



Contemporary Southeastern Europe

An Interdisciplinary Journal on Southeastern Europe

The Abolition of University Asylum as the Inauguration of the Era of (New) Authoritarianism in Greece

Event Analysis

Dimitra Mareta

Research, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

dimitra.mareta@gmail.com

Contemporary Southeastern Europe, 2019, 6(2), 1-12

DOI 10.25364/02.6:2019.2.1

Contemporary Southeastern Europe is an online, peer-reviewed, multidisciplinary journal that publishes original, scholarly, and policy-oriented research on issues relevant to societies in Southeastern Europe. For more information, please contact us at info@contemporarysee.org or visit our website at www.contemporarysee.org

The Abolition of University Asylum as the Inauguration of the Era of (New) Authoritarianism in Greece

Dimitra Mareta*

Keywords: university asylum, Greece, New Democracy, authoritarianism

Introduction

After almost 5 years of the government of the SYRIZA-ANELL coalition (Coalition of Radical Left-Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras-SYRIZA and Independent Greeks-Anexartitoi Ellines-AN.ELL), the party of New Democracy won the elections on 7 July 2019. It is the oldest conservative party of the country; it aspires to be thought of as a liberal European party and has formed the first no-coalition government since 2011, a fact that allows it to apply its policy freely and easily. The new government immediately began to prepare and vote on bills in order to proceed with a series of so-called reforms. Among the very first bills voted in July and August—the summer period during which the legislative activity is usually almost null—there was a law that totally and without any doubt abolished university asylum in Greece. The central concept of this analysis is that its abolition is not a substantive movement indispensable for social peace and public order in the country, but a movement to spread the word that the era of toleration is over and in its place a new era is inaugurated—one of authoritarianism.

The history of the concept of authoritarianism is long and is often related with and connected to dictatorial and illiberal regimes, with typical measures against freedom of the press or the right to assembly, among others. Whilst many theories (or at least detailed descriptions) have been formulated addressing the issues of authoritarianism in general, in other Balkans countries, or as a danger for non-western states,¹ this paper mainly draws on the very classical and often neglected approach of Hermann Heller's "Authoritarian Liberalism" and, additionally, it will draw on the three definitions of authoritarianism codified by Somek in his employment of

* Dimitra Mareta holds a PhD in Political Science from the Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences. She is currently a post-doc researcher in Political Science at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and she was a Visiting Research Fellow in Political Science at the University of Peloponnese for the academic year 2018-2019. Her research interests include state theory and theory of sovereignty, counterrevolution, counter-Enlightenment, political theology, Greek politics and politics in Southern Europe, liberalism, and neoliberalism.

¹ Brown, Wendy / Gordon, Eli and Max Pensky. 2018. *Authoritarianism: Three Inquiries in Critical Theory*. Chicago / London: The University of Chicago Press; Bieber, Florian. 2019. *The Rise of Authoritarianism in the Western Balkans*. Chan: Palgrave Macmillan; Diamond, Larry / Plattner Mark F. and Christopher Walker. 2016. *Authoritarianism Goes Global. The Challenge to Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press and The National Endowment for Democracy.

Hermann Heller's theory in order to describe the current situation in the European Union.² As Scheuerman aptly underlines,

*"Heller astutely summarizes the core underlying political logic of the 'unholy alliance' of free market (economic) liberalism and political authoritarianism [...] which nonetheless remains a disturbingly appealing political option for those of a free market bent with little if any faith in mass democracy."*³

Of course, when we employ a term invented in the Weimar democracy, we do not claim either that the juncture is the same or that that term can be applied uncritically. Furthermore, for the needs of this paper, only the concept of authoritarianism will be examined and not the critical connection and interaction of capitalism with democracy or with the state, even though Heller himself addresses finally the authoritarian state as authoritarian liberalism⁴—considering it the fullest development of the authoritarian state—and his remarks can be very useful for the current situation in Greece.⁵

Paraphrasing Zafirovski—who delivers an interesting connection of authoritarianism with Protestantism⁶—in this paper authoritarianism will not be equivalent or synonymous to tyranny, totalitarianism, or dictatorship but will rather be closer to Goldberg's approach regarding the US neoconservative authoritarian welfare state: "to obey the law and, above all, to work."⁷ In other words, authoritarianism will refer to the state that first of all conceives its authority in terms of order and not in terms of its own authority,⁸ which would include a reasoning for it or a theory of social contract at its base, or its duties and obligations towards its citizens as well. Hence, the authoritarian state does not collide with a 'pre-state' or a 'non-state' condition but, as Heller stresses, it opposes the democratic state and the democratic state authority.⁹ In this regard, authoritarianism is approached as new for Greece, because it has nothing to do with the one known in the country until 1974 (which was actually synonymous to absolutism or dictatorship) and its new form and content can be

² Somek addresses three contexts in which the authoritarian principle appears as a distorted continuation of the delegation. The first context relates to the conviction that the delegator has the right and the power to act beyond the delegate's mandate, because that latter provides the former with that mandate, if they know the new circumstances the delegator is faced with. In the second context the authority rejects the critique as unreasonable; and finally, in the third context the delegator regards a different choice or will of the people as an "obstacle towards something greater," Somek, Alexander. 2015. Authoritarian Liberalism. *Austrian Law Journal* 1, 67-87. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.25364/1.2:2015.1.5> (accessed: 27 January 2020), 310. In all three cases the crucial point for Somek is the demand for obedience.

³ Scheuerman, William, E. 2015. Hermann Heller and the European Crisis: Authoritarian Liberalism Redux? *European Law Journal* 21(3), 306.

⁴ Heller, Hermann. 2015. Authoritarian Liberalism. *European Law Journal* 21(3), 299.

⁵ For example, the following one: "the 'authoritarian' state is characterized by its retreat from economic production and distribution. Papen, however, would not be the representative fighter for the 'authoritarian' state if he were not simultaneously fighting against the 'welfare state,'" Heller, *Authoritarian Liberalism*, 300.

⁶ Zafirovski, Milan. 2007. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Authoritarianism. Puritanism versus Democracy and the Free Society*. New York: Springer.

⁷ Goldberg, Chad Alan. 2001. Social Citizenship and Reconstructed Tocqueville. *American Sociological Review* 66(2), 303. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2657419> (accessed: 27 January 2020).

⁸ Hetherington, Marc J. and Jonathan D. Weiler. 2009 *Authoritarianism and Polarization in American Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 34.

⁹ Heller, *Authoritarian Liberalism*, 295.

correlated with modern expressions experienced recently or currently in other western democracies.

Returning to Greece, it is important to mention that we will not examine every aspect, tendency, or form of the current situation but only its specific aspect that relates to the approach of the state as authoritarian. In its current form authoritarianism is about obedience to every single aspect of the vision of the government; its values and aims are considered indispensable. As such, this vision needs to be obeyed and adopted by everyone in the country because it is what common sense dictates the country needs and therefore no actions of disobedience are tolerated. Within this context, democracy comes to mean the sanction of a party program once every four years. Furthermore, this sanction means that everyone is obliged to accept and approve every single action and decision, because all of them are justified on the basis that the government is elected to implement its program, even though it is not voted for by everyone, nor it is necessary that those who vote for it agree with all its aspects. With this argumentation, the state abandons one fundamental liberal principle—that of tolerance and respect for those who oppose it, and tends to be a liberal democracy deprived from its substance both as liberal and as a democracy, and confirming thus its authoritarianism. As a consequence of this argumentation, any protest should be prepared to be oppressed, because it is an obstacle—to use Somek’s term—to something greater; in this particular case, to the attempt of the government to lead the country back to legality, to credit rating upgrades, and to economic growth. University asylum was the first to be suspended as the most emblematic form of protest, resistance, and disobedience in Greece since 1974 and the fall of the military dictatorship.

In the following chapters, we will examine briefly the special meaning of university asylum for Greek society and political culture. We will then focus on the governmental rhetoric that accompanies this stance by studying public speeches and declarations, official parliament documents, and the news in the press using the critical discourse analysis in order to explore both the obvious and the hidden meanings and messages in them.

University asylum, the state, and (opposition) movements

After the fall of the colonels’ dictatorship in 1974, there was a lot of debate about the meaning and the legal recognition of academic asylum. This debate ended in its legal recognition (law 1268/1982) by the government of PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement-Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima) in 1982. Under the title “university asylum” the right of the free circulation of ideas was recognized both politically and socially within the universities, and above all, police were prohibited from entering—at least without permission from the rector. This legal status has been scarcely revised since then; in 2011 the government of PASOK made the last major change before its total abolition in 2019. With that amendment (law 4009/2011), known as “Diamantopoulou’s Law”—named after the Minister of Education, Lifelong Learning, and Religions at that time—the no-go zone for the police was no longer valid in the act of committing any offence, for in such cases the police could act as in every other similar case and enter in the university without waiting for a permission by the rector. This bill was also voted in by New Democracy, even though it was the fiercest opponent of PASOK at that time due to its disagreement with the

austerity policies implemented by PASOK. The SYRIZA-ANELL government restored the previous status of university asylum (law 4485/17, known as “Gavroglou’s Law” this time, again named after the then Minister of Education, Research, and Religions) but kept the provision that the police could operate in the universities in cases of felonies and crimes against life; in any other case of offense, permission from the rector would be necessary in order to enter the university.

University asylum has been a kind of sacred subject after the invasion of a tank in the National Technological University of Athens (Polytechnic School) in order to suppress the revolt against the dictatorship in November 1973, which left dozens of dead behind. It has been connected with the *Metapolitefsi* in Greece, a word which cannot be translated in other languages and means the era that begun after the end of the dictatorship and signified the end of the political violence, torture, and persecutions against those on the left, communists, and in general democrats. *Metapolitefsi* also inaugurated an era of relative political stability and presidential liberal democracy in the country. Until today it has been violated only a few times, the most significant violation taking place in November 1995, when the police were ordered to suppress the Polytechnic School’s occupation by anarchists in support of a hunger strike begun by a fellow anarchist and riot in Greece’s largest prison. That police operation ended with about 500 arrests and caused a long-lasting political and social debate about university asylum, its use by non-academic persons and for non-academic purposes, and the limits and role of the police action in such cases.

This is a difficult debate due to the tremendous historical impact that its violation by the military dictatorship has had through the ages: its violation by the police has since then carried the association of brutal, authoritarian, and arbitrary state power. On the other hand, its legislation and protection against any state violation have the intention not only of creating and protecting academic freedom and the free circulation of ideas, but also of creating and protecting a free public sphere of thinking and acting without the fear of suppression, even when this thinking is against the state itself. As such all governments since 1974—with only a few exceptions, as we have already mentioned— have respected it and has been considered an essential part of the rule of law, democracy, and freedom. It has been considered a symbol against police and state arbitrariness and authoritarianism, and a symbol of democracy in Greece after about 70 years of continuous and repeated crises, including the Civil, Balkan, and World Wars, multiple dictatorships, and periods of serious political and social upheaval.

It is indeed true that university asylum has been used for more than just academic purposes, but in Greece (as is the case in several other countries as well) it has always been related to and connected with the widespread and well-established conviction that it is part of Greek political culture, it belongs to everyone, and everyone has the right to use it. Political and activist groups use universities to meet and organize their actions, their assemblies, their political events, and public discussions—especially the Polytechnic School, which hosts such activities every day. In some universities there are squats organized by students and in a few cases by non-student groups. The Polytechnic School is also known as the center of clashes with the police during or after

demonstrations; this is usual for some universities in various smaller towns of Greece as well. The universities around the country, as anticipated, were the center of the last important student movement (2006-2007) against the educational reform introduced by New Democracy, and above all they were the center of the revolt in 2008, when New Democracy was in office. That particular insurrection broke out when in December 2008 fifteen-year-old Alexandros Grigoropoulos was executed by police officer Epaminondas Korkoneas after a trivial dispute. The occupied universities—protected at that time by university asylum—were the most important centers of that insurrection, with thousands of people participating in the occupations and no police violating the academic asylum law by entering and evacuating them; we will see in the next chapter the current Prime Minister's stance against this choice of his party. All of this has been used by many as a good reason to turn against academic asylum and demand its abolition. It is within this context that many prominent conservative or far-right politicians condemn university asylum as part of the ideological hegemony of the left in Greece, even though the left was defeated in the Greek Civil War (1945-1949), has suffered constant persecution since then and until 1974, and never governed the country until 2015 for the first time.

The new law has not been seriously disputed so far not only because it was passed during a holiday period but mainly because the (opposition) movements are in recession in Greece. There were a few demonstrations during the summer and the autumn of 2019, but nothing that could worry the state or imply a dynamic response. Previous attempts to abolish or even to lift it for the police to operate were confronted and blocked by student or political groups or by the widespread acceptance of the asylum by society in general. The current recession refers to every kind of movement, not only to student movements, and allows the state to act as it wants. The debate about this recession is young and ongoing; the failure of SYRIZA to be consistent with its electoral pledges, its subsequent compromise with the economic orthodoxy, and the fact that no alternative (TINA) dogma has been proposed as the main reasons for this recession,¹⁰ but a more thorough examination of this phenomenon is beyond the scope of this paper. Before examining the rise of the authoritarianism, it can only be mentioned that the author's view is that the recession of opposition movements is another symptom of the rise of conservatism in the country, and due in part to the authoritarianism that is under examination.

The rhetoric against university asylum and its abolition as the start of (new) authoritarianism

It is clear that after the amendment in 2011 university asylum did not cover illegal actions that were committed within the universities and the police were allowed to operate without the rector's permission. Academic asylum continued to cover only the free circulation of academic, political, or any other kind of ideas. Therefore, it could be claimed that the new abolishment of university asylum is not a precondition for the state's action against illegal acts and acts of violence within the universities. Nevertheless, after many attacks on the asylum law from New Democracy when it was in opposition, the provision that totally abolished it was part of the second bill voted in by the new government.

¹⁰ See for instance Fouskas, Vassilis K. 2019. The Greek Conundrum. *The Political Quarterly* 90(4), 772-76.

The Abolition of University Asylum as the Inauguration of the Era
of (New) Authoritarianism in Greece

The rhetoric against academic asylum starts with the common approach that public universities usually are assessed as not good enough according to academic criteria and characterized as “loci of lawlessness,” places where unlawful actions are committed or encouraged by persons that do not belong to the academic community and use academic asylum as a cover for their activities. The most common accusations are either that they seek to act violently against the state or that they sell drugs or other illegal goods.¹¹ The public statements and speeches of the President of New Democracy, Kyriakos Mitsotakis, always include references to the abolition of academic asylum, and it is always referred as “asylum of violence and unlawfulness.”¹² A significant part of the electoral campaign was based on the need to end it as the beginning of the implementation of the “law and order” dogma, as Mitsotakis connected the abolishment of university asylum with the restoration of the safety within the country that was threatened by it.¹³ In addition, Mitsotakis has always opposed it, and his point of view on asylum has determined one of his major political decisions with regard to the election of Prokopis Pavloupolos as President of Greek Democracy in 2015.

When back in 2008 the revolt was expanding rapidly, as it became known later,¹⁴ Prime Minister Costas Karamanlis and Minister of Public Order Pavloupolos ordered the police to be on the defensive and refused special forces of police—or even the army, as some insisted at that time—to operate in order to suppress the revolt and evacuate the occupied universities and other public

¹¹ Mitsotakis, Kyriakos. *Address of the President of New Democracy Mr Kyriakos Mitsotakis at the Presentation of the Education Programme of New Democracy*. Available at: <https://nd.gr/omilia-toy-proedroy-tis-neas-dimokratias-k-kyriakoy-mitsotaki-stin-paroysiasi-toy-programmatos> (accessed: 1 December 2019).

¹² See, for example, his speech to the parliamentary group of New Democracy on 9 October 2019: Mitsotakis, Kyriakos. *Address of the President of New Democracy Mr Kyriakos Mitsotakis to the Session of the Parliamentary Group of the Party*. Available at <https://nd.gr/omilia-toy-prothypoyrgoy-kai-proedroy-tis-nd-k-kyriakoy-mitsotaki-sti-synedriasi-tis>, (accessed: 1 December, 2019); his address to the congress of New Democracy's youth organization on 10 October 2019: “the universities are free from the chains of unlawfulness, violence, and the obstruction of free teaching procedures” (Mitsotakis, Kyriakos. *Address of the Prime Minister and President of New Democracy Mr Kyriakos Mitsotakis to the 12th Congress of ONNED*. Available at: <https://nd.gr/omilia-toy-prothypoyrgoy-kai-proedroy-tis-nd-k-kyriakoy-mitsotaki-sto-12o-synedrio-tis-onned> [accessed: 1 December 2019]); his interview on a TV station where he associates university asylum with the riots in the town of Thessaloniki and drug trafficking; he refers to a regime of immunity and unlawfulness, including his address with regard to the presentation of the party's programme: “The Universities will be released from unlawfulness, from rioters, from drug traffickers, from those that blackmail and terrify students and professors in the name of their allegedly ideological supremacy”, (Mitsotakis, Kyriakos. *Interview of the President of New Democracy Mr Kyriakos Mitsotakis on SKAI, on the Programme “Atairiastoi” and to Journalists Christos Koytras and Giannis Ntsounos*. Available at: <https://nd.gr/synentevxi-toy-proedroy-tis-neas-dimokratias-k-kyriakoy-mitsotaki-ston-skai-stin-ekpompi-atairiastoi> [accessed: 1 December 2019]) and Mitsotakis, Kyriakos. *Presentation of the Governmental Programme of New Democracy by the President of the party Mr Kyriakos Mitsotakis*. Available at: <https://nd.gr/paroysiasi-toy-kyvernitikoy-programmatos-tis-neas-dimokratias-apo-ton-proedro-toy-kommatos-k-kyriako> (accessed: 1 December 2019) respectively).

¹³ See, for example, his interview on “Atairiastoi” (Mitsotakis *Interview on the Programme “Atairiastoi”*) in which he connects academic asylum with riots and drug trafficking in the city; his election campaign's central address: “The toleration ends on 8 July. University asylum is abolished within the first month of our government. The universities cease to be the base for some to make Molotov bombs and for the hooded ones to traffic, along with the drug traffickers, their drugs” (Mitsotakis, Kyriakos. *Election Campaign's Central Address of the President of New Democracy Mr. Kyriakos Mitsotakis at Thissio*. Available at: <https://nd.gr/kentriki-proeklogiki-omilia-toy-proedroy-tis-nd-k-kyriakoy-mitsotaki-sto-thiseio> (accessed: 3 December 2019); and finally the governmental programme of his party in which the abolishment of university asylum is part of its safety policy, Mitsotakis. *Presentation of the Governmental Programme*.

¹⁴ See, for example, Tvxs.gr, Reportage Without Frontiers, 2010. *The Chronicle of a Murder Foretold* (Documentary), 3 December 2010. Available at: <http://dai.ly/xfx9q4> (accessed: 28 November 2019).

buildings. In 2015, the current Prime Minister and at that time candidate for the Presidency of New Democracy blamed him for the fact that New Democracy surrendered Athens to the anarchists without reacting; he made it clear that this was the reason that he did not vote for Pavlopoulos for the Presidency of Democracy, even though the latter came from his party and he was proposed by SYRIZA.¹⁵

One certain purpose of the total and definite abolition of university asylum by the government of New Democracy is to prepare the ground for the privatization of the existing universities and the foundation of new private universities in the country. The privatization of all existing public property, state-owned and public corporations—like the Public Corporation of Electricity, the hospitals, or the museums, for example—is a known and declared aim of the government of New Democracy.¹⁶ The foundation of private universities—or non-profit universities, as they are better called—is part of the wishful thinking of the government and the many private interests that support it, even though it is not allowed by the Greek Constitution, which provides that universities in Greece can only be public. However, there is some evidence that the government will try to impinge on public education and prepare the ground for the private universities; the abolition of the university asylum is one step forward in this direction.

Nevertheless, the abolishment of university asylum is something more than just good business: it is an emblematic movement of an authoritarian and conservative government against a symbol of the non-state public and of the fight against state coercion and police suppression—a movement against the concept of democracy that puts citizens' rights and freedom before order. New Democracy under the leadership of Mitsotakis considers safety to be the first obligation of the state and the first presupposition of the citizens' individual freedoms,¹⁷ as Mitsotakis has insisted that there is dangerous violence at the

¹⁵ Anonymous Author. *The epilogue of Karamanlis' Government Was Written in December 2008*. Skai.gr, 17 December 2015. Available at: <http://www.skai.gr/news/politics/article/302099/mitsotakis-ston-skai-ktizetai-stugno-kommatiko-kratos-sheseis-suriza-me-alites/#ixzz46luHNJEj> (accessed: 28 November 2019).

¹⁶ See, for example, the statement of the Minister of Development and Research, Adonis Georgiadis, in a parliamentary debate: "You understand, we were elected by the Greek people saying that we will proceed to mass privatizations. Did you listen to me, to Mr Vouridis [deputy of the party and Minister of Agricultural Development and Foods, known for his far-right opinions and keen adherent of the state suppression, see, for example, his defense of the police operation in the Economic and Business University of Athens by claiming that the beating is necessary in order the state to impose the law and it is a legal action," (Anonymous Author. *Simera. Vouridis: It Is Not Possible to Impose the Law with Roses*. Skai.gr, 13 November 2019. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4VJMLUvNkWI> (accessed: 2 December 2019). The relative abstract can be found in the minutes: 0:00-11:33 and especially in the minutes: 5:37-6:20, to Mr Mitsotakis pledging nationalizations to the Greek people before the election, Mr Pappas (deputy of SYRIZA to whom Georgiadis addresses his response)? Or did you listen to us saying mass privatizations?" (Georgiadis, Adonis. *Plenary Session*, 17 October 2019. Available at: <https://www.hellenicparliament.gr/Vouli-ton-Ellinon/ToKtiro/Fotografiko-Archeio/#9a6a45f7-99be-4661-ac88-aaea009ef1cd>, the relative abstract is in the minute: 24:04-24:29 (accessed: 2 December 2019).

¹⁷ Mitsotakis, Kyriakos. *Address of the Leader of Opposition Mr. Kyriakos Mitsotakis to the Debate on Off-agenda Item in the Parliament Regarding the Citizens' Safety*. Available at: <https://nd.gr/nea/omilia-toy-arhigoy-tis-axiomatikis-antipoliteyisis-k-kyriakoy-mitsotaki-stin-pro-imerisias-0> (accessed: 28 November 2019).

universities that is like every other kind of violence and threatens Greek society like unlawfulness, terrorism and criminality of every other kind.¹⁸

As the PM himself has claimed, the problem of public order demands an approach of zero tolerance and not even the slightest sign of anomie should be tolerated. The government has adopted the broken window theory and wishes to apply it without hesitation or delay.¹⁹ Furthermore, the abolishment of academic asylum symbolizes the attack of the state on any thought that turns against it, and any movement that could literally or figuratively put it under threat or call its power into question. It is an attack against the opposition movements in Greece: even though they indeed are in a state of recession, this does not affect the state's will to restrict them even more or be prepared for any possible rise in the future. Finally, this abolition could be interpreted as a signal to the police that they can operate without limits or rules, and that they are the real guardians of public order and do not have to worry about apologizing for their brutal actions or the violence they use against demonstrators. An example of this new (and at the same time, so old) practice of the Greek police can be found in the evacuation of a squat at the Athens University of Economics and Business and the suppression by the police in various recent cases that is unlike that of a democratic and liberal European state. The violence against the demonstration on the anniversary of the revolt of 17th of November 1973 against the dictatorship, and the torture of arrested persons in the neighborhood of Exarchia (that included even virtual rape against a known member of an anarchist activist group) in a police operation in the neighborhood on November 11th, 2019 are examples of a few recent instances.²⁰

The law and order dogma has been used for the evacuations of various squats across the country—not only in Athens, although most of them were in the capital—some of which that were used by refugee families and asylum seekers who preferred to live in squats rather than in camps. This wave of evacuations began almost immediately after the national elections in the summer and could also be interpreted as part of the turn towards authoritarianism, as until then the squats were treated with tolerance and not as a dangerous threat against public order and the law; the elimination of this threat, along with the implementation of the law and order agenda and the abolition of the university asylum, is a sign of the ideological defeat of the ideas of the left and, if the ideas of New Democracy are finally accepted by society, it will be a landmark change in the ideological paradigm in the country.²¹ This was explicitly expressed by a major MP, who defends these policies and justifies them because they were

¹⁸ Mitsotakis, Kyriakos. *76th Session*, 5073-74. Available at: <https://www.hellenicparliament.gr/UserFiles/a08fc2dd-61a9-4a83-b09a-09f4c564609d/es20170217.pdf> (accessed: 28 November 2019).

¹⁹ Mitsotakis, *76th Session*, 5074.

²⁰ Louka, Maria, *Tortures by the Anti-Riot Police Signed by the Government*. Available at: https://omniatv.com/853454496?fbclid=IwAR2hdJM2ztE_IBvwwiSGxiWPwNIWsjelBh_EdfNMmec6IV1wSnZkficU_fw (accessed: 2 December 2019).

²¹ Voridis, Mavroudis, *Plenary Session*, 18 December 2019, Available at: <https://www.hellenicparliament.gr/Vouli-ton-Ellinon/ToKtiro/Fotografiko-Archeio/#4d832dad-ac14-4ebf-90e3-ab28009f9701> (accessed: 2 February 2019). The relative abstract can be found at minutes 1:31:25-1:38:27, along with his ideological manifesto about the change of the ideological paradigm, the uselessness of the Marxist ideas, and the forthcoming end of the ideological hegemony of the left in the country.

voted in as a whole—along with the financial policy and others—by Greek society.

Apart from the law about university asylum, PM Kyriakos Mitsotakis announced during his address to the party's congress on its last day that until the end of the year a bill would be introduced in the Greek Parliament concerning

“...the announcement, the organization, and the allocation of demonstrations. With full respect to the constitutionally entrenched right to gathering but based on the volume and burden that the protest of few causes on the lives of millions of people. For this is what it means at last to be with the many and not with the few.”²²

Even though this bill has been announced twice—once in this congress and once in the first days of 2020 during a Council of the Ministers—it has not yet been introduced and we do not know its final provisions. Nevertheless, there is still a dual reading of this statement. The first is that with it the PM counters the main slogan of the electoral campaign of SYRIZA for the European elections in May 2019, which was “now it is the time for the many,” a slogan that is considered to be inspired by the slogan of Britain's Labour Party under Jeremy Corbyn “for the many, not the few.” The second reading is that the state is eager to restrict the constitutional right to protest and demonstrate in order to safeguard what it believes to be the utmost good—the undisturbed and unobstructed exercise of the majority's economic activities, even when it occurs at the expense of the rights of smaller social groups. But, as John Stuart Mill would remind us, the protection of minorities against the will of the majority and the protection of all from the oppressive exercise of the authority are the most essential purposes of a liberal political community.

Conclusion

Even though the abolition of university asylum could be considered as just another law of a newly elected government, this analysis has claimed that it is rather the beginning of an era in which the state will rule based on the “law and order” dogma instead of the rule of law. The law and order dogma—along with a privatization agenda—was the basic pylon of the electoral campaign of New Democracy and today is implemented first in the universities and then in various squats across the country. Promoted as the fulfillment of the party's pledges, it is the first step that would enable police forces to enter to the universities at their own will and construct a new consensus based on obedience to and acceptance of the authority of the state, because it can guarantee order. Therefore, the abolition of university asylum should not be considered as a necessary law that will bring about the desired growth of Greek economy after more than ten years of crisis, but as an emblematic movement used to declare the end of the toleration era and in its place the rise of a new era in Greek politics, that of the authoritarian state.

²² Mitsotakis, Kyriakos. *Address of the Prime Minister and President of New Democracy Mr. Kyriakos Mitsotakis to the termination of the 13rd Congress of New Democracy*. Available at: <https://nd.gr/omilia-toy-prothypovrgoy-kai-proedroy-tis-neas-dimokratias-k-kyriakoy-mitsotaki-gia-kleisimo-ton> (accessed: 2 December 2019).

Given the recession of the opposition movements and their tepid reactions to this abolition, it will be a very interesting experiment to watch; this mainly refers to the possible resistance the movements will show (or will not show) to the crucial changes the state is currently working on and not to the abolishment of academic asylum itself. As the previous decade favored the rise and the prevalence of conservative political ideologies and attitudes in Greece, the new decade seems to be even riper for moving in an even more conservative direction. After all, the authoritarianism introduced recently in the country—and the argumentation and rhetoric that defend and accompany it—are all part of the conservative ideology that with various forms and names is gaining ground throughout Europe and strives to eliminate any progressive or radical legacy. Even though Greece has its own political dynamic, if and how this authoritarianism will finally prevail or be prevented will be influenced to a considerable degree by the relative developments in Europe.

Bibliography

- Simera. Vouridis: It Is Not Possible to Impose the Law with Roses. *Skai.gr*, 13 November 2019. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4VJMLUvNkWI> (accessed: 2 December 2019).
- The Epilogue of Karamanlis' Government Was Written in December 2008.* *Skai.gr*, 17 December 2015. Available at: <http://www.skai.gr/news/politics/article/302099/mitsotakis-ston-skai-ktizetai-stugno-kommatiko-kratos-sheseis-suriza-me-alites/#ixzz46IuHNJEj> (accessed: 28 November 2019).
- Bieber, Florian. 2019. *The Rise of Authoritarianism in the Western Balkans*. Chan: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Brown, Wendy / Gordon, Eli and Max Pensky. 2018. *Authoritarianism: Three Inquiries in Critical Theory*. Chicago / London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Diamond, Larry / Plattner Mark F. and Christopher Walker. 2016. *Authoritarianism Goes Global. The Challenge to Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press and The National Endowment for Democracy.
- Fouskas, Vassilis K. 2019. The Greek Conundrum. *The Political Quarterly* 90(4), 772-76.
- Georgiadis, Adonis. *Plenary Session*, 17 October 2019. Available at: <https://www.hellenicparliament.gr/Vouli-ton-Ellinon/ToKtirio/Fotografiko-Archeio/#9a6a45f7-99be-4661-ac88-aaea009ef1cd> (accessed: 2 December 2019).
- Goldberg, Chad Alan. 2001. Social Citizenship and Reconstructed Tocqueville. *American Sociological Review* 66(2), 289-315. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2657419> (accessed: 27 January 2020).
- Heller, Hermann. 2015. Authoritarian Liberalism. *European Law Journal* 21(3), 295-301.
- Hetherington, Marc J. and Jonathan D. Weiler. 2009 *Authoritarianism and Polarization in American Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Louka, Maria, *Tortures by the Anti-Riot Police Signed by the Government*. 11 November 2019. Available at:

- https://omniatv.com/853454496?fbclid=IwAR2hdJM2ztE_IBvwwiSGxiWPwNIWsjelBh_EdfNMmec6IV1wSnZkficUfbw. (accessed: 2 December 2019).
- Mitsotakis, Kyriakos. *Address of the Prime Minister and President of New Democracy Mr Kyriakos Mitsotakis to the Termination of the 13rd Congress of New Democracy*. 1 December 2019. Available at: <https://nd.gr/omilia-toy-prothypoyrgoy-kai-proedroy-tis-neas-dimokratias-k-kyriakoy-mitsotakigia-kleisimo-ton> (accessed: 2 December 2019).
- . *Address of the President of New Democracy Mr Kyriakos Mitsotakis to the Session of the Parliamentary Group of the Party*. 9 October 2019. Available at: <https://nd.gr/omilia-toy-prothypoyrgoy-kai-proedroy-tis-nd-k-kyriakoy-mitsotaki-sti-synedriasi-tis> (accessed: 1 December 2019).
- . *Address of the Prime Minister and President of New Democracy Mr Kyriakos Mitsotakis to the 12th Congress of ONNED*. 4 October 2019. Available at: <https://nd.gr/omilia-toy-prothypoyrgoy-kai-proedroy-tis-nd-k-kyriakoy-mitsotaki-sto-12o-synedrio-tis-onned> (accessed: 1 December 2019).
- . *Election Campaign's Central Address of the President of New Democracy Mr Kyriakos Mitsotakis at Thissio*. 4 July 2019. Available at <https://nd.gr/kentriki-proeklogiki-omilia-toy-proedroy-tis-nd-k-kyriakoy-mitsotaki-sto-thiseio> (accessed: 3 December 2019)
- . *Interview of the President of New Democracy, Mr Kyriakos Mitsotakis on SKAI, on the Programme "Atairiastoi" and to Journalists Christos Koytras and Giannis Ntsounos*. 1 July 2019. Available at: <https://nd.gr/synenteyxi-toy-proedroy-tis-neas-dimokratias-k-kyriakoy-mitsotaki-ston-skai-stin-ekpompi-atairiastoi> (accessed: 1 December 2019).
- . *Presentation of the Governmental Programme of New Democracy by the President of the party Mr Kyriakos Mitsotakis*. 21 June 2019. Available at: <https://nd.gr/paroysiasi-toy-kyvernitikoy-programmatos-tis-neas-dimokratias-apo-ton-proedro-toy-kommatos-k-kyriako> (accessed: 3 December 2019).
- . *Address of the President of New Democracy, Mr Kyriakos Mitsotakis, to the Presentation of the Education Programme of New Democracy*. 24 November 2018. Available at: <https://nd.gr/omilia-toy-proedroy-tis-neas-dimokratias-k-kyriakoy-mitsotaki-stin-paroysiasi-toy-programmatos> (accessed: 1 December 2019).
- . *76th Session*. 17 February 2017. Available at: <https://www.hellenicparliament.gr/UserFiles/a08fc2dd-61a9-4a83-b09a-09f4c564609d/es20170217.pdf> (accessed: 28 November 2019).
- . *Address of the Leader of Opposition Mr. Kyriakos Mitsotakis to the Debate on Off-agenda Item in the Parliament Regarding the Citizens' Safety*. 20 April 2016. Available at <https://nd.gr/nea/omilia-toy-arhigoy-tis-axiomatikis-antipoliteysis-k-kyriakoy-mitsotaki-stin-pro-imerisias-0>. (accessed: 28 November 2019).
- Scheuerman, William, E. 2015. Hermann Heller and the European Crisis: Authoritarian Liberalism Redux? *European Law Journal* 21(3), 302-312.
- Somek, Alexander. 2015. Authoritarian Liberalism. *Austrian Law Journal* 1, 67-87. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.25364/1.2:2015.1.5> (accessed: 27 January 2020).
- Tvxs.gr, Reportage Without Frontiers. *The Chronicle of a Murder Foretold* (Documentary), 3 December 2010. Available at: <http://dai.ly/xfx9q4>. (accessed: 28 November 2019).

The Abolition of University Asylum as the Inauguration of the Era
of (New) Authoritarianism in Greece

Voridis, Makis, *Plenary Session*, 18 December 2019. Available at:
<https://www.hellenicparliament.gr/Vouli-ton-Ellinon/ToKtirio/Fotografiko-Archeio/#4d832dad-ac14-4ebf-90e3-ab28009f9701> (accessed: 2 February 2019).

Zafirovski, Milan. 2007. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Authoritarianism. Puritanism versus Democracy and the Free Society*. New York: Springer.