

Greece

	PO	FL	FR	EU	Best %	Last %	Government
EL	X		X	X	3.7 (2019)	3.7 (2019)	No
KKE		X		X	8.48 (May 2012)	5.3 (2019)	No
MeRa25	X	X		X	3.44 (2019)	3.44 (2019)	No
SYRIZA	X	(X)		X	36.34 (January 2015)	31.53 (2019)	2015-2019 (coalition)
ANEL	X		X	X	10.62 (May 2012)	3.7 (September 2015)	2015-2019 (coalition)
DIKKI	X	X		X	4.4 (1996)	1.8 (2004)	
GD	X		X	X	6.99 (Sept. 2015)	2.93 (2019)	
LAE	X	X			2.86% (September 2015)	0.28% (2019)	
LAOS	X		X	X	5.63 (2009)	1 (January 2015)	2011-2012
OE		X			0.77% (April 1990)	0.77% (April 1990)	
POLAN	X		X		4.88 (1993)	2.94 (1996)	
SYN	X	X		X	5.1 (1996)	3.2 (2000)	

Parties represented in parliament

Elliniki Lisi (Greek Solution, EL) is a far-right party founded by former LAOS MPs and ND MP Kyriakos Velopoulos. The party is populist, far right, and Eurosceptic. It puts forward a nationalist exclusionary agenda that seeks to “emancipate” Greece and it wants to put ‘Greeks first’ in all policy areas. EL

emphasises Greek sovereignty and independence and identifies the maintenance of religion (Greek Orthodoxy) and Greek identity as its main priorities. The party won 3.7% of the popular vote in the 2019 national elections, winning 10 seats.

The ***Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas (Communist Party of Greece, KKE)*** is a far-left party founded in 1918 as the Socialist Working Party of Greece (SEKE). KKE clearly falls under the extreme left category. It is communist and hard Eurosceptic. It defines itself as the party of the working class led by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletariat internationalism. KKE aligns its organisational structures, aims and functions to the 1871 Paris Commune and 1917 Russian Revolution. KKE was outlawed in the aftermath of the Greek civil war and the communist persecutions. It was legalised following the restoration of democracy in 1974. Since then, the party has enjoyed consistent representation in the Greek parliament ranging from 3rd to 5th largest party.

Metopo Evropaikis Realistikis Anipakois (European Realistic Disobedience Front, MeRa25) is a far-left Greek political party founded in 2018, by former SYRIZA Finance minister Yanis Varoufakis, within the context of the Greek economic crisis. MeRa25 is the Greek branch of the Democracy in Europe Movement – DiEM25. The party puts forward a populist, Eurosceptic, green and reactionary left-wing agenda, presenting itself as a front of opposition against economic policies which it claims have ‘enslaved’ Greece and plunged it into debt. Although the party describes its agenda as internationalist, it also claims to espouse ‘authentic patriotism’. MeRa25 received 3.44% of the votes cast during the 2019 national elections, gaining 19 seats in the Greek parliament.

The ***Synaspismós Rizospastikís Aristerás (Coalition of the Radical Left, SYRIZA)*** was formed in 2004 as an alliance between SYNASPISMOS and 11 left-wing factions. While previously marginalised within the Greek party system, SYRIZA benefited from the Greek economic crisis and the consequent environment of political instability. In June 2012, SYRIZA quadrupled its 2009 results and became the second biggest party in Greece. In 2015, the party managed to attract 36.3% of the Greek vote, which translated to 149 seats, and formed a government with the far-right ANEL. SYRIZA lost the 2019 elections. Overall, SYRIZA has pursued a far-left, populist and Eurosceptic agenda, characterised by radicalism and an anti-establishment rhetoric. While in government (2015-2019), the party’s anti-EU rhetoric, which reached a peak during the July 2015 referendum, waned in favour of Realpolitik and an attempt to appease Greece’s lenders. Therefore, this party is no longer classified as far-left post-2015.

Parties not/no longer represented in parliament:

Anexartitoi Ellines (Independent Greeks, ANEL) was established in 2012 as a splinter party from the centre-right New Democracy. The party has a far-right and populist agenda. ANEL formed a surprise coalition with the left-wing SYRIZA in 2015. While seemingly unlikely bedfellows, the two parties were united by their anti-bailout stance, converging on their opposition to austerity and external interference in domestic economic affairs.

Dimokratiko Koinoniko Kinima (Democratic Social Movement, DIKKI) was founded in 1995 by former PASOK Minister Dimitris Tsoulas. The party followed a far-left, populist, Eurosceptic agenda and opposed the EU’s ‘exploitative neo-liberal policies’. Tsoulas resigned from the party’s leadership in 2004, after DIKKI failed to meet the 3% threshold for entering parliament. In 2007, DIKKI was incorporated into SYRIZA. In the summer of 2015, DIKKI left SYRIZA, arguing it had failed to pursue an EU exit after the outcome of the bailout Referendum, and joined the Popular Unity (Laiki Enotita), another far left, Eurosceptic party formed as a splinter from SYRIZA.

Golden Dawn (Laikos Syndesmos – Chrysi Avgi, GD) was first established in December 1980 as a bulletin published by a group of former members of the neo-fascist ‘Party of August 4th’, associated with the dictatorial regime of Ioannis Metaxas (1936–1941). It was elected to the Greek parliament for the first time in 2012. In 2013, the murder of left-wing activist Pavlos Fyssas became the catalyst for a trial that lasted over five years. The party failed to obtain parliamentary representation during the 2019 national elections, and in late 2020 its leading cadres were indicted and imprisoned for maintaining a criminal organisation. GD has consistently and openly emphasised its Nationalist Socialist principles, thus differentiating itself ideologically from other Greek far-right parties. It can be categorised as an extreme, ultra-nationalist, and racist party, which clearly falls within the fascist, and more specifically neo-Nazi category. It is therefore labelled as far right. The extent to which extreme right parties can be populist is debated in the literature. As such, this party is classified as a borderline populist case. A case can be made that the GD is populist because the party ideology emphasises the popular basis of authoritarianism: the party justifies its quest for ultimate state power - or an all-encompassing state subservient to the nation- by presenting itself as a movement from below that not only speaks on behalf of the ‘pure’ Greek people but also embodies their collective will.

Popular Unity- Insubordinate Left (Laiki Enotita-Anypotakti Aristera, LAE), is a populist, far-left party established in 2015 as a splinter from SYRIZA. The party defines itself as ‘the insubordinate radical left’ representing the Greek people against established elites, which it describes as imperialistic, neo-liberal and serving foreign interests. It supports policies including the re-nationalisation of key industries and the banking system as well as exit from the Eurozone and NATO.

Laikós Orthódoxos Synagermós (Popular Orthodox Rally, LAOS) was established in 2000 as a splinter party from the centre-right New Democracy. The party is populist, far right and Eurosceptic, adopting an exclusionary nationalist agenda. It does not adopt violent practices like the GD. LAOS joined the government of national unity with PASOK and ND, which was formed in 2011, within the context of the crisis, under the leadership of former head of the Bank of Greece, Lucas Papademos. Given its association with ‘systemic’ politics, the party lost its support and became marginalised after this.

Oikologoi Enallaktikoi (Alternative Ecologists, OE) was established in 1989 as an alliance between various left-wing green factions. The party put forward a far-left green agenda and ran in elections in 1989 and 1990, winning 1 seat in both elections. OE formally dissolved in 1993. One of its main successors became incorporated in ANT.AR.SY.A (Anticapitalist Left Cooperation for the Overthrow), a coalition of Greek radical left factions.

Politiki Anixi (Political Spring, POLAN) was founded in 1993 by former ND Foreign Secretary Antonis Samaras as a splinter party from the centre-right ND. It was a single-issue party which focused on the Macedonia naming dispute. The party can be classified as borderline populist and borderline far right. While it pursued a nationalist agenda and used populist tropes, populism was not at the core of its politics. Rather, its focus was exclusively on the Macedonian question. POLAN was officially dissolved in 2004 with the majority of its members returning to ND.

The **Synaspismós tis Aristerás (Coalition of the Left, SYN)** or **Synaspismós tis Aristerás kai tis Proódou (Coalition of the Left and Progress, SYNASPISMOS)** was a far-left alliance founded in 1991. In 2004 SYNASPISMOS became a founding faction of SYRIZA.