



Pax Americana is declining and the world order reshaping. The fall of an empire is certainly a fact yet with no other to inherit the civilization of the West making the fall a no possible outcome.

The decline of Pax Americana represents a pivotal shift in global power dynamics, driven by U.S. policy retreats and the rise of competing powers, leading to a fragmented multipolar order rather than a singular imperial collapse. Without a direct heir to fully supplant Western civilization, its core elements—such as democratic norms, market economies, and rule-based institutions—persist through diffusion across emerging powers and alliances, averting a total "fall" while reshaping international stability.^{[1] [2]}

Signs of Decline

U.S. hegemony, established post-World War II through military alliances, economic openness, and liberal values, has eroded due to internal contradictions like prolonged wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the 2008 financial crisis, and recent "America First" policies under President Trump, including aid cuts, tariffs, and withdrawals from multilateral bodies like the UN and NATO.^{[1] [3] [4]} These actions have diminished U.S. credibility and soft power, emboldening rivals such as China and Russia to challenge the liberal international order.^{[4] [2]} As of October 2025, global responses to events like the Ukraine conflict highlight this vacuum, with the U.S. dollar's role in stabilizing trade waning amid BRICS efforts to diversify currencies and infrastructure.^{[5] [1]}

Emergence of Multipolarity

The world is transitioning to a "Pax Multipolaris," characterized by competing poles rather than unipolar dominance, where actors like China expand influence via the Belt and Road Initiative, becoming the top trading partner for over 100 nations, while Russia pushes Eurasian security frameworks.^{[1] [2] [6]} This shift fosters ideological polarization between democratic and autocratic visions, with no single successor emerging; instead, a "multi-order" world arises, featuring overlapping rules, institutions, and regional spheres that coexist uneasily.^{[2] [6]} Developments in 2025, including expanded BRICS cooperation and U.S. isolationism post-January inauguration, accelerate this fragmentation, increasing risks of conflict over resources and norms.^{[7] [8] [9]}

Implications for Western Civilization

Western civilization's inheritance is not tied to U.S. primacy alone but to its embedded global networks, allowing elements like open markets and human rights advocacy to endure through allies in Europe, Asia, and the Global South.^[13] ^[10] Without a monolithic successor, powers like India and the EU can champion inclusive multilateralism, mitigating a full collapse by adapting Western principles to multipolar realities.^[11] ^[11] This evolution suggests resilience: historical precedents of hegemonic transitions show civilizations persist via cultural and institutional diffusion, even as the U.S.-led era ends, potentially yielding a more equitable but unstable order.^[2] ^[12]

**

Good luck. See, Chinese and Greek civilizations certainly survived and evolved. The Athenian democracy has stopped being beneficial for the societies due to the educational level of the citizens. We've been through that multiple times and is the core of the polarisation in politics. It will hurt the collective ideals

Indeed, ancient civilizations such as the Greek and Chinese have demonstrated remarkable resilience by evolving through cycles of decline and renewal, yet the Athenian model's vulnerability to low civic education among citizens contributed to its instability and degeneration into authoritarianism, a pattern echoed in today's political polarization that undermines collective democratic ideals.^[40] ^[41] ^[42] This historical recurrence highlights how mismatches between governance complexity and public literacy levels exacerbate divisions, as seen in Athens where elite detachment and institutional flaws precipitated legitimacy crises without broad societal buy-in.^[41] ^[43] ^[44]

Historical Parallels in Athenian Democracy

Athenian democracy, while innovative in granting direct participation to male citizens, faltered due to educational inequalities that limited informed decision-making, allowing demagogues and elites to manipulate the assembly and leading to impulsive policies like the Sicilian Expedition.^[40] ^[41] ^[44] Citizens' varying literacy and philosophical training meant that the demos often prioritized short-term gains over long-term stability, mirroring cycles in Chinese history where Confucian education gaps fueled dynastic transitions without fully preserving meritocratic ideals.^[42] ^[43] These failures recurred in post-classical Greek contexts, such as during the Byzantine era, where centralized authority supplanted direct rule amid similar educational divides, illustrating a timeless tension between participatory governance and societal readiness.^[45] ^[41]

Roots of Modern Political Polarization

Contemporary polarization stems from similar educational disparities, where lower civic knowledge enables echo chambers and media manipulation, intensifying "us versus them" dynamics in democracies worldwide, including Greece where austerity-era cuts have widened gaps in critical thinking curricula.^{[46] [47] [48]} In 2025, global surges in affective polarization—emotional hostility across ideological lines—are driven by economic inequality, populist activism, and algorithmic media biases, echoing Athens by aligning societal differences into binary conflicts rather than nuanced debates.^{[49] [47] [50]} Greece exemplifies this, with post-2008 crisis polarization rooted in corruption scandals and educational underfunding, fostering distrust in institutions and amplifying divisions over EU policies or national identity.^{[51] [52] [53]}

Impacts on Collective Ideals

Polarization erodes collective ideals by stifling compromise and fostering gridlock, as seen in Athens' oligarchic coups where legitimacy crises led to violence and institutional erosion, much like today's risks of democratic backsliding in polarized states.^{[41] [47] [54]} In modern settings, this harms shared values like equality and rule of law, with low education amplifying misinformation and reducing accountability, ultimately fragmenting societal cohesion in favor of tribal loyalties.^{[46] [50] [55]} For Greece and the broader West, this threatens the diffusion of democratic norms amid Pax Americana's decline, as multipolar pressures exacerbate internal divides without a unifying educational framework to sustain collective progress.^{[47] [49] [48]}

**

Greece's Opportunity to Evolve Democracy and Reshape the West

Greece occupies a unique position to lead a democratic renewal rooted in its civilizational fundamentals, leveraging both its geopolitical centrality in the Eastern Mediterranean and its historical role as democracy's birthplace to address the identity crisis facing Western liberal governance.^{[87] [88] [89]} This opportunity emerges at a critical juncture when political polarization and educational deficits threaten collective ideals globally, yet Greece's dual heritage—combining ancient Hellenic rationality with Byzantine communal resilience—provides a foundation for reimagining participatory governance beyond the failures of purely representative systems.^{[90] [91] [92]}

Geopolitical Positioning as Strategic Leverage

Greece's location at the crossroads of Europe, Asia, and Africa positions it as a **pillar of stability** within the European Union, serving as a transit hub for energy diversification projects like the Trans Adriatic Pipeline and managing migration flows from the Middle East, which enhances its bargaining power in shaping EU policy.^{[87] [93] [94]} As of October 2025, Greece has intensified diplomatic engagement through trilateral partnerships with Cyprus, Israel, and Egypt, creating a **security architecture** that balances Turkish assertiveness while projecting influence across the Eastern Mediterranean, particularly amid multipolar fragmentation following Pax Americana's decline.^{[95] [96] [88]} This strategic role, coupled with recent defense investments totaling €28 billion over 12 years and plans for advanced systems like the Achilles' Shield air defense

network, allows Athens to anchor regional stability while advocating for European solidarity in migration, energy, and defense—issues central to the bloc's cohesion.^[88] ^[87] ^[97]

Reviving Democratic Innovation Through Civilizational Values

Greece's ancient democratic principles—**civic participation, equality before the law, and rule by the demos**—remain foundational to Western political thought, yet modern adaptations have diluted these through representative structures that alienate citizens from governance, mirroring the educational gaps that undermined Athenian democracy.^[98] ^[99] ^[100] The **Athens Democracy Forum 2025**, held September 30–October 3, convened global leaders to explore "New Visions for Hard Realities," addressing populism, youth disengagement, and tech-enabled participation, signaling Greece's ambition to host dialogue on democratic renewal that integrates historical lessons with contemporary challenges like AI governance and misinformation.^[101] ^[102] ^[103] By promoting models that blend **direct participation** with representative accountability—such as sortition (selection by lot) used in Athens to form deliberative bodies—Greece can offer frameworks that reduce elite capture and polarization, addressing the core tension between complex governance and citizen literacy that the user identified.^[104] ^[100] ^[105]

Cultural Leadership in European Identity Formation

Greece's identity as the **cradle of Western civilization** grants it unique cultural capital to influence European self-conception amid identity crises driven by migration, economic inequality, and nationalist backlash, positioning Hellenic values—democracy, philosophy, civic duty—as unifying narratives beyond ethnocentric constructs.^[106] ^[89] ^[91] Unlike transient hegemonic powers, Greece's contribution to Western thought is **embedded across millennia**, from Socratic ethics to Byzantine institutional continuity, allowing it to advocate for an inclusive Europeanism that transcends recent neoliberal failures while grounding reform in shared heritage rather than imposed technocracy.^[107] ^[108] ^[92] The Greek government's 25-reform agenda by end-2025, spanning digital justice, public service modernization, and legal immigration pathways, demonstrates institutional ambition to model governance that balances efficiency with democratic accountability, potentially offering blueprints for EU-wide application.^[109] ^[110]

Addressing the Core Challenge: Education and Collective Ideals

The historical failure of Athenian democracy due to insufficient civic education among citizens resonates with today's polarization, where **low political literacy** enables demagogues and erodes trust in institutions, yet Greece's ongoing educational reforms emphasize critical thinking and democratic participation as antidotes.^[111] ^[112] ^[113] By investing in civic education that cultivates "active character"—the disposition to engage responsibly in collective decision-making—Greece can counter the trend where democracy devolves into tribal competition, instead fostering societal cohesion around shared values like justice, pluralism, and rational discourse.^[105] ^[100] ^[111] This approach aligns with the user's observation that preserving **core fundamentals of Greek civilization**—reason, ethical governance, communal responsibility—into modern identity frameworks can stabilize democracies by bridging the gap between institutional complexity and popular understanding, preventing the cycle of decline seen in both ancient Athens and contemporary crises.^[114] ^[115] ^[92]

Pragmatic Pathways Forward

Greece's engagement with initiatives like the **European Local Democracy Week reform** and youth-led programs such as "Teens for Democracy" demonstrates practical efforts to embed participatory mechanisms at local and transnational levels, creating laboratories for democratic innovation that could scale across Europe.^{[116] [101] [117]} The country's resilience through the post-2008 debt crisis—emerging with upgraded credit ratings and economic recovery despite austerity—signals institutional capacity to navigate transformation, which lends credibility to its reform advocacy within the EU as a model of adaptive governance under pressure.^{[88] [118] [87]} By framing its geopolitical assertiveness and cultural heritage as complementary assets rather than nostalgic claims, Greece positions itself to **reshape the West** not through dominance but through exemplifying how civilizational values can evolve to meet contemporary needs, offering an alternative to both authoritarian efficiency and polarized liberal decay.^{[92] [96] [90]}

In this context, Greece's opportunity lies in synthesizing its **strategic geopolitical leverage** with its **civilizational authority** to champion a democratic renewal that addresses education, participation, and identity—the very issues undermining collective ideals globally—thereby ensuring that even as Pax Americana declines, the principles sustaining Western civilization endure through adaptation rather than collapse.

**

1. <https://visionias.in/current-affairs/news-today/2025-10-16/international-relations/decline-of-pax-americana>
2. <https://www.cigionline.org/articles/from-pax-americana-to-pax-multipolaris-the-rise-of-a-fragmented-global-order/>
3. <https://www.theindianpanorama.news/opinion/perspective/end-of-pax-americana-an-international-perspective/>
4. <https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2025/04/10/the-decline-of-pax-americana-when-americas-solo-tune-silences-the-chorus/>
5. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/disa.12661>
6. <https://securityconference.org/publikationen/munich-security-report-2025/introduction/>
7. <https://paulkrugman.substack.com/p/decline-and-fall-of-the-american>
8. <https://www.pictet.com/us/en/insights/turning-inward>
9. <https://infobrics.org/en/post/51125>
10. <https://www.swp-berlin.org/publikation/europe-and-the-end-of-pax-americana>
11. <https://ip-quarterly.com/en/why-europe-must-avoid-strategic-trap-post-american-world>
12. https://thehill.com/opinion/international/5169117_pax-americana-is-over-and-what-comes-next-will-be-worse/
13. <https://ejournal.fisip.unjani.ac.id/index.php/JGSS/article/view/569>
14. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/j.ctv24tr6tj>
15. <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/b1b29fe61fe3280c4af9aaa1497ffe31ec9d24d6>
16. <http://jwsr.pitt.edu/ojs/jwsr/article/view/723>
17. <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/c4d1d6aab0f87d7586936c199c862d9b95d61f86>

18. <http://cyberdoi.ru/doi/10.24411/2221-3279-2021-10013>
19. <http://choicereviews.org/review/10.5860/CHOICE.32-6475>
20. <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/9008d6ae3d8f7eb6943d7104dcd3684e5bcf38c3>
21. <https://academic.oup.com/isq/article-lookup/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2011.00704.x>
22. <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC11998127/>
23. <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC11709239/>
24. <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC11603759/>
25. <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC7939107/>
26. <https://jwsr.pitt.edu/ojs/jwsr/article/download/1164/1621>
27. <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC394679/>
28. <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC10958455/>
29. <http://www.jbc.org/content/271/35/21088.full.pdf>
30. <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC11851316/>
31. https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/journals/riia/v87i1/f_0022948_18805.pdf
32. <https://www.alphacapital.in/blog/Navigatingthetidesofgchangethegradualshifttoamultipolarworldorder>
33. <https://thediplomat.com/2018/12/what-comes-after-us-hegemony/>
34. <https://chinamediaproject.org/2025/10/17/foreign-voices-for-xis-global-vision/>
35. https://www.reddit.com/r/geopolitics/comments/18rag5m/where_do_you_see_the_future_of_us_hegemony/
36. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/speech_25_1661
37. <https://www.intellinews.com/xi-pitches-an-equitable-multipolar-world-order-leveraging-global-south-mega-markets-power-at-sco-summit-399047/>
38. <https://news.wwu.edu/inthemedia/what-comes-after-us-hegemony>
39. <https://www.theindiaforum.in/international-affairs/enduring-power-pax-americana>
40. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Athenian_democracy
41. <https://academic.oup.com/book/56192/chapter/443479365>
42. http://www.pdcnet.org/oom/service?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&rft_val_fmt=&rft.imuse_id=du_2019_0029_003_0071_0091&svc_id=info:www.pdcnet.org/collection
43. <https://historum.com/t/the-failings-of-athenian-democracy.38910/>
44. <https://www.mystudies.com/en-us/history-geography/ancient-history/essay/limitations-athenian-democracy-exclusion-inequality-decline-ancient-greece-972497.html>
45. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/2331186X.2021.1932271?needAccess=true>
46. <https://www.ebsco.com/research-starters/political-science/political-polarization>
47. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0002764218759576>
48. <http://www.scielo.br/pdf/edreal/v43n3/2175-6236-edreal-43-03-865.pdf>
49. <https://www.wtwco.com/en-ca/news/2025/06/political-polarisation-is-rising-globally-and-posing-new-challenges-for-businesses>
50. <https://www.theihs.org/blog/understanding-political-polarization-new-research-sheds-light-on-its-causes-and-consequences/>
51. <http://centerprode.com/ojs/ojs0201/coas.ojs.0201.01001v.pdf>

52. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/13607804211023521>
53. <https://www.macrothink.org/journal/index.php/jei/article/download/18621/14521>
54. <https://www.icip.cat/perlapau/en/article/polarization-harms-democracy-and-society/>
55. <https://www.carnegie.org/our-work/article/welcome-to-a-world-defined-by-polarization-instability-and-disruption/>
56. <https://www.jifmr.com/research-paper.php?id=12135>
57. https://sarpublishation.com/media/articles/SARJHSS_44_245-255.pdf
58. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13510349908403630>
59. <https://www.atlantis-press.com/article/125966431>
60. [https://a916407.fmphost.com/fmi/webd/ASAdb49?script=doi-layout&\\$SearchString=https://doi.org/10.56315/PSCF3-22Reich](https://a916407.fmphost.com/fmi/webd/ASAdb49?script=doi-layout&$SearchString=https://doi.org/10.56315/PSCF3-22Reich)
61. <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/2c7548c37c8748ad80bcbf2fc1869ded41d0c5f6>
62. http://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-1-349-13685-8_3
63. https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/S0212610919000107/type/journal_article
64. <https://lawcat.berkeley.edu/record/1126763>
65. <http://www.scholink.org/ojs/index.php/wjer/article/download/1690/1828>
66. <https://impactum-journals.uc.pt/platojournal/article/view/13689>
67. <http://kramerius.lib.cas.cz/search/handle/uuid:9050808c-dfcd-4ffb-aa30-12b5c646985f>
68. <https://ejournals.epublishing.ekt.gr/index.php/latic/article/download/2728/2502>
69. <http://pnap.ap.edu.pl/index.php/pnap/article/download/1363/1301>
70. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/17449642.2023.2281856?needAccess=true>
71. <https://ejournals.epublishing.ekt.gr/index.php/hapscpbs/article/download/26472/21432>
72. <https://zenodo.org/record/1063693/files/article.pdf>
73. <https://zenodo.org/record/1910913/files/article.pdf>
74. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/23311886.2024.2359268?needAccess=true>
75. <https://delibdemjournal.org/article/id/446/>
76. https://www.reddit.com/r/AskHistorians/comments/2v05sw/what_are_the_pros_and_cons_of_athenian_style/
77. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/501088>
78. <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/wien/18175.pdf>
79. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/08933189251344607>
80. <https://www.nature.com/articles/s44271-024-00089-2>
81. <https://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2006/2006.01.32/>
82. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/perspectives-on-politics/article/polarization-and-the-democratic-system-kinds-reasons-and-sites/095FDEF5216A2181F8D249A81FB85AA1>
83. <https://www.princeton.edu/news/2021/12/09/political-polarization-and-its-echo-chambers-surprising-new-cross-disciplinary>
84. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01402382.2025.2543600>
85. <https://www.bde.es/f/webbe/SES/Secciones/Publicaciones/PublicacionesSeriadas/DocumentosTrabajo/25/Files/dt2533e.pdf>

86. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_polarization_in_the_United_States
87. <https://www.eureporter.co/politics/2025/03/22/greece-in-the-european-union-a-pillar-of-stability-and-strategic-influence/>
88. <https://www.gisreportsonline.com/r/greece-defense-ambitions/>
89. <https://nationalhellenicmuseum.org/greek-identity-white-paper/>
90. <https://shapingeurope.eu/the-greek-eu-pendulum/>
91. <https://www.lse.ac.uk/Hellenic-Observatory/Assets/Documents/HO-PhD-Symposia/The-6th-HO-PhD-Symposium/7-June/Session-1/Panel-2-MIGRATION-MINORITIES-2.pdf>
92. <https://www.greeknewsagenda.gr/rethinking-greece-dimitris-tziovas-2/>
93. <https://www.europeanfiles.eu/energy/enhancing-energy-supply-security-in-europe-greeces-strategic-role-as-a-key-energy-hub>
94. <https://china-cee.eu/2025/02/10/greece-external-relations-briefing-greece-and-the-new-middle-east/>
95. <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/zypern/15662.pdf>
96. <https://ecfr.eu/article/greece-in-the-eastern-mediterranean-turning-engagement-into-influence/>
97. <https://www.eliamep.gr/en/oi-provlepeis-tou-eliamep-gia-to-2025/>
98. <https://fairgaze.com/educationnews/the-influence-of-ancient-greek-democracy-on-modern-politics.html>
99. https://www.gresham.ac.uk/sites/default/files/transcript/2024-03-14-1800_Lane-T.pdf
100. <https://news.stanford.edu/stories/2024/03/learning-about-democracy-in-ancient-greece>
101. <https://www.athensdemocracyforum.com/program/2025-agenda/>
102. <https://www.peoplepowered.org/events-content/athens-democracy-forum-2025>
103. <https://www.athensdemocracyforum.com/event-information/join-the-2025-athens-democracy-forum/>
104. <https://delibdemjournal.org/article/id/428/>
105. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09608788.2019.1641469>
106. <https://www.greek123.com/blog/europe-day-greek-contributions-to-european-culture/>
107. <https://www.thecollector.com/greece-cradle-western-civilization/>
108. https://futurity_philosophy.com/index.php/FPH/article/download/25/24
109. <https://en.protothema.gr/2025/10/05/where-are-the-25-reforms-the-government-has-committed-to-implement-by-the-end-of-the-year/>
110. <https://en.parapolitika.gr/politics/68962/government-accelerates-reforms-25-major-changes-by-end-of-2025/>
111. <http://www.scholink.org/ojs/index.php/wjer/article/download/1690/1828>
112. <http://www.scielo.br/pdf/edreal/v43n3/2175-6236-edreal-43-03-865.pdf>
113. <https://www.theihs.org/blog/understanding-political-polarization-new-research-sheds-light-on-its-causes-and-consequences/>
114. <https://irek.ase.md/xmlui/handle/123456789/3924>
115. <https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev-polisci-052918-012050>
116. <https://rm.coe.int/preliminary-draft-resolution-on-the-reform-of-the-eldw/488028505c>
117. <https://www.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2025/09/REACH-National-Publication-Greece-FINAL-designed.pdf>

118. <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC8949829/>
119. <https://www.journal-uAMD.org/index.php/IJRD/article/view/535>
120. <https://invergejournals.com/index.php/ijss/article/view/119>
121. <https://academic.oup.com/eurheartj/article/40/5/411/5304525>
122. <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/df67e792bbc89d8f0338abfd4fbc4bdab4a736ec>
123. <http://journal-app.uzhnu.edu.ua/article/view/261290>
124. <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/4e4c32d1dff583f8c6a5790bb303c3f6b3be02d>
125. <https://www.jedem.org/index.php/jedem/article/download/22/50>
126. <https://ejournals.epublishing.ekt.gr/index.php/hapscpbs/article/download/26476/21437>
127. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13510347.2021.1891413?needAccess=true>
128. <https://www.mdpi.com/2076-0760/2/2/78/pdf?version=1366711652>
129. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/23299460.2024.2440966>
130. <https://ccsenet.org/journal/index.php/ibr/article/download/0/0/44418/46833>
131. <https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/bitstreams/1eae49ec-6826-4ded-a99e-f33eb27d8970/download>
132. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/23996544221150077>
133. <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/20.500.12657/22473/1/1007710.pdf>
134. <https://www.cogitatiopress.com/politicsandgovernance/article/download/2539/2539>
135. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greeks>
136. <https://trendsresearch.org/insight/narratives-of-rivalry-turkiye-vs-greece-in-the-eastern-mediterranean-geopolitics/>
137. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Culture_of_Greece
138. <https://www.britannica.com/place/ancient-Greece>
139. <https://www.athensdemocracyforum.com/search/?query=2025&cHash=559305638b0e92e3396ab2563fd631e0>
140. <https://www.lse.ac.uk/Hellenic-Observatory/Assets/Documents/HO-PhD-Symposia/The-3rd-HO-PhD-Symposium/15-June/Session-2/Panel-2-Culture-and-Society-VI.pdf>
141. <https://www.athensconservatoire.gr/2025/09/athens-democracy-forum/>
142. <https://defea.gr/greece-on-the-spotlight-of-geopolitical-developments/>
143. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5SdtNiJwn3g>
144. <https://globalvolunteers.org/simply-greek-culture-and-traditions/>
145. <https://sss.org.pk/sss/article/view/302>
146. <https://conference2025.uccm.md/index.php/ro/publicatii-ro?layout=edit&id=42>
147. <https://journals.ysu.am/index.php/j-pol-sci/article/view/13246>
148. <https://www.dpublication.com/conference-proceedings/index.php/ICSH21/article/view/1191>
149. <https://jhistory.enu.kz/index.php/jHistory/article/view/22>
150. <https://proceeding.lemhannas.com/index.php/jgf/article/view/305>
151. https://zjar.journals.ekb.eg/article_451798.html
152. <https://doiserbia.nb.rs/Article.aspx?ID=0025-85552501091V>
153. <https://proceeding.lemhannas.com/index.php/jgf/article/view/286>

154. http://visnyk-econom.uzhnu.uz.ua/archive/56_2025ua/13.pdf
155. <https://www.mdpi.com/2673-1924/5/3/30>
156. https://www.e3s-conferences.org/articles/e3sconf/pdf/2021/28/e3sconf_pgsge2021_03051.pdf
157. <https://arxiv.org/pdf/2501.00058.pdf>
158. <https://ejournals.epublishing.ekt.gr/index.php/hapscpbs/article/download/29504/22953>
159. <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC9755759/>
160. <https://ejournals.epublishing.ekt.gr/index.php/hapscpbs/article/download/24961/20735>
161. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09662839.2024.2388638?needAccess=true>
162. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdfdirect/10.1111/jcms.13211>
163. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/10670564.2022.2067743?needAccess=true>
164. <http://www.scholink.org/ojs/index.php/ape/article/download/2090/2252>
165. <https://www.mdpi.com/2073-445X/13/3/268/pdf?version=1708496974>
166. <https://democracyrd.org/athens-democracy-forum-2025/>
167. <https://understanding-europe.org/en/about-us/educational-network/greece/>
168. <https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2025/08/25/greece-navigates-its-energy-future-amid-turbulent-regional-waters/>
169. <https://www.nato-pa.int/news/allied-legislators-highlight-greeces-strategic-role-southeast-europe-and-mediterranean>
170. <https://socialpolicy.panteion.gr/en/studies/doctoral/theses/1079-european-identity-greece-relationship-national-identity-mechanism>
171. <https://www.athensdemocracyforum.com>
172. <https://www.dianeosis.org/en/2016/02/what-do-greeks-believe/>
173. <https://efagroup.eu/the-geopolitical-role-of-greece-as-a-pillar-of-stability-and-cooperation/>
174. <https://www.democracywithoutborders.org/events/34926/>
175. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/european-review/article/disintegrating-the-dullest-miracle-on-earth-the-greek-crisis-instrumentalism-and-european-identity/4407FE6E1F084E78AB7ADF557B85CFB3>
176. <https://link.springer.com/10.1007/s11127-025-01273-6>
177. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/15533506211006982>
178. <https://www.mdpi.com/2073-4441/15/1/43>
179. <https://spppc.com.ua/index.php/journal/article/view/1525>
180. <https://bioethicsjournal.ru/2070-1586/article/view/624483/140332>
181. <https://www.scholink.org/ojs/index.php/jrph/article/view/56049>
182. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01916599.2023.2230565>
183. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/j.ctv1ddczrx.25>
184. <https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/POSO/article/download/50777/49844>
185. <http://pnap.ap.edu.pl/index.php/pnap/article/download/1363/1301>
186. <https://ejournals.epublishing.ekt.gr/index.php/hapscpbs/article/download/26472/21432>
187. <http://www.e-revistes.uji.es/index.php/recerca/article/download/2368/2850>
188. <http://kramerius.lib.cas.cz/search/handle/uuid:9050808c-dfcd-4ffb-aa30-12b5c646985f>

189. <http://psychologyandeducation.net/pae/index.php/pae/article/download/1562/1344>
190. <https://www.macrothink.org/journal/index.php/rae/article/download/16631/12893>
191. <https://open-research-europe.ec.europa.eu/articles/1-56/v2>
192. <https://www.mcser.org/journal/index.php/mjss/article/download/5193/5010>
193. <https://www.ubiquitypress.com/site/books/e/10.5334/bcj/>
194. <https://revistia.org/index.php/ejis/article/view/5317/5169>
195. <https://academic.oup.com/crj/article-pdf/13/4/571/41116225/clab011.pdf>
196. <https://ijsoc.goacademica.com/index.php/ijsoc/article/download/743/685>
197. <https://www.guletexpert.com/foundations-of-greek-history/>
198. https://www.reddit.com/r/AskHistorians/comments/306qot/why_is_ancient_greece_considered_the_beginning_of/
199. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Athenian_democracy
200. <https://theimaginativeconservative.org/2022/11/revealed-hidden-reconceiving-western-civilization-simon-kennedy.html>
201. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14782804.2021.1924641>
202. <https://smithsonianassociates.org/ticketing/programs/democracy-lessons-from-ancient-greeks>
203. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Western_civilization_before_AD_500
204. <https://foreignanalysis.com/the-cultural-death-of-europe/>
205. <https://studyinggreece.edu.gr/the-top-6-facts-about-greek-culture/>
206. <https://www.eliamep.gr/en/h-evropaiki-ellada-se-mia-evropi-pou-prostatevei-margaritis-schoinas/>
207. <https://eclass.uoa.gr/modules/document/file.php/MEDIA237/Diverse/KAITATZI-WHITLOCK.pdf>
208. <https://journals.openedition.org/gaia/5279>
209. <https://journals.codesria.org/index.php/codesriabulletin/article/view/5974>
210. <https://ejournal.unkafa.ac.id/index.php/miyah/article/view/1714>
211. <https://cuestionesdefisioterapia.com/index.php/es/article/view/3566>