

Golden Dawn

Name: Golden Dawn

Type of Organization:

- Political party
- criminal

Ideologies and Affiliations:

- Neo-fascist
- neo-Nazi
- ultra-nationalist

Place of Origin:

Greece

Year of Origin:

1985

Founder(s):

Nikolaos Michaloliakos

Places of Operation:

Greece, Australia, United States

Overview

Also Known As:

- National Dawn^{1 2}
- Popular Association - Golden Dawn^{3 4}
- Λαϊκός Σύνδεσμος - Χρυσή Αυγή^{5 6}
- Χρυσή Αυγή^{7 8}

Executive summary:

Golden Dawn is a neo-Nazi party that has risen from a marginal role in Greek politics to become the third-largest political force in Greece in the wake of the 2008-09 global financial crisis and the subsequent implementation of severe austerity measures. Golden Dawn does not limit its extremism to rhetoric—party members have been involved in hundreds of acts of violence against immigrants and leftists across Greece. After a murder investigation from 2013 implicated at least one Golden Dawn Member of Parliament (MP) and several other members, further investigation into the political party—including through photos, videos, and phone records in the prosecutor’s case file—revealed a group whose members have illegally possessed firearms and explosives, and participated in money laundering, human trafficking, aggravated assault, and protection rings. One ex-member of Golden Dawn has claimed that the party discussed plots to overthrow the Greek government using “tanks.”⁹

Golden Dawn was founded in the 1980s by neo-Nazi [Nikolaos Michaloliakos](#) [1]. The party has long used strongly racist and anti-Semitic rhetoric, and the ancient Greek symbol used by Golden Dawn closely resembles the Nazi swastika. In particular, the party has focused its platform on opposing immigration and immigrants; its campaign slogan during the 2012 Greek general election was “So we can rid this land of filth.”¹⁰

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For over two decades, the party enjoyed negligible support, securing less than one percent of the vote in local, national, and European elections. However, after the 2008-09 global financial crisis and the Greek government's subsequent imposition of severe austerity measures that caused widespread unemployment and poverty, Golden Dawn's electoral success improved dramatically.

As welfare provision and public services were dramatically rolled back in recent years due to the austerity measures, Golden Dawn has worked to fill this gap. The party provides a range of social services—particularly to poverty-stricken working class families—including soup kitchens, medical advice, “Greek-only” blood banks, and donations of food and clothing. The exclusive availability of these services to Greek citizens has led Athens Mayor George Kaminis to refer to them as “soup kitchens of hatred.”¹¹

In the 2012 Greek general election, Golden Dawn secured just under 7 percent of the countrywide vote, which translated into 18 seats in the Greek parliament and made the party the fifth-largest political force in Greece. Since then, Golden Dawn had been able to maintain its electoral success in successive local and European elections and even increased its share of the vote.¹² In 2014, Golden Dawn was elected into the European Parliament, taking three of 21 available seats for Greece. However, one elected Member of the European Parliament (MEP)—Eleftherios Synadinos—resigned from Golden Dawn in April 2018 and founded the Patriotic Radical Union (PAT.R.I.E.). He resumed his MEP function as a non-attached member.¹³ Following the result of the European elections in 2014, Golden Dawn constituted the third-largest political force in Greece. In the September 2015 elections, Golden Dawn again finished third in Greece's general elections, despite key leaders having to run for office behind bars.¹⁴ In July 2019 national elections, however, Golden Dawn won less than 3 percent of the vote and failed to meet the mandated voter threshold to send representatives to the Greek parliament.¹⁵

Golden Dawn has long matched political action with violence, with its members taking part in hundreds of violent attacks. Golden Dawn members are also suspected of responsibility for the murders of two immigrants.¹⁶ Beginning in 2014, Golden Dawn tried to soften its image, attempting to rebrand itself as a nationalist organization and claiming that prior Golden Dawn references to the Nazi Party were “youthful indiscretions.”¹⁷ In order to appeal to more middle-class voters, Golden Dawn candidates in the recent European elections included university professors, lawyers, surgeons, businesspeople, and a former NATO commander. However, despite these cosmetic image changes, Golden Dawn's violent attacks against immigrants and leftists continue.

The murder of anti-fascist rapper Pavlos Fyssas in September 2013 by Golden Dawn member Giorgos Roupakias triggered widespread outrage across Greece and led to a government-led crackdown on the group. As the Greek constitution does not permit banning political parties, the government has attempted to limit the group's activities and funding through criminal investigations and prosecutions. In February 2015, a judicial panel charged 69 key party leaders—including several MPs—with belonging to a criminal organization, as well as possession of illegal weaponry, extortion, bodily harm, and murder. On March 20, 2015, all detained Golden Dawn members were released because Greek law allows for a maximum pre-trial detention period of 18 months.¹⁸ The trial commenced on April 20, 2015, and a verdict was reached on October 7, 2020.¹⁹

As the criminal investigations have led to a discontinuation of Golden Dawn's state funding for the party—previously a major source of the party's income—Golden Dawn sought to explore international avenues to widen its reach and to attract funding by opening offices in the United States and Canada where large Greek diaspora communities exist. Golden Dawn also used the trials to present itself as the victim of state repression.²⁰

On November 6, 2019, party leader and founder Nikos Michaloliakos took the stand for the first time. He denied charges of running a criminal organization and claimed the accusations were a political tactic to denigrate and dismantle Golden Dawn.²¹

After a five-year trial, on October 7, 2020, the Athens Appeals Court found Golden Dawn guilty of running a criminal organization. More than 68 defendants, including the entire group's leadership, faced charges of operating a criminal organization while posing as a political group, attempted murder, possession of weapons, and employing violence to

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remove political rivals, migrants, and communists. The trial was the largest court hearing of Nazis to have taken place since the Nuremberg trials of 1945 to 1949 where 24 major political and military leaders of Nazi Germany were brought to trial before the International Military Tribunal. According to the *Guardian*, the case file included hundreds of incriminating videos and more than 6,000 documents of testimonies describing Golden Dawn's organizational structure and activities which glorified Nazi culture.²²

Although individual sentences are to be announced in the upcoming week, the senior members of the organization, including group leader Nicholas Michaloliakos, face sentences of five to 15 years in jail for running a criminal group. Additionally, Giorgos Roupakias was convicted with murdering anti-fascist rapper Pavlos Fyssas, and 15 other members were convicted of conspiracy in the killing of Fyssas. Other convictions include five members being found guilty of the attempted murder of an Egyptian fisherman, and four others convicted of grievous bodily harm for an attack on communist trade unionists. While the verdict did not formally ban the organization, the group polled below the three percent threshold to reenter parliament in the July 2019 general election and as of October 2020, all of the group's local offices have been shut down.²³

Doctrine:

Golden Dawn openly advocates national socialism, racism, and anti-Semitism. Hitler, the Third Reich, Rudolf Hess, the Waffen SS, and the swastika are Golden Dawn's idols and emblems and have appeared repeatedly in its publications and rallies.²⁴ In 1987, Golden Dawn leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos wrote in the party magazine, "We are the faithful soldiers of the National Socialist idea and nothing else."²⁵ Even as recently as 2012, Michaloliakos denied the Holocaust: "I have read a lot of books casting doubts on the number of six million Jews... There were no ovens, no gas chambers, it's a lie."²⁶

In Golden Dawn's ideology, the absolute enemy of the nation—indeed, of the entire planet—is considered to be the United States and liberalism. This theory is based on notions of the "cultural superiority" of an "Orthodox Greek nation" threatened by "Western bourgeois culture" and a supposed "Jewish conspiracy."²⁷ Correspondingly, the real "friends of the nation" are considered to be Russia, Serbia, and other Orthodox Christian countries, the Arabs, who are "oppressed by Zionism," and every right-wing regime worldwide, as long as it is an enemy of the United States and Israel. But like other right-wing extremist parties, Golden Dawn is also fighting the purported "Islamification" of Greece and Europe.

Special notice should be made of the participation of Golden Dawn members in ethnic cleansing of Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica in 1995. Golden Dawn sent some of its members to join the so-called "Greek Volunteer Guard" to fight on the side of the Bosnian Serbs lead by Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić.²⁸ After the massacres at Srebrenica, this "Guard" triumphantly raised the Greek flag side-by-side with the Chetnik flag.²⁹

Golden Dawn campaigns on a strongly anti-immigration platform, using racist slurs openly and regularly. For example, in a 2012 interview, two parliamentarians demanded that only people with "Greek blood" should be allowed to participate in elections.³⁰ The party's xenophobia is coupled with an apparent fundamental contempt for liberal democracy. In 2012, Golden Dawn MP [Ilias Kasidiaris](#) [2] made international headlines when he physically attacked two female left-wing MPs on a live talk show because they had criticized Golden Dawn.³¹ When Golden Dawn leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos briefly appeared in parliament in June 2014 for a vote to strip him of his immunity from prosecution on further charges, he verbally abused other MPs. Outside of the parliament, hundreds of Golden Dawn supporters sang the national anthem and insulted MPs, shouting "Scum! Traitors!"³²

Beginning in 2014, Golden Dawn sought to soften its image in order to appeal to a bigger spectrum of voters. During the 2014 European elections, for example, many of Golden Dawn's candidates were middle-class professionals, including university professors, lawyers, surgeons, businesspeople, and a former NATO commander.³³ When Golden Dawn organizes public events, it now rejects the neo-Nazi label and prefers to present itself as a "nationalist" and "patriotic" organization (although there are exceptions to this practice).³⁴ Partly due to Golden Dawn's agitation, brutal attacks on immigrants and

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other hate crimes (mainly against leftists) have become common phenomena in Greece.³⁵

Greek neo-Nazis also engage in social action—but only for “real Greeks.”³⁶ They have established an expansive outreach program that provides services to the elderly in impoverished areas and distributes food and clothing to the needy (termed by Athens Mayor George Kaminis as “soup kitchens of hatred”),³⁷ drawing comparisons to [Hezbollah](#) [3] by party leaders themselves.³⁸ As welfare services such as health care provided by the state are drastically rolled back due to the country’s austerity measures, Golden Dawn has tried to fill the gap—for example, by establishing a network of doctors that provide medical advice to impoverished families.³⁹

Organizational Structure:

According to a report by a Greek prosecutor, Golden Dawn’s leadership structure is similar to a “military-type operational force whose members attack mainly immigrants.”⁴⁰ Inspired by the *Führerprinzip* prominent in Nazi ideology, Golden Dawn’s leadership structure is strictly hierarchical.⁴¹ Consequently, Greek prosecutors argued that Golden Dawn’s leadership orchestrates the violent attacks carried out by members of the group.⁴²

In 2013, the *Guardian* (London) reported that members of the Greek armed forces have been training “Golden Dawn hit squads,” paramilitary-like structures that allegedly encompass up to 3,000 members.⁴³

Financing:

Public funding originally constituted an important source of financing for Golden Dawn. For example in 2013, 873,000 euros in Greek state funding had been allocated to the party. However, following a vote in parliament in October 2013, state funding for Golden Dawn was cut off due to the ongoing investigation by state prosecutors as to whether Golden Dawn is a criminal organization.⁴⁴

Golden Dawn has declined to shed light on its funding sources, stating simply that it is funded by supporters.⁴⁵ Journalist Dimitris Psarras alleges that Golden Dawn has received financial support from like-minded groups in Europe and Russia.⁴⁶ Golden Dawn has also used its satellite offices to raise money and donations for its cause. In September 2014, the London-based *Guardian* reported that Golden Dawn’s Australian branch had raised money through an unregistered charity called Voithame Tin Ellada (VTE).⁴⁷

Recruitment:

Golden Dawn employs a range of strategies to recruit members, including grassroots mobilization and participating in neighborhood initiatives. It has attracted widespread appeal, boasting thousands of members and attendants at Golden Dawn rallies.⁴⁸ Golden Dawn also works to appeal to Greek expatriates, including those living in Australia, Canada, and the United States.⁴⁹ The group also recruits online. According to the website, Golden Dawn New York aims “to counter the lies and propaganda against Golden Dawn in the English speaking world by providing official translations of Golden Dawn articles.”⁵⁰

Within the country, Golden Dawn is heavily focused on recruiting from Greek’s youth population. The group has used gyms, athletic clubs, and martial arts clubs as grounds for recruiting youths. It actively recruits at high schools, and even stands accused of launching an indoctrination course called “national awakening,” aimed at children ages 6-10.⁵¹ These sessions have included lessons on neutral subjects like ancient Greek history and the Christian faith. However, according to Greece’s education ministry, the course was a blatant form of manipulation, aimed to instill a sense of Greek supremacy. The competing Greek party Syriza accused Golden Dawn of “brainwashing little tots with Nazi propaganda.”⁵² Educators and commentators have also noted similarities to the Nazi method of indoctrination.

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In 2011, Golden Dawn opened an office in Heraklion, the capitol of Crete. For years, party members approached young people “in cafes and the gym, presenting themselves as family and protectors. They took them for coffee and gave them lessons on Greek history.” Following the 2013 murder of Pavlos Fyssas, local teachers made an effort to teach history in a less nationalistic manner as well as discuss and confront fascist ideology in the classroom. More than 50 schools also organized an anti-fascist festival. In April 2018, militant activists destroyed Golden Dawn’s office in Heraklion, causing them to leave the island.⁵³

Golden Dawn has a youth club, Galazia Stratia (Blue Army). The group has used bribes to recruit younger members. It hands out cellphones to students, claiming that the kids need access to phones in order to protect themselves from neighborhood crime. They even aim to appeal to Greek youth through music. As of 2013, two of Golden Dawn’s members of parliament were musicians, and had used music to propagate violent and hateful messages. One MP was the bass player in a band that praised Hitler’s Auschwitz death camp in one song, and had another song called “Speak Greek Or Die.”⁵⁴ Members of the Galazia Stratia have also been regular participants and instigators of soccer hooliganism. Analysts believe that strong emotional ties to a soccer team help create a sense of identity and belonging that is particularly appealing to disaffected youth. In November 2017, hooligans of the Thessaloniki PAOK soccer club insulted and attacked local Pakistani Muslims who publicly celebrated the birth of the Prophet Mohammed.⁵⁵

In public platforms, Golden Dawn propagates an extremist Greek supremacy ideology at the exclusion of the country’s immigrants, homosexuals, and religious and ethnic minorities. The group appears to have capitalized on the immigration crisis to curry favor with the population. One Golden Dawn MP has said, “There are no legal migrants in Greece, not even one.”⁵⁶ The party’s 2012 election slogan was similarly xenophobic and ominous: “So we can rid this land of filth.”⁵⁷ Golden Dawn has also benefitted from the country’s financial crisis. In line with its nationalist, supremacist ideology, the party has refused to accept any austerity measures from Greece’s creditors, endearing the group to the mainstream Greek population.⁵⁸

Training:

During the highly publicized Golden Dawn trial, prosecutors have painted Golden Dawn as a criminal organization posing as a political party.⁵⁹ In doing so, the prosecution has pointed to evidence of military training and attack battalions that, according to one ex-member of Golden Dawn are preparing “to overthrow the Greek government.”⁶⁰ Evidence from the prosecutors shows Golden Dawn members in military clothing wielding knives, swords, handguns, rifles, and even a bazooka.⁶¹ According to the ex-member of Golden Dawn, “They kept telling us that we’ll break into the parliament with tanks.”⁶²

According to the ex-member—serving as a witness in the trial against Golden Dawn MPs—Golden Dawn even recruited a butcher in order to train its members in the art of using a knife effectively so they could learn to “neutralize opponents.”⁶³ The butcher also allegedly supplied guns to Golden Dawn members.⁶⁴

¹ Liz

² Alderman, “Greece’s Far-Right Party Tries to Evade Government Crackdown With a New Name,” *New York Times*, February 2, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/03/world/europe/greeces-far-right-party-tries-to-evade-government-crackdown-with-a-new-name.html?_r=0 [4].

³ Popular

⁴ Association – Golden Dawn, accessed August 18, 2015, <http://www.xryshaygh.com/en> [5].

⁵ Λαϊκός

⁶ Σύνδεσμος – Χρυσή Αυγή, accessed August 18, 2015, <http://www.xryshaygh.com/> [6].

⁷ Λαϊκός

⁸ Σύνδεσμος – Χρυσή Αυγή, accessed August 18, 2015, <http://www.xryshaygh.com/> [6].

⁹ Yiannis Baboulias, “Greece’s Neo-Nazis Were Scarier Than Anyone Imagined,” *Foreign Policy*, November 13, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/11/13/greeces-neo-nazis-were-scarier-than-anyone-imagined/> [7].

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⁵⁰ "About," Golden Dawn New York, accessed August 28, 2015, <https://xaameriki.wordpress.com/about> [47].

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⁵² Gianluca Mezzofiore, "Neo-Nazi Golden Dawn Recruits Children in 'National Awakening' History Course," *International Business Times*, February 28, 2013, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/golden-dawn-greece-children-recruit-indoctrination-440502> [48].

⁵³ Jessica Bateman, "'Their ideas had no place here': how Crete kicked out Golden Dawn," *Guardian*, December 3, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2018/dec/03/their-ideas-had-no-place-here-how-crete-kicked-out-golden-dawn> [49].

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⁵⁵ Al Neal, "Greek soccer faces FIFA expulsion after recent wave of violence," *People's World*, March 15, 2018, <https://www.peoplesworld.org/article/greek-soccer-faces-fifa-expulsion-after-recent-wave-of-violence/> [51]; "Greek football hooligans attack Pakistanis celebrating Prophet Mohammed's birthday in Athens (VIDEO)," RT News, November 27, 2017, <https://www.rt.com/news/411018-athens-violence-hooligans-pakistani/> [52].

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⁵⁶ Paul Mason, "Alarm at Greek police 'collusion' with far-right Golden Dawn," BBC News, October 17, 2012, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-19976841> [53].

⁵⁷ Jessica Elgot, "European Elections: 9 Scariest Far-Right Parties Now In The European Parliament," Huffington Post, May 26, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/05/26/far-right-europe-election_n_5391873.html [54].

⁵⁸ Luke Hurst, "End Austerity to Beat Greek Fascism, Says Syriza," *Newsweek*, February 25, 2015, <http://europe.newsweek.com/greece-racism-309242> [55].

⁵⁹ "Greece trial of Golden Dawn members begins," Al Jazeera, April 20, 2015, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/04/greece-trial-golden-dawn-150420081447112.html> [56].

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⁶¹ Yiannis Baboulias, "Greece's Neo-Nazis Were Scarier Than Anyone Imagined," *Foreign Policy*, November 13, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/11/13/greeces-neo-nazis-were-scarier-than-anyone-imagined/> [7].

⁶² Yiannis Baboulias, "Greece's Neo-Nazis Were Scarier Than Anyone Imagined," *Foreign Policy*, November 13, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/11/13/greeces-neo-nazis-were-scarier-than-anyone-imagined/> [7].

⁶³ Yiannis Baboulias, "Greece's Neo-Nazis Were Scarier Than Anyone Imagined," *Foreign Policy*, November 13, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/11/13/greeces-neo-nazis-were-scarier-than-anyone-imagined/> [7].

⁶⁴ Yiannis Baboulias, "Greece's Neo-Nazis Were Scarier Than Anyone Imagined," *Foreign Policy*, November 13, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/11/13/greeces-neo-nazis-were-scarier-than-anyone-imagined/> [7].

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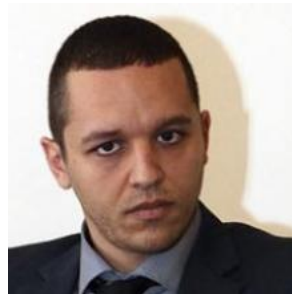
Key Leaders



Nikolaos Michaloliakos



Christos Pappas



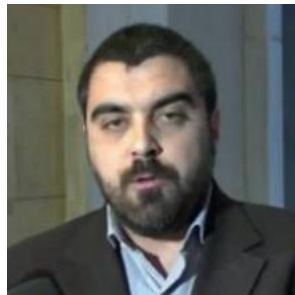
Ilias Kasidiaris



Ilias Panagiotaros



Giannis Giannopoulos



Artemis Mattheopoulos
Golden Dawn Member of Greek Parliament



Georgios Epitideios
Golden Dawn Member of European Parliament



Lampros Fountoulis
Golden Dawn Member of European Parliament



Eleytherios Synadinos
Member of European Parliament affiliated with the Patriotic Radical Union (PAT.R.I.E.), resigned from Golden Dawn in 2018



Theodoros Koudounas
Member of Golden Dawn's central committee



Ioannis Vouldis
Member of Golden Dawn's central committee



Konstantinos Barbarousis
Former Golden Dawn Member of Greek Parliament (expelled)

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History:

- **November 6, 2019:** Party leader and founder Nikos Michaloliakos takes the stand for the first time. He denies charges of running a criminal organization and claims the accusations were a political tactic to denigrate and dismantle Golden Dawn. Michaloliakos denies he was associated with the killing of anti-fascist rapper Pavlos Fyssas in 2013. If found guilty, Michaloliakos faces up to 20 years in prison for his part in the killing. Source: "Michaloliakos takes the stand in Golden Dawn trial," Ekathimerini, November 6, 2011, <https://www.ekathimerini.com/246179/article/ekathimerini/news/michaloliakos-takes-the-stand-in-golden-dawn-trial> [26].
- **July 7, 2019:** Golden Dawn wins only 2.9 percent of the vote in Greek parliamentary elections, failing to meet the country's 3 percent threshold. As a result, Golden Dawn wins no seats in the elections. The party pledges to pursue a recount. Sources: Renee Maltezou, "Golden Dawn loses its luster as Greeks reject militant far-right," Reuters, July 8, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-greece-election-golden-dawn/golden-dawn-loses-its-luster-as-greeks-reject-militant-far-right-idUSKCN1U31ND> [13]; Demetris Nellas, "Greece: Extreme right party seeks recount after poll flop," Associated Press, July 8, 2019, <https://apnews.com/9df66723489b4260a2500adbafc9e919> [14].
- **June 2018:** Golden Dawn expels Constantinos Barbarousis, Member of the Greek Parliament, after being indicted on charges of treason for promoting a military coup and the arrest of Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras during a Parliament's plenary session. Source: Ousted Golden Dawn member Barbarousis given until Wednesday to prepare his defense," Ekathimerini, June 18, 2018, <http://www.ekathimerini.com/229759/article/ekathimerini/news/ousted-golden-dawn-member-barbarousis-given-until-wednesday-to-prepare-his-defense> [57].
- **April 2018:** Eleftherios Synadinou, an elected MEP, resigns from Golden Dawn and creates the Patriotic Radical Union (PAT.R.I.E.). He resumes his MEP function as a non-attached member at the European Parliament. Sources: "Golden Dawn MEP Leaves Party, Becomes Independent," *National Herald*, April 21, 2018, <https://www.thenationalherald.com/197952/golden-dawn-mep-leaves-party-becomes-independent/> [11]; "MEPs," European Parliament, accessed January 8, 2019, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/search/advanced?name=-&groupCode=&countryCode=GR&bodyType=ALL> [58].
- **March 9, 2016:** One of Golden Dawn's MEPs is expelled from the plenary session after a racist outburst, calling Turks "dirty and polluted" and "like wild dogs." Source: Maia De La Baume, "Greek MEP booted out for calling Turks 'wild dogs'," Politico, March 9, 2016, <https://www.politico.eu/article/greek-mep-booted-calling-turks-barbaric-wild-dogs-european-parliament-golden-dawn-racism/> [59].
- **March 31, 2017:** Golden Dawn's headquarter in Athens is attacked by a group armed with sledgehammers, batons, helmets, and firebombs. No one is injured. Source: Lizzie Dearden, "Golden Dawn: Greek far-right party's headquarters attacked with sledgehammers," Independent, March 31, 2017, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/golden-dawn-offices-attack-sledgehammers-greek-far-right-party-greece-athens-paint-rush-our-a7659481.html> [60].
- **September 2015:** Golden Dawn wins third place in Greece's parliamentary elections with 6.99 percent of the vote. The party sends 18 representatives to Greece's 300-member parliament. Sources: Helena Smith, "Neo-fascist Greek party takes third place in wave of voter fury," *Guardian* (London), September 20, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/21/neo-fascist-greek-party-election-golden-dawn-third-place> [61]; Demetris Nellas, "Greece: Extreme right party seeks recount after poll flop," Associated Press, July 8, 2019, <https://apnews.com/9df66723489b4260a2500adbafc9e919> [14].
- **April 20, 2015:** The first court session takes place but is immediately adjourned. The trial is characterized by delays, inefficiencies, and public sector strikes. A verdict is expected for 2020. Sources: Omaira Gill, "Greece's Golden Dawn trial going nowhere fast," *Deutsche Welle*, April 20, 2016, <https://www.dw.com/en/greeces-golden-dawn-trial-going-nowhere-fast/a-19197580> [17]; Patrick Strickland, "Greek prosecutors say Golden Dawn 'stalling' as trial drags on," *Aljazeera*, October 12, 2018, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/10/greek-prosecutors-golden-dawn-stalling-trial-drags-181012123009018.html> [62].
- **February 2015:** A judicial panel charges 69 defendants—including 18 Golden Dawn MPs—with belonging to a criminal organization, as well as possession of illegal weaponry, extortion, bodily harm, and murder. Source: Omaira Gill, "Greece's Golden Dawn trial going nowhere fast," *Deutsche Welle*, April 20, 2016, <https://www.dw.com/en/greeces-golden-dawn-trial-going-nowhere-fast/a-19197580> [17].
- **January 2015:** Golden Dawn comes third in the elections, earning 17 seats in Greece's parliament. Source: Laurence Peter, "Greek elections: Jail fails to deter far-right Golden Dawn," *BBC News*, January 26, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-eu-30980002> [63].
- **November 2014:** In the state prosecutor's file against Golden Dawn MPs, one witness alleges that Golden Dawn recruited a butcher in order to train its members in the art of using a knife effectively so they could learn to "neutralize opponents." Source: Yiannis Baboulias, "Greece's Neo-Nazis Were Scarier Than Anyone Imagined," *Foreign Policy*, November 13, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/11/13/greeces-neo-nazis-were-scarier-than-anyone-imagined/> [7].
- **October 2014:** Greek state prosecutor Isidoros Doyiakos orders all Golden Dawn MPs to face trial. Source: Helena Smith, "Greek prosecutor orders all Golden Dawn MPs to face criminal trial," *Guardian* (London), October 16, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/oct/16/greece-golden-dawn-mps-tried-criminal-offences> [64].
- **September 16, 2014:** The annual report by the Greek national police's internal affairs department identifies several

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police force members with links to Golden Dawn,

claiming that those individuals turned a blind eye to offenses committed by the group. Source: "Police report identifies officers with ties to Golden Dawn," *ekathimerini.com*, September 29, 2014, http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/_w_articles_wsate1_1_17/09/2014_542992 [65].

- **May 22, 2014:**In elections for the European Parliament, Golden Dawn secures 9.4 percent of the vote in Greece and takes three of 21 available seats for Greece.
While Golden Dawn currently does not affiliate with any faction in the European Parliament due to the party's violent neo-Nazism, it previously held membership in the European National Front. Source: "Results of the 2014 European elections," European Parliament, accessed October 4, 2014, <http://www.results-elections2014.eu/en/country-results-el-2014.html#table03> [66].
- **May 18, 2014 - May 22, 2014:**In local elections, Golden Dawn emerges as the third-largest political force nationally. Source: Helen Smith, "SS songs and antisemitism: the week Golden Dawn turned openly Nazi," *Guardian*, June 7 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/07/greece-golden-dawn-fascism-threat-to-democracy> [37].
- **January 2014:**Because of a possible ban on Golden Dawn's participation in European elections in May 2014, 200 Golden Dawn supporters register a new political party, National Dawn.
Source: Kerin Hope, "Greece: Golden Dawn plans for election race as leaders face jail," *Financial Times*, February 7, 2014, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/917c4244-8fe2-11e3-aee9-00144feab7de.html#axzz3FoMqvrSL> [67].
- **January 2014:**Three additional Golden Dawn politicians are arrested and accused of holding key roles in a criminal organization responsible for a range of violent attacks on immigrants and opponents. The trial of Golden Dawn members begins in early 2015. Source: Karolina Tagaris and Gina Kalovyrna, "Three more Greek far-right party MPs ordered held awaiting trial," Reuters, January 12, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/01/12/us-greece-dawn-lawmakers-idUSBREA0B0JS20140112> [68]; "Greece's far-right Golden Dawn spokesman jailed pending trial," *Deutsche Welle*, July 10, 2014, <http://www.dw.de/greeces-far-right-golden-dawn-spokesman-jailed-pending-trial/a-17775525> [69].
- **November 1, 2013:**Two members of Golden Dawn are shot in Athens.
The murders are thought to be an act of retaliation following the fatal stabbing of anti-fascist rapper Pavlos Fyssas in September 2013. Source: Renee Maltezo, "Greeks fear more violence after Golden Dawn members shot dead," Reuters, November 2, 2014, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2013/11/02/uk-greece-killing-idUKBRE9A106120131102> [70].
- **October 23, 2013:**The Greek parliament votes to cut off Golden Dawn's public funding.
Source: Renee Maltezo and Harry Papachristou, "Greece cuts off state funding to far-right Golden Dawn party," Reuters, October 22, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/10/22/us-greece-goldendawn-funding-idUSBRE99L1120131022> [71].
- **October 16, 2013:**The Greek parliament votes to strip six Golden Dawn MPs of immunity from prosecution, allowing criminal investigations to deepen.
Source: Renee Maltezo, "Greek parliament strips immunity of six Golden Dawn lawmakers," Reuters, October 16, 2013, accessed October 1, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/10/16/us-greece-goldendawn-idUSBRE99F0PN20131016> [72].
- **October 2, 2013:**Three senior Golden Dawn MPs—Ilias Kasidiari, Ilias Panagiotaros, and Nikos Micho—are released pending trial on criminal charges.
A fourth Golden Dawn MP, Yannis Lagos, remains in detention. Kasidiari is released on bail of 50,000 euros. Source: Renee Maltezo and Yorgos Karahalas, "Greece's Golden Dawn lawmakers freed before trial," Reuters, October 2, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/10/02/us-greece-goldendawn-free-idUSBRE9910EM20131002> [73].
- **September 28, 2013:**Greek police arrests Golden Dawn leader Michaloliakos, party spokesman Kasidiaris, and 13 other leading members on charges of forming a criminal organization. They are investigated for manslaughter, assault, extortion, bombings, and money laundering. The arrests and charges against members of the group constitute some of the most significant steps that can be taken against Golden Dawn, since the Greek constitution does not permit banning political parties in Greece. Source: Helen Smith, "Golden Dawn leader charged with heading a criminal gang," *Guardian*, September 28, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/28/greece-golden-dawn-leader-charged-criminal-gang> [74]; Dionyssis G. Dimitrakopoulos, "The political consequences of a Greek rapper's murder," *openDemocracy*, September 30, 2013, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/dionyssis-g-dimitrakopoulos/political-consequences-of-greek-rapper%E2%80%99s-murder> [75].
- **September 23, 2013:**An inquiry is launched over claims that members of Greece's armed forces were involved in training Golden Dawn hit squads.
According to the public order minister, "five senior police officers—the heads of the special forces, internal security, organised crime, firearms and explosives, and a rapid-response motorcycle division—had been moved to other posts pending investigations." In addition, the southern and central Greece police commanders step down from their posts citing personal reasons. Source: Helen Smith, "Greece launches inquiry into claims Golden Dawn trained by armed forces," *Guardian*, September 24, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/23/greece-inquiry-golden-dawn-armed-forces> [76].
- **September 17, 2013:**Leftist musician Pavlos Fyssas is stabbed to death near the port of Athens.
The attacker is later arrested by the police and states that he was a member of Golden Dawn. Source: Nektaria Stamouli, "Greek killing prompts fears of political violence," *Wall Street Journal*, September 18, 2014, <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424127887323308504579082922836516330> [77].
- **October 23, 2012:**Golden Dawn MP Ilias Kasidiaris reads aloud in parliament passages from the anti-Semitic forgery *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.
Source: Cnaan Lipshiz, "'Protocols of the Elders of Zion' read aloud in Greek Parliament," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, October 26, 2012, <http://www.jta.org/2012/10/26/news-opinion/world/protocols-of-the-elders-of-zion-read-aloud-in-greek-parliament#ixzz3Ft21Nmoy> [78].
- **June 17, 2012:**In Greek general elections, Golden Dawn receives 6.9 percent of the vote and 18 seats.
In the run-up to the elections, Golden Dawn had vowed "to 'clean' Greece of immigrants" and to put landmines on Greece's borders in order to stop illegal immigrants from entering the country. Source: Marcus Walker, Marianna Kakaounaki, "Greece Struggles to Outlaw Its Golden Dawn Fascist Party," *Wall Street Journal*, December 4, 2013, <http://www.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052702303281504579219983801909944>

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[79]; Jon Stone, "Golden Dawn's third place in the polls is not all it seems," *New Statesman*, November 1, 2012, <http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2012/11/golden-dawns-third-place-polls-not-all-it-seems> [80].

- **November 7, 2010:** Nikolaos Michaloliakos is elected to the Athens City Council and Golden Dawn secures over 5 percent of the vote in local elections.
Michaloliakos introduces himself to the city council with a Nazi salute. Source: Roxani Roushas, "Understanding the electoral breakthrough of Golden Dawn in Greece: A demand and supply perspective," International Migration Institute Centre on Migration, Policy & Society, Working Paper 112, 9, <http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/pdfs/wp/wp-83-14.pdf> [81]; Renee Maltezos, "Analysis: Secretive far-right party taps into Greeks' anger, fear," Reuters, April 25, 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/04/25/us-greece-election-dawn-idUSBRE8300YE20120425> [82].
- **October 4, 2009:** The Panhellenic Socialist Movement (Pasok) emerges victorious from Greek elections, securing 44 percent of the vote.
Source: "Greece's Socialist win snap pool," BBC News, October 5, 2009, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/8289674.stm> [83]; "Greece Early Parliamentary Elections, 4 October 2009: OSCE/ODIHR Election Assessment Mission Report," OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, December 23, 2009, 23, <http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/greece/41001?download=true> [84].
- **2007:** Golden Dawn re-launches as a political party.
Source: Yiannis Baboulias, "Who is Nikolaos Michaloliakos?" *London Review of Books*, October 3, 2013, <http://www.lrb.co.uk/blog/2013/10/03/yiannis-baboulias/who-is-nikolaos-michaloliakos/> [16].
- **2005:** Perikandros, who violently attacked Greek student Dimitris Kousouris in 1998, is sentenced to 12 years in prison.
Source: Roxani Roushas, "Understanding the electoral breakthrough of Golden Dawn in Greece: A demand and supply perspective," International Migration Institute Centre on Migration, Policy & Society, Working Paper 112, 9, <http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/pdfs/wp/wp-83-14.pdf> [81].
- **2005:** Golden Dawn essentially reorganizes itself as the short-lived nationalist party the Patriotic Alliance.
Source: Yiannis Baboulias, "Who is Nikolaos Michaloliakos?" *London Review of Books*, October 3, 2013, <http://www.lrb.co.uk/blog/2013/10/03/yiannis-baboulias/who-is-nikolaos-michaloliakos/> [16].
- **2004:** News media allege that Perikandros, who had violently attacked a student in 1998, was able to evade arrest for several years due to Golden Dawn's connections to the police force.
Source: Areti Athanasidou, "Αστυνομικοί κάλυπταν τον 'Περικάνδρο,' *Ta Nea*, April 17, 2004, <http://www.tanea.gr/relatedarticles/article/4332198?iid=2> [85].
- **1998:** Student Dimitris Kousouris is violently attacked by a high-ranking member of Golden Dawn named Perikandros. Allegedly, Kousouris was attacked because he had "insulted" the Greek flag. Source: Roxani Roushas, "Understanding the electoral breakthrough of Golden Dawn in Greece: A demand and supply perspective," International Migration Institute Centre on Migration, Policy & Society, Working Paper 112, 9, <http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/pdfs/wp/wp-83-14.pdf> [86].
- **1993 - 1999:** Following poor results in several elections, Golden Dawn seeks to contest elections as part of alliances of nationalist parties.
Source: Roxani Roushas, "Understanding the electoral breakthrough of Golden Dawn in Greece: A demand and supply perspective," International Migration Institute Centre on Migration, Policy & Society, Working Paper 112, 9, <http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/pdfs/wp/wp-83-14.pdf> [81].
- **1993:** Despite Golden Dawn's openly Nazi character and long history of violence, the Greek state recognizes it as a legal political party in 1993.
Source: "Golden Dawn: the rise and fall of Greece's neo-Nazi party," *The Week [U.K.]*, October 2, 2013, <http://www.theweek.co.uk/europe/55407/golden-dawn-rise-and-fall-greeces-neo-nazi-party> [87].
- **1985:** Nikolaos Michaloliakos leaves the EPEN and founds Golden Dawn.
- **June 14, 1984:** The EPEN gains 2.3 percent of the vote in the European elections and thereby secures one seat in the European Parliament.
Source: Richard Clogg, *Parties and Elections in Greece: The Search for Legitimacy* (London: C Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd, 1987), 185.
- **1984:** Nikolaos Michaloliakos becomes one of the leaders of the youth wing of the National Political Union (EPEN), which was founded by then-imprisoned Georgios Papadopoulos, leader of the military junta that ruled Greece from 1967 to 1974. Source: Yiannis Baboulias, "Who is Nikolaos Michaloliakos?" *London Review of Books*, October 3, 2013, <http://www.lrb.co.uk/blog/2013/10/03/yiannis-baboulias/who-is-nikolaos-michaloliakos/> [16].
- **1980 - 1989:** Nikolaos Michaloliakos begins to publish the fascist publication Golden Dawn (Greek: Chrysi Avgi). The front cover of one issue shows a picture of Adolf Hitler. Source: Yiannis Baboulias, "Who is Nikolaos Michaloliakos?" *London Review of Books*, October 3, 2013, <http://www.lrb.co.uk/blog/2013/10/03/yiannis-baboulias/who-is-nikolaos-michaloliakos/> [16].
- **1979:** Nikolaos Michaloliakos is convicted for "carrying illegal weapons and explosives as a member of a far-right group" and spends a short time in prison.
There, he meets members of the Greek military junta including Georgios Papadopoulos, the junta's former leader who ruled the country from 1967 to 1974. Source: Dina Kyriakidou, "Special Report: Greece's far-right party goes on the offensive," Reuters, November 12, 2012, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2012/11/12/us-greece-crisis-dawn-idUSBRE8AB09F20121112> [29].

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Violent history:

Golden Dawn MPs have personally been implicated in attacks and murders. In June 2012, Golden Dawn MP and spokesperson Ilias Kasidiaris physically assaulted two female left-wing politicians while being filmed on Greek TV show Good Morning Greece.⁶⁵ In September 2013, one Golden Dawn member stabbed leftist musician Pavlos Fyssas to death. Ioannis Lagos—a Golden Dawn MP—was implicated in Fyssas’s murder, and prosecutors claim that he directed the murder himself.

These are not lone incidents. Throughout the early 2010s, Golden Dawn members were recorded carrying out the majority of documented racist crimes in Greece.⁶⁶ Attacks committed by Golden Dawn members have ranged from stabbings, aggregated assaults, and murders. They were carried out both by individual members of Golden Dawn acting alone as well as those acting in a group.

- **May 2011:** A Bangladeshi immigrant is murdered by members of Golden Dawn.⁶⁷
- **June 12, 2012:** Golden Dawn members violently attack Egyptian fisherman Abou Zeid Mubarak⁶⁸
- **June 7, 2012:** On a morning television show, a high-profile member of Golden Dawn, Ilias Kasidiaris, physically assaults female politicians Rena Dourou and Liana Kanell. He throws water in Dourou’s face and slaps Kanell after she protested his assault on Dourou.⁶⁹
- **July 7, 2012:** A group of Golden Dawn members attack Pakistani immigrants outside their house in Nikaia.⁷⁰
- **August 23, 2012:** Members of Golden Dawn confronts police over the transfer of immigrants awaiting deportation to an army base in Corinth. They threaten to turn off the water supply to the base. Later, two immigrants were stabbed.⁷¹
- **August 25, 2012:** In the courtyard of the Greek parliament, Golden Dawn MP Dimitri Koukoutsis attacks the president of the Pakistani Community Association, Javed Aslam, and Vasiliki Katrivanou, an MP from the left-wing Syriza party.⁷²
- **September 7, 2012:** Two Golden Dawn MPs and approximately 50 group members attack migrant street vendors at a festival in Rafina. Two Golden Dawn members pretend to be immigration officers and asked to see documents while the group destroys stalls.⁷³
- **October 12, 2012:** A 21-year-old Egyptian is attacked by four members of Golden Dawn. He is severely beaten with chains and bitten by a dog. The attacks leave him blind.⁷⁴
- **November 1, 2012:** Around 150 people, including an unidentified number of high-ranking members of Golden Dawn, attack migrants and damage migrant shops.⁷⁵
- **November 15, 2012:** Members of Golden Dawn threaten to burn down the house of an immigrant family who was behind in their rent payments. The police only arrive after the group has left, and the group returns the following night to repeat their threats.⁷⁶
- **2013:** At least 100 attacks are attributed to Golden Dawn.⁷⁷ Investigations revealed that Golden Dawn regularly sends “militias” to attack migrants. A witness admits that he had participated several times in attacks with 50 to 60 motorcycles. Two neo-Nazis had sat on each motorcycle, and the ones sitting in the back “had a stick and beat on each Pakistani he could catch,” the witness says.⁷⁸
- **January 3, 2013:** An Egyptian worker is attacked by three men on motorbikes. Their jackets bear the sign of Golden Dawn.⁷⁹
- **February 7, 2013:** Members of Golden Dawn gather outside Medicin du Monde clinic in Perama and threaten staff and patients.⁸⁰
- **February 14, 2013:** A group of Golden Dawn members attack three Pakistani workers.⁸¹
- **July 21, 2013:** Six members of Golden Dawn pose as police officers and enter a house lived in by migrant workers in

Golden Dawn

Tavros to check their papers. When the migrants ask for help from a police car, the Golden Dawn members begin beating the migrants. They steal the migrants' wallets and work permits.⁸²

- **September 15, 2013:** Golden Dawn MP Ilias Panagiotaros interrupts a World War II remembrance event in the small town of Meligalas. He grabs the microphone, shouts, and shoves elderly townspeople.⁸³
- **September 17, 2013:** Leftist musician Pavlos Fyssas is stabbed to death near the port of Athens. The attacker is later arrested by the police and states that he was a member of Golden Dawn.⁸⁴
- **August 24, 2014:** Golden Dawn members attack a gay couple in Athens, seriously injuring one of them.⁸⁵
- **November 18, 2016:** Golden Dawn members are suspected of attacking a refugee camp with Molotov cocktails and rocks on the Greek island of Chios.⁸⁶
- **April 1, 2017:** A student is heavenly beaten and seriously injured allegedly by members of Golden Dawn.⁸⁷
- **November 1, 2017:** A prosecution lawyer in an ongoing Golden Dawn trial is attacked outside Athens police headquarters by Golden Dawn supporters.⁸⁸
- **February 26, 2018:** A group of suspected neo-Nazis and Golden Dawn members storms the anti-fascist Favela Free Social Center in Piraeus, wielding iron bars, setting off flares and besmearing the walls. Five people are injured. Party leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos denies Golden Dawn's involvement.⁸⁹
- **April 23, 2018:** Violent clashes between a Greek far-right group, riot police, and migrants rage on the island of Lesbos, leaving several people injured. Asylum seekers are protesting against their prolonged stay in the overcrowded registration camp, when far-right extremists insult and throw objects at them.⁹⁰
- **May 21, 2018:** Approximately two dozen people attack Thessaloniki's Mayor Yiannis Boutaris at a public event, throwing him on the ground and kicking him repeatedly. Police subsequently arrest four men, among them an off-duty police officer. As Boutaris is reviled by extreme nationalists, authorities blame the beating on "extreme-right thugs."⁹¹
- **December 17, 2018:** The Holocaust memorial in Thessaloniki is vandalized and besmeared with a swastika painting for the fourth time in 2018. Previous attacks have been attributed to far-right supporters, including those from neo-Nazi party Golden Dawn.⁹²

⁸⁵ "Golden Dawn, NYC (short documentary dir. Richard Ledes) 2014," YouTube video, 29:40, posted by "richardledes," June 10, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HdCEY2uNk88&feature=youtu.be> [88].

⁸⁶ "Profile: Greece's far-right Golden Dawn party," BBC News, October 1, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-24346993> [89].

⁸⁷ Helen Smith, "Greek prime minister calls for calm after murder of leftwing musician," *Guardian*, September 19, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/19/greek-prime-minister-golden-dawn> [90].

⁸⁸ Marcus Walker and Marianna Kakaounaki, "Greece struggles to outlaw its Golden Dawn Fascist party," *Wall Street Journal*, December 4, 2013, <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052702303281504579219983801909944> [91].

⁸⁹ Helen Smith, "Golden Dawn MP's live TV assault shocks Greece," *Guardian*, June 7, 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jun/07/golden-dawn-tv-assault-greece> [92].

⁹⁰ "Three Pakistanis attacked by members of Golden Dawn," The city at a time of crisis: Map of attacks on migrants in Athens, accessed October 1, 2014, <http://map.crisis-scape.net/reports/view/91> [93].

⁹¹ "Golden Dawn clash with police about the transfer of immigrants awaiting deportation to an army camp in Corinth," The city at a time of crisis: Map of attacks on migrants in Athens, accessed October 1, 2014, <http://map.crisis-scape.net/reports/view/45> [94].

⁹² "Golden Dawn physically attacks visiting president of Pakistani Community Association and Syriza MP in parliament courtyard," The city at a time of crisis: Map of attacks on migrants in Athens, accessed October 1, 2014, <http://map.crisis-scape.net/reports/view/41> [95].

⁹³ "Golden Dawn members, led by one MP attacks migrants street vendors in Rafina," The city at a time of crisis: Map of attacks on migrants in Athens, accessed October 1, 2014, <http://map.crisis-scape.net/reports/view/38> [96].

⁹⁴ "21 year old blinded by attack by four Golden Dawn members," The city at a time of crisis: Map of attacks on migrants in Athens, accessed October 1, 2014, <http://map.crisis-scape.net/reports/view/26> [97].

⁹⁵ Matthew Boesler, "REPORT: A Huge Golden Dawn Mob Led An Assault On Immigrants In Athens Last Night," *Business Insider*, November 1, 2012, <http://www.businessinsider.com/golden-dawn-mob-attack-greek-hairdresser-2012-11> [98].

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- ⁷⁶ “Threats to damage house of migrant family,” The city at a time of crisis: Map of attacks on migrants in Athens, accessed October 1, 2014, <http://map.crisis-scape.net/reports/view/167> [99].
- ⁷⁷ “Profile: Greece's far-right Golden Dawn party,” BBC News, October 1, 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-24346993> [100].
- ⁷⁸ “Griechische Neonazis schickten ‘Kampfmilizen’ los,” *Die Welt*, October 1, 2013, <http://www.welt.de/politik/ausland/article120540525/Griechische-Neonazis-schickten-Kampfmilizen-los.html> [101].
- ⁷⁹ “Egyptian worker attacked by three men on motorcycles,” The city at a time of crisis: Map of attacks on migrants in Athens, accessed October 1, 2014, <http://map.crisis-scape.net/reports/view/11> [102].
- ⁸⁰ “Golden Dawn threatens Medicin du Monde clinic in Perama,” The city at a time of crisis: Map of attacks on migrants in Athens, accessed October 1, 2014, <http://map.crisis-scape.net/reports/view/5> [103].
- ⁸¹ “Three workers from Pakistan were attacked by seven Gilded [sic] Dawn (greek neonazi party) members,” The city at a time of crisis: Map of attacks on migrants in Athens, accessed October 1, 2014, <http://map.crisis-scape.net/reports/view/89> [104].
- ⁸² “Golden Dawn attack home of migrants,” The city at a time of crisis: Map of attacks on migrants in Athens, accessed October 1, 2014, <http://map.crisis-scape.net/reports/view/125> [105].
- ⁸³ Marcus Walker and Marianna Kakaounaki, “Greece struggles to outlaw its Golden Dawn Fascist party,” *Wall Street Journal*, December 4, 2013, <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052702303281504579219983801909944> [91].
- ⁸⁴ Nektaria Stamouli, “Greek killing prompts fears of political violence,” *Wall Street Journal*, September 18, 2014, <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424127887323308504579082922836516330> [77].
- ⁸⁵ “Rise in Greek anti-gay attacks blamed on Golden Dawn party,” *South China Morning Post*, August 26, 2014, <http://www.scmp.com/news/world/article/1580879/rise-greek-anti-gay-attacks-blamed-golden-dawn-party> [106].
- ⁸⁶ Helena Smith and Patrick Kingsley, “Far-right group attacks refugee camp on Greek island of Chios,” *Guardian*, November 18, 2016, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/18/far-right-group-attacks-refugee-camp-greek-island-chios> [107].
- ⁸⁷ “Student brutally attacked allegedly by Golden Dawn members,” Keep Talking Greece, April 1, 2017, <https://www.keeptalkinggreece.com/2017/04/01/student-brutally-attacked-allegedly-by-golden-dawn-members/> [108].
- ⁸⁸ Tasos Kokkinidis, “Lawyer in Golden Dawn Trial Attacked by Neo-Nazis in Athens,” Greek Reporter, November 1, 2017, <https://greece.greekreporter.com/2017/11/01/lawyer-in-golden-dawn-trial-attacked-by-neo-nazis-in-athens/> [109].
- ⁸⁹ Tasos Kokkinidis, “Neo-Nazis Attack Greek Anti-Fascist Center, Injure 5,” Greek Reporter, February 26, 2018, <https://greece.greekreporter.com/2018/02/26/neo-nazis-attack-greek-anti-fascist-center-injure-5/> [110]; Carolin Philipp, “Griechenland: Renaissance des Faschismus,” *Missy Magazine*, October 11, 2018, <https://missy-magazine.de/blog/2018/10/11/griechenland-renaissance-des-faschismus/> [111].
- ⁹⁰ Niki Kitsantonis, “‘One of the Hardest Nights’: Violence Erupts Between Greeks and Migrants,” *New York Times*, April 24, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/24/world/europe/greece-lesbos-refugees.html> [112]; Philip Chrysopoulos, “Extreme Right-Wing Group Attack Migrants on Lesbos (video),” Greek Reporter, April 23, 2018, <https://greece.greekreporter.com/2018/04/23/extreme-right-wing-group-attack-migrants-on-lesvos-video/> [113].
- ⁹¹ Tasos Kokkinidis, “Greek Police Arrest 4 Over Violent Attack on Thessaloniki Mayor,” Greek Reporter, May 21, 2018, <https://greece.greekreporter.com/2018/05/21/greek-police-arrest-four-in-violent-attack-of-thessaloniki-mayor/> [114]; Tasos Kokkinidis, “Police Officer Among Suspects of Mob Attack Against Greek Mayor,” Greek Reporter, May 25, 2018, <https://greece.greekreporter.com/2018/05/25/police-officer-among-suspects-of-greek-mayor-mob-attack/> [115].
- ⁹² Toi Staff, “Greek Holocaust memorial vandalized for 4th time this year,” *Times of Israel*, December 17, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/greek-holocaust-memorial-vandalized-for-4th-time-this-year/> [116].

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Associations:

Ties to Extremist Entities:



Forza Nuova

Golden Dawn has attended various festivals with the Italian far-right extremist party Forza Nuova.⁹³ The two groups have marched together both in Greece and in Italy. Golden Dawn MP Artemis Mattheopoulos serves as Deputy Chairman of the Alliance for Peace and Freedom, an organization run by Forza Nuova leader Roberto Fiore.⁹⁴



[Jobbik](#) [117]

Golden Dawn reportedly has close links with the Hungarian neo-Nazi party Jobbik and its former leader Gabor Vona.⁹⁵

Ties to Other Entities:



Casa Pound⁹⁶

In November 2013, Casa Pound allegedly held a meeting in Rome, which two senior members of Golden Dawn attended, one of which was Apostolos Gkletsos, a former MP and member of Golden Dawn's Central Committee. The outcome of the meeting allegedly signaled the emergence of a potential alliance between Casa Pound and Golden Dawn.⁹⁷



British National

Party⁹⁸

Nick Griffin, the leader of the far-right British National party (BNP), travelled to Athens on January 10, 2014 to offer his support to Golden Dawn in the face of the Greek government's crackdown on the group.⁹⁹ Griffin also stated that he was looking to build an alliance of five far-right parties after the European parliamentary elections in May 2014. Griffin said that the description of Golden Dawn as a neo-Nazi party were a "ridiculous smear."¹⁰⁰

Ties to Individuals:

According to a website linked to Golden Dawn, the leader of the organization, Nikolaos Michaloliakos, received a letter from Alexander Dugin, a professor at Moscow State University and former Kremlin adviser. In the letter, Dugin, who is also one of the architects behind Putin's "Eurasian" ideology, called for an open exchange between Golden Dawn and his Moscow-based think tank and positively noted Golden Dawn's geopolitical views. Michaloliakos has allegedly expressed support in the past for closer ties with Russia.¹⁰¹

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⁹³ Anthee Carassava, "Far-Right Festival in Greece Will Proceed as Planned, Party Says," *New York Times*, August 10, 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/08/10/international/europe/10greece.html> [118].

⁹⁴ "Together for a Europe of Free Nations - The Alliance for Peace and Freedom moves forward in Brussels," Alliance for Peace and Freedom, February 21, 2015, <https://alliancepeacefreedom.wordpress.com/> [119].

⁹⁵ Far-right Hungarian who faced calls to be banned from Britain because of his views arrives in London for rally amid protests," *Daily Mail* (London), January 26, 2014, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2546296/Far-right-Hungarian-faced-calls-banned-Britain-views-arrives-London-rally-amid-protests.html> [120].

⁹⁶ Katerina Nikolaus, "Greece's Golden Dawn opens Italian branch," *Digital Journal*, November 13, 2012, <http://www.digitaljournal.com/article/336773> [121].

⁹⁷ Alfio Bernabel, "Golden Dawn links with Italian fascists," *Searchlight*, January 28, 2014, <http://www.searchlightmagazine.com/archive/golden-dawn-links-with-italian-fascists> [122].

⁹⁸ Nathalie Savaricas and Charlotte McDonald-Gibson, "Just what Greece didn't need: BNP leader Nick Griffin seeks Golden Dawn alliance," *Independent*, January 10, 2014, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/just-what-greece-didnt-need-bnp-leader-nick-griffin-seeks-golden-dawn-alliance-9052662.html> [123].

⁹⁹ Matthew Taylor, "Nick Griffin offers strident support to Golden Dawn on visit to Greece," *Guardian*, January 10, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/jan/10/nick-griffin-support-golden-dawn-greece> [124].

¹⁰⁰ Natalie Savaricas and Charlotte McDonald-Gibson, "Just what Greece didn't need: BNP leader Nick Griffin seeks Golden Dawn alliance," *Independent*, January 10, 2014, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/just-what-greece-didnt-need-bnp-leader-nick-griffin-seeks-golden-dawn-alliance-9052662.html> [123].

¹⁰¹ Mitchell A. Orenstein, "Putin's Western Allies," *Foreign Affairs*, March 25, 2014, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/141067/mitchell-a-orenstein/putins-western-allies> [125].

Golden Dawn

Media Coverage:

Analysis of Group

Golden Dawn has attracted increasing international media coverage since it successfully entered parliament following the 2012 Greek general election. Much of the media attention has focused on the party's continued electoral success in the context of severe austerity measures, its openly neo-Nazi character, and its violent attacks against immigrants and leftists. However, as the party's gains are almost exclusively viewed as a product of the financial crisis, the potential longer-term impact of Golden Dawn's social and welfare activities and its international undertakings and links to far-right organizations appears underexplored at times.

Although Golden Dawn was founded nearly 30 years ago, the group hardly featured in international media coverage until the Greek general elections in 2012, when the party—to the surprise of analysts and the political establishment—was able not only to dramatically increase its share of the vote but to secure 18 seats in the Greek parliament. International observers and media commentators were alarmed that an ultra-nationalist party which openly models itself after the Nazis and advocates for mining Greece's borders to keep out immigrants was so successful in a national election. In a BBC article in October 2012, former "Newsnight" editor Paul Mason echoed the consensus of much of the international press regarding Golden Dawn's success. He drew parallels between modern Greece and Germany during the Weimar Republic, arguing that Golden Dawn's rise was fueled by "hopelessness" and "inertia" and must be understood in the context of the financial crisis and the effects of the severe austerity measures that Greece had to endure. Though Mason rejected a direct comparison to the political and economic context of the Weimar Republic, he argued that "[W]hile the crisis may be on a scale weaker than the one that collapsed [...] in Greece, the forces holding democracy together may also be weaker."¹⁰²

International commentators were careful not to overstate the importance of Golden Dawn's 2012 electoral success, with *The New York Times* pointing out that "the group is still far from being a major threat to [Greek Prime Minister Antonis] Samaras's party, or to his fragile three-party coalition government."¹⁰³ However, the fascist, violent, and aggressive character of the group and its leaders was emphasized by most media outlets. Reuters's Dina Kyriakidou pointed out the inherent contradiction of denying being a neo-Nazi organization while at the same time "openly adopting similar ideology and symbols"¹⁰⁴ and the *Guardian* described an incident during which the "high-profile neo-Nazi MP" Ilias Kasidiaris physically attacked two left-wing female politicians during a live talk show. With sharp irony, the *Guardian*'s Helen Smith described Kasidiaris as "the most vocal opponent of suggestions that Chrysi Avgi [Golden Dawn] is a violent organisation with a history of attacks on society's most vulnerable not least Greece's burgeoning population of immigrants."¹⁰⁵

Following a string of attacks on migrants across Greece during 2012 and 2013—for many of which Golden Dawn has been alleged to be responsible—international media outlets investigated Golden Dawn's growing appeal among segments of the Greek population despite its violent reputation. As state welfare assistance was rolled back dramatically following the implementation of austerity cuts, Reuters pointed to Golden Dawn's moves to fill the void. "Part of its [Golden Dawn's] appeal is down to the sort of welfare work that Hamas, the Palestinian party, does in Gaza. Golden Dawn distributes food in poor neighborhoods, helps old ladies get money safely from ATMs—and has also set up a Greeks-only blood bank."¹⁰⁶

While the rise of Golden Dawn was repeatedly explained in the context of stringent austerity measures and widespread poverty and unemployment, international media outlets gave less attention to the international dimension of Golden Dawn's activities. Thus, the connections of the organization to Russian President Vladimir Putin were not widely picked up even though *Foreign Affairs* magazine highlighted that Golden Dawn "is thought to receive funds from Russia."¹⁰⁷ The *Guardian* noted Golden Dawn's efforts to open offices across Europe and in the United States, quoting a Golden Dawn expert who stated, "Golden Dawn is not like other parties in Greece. From its beginnings, in the early 80s, it always had one eye abroad."¹⁰⁸

Following the murder of left-wing rapper Pavlos Fyssas in 2013 by a member of Golden Dawn, media outlets have closely followed government efforts to prosecute the organizations leadership and crack down on racist violence. While the government-led action has generally been viewed as successful in curtailing the activities of the group, Golden Dawn's electoral success at the 2015 European elections indicated that they were still popular among voters. Their popularity

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added more pressure on the government to successfully prosecute Golden Dawn's leader Michaloliakos and other members of the group during their upcoming trial. However, the *Wall Street Journal* has already speculated that "the evidence so far probably isn't enough" to allow for the group to be banned.¹⁰⁹

While western media interest in the activities of Golden Dawn has significantly increased over the last two years, much media analysis has remained limited to linking the group's success to the consequences of severe austerity measures. Accordingly, Golden Dawn's ascent was predominantly viewed as a product of the financial crisis.

¹⁰² Paul Mason, "Love or nothing: The real Greek parallel with Weimar," BBC News, October 26, 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-20105881> [126].

¹⁰³ Liz Alderman, "Right-Wing Extremists' Popularity Rising Rapidly in Greece," *New York Times*, September 30, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/01/world/europe/amid-greeces-worries-the-rise-of-right-wing-extremists.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0 [127].

¹⁰⁴ Dina Kyriakidou, "Special Report: Greece's far-right party goes on the offensive," Reuters, November 12, 2012, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2012/11/12/us-greece-crisis-dawn-idUSBRE8AB09F20121112> [29].

¹⁰⁵ Helen Smith, "Greek Golden Dawn MP assaults female politicians on talkshow," *Guardian*, June 7, 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jun/07/greek-golden-dawn-mp-assaults-females-tv> [128].

¹⁰⁶ Dina Kyriakidou, "Special Report: Greece's far-right party goes on the offensive," Reuters, November 12, 2012, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2012/11/12/us-greece-crisis-dawn-idUSBRE8AB09F20121112> [29].

¹⁰⁷ Mitchell A. Orenstein, "Putin's Western Allies," *Foreign Affairs*, March 25, 2014, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/141067/mitchell-a-orenstein/putins-western-allies> [125].

¹⁰⁸ Helen Smith, "Greece's neo-Nazi Golden Dawn goes global with political ambitions," *Guardian*, April 1, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/apr/01/greece-golden-dawn-global-ambitions> [45].

¹⁰⁹ Marcus Walker, Marianna Kakaounaki, "Greece struggles to outlaw its Golden Dawn Fascist party," *Wall Street Journal*, December 4, 2013, <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052702303281504579219983801909944> [91].

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Rhetoric:



[129]

[*Nikolaos Michaloliakos, July 7, 2019*](#) [129]

"We are sending a message to our enemies and so-called friends: Golden Dawn is not finished; get over it. The fight for nationalism continues. We return where we became strong: on the streets and squares, in a tough struggle against Bolshevism and the coming savage capitalism.

...

"Hail victory!"¹¹⁰



[130]

[*Ilias Panagiotaros, April 2014*](#) [130]

"[Hitler is a] great personality, like Stalin."¹¹¹



[131]

[*Ilias Panagiotaros, April 2014*](#) [131]

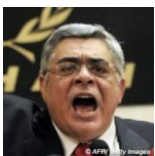
"Until 1997, [the] international association of doctors, and I don't know what, considered homosexuality a sickness, illness, which it is."¹¹²



[132]

[*Ilias Panagiotaros, 2013*](#) [132]

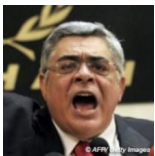
"Golden Dawn wants to become, and will become, like Hezbollah in Lebanon, which is in effect a second government that helps even the last of its poor citizens (...)"¹¹³



[133]

[*Nikolaos Michaloliakos, August 2012*](#) [133]

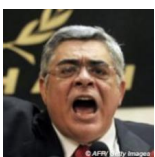
"We feel disgusted in the parliament. If they want us to, we can abandon it at any given moment and take to the streets. There, they shall see what the Golden Dawn is really about, they will see what battle means, they will see what struggle means, they will see what bayonets sharpened every night mean."¹¹⁴



[134]

[*Nikolaos Michaloliakos, 2012*](#) [134]

"I have read a lot of books casting doubts on the number of six million Jews."¹¹⁵



[135]

[*Nikolaos Michaloliakos, 2012*](#) [135]

"No one should fear me if they are a good Greek citizen. If they are traitors — I don't know."¹¹⁶

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[*Ilias Panagiotaros, 2012*](#) [136]

"There are no legal migrants in Greece, not even one."¹¹⁷

[136]



[*Ilias Panagiotaros, 2012*](#) [137]

"Greek society is ready - even though no-one likes this - to have a fight: a new type of civil war. (...) On the one side there will be nationalists like us, and Greeks who want our country to be as it used to be, and on the other side illegal immigrants, anarchists and all those who have destroyed Athens several times."¹¹⁸

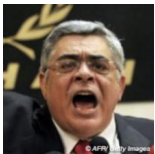
[137]



[*Nikolaos Michaloliakos, 2012*](#) [138]

"Auschwitz, what Auschwitz? I didn't go there. What happened there? Have you been there?"¹¹⁹

[138]



[*Nikolaos Michaloliakos, 2012*](#) [139]

"Those who betray this country — it's time for them to be afraid. We are coming."¹²⁰

[139]



[*Golden Dawn election slogan, 2012*](#) [140]

"So we can rid this land of filth."¹²¹

[140]



[*Ilias Panagiotaros, then-spokesman for Golden Dawn, 2012*](#) [141]

"Greece is dying from immigrants, politicians like the guy you just saw and bankers."¹²²

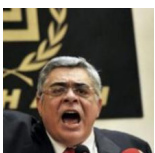
[141]



[*Two Golden Dawn parliamentarians, 2012*](#) [142]

"Only people with "Greek blood" should be allowed to participate in elections."¹²³

[142]



[*Nikolaos Michaloliakos, Golden Dawn party leader, 2012*](#) [143]

"Those who betray this country—it's time for them to be afraid. We are coming."¹²⁴

[143]

Golden Dawn



[144]

[*Nikolaos Michaloliakos, Golden Dawn party leader, 2012*](#) [144]

"No one should fear me if they are a good Greek citizen. If they are traitors—I don't know."¹²⁵



[145]

[*Nikolaos Michaloliakos, Golden Dawn party leader, 2012*](#) [145]

"There were no ovens, no gas chambers, it's a lie[...] Auschwitz, what Auschwitz? I didn't go there. What happened there? Have you been there[?][...] I have read a lot of books casting doubts on the number of six million Jews..."¹²⁶



[146]

[*Golden Dawn MP Candidate, 2011-2012*](#) [146]

Regarding Greece's immigrants:

"These parasites drink our water, eat our food and breathe our Greek air... They are primitive, a contamination and subhuman. We don't care about their existence."¹²⁷

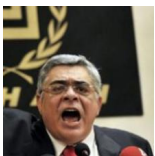


[147]

[*Golden Dawn MP Candidate, 2011-2012*](#) [147]

Regarding Greece's immigrants:

"We are ready to open the ovens! We will turn them into soap but we may get a rash. We'll use it to wash cars and pavements only... We will make lamps from their skin; Giorgos will sell their hair in the market."¹²⁸



[148]

[*Nikolaos Michaloliakos, Golden Dawn party leader, 1987*](#) [148]

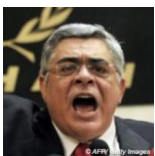
"We art the faithful soldiers of the National Socialist idea and nothing else."¹²⁹



[149]

[*Ilias Kasidiaris*](#) [149]

"In less than 100 years, Greeks will become a minority in their country. The only way to strike at the root of evil is through the municipal elections."¹³⁰



[150]

[*Nikolaos Michaloliakos*](#) [150]

"We are the faithful soldiers of the National Socialist idea and nothing else."¹³¹

¹¹⁰ Demtris Nellas, "Far-right Greek party crashes out of Parliament," Associated Press, July 7, 2019, <https://www.apnews.com/c10782a0c6324824a76dd23dac6b8499> [151].

¹¹¹ Helena Smith, "Greece's Golden Dawn party describes Hitler as 'great personality'," *Guardian*, April 16, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/16/greece-golden-dawn-hitler> [152].

Golden Dawn

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