAOS transitioned into ministerial positions within the governing New Democracy party, including Makis Voridis, Thanos Plevris, and Adonis Georgiadis. All three quit LAOS in 2012 after the party lost the elections.

15 It was issued simultaneously in Greek and English. See Adonis Georgiadis, *Homosexuality in Ancient Greece: The Myth is Collapsing* (Athens: I Vivliothiki ton Ellinon, 2004).

of antiquarianism, Dodecatheism, the polytonic accentuation system, and anti-communism.<sup>16</sup>

Kyriakos Velopoulos, born in 1965, leads the ultranationalist Elliniki Lysi (Greek Solution) party, which gained 4.44 percent of votes and secured twelve seats in the June 2023 elections. The far-right ideological framework of the party is marked by a significant inclination toward Orthodox Christianity, a pro-Russian orientation, and the identification of scapegoats, such as politicians, Jews, communists, and homosexuals. The party supports the reintroduction of the death penalty and suggests mining the Evros border with Turkey to secure Europe. It claims to have the support of Elon Musk and has recently requested that Musk be invited to address the European Parliament (Kontrafourti 2025). Velopoulos is also a prolific writer. His books amalgamate themes regarding antiquity, occultism, conspiracy theories, and the long-standing rivalry between Greeks and Jews, often weaving in extraterrestrial-inspired interpretations that guarantee substantial sales (Kourdis 2016). These publications are released by Kadmos Publishing, his privately owned publishing house, established in 2000 and headquartered in Thessaloniki.<sup>17</sup>

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16 Due to a series of deliberate acts of arson targeting the premises of Georgiadis Publishing, the distribution of their publications has been limited to telemarketing sales and online platforms. It is worth noting that Georgiadis Publishing has previously faced legal consequences related to labor disputes and violations of intellectual property rights. Notable examples of the titles published by Georgiadis include Ioannis Dionis, *O Prometheus epistrefei: Elliniki mythologia pigi gnoseon tis simerinis epistimis* (Prometheus returns: Greek mythology as a source of knowledge for today's science) (2004); Diamantis K. Koutoulas, *I apagorevmeni istoria ton Archaion Ellinon* (The forbidden history of the ancient Greeks) (2005); Kostas Skandalis, *I atheati opsi tou indoevropaikou zitimatos: I theoria tis vythismenis Aigiidos* (The unseen side of the Indo-European question: The sunken Aegean theory) (2006); Panagiotis Grigoriadis, *I elliniki katagogi ton Soumerion: Enas minoikos stathmos anefodiasmou pros tin Kina kai tin Mikronisia tou 3120 BC* (The Greek origin of Sumeria: A Minoan supply station to China and Micronesia in 3120 BC) (2008); Vartholomeos Lazaris, *I Ellada eis olon ton kosmon. Endeixeis parousias panarchaion Arion (gigenon) ellinikon fylon ana ton kosmon. Ta ellinika kai ellinogeni toponymia tis Oikoumenis me tis topografikes syntetagmenes tous* (Greece throughout the world: Evidence of the presence of ancient Aryan [native] Greek tribes throughout the world. The Greek and Hellenic toponyms of the Hellenic world with their geographical coordinates) (2009, out of print); and Alexandros Angelis, *I fylitiki synecheia ton Ellinon apo tin proistoria mechri simera* (The racial continuity of the Greeks from prehistory to the present day) (2009, with a foreword by Adonis Georgiadis, out of print).

17 In a recent revelation, it came to light that Velopoulos has been involved in tax fraud for the nonpayment of value-added tax (VAT) for various products he sells alongside his books, including wax ointments from Mount Athos, toothpaste, and chocolate cookies. The titles of the books he has authored serve as examples of his booklist: *To 4o Reich einai edo: I Dialysi tis evropaikis ideas* (The 4th Reich is here: Dissolution of the European idea) (2016); *Ypogeios Pagkosmios Polemos: I Thesi tis Elladas* (Underground world war: The place of Greece) (2015); *I Rosia tou Putin: Ifaisteio etoimo na ekragei o planitis* (Putin's Russia: The planet is a volcano ready to explode) (2015); *Planitikos Metaschimatismos tou 21ou Aiona kai Ellada* (Planetary transformation in the 21st century and Greece) (2014); *Makedonia kai Yvreis* (Macedonia and insults) (2008); *Iisous kai Dias: Orthodoxoi kai Dodekatheo—Ekas oi Veviloι* (Jesus and Zeus: Orthodoxy and the Dodecatheon—Begone, ye profaners!) (2003); *Alexandros, o Megistos ton Ellinon* (Alexander, the greatest of the Greeks) (2001); and *Pagkosmiopiisi, o Megalos Olethros tis Anthropotitas* (Globalization, the great doom of humanity) (2001).

Finally, the third telemarketer associated with the Hellenocentric movement is Dimosthenis Liakopoulos, born in 1956. Originally a high school physics teacher, he founded EL Publishing in Thessaloniki circa 1990. He has written over 140 titles, with sales reportedly surpassing two million copies to date (“Liakopoulos,” n.d.). Known for promoting conspiracy theories and urban legends, he advances the most extravagant combination of “commonly acceptable data with mythical and legendary texts, and data from unverified and unknown sources” (Kourdis 2016, 239). Liakopoulos sells his books solely in his own company bookshops and through his TV broadcasts. With evocative music playing in the background and an apocalyptic sense of urgency, he presents his publications in multivolume editions (e.g., ninety volumes for the series “Why and How They Live Among Us”) and packages of four to six titles with flashy glossy covers. Liakopoulos’s perspectives are founded on archaeolatry, Hellenocentrism, and the belief in the superiority of Greek civilization. Recent research indicates that the financial crisis starting in 2010 significantly increased and intensified belief in conspiracy theories (Kourdis 2016; Mylonas 2011, 83). Hence, Liakopoulos’s extravagant speculations regarding the conflict between two forces—the Elohim and the Nephelims, the material and the spiritual entities—and the anticipated extraterrestrial intervention to aid the Greeks should be considered within the context of increasing economic and political instability.

Ta Paidia tis Antigonis (Antigone’s Offspring) is, in my opinion, the most potent Hellenocentric group today. These young individuals, mostly graduate students and PhD candidates, have been publishing the magazine *To Enzymo* (The Enzyme) since 2013, and they established the cooperative Exodos Publications in 2019. In 2017–2018, the group transitioned from advocating for internationalism in their early publications to promoting Greek nationalism, citing the ongoing migration flows toward Greece as a contributing factor. This shift from far-left ideologies to reactionary traditionalism, emphasizing the protection of indigenous European cultures against globalization, has already been noted (Bures 2020, 37–38). In a 2022 online article, they declared: “We do not want another revolution. We do not want more ‘progress.’ We want reaction, restoration, counterrevolution. We want the restoration of all human communities before they are crushed in the wheels of capitalism, technocracy, and transhumanism” (Ellinikosblog 2022). In the Ukrainian war, Ta Paidia tis Antigonis aligned with Russia. According to their viewpoint, Russia envisions a future Eurasian empire and represents an alternative to decadent Western modernity and individualism. They consider the war in Ukraine a just patriotic war of liberation, like what Greece should have done when Turkey invaded and occupied Cyprus in 1974. Unlike earlier traditional Hellenocentric publishers, this group has an international orientation, translating and publishing articles and aesthetically pleasing books by a wide range of authors, such as Max Weber, Zeev Sternhell, Muammar Gaddafi, Alain de Benoist, Adriano Erriguel, and Julius Evola.

This strategy differentiates their production and broadens its impact beyond their immediate sphere of influence.<sup>18</sup>

Nevertheless, the Hellenocentric trend appears to be waning, losing its once vibrant influence and allure. In the latest elections, in June 2023, the Greek nationalist coalition Patriotikos Synaspismos (Patriotic Rally), under the leadership of civil engineer and prominent contractor Prodromos Emfietzoglou, garnered only 0.5 percent of the vote and consequently had to disband shortly thereafter. Two new far-right parties were brought into parliament instead: the Spartans (4.68 percent), which essentially serves as a platform for the public interventions of the imprisoned deputy leader of Golden Dawn, Ilias Kasidiaris; and a party of the alt-right that was unknown until May 2023, Niki (Victory)—Democratic Patriotic Movement (3.7 percent), led by a theologian, Dimitris Natsios. Natsios too has benefited from TV popularity as “a talk-show presenter on the religious TV channel 4E for a decade” (Kordas 2023, 242). Niki enjoys support from obscure religious organizations and certain fundamentalist Greek Orthodox Mount Athos monasteries. The party gained a reputation during the COVID-19 pandemic for its support of the anti-vaxxer movement and its refusal to comply with the restrictive measures for churchgoers. It adopts a pro-Russian stance, like Kyriakos Velopoulos’s Greek Solution, with an agenda centered on ultraconservatism, homophobia, anti-vaccination beliefs, and opposition to abortion. Niki produces only electronic flipbooks to download from its website, addressing topics such as *Politikes theseis gia ti niki tou Ellinismou kai tis anthropinis axioprepeias* (Political theses for the victory of Hellenism and human dignity); “*Fakeloma tou politu*” *oi nees ilektronikes taftotites* (“Citizen’s surveillance”: The new electronic identity cards); and *Sexoualiki diapedagogisi sta ellinika scholeia?* (Sexual education in Greek schools?) (Niki, n.d.). It represents the rise of the alt-right in Greece with a strategy of investing in social media rather than print and changing the agenda to issues like identity politics, anti-feminism, and anti-wokeism. It does not advocate for a violent overthrow of the state but aims to establish a new far-right hegemony, undermine liberal institutions, solidify authoritarianism, and normalize inequalities. We are witnessing an emerging alt-right metapolitical strategy to disseminate and embed specific cultural ideas, attitudes, and values within society, thereby paving the way for a deeper political transformation (Stein 2018). We must recognize, however, that the Niki party’s strong focus on religion (“Orthodoxy in our cultural DNA”) differs significantly from the international alt-right, which has a more complex relationship with Christianity (Berry 2022).

### *The “Black International”*

In contrast to Greek-focused publications, other radical right booklists and magazines display an international perspective that connects extremist groups in Greece to the

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18 In 2019, *To Enzymo* received the third prize at the Greek Graphic Design and Illustration Awards. Meticulous editing and book aesthetics are not common in far-right editions.

broader world. Even though post-WWII efforts to create “institutionalized neo-Fascist Internationals” have proved unsuccessful, an informal internationalization has been achieved through the writings of doctrinaires and popularizers of wider appeal (Dard 2020; Camus and Lebourg 2017, 53–97). International connections and mutual exchanges through journals and publishers that welcomed foreign collaboration informed and shaped militants on a European scale. Magazines with the same title, such as *Blood & Honour* or *Zentromag* (Shaffer 2017; Išpanović 2022),<sup>19</sup> have been available in various language editions including Greek, sharing articles and maintaining a consistent layout. Publishing companies promoting Nouvelle Droite ideas and the Identitarian movement, like Antaios and Arktos Media, have been operating internationally.<sup>20</sup> Translations, interviews, and reports from abroad may signify an eagerness to stay informed of current discussions, an openness to partnerships, or a desire to appear well connected and internationally acknowledged. As e-books and digital publishing are still in their infancy in Greece, print culture remains predominant (Zannos 2022).

While Eleftheri Skepsis gradually reduced its neo-Nazi publications toward the end of the twentieth century, new publishing houses took up the charge. The first to appear was the pro-Nazi extreme right-wing organization Chrysi Avgi (Golden Dawn), initially established as a publishing initiative. In December 1980, the monthly magazine *Chrysi Avgi: Ethnikosocialistiki periodiki ekdosis* (Golden Dawn: Periodical National-Socialist Publication), founded by twenty-three-year-old Nikos Michaloliakos, circulated its first issue. He addressed his “fellow fighters” with a Nordic tone as follows: “We, the heirs of the Grail, who were lulled to sleep by the echoes of the last battle’s explosions, have returned, prepared for the ultimate beginning, a beginning befitting a Wagnerian finale” (Michaloliakos 1980, 19).

The texts published in *Chrysi Avgi* (Golden Dawn) magazine were written in the archaic form of modern Greek, displaying strong antisemitism and open admiration for Nazism, “the only truly revolutionary perspective of European civilization” (*Chrysi Avgi* 1988, 8). At the start, it was a sixteen-page black-and-white mimeographed magazine that made no secret of its neo-Nazi affiliation. Articles were published anonymously or under pseudonyms and almost exclusively with national socialist themes and graphics. In 1982 Golden Dawn deepened its publishing business, establishing its own publishing

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19 *Blood & Honour* is a neo-Nazi music promotion network and right-wing extremist political group founded in the United Kingdom by Ian Stuart Donaldson and Nicky Crane in 1987. It advocates for racially oriented “white music.” The first issue of the magazine by the same name was released in July 1987. The network has official divisions in several countries and has been banned in Spain, Germany, Russia, and Canada. *Zentromag* is the print magazine of Zentropa network, a far-right transnational forum. It is published in Germany, France, Serbia, and Greece (Zentropa Serbia 2023).

20 Arktos Media published Markus Willinger’s Identitarian manifesto in Greek in 2014 under the title *Genia tis Taftotitas: Mia diakyrixi polemou kata tis genias tou '68* (available in English as *Generation Identity: A Declaration of War against the '68ers*), translated by Dimitris Papageorgiou, a far-right journalist and publisher convicted of a violent attack against antifa activists in Athens in 2010.

house of the same name, which brought out Nazi WWII pamphlets, a work by Julius Evola,<sup>21</sup> three poetry collections, and the “Declarations of Barcelona” of the neofascist Europe-wide alliance New European Order. The political party followed in February 1983 as Laïkos Syndesmos—Chrysi Avgi (People’s Association—Golden Dawn). In 1984 Michaloliakos suddenly left Greece for some months, allegedly for Latin America, and publications were interrupted. *Chrysi Avgi* resumed publication in early 1987, presumably with improved financing. The magazine doubled its page count to thirty-two and introduced new specialized columns, placing a clear emphasis on sister neo-Nazi organizations from around the globe. By 1989, it had expanded further, increasing its page count to fifty-two, acquiring a color cover in red and black, and even attempting to launch a monthly newspaper titled *Etos Miden* (Year Zero), although this effort was unsuccessful.<sup>22</sup>

Golden Dawn focused on publishing, especially during its early years when its activities were rather more ideologically driven than marked by street violence. According to its chronicle, *Politikos Ododeiktis* (Political roadmap), signed by its cofounder Yiannis Perdikaris, who uses the pseudonym Ion Filippou, the period from 1986 to 1990 marked the organization’s “ideological consolidation” (Filippou 2013, 29). In the field of publishing, this resulted in the release of concise yet hardcore neo-Nazi literature. Golden Dawn translated and published the revisionist *The Auschwitz Lie: A Personal Account* by Manfred Roeder and Thies Christophersen in 1988,<sup>23</sup> two works by Povl Heinrich Rus-Knudsen, a leading Danish neo-Nazi and former general secretary of the World Union of National Socialists, in 1989 and 1991,<sup>24</sup> and the political manifesto *In Hoc Signo Vinces* by George Lincoln Rockwell, founder of the American Nazi Party, in 1991.

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21 A twenty-four-page excerpt from Julius Evola’s collection of essays *Metaphysics of War: Battle, Victory & Death in the World of Tradition* (originally written by Evola during the 1930s and 1940s).

22 The title *Anno Zero* (Year Zero) was first used for an Italian magazine published by Salvatore Francia during the winter and spring of 1974, after the courts banned the neofascist organization Ordine Nuovo.

23 The book, consisting of forty-seven pages, was presented to the public as a translation by the “veteran National Socialist” Aris Arion. It denies the existence of gas chambers in concentration camps and was first published in German in 1974 under the title *Die Auschwitz Lüge*. The cover of the English translation advertises it as “the book that angered the Jews so much they had to invent the film *The Holocaust*.” According to the far-right blog *Mavros Krinos*, Aris Arion maintained a personal friendship with Manfred Roeder until Roeder’s death. Arion was responsible for securing an exclusive interview with Roeder for the magazine *Antidote*. *Mavros Krinos* also reports that Aris Arion left Golden Dawn in 2011, describing it as “an extremely personal-centered neo-conservative bourgeois party.” He currently collaborates with the neo-Nazi Azov regiment in the Russo-Ukrainian War as an “ideology and organization consultant.” “Apokleistiko: Mia apokalyptiki synentefxi me ton synagonisti Ari Arion apo tin Oukrania” [Exclusive: A revealing interview with comrade Aris Arion from Ukraine], *Mavros Krinos*, March 2, 2022 (no longer available), <https://mavros-krinos.blogspot.com/2022/03/azov.html>.

24 These works were *National Socialism: The Biological Worldview* (thirty-one pages), released just two years after its original publication in English in 1987, and *National Socialism: A Left-Wing Movement* (sixteen pages), a brief typewritten pamphlet on the allegedly revolutionary nature of National Socialism.

The prevalence of translated works can be attributed to the historical affiliations that the radical right in Greece has sustained with international movements dating back to the Colonels' dictatorship. When the Greek junta took power in 1967, it quickly established the extremist student association ESESI (National Association of Greek Students in Italy). This organization operated in Italy until 1973 and collaborated closely with the MSI-affiliated FUAN (University Front of National Action) and the neofascist group Ordine Nuovo, led by Pino Rauti (Ferraresi 1969).<sup>25</sup> Greek ultranationalist students were not only active in university auditoria but also participated in street violence and conspiracy plans, working together with Italian neofascist terrorist organizations during the Years of Lead (Deliolanes 2019; Varsori 2020, 48–57).<sup>26</sup> The ESESI leaders openly declared their ideological affiliations, including national socialism, paganism, and anarchism, while emphasizing their commitment to promoting national socialist power (Koutouzos 1989, 58–59).<sup>27</sup> They played a critical role in restructuring the far right in Greece after 1974, assuming the position of spiritual mentors and overseeing far-right political organizations and publishing ventures. Currently, Italian and Greek neofascists still maintain good relations characterized by mutual hospitality, joint public actions, military training, and collaborative efforts aimed at countering perceived “invasions” by immigrants (Tipaldou 2015, 193–220; MacGregor 2023; Giuliani 2023).<sup>28</sup>

Golden Dawn introduced two music magazines, namely the Greek edition of *Blood & Honour* and *Antepithesi* (Counterattack), marking a significant outreach effort

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25 In 1968, ESESI organized a “student trip” to Greece. The entire leadership of Ordine Nuovo and Avanguardia Nazionale and a few dozen of their members participated. They were trained in tactics of infiltration of leftist organizations and state subversion (Deliolanes 2019). The Italian Social Movement (MSI) was descended from Mussolini's National Fascist Party

26 The Years of Lead refers to the armed terrorism that dominated Italy from the late 1960s to early 1980s. The Greek junta, for example, has been linked to the deadly bomb attack in Piazza Fontana in Milan in December 1969. In 1970 the independent research group of the extra-parliamentary left published *La strage di Stato. Controinchiesta* (Rome: Samonà e Savelli, 1970). It points to the neofascist right as the real perpetrators of the bomb attack in Piazza Fontana and implicates the Italian secret services and armed forces, the CIA, NATO, the Vatican, and the Greek junta, which were looking forward to a military emergency government in Italy, following the example of Greece.

27 In a speech at the University Auditorium in Ravenna, George Ventouris, leader of the national socialist tendency of the ESESI, asserted: “We are national socialists . . . we are pagans . . . we are adventurers . . . we are extremists . . . we are also anarchists, and we will be so until the principle of national socialist power prevails” (Koutouzos 1989, 58–59).

28 The youth organization of Golden Dawn and the cells of the neofascist Casa Pound Italia engage in reciprocal hospitality each year during the far-right camps on both sides. Furthermore, in March 2020, a cohort of German far-right activists journeyed to Lesbos in Greece to express solidarity with the islanders and protect Europe's borders against migrants. More recently, on November 1, 2023, twenty-one individuals affiliated with Casa Pound, including their leader, Gianluca Iannone, were apprehended at Athens airport as a precautionary measure. They intended to participate in the pan-European gathering of far-right organizations organized by Golden Dawn youth, which sought to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the murder of two of its members on November 1, 2013.

to engage with the younger generation around the turn of the century. *Blood & Honour Hellas* commenced publication in May 1999 and continued until at least 2014. The first issue appeared in English and featured the statue of Leonidas from Thermopylae on its cover, alongside the inscription “MOLON LAVE! We will never surrender” (for the covers of issues till 2014, see XYZ Contagion 2016).<sup>29</sup> *Antepithesi* (Counterattack), published from 2001 to 2010, also centered on musical topics, such as heavy metal, white power music, and the Rock Against Communism concerts, adopting the motto “Against all.” Both magazines were published by Metopo Neolaias (Youth Front), the youth organization of Golden Dawn.

In the early twenty-first century, the extremist right in Greece escalated its action and gained attention for its racist discourse and the violent targeting of immigrants and refugees. According to the Greek National Commission for Human Rights, racist violence did not originate during the economic crisis but rather intensified during that period. The decline in quality of life in urban areas had already begun before the crisis. Once the 2004 Athens Olympics euphoria faded, factors such as the influx of irregular migrants and asylum seekers, the concentrated settlement of these populations in certain areas of the capital under poor living conditions, their difficulty in integrating into society, and the rise in crime rates collectively contributed to the insecurity felt by permanent residents. This situation created room for self-appointed law-and-order groups and citizen protection organizations operating within the extremist right-wing domain, who at times gained the approval of residents and even acceptance from the police (Theofilopoulos 2016, 171).

For Golden Dawn, this environment provided an opportunity to emerge from the political margins, engage in violent racist attacks against immigrants and refugees, and capitalize on a series of unprecedented electoral successes. Neo-Nazi discourse was disseminated primarily through numerous imprints established by Golden Dawn after 2000 (e.g., Helioforos, AGNI, Ascalon, Nea Sparti, GD Katastima, Trimorphos, Apion, Antepithesi, and Logchi) and their respective bookstores.<sup>30</sup> Nazi and revisionist literature was translated and published, including works such as *The Second Leuchter Report: Dachau, Mauthausen, Hartheim* by Fred A. Leuchter (Ascalon, 1989, with a foreword by Robert Faurisson) and *Oi Philosophikes Vaseis tou Ethnikosocialismou*

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29 On *Blood & Honour*, see note 19. Each national faction within this network produces a magazine bearing the same title, featuring shared articles, a uniform black-and-white aesthetic, and plenty of photographs capturing concerts and rallies. Notably, they employ Nazi symbols and maintain connections with the militant neo-Nazi group known as Combat 18 (“*Blood & Honour*,” n.d.).

30 Several of the imprint names clearly reference ancient Greece and Dodecatheism, such as Helioforos, and Nea Sparti. Others hide more elaborate hints at Hindu mythology (such as Agni, the god of fire) or at antisemitism (like Apion, a grammarian and commentator on Homer from first-century CE Alexandria, who was sent as an ambassador to emperor Caligula to express complaints against the Jews residing in the city.) Another hint at antisemitism is Ascalon, today an Israeli town and a site of a major massacre of Jews during the Roman period.

(available in English as *The Philosophical Foundations of National Socialism*) (Helioforos, 1995) by Otto Dietrich, press chief of the Third Reich. The booklist of this period also contains anti-communist narratives concerning the Greek Civil War, texts by Julius Evola and the French-born Greek fascist and Nazi sympathizer Savitri Devi, and writings by key organization members.<sup>31</sup>

A significant turning point occurred in 2012 when Golden Dawn entered the Greek parliament as the sixth-largest party, with an election campaign centered on security and immigration. This success gave the party nationwide visibility through parliamentary sessions and granted access to state and other political funding. Financial resources allocated to the organization's publishing activities were subsequently increased. During Golden Dawn's parliamentary period, it published the "ideological review" titled *Maiandros* (Meander), issued every two months. This luxury color edition initially consisted of fifty-two pages and later expanded to sixty-eight, replacing the original *Chrysi Avgi* magazine. Furthermore, a new party newspaper, *Embros* (Forward), was launched weekly on Saturdays "to serve as a voice for every Greek patriot and to expose truths concealed or distorted by mainstream media" (Michaloliakos 2013). Golden Dawn initiated even more publishing ventures, such as Popular Nationalist Publications, which reproduced previously published texts by other Golden Dawn imprints, and Diotima, which only released two titles. The party's parliamentary foundation, AEGIS, also produced costly volumes, including collective works, conference minutes, and works authored by party members—all characterized by an ultranationalist orientation and rather thin content. In total, around 110 publications have been attributed to Golden Dawn from 1980 onward, with the majority (96) published between 2000 and 2021. These works featured mainly antisemitic, Nazi, and neo-Nazi themes, along with pseudoscientific studies on ancient Sparta and geopolitical analyses of Russia and Turkey. On average, about four books were published yearly, often with the same titles appearing under different imprints. This considerable publishing activity with minimal actual output raises concerns about potential money laundering.

Among the imprints managed by Golden Dawn, one continues to operate independently: Logchi (Spear) was established in 2000, originally functioning as a nationalist bookstore situated in central Athens. Publication activities commenced in 2002 under the leadership of Dimitris Zafeiropoulos, Ioannis Drakos, and Michalis Georgilas. At the same time, Logchi introduced an online bookstore—an innovative business venture within the Greek book market during that period. Besides Nazi and neo-Nazi books, Logchi offered various items for sale that featured extremist symbols

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31 The organization also published literary works, such as the 1996 *To Mystiko tou Kochyliou* (The secret of the seashell), authored by Antonis Androutsopoulos, also known as "Periander," the deputy leader of Golden Dawn. This novel, promoted by the *Mavros Krinos* blogspot as "a significant contribution to the revival of the Greek historical novel genre," explores the awakening of Greek consciousness in a village in Asia Minor during the fifteenth century, a time marked by atrocities, massacres, and ethnic conflicts. The narrative emphasizes the Greek struggle against various groups, with a particular focus on the Jews.

and references, like Nazi marching band CDs, video cassettes of Ku Klux Klan songs, military unit badges, historical flags, T-shirts, and replicas of historical weapons. In April 2003, Logchi extended its repertoire by reissuing the WWII magazine *Sinthima* (Signal) as part of their “WWII Documents” series.<sup>32</sup>

The first title published by Logchi was *O Kokkinos Varonos* (available in English as *The Red Battle Flyer*) (2002, 144 pages), the autobiography of the leading German pilot of World War I, Manfred von Richthofen. Today it has over a hundred titles in its booklist and brings out about fifteen new titles each year with print runs between one hundred and five hundred copies. Top-selling titles are books on the Greek Civil War with an anti-communist perspective, as well as works by Evola and Dominique Venner. Since October 2016, Logchi has published the nationalist magazine *Anaktisis* (Reconquest), appearing twice a month; its title references the Catholic Reconquista of Spain that ended in 1492. Additionally, since 2019, it has maintained an information channel on YouTube named “Hellenic Free Television.” Some typical articles in *Anaktisis* are “Apostoli stin Oukrania sto archigeio toy Azov” (Mission to Ukraine at the Azov headquarters) (issue 1, October–November 2016); “Mnimi Robert Brasillach” (Memory of Robert Brasillach) (issue 2, March 2017); “O Taftotismos kai I Megali Antikatastasi” (Identitarianism and the Great Replacement) (issue 5, November 2017); “Antidراسi sta chronia tou coronoiou” (Reaction during the years of the coronavirus) (issue 6, July 2020); “To manifesto tis post-COVID epochis” (The manifesto of the post-COVID era) (issue 7, June 2021); and “Céline, enas ethnofyletistis gigantias tis logotechnias” (Céline, a nationalist giant of literature) (issue 8, November 2021).

In both *Anaktisis*’s repertoire and Logchi’s booklist, a renewed concentration on topics aligned with the European far right can be noticed, involving the exploration of European identity (white and Christian), the presence of Islam in Europe, and concerns regarding multiculturalism. This development reconnects with earlier themes observed in Eleftheri Skepsis under Andreas Dendrinis. The alignment with extremist movements internationally coincides with the economic downturn instigated by the European Union’s economic adjustment programs for Greece, which began in 2010. The prolonged crisis allowed the far right to emerge as an alternative to the established system. Greek supremacy narratives subsided, leading to a more inclusive approach and alliances with foreign extremist groups (Goulas, Kallandranis, and Zervoyianni 2019, 18–19; Angouri and Wodak 2014; for an approach considering the rise of Golden Dawn as the result of a broader democratic crisis in Greece, see Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2015, 79–83).

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32 *Signal* was a propaganda magazine appearing twice a month produced by the German occupation authorities during WWII. Its purpose was to bolster the German war effort, attract supporters for the establishment of the Nazi “New Europe,” and justify German hegemony in Europe by highlighting the threat of Bolshevism. It was published from April 1940 to April 1945, emphasizing photojournalism with color photographs. It circulated in identical versions in over twenty languages, reaching about 2.5 million copies. I have traced four issues published by Logchi, up to June 2003.

The increasingly European orientation is evident in the publishing initiatives of Thouli (Thule) and Edelweiss, established in 2010 by Fotis Xirocostas, a former member and parliamentary candidate of Golden Dawn, as well as in Nea Genea and Hector Publications, founded in 2017 by Alexandros Karras, a trained nutritionist. It reflects a renewed connection with their international counterparts and an increased focus on publishing translated works, particularly by authors such as Julius Evola, Alain de Benoist, and Alexander Dugin. Notably, Thouli and Edelweiss specialize in extremist right literature, including works related to historical revisionism, racism, Nazism, and neo-Nazism. Alongside familiar names such as Hitler, Goebbels, Brasillach, Evola, and Louis-Ferdinand Céline, their authors are Philipp Bouhler (1899–1945, a high-ranking SS officer responsible for the euthanasia program), Louis Beam (born in 1946, an icon of the American radical right, member of the Ku Klux Klan, and proponent of white supremacy and the strategy of “leaderless resistance”),<sup>33</sup> George Lincoln Rockwell (1918–1967, founder of the American Nazi Party),<sup>34</sup> Hans Kläui (1906–1992, a Swiss historian and a Nazi), and Sitsa Karaïskaki (1902–1987, a Greek writer who studied philosophy in Nazi Germany and became one of the main propagandists in Ioannis Metaxas’s regime).<sup>35</sup> Fotis Xirokostas also runs the website Ristorante Verona for his e-sales, which references the neofascist movement in Italy and the Golden Dawn party (Hasapopoulos 2013, 12).<sup>36</sup> Xirokostas is among the surprisingly few publishers that release works with Islamophobic content, as in the case of Panagiotis Marinis’s *Evropi kai Islam* (Europe and Islam, 2018) and Christos Tsiachris’s *Minaredes—Oi loghes tou Islam stin Evropi* (Minarets—The spears of Islam in Europe, 2014).<sup>37</sup>

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33 Louis Beam, *Akefali antistasi* [Leaderless resistance] (Edelweiss, 2012, 30 pages). See also “Louis Beam,” Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed February 28, 2025, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/louis-beam>.

34 George Lincoln Rockwell, *White Power* (Edelweiss, 2012). The work was published in two formats: in four separate volumes and in a single binding (880 pages). In 2018, Nea Genea published a Greek translation of his biography by William Pierce, *George Lincoln Rockwell: O vios enos ethnikosialisti* (first published in English as *George Lincoln Rockwell: The Life of a National Socialist*) (165 pages).

35 See “Sitsa Karaïskaki,” Metaxas Project, December 19, 2014, <https://metaxas-project.com/sitsa-karaiskaki/>.

36 The website was named after Ristorante di Verona, in the Plaka neighborhood of Athens, which was a meeting place for Nikos Michaloliakos and his organization during the planning phase of Golden Dawn. The restaurant was initially established by Elio Massagrande and Clemente Graziani, Italian neofascists linked to the Ordine Nuovo, who were wanted by the Italian authorities for their involvement in terrorist activities. They were eventually deported to Italy at the request of the Italian justice system (Hasapopoulos 2013, 12). The website is currently available only to subscribers (<https://ristorante-verona.blogspot.com/>).

37 The appointment of Tsiachris as commander of the refugee camp at Pyrgos in May 2020 raised concerns, leading to criticism directed at the publishing house Thouli, which opposition parties and the press labeled a “Nazi publishing house.” See, for example, “Synergátis nazistikón ekdóseon kai syngraféas akrodexioú vivlíou o néos dioikitís tis prosfygikís domís tou Pýrgou” [The new governor of the refugee structure in Pyrgos is a collaborator of Nazi publications and author of a far-right book], *tvxs.gr*, May

Alexandros Karras, born in 1985, founded a website, a YouTube channel, and three publishing brands—Nea Genea (New Generation), Hector, and Nymphios—all in 2017. He has published more than 160 titles, including fifteen of his own works. He is known for publishing translations of earlier authoritarian and fascist ideologues. Translated authors include Hitler, Mussolini, Brasillach, Goebbels, Evola, Maurice Barrès, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, Horia Sima, Oswald Mosley, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, José Antonio Primo de Rivera, Otto Strasser, and Alfred Rosenberg. Karras defends his publications by claiming to address a gap in the historical literature of the interwar period. However, it is noteworthy that his catalog also includes more recent extremist texts, such as William Pierce’s biography of George Lincoln Rockwell (see note 34) and the 2016 manifesto of the Swedish neo-Nazi organization Nordic Resistance Movement.<sup>38</sup> Additionally, he repeatedly adopted emblems with a striking resemblance to Ioannis Metaxas’s insignia and Klaus Armstroff’s symbol for the German neo-Nazi party Der Dritte Weg (The Third Way).

### Distinct Book Market Practices

Publications that cultivate a public image as “militant” are those independent publications representing marginalized, activist, and underground movements, as well as those aligning with resistance against political power, commercialization, and the globalization of the publishing industry. Previous scholarly interest has predominantly focused on left-wing publishers like Giangiacomo Feltrinelli and François Maspero, resistance houses during World War II such as Editions de Minuit, and avant-garde houses like Editions du Seuil. The presence and significance of right-wing and far-right publishing houses are often overlooked, despite the general recognition that activism and confrontational action have increasingly shifted toward the right since 1990 (Perrineau 1998, 113–14; Noël 2016).

Far-right publishing activities create a platform for generating ideas, written materials, and literary works following principles and operation rules that diverge from conventional trade book production. My research has shown that this sector operates independently of mainstream distribution and promotion channels, depending instead on special networks, which are often confidential and accessible only to partisans. Additionally, there is a notable geographical dispersion of production, with publishers located outside Athens, in Thessaloniki and smaller towns such as Lamia, Ioannina,

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22, 2020, <https://rb.gy/olg3vq>; “Akrodexiós dioikitís se domí prosfýgon—Synergázetai me ekdotikó oíko pou ekdídei nazistiká vivlíá” [Far-right governor in a refugee structure—He collaborates with a publishing house that publishes Nazi books], *in.gr*, May 22, 2020, <https://rb.gy/gxo0k3>.

38 Nordic Resistance Movement, *Our Path: New Politics for a New Time* (2018 in Greek translation, 106 pages). The NRM was founded in 1997 and operates in Sweden, Finland, Norway, and Denmark, with a history of terrorist attacks and paramilitary activity.

Kalamata, Areopoli, and Alexandroupoli, contrary to the traditional concentration of the book trade in Athens. This network demonstrates resilience and dynamism, despite being overlooked and frequently devalued by mainstream media and traditional distinctions such as literary awards, book reviews, and interviews with the authors.

Publishers within this domain challenge the established political order and conventional academic knowledge. They operate within an alternative system rooted in Hellenocentric nationalism while consistently incorporating elements of anti-communism, anti-Americanism, antisemitism, and xenophobia. The targeting and contrarian nature of the far-right publishing field spans multiple dimensions:

- providing information that challenges or presents an alternative perspective to what far-right publishers view as misinformation spread by mainstream media.
- engaging in propaganda to promote and defend the positions of the extreme and nationalist right, while countering the arguments of their opponents.
- providing an alternative analysis of Greece's history by highlighting aspects considered overlooked or misrepresented.
- promoting cultural references via political essays and literary texts linked to a "patriotic front," often by asserting ownership of specific works and authors to protect the nationalist heritage (Petrocik, Benoit, and Hansen 2003).

### *The Goal Outweighs Profits*

Publishers linked to far-right and nationalist ideologies navigate a complex interplay of culture and politics. Their role goes beyond managing a business centered on producing and distributing scholarly or literary works. Additional considerations that stem from their political and ideological perspectives influence the content of their catalogs, the timing of their publications, their partnerships, and their promotional strategies. Unlike trade publishers, whose main goals are the survival and profitability of their businesses, politically engaged publishers view these goals as tools to support collective action, participate in political activities, and promote activism. This can be considered a defining characteristic that differentiates politically engaged publishing from trade publishing.

This characteristic is reinforced by the fact that, in Greece, authors—and this applies generally and not only to "patriotic" books—seem to be skeptical of the possibilities offered by the Internet for fast and economical self-publishing through specialized electronic platforms such as Amazon's Kindle Direct Publishing (KDP), which emerged as a very fertile and lucrative space for the development of extremist ideas on a global scale (Kofman, Tseng, and Weigel 2020; Hood and Boucher 2022).<sup>39</sup> While some Greek titles are available through Amazon, self-publishing by Greek nationalist or far-right authors is uncommon.

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<sup>39</sup> The retail price of e-books on Amazon ranges between US\$2.99 and US\$9.99, and authors receive 70 percent of the profits (Kofman, Tseng, and Weigel 2020).

Greek authors generally depend on publishers to handle their work, with publishers bearing the publication costs. In this niche market, authors often waive royalties in exchange for complimentary copies of their books as compensation.<sup>40</sup>

### ***Prioritization of the Message over Quality of the Medium***

The book market under examination is characterized by political commitment and a strong sense of “national mission,” where the content is prioritized over print quality. The militant nature of the content often compromises the appearance of these books, which are frequently rushed out under pressure due to the urgency of current affairs and limited resources. Publishers in this field usually engage in the book business as a secondary occupation and income source, alongside careers in bookselling, journalism, law, politics, and more. Thus, most of their books lack thorough editing, even elementary proofreading. Their primary aim is to fulfill an urgent political mission of national awakening and patriotic alarm, rather than focus on intellectual advancement, aesthetic enjoyment, or entertainment for the reader. It is important to note that a book’s physical appearance and material features significantly impact the reading experience. Elements such as size, weight, pagination, printing and paper quality, binding, illustrations, and the cover serve as independent variables framing the reception of the content.<sup>41</sup>

Greek far-right books generally have inferior presentation compared to the quality and care typical of corresponding works on the international market. This disparity can be partly attributed to available resources and the scale of operations. They are typically published in standard trade book format (21x14 cm, up to 120 pages) with glued binding and soft cover. They are printed on low-quality paper with large fonts and wide margins, possibly to accommodate older readers or create an illusion of substantial content. The covers are often glossy and feature vibrant colors, primarily adorned with illustrations that are either photographs or reproductions of older prints. Moreover, books are occasionally distributed without proper identification, possibly to evade copyright infringement or legal consequences.

### ***Protection of the Niche Market***

In the far-right subculture, it is understood that book production is intended for a community of like-minded individuals who reject or at least distrust established knowledge and culture, and seek alternative analysis and guidance. It does not target unsuspecting passersby with an attractive presentation but operates within a niche market. This I consider the third characteristic of far-right book production: it satisfies a specific segment of consumers/readers who actively seek specific products/books. The advantages of this type of market are that publishers operate protected

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40 Author’s interviews with Ioannis Yannakenas (Athens, August 31, 2021), Dimosthenis Koukounas (Athens, May 30, 2022), and Konstantinos Tsopanis (Athens, May 19, 2022).

41 The investigation into the interplay between the materiality of books and the experience of reading has predominantly focused on the context of schooling and the acquisition of reading skills. Nevertheless, there is an expanding corpus of academic literature examining printed books and comparing them with their digital counterparts (Chartier 2004; Cuiñas and Vailati 2022).

from the fierce competition of the free market (they are the only ones who offer this product) and they develop personal trust with their customers, which in our case, due to their strong political orientation, is of particular significance. The prevailing ideological engagement fosters strong cooperation and solidarity among publishers and booksellers, ensuring all titles are prominently displayed in every far-right brick-and-mortar bookstore and online. Books are printed and distributed throughout Greece by specialized networks and bookstores, as well as through party offices, local book fairs, and secondhand booksellers. As a rule, general bookstores do not display ultranationalist, extremist, or antisemitic titles. However, these are kept in stock and customers may ask for them or make their purchases through e-sales. Teleshopping serves as an additional sales channel. It guarantees accessibility and discretion for customers all over Greece and abroad. On private TV channels, books are sold in bundles, heavily discounted (or so it is claimed) and available exclusively through television broadcasts. Furthermore, publishers extend their outreach by participating in local book fairs and annual nationalist events, reaching a wider circle of buyers and readers.

Most publications are by Greek authors. Far-right and nationalist publishing draws extensively from a specific pool of predominantly male writers who are self-described “Greek patriots.” Many are retired military personnel (with active members using pseudonyms), journalists, or retired teachers. They often feature on diverse media platforms, transitioning between publishing houses, newspapers, and blogs. While authorship can be traced, reliable information on readership is lacking. There are no sales numbers or market surveys available for this segment of the book market. It can be inferred that there is some overlap between readers and far-right voters; however, due to the increasing mainstreaming of far-right ideas, the readership also includes a broader audience of consumers (Vasilaki and Souvliis 2021).

Ideas and opinions within this sphere circulate in a closed loop, a self-reinforcing feedback mechanism. Issues in history, archaeology, or linguistics are extensively deliberated, often eliciting passionate discussion, albeit always outside of specialized academic settings. Such debates can be seen as a form of public history, fostering a connection with the past and integrating it into the present, often in contemporary terms. It involves community and identity formation and bypasses academic historiography. Historical interpretations produced in this context are molded to suit present-day needs and are indifferent to whether they align with scientific accuracy or historical methodology. “National-patriotic” publishing promotes a representation of the past dealing with issues that are considered either inadequately covered or not examined through the “correct” perspective of nationalist ideology. Topics include the location of ancient Atlantis, the technological advancements of the ancient Greeks, or the events surrounding the “betrayal of Cyprus” in 1974.

### ***A Distinct Publishing Field***

This brings us to the fourth special feature of nationalist and far-right publishing houses and bookstores: their positioning outside the field of general trade publishers. According to Pierre Bourdieu's model, the publishing space constitutes a structured field, wherein each publisher's position is determined by their capital (financial, symbolic, commercial, technical, etc.) and their power within the field, thus shaping identity and strategy (Bourdieu 1999, 3–4). The publishing houses studied within the far-right context conform with the dominant model in the Greek book market in that they are typically small family businesses. However, they do not vie for a better position in the mainstream market. Instead, they have carved out a unique niche, fostering an autonomous and self-sufficient subculture. Despite being systematically ignored by the broader book market, with their production not included in statistics and their books not cataloged in public and municipal libraries or featured in mainstream book reviews, these publishers remain active for generations. Since 1974, a closed book circuit has developed, encompassing the entire processes of writing, production, distribution, promotion, and sales. To provide a comprehensive overview, one must also consider the role of print and digital magazines within this field, which foster a community of ideas and actions, as well as the constantly evolving landscape of blogs that, despite occasional court bans, effectively disseminate extremist neo-Nazi tendencies and the emerging alt-right ideology in Greece.

### ***Constant Renewal***

The fifth and final characteristic of the far-right and nationalist space is the continual influx of new forces. The market consistently welcomes new publishers and writers, enhancing book quality with superior typography and diverse themes, including works from the American alt-right, neo-Nazi texts, and nationalist literature from lesser-known movements.<sup>42</sup> These emerging ventures are driven by younger editors who, while lacking the political background of their predecessors, bring a keen awareness of international trends and expertise in new media. They upgrade publishing catalogs with translations and original works, reviving connections and networks that appeared long dormant. Logchi, for example, recently restored its collaboration with the Institut Iliade, described by *Le Monde* as “the heir of GRECE” (Soullier 2019), and published Armand Berger's *Tolkien, Europe, and Tradition: From Civilisation to the Dawn of Imagination* in 2023, only a few months after its first circulation in English and in French. Moreover, I identified numerous groups of students and young people across Greece involved in diverse publishing activities. These can be found in Lamia (Lykoreia),

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<sup>42</sup> Exodos, for instance, introduced the Greek public to the Mexican political analyst Adriano Erriguel with seven books, and to the Finnish revolutionary nationalist philosopher Kai Murros. They also published six titles by Ted Kaczynski, known as the “Unabomber.”

Ioannina (Oinoiades), and in Athens (Flefalo). The first two focus on translating and publishing books, both online and in print, primarily centered on Julius Evola. The third was established as a fantasy literature student fan club, adopting the slogan “Neither Enlightenment nor Postmodernism,” publishing traditionalist and gothic literature, and actively participating in nationalist gatherings. They all fit into Roger Griffin’s concept of the “groupuscular right.” They are largely autonomous grouplets that form “an amorphous, leaderless and centreless cellular network of political ideology, organization and activism” (Griffin 2003, 27).

### Conclusion

Exploring the material the far right produces, manages, and consumes allows us to grasp better the “different and competing understandings of what is real and the means by which we can know what is real, and of what is good and true and the means by which we can know these things” (Hunter 2006, 15). This article examines the ties between publishing and the far-right project of cultural and political renewal in Greece within the framework of book history. It traces the shift since 1974 from an inward-focused Greek far right (celebrating Greekness as the progenitor of all things great in the world, and denigrating those who hide this supposed truth) to an embrace, especially since 2000, of themes common to the European far right. It emphasizes the early focus on achieving cultural dominance for far-right ideologies, highlighting the rise of Golden Dawn within the context of far-right Greek publishing. This is reinforced by the fact that Golden Dawn started as a publishing venture in the early 1980s.

For decades, the Greek ultranationalist far-right political sphere endorsed national exceptionalism and superiority. Greece’s ancient origin and unique language supported a narrative of the “chosen people,” even reaching an extreme claim about Greeks’ supposed extraterrestrial origins. Currently, international far-right issues are being integrated into the domestic political landscape, utilizing arguments formulated across borders and expressing concerns over the Great Replacement, the threat of “world governance,” and woke culture. Although some of the main features of far-right rhetoric remain unchanged—such as hostility to the ideas of equality and democracy—others, such as authoritarianism, nativism, and anti-immigration discourse, together with the anti-vaccination movement and gender issues, are emerging as new fields of consolidation (Campos 2023). The Greek neoconservative and neo-orthodox version of the alt-right calls for the fight “against dangerous schoolbooks of language, history, and religion, as well as the alleged sexual indoctrination” (Natsios 2023). For the first time, we are witnessing right-wing extremists in Greece who “no longer subscribe to the narrow concept of nationalism but instead imagine themselves as participants in a global struggle against a global enemy” (Musharbash 2021). Furthermore, recent observations

indicate a trend toward radical editorial choices through revived network connections.<sup>43</sup> Exchanges of hospitality and common celebrations and operations between Golden Dawn and Casa Pound Italia, as well as between Golden Dawn and neo-Nazi German organizations, document a closer relationship than simple copyright agreements (Lavelle 2023; Tipaldou 2015).

My research has identified the market for far-right and nationalist books in Greece as a distinct sector within the country's publishing industry. There are no statistical data for its annual turnover since they are not included in book market studies and book production is distributed through parallel channels (party offices, hand-to-hand transactions, specialized and secondhand bookstores) rather than the usual trade book outlets. Moreover, production functions as a "closed loop" with dynamics distinct from those of the mainstream book market, and this sets it apart from standard market monitors. However, the enduring success of publishing houses over nearly fifty years, coupled with the production of more than four thousand titles and the constant emergence of new publishers despite a prolonged economic crisis and the challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic, clearly highlights the sector's dynamism and vitality. Even as digital media, blogs, and memes gain prominence, print culture and physical books remain influential, adeptly navigating legal sanctions and hate speech restrictions. The significant activity of publishing houses in this field, coupled with the growing number of younger people identifying as "patriots" or "nationalists," indicates a dynamic trend that deserves attention (Laliouti 2020).

Publishers have been compared to "cultural warriors who generate and organize resources" for activist organizations and political factions (Hunter 2006, 28). Their influence on far-right militant counterculture is fully acknowledged within the field. Moreover, their capacity to shape issues through publishing choices is increasingly infusing mainstream society with far-right ideology (Bures 2020, 33; Vasilaki and Souvlis 2021). The Greek case thus exemplifies a broader cultural shift within the far right, and this study emphasized the ideologies, internal cultures, and dynamics of these movements, moving beyond the perspective of viewing them merely as reactionary forces.

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43 In 2022, Logchi published *I Dialysi tou Systimatos*, a translation of the 1969 work *The Disintegration of the System* by the leading neofascist intellectual and publisher Franco Freda. Between 2022 and 2024, Nea Genea published three books by Claudio Mutti, the Italian neofascist who converted to Islam. In 2024, Exodos published an excerpt of *Technological Slavery* by Ted Kaczynski (*Enantia stin Technologiki Douleia*) and an essay on his philosophy by Chad A. Haag, *I Philosophia tou Ted Kaczynski: Giati o Unabomber Eiche Dikio gia tin Sychroni Technologia* (originally *The Philosophy of Ted Kaczynski: Why the Unabomber Was Right about Modern Technology*).

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