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The Anti-Authoritarian Chóros

A Space for Youth Socialization and Radicalization in Greece (1974–2010)

The Balkan historian Mark Mazower, highlighting that there is a conundrum posed by anarchist groups in Greece, observed: "We have, to my knowledge, no serious study of this subject, nor of the ways labels, such as $\alpha\nu\alpha\rho\chi\iota\kappa o\acute{\iota}$ (anarchists) and $\alpha\nu\tau\iota\epsilon\xi o\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ (anti-authoritarians) have been deployed sometimes by people in their own name and others by their opponents."[1] The purpose of this article is to address this question and give a preliminary genealogy of the anarchist phenomenon in Greece since 1974. The history of Greece since World War II includes a civil war (1946–49), which unofficially started before the liberation of the country from the Axis powers, and a military dictatorship (1967–74). These watershed events occurred in the backdrop of a vicious rift between rightists and leftists that permeated the whole of Greek society for the rest of the Cold War.

The article sets out to examine the origins (and the makings) of a particular type of disaffection that developed among youth during the period of the *Metapolitefsi*. The Metapolitefsi, which is the time frame for this article, was the historical period after the fall of the military dictatorship in Greece (1974) that was marked by liberalization or democratization and greater integration into Europe. It is important to note that the fall of the dictatorship was precipitated by the Polytechnic

uprising (1973), a mass student protest against the military regime that was staged at the National Technical University of Athens. Scholars have argued that the end of Metapolitefsi came with the onset of the debt crisis and the bailout of the country by the European Union, European Central Bank, and International Monetary Fund in 2010.[2] During the period of Metapolitefsi, a set of narratives, places, and tactics crystallized into an "anarchist" or "anti-authoritarian" *chóros*.

The anarchist or anti-authoritarian chóros (Greek: *χώρος*) is essentially a loose affiliation of groups and collectives. Although "chóros" translates as "space," the most accurate interpretation is "scene" or "milieu." This qualifying term, which is also used by activists, replaces the notion of a specific social movement or subculture with one of a more fluid assortment of people and ideas, including one that is not even constant in nature and time. In this perspective, we can maintain that the anti-authoritarian chóros resembles a scaled-down version of what Jürgen Habermas called the public sphere.[3] The public sphere is often used interchangeably with civil society to denote the nongovernmental sector of society, which checks the power of government. However, the public sphere is a discursive space where individuals and groups congregate to discuss matters of common concern and, when possible, reach common judgment. Therefore, it stands more for the processes by which political participation is enacted and public opinion is formed, rather than demarcating specific nongovernmental entities, such as labor unions, the press, civic clubs, corporations, churches, interest groups, and so forth. Similarly, the anti-authoritarian chóros can be seen as an attempt to form a libertarian or "anarchist" space, where individuals can freely come together and engage in dialogue and protest. Inexorably, this process occurs to revive the so-called bourgeois public sphere, which has been criticized as a space of hegemonic domination and exclusion of alternative publics (immigrants, youth, homeless, drug addicts, queer groups, disabled, etc.), and their concerns.

The scale of the "anarchist" phenomenon is reflected in Mazower's point on the total paucity of relevant research, but, perhaps, it attracted most attention around the world during the December 2008 riots in Greece, which erupted after the shooting of a 15-year-old by two policemen. Thousands of youths took part in the riots and

protests that followed, raising questions as to the identity and intentions of participants.[4] This question had been posed repeatedly throughout the Metapolitefsi in the aftermath of disorder that often broke out in universities or during the annual celebrations for the Polytechnic uprising.[5] The hypothesis in the 1980s and 1990s was that anarchists came from disadvantaged social backgrounds, "broken families," or had drug addiction and delinquency problems.[6] More recently, it has also been suggested that they are frustrated middle-class kids from affluent suburbs.[7] However, these seemingly ad hoc groupings remain shrouded in mystery, no less on account of the way they have been labeled in the mass media that habitually refer to them as *koukouloforoi* (Greek: κουκουλοφόροι, translation hoodies), a name that is descriptive of their attire rather than of their esoteric beliefs, views, and so forth.

It would be rash to propose that there is a homogenous anarchist subculture, or movement, in Greece, or that this particular expression of discontent has remained unchanged since 1974. Rather, it is more sensible to view "anarchist" youth during this period as multiple "communities of practice" that came into existence through the socialization of youth into an entrenched political and subcultural tradition that transcends local and national boundaries. Although left-wing groups in Greece, including anarchists, have engaged in terrorism, like assassinations and bombings, the focus of this article is not on the armed militant factions, which were always a minority movement, albeit a more visible one, within the Greek radical milieu. Instead, the focus is on the broader cultural syncretism that produced the background whereby generations of youths could be inculcated into "anarchism." Therefore, the predominant emphasis is not on instances of direct political violence or specific personal histories but rather on the mass constituency and multifarious cultural expressions of what can be tentatively defined as the anarchist or anti-authoritarian chóros.

One of the commitments of this article is to provide a participant perspective while maintaining an objective scholarly stance. Thus, I have gravitated toward personal accounts from an online activist forum and interviews accessed in the press (anarchist or mainstream), which provide insider insight into the phenomenon. The interviews are mostly

eponymous, and so full names have been provided. Some of the interviews, though, were anonymous, including the material from the online forum. Documentaries, news, multimedia, and self-published "anarchist" literature (pamphlets, fanzines) have also been sourced, while analysis is informed by the work of other scholars. This preliminary article is part of research into the worldview of anarchist groups in Greece based in part on the collection and analysis of a corpus of "anarchist" graffiti.[8]

In the first section of this article, I will briefly introduce certain theoretical concepts, such as new social movements, youth subcultures, and communities of practice that will contribute to the analysis of the phenomenon. In the second section, I will discuss the development of the extraparliamentary left and youth culture after the collapse of the dictatorship. In the third section, I will look at the emergence of the anti-authoritarian chóros as an identifiable political space. In the fourth section, I will examine the uses of violence by "anarchists" in Greece. The fifth section is devoted to the dynamics of "anarchist" groups. In the last analytical section, I will try to outline the identity of "anarchists." Finally, in the concluding remarks I will draw some general conclusions about the phenomenon.

New Social Movements, Youth Subcultures, and Communities of Practice

New social movements, as they have been called, were largely a product of the 1960s: a turbulent era of transition from industrial to postindustrial, and colonial to postcolonial that brought about massive changes in the geopolitical system, leading to the globalization of the world economy. The tectonic shift meant that identity, psychology, culture, and an expanded definition of power relations acquired increasing importance in doing politics. In this context, there were cross-fertilizations between traditional working-class movements involved in capital-labor conflicts with feminism, gay rights, black struggles, environmentalism, and initiatives for world peace.

New social movements came together as coalitions of collectives, organizations, and alliances, such as trade unions, farmers, or other worker organizations; ethnic minority or immigrant groups; religious

organizations and church groups; feminist associations; antifascist, autonomist, or squatter youth groups; and consumer associations.[9] New social movements posed challenges for the assumptions of Marxist theory in respect to class relations and the homogeneity of the proletariat. Perhaps the most prominent social movement in these terms has been the antiglobalization or global justice movement, which came to the attention of the world in the protests surrounding the 1999 World Trade Organization (WTO) Summit in Seattle.[10] Social movement scholars have given a variety of causes for the rise of discontent, causes such as the disaffection with representative democracy and conventional politics, opposition to the intrusion of the state and the market into everyday life, changing patterns of consumption, social relations in urban communities, and the emergence of a "network society."[11]

New ways of doing politics resemble networks rather than organizations, having participants rather than members. In the words of Harold Barclay, "individuals and groups constitute a multitude of interconnected loci, which produce the integration of a large social entity, but without any actual centralized co-ordination."[12] Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani have defined social movements as

> a distinct social process, consisting of the mechanisms through which actors engaged in collective action; are involved in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents; are linked by dense informal networks; share a distinct collective identity.[13]

In other cases though, protest can be identified in negative rather than positive terms when it's confined to a nebulous attitude of rejection of "mainstream" culture without corresponding (explicit) demands or a unified political entity. This mode of protest has been associated with youth subcultures. The approach developed by British Cultural Studies viewed subcultures in terms of opposition to, and incorporation in, a dominant culture.[14] American subcultural theory also conceptualized youth deviance as a "search for pleasure, and excitement," while simultaneously transcending traditional social class divisions.[15] Thus, youth subcultures are viewed as contesting the hegemony of a "parent" culture while constructing distinctive identities through the adoption of

eclectic mixes of cultural traits influenced by music, dress, symbolic activities, material artifacts, territorial spaces, and "focal concerns."[16]

A useful analytical concept in regards to social movements and youth subcultures is derived from the sociolinguistic work of Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger on "communities of practice."[17] The concept is based on John J. Gumperz and Dell H. Hymes's (1986) or William Labov's (1972) definition of a "speech community" as a group of speakers who share rules and norms about the use of language.[18] A community of practice is "an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor."[19] The concept places more emphasis on the idea that ways of speaking are derived from the joint activity undertaken by participants in particular communities. In short, ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, relations, and practices are emergent in the course of engagement between participants in communication. Moreover, as social constructs, communities of practice are different from traditional conceptions of homogeneous communities and practices, as they are thought to be emergent rather than static, contingent upon mutual engagement, that is, contingent on both the participants and the practices involved. Furthermore, this more flexible conception allows for individuals to be participants in more than one community of practice and have multiple identities or assume divergent roles within society. Therefore, it allows for a different notion of identity as a set of contextualized practices rather than defined as a static social attribute.[20] In light of this, the term "communities of practice" lends itself more readily to a consideration of "anarchist" or "anti-authoritarian" youth.

From the Polytechnic Uprising to the Punk Subculture

From the beginning of the Metapolitefsi, there was a proliferation of organizations of the extraparliamentary left, which established networks for the propagation and consolidation of politicized youth identities, mainly in universities and high schools.[21] The manifold Trotskyist, Guevarist, anarchist, Maoist, and Eurocommunist groups expressed their opposition toward the democratic government, which they saw as a "veiled dictatorship" of the right-wing establishment.[22] Also, the suspicion that post-civil-war paramilitary groups, the so-called *parakratos* (para-

state), continued to work closely with the state security apparatus contributed to the radicalization of leftists.[23] Within this diverse milieu there existed various trends in the form of groups that sought a large-scale Bolshevik-type revolution, small clandestine groups aiming to carry out "armed struggle" against capitalism/imperialism, and autonomous intellectual, student, and worker groups that functioned as cultural societies.[24]

In addition to disappointment with what was viewed as mock democratization of the postdictatorial state, there was a simultaneous rejection of the established party of the left. The Communist Party of Greece (KKE) was seen as revisionist and playing to the tune of the bourgeoisie.[25] The challenge to the traditional left went beyond the various ideological differences, such as criticism of the "Stalinist" USSR.[26] In particular, Nikolaos Papadogiannis has argued that the Communist Youth of Greece (KNE), which was the youth wing of the KKE, sharply distinguished between Greek popular tradition and the "American way of life," attempting to regulate the behavior of Communist youths.[27] This position was formulated under the influence of Soviet theory, like the work of the sociologist Edward Rosenthal, who dismissed the counterculture of the 1960s as a force that corrupted youth.[28] Accordingly, the respect for one's elders, stable heterosexual relationships, and the singing of *andartika* were encouraged, while rock concerts, multiple sexual partners, and hanging out in bars were derided as corrupting foreign influences.[29] Oppositional attitudes against the puritanism of KNE doctrine were often expressed through the use of humor and recorded in graffiti from university occupations, where KNE was seen as a conservative force that "policed" the student movement.[30]

Whereas all mainstream political parties, including the KKE, accepted the consensus of Metapolitfesi, the extraparliamentary left attempted to maintain an image of utopianism by fermenting a mood of revolutionary tension at every opportunity.[31] Consequently, there was continuous involvement with wildcat strikes, protests, occupations, and the student movement as they sought to recreate conditions akin to the Polytechnic uprising that would lead to fundamental social change. The annual march to commemorate the Polytechnic uprising became the focal point of this agitation and was often the scene of clashes with the police and repeated

occupations of the Polytechnic building or other universities.[32] The university occupations of 1979 brought all the differences to head as new leftist groups, such as B Pannelladiki, battled KNE when the latter tried to suppress the occupations.[33] The results were transformative for the Greek radical-left milieu, as the new groups introduced a loose network model of organization and espoused a multiplicity of leftist, libertarian, autonomist, countercultural, and anarchist discourses. This signified a decisive departure from the hegemony and didacticism of the "traditional" left.

There was also a concerted effort by the extraparliamentary left to reach out to nonpoliticized youths and broaden their base of support. The discourse of left-wing groups in universities increasingly included references to "Woodstock" while they started organizing rock concerts and parties.[34] At this time, rock music was increasing in popularity, and many bands with local followings were formed in working-class neighborhoods.[35] Although bands and their audiences were not necessarily political, concerts very quickly turned into excuses to have a riot.[36] The excitement generated by foreign bands touring Greece and the unaffordability of entrance fees for local youths attracted trouble in the form of the *dou*.[37] It was claimed that rock concerts required some kind of "happening," whereby passive spectators could be turned into politically conscious participants, and that groups of youths would semispontaneously stage such activities.[38] Out of these disparate influences grew the institution of the alternative festival (concerts, parties, and raves), which were sites of "carnivalesque" resistance attracting the full spectrum of the Greek underground outside the control of a particular political party.[39] On such occasions, youths forged common views of the world and new collective consciousness, aided by musical styles, drug consumption, and friendship.

Crucially, the year 1980 marks the beginning of punk rock in Greece, a purely youth-inspired movement beyond the control of the organized left. Punk was a reaction against "mainstream" consumer culture and commodified lifestyles in the United Kingdom and the United States.[40] In the Greek context, youths also found a form of expression against the authority of local institutions, such as the police, the education system, compulsory military service, the Orthodox Church, the family unit, and patriarchy.[41] Gradually, an underground punk scene was created through

the proliferation of new bands, fanzines, and the hand-to-hand exchange of demo cassettes all over Greece.[42] In effect, this punk subculture progressively took hold in most urban centers and designated certain clubs, streets, and squares as *stekia*, attracting youths from diverse backgrounds and areas of cities.[43] Sotiris Theocharis, the singer of one of the first punk bands in the early 1980s, Adiexodo (Greek: Αδιέξοδο, translation Dead-end), stressed the importance of writing lyrics in Greek (and not in English as was usually the case with Greek rock-bands) as a way of safeguarding the underground scene and working-class ideals.[44] It was an intimate scene with bands playing for free to small crowds of their friends at self-organized concerts or small clubs of the counterculture.

In Athens, Exarcheia Square was the epicenter of this punk subculture, and kids would come there from other neighborhoods, such as Peristeri, Egaleo, and Galatsi.[45] The neighborhood of Exarcheia had a long history as a hotbed of left-wing rebelliousness stretching back to the Axis occupation, civil war, and Polytechnic uprising. Louis Kontoulis, who was a member of the punk band Stress, based in the eastern Athens suburbs of Argyroupoli and Ilioupoli, maintains that in the beginning the punk scene brought together various fringe youths, such as anarchists, fascists, hooligans, skinheads, and freaks.[46] Sotiris Theocharis and Giannis Venardis of Adiexodo reported that anarchists, who also frequented Exarcheia Square, were older, "hippy-like," and looked down on punks as "immature children."[47] However, police clampdowns, such as the allegedly brutal *areti* (Greek: αρετή, translation: virtue) in 1984 that intended to clear Exarcheia Square of deviant youths and drugs, brought the various groups closer together.[48] Progressively, punk bands became more politicized by espousing a DIY ethic and playing at concerts organized by autonomous leftist or anarchist groups in schools, universities, and squats, helping promote a specific agenda.[49] Since the explosion of punk all around Greece, other music genres, for example, hip-hop, rave, or trance, have also served as mediums of youth politicization, promoting antiestablishment ideas and practices, such as graffiti, delinquent behavior, recreational drug use, and rioting.

When the meeting of French right-wing nationalist Jean-Marie Le Pen with extreme right-wingers in Athens' Caravel Hotel was disrupted in 1984, it became apparent to intellectuals of the Greek left that

confrontational tactics and street fighting had become the hallmark of a new grassroots social movement.[50] The tactics that were used resembled what has come to be known internationally as the "black bloc."[51]

Emergence of the Anti-Authoritarian Chóros

The "anarchist" or "anti-authoritarian" chóros of the twenty-first century has its origin in both the extraparliamentary left and youth subcultures. Anarchists, and other autonomous leftists, such as Christos Konstandinidis (Greek: Χρήστος Κωνσταντινίδης), were active in the Polytechnic uprising and in all the social movements of the late 1970s.[52] The osmosis between new social movements on the left and youth socialization in the 1980s led to the gradual emergence and popularization of anarchism.

An important watershed was the coming to power of PASOK in 1981, which caused the decline of the extraparliamentary left.[53] Epaminondas Skyftoulis, an anarchist who has repeatedly been prosecuted for acts of terrorism but never convicted, conveys the mood at the time:

> In the '80s thousands of youths were quitting political parties, leftism had collapsed and it was as if the gates of heaven had opened for us and we felt that the revolutionary movement was gaining momentum.[54]

Another crucial event was the occupation of a building in Valtetsiou Street, in Exarcheia, 20 days after PASOK came to power.[55] It signified the beginning of a movement of self-managed community spaces, which are either squatted or rented by activists. These social centers housed a kind of alternative "infrastructure" for the radical-left milieu, such as libraries, cooperative kitchens, barter markets, recreational facilities, and free schools (e.g., providing Modern Greek lessons to immigrants). Currently, social centers in Greece are part of an established local and international network. Giannis Biliris, a member of DIY punk band *Methismena Xotika* (Greek: Μεθυσμένα Ξωτικά, translation: Drunken Elves), explained the effect a social center had on his socialization and politicization as a youth who was interested in becoming a musician:

> It so happened that there was a *steki* in our neighborhood, the libertarian *steki* "Oleander," at Brahami, which operated on a self-organized basis, and

had a studio, organized various events, concerts and such, so it was very easy to have a first contact with it, to see how things can be done differently, we were content with this and started to move forward, with a firmer consciousness.[56]

Pirate radio, starting with the "Libertarian Radio—The Mole" (Greek: Ελευθεριακό ράδιο-Τυφλοπόντικας) in Athens, in 1983, played an equivalent role in helping to establish and maintain a space for radical politics and peer-to-peer networks for the exchange of materials (music, literature, technical knowledge).[57] The various squats, social centers, pirate radio stations, or even commercial spaces, such as bookshops and bars, have functioned as *stekia* for the dissemination of anarchism. Many of these endeavors are run along principles of nonhierarchy and consensus-based decision making. Stekia have secured the continuity of the movement when circumstances for spontaneous, unmediated participation are unfavorable and provide resources and opportunities when the impetus for action returns. In that respect, they have been instrumental spaces for the creation and reproduction of loyalty and collective identity.

The intellectual influences on anarchism in Greece have been numerous, as a vibrant underground press developed in the Metapolitefsi. Translated works, newspapers, magazines, posters, fanzines, and manifestoes have been published, influenced by classical anarchism, Marxism-Leninism, Trotskyism, the Situationist International, post-structuralism, the Frankfurt School, post-Marxism, postcolonialism, Italian autonomia, individualist and insurrectionary anarchism, the German underground, May '68, the New Left, the hippies and 1960s counterculture, feminism, queer and sexual liberation, surrealism, psychedelia and avant-garde art, green anarchism, and the punk subculture.[58] The various publications have usually been drafted on a voluntary basis, at times without adequate scholarly research. Although there are studies of Marxist-Leninist publishing in Greece during the 1960s–1970s, I am unaware of any comparable research into the vast anarchist press.[59] Proliferation of new technologies and media, as well as a long and rich self-publishing culture, means that the wealth of this material is truly astounding. Since the early twenty-first century, the

dominance of the Internet has caused the anarchist printed press to wane, but there has been a proliferation of websites, online databases of content (e.g., scanned copies of pamphlets), and even a blog hosting service.[60] Kostis Kornetis has suggested that the use of new technologies in itself suggests a radical departure from the earlier days of anarchism in Greece, so much so that it becomes problematic to speak of the same movement.[61]

Delineating the exact boundaries of this movement is all the more challenging, in part, because of the great diversity and coexistence of ideas within it. However, a visible and identifiable trend in Greek anarchism has adopted leftist imagery and an objective materialist theoretical perspective based on Western philosophy. This tendency tends to be more puritan and militant in its attitudes and tactics. In this respect, it is important to note the somewhat overlooked influence on Greek anarchism of radical revolutionary theory that advocates spontaneous, violent action.[62] For example, the writings of the Russian nihilist Sergey Nechayev, who believed in the ideal of revolution by any means necessary and enshrined the code of the lone revolutionary that despises all authority, have been in wide circulation.[63] Comparably, the exploits of the Illegalists have been published and circulated.[64] The Illegalists openly embraced criminal lifestyles in the early twentieth century without any moral justification other than the pursuit of desire. Furthermore, anarchist publishers in Greece have translated the philosophy of Max Stirner and others who are considered proponents of individualist and insurrectionary anarchism.[65] These trends have emphasized the rights of the individual and the necessity of insurrection over all external constraints. Finally, the anarchist press publishes the communiqués and testimonies of self-proclaimed "urban guerilla" groups.[66] However, others in the anarchist milieu have rejected these ideas for reproducing the individualism and violence of the capitalist system, and for being detached from society and the labor movement.[67]

Perhaps the following excerpt from an anarchist anthology can shed some light into the fascination with violence:

Our best self is realized in the communication of revolutionary rage.

With this slogan on its front-page as well as Mickey Bakunin bearing Molotov cocktails, 15 years ago, in the excitement of the major student

occupations of '90–'91, a newspaper was published. It was preceded by the meeting of two youths (during those famous days of mid-November) with very clear views on social antagonism ("again and again a certain liquid in a certain glass container"). They considered the anti-authoritarian material at the time wishy-washy (yuck!) and decided to publish another newspaper " . . . to sow intransigence, non-compliance, insurrection, destabilization anomaly, subversion, violence-chaos, not being meek, etc. etc."[68]

The excerpt confirms that the celebration for the Polytechnic uprising (held in mid-November) was the scene where youths would meet and form bonds of friendship and cooperation focused on militancy and "anarchist" endeavors. It also highlights the importance placed on violent forms of protest by anarchists at the time. The impact of militant literature and antisocial ideas might help explain the comparison of criminals and left-wing terrorists to revolutionary heroes.[69] Moreover, there have been instances when incarcerated anarchists have forged bonds of cooperation and carried out joint ventures with criminals, while anarchists have expressed support for domestic left-wing terrorists, such as Revolutionary Organization 17 November.[70]

Because of public perceptions of association with extremism, descriptions such as "anarchist" and "anti-authoritarian" have acquired problematic connotations. Conversely, for activists these terms continue to evoke aspirational qualities. See, for example, the following extracts from two interviews in 1992 and 2011, when the interviewees were asked what they call themselves: "Good question . . . we are not anarchists, that's for sure. To say you're an anarchist is a big commitment. We are anti-authoritarians."[71] And similarly: "I say that I try to be an anarchist . . . I don't know if I can ever come close to achieving it. I'm on the road to becoming an anarchist."[72]

Although a formal history has not been written, it is broadly acknowledged that the anarchist movement in Greece developed more or less characteristic repertoires of action and discourses in the 1980s. Its legacy has remained relevant for subsequent generations of youth who have engaged with it to various degrees. The main effect of the "anti-authoritarian" chóros has been to shift leftist agitation from its traditional factory and university setting to the street and everyday life.

The Anti-Authoritarian Chóros and Violence

A characteristic and simultaneously very visible feature of anarchist groups has been a professed affinity to violent confrontation with authority, and particularly the police. Some anarchists, however, are dogmatically nonviolent and will oppose the use of force altogether.

Greece has experienced an unprecedented period of democratic stability since the beginning of Metapolitefsi.[73] Nevertheless, there has been periodic rioting involving anarchists and leftists throughout this period. It has been argued that the particular militant tactics used by radical youths against the police were adopted in the mid-1980s during heavy-handed police repression in Exarcheia.[74] In many respects, this has been the result of an obsession with the *jouissance* of revolutionary violence. More importantly, militant tactics such as confronting the police with Molotov cocktails and other missiles have been copied by subsequent generations of youths with suggestions that anti-authority violence constitutes a rite of passage for the teenagers that hang out in Exarcheia. Of course, there were precursors to this type of militancy, most notably by the construction worker unions, which used barricades and street fighting against the police in the early 1960s.[75] Stergios Katsaros, a builder at the time who was influenced by Guevarism, locates the start of this new radicalism in the popular protests of 1965 and the disappointment with the reformism of the traditional left that led to revolutionary violence becoming a plausible alternative.[76]

Rioting usually takes place under the cover and on the margins of mass demonstrations. Besides reacting to, at times, brutal police repression, protesters are also employing violent tactics to engage in a struggle for visibility and reach a mass audience in the tradition of propagandists of the deed.[77] In these types of violent mobilizations, apart from confronting the police, state institutions, banks, multinationals, and other properties are attacked and firebombed. There has been vocal opposition to these street tactics, especially regarding indiscriminate arson (of small businesses, heritage sites, etc.), from segments of the anarchist movement that have developed mass membership and an organized structure such as the Anti-Authoritarian Current (AK) (Greek: Αντιεξουσιαστική Κίνηση).[78] The criticism leveled by certain anarchists against rioters and other perpetrators of violence can be reminiscent of the established and parliamentary left.

The following excerpt is from a newspaper interview from 1992 with three anarchists, two male, one female, all in their early 20s. It gives a cursory idea about the dynamics of street fighting and violence against so-called "symbolic" targets:

Interviewer (I): And why do you smash [things]?

Interviewee (Ie): Because we don't like what is happening . . . Smashing [things] is the only way to react. We are fighting social injustice . . . All the damage in Exarcheia is our work. We strike spontaneously nothing is planned.

I: So, you are sipping coffee in the square, and suddenly you get up and strike?

Ie: Something like that. We only calculate our chances of getting away with it. In Exarcheia we can get away with it. We know the streets, and our way around. We hit and run. We don't smash shops, only public services, banks and the like.

I: And who are the ones who smash shop windows?

Ie: They are hooligans. The oldest is 18. They come to demonstrations, they blend in with us, they are wasted, and don't know what they are doing. With [wearing] football insignia, and colors . . . we try to isolate them but there are more of them than us.

I: At the Ministry of Commerce you injured a woman. Don't you care?

Ie: Not much, they are state employees. They are complacent sheep, and we don't dig these people. As for the Post Office, we did not see that there were people (inside). But somehow we don't care. We don't hate them but we feel sorry for them. They are little robots.[79]

The interview resulted in the castigation of the interviewees for their "publicity-seeking antics" by some of their comrades, revealing the hostility against the media by many in the anarchist movement. The excerpt highlights the rationale of violence directed toward symbols of authority, such as state institutions and banks, while the interviewees defend that rationale by stating that they do not target small businesses (shops). However, the interviewees also admit that violence escalates out

of control because football hooligans and deviant youths join protests, overpowering ideologically-committed activists. Anarchists and leftists have actually developed quite an elaborate lexicon to describe these infiltrating groups, which sometimes dominate "anarchist" action in the streets.[80] Finally, the interviewees demonstrate contempt for the human life of public servants, the so-called petit bourgeois, who they despise for being willing slaves of the capitalist system. In fact, this nihilist rhetoric and rejection of working-class solidarity is common with new anarchist-inspired armed groups, such as the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire (SPF) (Greek: Συνωμοσία των Πυρήνων της Φωτιάς), which have appeared in the radical-left scene as the successors of Marxist-Leninist terrorist groups of the Metapolitefsi. The interviewees, nevertheless, stop short of morally justifying physical violence against people.

Although the violence that takes place on the margins of mass demonstrations is supposed to be "symbolic," it resulted in the deaths of three bank employees during the protests against the international bailout of the country on 5 May 2010. On the first anniversary of this critical event for radical-left politics in Greece, Panagiotis Papadopoulos aka Cain, a well-known anarchist of the 1980s generation, condemned the tactics that led to the deaths:

> I tell you that anarchist ideology is the most beautiful ideology in the world, and it is based on love for life, not on love for death. Therefore it should be self-evident that anarchism is opposed to the nihilistic logic that dominates our times.[81]

The great public outcry over the deaths, and speculation suggesting that violence is often the work of agents provocateurs in collaboration with the security apparatus of the state, has dealt a blow to the validity of these tactics. Nevertheless, direct political violence, including anarchist-inspired violence, continues to be carried out by clandestine groups of the far left. Furthermore, the fractured, polarized, and austerity-hit society of post-bailout Greece is a breeding ground for extremism, where violence is becoming a legitimate means of raising concerns and making demands for increasing portions of the population.

Networks and Spontaneity

Another trait of "anarchism" in Greece has been the seemingly spontaneous generation of an infinite multiplicity of collectives and action groups. In contradiction to groups of the extraparliamentary left, anarchists have not favored or even aspired to a hierarchical organization in the Leninist vanguardist tradition that will mobilize the masses. Rather, they have formed fluid and egalitarian collectives that are based on small groups of friends and social networks of acquaintances.[82]

A self-styled regular of Exarcheia Square during 1995 witnessed the activities of such a group called "the Wolves" and describes it in the following way:

> The Wolves were mostly an open group but simultaneously a closed one, because it adhered to an unwritten code of the street, which at the time was clear to all in Exarcheia, even more than anarchy, I dare say. Don't forget that the Wolves included junkies and completely apolitical people, too. Therefore, they were not just one thing. Most of their actions were spontaneous, and drawn-up by the small gatherings of the square on the spot.[83]

It seems that "anarchism" as a popular phenomenon at the time was not subject to strictly formal membership of a group (as it was for leftists) but rather depended on personal relationships, mutual trust, and common feelings of identity. The interlocutor places great importance on subcultural norms, while emphasizing the group's heterogeneity. It is also mentioned that the particular group appeared to band together spontaneously and to be ephemeral, often contingent upon a single protest or campaign. Francis Dupuis-Déri, who researched the black blocs of the antiglobalization movement, describes activists constituting "affinity groups," or small groups of like-minded individuals, to carry out direct action.[84] In other words, the favored organizational unit of anarchists is comprised of anywhere between six to several dozen activists and exists within a network of similar groups, which come together for rallies or other major events. It is worth mentioning the Greek institution of the *parea* or small group of (male) friends as a basis of a kind of proto-

anarchist group, and also a site, where traditional gender roles and sexual relationships might become politicized. The *parea* can exist within a higher-order network. Common experiences and anxieties as well as the influence of youth subcultures can make these bonds of friendship stronger and potentially more politicized. Giannis Biliris, of Methismena Xotika, describes the root of his politicization in the following extract from an interview:

> During the time we were in high school I should say an important role was played by informal let's say *pareas* that were formed. Namely, in our neighborhood, for instance, punk was everywhere. Everyday life plays a very important role, it played a role in being involved and influenced by punk, that is, the trend that existed in our area, the punk *pareas*, the street in general. For those of us who used to hang-out in the streets, for instance, when you're in the street, and you are communicating directly, a *parea* that has something that it supports and raises as its banner, it can push this thing forward, to create a whole movement; it's not always necessary that there is a organized political *chóros*.[85]

Othon Alexandrakis studied "anarchists" in Athens, in the late two-thousands and noted that youths primarily identify with their *parea* and only subsequently with the loosely defined anti-authoritarian movement.[86] He claims, "anti-establishment discourses, and the publics they contributed to, came to inform intersubjective practice within micro-scale youth sociality."[87] Thus, one can claim that politicization of youths occurs through their engagement in social practices, such as attending alternative concerts, "hanging-out" committing vandalism, cutting class, and contravening various social and cultural norms. The social practices function as "bonding rituals" for youth who participate in communities of practice, where identity and unity are forged under the influence of "anarchist" discourse. Perhaps we can also discern different stages to youth politicization with, for example, participation in social practices, such as cutting class, considered entry level, while, for instance, participation in jailbird solidarity is seen to be a more committed activist stance.

It is possible that the degree of commitment to the anarchist milieu varies for each youth, and over time may dissipate or even increase and involve more risk. It appears that there is also a generational element in the patterns of participation, with informal evidence suggesting that the "hard-liner" approach gradually gives way to either more formal adult radicalism or "burning out."[88] A participant in an online activist forum stated that "some people ended-up defeated, hunted, marginalized" with drug and mental health problems.[89] An excerpt from an anarchist anthology implies a similar fate for the author's colleague: "The second of the youths (involved with publishing an anarchist newspaper) was a free spirit. After the second issue he quits, and a frantic path leads him to the exit eight years later." The coming of age of "reckless" young radicals is hinted at in the following quote from a online activist forum: "It's not just the dead from bullets, and dope . . . it's also the majority who are living with their families, and their children."[90]

In a 2008 interview, Epaminondas Skyftoulis, an anarchist who has been active since 1978, indicated that "anarchism" in Greece has undergone a significant change as collectives are increasingly more organized and permanent, while activists opt to participate in mainstream society in parallel to their activism:

> Everyone was involved [in fanatical groups]. Usually it's doomed to failure, something like a three-year stint. Afterward, you would grow up, and become a doctor, and say to yourself, I should stop being an anarchist, because it was unacceptable. At the Anti-authoritarian (Current, [AK]) we believe that you can be a doctor, and you can be an anarchist. Like in America, they are university professors, and anarchists. This way of thinking was taboo for us in the 1980s. The anarchist did not work, did not go to the army and did not study. Many of us dropped out of universities and were not working, faithful to doctrine.[91]

This reorientation of attitudes is seen as the result of the failure of revolutionary violence to bring about social change during the Metapolitefsi. In actual fact, these tactics are thought to have reinforced the conservative instincts of Greek society and provided the state with an alibi for ever more repressive measures against social movements. In that

context, what Epaminondas Skyftoulis said could also be construed as a
shift toward a strategy resembling the "long march through the
institutions" that was proposed by Rudi Dutschke in the 1960s.[92] This is
especially relevant to Greece, where the state is often accused of never
having fully broken away from the authoritarian legacy of the dictatorship by
developing democratic institutions that are truly accountable and legitimate
in the eyes of the public.[93] However, the youthful, uncompromising
impulse of the movement remains very strong and can be seen in the
disparaging epithet *anarcho-babas* (Greek: $\alpha\nu\alpha\rho\chi o\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\mu\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, transla-
tion: anarchist-dad), a term that is often used to refer to older anarchists
who call for restraint in regards to militancy.

Identity of Participants

The chóros is thought to have brought together students and leftist
intellectuals with countercultural or marginalized youths. Youth subcultu-
res, in particular, constituted a decisive influence on socialization and
organization patterns, in that they enabled the intergenerational transfer of
common identity and knowledge as well as the inclusion of various, often
antagonistic, "clans" of youths within a broader movement.[94] A
participant involved in the chóros since he was 16 years old in 1990
said that "Anarchism had become an underground trend for young
people . . . many young people saw all these actions, these activities, and
they were impressed."[95] For example, in 2007 a multimedia file was
circulating in multiple online forums depicting clashes with the police
from 1991, where the sound had been dubbed over with punk and metal
music, in effect glorifying the rioting.[96]

One can say that the counterculture performed a similar function to
Marxist-Leninist indoctrination in "traditional" leftist youth organizations,
that is, providing youths with a different set of values and consciousness.
Paradoxically, this modern anti-establishment politicization was often
centered on knowledge of rock music and other elements of "American"
popular culture like film, comics, or literature, in conjunction with anti-
imperialist and counterhegemonic discourse.[97] Alternative consumption
patterns and lifestyles increased the self-esteem and uncompromising
attitude of youths. Adonis Astrinakis, who studied youths comprised of

punks, rockabillies, and junkies in the working-class districts of western Athens, noted that these groups shared a "vague anarchist ethos."[98] This ethos was expressed through aggression against the police, rejection of mainstream politics, gravitation to Exarcheia, delinquent behavior, and an unwillingness or inability to integrate into middle-class society. An "anarchist" who claims to have participated in the momentous Polytechnic occupation of 1995 observed:

> Speaking for myself I can't say that I was politically conscious or that I had the right ideas, not even that I was smart enough to deal with all that happened to me. I was just an average little rascal who could not tell the difference between the burning of a police car, and the destruction of a bus stop.[99]

There are also indications that history and family background inform a kind of "inter-generational trauma" that might be vital in the formation of "anarchist" identity.[100] In particular, the ideological divide between left and right that polarized Greece in the post-civil-war era has subsided but not disappeared. Anarchists are keen to proclaim that they are a working-class movement and have, at times, stressed their historic ties to the "traditional" left, despite it being Communist dominated.[101] According to a purported regular of Exarcheia Square discussing the orientation of young anarchists in the early 1990s:

> We are mainly talking about young, angry kids that apart from their left-wing family tradition, most of them were searching for what anarchism meant, and a way to rebel, to show their disgust with authority.[102]

Thus, the anarchist groups of the Metapolitefsi cannot be clearly labeled as radical university students and young workers in the same manner as the members of the extraparliamentary left. "Anarchists" often encompassed ideologues or older intellectual figureheads but also rockers, punks, junkies, hooligans, and other "wild youths," petty criminals, and deviants that had scant ideological basis other than "rage." Comparably, it has been noted that participants in the black bloc internationally may be a mishmash of thrill-seeking youths with low political awareness as well as
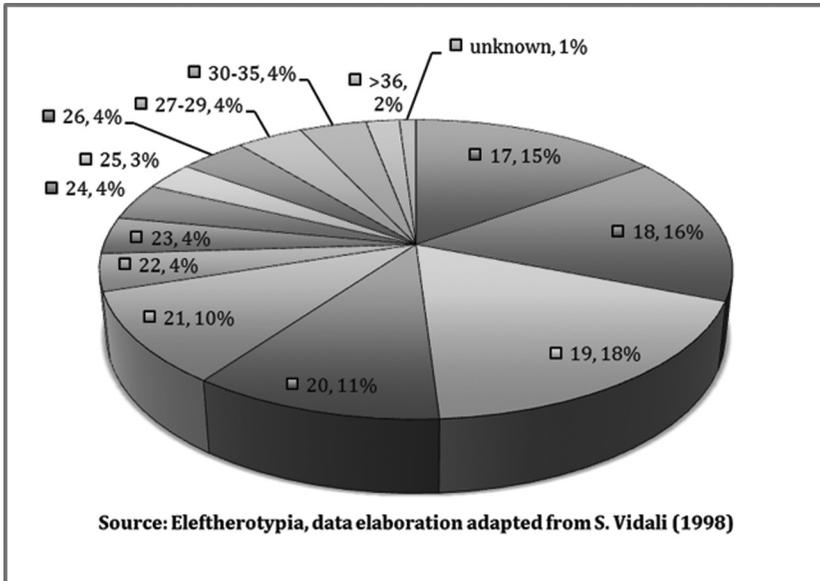
Source: Eleftherotypia, data elaboration adapted from S. Vidali (1998)

FIG. 1. Age of those arrested in the Polytechnic (1995).

highly dedicated and politicized activists.[103] During the December 2008 riots in Greece, linkages were also formed with immigrants and Roma gypsies.[104] In general, the anti-authoritarian chóros has a demonstrable openness, and participants attempt to proselytize and include in their ranks those who are perceived to be marginalized.

The only time that social scientists got a more intimate look at this polymorphous movement in a "laboratory" setting was when the police intervened to arrest the youths who were occupying the Polytechnic building after the annual commemoration of the Polytechnic uprising in 1995. There are conflicting reports of 394, 472, and 500 arrestees.[105] Participants later claimed that over 2,000 youths were involved in the occupation and the street fighting with police that followed the rally.[106] Several of the arrestees would be implicated in acts of terrorism many years later in 2010, though the police, judiciary, and academic community were accused of socially and legally constructing suspects.[107] According to the police records, 60 percent of those arrested were between the ages of 16 and 21 at the time (Fig. 1).

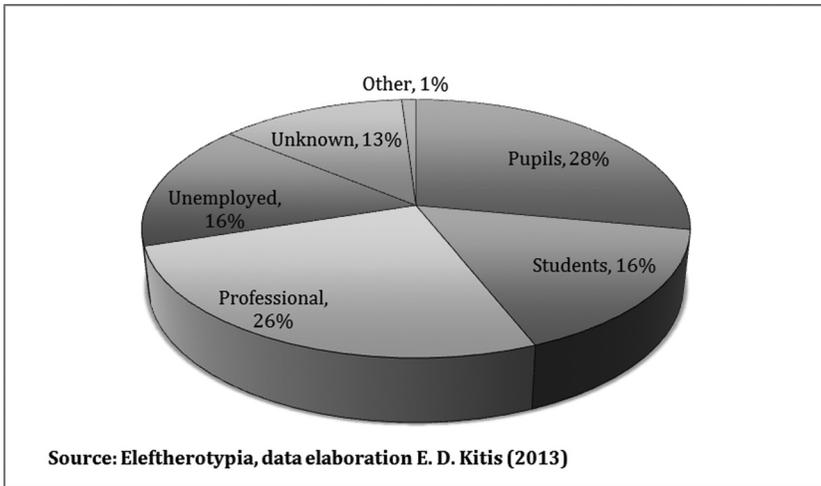Source: Eleftherotypia, data elaboration E. D. Kitis (2013)

FIG. 2. Occupation of those arrested in the Polytechnic (1995).

Among those arrested there were 85 minors, 66 university students, 42 school pupils, 96 unemployed, 54 private employees, 24 freelancers, 17 workers, 6 public servants, 3 conscripts, and 2 immigrants (Fig. 2). The arrestees were recorded as having a variety of blue- and white-collar professions, such as builder, carpenter, mechanic, plumber, but also teacher, journalist, graphic designer, and dental technician. Of course, the determination of social class on the basis of employment is highly problematic for a whole host of reasons that are beyond the scope of this article, but it is safe to say that, on the basis of the police records, the reports put forth in the media of anarchists as mostly middle class are exaggerated.

A participant in an online forum, who claimed to have been present during the occupation, clearly identifies with the working class while acknowledging the youthfulness of the activists by stating: "We were naive young anarchists from various working-class neighborhoods (Peristeri, Petralona, Piraeus)."[108] The gender of those arrested in the Polytechnic building was 80 percent male and 20 percent female (Fig. 3). That corresponds well with research on the black blocs of the antiglobalization movement, which also finds their composition to be mainly young males.[109]
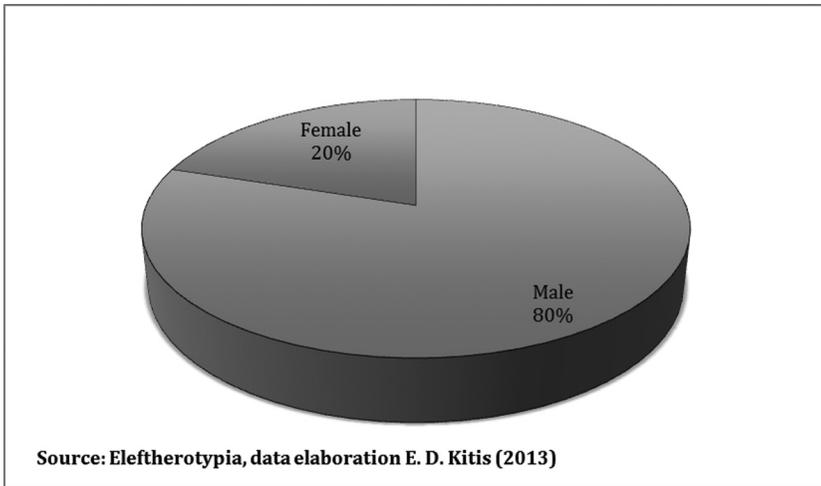
FIG. 3. Gender of those arrested in the Polytechnic (1995).

The only generalization that one seems able to make with any certainty about the anti-authoritarian *chóros* is that it is a space occupied by a heterogeneous multitude. The radical heterogeneity of participants in groups that have been called or call themselves "anarchist" was confirmed during the 2008 riots, when the crowds in the streets consisted of leftist activists but also students, pupils, unemployed or children of the unemployed, privileged kids, immigrants, hooligans, and agents provocateurs.[110] The concept of "communities of practice" can also be drawn upon to inform the definition of "anarchists" as an in situ category that does not remain unchanged if it is spatiotemporally displaced. In other words, "anarchist" youth are only identifiable as such in particular contexts and situations. Nevertheless, there is a core of dedicated, long-term activists.

Concluding Remarks

During the period of Metapolitefsi in Greece, a set of narratives, places, and tactics crystallized into a political subculture that at times manifested as a unified movement the participants of which identify as "anarchists" or "anti-authoritarians." Participants in small groups of friends with

particular sets of attitudes have come to feel part of a larger informal anti-authoritarian chóros. What holds the autonomous segments together is a common feeling of, or deep ideological commitment to, a few essential tenets that are derived from leftist and anarchist theory and are akin to the beliefs of left-wing, anarchist, and countercultural milieus internationally. However, the chóros is also permeated by a youthful attitude of rebellion that is derived from youth subcultures and alternative lifestyle and consumption patterns. Therefore, the anti-authoritarian chóros can be said to be a glocal, segmented, polycephalous, and idea-based network.[111]

The continuation of this movement is ensured through a network of interconnected squats, centers, social spaces, and other loci. Although it has been a phenomenon on the fringes of society, it has also shown to be capable of playing a part in mainstream politics in Greece and be-yond, mainly by influencing public opinion with its uncompromising rhetoric.[112] Nevertheless, this type of politicization has not been successful to date in producing a consistent (in participants or ideas) and politically effective movement. In the main, anarchist groups number hundreds of participants, although they can potentially influence thousands of youths and other individuals. Failure to develop into a democratic mass movement has had both positive and negative effects for the vitality of anarchism in Greece. Most notably, large numbers of youths have been attracted to left radicalism and adopted anarchist discourse in times of socio-economic crisis. However, the anti-authoritarian chóros has been plagued by sectarianism, and the various anarchist groups will often reduce themselves to a single neighborhood or campaign in a species of isolationism, abandoning the broader political process. There is fetishism of violent tactics like confrontation with the police. There is also an ideological opposition to planning and organization in certain segments of the movement, because it is believed to lead to the authoritarianism or bureaucracy that is associated with the downfall of the Marxist-Communist left.

The anti-authoritarian chóros is neither an organized political movement nor a youth subculture, yet its roots lie in the post-1968, extraparliamentary left as well as post-World War II consumer culture and, in particular, alternative consumption patterns and youth subcultures.[113] The police and the media have considered "anarchists," and "anti-

authoritarians" as a kind of "internal enemy" and reserve of "usual suspects" that are responsible for all significant cases of terrorism and rioting since the Polytechnic uprising of 1973.[114] Although participation in the movement seems to be merely a rite of passage for the majority of youths, its effects should not be underestimated. There was a creation of spontaneous, informal (neighborhood) networks in major urban centers in the aftermath of the December 2008 riots, as well as during the 2011 anti-austerity movement of Syntagma Square, where anarchists participated. Anarchist groups have also been able to gather thousands of followers in order to protest the rise of far-right politics in Greece since the beginning of the debt crisis. The cultural practices of youth in Greece have undergone a dramatic shift since the Metapolitefsi. A considerable portion of youth have become alienated from mainstream politics and culture while the growth in the popularity of television, initially, and the Internet, more recently, has led to the rise of consumer culture, including countercultures. It could be argued that the influence of anti-authority politics on multiple generations of youth has had a detectable and lasting effect on Greek culture and society. Indeed, one could go as far as to suggest that anarchism has enriched civil society and infused a new type of civic engagement in Greece that has yet to clearly bear fruit. Nevertheless, the distinguishing feature of Greek anarchism to date has been a non-conformism and rejection of mainstream society or anything that might be construed as reformism.

NOTES

1. Mark Mazower, "A New Age of Extremes? Historical Reflections on the Politics of the Present Crisis" (paper presented at the American College of Greece, Athens, 2013).

2. Georgios Giannakopoulos, "Metapolitefsi: From the Transition to Democracy to the Economic Crisis, Athens, 14–16 December 2012," *HISTOREIN* 13 (2013): 135–37.

3. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989).

4. For multiple interpretations/recontextualizations of the initial eruption of rioting, see E. Dimitris Kitis, "The 2008 Urban Riots in Greece: Differential Representations of a Police Shooting Incident," in *Discourse and Crisis*, ed. Zuraidah Mohd Don and Antoon De Rycker (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2013), 323–62.

5. The Polytechnic uprising against the military dictatorship has been commemorated annually since the restitution of democracy and is a public holiday.

6. Sophie Vidali, "Youth Deviance and Social Exclusion in Greece," in *The New European Criminology: Crime and Social Order in Europe*, ed. Vincenzo Ruggiero, Nigel South, and Ian Taylor (London: Routledge, 1998), 342.

7. Helena Smith, "In Athens, Middle-Class Rioters Are Buying Rocks: This Chaos Isn't Over," *Observer*, 14 December 2008.

8. See E. Dimitris Kitis, "Street Slogans in Thessaloniki, Greece: The Genre and Social Practice of an Anti-Authoritarian Youth Culture" (Ph.D. diss., King's College London, 2013); and E. Dimitris Kitis, "The Subversive Poetics of a Marginalized Discourse and Culture," in *Word on the Street*, ed. E. Foust and S. Fuggle (London: Institute of Germanic and Romance Studies, 2011), 53–70.

9. Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 4.

10. The antiglobalization or global justice movement is critical of the globalization of corporate capitalism and advocates equal economic, social, and cultural rights. The movement has often contested the legitimacy of summits held by so-called neoliberal institutions, such as the WTO. Summits have been contested by the mobilization of various coalitions and the organization of rallies, carnivals, public debates, and protest actions.

11. Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); Alberto Melucci, *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); and Claus Offe, "New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics," *Social Research* 52, no. 4 (1985): 817–67.

12. Harold Barclay and Alex Comfort, *People without Government: An Anthropology of Anarchy* (London: Kahn and Averill, 1990), 122.

13. Della Porta and Diani, *Social Movements*, 20.

14. John Clarke et al., "Subcultures, Cultures and Class," in *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*, ed. Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (London: Hutchinson, 1976), 10–15.

15. Keith Hayward, "The Vilification and Pleasures of Youthful Transgression," in *Youth Justice: Critical Readings*, ed. John Muncie, Gordon Hughes, and Eugene McLaughlin (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 86.

16. David Macey, *Dictionary of Critical Theory* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), 368.

17. Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger, *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 69, 116.

18. John J. Gumperz and Dell H. Hymes, *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986); and William Labov, *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, vol. 4 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972).

19. Penelope Eckert and Sally McConnell-Ginet, "Think Practically and Look Locally: Language and Gender as Community-Based Practice," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21 (1992): 464.

20. For more detailed analysis of the construction of (multiple) situated identities by youths who claim to be anarchists, see Argiris Archakis and Angeliki Tzanne, "Narrative Positioning and the Construction of Situated Identities: Evidence from Conversations of a Group of Young People in Greece," *Narrative Inquiry* 15, no. 2 (2005): 267–91.

21. I use the term "extraparliamentary left" to describe a whole host of groups and organizations with often divergent and fragmentary ideological tendencies. The main feature of these groups is that they don't take part in parliamentary elections and are free from the control of mainstream political parties or any other outside control. George Kassimeris, "Junta by Another Name? The 1974 Metapolitefsi and the Greek Extra-Parliamentary Left," *Journal of Contemporary History* 40, no. 4 (2005): 751; and Nikolaos Papadogiannis, "Greek Communist Youth Identities and Rock Music in the Late 1970s," in *Between the Avant-Garde and the Everyday: Subversive Politics in Europe from 1957 to the Present*, ed. Timothy Brown and Lorena Anton (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 78.

22. Kassimeris, "Junta by Another Name?," 755.

23. Sappho Xenakis, "A New Dawn? Change and Continuity in Political Violence in Greece," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24, no. 3 (2012): 439–40.

24. Kassimeris, "Junta by Another Name?," 757–58.

25. The Communist Party of Greece (Greek: Κομμουνιστικό Κόμμα Ελλάδας), usually referred to by its acronym KKE, was founded on 4 November 1918 and is the oldest party in Greece. The party was outlawed after the civil war and legalized again after the fall of the dictatorship (1974), when it started to openly participate in parliamentary democracy.

26. The two main ideological trends of the Greek left at this time, as in other parts of Europe, can be broadly distinguished as the staunchly pro-Soviet stance of the KKE and the skepticism that prevailed among organizations of the Eurocommunist or New Left toward the USSR.

27. Papadogiannis, "Greek Communist Youth Identities and Rock Music in the Late 1970s," 83.

28. See Edward Rosenthal, Στόχος: Η Φθορά Των Συνειδήσεων [Objective: The Corruption of Consciousness], trans. B. Daskalopoulou (Athens: Synchroni Epochi, 1979). (All translations from Greek are my own.)

29. The sing-along of *andartika* or partisan songs from Greece's civil war era was considered a more acceptable way for young leftists to pass their leisure time than listening to rock music. Rock music was also mostly played in bars and clubs, which were considered sites of depoliticization and promiscuity. Papadogiannis, "Greek Communist Youth Identities and Rock Music in the Late 1970s," 87–88, 90. On the other hand, the revival of *andartika* is said to have contributed to the development of more militant rock music. Manoles Daloukas, Ελληνικό Ροκ: Ιστορία Της Νεανικής Κουλτούρας Από Τη Γενιά Του Χάους Μέχρι Το Θάνατο Του Παύλου Σιδηρόπουλου 1945–1990 [Greek Rock: History of Youth Culture from the Chaos Generation until the Death of Pavlos Sidiropoulos 1945–1990] (Athens: Ankyra, 2006), 348–50.

30. Slogan graffiti from the occupation of the University of Jannina "Κινητοποίηση ναι. Κνιτοποίηση όχι" [Yes to Mobilization, no to Knetization], "Το χασίς είναι πιο ακίνδυνο από το Ριζοσπάστη: δε συνηθίζεται" [Dope is less harmful than "The Radical" (KKE newspaper): you can't get addicted to it], "Λευτεριά στους Κνίτες" [Freedom to KNE members]. Fanis I. Kakridis, "Οι Φωνές Των Τοίχων, Α" [the Voices of the Walls a], *To Vima*, 16 December 1981. Slogan graffiti from the occupation of the chemistry department of the National and Kapodestrian University of Athens in 1979. "Δώστε αντισυλληπτικά στους Κνίτες" [Give contraceptives to KNE members], "Οταν το δάχτυλο έδειχνε το φεγγάρι οι Κνίτες κοιτούσαν το δάχτυλο" [When the finger points to the moon KNE members look at the finger], "Οταν έχεις τέτοιους Κνί*τες* τι τους θές τους ασφαλί*τες*" [With this type of KNE member there is no need for undercover cops]. Notice the rhyme of the underlined derivational morphemes often encountered in slogans, "Κάτω τα ΚΝΑΤ" [Down with the KNE police], and so on. Giannes Demaras, Εμπρός ΣτονΕ *τσι* Που Χάραξε Ο Τέτοιος [Forward to So and So That Was Set by Such and Such] (Athens: Kaktos, 1981), 48, 50, 52.

31. Kassimeris, "Junta by Another Name?," 750.

32. For an "anarchist" perspective of the Polytechnic uprising commemoration, see "Πολυτεχνείο: Απέναντι Στο Μύθο Της Δημοκρατίας, Η Εξέγερση Είναι Πάντα Ζωντανή" [Polytechnic: Faced with the Myth of Democracy, the Revolt

Continues], in *Anarchiko Deltio Antipliroforisis kai drasis* (Athens, 2005). It has been suggested that the Polytechnic uprising and its symbols, methods, and so forth have been subject to atavistic copying by successive generations of activists. John Karamichas, "The December 2008 Riots in Greece: Profile," *Social Movement Studies* 8, no. 3 (2009): 291.

33. The occupations of 1979 were part of a protest movement against planned university reforms by the conservative government of Georgios Rallis.

34. Papadogiannis, "Greek Communist Youth Identities and Rock Music in the Late 1970s," 84; and Nikolaos Papadogiannis, "From Coherence to Fragments: '1968' and the Making of Youth Politicisation in Greece in the 1970s," *HISTOREIN* 9 (2009): 86.

35. Papadogiannis, "Greek Communist Youth Identities and Rock Music in the Late 1970s," 81.

36. Nikolakis, Συγκρούσεις Σε ΣυναυλίεςΗ Μήπως Συναυλίες Σε Συγκρούσεις [Clashes at Concerts or Maybe Concerts in Clashes?] (Athens: Eleftheriaki Koultoura, 2006).

37. The practice of *dou* (Greek: ντου) consisted of a gate-crashing technique, whereby the crowd would charge the concert security or police en masse and head-to-head in order to gain access to the rock concert without a ticket.

38. Despite often involving clashes with the police, it is unclear to what extent *bachala* (Greek: μπάχαλα, translation: mess, melee, riots) at rock concerts were politically motivated and to what extent they were the result of entrenched habits or alcohol and drug abuse. It seems, though, that the extraparliamentary left would readily try to give a political interpretation to these events.

39. Mikhail Bakhtin developed the term "carnivalesque" to describe the subversive mood of medieval carnivals, where social hierarchies, rituals, norms, and rules were dissolved in an exuberant atmosphere of humor, chaos, and grotesque. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984).

40. Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried, "Youth, Consumption, and Politics in the Age of Radical Change," in *Between Marx and Coca-Cola: Youth Cultures in Changing European Societies, 1960–1980*, ed. Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 2.

41. Babis Laskaris, "Underground Και Συλλογική Πολιτική: Μια Γεύση Από Το Punk Στην Ελλάδα" [Underground and Collective Politics: A Taste of Punk from Greece] in *Punk:* Η Ιστορία Μιας Επανάστασης [Punk: The History of a Revolution] (Athens: Oxy, 2007), 142.

42. For a list of various punk bands as well as their discographies, geographic distribution, and excerpts from interviews in fanzines, see Η Ιστορία Των *Punk, Hard Core* Και

Ἄλλων Σχημάτων Ἀπό Τo 1980 Ἐως Το 2000 Στον Ελλαδικό Χώρο [The History of Punk, Hard Core and Other Genres from 1980 to 2000 in Greece], 2nd ed. (Athens: Anarchiki Archeiothiki, ca. 2000).

43. *Stekia* essentially translates as "hangouts" or, in this case, "alternative venues."

44. Laskaris, "Underground Και Συλλογική Πολιτική," 144. Also see Sergios Vafiadis, "Μέχρι Να Γίνεις Ο Βασιλιάς Των Ηλιθίων" [Until You Become the King of Idiots] Greece: Stefi Productions/Omega Commons, 2013.

45. Laskaris, "Underground Και Συλλογική Πολιτική," 140.

46. "Freaks" were a local version of the hippie subculture. Nikos Bozinis, "'Σαν Τοπίο Του Βυθού': Η Αμερικάνικη Μουσική Στην Ελλάδα, 1954–2000 ["Like a Scene from the Seabed": American Music in Greece, 1954–2000] in *Η Δική Μας Αμερική: Η Αμερικάνικη Κουλτούρα Στην Ελλάδα* [Our America: American Culture in Greece], ed. Elena Maragou and Theodora Tsibouki (Athens: Metehmio, 2010), 292; and Laskaris, "Underground Και Συλλογική Πολιτική," 147–48.

47. Laskaris, "Underground Και Συλλογική Πολιτική," 140–41; Vafiadis, "Μέχρι Να Γίνεις Ο Βασιλιάς Των Ηλιθίων."

48. Laskaris, "Underground Και Συλλογική Πολιτική," 140–41; Myrna Tsapa, *Παρασκήνιο: Εξαρτησιογόνες Ουσίες* [Underground: Addictive Substances] (Greece: ERT, 1999); "Εξάρχεια 1984–2007: Η Ιστορία Ενός 'Ψευδοκράτους'" [Exarcheia 1984–2007: The History of a "Pseudostate"] *Ios, Eleftherotypia*, 13 May 2007.

49. DIY stands for "Do It Yourself" and consisted of an anticonsumerist/autonomist approach to life that was popular among Greek punk bands and went hand-in-hand with an anarchist ideology. The DIY ethic entailed that bands released their own records, organized their own concerts, and rejected corporate sponsorship, record labels, and management. Nikolakis, "Συγκρούσεις Σε Συναυλίες Η Μήπως Συναυλίες Σε Συγκρούσεις," 4, 8–9; Laskaris, "Underground Και Συλλογική Πολιτική," 141.

50. Pandelis Boukalas and Nikos Xydakis, "Η Σύντομη Νύχτα Της Αναρχίας Η: Φασισμός-Αντιφασισμός, Οι Όροι Και Τα Όρια" [The Brief Night of Anarchy Or: Fascism-Antifascism, the Conditions and Limits] *Dekapenthimeros Politis*, 29 December 1984.

51. The "black bloc" is a set of practices and tactics for street protests and rallies rather than a specific group, movement, or ideological position. The collective praxis includes wearing black clothing and face-concealing garments (scarves, gas masks, motorcycle helmets, etc.) and carrying some sort of baton, flagpole, or projectile. The clothing is of practical use, for example, escape identification or protection from gas, but can also be

said to help form a contingent within a rally. According to George Katsiaficas the term "black bloc" (German: *schwarzer Block*) was coined by the West Berlin police in 1980 to refer to squatters who fought eviction in the streets. Black blocs are known to attack and set ablaze public buildings, banks, and other "capitalist" targets. See George Katsiaficas, *The Subversion of Politics: European Autonomous Social Movements and the Decolonization of Everyday Life* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2006); and Francis Dupuis-Déri, "The Black Blocs Ten Years after Seattle: Anarchism, Direct Action, and Deliberative Practices," *Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 4, no. 2 (2010): 45–82.

52. Christos Konstandinidis founded the publishing house Diethnis Vivliothiki (International Library), ran the bookshop Mauro Rodo (Black Rose), and published the anarchist journal *Pezodromio* (Pavement) in the 1970s. During the Polytechnic uprising he fought against what he saw as the appropriation of the revolt by the "traditional" left, for example, KKE. Konstandinidis mentions the spraying of slogans, such as "Κάτω το κράτος" [Down with the state], "Οι πατριώτες είναι μαλάκες" [Patriots are wankers], and "Κάτω η μισθωτή εργασία" [Down with wage labor] with his comrades during the uprising. Christos Konstandinidis, "Πολυτεχνείο 1973" [Polytechnic 1973], *Pezodromio* 7.

53. The Panhellenic Socialist Movement (Greek: Πανελλήνιο Σοσιαλιστικό Κίνημα) or PASOK was founded post-1974 from the merging of the antidictatorial resistance organization PAK and the republican Centre Union party. It became the first social democratic party to win an election in 1981 and was the main center-left party in the Greek parliament until the debt crisis.

54. 32Stavros Theodorakis, "'Ολοι Αυτοί Που Τα Σπάνε Δεν Είναι Ακριβώ΄ς Αναρχικοί" [Those Who Smash (Things) Are Not Really Anarchists]," *Ta Nea*, 15 November 2008.

55. Theodoris Antonopoulos, "Εξάρχεια: Μια Ιστορία Έρωτα & Αμφισβήτησης" [Exarcheia: A Story of Love and Defiance], *LIFO*, 28 March 2013.

56. "Μεθυσμένα Ξωτικά" [Drunken Elves], *Skapoula*, 11 September 2011.

57. See, for example, the radio broadcasts of punk, hardcore, ska music, and anti-authoritarian, green politics in Thessaloniki: Τα Κουρέλια [The Rags], Wednesdays 8–10 p.m. (Thessaloniki: Radio Utopia 107.7 fm, 1989–98). There are also multiple pamphlets from the prolonged campaign (1991–98) to save the pirate radio stations Kivotos and Utopia in Thessaloniki from closure.

58. See, for example, the first edition of the local anarchist newspaper, Αλληλεγγύη [Solidarity], 15 November 1983; the translation of an essay on "insurrectionary anarchism" from an Italian journal: Alfredo M. Bonanno, "Οι Νέοι Σε Μια Μεταβιομηχανική Κοινωνία" [Youth in a Post-Industrialist Society], *Anarchismo*

61 (1988): 5–29; the local anarchist fanzine, Ο δαίμων του τυπογραφείου [The Print-Shop Demon] (Athens, 1991–94); the translation of autonomist, green, and Situationist texts, Cornelius Castoriadis, Murray Bookchin, and Situationist International, "Άμεση Δημοκρατία Και Γενικευμένη Κοινωνική Αυτοδιεύθυνση" [Direct Democracy and General Social Self-Organization], in *Autonomi Drasi* 4 (1990); the local anarchist journal, Τα παιδιά της γαλαρίας [The Kids at the Back] (Athens, 1990–present); and the translated history of British militant group the Angry Brigade, Οργισμένη Ταξιαρχία: Ντοκουμέντα Και Χρονικό *1967–1984* [Angry Brigade: Testimony and Chronology 1967–1984], 2nd ed. (Athens: Syspirosi Anarchikon/Anarchiki Archeiothiki, 1994).

59. Christos Mais, "The Marxist-Leninist Publishing Field During the 60s–70s in Greece" (master's thesis, Leiden University, 2009).

60. Kitis, "Street Slogans in Thessaloniki, Greece," 356.

61. Kostis Kornetis, "No More Heroes? Rejection and Reverberation of the Past in the 2008 Events in Greece," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 28, no. 2 (2010): 185.

62. Ilias Ioakeimoglou and Soti Triandafilou, Αριστερή Τρομοκρατία Δημοκρατία Και Κράτος [Left Terrorism, Democracy, and the State] (Athens: Patakis, 2003), 74.

63. Sergey Nechayev and Mikhail Bakunin, Η Κατήχηση Του Επαναστάτη: Απάντηση Στον Νετσάγιεφ [The Revolutionary Catechism: Response to Nechayev], trans. Zisis Sarikas (Thessaloniki: Panopticon, 1869/2004).

64. Ο Μάριους Ζάκομπ Και Οι Ιλλεγκαλιστές [Marius Jacob and the Illegalists] (Athens: Demon tou typografiou, 1995).

65. Max Stirner, Ο Μοναδικός Και Η Ιδιοκτησία Του [The Ego and Its Own], trans. Zisis Sarikas (Thessaloniki: Ekdoseis Thyrathen, 1844/2005); and Feral Faun (aka Wolfi Landstreicher), *Χαοτικά Μανιφέστα* [Chaotic Manifestoes] (Athens: Demon tou typografiou, 1995).

66. Φραξιά Κόκκινος Στρατός [Red Army Faction] (Athens: Demon tou typografiou, 1997).

67. Xenakis, "A New Dawn?" 444.

68. Demon, Δαίμων Του Τυπογραφείου [Print-Shop Demon] (Black-tracker, 2008). Notice that the author refers to the "father" of anarchism, Mikhail Bakunin, in terms of endearment.

69. Criminals and left-wing terrorists have been compared to the *andartes* (guerillas) who fought against the Axis occupation in World War II and the Greek government in the civil war. See Demon, "Χάρης Τεμπερεκίδης: Η Λεπτή Κόκκινη Γραμμή"

[Charis Teberekidis: The Thin Red Line], in Η Ληστεία Τράπεζας; Ιστορία, Θεωρία, Πρακτική [Bank Robbery: History, Theory, Practice], ed. Klaus Schonberger (Athens: Eleftheriaki Koultoura, 2004), 205–10.

70. Xenakis, "A New Dawn?" 451.

71. Giorgos Marnellos and Costas Kyriakopoulos, Σπάμε Γιατί Δεν χουμε Μέλλον [We Smash (Things) Because We Have No Future], *Eleftherotypia*, 19 November 1992.

72. Stavros Theodorakis, "Πρωταγωνιστές" [Protagonists]. Athens, Mega Channel, 2011.

73. Xenakis, "A New Dawn?" 437.

74. Laskaris, "Underground Και Συλλογική Πολιτική," 143.

75. Stergios Katsaros, Εγώ Ο Προβοκάτορας, Ο Τρομοκράτης: Η Γοητεία Της Βίας [I, the Provocateur, the Terrorist: The Fascination of Violence], 2nd ed. (Athens: Mauri Lista, 2000).

76. Kostis Kornetis, *Children of the Dictatorship: Student Resistance, Cultural Politics and the "Long 1960s" in Greece* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013), 134.

77. Propaganda of the deed refers to a type of political act that is meant to incite revolution in the masses by setting an example for others to follow.

78. The Anti-authoritarian Current (AK) is an anarchist organization with a presence in many Greek cities. It was founded in 2002. Xenakis, "A New Dawn?" 444.

79. Marnellos and Kyriakopoulos, Σπάμε Γιατί Δεν Εχουμε Μέλλον.

80. *Bachaloi* (Greek: μπάχαλοι, translation: riotous), *chaotiki* (Greek: χαοτικοί, translation: chaotics), or simply *perithoriakoi* (Greek: περιθωριακοί, translation: marginalized).

81. Theodorakis, "Πρωταγωνιστές."

82. Othon Alexandrakis, "Anarchism and the New Greek Civil Society: Examining the Rise of Modern Athenian Youth Politics" (paper presented at the 4th Hellenic Observatory Ph.D. Symposium, London School of Economics, 25–26 June 2009).

83. "Οι Λύκοι Των Εξαρχείων" [The Wolves of Exarcheia], Athens Indymedia, *https://athens.indymedia.org/front.php3?lang=en&article_id=1250782* (accessed 20 September 2012).

84. Dupuis-Déri, "The Black Blocs Ten Years after Seattle," 59.

85. "Μεθυσμένα Ξωτικά."

86. Othon Alexandrakis, "The Struggle for Modern Athens: Unconventional Citizens and the Shaping of a New Political Reality" (Ph.D. diss., Rice University, 2010), 109.

87. Alexandrakis, "The Struggle for Modern Athens," 100.

88. To "burn out" (Greek: κάψιμο, καίνε or κάηκε from the expression καμένο χαρτί, meaning a bad hand in a card game) means to be finished or a "loser"; in this case, it's

made in reference to anarchists who have become junkies or "sold out" by adopting mainstream values.

89. Drug consumption by adolescents has been linked to the influence of global youth culture and particularly youth subcultures, although the links are tenuous and need further verification. Anna Kokkevi et al., "Substance Use among High School Students in Greece: Outburst of Illicit Drug Use in a Society under Change," *Drug and Alcohol Dependence* 58, no. 1–2 (2000): 186; "Οι Λύκοι Των Εξαρχείων."

90. "Οι Λύκοι Των Εξαρχείων."

91. Theodorakis, "'Ολοι Αυτοί Που Τα Σπάνε Δεν Είναι Ακριβώς Αναρχικοί." In Greece, conscription is compulsory for males, and there has been increasing disenfranchisement with the institution by urban youth as well as a movement of (anarchist/leftist) conscientious objectors.

92. In 1967, the German student movement leader Rudi Dutschke proposed that the cultural hegemony of the bourgeoisie had to be fought by rising through the society's institutions and producing working-class intellectuals and culture.

93. Antonis Vradis and Dimitris Dalakoglou, eds., *Revolt and Crisis in Greece: Between a Present Yet to Pass and a Future Still to Come* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2011).

94. Antonis Astrinakis, Νεανικές Υποκουλτούρες: Παρεκκλίνουσες Υποκουλτούρες Της Νεολαίας Της Εργατικής Τάξης: Η Βρετανική Θεώρηση Και Η Ελληνική Εμπειρία [Youth Subcultures: Deviant Subcultures of Working Class Youth: The British Theory and Greek Practice] (Athens: Papazeses, 1991), 262, 297.

95. A. G. Schwarz, Tasos Sangris, and Void Network, eds., *We Are an Image from the Future: The Greek Revolt of December 2008* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2010), 19.

96. The title of the multimedia file (Greek: τα καλώτερα μας χρόνια, translation: Our best years) betrays a species of utopian pessimism, a mix of nihilism, romanticism, and messianic themes that is characteristic of some Greek anarchist literature. Chaos Ltd., "Τα Καλύτερα Μας Χρόνια" [Our Best Years] (Black-tracker, 2007).

97. Astrinakis, Νεανικές Υποκουλτούρες, 251, 266; and Papadogiannis, "From Coherence to Fragments," 86.

98. Astrinakis, Νεανικές Υποκουλτούρες, 243, 253, 302.

99. "Οι Λύκοι Των Εξαρχείων."

100. Kornetis, "No More Heroes?" 180.

101. In an antifascist rally that took place in Athens (29 May 2012), anarchists shouted the slogan "EAM-ELAS-Meligalas." EAM and ELAS were the Communist-dominated resistance movement and its military wing, respectively, during the Axis occupation of Greece. Meligalas was the site of a controversial battle between ELAS and the security

battalions, which were collaborationist military units. It should be noted, though, that during the Axis occupation the Communist resistance executed several anarchists, Trotskyists, and other left-wing dissidents.

102. "Οι Λύκοι Των Εξαρχείων."

103. Dupuis-Déri, "The Black Blocs Ten Years after Seattle," 53.

104. Alexandros Kyriakopoulos and Efthimis Gourgouris, Ανησυχία: Μια Καταγραφή Του Αυθορμήτου Τον Δεκέμβριο Του 2008 [Restlessness: A Record of the Spontaneous December 2008] (Athens: Kastaniotis, 2009).

105. Vidali, "Youth Deviance and Social Exclusion in Greece," 342; "Τα Ονόματα Των 394 Συλληφθέντων Μετά Την Εισβολή Των Ματ Στο Πολυτεχνείο" [The Names of the 394 Arrestees after the Invasion of the Polytechnic by the Riot Police], *Elefterotypia*, 20 November 1995; and V. Leventis et al., "Πολυτεχνείο -Η Επέμβαση" [Polytechnic—the Intervention], in *News*. Athens: Mega Channel, 1995.

106. Ioanna Sotirchou, "Ρήξη Με Τη Γυάλινη Πλήξη" [Fracturing the Glass Boredom], *Eleftherotypia*, 20 November 1995.

107. G. Labropoulos Vasilis, "Η 'Τάξη Του '95′ Γέννησε . . . Αντάρτες: Υπόπτους Για Εγοπλη Δράση Εντοπίζει Η ΕΛ.ΑΣ. Στη Λίστα Των 394 Συλληφθέντων Μετά Την Εισβολή Των ΜΑΤ Στο Πολυτεχνείο" [The "Generation of '95" Gave Birth to . . . Guerillas: The Police Have Encountered Suspects of Armed Acts in the List of the 394 Arrestees after the Riot Police Entered the Polytechnic], *To Vima*, 18 April 2010; and "Η Κοινωνιολογία Της Κλούβας" [Dungeon Sociology], *Ios, Eleftherotypia*, 23 November 1996.

108. "Οι Λύκοι Των Εξαρχείων."

109. Dupuis-Déri, "The Black Blocs Ten Years after Seattle," 53.

110. Spyros Economides and Vassilis Monastiriotis, eds., *The Return of Street Politics? Essays on the December Riots in Greece* (London: Hellenic Observatory, LSE, 2009), 65.

111. Barclay and Comfort, *People without Government*, 122; and Kornetis, "No More Heroes?" 184.

112. Marianthi Georgalidou, "'Stop Caressing the Ears of the Hooded': Political Humour in Times of Conflict," in *Studies in Political Humour: In between Political Critique and Public Entertainment*, ed. Villy Tsakona and Diana E. Popa (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2011).

113. Schildt and Siegfried, "Youth, Consumption, and Politics in the Age of Radical Change," 17.

114. Vidali, "Youth Deviance and Social Exclusion in Greece," 341– 42.