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The Greek political publishing field during the long 1960s, exemplified by the case of Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1963-1981

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The Greek Political Publishing Field During the Long 1960s
exemplified by the Case of Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1963–1981

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To read too many books is harmful

Mao Zedong

*Be admonished: of making many books
there is no end; and much study
is a weariness of the flesh.*

Ecclesiastes 12:12

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AASPE	Antifasistiki Antiimperialistiki Spoudastiki Parataxi Elladas [Anti-fascist Anti-imperialist Syndicalist Organisation of Greece]
AKOE	Apeleftherotiko Kinima Omofilofilon Elladas [Liberation Movement of Greek Homosexuals]
ASKI	Archia Sichronis Kinonikis Istorias [Archives of Contemporary Social History]
CPC	Communist Party of China
DNL	Dimokratiki Neolea Lambraki [Democratic Youth Lambrakis]
EAM	Ethniko Apeleftherotiko Metopo [National Liberation Front]
EDA	Eniea Dimokratiki Aristera [United Democratic Left]
EKIN	Ellinoevropaiki Kinisi Neon [Greek-European Youth Movement]
EKKE	Epanastatiko Kommounistiko Kinima Elladas [Revolutionary Communist Movement of Greece]
ELA	Epanastatikos Laikos Agonas [Popular Revolutionary Struggle]
EPON	Eniea Panelladiki Organosi Neon [United Pan-Hellenic Youth Organisation]
EROL	Encyclopaedia of Anti-Revisionism Online
FLP	Foreign Languages Press [of China]
IISG	International Institute of Social History
KKE	Kommounistiko Komma Eladas [Communist Party of Greece]
KKE (M-L)	Kommounistiko Komma Eladas (marxistiko-leninistiko) [Communist Party of Greece (Marxist-Leninist)]

KKE/ML	Kommounistiko Komma Eladas/Marxiston–Leniniston [Communist Party of Greek/Marxists–Leninists]
M–L KKE	Marxistiko-Leninistiko Kommounistiko Komma Eladas [Marxist–Leninist Communist Party of Greece]
MIA	Marxists Internet Archive
OMLE	Organosi Marxiston–Leniniston Elladas [Organisation of Marxists–Leninists of Greece]
PASOK	Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima [Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement]
Per.	Periodical
PPSP	Proodeftiki Panspoudastiki Syndikalistiki Parataxi [Progressive All-Students Syndicalist Organisation]
RCP	Revolutionary Communist Party [of the United States of America]
SYRIZA	Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras [Coalition of the Radical Left]

NOTE ON ROMANISATION OF CHINESE TERMS

Concerning the romanisation of Chinese terms, for which systems have varied over time, some systematic form of usage is required. Therefore, for published sources and quotes, the standard that applied in the period in which original sources were published (predominantly the Wade–Giles system) is adopted (e.g., “Mao Tse-tung”; “Peking”). For discussion of concepts or specific individuals in a general sense, the accepted global standard (i.e., Hanyu Pinyin system), in place since the 1980s, is used (e.g., “Mao Zedong”; “Beijing”).

PROLOGUE

In 2001, I moved to Greece—more specifically, Thessaloniki—to study. Not long after I arrived, I became involved in student and social activism. This and my enduring interest in history and books saw me wandering the city for hours, visiting every bookstore I could find in search of material related to my new interests. I soon realised that the better-known bookstores stocked very few—and, in some cases, no—titles of relevance. In contrast, bookstores in specific areas, especially second-hand and antiquarian ones—often based in damp, poorly lit basements—had hundreds of titles. Most of these came from publishers I was not even aware existed. As I later came to understand, this was because the kinds of books that piqued my interest were typically produced by short-lived and long-defunct publishers that would rarely themselves be included in the Greek National Library’s bibliographic register.

One of my first observations was that, as one looked back in time (and especially to the period before the 1980s) the number of books, pamphlets, periodicals and newspapers related to radical politics, either extra-parliamentary Left or anarchist, was significantly higher than that in the 1990s or the 2000s. Although this was an observation about the Greek publishing field, it can be generalised: the phenomenon of the expansion of the radical publishing field during the “long sixties” (and its later decline) is a feature of many other countries as well. Archives specialising in labour and social movements, such as the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam and the Archives of Contemporary Social History (ASKI) in Athens,

contain troves of material from the *long sixties* from all over the world. The coverage in these collections, however, declines drastically from the 1980s onwards. Browsing the shelves of Greek second-hand bookstores, or even my own library, it slowly dawned on me that the vast majority of political publishing had occurred during the *long sixties*, a conclusion reinforced by the fact that the many books I borrowed from friends came from the libraries their parents had assembled as students back in the 1960s and '70s.

None of this really drew my attention until I began my MA studies when I came across Pierre Bourdieu's field theory.¹ Aspects of Bourdieu's theory helped me formulate the notion of the Greek political publishing field, which makes up the core of this PhD dissertation. Discovering field theory—especially John B. Thompson's later modification of it—intrigued me, especially Thompson's idea of publishing field theory. The term and its various aspects will be more thoroughly elaborated in later parts of the dissertation. Nevertheless, I would like to state here that I view field theory as a very adaptable framework that can be modified to fit different publishing genres, countries and historical periods. At the same time, it has a firm structure that assists the researcher to form a concrete idea of what should be assessed.

1. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

INTRODUCTION

This PhD dissertation serves a dual purpose. It aims to produce a revised picture of the historical development of (left-wing and anarchist) political publishing in Greece during the 1960s and 1970s. At the same time, it seeks to extend the application of Bourdieusian field theory to this subject, the first time—at least as far as I am aware—this has ever been attempted. My main hypothesis is that a distinctive publishing field, which I label the *political publishing field*, emerged within the Greek publishing sphere during the *long sixties*.

The theoretical framework draws heavily on elements of Pierre Bourdieu's field theory and especially John B. Thompson's adaptation of it for the publishing field. However, I argue that the field of *political publishing* has distinctive features and characteristics that mark it out from other publishing fields, such as general trade or academic publishing. These particularities militate against the uncritical adoption of either Bourdieu's or Thompson's theoretical framework. Instead, I seek to elaborate a critical engagement with Thompson's work, as he himself did with Bourdieu's.² For a start, economic capital—so central to field theory—is generally lacking in the political publishing field and is thus of decreased importance. Symbolic

2. As far as the trade publishing field is concerned, see the introduction of John B. Thompson's *Merchants of Culture: The Publishing Business in the Twenty-First Century*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012). For the academic publishing field, see the second and third chapters of John B. Thompson's *Books in the Digital Age: The Transformation of Academic and Higher Education Publishing in Britain and the United States* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005).

capital, however, is front and centre. As will also become apparent, one of the basic elements of field theory—the dichotomy between autonomy and heteronomy—does not apply in political publishing. The differentiation between political publishing and other fields briefly described above is not indicative of either an anomaly of the field or eclecticism on my behalf.

On the contrary, this fact entirely supports Thompson’s argument that publishing fields have distinctive dynamics and characteristics with respect to each other.³ While publishing field theory is a structural theory, it is also dynamic. Thus, the fact that it allows us to introduce and elaborate on different findings—without fear of derailing from a very rigid theoretical path—is one of the two reasons I chose to use it. The other is that it has a lot of space for the social aspects of publishing that I believe to be of great importance in the present case.

It will become evident that in order to frame the political publishing field—or any field for that matter—two aspects must first be defined. First, it is crucial to delimit the various *agents* of the field—namely, its various subjects, the actors within it. The second aspect to define is the *habitus* of the field, which is “the practice-unifying and practice-generating principle”.⁴ One must always bear in mind what a publishing field is—namely, “a space of positions occupied by different publishing organisations” pervaded by a range of actors.⁵ Thus we must define the various subfields of political publishing that constitute the wider field. The identification and conceptualisation of the various agents and subfields are concomitant to establishing the “different publishing organisations”. In order to achieve this definition, I proceed to an elaboration of the various terms used within political publishing, such as “radical”, “alternative” and “underground”, drawing on a combination of theory and practice, the latter being a case study from the Greek publishing field.

The use of case studies serves a dual purpose. Because field theory is heavily based on practice, it seems contradictory to proceed to an abstract

3. Thompson, *Merchants of Culture*, 4–5; Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, 37–40.

4. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984), 101.

5. Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, 30.

theoretical analysis that is disconnected from the actual publishing practices in question, which themselves structure the political publishing field. Thus, the dissertation adopts an applied theory approach. The second purpose is to familiarise the reader with the substance and development of Greek political publishing since it has until now remained relatively unexplored by scholars. The dissertation research has uncovered a lamentable dearth of literature regarding the Greek publishing field—and political publishing in particular. In this respect, I chose to present case studies that will assist the reader to acquire an outline of the Greek political publishing field during the *long sixties*.

As far as the historical framework is concerned, the reader will have noticed that I adopt the referent of “the long sixties”, a more general idea that I have adapted to take account of the political dynamics in the Greek case, especially the years of military dictatorship (1967–1974). This will assist us to set the publishing field in its historical context. I argue that the formation—as well as the decline—of the political publishing field was directly related to the historical conditions of the time and the rise of socio-political movements worldwide. Furthermore, accurate historicisation demands we also focus on technology. After all, print technology is a key factor in the development of publishing and one that itself emerges and evolves in historical time.

A variety of sources are employed in this dissertation to reconstitute the Greek political publishing field, to define the habitus, and determine the various agents and their positions within the field. The dearth of secondary literature regarding Greek publishing and Greek book studies led me to other sources. Turning my attention to archival resources was helpful but what was available was far from satisfactory. The marginal and ephemeral nature of the vast majority of political publishing houses operating in Greece is one of the reasons for the dearth of archival sources and quantitative data that would allow us to proceed to concrete qualitative analysis.⁶ What is

6. The political turmoil that led to the military dictatorship between 1967 and 1974 was a cause of much of the destruction of archives as well as to elliptic archiving, i.e. omission of full names from archives, for safety reasons.

known is that in 1982, there were more than five hundred publishing houses in Greece, 80% of which were based in Athens. But as noted, the picture is quite misleading since more than two hundred of them were “niche, elliptic or marginal presences”.⁷ Political groups and parties have long deployed press and publishing to serve their goals. Often—at least initially—the publishing or editorial team was identical to that of the political group. Publishing—of which the political press was a basic component—during the period under examination was on the rise. Statistics tell us as much: in 1958, there were 1,400 businesses in the Greek printing–publishing sector, employing 9,619 people, often on a seasonal basis, over the year. Twenty years later, in 1978, this had risen to 2,848 enterprises with 17,285 employees.⁸

As I began to explore what archives I could find, I encountered former activists and agents of the political publishing field from the *long sixties*. While, in the beginning, I saw conducting interviews or engaging in discussions with these people as a supplementary source or research method, oral history, in the end, proved to be highly significant. This was not an easy source to tap; many former activists were reluctant to talk, let alone be recorded, and memories had faded in time, as they are wont to do. Nevertheless, these discussions were tremendously beneficial, not just because I could use them to supplement the paucity of written sources. Indeed, as the next chapter lays out in greater detail, the oral history I conducted unveiled the critical importance of symbolic capital to political publishing, which in turn underpinned the human and social capital that each publisher was able to generate. My interlocutors thus formed part of the human and social capital of the political publishing field of their time and through the interviews and discussions the habitus of the field resurfaced, many years after it had disintegrated.

7. Loukas Axelos, *Ekdostiki drastiriotta ke kinisi ton ideon stin Ellada* [Publishing Activity and Circulation of Ideas in Greece] (Athens: Stochastis, 2008), 160 [in Greek].

8. When we talk about businesses in the Greek publishing sector of the time, we must imagine small workshops rather than large companies. The statistics were drawn from Periklis Papadopoulos, *E taxiki diarthrosi tis sichronis ellinikis kinonias: Kinoniologika ke ideologika zitimiata* [The Class Structure of the Contemporary Greek Society: Sociological and Ideological Issues] (Athens: Sygchroni Epochi, 1987) [in Greek].

(Autobiographic) novels were also used to reconstruct and understand the *long sixties*, especially since the amount of fiction written on the period is quite extensive compared with the non-fiction produced on the same topics. Of course, I used these novels to draw out the sense of the values and visions—and the disappointments—of the youth of that time, rather than to gather “facts”. This context matters. As I will elaborate in detail through the chapters that follow, participation in the social and political movements of the *long sixties*—and the disappointment that attended demobilisation later on—was directly linked to involvement in political publishing, either as active agents of the field or as readers.

The first chapter provides an overview of the Greek political publishing field during the *long sixties*. This chapter should not be taken as a mere historical narrative. It is not possible to conceive in full the function of the political publishing field without understanding the historical context and socio-economic, political and cultural conditions within which it emerged. A number of crucial developments in the 1960s—the Sino–Soviet split and the Cultural Revolution, new technological advances and the widespread embrace of the mimeograph and offset technology, increased access to university education, and Greece’s turbulent political firmament—all influenced the formation, evolution and disintegration of the Greek political publishing field in the period.

In the second chapter, I apply Thompson’s field theory to show that political publishing in Greece during the *long sixties* constituted a publishing field in its own right. That such a distinct publishing field existed is shown by the importance of symbolic capital and the virtual absence of economic capital, making it an anomaly in the trade publishing subfield. In other words, unlike trade publishing’s conventional sub-subfields, political publishing exhibited virtually no influence from economic capital. Other publishing fields are likewise not affected by the historical context in the way political publishing is. Of course, time and space transform all publishing fields to a greater or lesser extent. Technological advances, increased literacy and standards of living, or an increase of attendance in higher education all affect the way a publishing field or subfield will develop, grow or progress. This is hardly a novel observation; Thompson’s *Books in the Digital*

Age demonstrates this point conclusively in exploring the transformation of the academic publishing field. In the case of the Greek political publishing field, however, historical time and context did not merely *influence* developments—they literally constituted the field itself. I argue that the rise of social movements in the *long sixties* and the respective politicisation of the youth—today’s “baby boomers”—were essential to the very rise of the field, while the end of the *long sixties* and the decline of the same social, cultural and political movements brought the field to its end.

In the third chapter, I elaborate on the dialectics of form and content of published works within the political publishing field. I argue that the form, as in the graphic design and the material quality, was directly related to symbolic capital. Two distinct patterns or publishing practices emerged in relation to the distinct form of the period. The first was the copying of originals in an attempt to draw on and transmit the symbolic capital that inhered in them—from the publisher, author or title of the original—through to the copied works. The second pattern was the production of first-hand cheap editions with poor aesthetics when there was no symbolic capital in the original that might be transmitted via copying. As far as the form is concerned, I again chose to use case studies in order to illustrate the arguments made. I chose two works of Mao Zedong published by the same publisher, Istorikes Ekdoseis, during two different periods of time.

The fourth and fifth chapters explore in detail the dissertation’s case study: Istorikes Ekdoseis, a Greek publishing venture prominent during the *long sixties*. This is one of the few political publishing houses that operated through the entire period, save the seven years of military rule from 1967 to 1974. The ideological motivations of its founders and contributors throughout its operation and its highly political and ideological content, as well as the fact it operated across the entire *long sixties*, are sufficient reasons to select Istorikes Ekdoseis as a representative case study of the Greek political publishing field. Chapters 4 and 5 cover, respectively, the first and second operational periods of Istorikes Ekdoseis (i.e., pre- and post-junta) and include both a narrative of the publishing activity per se as well as an application of publishing field theory. To reconstruct the history of this publishing project—and position it and its agents within the polit-

ical publishing field—a series of methodological and research tools were employed. Elements of Bourdieu’s field theory—especially as modified by Thompson—have been pivotal in grounding the framework of the research. The focus on a single publishing formation should be perceived as a micro-historical approach, which is used to support and substantiate the arguments regarding the greater narrative. In this sense, it is not an attempt to scale down the research as this would be contradictory to the *long sixties* approach, itself a core element of the research framework.

Since the microcosm of the Greek extra-parliamentary Left is rather complicated, I will try to briefly shed some light on it here so that the reader can better follow the history of Istorikes Ekdoseis. In the early 1960s, a small group of political exiles from the Greek civil war gathered in Athens. They decided to form a publishing house, Istorikes Ekdoseis, to project their ideas, and those of their revolutionary role models, Mao Zedong and the Communist Party of China. This Marxist–Leninist circle was under the leadership of Isaak Iordanides and Yannis Hontzeas who oversaw all publishing projects of the group until the military coup of 1967. After the coup, the OMLE (Organisation of Marxists–Leninists of Greece), a clandestine group, was established by the members of the circle that escaped captivity led by Hontzeas. In 1974, after the collapse of the military dictatorship, OMLE re-established Istorikes Ekdoseis. In 1976 OMLE underwent a split. The majority, including Hontzeas, formed the KKE (M-L) (Communist Party of Greece (Marxist–Leninist)) keeping Istorikes Ekdoseis as its publishing arm. The minority led by Iordanides formed the M-L KKE (Marxist–Leninist Communist Party of Greece). By the end of the 1970s, extra-parliamentary formations of the Left had undergone an identity crisis and by the early 1980s, most had disintegrated. One of the difficulties faced in terms of archival research is tied to this disintegration due to which the fate of most of the archives, concerning both political publishing ventures and the political groups linked to many of the publishing projects, remain unknown.

Archival research has been used to reconstruct the universe of Istorikes Ekdoseis. Yet the fact that only fractions have been traced of an archive that, in all likelihood, was not that organised in the first place, means it was

far from adequate to the task of offering a clear view of the processes and transformations of either *Istorikes Ekdoseis* or the field itself. According to oral testimony from Roza Economou, a cadre of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and *Anagennisi* [Renaissance], the monthly review it published from October 1964 until the April 1967,⁹ the archive of the pre-junta (1963–1967) period that comprises the largest part of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*' publishing history, was shredded. This was the handiwork of Economou, who, along with Panagiotis Kyriazis and Yiannis Hontzeas, destroyed the archive on 21 April 1967—the day of the colonels' coup—to prevent the civilian police from capturing it. What remains of the *Istorikes Ekdoseis* archive, and those of *Anagennisi* and the fraternal *Laikos Dromos* [*People's Road*] newspaper, now belongs to the collections of the ASKI in Athens.

Folder 483.7 of the AKSI collection contains the remainder of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* (1963–1967) correspondence, documents concerning the finances of the publications, statements that designated representatives of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* in other cities, and other documents that cannot be categorised. The archive seems to have been well organised, but at the same time, its creators had been very casual in recording the names of their affiliates. Surnames, apart from those of Hontzeas or Iordanides, were almost never used although there are numerous first-name-basis references, probably as a precaution in case the archive fell into the hands of the state, as indeed happened. Of course, this is a mere assumption, one that perhaps naturally arises when working with archival remainders, since it is certain that documents that could incriminate people affiliated with *Istorikes Ekdoseis* existed and were destroyed. The majority of the correspondence concerns publishers and suppliers abroad, primarily Guozi Shudian¹⁰—the official Chinese state distribution channel for all state literature,¹¹ established in

9. Roza Economou, interview with the author, Athens, 16 February 2012.

10. This is generally translated as China Publications Centre although it literally means "international bookstore". See Audrey Donnithorne, *China's Economic System*, 5th ed. (Routledge: London, 2008), 325.

11. The most significant of which were publications by the FLP in Beijing, the *Peking Review* and the newsfeed of Xinhua, the New China News Agency. See Christos Mais, "The Marxist–Leninist Publishing Field in Greece During the 1960s–1970s" (master's thesis, Leiden University, 2009), 14–17.

December 1949. Another belongs to a reader who wanted to place an order.

Before proceeding with *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, we will elaborate both the Chinese policy regarding the foreign press and the use of press and publishing during the *long sixties* within the international revolutionary movements. To do so, extensive use is made of the digitised archive of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Background Reports and the Open Society Archives based at the Central European University in Budapest. This exceptional digitisation project has made it possible to trace and retrieve a number of documents, especially from the late 1950s and the 1960s, related to the distribution and dissemination of communist literature worldwide. One cannot fully comprehend the political publishing field if the global aspect is neglected. Various political trends developed a sense of universality, both in terms of beliefs but also of the movements that championed them.¹² The exchange of literature—translations, hosting articles or publishing works produced by comrades from all around the world—between “true believers” in different countries was a prevalent practice at the time, and in reality, it was nothing but the publishing embodiment of the perception of being part of a global revolutionary project.

Beyond the need to address this issue in terms of the global perspective of the political publishing field, there is another significant element here. During its first period, as it will be further analysed in Chapter 4, *Istorikes Ekdoseis*’ publishing programme was heavily based on translations of works produced by China’s Foreign Languages Press (FLP), mainly provided by Guozi Shudian. According to the archival remainders, there were some plans—or thoughts at least—to produce other publications until the 21 April 1967 coup. In reality, however, all volumes but one—probably the last title published—were translated works of Chinese texts, mainly Mao Zedong’s works. For this reason, its rivals often characterised the political group behind *Istorikes Ekdoseis* as Sinophile.

The publishing project, as we will take up in further detail a little later, served as the primary political and organisational platform of the so-called

12. This was very common in political trends like Soviet communism, Maoism, Trotskyism, etc.

anti-revisionists in Greece. In brief, anti-revisionism was a political term used by those aligned primarily with the Communist Party of China (CPC) and, secondly, with the Albanian Labour Party during the Sino–Soviet split from 1963 onwards. Thus, the production and dissemination of Chinese political literature were crucial during this period, for both the Chinese and the Greek anti-revisionists.

At the onset of the military dictatorship (1967–1974), the publishing activity of this Greek Marxist–Leninist circle abruptly ceased. Some members were imprisoned and then exiled; others fled to Europe or went underground. The offices where they housed their publishing activity were ransacked by the regime and the remaining stock of titles and the archive confiscated. The group based in Greece that had gone underground initiated a mimeographed bulletin (and later a mimeographed newspaper), while its counterpart in Europe published bulletins, a monthly review and later a monthly newspaper, along with the occasional publication of pamphlets.¹³

A single folder has been salvaged from the Metapolitefsi period—i.e., from the fall of the military dictatorship in 1974 until the dissolution of the Communist Party of Greece (Marxist–Leninist) [KKE (M–L)] (the political force behind *Istorikes Ekdoseis*) in 1976. Also recovered are a number of films and manuscripts (both published and unpublished), including those forthcoming editions that remained unpublished due to the party’s liquidation. The folder contains correspondence and copyright contracts with foreign publishers, a few handwritten notes related either to timeframes concerning translations or publishing costs for planned forthcoming editions, plus a few notes regarding revenues from sales due to be collected by party branches based in small cities nationwide. To the best of my knowledge,

13. The underground group OMLE [Organosi Marxiston–Leniniston Elladas (Organisation of Marxists–Leninists of Greece)] published the *Information Bulletin of the OMLE* and the newspaper *Proletariaki Simea* [*Proletarian Flag*]. Its European counterpart, AMEE [Agonistiko Metopo Ellinon Eksoterikou (Militant Front of Greeks Abroad)], published different bulletins in each country in which it was active (i.e., Italy, Germany and France) and the monthly review *Laikos Dromos* and later on the monthly newspaper *Laiki Enotita* [*People’s Unity*].

none of these archives has been used by other researchers or published in other research until now.¹⁴

But even if a complete archive had been recovered, it would still be inadequate for a full reconstruction of the publishing project. In the archives of any mainstream (in terms of operations) publishing firm—be it trade, academic or otherwise—what you find is most likely what it appears to be. In our case, however, surfaces can be deceiving. As we will see in more detail as we proceed, the names of owners or shareholders and the details of tax returns are certainly there to be found. However, in reality, these served as nothing more than an obligatory *facade of legality*, necessary for the venture to function. Shareholders and owners were nothing more than trusted comrades-in-arms, and no profit was divided among individuals, since even where a profit existed, it remained within the political and publishing collective. All the information, or clarifications regarding the archival material—as well what is needed to fill the gaps where such material is missing—would not be recoverable were it not for the extensive use of oral history. The latter also allowed me to develop an idea of the audience and readership of the publications since this information could not be acquired any other way.

The internet and social media have proved to be crucial sources. During the past few years, numerous digital archives related to this research have been created, the most important of which is the Encyclopaedia of Anti-Revisionism Online (EROL). This forms part of the Marxists Internet Archive (MIA),¹⁵ as well as digital libraries initiated by Greek Marxist–Leninist groups and websites/blogs affiliated with or related to them.¹⁶ Primary doc-

14. The only use of the ASKI archives in relation to *Istorikes Ekdoseis* until now has been in Christos Mais, “E ekdotiki drastiriotita os meso politikis stratefsis ke sigrotis taftotitas: O ekdotikos ikos ‘Istorikes Ekdoseis’” [Publishing Activity as a Means of Political Commitment and Identity Formation: ‘Istorikes Ekdoseis’ Publishing House, 1963–1967], *Archeiotaksio* 14 (October 2012), 66–79 [in Greek].

15. See <http://marxists.org/history/erol/erol.htm>, accessed 29 October 2014.

16. *Morfotikes Ekdoseis* [Educational Press], the publishing branch of the Marxist–Leninist Party of Greece (M–L KKE), initiated a digitisation process as a tribute to the fiftieth anniversary of the launch of the *Anagennisi* review. The digital library can be found at <http://morfotikesekdoseis.gr/?q=biblia-pdf>, accessed 10 October 2014. The blog “Antistasi stis geitonies” (“Resistance in the neighbourhoods”), affiliated with the Communist Party of Greece

uments and secondary literature, including personal accounts and memoirs of Marxist–Leninist or Maoist movements worldwide can be found there, providing researchers with the means to construct a comparative perspective. The dissolution of the revolutionary movements of the *long sixties* resulted in the dispersal of their members, not only across Greece but even worldwide. The internet has provided not only the possibility to track them down by searching the web or various databases. Indeed, since the Greek radical student movement was very strong in the Polytechnic Schools, the use of the online membership registry of the Technical Chamber of Greece proved very useful in tracing and contacting potential interviewees.¹⁷ The recent social media boom—and especially Facebook—offered the opportunity to contact former agents of the field or readers, and either interview them in the traditional fashion or engage in online discussions. In June 2014, a Facebook group named “I was in PPSP, PPEKT, PESP, PMSP [in Greek]”¹⁸ was formed, in time becoming a valuable source of material and recollections of that era. Engaging in such groups and discussions triggered a memory boost, forcing people to either write down part of their experiences or dig up their personal archives—or to be more accurate, what is left of them—scanning and uploading things either that they believe should be preserved or that fellow groupies have requested. The importance of these discussions—be they in Facebook groups or forums—lies in the fact that people have the sense of an informal chat among friends or comrades, which entails much less pressure than a one-on-one, on-the-record interview. This often leads to narrate anecdotes and experiences that may well be insignificant in a political sense but help us capture the atmosphere of the time.

The two chapters on *Istorikes Ekdoseis* are thus, in a way, the combi-

(Marxist–Leninist) [KKE(M–L)], has launched a digital library with documents of the Marxist–Leninist movement, including some that are related to *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and its political/publishing affiliates and counterparts. See <http://antigeitoniesbooks.blogspot.com>, accessed 10 October 2014.

17. See <http://teeserver.tee.gr/regdds/>, accessed 29 October 2014.

18. These were mass organisations of the KKE (M–L)) and of that political trend in general, dating from the mid-1960s until 1982.

nation of the core of the first two chapters of the dissertation; a historical narrative where publishing field theory is applied in order to reconstruct the field and at the same time determine its distinctive characteristics.

The conclusions that follow sum up the key arguments made and proven throughout the dissertation. These are:

- a) Political publishing in Greece during the *long sixties* constituted a distinctive publishing field.
- b) A fundamental characteristic of this field is the centrality of symbolic capital. This form of capital is the heart of not only every agent within the field but of the field itself. The decline of symbolic capital, as I will show throughout the dissertation, is closely intertwined with the decline of ideological and political currents at the time. This decline not only brought political publishers to their knees but also forced most of them to close down or migrate to other publishing fields, thereby turning them into relics of a once vivid and flourishing publishing space.
- c) Another fundamental characteristic differentiating this publishing field from trade publishing is the relative insignificance of economic capital. One may think that this is due to the very real dearth of financial resources available to the agents of the field. In reality, this scarcity of financial resources is not the reason for the insignificance of economic capital. This circumstance, instead, reflects the fact that the majority of the agents in the field did not enter publishing to make a profit nor were they driven by the profit motive in the publishing decisions they made. The main reason for this was political, rather than economic since publishing was seen and understood first and foremost as a political task or duty. This is true both of individual agents and publishing entities. Publishing entities recruited individuals based on their political commitment; their skills (writing, editing, marketing and so on) were a secondary concern if they were even considered at all. Since individuals were driven to the field by a sense of political duty, they took up the work even when not particularly suited to it and with little concern for the monetary compensation.

- d) The political publishing field reflects the underlying sociality of space. The majority of the field's agents were concentrated in central city locations, close to the social spaces frequented by the youth, mainly student, target audience (i.e., university faculties, bars and cafes).

CHAPTER 1

The Greek Political Publishing Field and Subfields

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the details of the Greek political publishing field—and its various subfields—as it existed in the *long sixties*. Its purpose is two-fold. In the first instance, it brings together all the salient details of the characteristics of the field in a single narrative exposition—the location and spatial distribution of publishing, the nature of the Greek book market of the time, and the aspects of the readership and the book culture of the time. This is to familiarise readers with the Greek publishing at large and its peculiarities.

But the chapter has a second purpose—namely, to define accurately for the reader the specific subfields and clarify the basic terms used to delimit them. The majority of these terms may have been adopted in academia but are merely academically defined. Most originated either as self-definitions of the agents of the publishing field or by the popular press of the time. This explains the vagueness and fluidity of the terms. On the other hand, the reason for defining these terms is not just because no one else has yet done so or as a theoretical examination for theory's sake. Especially in the context of the global sixties or a transnational comparative approach,¹⁹ it is necessary to establish a uniform terminology in order to avoid confusion

19. The global dimensions of the period will be further on examined while analysing the *long sixties*.

and analytical errors, which may well arise if different genres or fields are given the same label.

Political publishing includes a diverse category of publishing activities and ventures ranging from state publishing houses like the Soviet Union's Progress Publishers or China's FLP to pamphlets produced by clandestine organisations, or even individuals. Drawing on J. B. Thompson's conceptualisation of the publishing field as a space occupied by different publishing organisations, I argue that the *political publishing field* incorporates a diverse range of publishing activities and ventures, the work of which is either driven by—or oriented to—the agents' politics and ideology.²⁰

It should be noted that such a definition includes a series of sub-genres with different classifications, based on at least three main categories of criteria concerning the outputs—that is, books and other publications. These are ideology (e.g., anarchist, Marxist–Leninist, Trotskyist, counter-cultural); the type of ownership and structure of the publishing venture (i.e., state, private or collective); and the economic and socio-political framework within which this publishing activity takes place (e.g., illegal underground press, state press). The political press may be of the expression of the ruling classes or of dissidents; an expression of this duality would be the Soviet Union's Progress Publishers as well as *Samizdat*, published during the same period by Soviet dissidents.²¹ It may also be an organised institution (such as a state or trade publishing press) or a grassroots group using either mimeograph machines²² or—in the digital era—creating and posting on blogs, forums and other digital platforms.

I proceed to such an analysis not at a merely theoretical level but by using case studies from the Greek publishing field. This approach has a dual purpose. First, it provides a concrete analysis, since—as already mentioned—these terms have a certain level of fluidity. Second, doing so familiarises readers with the Greek publishing field and its peculiarities. One key category within political publishing—the publishing arms of political

20. See Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, 30–46; Thompson, *Merchants of Culture*.

21. Regarding the Soviet Union's *Samizdat*, see Saunders, *Samizdat*.

22. McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters*, 13–30.

groups—will not be analysed in the following section. Instead, it will be taken up in the final chapter of this dissertation, where the publishing house *Istorikes Ekdoseis* will be presented and analysed. That chapter will serve as an overall case study of the Greek political publishing field.

There is a continuum of political works published in Greece throughout the 20th century. Until 1963 these were mainly of two sorts, small trade publishers and small trade publishing houses belonging to former political prisoners and exiles. Although the choice of titles to be published, e.g., Soviet literature or Marxist texts, was clearly ideologically driven, these ventures primarily served as money-making operations for their owners. As it will become evident in the discussion on the Kalvos publishing house further below, it was not until the military dictatorship of 1967 that such trade publishers became more distinctively political and thus part of the political publishing field. From 1970, the beginning of the high tide of political publishing, until the end of that decade, the boundaries between trade publishing and political publishing were vague and unclear. This was because many trade publishers, regardless of their particular political and ideological views, were keen to publish left-wing literature since the readership was expanding and there were profits to be made.

The key political publishing activity from 1963 until 1967 and again after 1974 derived from political groups that established publishing houses, newspapers, magazines and bookstores. These outfits drove the political publishing field until the late 1970s with the exception of the period of the military dictatorship. While the political affiliations were often not stated, especially until 1967, the “who’s who” in the space was known to everyone. *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, which will be thoroughly detailed and assessed in the last chapter of this dissertation, was very much a part of this “who’s who”.

While publications were printed and distributed legally at this time, some clandestine and underground presses and publishing houses did exist. I will expand on this when addressing the case of the magazine *Antipliroforisi* later on in this chapter. Here, it is important to add that beyond the standard clandestine presses that were set up this way to avoid the pervasive state surveillance of the time, another group—Trotskyite publications—went clandestine up until 1967 on more specific grounds. Trotskyite groups

at the time had selected the official left-wing EDA party for infiltration. To facilitate efficient “entryism”, as this tactic is called, the infiltrators had to avoid exposure. Thus, their publishing material, such as the *Marxistiko Deltio* (*Marxist Bulletin*) and *Diethnistis* (*Internationalist*) was carefully distributed hand-to-hand while the authors used pseudonyms so even if an issue fell into the wrong hands they would avoid being identified.

During the military dictatorship, other subfields emerged—namely, the alternative and counterculture press. Except for *Anti*, one of the case studies that will be detailed at length later, they were rather marginal during the period when the revolutionary leftist political groups dominated. By the end of the 1970s, the revolutionary Left was in a deep crisis while the counterculture was on the rise. This ascent lasted until the mid-1980s, a time during which dozens if not hundreds of rags and fanzines appeared (and disappeared) in a continually changing field. The most diachronic figure of the Greek counterculture, Leonidas Christakis, and his most known creation, the rag *Ideodromio*, will be presented in this chapter.

The chapter consists of two sections and proceeds as follows. It begins with a detailing of the salient facts about Greek publishing at the time—the location and spatial distribution of publishing (mostly in Athens, but to a limited extent also in Thessaloniki), the nature of the Greek book market of the time, and aspects of the readership and the reading culture of the period. It then turns to the conceptual dimensions, laying out concrete definitions of what are often very ambiguous, or at least fluid, terms—namely, the “underground”, “alternative” and “radical” press. This section also details the salient aspects of print technology as it pertains to Greek publishing in the *long sixties*.

The Field's Distinctive Characteristics and the *Logic of the Field*

Each publishing field has distinctive characteristics, its own properties that differentiate it from other publishing fields. As far as the political publishing field is concerned. I will cover the more theoretical dimensions when I discuss forms of capital in the next chapter, e.g., the minimal role

of economic capital in contrast to other publishing fields. Nevertheless, field characteristics are not limited to different forms of capital. Issues like space, readership and the book market, and form and content should be taken into consideration when elaborating the nature of a specific publishing field.

The Spatiality of the Field

The Greek political publishing field during the *long sixties* was spatially limited, primarily in the city centre of Athens and secondarily the city centre of Thessaloniki. The latter, indeed, only became prominent at all from the 1970s, since until then political publishing was a strictly Athenian business. Bookstores were clustered in a two-kilometre radius, from Kaniggos Square to Kolonaki Square, with the core around the Exarchia neighbourhood in central Athens.²³ The Polytechnic University and the Chemistry Department of the University of Athens are located in Exarchia, close to the Law School. Political publishers, bookstores, coffee houses and, later, bars, were established from the 1960s in this vivid area where student youth lived, studied and socialised.²⁴ Within this geographical space, we have

23. Yannis Koutsaftis, interview with the author, Athens, 12 September 2013; Loukas Axelos, interview with the author, Athens, 8 March 2013, 13 September 2013), Yorgos-Icaros Babasakis, interview with the author, Athens, 26 June 2013; Dimitris Dimopoulos, interview with the author, Athens, 21 June 2013; Yorgos Garbis, interview with the author, Athens, 13 June 2013; Yorgos Kotanides, interview with the author, Athens, 28 June 2012.

Many of the preparation schools for universities were based around Kaniggos square while most of the meeting points for the 1960s avant-garde were around Kolonaki square. One of the few exceptions was Kalvos, which was based in a commercial area for the lower classes, within the broader Athenian city centre. According to Yorgos Hatzopoulos, this was done in order to avoid the police control that was concentrated in the city centre, since he was a known leftist. Yorgos Hatzopoulos, interviews with the author, Athens, 29 November 2012, 21 February 2013.

24. On Exarchia and its history from an alternative and a libertarian perspective, see Leonidas Christakis, *Ta exarchia den iparchoun stin istoria, ston charti, sti zoi* [Exarchia Do Not Exist in History, The Map, or Life: Recollections] (Athens: Tyflomiga, 2008) [in Greek]; Panagiotis Kalamaras, *Patision ke Stournari gonia* [Patision and Stournari Junction] (Athens: Eleftheriaki Kouloura, 2013) [in Greek]. The first book is made up of recollections of the alternative publisher Leonidas Christakis who was based in Exarchia for decades. The second

the construction of the social space of the Greek political publishing field. These are the places—and especially Exarchia—where the various agents of the field come together, to buy or sell books and services, or to exchange ideas. New or future titles were discussed in coffee houses, bookstores or apartments that served as publishing headquarters for the various groups.²⁵

Space is significant in terms of the materialisation of social communication that evolves into social capital. Political activists and publishing agents living outside Athens used to visit Exarchia to expand their socio-political circles and to acquire new publishing materials or important knowledge about the practicalities of publishing. The latter is also related to the fact that Greek trade publishing, and consequently the majority of printers, were concentrated in Athens. In this respect, experienced printers or political publishers would transmit their knowledge to younger agents of the field, such as younger publishers²⁶ or potential translators²⁷ living beyond Athens who reached out to the experienced Athenians to collaborate. Universities, and educational institutes in general, as well as coffee houses—and from the late 1970s onwards, bars—were spaces where people talked, exchanged and bought or sold political press and publishing material.

Nevertheless, and apart from the socio-political explanations regarding the field's spatiality, a number of practicalities are pertinent to the specific location of most publishing in Athens. Exarchia and the centre of Thessaloniki are hubs; it is easy to access a number of city districts from there. Transport, for example, generally passes through these areas; and most of the trades and artisans were also located in the city centres where the book-

book is also written by a publisher, Panagiotis Kalamaras, and it is about the autonomous or libertarian movement that was formed during the late 1970s, mainly around Exarchia.

25. Four out five political publishing houses—Stochastis, Epikerotita, Keimena, Neoi Stochoi—that first sprung up during the military dictatorship were not only co-located in Exarchia, but on the very same road, Mavromichali Street, half-way between the Law and the Polytechnic Schools. The two publishing houses that remain in operation today—Stochastis and Epikerotita—are still located there.

26. Vasilis Tomanas, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 17 July 2013.

27. For example, see the letters by Zissis Sarikas, a Greek translator from Thessaloniki known especially for translating the corpus of Friedrich Nietzsche for Kalvos. Subfolder 1, Folder 3, Kalvos Archive, ASKI, Athens.

binders and printers clustered. In a sense, then, these were classic “production clusters”.

For the political publishing field, then, social space was, in fact, reproduced within specific spatial limits—the city centres of Athens and Thessaloniki.²⁸ The Greek political publishing field is very hard to trace outside these spatial limits. What is more, its influence is still heavily present within the wider Exarchia area of Athens even today.

Readership and the Book Market

In the section above, I presented the location of the Greek political publishing field in space. That space is directly related to the field’s audience. The interrelation between books and press, on the one hand, and politics, on the other, found expression at the level of readership primarily in the university amphitheatres. The Aristotle University of Thessaloniki is situated in the centre of the city, while in Athens, during the time in question, the Law School, the Polytechnic School and several other faculties—i.e., Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics, Pharmacy—were situated in or around Exarchia.

This is certainly not only a Greek phenomenon. These were the times of the *global sixties*, when youth worldwide became an autonomous social category, with its own needs and with its own consumer culture that included books and press. Parts of it were also radicalised and became integral to the panspermia of movements of the time. In the newspaper *To Vima*, one of the most popular daily newspapers in Greece to this very day, I came across several articles regarding radical thinkers around the world. One article published in the Sunday edition of *To Vima* on 12 September 1971 was entitled “Ta vivlia pou simadepsan tous taragmenous kerous mas”.²⁹ Despite being a direct translation of a Bruno Vercier article that had initially been published in French, the source of the original publication was not

28. From the 1980s onwards, we observe an expansion in the Greek political publishing field, mainly to towns where higher education institutes have been established. This expansion almost exclusively concerns the short-term production of periodicals.

29. The books that marked our turbulent times.

given.³⁰ Vercier makes exhausting references to several works, both fiction and non-fiction. The text is accompanied by a number of photographs of authors, with the titles of their works mentioned in the article as captions. According to the author, he is attempting to assess works published from 1945 until 1970 that tried to pose questions rather than to give answers.

Throughout the article, Vercier provides an extensive list of books, from works of fiction such as Franz Kafka's *The Trial* and Arthur Koestler's *Darkness at Noon* to the key works of non-fiction that marked the era. The latter included: Jean-Paul Sartre's *Being and Nothingness*; Roland Barthes's *Writing Degree Zero*; Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*, which influenced the rising feminist movement; Herbert Marcuse's *Eros and Civilisation* and *One-Dimensional Man*, which were highly influential for the student movement in Western Europe; and Nikita Khrushchev's *Report* at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which stirred the international communist movement. Last—but certainly not least—there was Mao Zedong's *Little Red Book*.³¹ The latter is referred to as a contrast to all the previous works.

Vercier's article is interested in the various debates—philosophical, social and political—that dominated societies worldwide at the time. The works he cited to some extent elaborated or highlighted these issues. Mao's work is referred to as an example to be avoided:

We now see that all these thinkers reflect on, and eventually occupy themselves with, the conditions and potentials of knowledge; with the potential of constructing a relatively safe scientific language. Both these issues, and the thinking about them, are placed on a high theoretical level, which it seems cannot be compromised by the simplicity enforced by action.³² Let us not wonder why it is declared by some of those who want to act, that the most significant book of

30. Bruno Vercier is a French intellectual, who taught contemporary literature at the University of Paris III–Sorbonne Nouvelle.

31. An assessment of Mao Zedong's *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong*, or the *Little Red Book* as it is widely known, is provided in the next chapter of the dissertation. An extensive overview of this work and its influence worldwide can be found in Alexander C. Cook, *Mao's Little Red Book: A Global History* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), iTunes e-book edition.

32. Action is used here as a synonym of praxis.

our time is the *LITTLE RED BOOK* by Mao Zedong; a mythical mirror of a society that decided to destroy all other books.³³

This passage invites several observations regarding the era in which it was written. Although the *long sixties* cannot be defined as a period when theory was absent, there was a clear domination of praxis over theory and of revolutionary works over intellectual or scientific works, the concluding theme—albeit not strictly declared—thus being the quest for easy or simplistic answers rather than the posing of difficult questions.

Mao Zedong's work was presented as a remedy for every disease, even as the burning issues of the *long sixties* were far more complicated than any quote by Mao could even begin to grapple with. While the latter might be considered self-evident—since no book can ever offer the solution to every problem—the former needs further analysis since some characteristics of the field can be constructed by such an assessment. This theological or teleological approach has defined the readership and thus the publishers of political works. The argument above rests on an examination of material that has long been in the public domain and that other scholars have, to some extent, already covered: the books and other works that were published in the *long sixties*. However, to date, no research has been conducted regarding the readers of these works in Greece. The interviews conducted for the dissertation research are thus a novel contribution, as the next section will discuss in greater detail.

Reading Cultures

“To read too many books is harmful”. This intriguing and provocative quotation is excerpted from Mao Zedong, one of the central figures of the sixties. In 1964, at a forum held to “discuss both foreign and domestic problems”, the issue of education was placed on the table. It was while discussing the issue of achieving high grades in education that Mao Zedong made his comment about reading. Action followed when intellectuals were

33. Bruno Vercier, “The books that marked our turbulent times” [The Books that Marked Our Turbulent Times], *To Vima*, 12 September 1971, 7 [in Greek], bold text in the original.

driven out of the cities and sent to work in rural areas.³⁴ This anti-intellectualism contradicted the educational policies of the communist movement.³⁵ In my perception, Mao's interdiction was insufficient to counter the thirst for reading but it did limit the scope of literature being read. Thus, only strictly political works—such as Mao's—were sought, which is unsurprising given the revolutionary spirit of the times: “Mao Tse-tung's thought is as essential to a revolutionary as the steering wheel is to a driver”.³⁶

Indeed, the research confirms that non-fiction works geared towards politics and ideology dwarfed the reading of fiction among intellectuals during the *long sixties*.³⁷ This was also admitted in a number of the interviews I conducted.³⁸ Beyond the obvious restriction on the scope of reading material for audiences, this characteristic of the field also had the effect of limiting the creative possibility of non-fiction as a revolutionary or mobilising medium, and the field instead opted for reproductions of existing work from the “lighthouses of socialism”.³⁹ Yorgis Provelegios, a leading cadre of the Greek revolutionary movement during the *long sixties*, admitted that one of the reasons for the limited theoretical production of his organisation—the largest extra-parliamentary group in Greece during that time—was that they lost too much time in listening to, transcribing and then

34. Mao Tse-tung, “Remarks at the Spring Festival (Summary Record)”, in *Chairman Mao Talks to the People: Talks and Letters, 1956–1971*, ed., Stuart R. Schram (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), 204–207.

35. On Maoist anti-intellectualism, see Merle Goldman, “The Party and the Intellectuals: Phase Two”, in *An Intellectual History of Modern China*, ed. Merle Goldman and Le Ou-fan Lee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 349–394.

36. “Tso Chia-fa—An Example of the Revolutionary Spirit”, *Peking Review* 15 (12 April 1968): 14.

37. See Loukas Axelos, *Ekdotiki drastiriotita ke kinisi ton ideon stin Ellada* [Publishing Activity and the Circulation of Ideas in Greece], 2nd ed. (Athens: Stochastis, 2008), 83–126 [in Greek].

38. In particular, by Yorgis Provelegios, interview with the author, Athens, 10 October 2012; Yannis Koutsaftis, interview with the author, Athens, 12 September 2013; Yorgos Hatzopoulos, interviews with the author, Athens, 29 November 2012, 21 February 2013), Loukas Axelos, interviews with the author, Athens, 8 March 2013, 13 September 2013; Dionysis Kounades interview with the author, Athens, 14 September 2013.

39. Berit Backer, *Behind Stone Walls: Changing Household Organization Among the Albanians of Kosova* (Peja: Dukagjini Balkan Books, 2003), 8.

discussing radio broadcasts from Albania's *Radio Tirana*.⁴⁰ Of course, we are speaking metaphorically here—*Radio Moscow* or *Radio Peking* could substitute for *Radio Tirana*; revolutionary literature originating from the “lighthouses of socialism” worldwide could substitute for radio broadcasts. This produced two very distinctive characteristics in the Greek political publishing field, the domination of non-fiction over fiction and the domination of translated works over original Greek works.

The literature on the social history of labour has always been intimately concerned with publishing and reading cultures. In 1957, Richard Hoggart's *The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of Working-Class Life* was published, and a few years later, in 1963, E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* came out. These two were milestones of social and cultural history, dedicating significant space to the reading culture of the British working class, in effect studies of the reading dimension of popular British culture. Although the authors did in fact, simply analyse newspaper readership among the working class, we can draw from their assessments for the working-class reading culture in general.

The working-class perspective is essential when examining left-wing cultures even if they do not derive from the working class. Especially during the *long sixties*, the movements and their respective reading cultures were mainly constituted by the educated youth. The Marxist approach that set the proletariat and the working class as the subject of the revolution to come was transformed into a working-class orientation of left-wing intellectuals and students in the West. French Maoists even made a theory out of this notion, and many radical groups sent their student members to the factories to work. These experiences became the source for an autobiographic novel by Robert Linhart, a sociologist and philosopher who, as a Maoist student leader, was put to work in factories to reach the working-class masses. *L'etabli* (“the established”, from the name of the French Maoist theory, *Etablissement*) was published by the well-respected French publishing house Éditions du Minuit in 1978 and was then reprinted in 1981. It was also published in English in 1980 under the title *The Assembly Line* by

40. Yorgis Provelegios, interview with the author, Athens, 10 October 2012.

the University of Massachusetts Press and by the Greek publishing house Stochastis [Thinker] in 1982 under the title *Aftos Pou Irthe Apo Ekso* [*He Who Came from Outside*]. We can see that while the English title, coming from an academic publisher, focuses on the experience of the factory itself and the mode of production (i.e., the assembly line), the Greek title, coming from a trade publisher of left-wing orientation, focuses on the driving force of the author and the main character. The translator, Christina Stamatopoulou, lived in France during the colonels' dictatorship in Greece and shared the same viewpoints with the author at the time. These sort of experiences found their way into other (autobiographic) novels.

Sotiris Halikias, a leftist student activist during the early 1960s in Greece, who became active in exile in France during the military regime, published an autobiographical novel 40 years after May 1968. One of the novel's characters, a French revolutionary who is essentially based on the author's life, describes how disastrous *Etablisement* was for her and her comrades and how it filled them with disappointment, eviscerating their early enthusiasm.⁴¹ Aris Maragkopoulos, author and co-founder of the Greek publishing house Topos and a former Maoist activist active in France and Greece during the 1970s, named his first novel *Oldsmobile*.⁴² The book, published in 1982 by an anarchist publishing house, came out at the dawn of the post-War revolutionary movement and is a self-critical assessment of the author's political past, and that of his comrades. His selection of an automobile factory as the stage for his novel is related to working-class disenchantment. Even the choice of a publishing house that until today is a trademark for anarchist publishing marked the break in ties with his political past, what Walter Benjamin referred to as "left-wing melancholy".⁴³ This is a topic to which we will return later when we detail what brought this publishing field circle to an end. The importance of the autobiographic novels described above is that they often describe disappointment since the

41. Sotiris Halikias, *Prin ke meta ta tichi* [Before and After the Walls] (Athens: Indiktos, 2008), 162–166 [in Greek].

42. Aris Maragkopoulos, *Oldsmobile* (Athens: Eleftheros Typos, 1982) [in Greek].

43. Walter Benjamin, "Left-Wing Melancholy: On Erich Kastner's new book of poems", *Screen* 15, no. 2 (1974): 28–32.

working-class heroes were not what the readers dreamed them to be. This disappointment contributed to the coming of the end of their revolutionary dreams and utopias, which affected the publishing field in question.

Throughout the pages of another book that tells the stories of the construction workers' movement,⁴⁴ very few references are made to their reading habits and culture. Much like Hoggart and Thomson, the focus is on newspaper reading⁴⁵ as well as the publication of their own bi-weekly newspaper.⁴⁶ One of them refers to the Commissar of the Red Army, Vasily Chapaev, who was a hero of Soviet novels and films,⁴⁷ and the *Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.⁴⁸ Even though the majority of construction workers in the 1960s lacked education—many did not even finish primary school—at least those related to leftist politics did read. Money was also hard to come by, especially for young workers who were typically apprentices⁴⁹ or those who were attending night school and had tuition fees to take care of. Young construction workers were poorly paid, according to Yannis Mpitsikas, since the monthly rent on a small room (roughly 120 drachmas) took most of their wages—the weekly pay was 50 drachmas. After covering rent and food, there was little—if anything—left for luxuries like books. But they did indeed read. During my discussion with Mpitsikas, he mentioned his personal library, which contained works by Mao but also of Varnalis, a well-known Greek

44. Katerina Zoitopoulou-Mavrokefalidou, ed., *Otan e orgi ksechilizi...* [When rage bursts...] (Athens: 2006) [in Greek]; Ilias Staveris, *Ecodomi: Eroiki agones mias 7etias, 1960–1967* [Construction Workers: Heroic Struggles of Seven Years 1960–1967] (Athens: Paraskinio, 2003) [in Greek].

45. Babis Drakopoulos, "Chameni ine e agones pou den eginan" [Lost Struggles are Only Those that Did Not Take Place], in *Otan e orgi ksechilizi...*, ed. Katerina Zoitopoulou-Mavrokefalidou (Athens: 2006), 53 [in Greek]; Thodoros Stavropoulos, "Emis tha nikisoume, echoume to dikio..." [We Will Win, We Are Right...], in *Otan e orgi ksechilizi...*, ed. Katerina Zoitopoulou-Mavrokefalidou (Athens: 2006), 131 [in Greek].

46. Dimitris Koutsounis, *Piso den girizoume!* [We Won't Go Back!], in *Otan e orgi ksechilizi...*, ed. Katerina Zoitopoulou-Mavrokefalidou, (Athens: 2006), 70 [in Greek]; Drakopoulos, "Chameni ine i agones", 54–55; Staveris, *Ecodomi*, 206.

47. Drakopoulos, "Chameni ine i agones", 52.

48. *Ibid.*, 45.

49. Mais, "Publishing Activity", 70.

communist poet and novelist. Xenofon E. Mavraganis, a leading figure in the student movement of Thessaloniki, and editor of the student newspaper (later periodical) *Spoudastikos Kosmos* during the early 1960s, recently published a collection of short stories.⁵⁰ One of these, titled “E Sinantisi” [The Meeting], refers to an old comrade of his, a construction worker, Yannis. He was given a nickname by his comrades: Yannis the *imerokamatos*.⁵¹ Yannis used the word *imerokamatos*—dayworker—frequently during meetings (hence the nickname), and Mavraganis is sure he picked it up from what he was reading.

The youth and the working class addressed the lack of funds in two ways. Large books were published in a serialised fashion. Consequently, readers would need to spend a smaller amount to buy each instalment than buying the work in a single volume at once. This is also related to the fact that many publishing ventures, as we will further on see, were founded by left-wingers, formerly in exile or imprisoned, with minimum capital, if any, available. Such a great concentration of agents of progressive or left-wing political origin in the publishing industry is crucial and partially explains the formation of the left-wing publishing field, in terms of promoting their personal political beliefs and their need or will to disseminate them.

The Printing Revolution: Printing Technologies and the Political Publishing Field

The role and impact of printing in social change are widely considered to be indisputable. During the *long sixties*, print was the only means of communication that was not totally controlled by the Greek state and was thus accessed by the Left, making it even more significant in our case.⁵²

50. Xenofon E. Mavraganis, *Pros to paron igieno* [For the Time Being, I Am Well] (Thessaloniki: Nisides, 2013) [in Greek].

51. *Ibid.*, 173.

52. During the Sino–Soviet split, the Greek left-wing press was controlled by pro-Soviet organisations. Thus, when other left-wing publishers—which did not align with the Soviets—initially tried to promote their publications and books threw paid advertisements, they found the doors of this press closed. The only alternative of these publishers was the government controlled and very expensive radio that they were only able to use on a very limited scale

References to the print revolution are not uncommon in book and publishing history.⁵³ In fact, there have been numerous attempts to assess the impact of print in respect to the history of ideas or even on the course of world history. Elisabeth Eisenstein's foundational work, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, is one of the most celebrated contributions, which kicked off great debates about the extent to which printing was an agent of social change. Although it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to analyse that debate, we must engage it briefly, since it bears on the impact of printing technology on the Greek political publishing field.

Eisenstein's book was first published in 1983 and has been at the centre of this discussion ever since.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the conjuncture of political and social change and publishing has long animated scholars of the humanities and social sciences. Eisenstein herself writes about how she developed her argument during the early 1960s, under the influence of the existing scholarship. She noted that even then the literature gave only a partial place to print and its significance in analyses of social and political change. Criticisms of her work—an overview of which she was brave enough to include in the second edition of her book—have tended to claim it is “over-deterministic and simplistic”.⁵⁵ In any event, the impact of technological advances in printing should not be underestimated.⁵⁶ On the contrary, it seems

(once or twice) due to its enormous cost. This, among other reasons, led to the need of forming not only publishing houses but also presses, in order to express unique political and ideological viewpoints and differentiate from existing political formations. The ideological and political pluralism during the *long sixties* was one of the factors that led to the flourishing of such establishments and the consequent formation of the political publishing field.

53. Asa Briggs and Peter Burke, *A Social History of the Media: From Gutenberg to the Internet*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Polity, 2006), 13–60.

54. Elisabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). The book was first published in a more extended edition in 1979 as *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communication and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*.

55. *Ibid.*, xiii–xix, 313–358.

56. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, “Introduction”, in *The Book History Reader*, 2nd ed., eds. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 3. On the criticisms of Eisenstein's arguments, see Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press,

that the criticisms were more focused on her terminology rather than the substance of her argument.⁵⁷

Whether it is considered a revolution or not, the advent of print and the subsequent advances in the technology have had a significant impact on the history of ideas and humanity, and equally on the political publishing field. While searching through the warehouse of the Thessaloniki branch of the KKE (M–L) for fractions of its archives, old publications or documents that might have been related to the group’s publishing or bookselling activity, I found something even more intriguing. Stored away in a closet was some sort of machinery that clearly hailed from the past and was used for printing. Further hunting through drawers revealed ink, paper and carbon; I had, it then dawned on me, discovered a mimeograph machine and its associated incidentals.⁵⁸

The Greek word for mimeograph machine is *polygraphos*. While in English, there is a distinction between the mimeograph machine or stencil duplicator and the spirit duplicator, I often observed that this distinction is not always made in Greece. Thus, a reference to a mimeograph might, in

1998); Roger Chartier, *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Philadelphia Press, 1995). In 2002, one of the AHR Forum sections of *The American Historical Review* was dedicated to this issue with pieces written by Anthony Grafton, Elizabeth L. Eisenstein and Adrian Johns. See *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 1 (February 2002): 84–128.

57. Adriaan van der Weel notes that Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin’s work, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450–1800* is not that dissimilar to Eisenstein’s. Adriaan van der Weel, *Changing Our Textual Minds: Towards a Digital Order of Knowledge* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2011), 81. Nevertheless, it did not raise that many criticisms. It is possible that one of the reasons is the fact that while Eisenstein stated from the very title of her work that she perceives print as a revolution, Febvre and Martin did the opposite; on the very first page of the preface, Lucien Febvre recognise the significance of print but chose to call the impact of its development “changes”, while declaring that he and Henri-Jean Martin “won’t say revolution”. See Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450–1800* (London and Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2010), 9.

58. While discussing my findings I found out that other researchers as well as younger activists made similar discoveries in the offices of other political groups in various Greek cities. The Thessaloniki branch of one political group with its roots in the 1960s still uses a mimeograph to produce its flyers.

reality, be a reference to a spirit, and not a stencil, duplicator. According to the historian E. Haven Hawley,

[t]he proximity of many forms of duplication to nonprofessional producers and end users encouraged popular usage of the word “mimeography” to become an umbrella term for printing techniques available outside print shops. Spirit duplicating and mimeography have especially been confused with one another, perhaps because of their frequent presence in copying rooms for noncommercial locations. That association became quite strong as newer forms of duplication superseded both from the 1960s onward.⁵⁹

During the military dictatorship, anti-regime propaganda was, for the most part, produced either on mimeographs that had been acquired before the coup d'état or from homemade duplicators.⁶⁰ The latter were constructed during the dictatorship from whatever bits of equipment could be either acquired without raising suspicions or fashioned out of everyday products. Mikis Theodorakis, a known Greek composer and political activist, describes the route towards the construction of a homemade mimeograph right after the coup. The mimeograph would serve the purposes of the anti-dictatorship group PAM, the Panellinio Antidiktatoriko Metopo [Pan-Hellenic Anti-Dictatorship Front]. As Theodorakis notes:⁶¹

We gather the material for the first mimeograph. The “Declaration [of PAM]” was corrected, supplemented and approved by everyone. Iason typed it out on a very old typewriter. Leloudas translated it into French and English. Filinis and Iason made the mimeograph: a rectangular frame, a cheesecloth, a cylinder and

59. E. Haven Howley, “Revaluing Mimeographs as Historical Sources”, *RBM: A Journal of Rare Books, Manuscripts and Cultural Heritage* 15, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 43.

60. Ioanna Papatou, ed., *O paranomos tipos stis silloges ton ASKI (1936–1974). Apo ti Diktatoria tou Metaxa sti Metapolitefsi* [The Underground Press in the Collections of ASKI (1936–1974). From Metaxas’ Dictatorship to Metapolitefsi] (Athens: John S. Latsis Benefit Foundation–ASKI, 2011), 50, accessed 3 April 2016, http://62.103.28.111/paranomos/graphics/teliki_meleti_v1.pdf.

61. For a brief biography of Mikis Theodorakis, see Gail Holst, “Theodorakis, A Man of Peace”, 1999, accessed 3 April 2016, <http://www.mikis-theodorakis.net/index.php/en/biographical-data/8-mikis-theodorakis-a-man-of-peace>. For PAM, see Kostis Kornetis, *Children of the Dictatorship: Student Resistance, Cultural Politics and the “Long 1960s” in Greece* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2014), 47.

mimeograph paper. We placed the stencil and we all anxiously observed the first publication of the Resistance being printed.⁶²

Theodorakis had written a personal, statement opposing the dictatorship prior to the aforementioned declaration. Along with his statement, he included some instructions, most of which called for the use of printing techniques to disseminate the message to a wider audience:

[I] strongly urge [you to ensure this message] reaches its destination, whether copied by hand, by machine, by mimeograph, whether printed. It should be distributed by one friend to another, from one house to the other, from one city to the other.⁶³

Roza Economou, who became a founding member of the Organisation of Marxists–Leninists of Greece (OMLE)⁶⁴ during the junta, and later on of and KKE (M–L), recalled how her comrade Dimitris Retsas—a civil engineering student and activist—created a homemade printing press where OMLE’s *Pleroforiako Deltio* and *Proletariaki Simea* were printed.⁶⁵ Mime-

62. Mikis Theodorakis, *To Chreos A: E Antistasi [The Debt A’: The Resistance]* (Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2011), 27, accessed 3 April 2016, http://www.cup.gr/Files/files/chapters/mikis-en_chap.pdf.

63. *Ibid.*, 10.

64. OMLE, an acronym for Organosi Marxiston–Leniniston Elladas [Organisation of Marxists–Leninists of Greece], was founded during the colonels’ dictatorship by members and cadres of Istorikes Ekdoseis and *Anagennisi* who escaped captivity. Unfortunately, Dimitris Retsas, now a seller of antiquarian books, did not wish to give an interview regarding his activist years.

65. Roza Economou, interview with the author, Athens, 19 February 2012. *Pleroforiako Deltio* [Information Bulletin] was published from 1967 until 1968 when it was substituted with the clandestine newspaper *Proletariaki Simea* [*Proletarian Flag*]. In my private archive, I have a number of issues of *Pleroforiako Deltio*, the first of which is issue 7, dated April 1968. The last in my possession is issue 16—undated but almost certainly from October 1968, since it refers to the fifty-first anniversary of the October Revolution. I have all eight *Proletariaki Simea* issues in my possession, the first of which was issued in December 1968 and the last in July 1969. Soon after the last issue came out, the hideout where the homemade printing press was discovered and the OMLE cell that was in charge of printing the *Proletariaki Simea* were caught and prosecuted, then exiled or imprisoned. The issues in hand were printed in some sort of mimeograph, with the use of black ink. The issues of *Pleroforiako Deltio* seem to have been printed in roles of uncut A4 paper since the width fits but they are quite longer without fixed margins at the bottom edge while the *Proletariaki Simea* issues have A4 size and a news-

ographs were also used by various political groups, both legal and clandestine, after the collapse of the military dictatorship in 1974.⁶⁶

These empirical findings are not peculiar to Greece. The mimeograph machine was a fundamental instrument of the socio-cultural and political struggles in the *long sixties* worldwide. The first chapter of John McMillian's *Smoking Typewriters: The Sixties Underground Press and the Rise of Alternative Media in America*⁶⁷ is titled "'Our Founder, the Mimeograph Machine': Print culture in *Students for a Democratic Society*". The incident that gave its name to this chapter was the observation of a journalist visiting the Chicago headquarters of the SDS: "Taped to one of the walls was a picture of a mimeograph machine. Just beneath it, someone had written the words 'Our Founder'".⁶⁸ Leaving the hyperbole of the SDS leadership aside, a significant observation can be made. The ability to produce and disseminate their ideas and propaganda in writing—namely, the most authoritative method of communication since *scripta manent*—is considered fundamental for the very existence of political groups.

The majority of Greek political groups were thus able to acquire mimeographs so that they could produce flyers or short pamphlets. Due to their

paper layout with various columns and headlines. Both publications were printed one-sided.

References to homemade printing presses used for political purposes can also be found regarding clandestine Maoist groups in the Soviet Union. See Alexei Volynets, "Towards the history of the Maoist Dissidence in the Soviet Union", part two, accessed 15 May 2016, <https://afoniya.wordpress.com/2013/07/25/towards-the-history-of-maoist-dissidence-in-the-soviet-union-an-article-by-alexei-volynets-part-two/>.

66. Apart from my personal findings in the offices of the Communist Party of Greece (Marxist–Leninist) which originate from the mid-1970s, which published legal publications, Koufontinas makes references of discussions around purchasing mimeographs as well as transporting mimeograph for clandestine groups and activities. Dimitris Koufontinas, *Genithika 17 Noemvri* [Born on 17 November] (Athens: Livanis, 2014), 80–83.

67. John McMillian's work is an invaluable academic monograph on the print culture of the New Left, the "underground press", and the "alternative media" in the United States during the 1960s. A number of works about these issues were published prior to McMillian's monograph; the majority of these were written by former activists or people involved in these kind of publishing ventures of the 1960s, thus lacked the academic discipline that makes *Smoking Typewriters* a significant contribution regarding the print culture of social movements within a given socio-historical framework.

68. McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters*, 13.

limited financial capacity, these organisations could not purchase the equipment needed to establish a printing mechanism that would allow them to publish either their newspapers or publications en masse.⁶⁹ While in several cases during the *long sixties* political collectives around the world were able to acquire their own printing premises, this rarely occurred in Greece. Thus, they needed access to typesetting and printing facilities to produce their publications and therefore sought collaborations with professional printers. It was not uncommon for printers themselves to belong to the Left. The book trade of the time, from production to distribution, was dominated by left-wingers.⁷⁰

Printers of a left-wing background could perhaps show some understanding regarding slow payments and often found themselves typesetting newspaper issues and pamphlets at the last minute. Up-to-date analysis and developments were vital for left-wing presses and publications, especially during the turmoil of that time, so it was not uncommon for articles to still be written while an issue was being typeset.⁷¹ Even today, we can find such behaviour among contributors to left-wing media in Greece. During my field research in Athens (2010–2013), I participated for a short period in the composition procedure of the issues of the fortnightly extra-parliamentary newspaper *Proletariaki Simea* [*Proletarian Flag*]. Articles would arrive via email well past the agreed deadline and were often much longer in word length than the initial agreement or assignment had stipulated. Volunteer

69. In the ASKI in Athens, where the remainders of the pre-junta *Istorikes Ekdoseis* archive can be found, there is a question of whether a mimeograph should be bought. This question can be found in the notes of the editorial committee, that is, the leadership of the political group that published *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, the monthly revue *Anagennisi* and the weekly newspaper *Laikos Dromos*. This note was probably written in early 1967. That was the time that the group started being active in social movements that required publication production such as flyers for the propaganda of student, labour and grassroots associations. ASKI, EDA Archive, 483.5 *Anagennisi*.

70. After the interwar years and until the start of *Metapolitefsi* (1974), Greek citizens who could not acquire a certificate of social beliefs were unable to qualify for a job in the public sector and a number of industries, obtain a driver's licence, or be admitted into certain university departments, etc. See Neni Panourgia, *Dangerous Citizens: The Greek Left and the Terror of the State* (New York: Fordham, 2009), 3–6, 44–47, 133.

71. Isaak Iordanides, interview with the author, Drapetsona, 28 September 2012.

members of the political group that published the newspaper would “close” a page (often after an hour of work) only to have to redo it after an overdue article that was twice the expected length arrived a few hours before the issue, exported as a pdf file, was to be sent to be printed. Articles were rarely sent with accompanying materials, e.g., photographs, and sometimes even the headlines needed to be re-worked or proofreading was necessary.

The Communist Party of Greece (Marxist–Leninist)—of which *Istorikes Ekdoseis* was the publishing branch—managed to acquire some funding in 1977. The money was probably acquired by student members who produced “red daily wages” for the national elections of 1977. That is, student members and supporters worked—often in construction sites—with the sole purpose of acquiring funds for the party. Since they were paid on a daily basis for their work and it was for what they believed to be a revolutionary cause, they named these funds “red daily wages”. These campaigns often took place during elections since increased funds were needed to cover election expenses. After the elections, the money that was left over was invested in printing facilities. Photo-typesetting facilities were bought as well as some of the equipment needed for offset printing. According to Tasos Parkosides, a geology graduate who was in charge of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* from 1974 until 1980, the reason the offset equipment was purchased was that there were initial discussions with two professional printers to partner in this new printing business, but the discussions did not end up in an agreement.⁷² At the same time, their fellow believers in the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) in the United States managed to establish a complete printing shop with a “very modern Heidelberg (offset) press”.⁷³

72. The first printer the KKE (M–L) leadership discussed with was Manolis Rodakis, who had been the printer of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* since the early 1960s. Tasos Parkosides, interview with the author, Rizari, 20 March 2013.

73. The information regarding the RCP's printing and publishing activity was provided by Bob Stein, founder and co-director of the Institute for the Future of the Book who started his involvement in publishing through his student and political activism from the mid-1960s until 1980. See “Mao, King Kong, and the Future of the Book: Bob Stein in Conversation with Dan Visel”, accessed 30 April 2016, https://www.canopycanopycanopy.com/issues/9/contents/mao_king_kong_and_the_future_of_the_book.

The RCP's tabloid newspaper, *The Revolutionary Worker*, was printed by a commercial printer. However, when the party started publishing books, they did indeed set up their own very professional printing house which could handle books, broadsides, posters and pamphlets; so professional that they were also able to do commercial work for others.⁷⁴

During the time under investigation, the so-called offset method was the major printing technology.

The evolution of print technology, resulting in cheaper and easier printing methods, has been a key driver of the flourishing of political and cultural movements throughout time. While linotypes were still used for most political newspapers, the appearance of offset lithography was as revolutionary as the content of the political periodicals.⁷⁵ Offset not only made printing cheaper and faster for political groups that wanted to publish periodicals and newspapers but also gave them the capability to experiment in terms of form and design.⁷⁶ The latter was quite evident in periodicals. The stu-

74. Bob Stein, Facebook correspondence with the author, 13 April 2016.

75. Dimitris Koufontinas, now serving a life sentence as a member of the terrorist group *Revolutionary Organisation 17 November*, was initially a member of the social-democratic party, PASOK [Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement]. During his participation in PASOK and especially its high school student association he refers to his experience in the printers' shop where the party's newspaper was printed in linotype presses. Koufontinas, *Gennithika 17 Noemvri*, 45, 54 [in Greek].

Bob Stein confirmed that my assertion on his initial comment—that the Revolutionary Communist Party printed its newspaper, *Revolutionary Worker*, at a commercial printer although it owned a print shop equipped with an offset printing machine—that this was due to the fact the *Revolutionary Worker* was printed at linotype printing presses. Bob Stein, Facebook correspondence with the author, 6 May 2016.

76. Although an extended analysis of the impact of printing in the long sixties political publishing is beyond the scope of this dissertation I must mention that the impact of the availability of cheap offset printing to political publishing was a global phenomenon. See Geoff Kaplan, "Introduction", in *Power to the People: The Graphic Design of the Radical Press and the Rise of the Counter-Culture, 1964–1974*, ed. Geoff Kaplan (London: The University of Chicago Press), 6–7; Blake Slonecker, *A New Dawn for the New Left: Liberation News Service, Montague Farm, and the Long Sixties* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 2; Bob Ostertag, *People's Movements, People's Press: The Journalism of Social Justice Movements* (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 2006), 9, 119–120, 210; Sean Stewart, ed., *On the Ground: An Illustrated Anecdotal History of the Sixties Underground Press in the U.S.* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2011), 61–62; Lincoln Cushing, "Red in Black and White: The New

dent magazine *Spoudastikos Kosmos* [Student World] was first published in Thessaloniki and from 1966 onwards was used as the organ of the students affiliated with Istorikes Ekdoseis. While there was undoubtedly a gradual radicalisation of the content—especially after 1966—the key change was in the design. Whereas the first issues were printed in linotype, the magazine then moved on and was being printed in offset. This shift gave the editorial committee of *Spoudastikos Kosmos* space to experiment with the magazine’s layout and cover. The issues printed before the introduction of offset technology did not differ in design from the conservative press of the time.

Stergios Delialis, designer and founder of the Design Museum of Thessaloniki, was not politically active during that period. He is far better known for the psychedelic album covers he designed at the time. Nevertheless, some of his close friends were activists. During our interview, he recalled the time his friend Alkis Sachinis had asked him to write a slogan on a wall—“15%”. This referred to the demand of the student movement for 15% of the state budget to be reallocated for education. Then Sachinis, a philosophy student and student activist at the time, took photos of the slogan on the wall and prepared the cover of the magazine (see Figure 2 below).⁷⁷ Ayis Tsaras, a student activist who later became a committed Maoist, recalled the hands-on procedure of setting up the issues of *Spoudastikos Kosmos*. He recalled how two of his comrades used to take photographs for the articles and prepared other visual materials and then edited the individual films to prepare each issue (see, for example, Figures 2 and 3). He mentioned that the fact many architecture students created dark rooms in their student houses since they needed them for some courses. Tsaras and his comrades used this skill they had acquired for academic purposes to help the movement.⁷⁸

The significance of the evolution of typesetting and printing in terms of technological advancement was crucial for the political publishing field, even if it was not a determinative factor. The field would have developed

Left Printing Renaissance of the 1960s—and Beyond”, accessed 15 May 2016, http://www.docspopuli.org/articles/New_Left_Printing.html.

77. Stergios Delialis, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 21 August 2014.

78. Ayis Tsaras interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 29 August 2011.



FIGURE 1. Cover of the first edition of *Spoudastikos Kosmos* (28 January 1963)

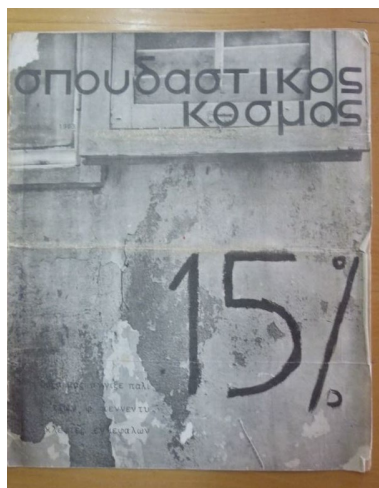


FIGURE 2. Cover of the third or fourth edition of *Spoudastikos Kosmos* (late 1963–early 1964)

even had the technology not advanced,⁷⁹ although arguably its aesthetics would have been different due to technological limitations. The volume of production of periodicals, pamphlets, books and newspapers would have also been lower (the pace of typesetting and printing would have been slower) and the production costs higher. Nevertheless, the political publishing field was not born due to technological breakthroughs in printing and typesetting but due to socio-political and historical conditions.

79. Michalis Protopsaltis who had been involved with anarchist press since mid-1970s and anarchist publishing until his death in 2014, stressed the significance of golfball IBM typewriters that were typesetting the texts you were typing on. Michalis Protopsaltis, interview with the author, Pireas, 18 June 2013; Michalis Protopsaltis “Ekdosis ke Underground” [Publishing and the Underground, Parallel Event to the Exhibition Underground 1964–1983] [Athenian Underground 1964–1983], Athens, 12 October 2012.



FIGURE 3. Cover of the twelfth edition of *Spoudastikos Kosmos* (January 1967)

Concrete Definitions of Fluid Terms

“Radical”, “underground”, “leftist”, “alternative”—these are some of the most frequently used terms to define the kinds of press and periodicals that form the core of this research. The question, of course, arises: what do each of these terms define, precisely? To give an example, the otherwise invaluable *Power to the People: The Graphic Design of the Radical Press and the Rise of the Counter-Culture, 1964–1974*, edited by Geoff Kaplan, exhibits a rather confusing mix of terminological definitions and understandings.⁸⁰

In his introduction, Kaplan refers to “alternative and underground media”,⁸¹ while one of the authors in the volume, Gwen Allen, defines all “movement” press as “underground press”. This, despite the fact that she also acknowledges the diversity of this literature, which she later refers to as “radical media practice”.⁸² Following Allen’s essay, the reader comes across Fred Turner’s contribution, “Bohemian Technocracy & the Coun-

80. Kaplan, *Power to the People*.

81. *Ibid.*, 6.

82. Gwen Allen, “Design as a Social Movement”, in Kaplan, *Power to the People*, 80–81.

tercultural Press”.⁸³ Turner certainly applies the definition given in the very title of his essay—a definition that actually corresponds to the content of the printed matter he investigates. Yet he also uses the term “alternative press”⁸⁴ in an unclear manner, but seemingly as a synonym for “countercultural press”. Bob Ostertag’s essay, which follows Turner’s, deploys the term “underground press” in a similar fashion to Allen in her contribution, “The Underground Press as History”.⁸⁵ While Ostertag presents the various trends in detail, distinguishing between the more political or more countercultural press and publications—distinctions that reflect publishing aims, content and the different publishing houses—he still applies the umbrella term “underground press” to the entire corpus of published work he is reviewing. This is confusing if one considers that there were *actual* underground presses—newspapers produced and distributed underground, that is, illegally, within the US military, known as the GI Press—mainly during, and in opposition to, the Vietnam War.⁸⁶ To clarify what these definitions actually capture, I will elaborate each term in detail, focusing on the publishing motivations of the relevant collectives or individuals as well as the form, content and printing techniques that predominated in each case.⁸⁷

Before proceeding—and reaffirming my position that these terms are often deployed without any consideration or a clear explanation of what they actually describe—I must add that the category a particular press or publication falls into is not always self-evident. We often come across a

83. Fred Turner, “Bohemian Technocracy and the Countercultural Press”, in Kaplan, *Power to the People*, 132–159.

84. *Ibid.*, 145.

85. Bob Ostertag, “The Underground Press as History”, in Kaplan, *Power to the People*, 160–215.

86. *Ibid.*, 169.

87. Readers may come across different terminology to describe the same printed texts. Such inconsistencies occur even in the same publications. For example, John Wilcock, who was heavily involved in the alternative press in the ‘60 s, refers to five newspapers—*The East Village Other*, *The Los Angeles Free Press*, *The Berkeley Barb*, *The Fifth Estate* and *The Paper*—as alternative. At the same time, his piece is included in a section called “Like Mushrooms: Points of Entry and the Birth of the Underground Press” in a book about the “underground press” and his biographical note included in the book mentions him as someone who “edited underground papers”. Stewart, *On the Ground*, 6, 196.

publication that could just as easily be allocated to multiple categories. In these cases, I am in favour of identifying the predominant—or *primary*—category that a newspaper, periodical or publication falls into. To give an example, an underground, left-wing newspaper that is circulated illegally in a country under dictatorship is *underground* by definition and *radical* in political stance and provides *alternative* information and news compared to the mainstream media. Nevertheless, its predominant characteristic is that it is underground since being illicit defines its publishing protocol—from production through to distribution. To depict some of the critical categories of the political press and publications, one case from the Greek political publishing field will be investigated for each category.

Underground Press: The Case of Antipliroforisi

As stated before, the existence of literally underground or clandestine presses—those produced and distributed illegally, like the GI Press in the US, the Soviet *Samizdat*, generally published in the Eastern Bloc, or those circulated in dictatorial regimes, such as Greece, Spain, Portugal or Chile—raises a question as to the accuracy of the label as an umbrella term for all political publishing. The term is “technically a misnomer since it was well known who published those [supposedly clandestine] papers and where more copies could be obtained”.⁸⁸ Thus I advocate using “underground” only for press and publications produced and distributed illegally, often anonymously or under *noms de guerre*.⁸⁹

Greece, in particular, has a long tradition of underground print culture.⁹⁰ The Greek Left’s print culture is thus infused with this aspect, which shaped

88. Paul Krassner, “Forward”, in *My Odyssey Through the Underground Press*, eds. Michael “Mica” Kindman and Ken Wachsberger (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2011), ix.

89. See, for instance: Harry Stone, *Writing in the Shadow: Resistance Publications in Occupied Europe* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Sophie De Schaepdriever and Emmanuel Debroyne, “Sursum Corda: The Underground Press in Occupied Belgium, 1914–1918”, *First World War Studies* 4, no. 1 (2013): 23–38; Belgian Ministry of Information, *The Underground Press in Belgium* (London: Lincolns-Prager, 1944).

90. The main reason is that the communist ideology had been outlawed.

the political publishing field's logic considerably there.⁹¹ This is particularly true of the Greek *long sixties*; the underground press flourished in 1967–1974, that is, during the military dictatorship. Nevertheless, underground publications existed well before the military took power (mainly communist press) as well as following the fall of the colonels' regime, published for the most part by illegal dissident groups.

A few years ago, I came across such a periodical in Amsterdam. While browsing the collections of Greek periodicals at the International Institute of Social History (IISG), a number of issues of a mimeographed publication called *Antipliroforisi* [*Counter-Information*]⁹²—a “poorly-printed periodical with a scarlet cover and fiery content”⁹²—fell into my hands.⁹³ It is worth taking a closer look at this periodical since it illuminates the general style (i.e., the mode of production, the format and anonymity) of the underground press we are concerned with. This anonymity led to misconceptions about the identity of those behind this magazine. A classified police report,⁹⁴ com-

91. ASKI created a digital collection of the underground press of the period 1936–1974 that appears in their collections, counting more than 1.100 titles accompanied by a detailed report. ASKI, “O paranomos tipos stis silloges ton ASKI. Apo ti diktatoria tou Metaxa sti Metapolitefsi” [Underground Press in ASKI collections: From Metaxa's dictatorship to *Metapolitefsi*], accessed 21 May 2014, <http://62.103.28.111/paranomos/>, http://62.103.28.111/paranomos/graphics/teliki_meleti_v1.pdf.

92. Koufontinas, *Gennithika 17 Noemvri*, 56 [in Greek].

93. Publications CSD, IISG Archive, Amsterdam.

94. The report, titled as a “Enimerotiko Simioma” [Briefing Note] with the subject, “Organosis ke Eksokinovouleftika Kommata” [Organisations and Extra-Parliamentary Parties], was compiled by the Information Service of the General Security Police of Athens and was marked as classified. After certain names of individuals included in the note were redacted, it was published in the magazine *Fantomas*, in two consecutive issues—the double issue 16–17 and 18—and since then it has become available online [in Greek]. The digital version that can be found in the following links was the one used for the present research, 20 accessed May 2015, <http://www.fantomas.gr/photos/arthra-themata/16o-17oteuxos/EKTHESI/1.html>, <http://www.fantomas.gr/photos/arthra-themata/18oteuxos/ekthesi/1.html>. Pavlos Apostolides, who served as the head of the Greek Intelligence Agency, has also wrongfully identified *Antipliroforisi* as the publication of ELA. Pavlos Apostolides, *Mistiki drasi: Ipiresies pliroforion stin Ellada* [Secret Action: Intelligence Agencies in Greece] (Athens: Papazisi, 2015), 257–258 [in Greek].

In a scientific social sciences dictionary entry, Lefteris Arvanitis also identifies *Antipliroforisi* as an organ of ELA. See Lefteris Arvanitis, “ELA (Epanastatikos Laikos Agonas): E

piled a year after *Antipliroforisi* ceased publication⁹⁵ in 1983, falsely claims the periodical belonged to the far-left armed group ELA [Epanastatikos Laikos Agonas (Revolutionary Popular Struggle)].⁹⁶ Denied at the time, this, in fact, turned out to be true. Even though none of the issues provided any indication on the identity of the collective behind *Antipliroforisi*, it is now known that both ELA and other groups were involved in its production.⁹⁷

An untitled note signed by the editorial committee was printed on the first page of the first issue of this periodical. The note stressed that financial support would have to be forthcoming for *Antipliroforisi* to continue its publication. According to the editorial committee's note, financial support is not an economic but a political act. Further on, the committee referred to the significance of contributing to the periodical and how the impact grows when the contribution is more or less permanent and constant. Moving beyond financial support, the note stated other ways that potential contributors could help. These included assisting in disseminating and distributing the periodical, helping with its technical preparation, criticising its form and content to improve it, as well as providing information that could help in preparing potential analysis or reports for future publications.

elliniki ekdochi tis aristeris tromokratias” [ELA (Revolutionary Popular Struggle): The Greek Version of Left-Wing Terrorism], *E Ellada sti dekaetia tou 80. Kinoniko, politiko ke politismiko lexiko* [Greece in the 1980s: A Social, Political and Cultural Dictionary], eds. Vasilis Vamvakas and Panayis Panagiotopoulos, 2nd ed. (Athens: Epikentro, 2014), 161 [in Greek]. This misconception regarding the driving political force behind *Antipliroforisi* was mentioned and criticised in the work of Giorgos Karamelas, *To elliniko antartiko ton poleon 1974–1985* [The Greek Urban Guerrilla Warfare 1974–1985] (Athens: Grafes, 2002), 184 [in Greek].

95. *Antipliroforisi* was published from 1975 to 1982. Giorgos Alexatos, *Istoriko lexiko tou ergatikou kinimatos* [Historical Dictionary of the Labour Movement] 2nd ed. (Athens: Geitonies tou Kosmou, 2008), 173. The first issue was published on 21 May 1975 while the last was published in February 1982. Ios tis Kiriakis, “To kokkino periodiko tis Metapolitefsi. E istoria tis *Antipliroforisi*” [The Red Magazine of *Metapolitefsi: The History of Antipliroforisi*], *Eleftherotypia*, 22 February 2003, accessed 20 May 2015, <http://iospress.gr/ios2003/ios20030223a.htm>; <http://iospress.gr/ios2003/ios20030223b.htm> [in Greek].

96. On ELA, see Alexatos, *Istoriko lexiko*, 173 and George Kassimeris, *Europe's Last Red Terrorists: The Revolutionary Organization 17 November* (London: Hurst & Company, 2001), 65–70.

97. Ios, “To kokkino periodiko”.

The note was also clear about the safest way for readers to direct their support. It advised them to use the channels through which the periodical was being distributed if they wished to ensure that their support for *Antipliroforisi* would reach its destination.⁹⁸ It may be safely assumed that those behind the magazine did seek to be an isolated vanguard but, on the contrary, used the periodical as a means to reach out to a wider audience. The periodical was meant to serve as a recruitment tool, something clear not only from the aforementioned note but also from more detailed editorial notes and articles, which I will discuss further below.

Antipliroforisi's fifth issue contains a significant editorial piece, which followed the aforementioned standard note addressing the reasons impelling the editors to publish it.⁹⁹ The Greek socio-political conditions of the time were crucial factors here. The editors asserting that capitalist–imperialist control (ownership) of the mass media meant that the system controlled the information disseminated through them, using them as tools to serve the interests of “imperialism–capitalism; the bourgeoisie”.¹⁰⁰ The criticisms raised, and claims made, do not differ from those of Noam Chomsky published in Greece at the same time as *Antipliroforisi*. It is not possible to know whether the authors of this note were aware of Chomsky's viewpoints since this was an underground periodical and those involved are not identified—apart from Christos Kasimis, who was killed in the 1970s. Nevertheless, the Greek edition of Chomsky's *Counter-Revolutionary Violence: Bloodbaths in Fact and Propaganda*—in which Chomsky expressed similar viewpoints—was published in Greece in 1975. We can surmise that

98. *Antipliroforisi*, issues 3–5, n.d., n.p.

99. The editorial note is titled “Merika logia gia auti tin ekdosi” [A few words on this publication] [In Greek] and cover pages 1 to 9, dating from 2 December 1975. The editorial notes even when they are repeated in issues are often dated again in an attempt to signify the date of the issue. This particular note is reprinted from the second issue and as the editorial committee notes in the introduction of the note it decided to reprint the editorial notes from the second issue and that of the fourth issue in newer issues. It is safe to assume that this occurred due to the fact that the distribution of a clandestine issue does not favour seeking and acquiring back issues, so they decided to reprint key documents so that new readers will have access to them.

100. Editorial Committee, “Merika logia gia auti tin ekdosi”, *Antipliroforisi*, 5, 1 [in Greek].

the various agents¹⁰¹ involved in *Antipliroforisi* came across Chomsky's book and imbibed the ideas in it.¹⁰²

The idea of countering mass media is a characteristic shared by the majority of subfields within the political publishing field, the only exception being government or state-controlled media. The central theme is that ideas and news that would otherwise not be heard—or that would be presented either in a fragmental or distorted way in mainstream media¹⁰³—demand alternative outlets. Differences emerge, however, in the objectives of each subfield, mainly over whether the newspaper or a publication is serving a wider interest or is simply a tool to broadcast the narrow viewpoint of the collective producing it. In other words, is it the media or the activism that comes first. In the case of the underground press, it is the politics—the activism—that matters, while in alternative media (the next subfield I will elaborate on) it is the other way around.¹⁰⁴ The underground press existed to publicise activity, bring sympathisers or fellow believers closer to the collective—or even recruit them to its inner circle—or as a means of agitation. In the underground press, information is not useful, as such, but as it becomes transformed into action, it helps advance the social or political struggle in which those behind the press are engaged.¹⁰⁵

The content of *Antipliroforisi*'s issues does not vary much from the av-

101. The term agents refers to those individuals holding positions within press, publications and thus publishing fields. Unless stated otherwise this is the context within which the term is used.

102. Noam Chomsky, *Evergetika loutra ematos. Sta gegonota ke stin propaganda* [Counter-Revolutionary Violence: Bloodbaths in Fact and Propaganda] (Athens: Iridanos, 1975) [in Greek].

103. Editorial Committee, "Merika logia", 2–3.

104. John McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters*, 173. McMillian also admits the fluidity of the terms even since the Sixties. He states that the majority of those involved in alternative media were reluctant in using the term "alternative" due to the fact it was very much associated with the "underground press" or with radical media, since they wanted to distance themselves from the social movements that in their turn were directly linked to the underground and radical media. While acknowledging the existence of literally underground papers in the United States during the time he is investigating, McMillian simply bypasses the antinomy between reality and the use of the term by him. *Ibid.* 6, 193.

105. Editorial Committee, "Merika logia", 8–9.

erage (politically) radical press of the time. Its pages were filled with left-wing subjects from Greece and abroad—such as coverage of workers’ and youth struggles, analysis of specific issues faced by those in specific trades, such as maritime workers,¹⁰⁶ or challenges for the masses in general, such as housing problems.¹⁰⁷ Current developments in the revolutionary and labour movements worldwide are present in most issues. This is a characteristic of the times, and the deep belief among activists that they were part of a global working class or revolutionary movement. The *long sixties* were global both in reality but more importantly, in the hearts and minds of the participants.

Content-wise the periodical could easily be classified politically as a radical, revolutionary, left-wing press. It could just as easily be called a labour press since workers’ issues were front and centre. But being underground is what defined the periodical and how it differed from others with similar content. Anonymous and clandestine, the means of production and distribution used were all direct outcomes of being illicit and underground. Interestingly enough, *Antipliroforisi*’s editorial committee rejected this characterisation, which was often made about it in the mainstream press. The editorial committee raised the same issue I have detailed above, seeing the term as utterly vague. As one committee note states: “[W]hat does this term mean? It is probably a new word-trend brought to us by intellectual petit-bourgeois circles from abroad. We, however, do not understand it”.¹⁰⁸ The editorial committee’s scepticism was nurtured by the fact that “antergraout” [underground] was never used in Greek. Instead, Western European and US connotations were implied since the term was simply transcribed into Greek.

Up until the ninth issue, covers were made of cardboard. The issues were

106. Ibid., 11–16.

107. Ibid., 9–11, “Katedafizonte spitia sti Thessaloniki” [Houses are Being Demolished in Thessaloniki], *Antipliroforisi*, issue 8 (April 1976), 30–32, “E katedafisi ton spition. Scholiotis Sintaktikis Eptropis” [The Demolition of Houses. Comment by the Editorial committee], *Antipliroforisi*, issue 8 (April 1976), 32–34 [both in Greek].

108. Syntktiki Epitopi [Editorial Committee], “E parousiasi mas apo tin *Eleftherotypia*” [Our Presentation by *Eleftherotypia*], *Antipliroforisi*, 9 (June–July 1976), 41.

bound with staples. Covers included three elements: the title, the number of the issue and a series of standardised content categories. In issues 3 to 5, these were *Apergies*, *Politiki Antipliroforisi*, *Diethnes Kinima* [Strikes, Political Counter-information, International Movement]. For issues 7 to 10,¹⁰⁹ the first category changed to *Taksikes Kinitopoiiseis* [Class Mobilisations] (See Figures 4 and 5).¹¹⁰ In most issues available in the IISG collection more detailed contents are available within the publication, which are laid out according to the general categories listed on the cover.

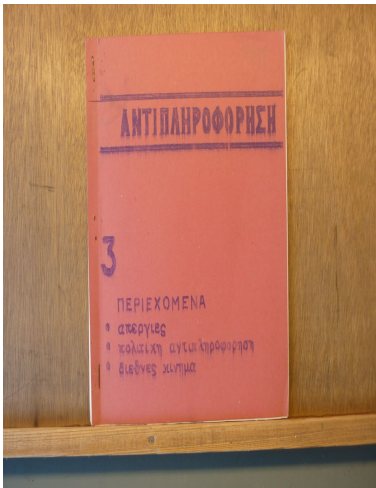


FIGURE 4.
Cover of issue 3 of *Antipliroforisi*



FIGURE 5.
Cover of issue 10 of *Antipliroforisi*

Until issue 9, covers were most likely printed with some sort of self-made stamp and blue ink, a method one often comes across when researching the Greek underground press; issue 10 was printed, and the material used for the cover was paper and not cardboard. The early issues were printed in a slightly smaller format than A4, which was used later. The

109. These are the issues available in the aforementioned IISG collection.

110. The collection also included two special issues that do not substantially differ from the regular issues.

magazine did not have a standard number of pages, and issues ranged from 46 to 172 pages.¹¹¹

The body of the magazine—i.e., everything but the cover—was typewritten on mimeograph machine membranes and, as in the mimeograph machine, was printed afterwards.¹¹² Dimitris Koufontinas was imprisoned as a leading cadre of the Revolutionary Organisation “17 November”—a far-left armed struggle group—and a former member of ELA. In his recent autobiography, he referred to ELA’s publishing activity. His narrative of it resembles what we know of *Antipliroforisi* and the underground press in general through the material that remains with us. He describes how he and others initially made contact with ELA, during an event organised by labour unions in 1977 and how at a later meeting it was decided to publish an “almost illegal” press to serve the political purposes of the newly formed group. Koufontinas’ account of those discussions closely mirrors the standard note of *Antipliroforisi*’s editorial committee cited above. He notes in his autobiography how these discussions led to the creation of an underground printing infrastructure—including a typewriter and a mimeograph machine, ink and, paper—at a safe-house used solely for printing purposes. He goes on to recount how an electric mimeograph was later acquired. He does not fail to mention the fact that not everybody involved knew much about printing and publishing procedures; political motivation was the driving force of this project.¹¹³

Although *Antipliroforisi*’s print runs were far from small,¹¹⁴ as already mentioned it was printed with the use of a mimeograph machine instead of being offset printed, in keeping with the commitments of the publishers to keep it clandestine. It would be rather risky for such a periodical to be

111. Ios, “To kokkino periodiko”.

112. Clarifications and suggestions concerning the typography and printing techniques used were provided by Dr Klimis Mastoridis, Professor of Typography at the University of Nicosia, Cyprus, via email correspondence with the author, 19 May 2015.

113. Koufontinas, *Gennithika 17 Noemvri*, 79–83 [in Greek].

114. To give an example, in solidarity with a popular struggle against a polluting factory in Thessaloniki, 5,000 copies of the special issue published on 25 October 1975 were printed, according to a statement on its cover. According to other sources, 15,000 copies were published. See Arvanitis, “ELA”, 161 [in Greek].

printed in an offset printing shop and any group publishing such a periodical would be unlikely to acquire, store and operate an offset printing machine itself. In Greece during the 1970s, mimeographs were used for much smaller print runs than that of *Antipliroforisi*. This was mainly to accommodate the side-projects of political groups, such as printing flyers or a local branch periodical in limited copies. Of course, the technology used was affected by socio-political conditions. Koufontinas' story takes place in the context of the Greek Metapolitefsi between 1974 and 1976. During that time, it was not difficult for a group to acquire the means to establish a printing operation. Prior to this, such as during the dictatorship itself, we often see extemporary mimeographs and printing presses operating with ink extracted from pens—or press that was completely typewritten or even handwritten, for lack of printing or multiplying equipment at all.¹¹⁵ Even during the Metapolitefsi period, not all the necessary equipment and supplies were freely available.¹¹⁶

The clandestine nature of the periodical defined it far more than the means of its production. The underground nature of *Antipliroforisi* also determined methods of distribution. Although it is now known that some of those involved in the periodical were also engaged in other illegal activities, the anonymity and veil of mystery regarding *Antipliroforisi* made it impossible to prove such links. Thus, distribution was never interrupted by the state nor was the periodical ever banned from circulation. Nevertheless, the publishing collective chose to circulate it outside the usual com-

115. Roza Economou, interview with the author, Athens, 19 February 2012). In an interview with *Marmita* magazine, the late anarchist publisher Michalis Protopsaltis also referred to a handmade printing press, put together by a fellow student of his during the military dictatorship in order to print flyers. “Pos itan to Galatiko Chorio palia...Mia sinentefxi menir” [How Was the Gallic Village in the Old Days ... A Menhir Interview], *Marmita* 6 (January–March 2002), 2–9.

116. During the event “Ekdoseis ke Underground” [Publishing and Underground] organised in Athens in 2012, Michalis Protopsaltis also mentioned how most of the anarchist groups that used stolen IBM typewriters in order to typeset their publications. IBM would not sell type elements, also known as typeballs or ink ribbons, to anyone who did not officially purchase a typewriter from IBM. Therefore, all the anarchists holding a stolen IBM typewriter, availed themselves of the assistance of Diamantis Leventakos, a film director, who had legally acquired his personal typewriter, to purchase supplies from IBM.

mercial distribution networks, mainly through face-to-face distribution and specific radical bookstores.¹¹⁷

This distribution method was not particular to Greece. In June 2015, I noticed the following post by Bolerium Books, a San Francisco bookstore, on its Facebook page:

Ever wonder how the Weather Underground Organization [WOU]¹¹⁸ distributed its publications without its members being identifiable to the bookstore staff that helped distribute? Daryl Van Fleet, proprietor of Bibliomania in Oakland, formerly of PM Books in San Francisco, had one of the shops selected by the WOU for distribution. He recently showed us one of the letters he would occasionally receive telling him where to look for the hidden stash—in this case, within his own shop!¹¹⁹

The Facebook post includes a scanned strip of paper with the following text typewritten on it:

Dear P.M. Books,

Today we have distributed the fifth issue of OSAWATOMIE¹²⁰ clandestine[ly] in cities all around the country. We appreciate your consistent efforts to make OSAWATOMIE available through your bookstore and here's where you can find your copies of the new issue: you will find your package inside your store,

117. Leonidas Christakis, "Underground Press: Pia periodika kikloforoun kai...den kikloforoun stin athina" [Underground Press: What periodicals Circulate and...Do Not Circulate in Athens], *Diavazo* 5–6 (November 1976–February 1977): 55 [in Greek].

118. The Weather Underground, a left-wing terrorist group, was an offspring of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) the main student organisation in US universities during the *long sixties*. See Mark Rudd, *Underground: My Life with SDS and the Weathermen* (New York: HarperCollins, 2010); Ron Jacobs, *The way the Wind Blew: A History of the Weather Underground* (London: Verso, 1997); Bill Ayers, *Fugitive Days: Memoirs of an Antiwar Activist*, Boston: Beacon Press, 2008.

119. BoleriumBooksFacebookpagepostontheWeatherUnderground, accessed 2 June 2015, <https://www.facebook.com/240114126018270/photos/a.240141602682189.77036.240114126018270/1068995989796742/?type=1&theater>.

120. Weather Underground Organization, "Who We Are", *Osawatomie* 2 (Summer 1975), accessed 2 June 2015, <http://ia902702.us.archive.org/1/items/Osawatomie/OSS2.pdf>; Dan Berger, *Outlaws of America: The Weather Underground and the Politics of Solidarity* (Oakland: AK Press, 2006), 205–230.

either in the bathroom behind the toilet, or in the back of the store, inside, between the board and the windows.

In solidarity,
WUO.¹²¹

The choice of underground channels of distribution by the authors/producers of these publications was made primarily for three reasons. The first is rather obvious and not any different from the Weather Underground rationale outlined in the Bolerium Books comment and post—namely, to protect the collective’s underground element. In other words, to maintain the secrecy surrounding those involved in the production and distribution of the periodical and the printing mechanism. Since transactions with distribution networks demand some sort of credentials and identification from a client publishing house, there is always the risk that those involved or sympathising with it will be exposed. Any such exposure could undermine the whole operation.

The second, more significant, reason has already been observed in the analysis of the editorial note of issue 5 of *Antipliroforisi*. The fundamental objective of the publication was to promote workers’ struggles and to assist in the establishment of labour unions and committees.¹²² Achieving a connection with individuals or groups who might be willing to join the group was a priority here, which is why they favoured hand-to-hand circulation. As the editorial committee noted:

[F]or us this kind of distribution [hand-to-hand] is a specific form of political intervention and action. We believe that no printed matter can substitute for the complexity of practice. Communication, contact and fermentation are required; this favours hand-to-hand [distribution]. That is, it promotes specific, live communication that allows us to promote what we generally believe, and which no publication can substitute. We repeat that we do not aim to gather “followers”

121. Weather Underground note to PM Books, accessed 2 June 2015, <https://www.facebook.com/240114126018270/photos/a.240141602682189.77036.240114126018270/1068995989796742/?type=1&theater>.

122. “Enas chronos ergatikon kinitopiiseon–Epitropes Agona” [One Year of Workers’ Mobilisations—Struggle Committees], *Antipliroforisi* 4 (1975), 3–9 [in Greek].

(and this is why we do not “take it to the newsstands”) but a concrete opportunity for political intervention where our forces allow it. Thus, we are far from being “invisible”. We are visible to those we wish to be [visible to].¹²³

The third reason is quite common in subfields of political publishing, mainly in the anarchist press and various zines. The producers’ decision to provide their work in a non-commercial way, free of charge—there was no list price on the cover but presumably donations were welcome—by definition excluded commercial distribution channels. The last two reasons create a framework common in parts of political publishing. That is, building a relationship between the producer and the receiver of the message in an attempt to narrow the gap between the two. The producers of such publications sought the transformation of those passively receiving messages, i.e., the readers, into active political subjects. They attempted to do so through both the content of their publication and the forming of a direct link between them and their readers, which results, ideally, in the latter becoming interlocutors and even potential authors.¹²⁴

We can now summarise what we have said about underground publishing in Greece during the *long sixties*. The subfield consisted mostly of lengthy periodicals and pamphlets, which—due to political reasons—were produced secretly and distributed outside regular distribution channels, often hand-to-hand.¹²⁵ They were more often produced by the publishing arms of collectives rather than by individuals. Their content was highly political, radical and subversive. Due to limited printing resources, they were often poorly-designed and produced by means other than printing presses—mimeograph machines for the most part. The quantity of content produced (one of the largest underground organisations of the time, ELA, published around 20,000 copies of its publications) along with information from written sources (such as the biography of Dimitris Koufontinas discussed above)—leads to the assertion that the aforementioned underground

123. Sintaktiki Epitropi [Editorial Committee], “E parousiasi mas” [Our Presentation], 41.

124. Karampelas, *To elliniko antartiko*, 184–189.

125. *Ibid.*, 184.

publication and other underground publications, in general, were self-produced, with production equipment acquired by the groups themselves.¹²⁶ Thus, from the creation of content to the distribution of the published material, underground publishers were entirely self-contained, which differs from the printing and distribution channels of the rest of the Greek political publishing field of the time.

A publishing activity or outcome may be defined as underground if it can be identified as such on three levels: content, form and mode of production and distribution. One may often encounter periodicals containing radical content, produced by trade publishers or anonymous mimeographed publications distributed by hand with content that is not subversive, e.g., art-related. Thus, what seems underground may well not be, and in the available literature, there is often confusion in use of the terms “underground”, “alternative” and “avant-garde” media.¹²⁷

This dialectic relationship between form, content and modes of production and consumption, means that content and form (subversive or radical), and a clandestine means of production and distribution are individually necessary, but not sufficient. Only the coexistence of these three different levels in one organisation allows it to be defined as underground media.

Alternative Press and Publishing

In contrast to the underground press that existed in Greece throughout the course of the twentieth century, alternative media first appeared only in the early 1970s, quite late in comparison with other countries of Europe. This is largely a result of the imposition of the military dictatorship of 1967–1974, causing a rupture in Greek politics and culture and in this sense extending the Greek *long sixties* temporally.

126. *Ibid.*, 184, 186, 188.

127. The question of what alternative media is, and what it is not, is posed by Chris Atton on the very first page of his book *Alternative Media*, due to the fact that clarity and precision had not characterised the available literature up to that point. He then elaborates with an answer in the first chapter. Chris Atton, *Alternative Media* (London, Thousand Oaks, California: 2002), 7–31.

We noted above that the underground press was the preserve of political collectives. The alternative press and publications, in contrast, were often the handiwork of individual actors. More precisely, such alternative projects were often conceived and driven by individual initiative rather than collective effort, with content that was more the sum of the expression of different individuals than the single, collective expression of those involved in the publication. This constitutes a fundamental distinction between the two subfields.

Of course, both underground and alternative publishing projects emerged as an act of politics. The fine line between the two lies in the fact that politics were and are perceived differently. The underground press had a more collective element but mainly a more activist one, an integral element of social and political movements. The alternative press, on the other hand, assumed a more informative, educational perspective, and was often more culturally than politically oriented. The amateurish quality and freedom of expression of its writers—due to the non-existent editorial policies—gave a flair of independence in contrast to the strict ideological and political guidelines that governed the political press, whether underground or mainstream.¹²⁸

As discussed above, alternative media are frequently and inaccurately perceived or identified as underground. Leonidas Christakis,¹²⁹ an icon-

128. On the editorial policies of underground and alternative media, see, for instance, Abe Peck, *Uncovering the Sixties: The Life and Times of the Underground Press* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), 37. McMillian recognises the significance of the issue and has indexed editorial policies according to both specific titles and categories (i.e., alternative media, underground press), McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters*, 25–26, 29, 34, 40, 154–158, 179–180; Christopher Scott Satterwhite, “‘The Magic Moment When All the Stars Were Aligned’: *New Left Activism and the Pensacola Underground Press*” (master’s thesis, University of West Florida, 2012), 63. Changes in editorial policies did occur, often to mark a press’s shift, from an alternative perspective to a more directly political one. See Bob Hippler, “Fast Times in the Motor City: The First Ten Years of the *Fifth Estate*, 1965–1975”, in *Insider Histories of the Vietnam Era Underground Press, Part 2*, ed. Ken Waschberger (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2012), 62–64.

129. A short biographical note, in English, on Christakis can be found on the Libcom blog, accessed 29 May 2015, <https://libcom.org/news/leonidas-christakis-counter-culture-authoritarian-figurehead-dies-aged-81-athens-0205200>. See, also, Parker Menzimer, “The

ic figure of the Greek alternative media whose involvement in the Greek political publishing field will be detailed further in the next section, wrote a concise definition of alternative media in *Diavazo* [I Read] magazine.¹³⁰ Regrettably, this designation was itself designed first and foremost to define the underground press.¹³¹ I will briefly highlight Christakis' key arguments to show his reading of underground press converged with McMillian's conception of alternative media, touched on above. A clear definition is necessary, as the alternative media was a prominent subfield in Greek political publishing in the latter part of the Greek *long sixties*, particularly in the late 1970s.

Alternative media include press, pamphlets and brochures—often with an irregular frequency of circulation—published outside official distribution channels.¹³² This latter point underscores why the official print organs of any political party or (political) youth movement cannot be labelled as alternative press. The publisher(s) of alternative media are generally not motivated by profit. Their content is politics-related but not political per se. In other words, it highlights the political aspects of social or cultural issues (e.g., gender, art, cinema) but politics—understood as content driven by the ideological or political mark of the group—is not the concluding theme, as is it would be in the organ of a political organisation. Indeed, a kind of inverse vector obtains. Alternative media foreground a diffuse range of

Greek Underground Press: 1950s–1980s”, accessed 2 June 2015, <http://www.alldayeveryday.com/articles/greek-underground-zines-from-1950-to-1980>.

130. *Diavazo* was a monthly magazine on books published from 1976 until 2012. It has been an invaluable source for the present research, especially since there is a lack of statistics and reference literature regarding books and publishing in Greece especially during the time-span under investigation.

131. Christakis realised the contradiction between using a term that, if taken literally, means something completely different. Thus, he first makes a distinction between the literally underground press, which he briefly describes both in terms of its ideological and political origins (oftentimes communist) and in historical context (from the interwar period until the early 1970s), and what he refers to as underground press.

132. Irregular frequency of circulation and alternative forms of distribution although often present in the Greek case cannot be perceived as the rule. The case of the magazine *Anti*, which will be further on examined is proof of not only regular circulation but also of wide-spread distribution through newsstands.

substantive topics, indicating their relation to politics, while those of political organisations focus on politics (and ideology) and show how these are refracted through current issues.

A rather simplistic definition of “alternative” media would emphasise those media that present a substitute to the mainstream outlets, both in form and content.¹³³ While the truth is obviously far more complex, this definition has some validity. Chris Atton’s research and writing focus on alternative media; he assesses existing theoretical frameworks on the topic and has formulated his own.¹³⁴ His key works provide an overview of the most prominent definitions of alternative media, briefly analysing their strengths and shortcomings.¹³⁵

Alternative media cover topics that would never appear in mainstream media and investigate issues that interest the socially and politically engaged but who are not necessarily a part of any social movement. The scope of issues covered nonetheless reflects the concerns of contemporary social movements. The concerns of marginalised groups—including anarchist and punk subcultures, or gay, lesbian and queer communities—are frequently a focus. The social marginality of these groups should not be confused with their size. While the first is a qualitative assessment, the latter is quantitative. Some assessments regarding alternative media suggest they are the media of the “small minorities”, but as Atton suggests the audience size for such media is debatable. A concrete example here is the gay and lesbian media, geared towards a minority, but not a small one.¹³⁶ Often covering topics that were deemed taboo among traditional social movements (such as drugs and homosexuality), the alternative media would often clash with other, more radical left-wingers, accused of being “petit-bourgeois” —or even of being “agents provocateur”.

Christakis was often criticised by both anarchists and leftists for the topics he chose to present or the way he presented them. The magazine

133. Christakis, “Underground Press”, 54 [in Greek].

134. See Atton, *Alternative Media* and Chris Atton and James F. Hamilton, *Alternative Journalism* (Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington, DC: Sage 2008).

135. Atton, *Alternative Media*, 9–19.

136. *Ibid.*, 12–13.

Proodeftikos Kinimatografos [Progressive Cinema] presented a list of these.¹³⁷ In an editorial note, the editors reproduce, in full agreement, prior accusations made by *Amfi*, the organ of the AKOE [Liberation Movement of Greek Homosexuals].¹³⁸ Christakis is accused of “ideological confusion”—thus betraying the very thing he wants to defend—and of “unscrupulous snitching and superficiality”. His magazine *Ideodromio*, the flagship of Greek alternative media, was accused of “muckraking and the yellowness of a cheap capitalist paper”.¹³⁹ These accusations do not substantially differ from those aimed at Paul Krassner, the heart and soul of the *Realist*.¹⁴⁰ Krassner’s satire was rebuked for targeting everyone and everything and thus not being focused on advancing what some considered the interests of the movement.¹⁴¹ Christakis was similarly accused of being provocative or offensive to such an extent that his work failed the movement; he served up as much critique to the leftist and anarchist press and publications as he did to those of the establishment.¹⁴² Beyond the similarity with Krassner, Christakis—or more accurately, his publication *Ideodromio*—resembled, even more, the work of Artur Kunkin and his

137. *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos* was published from 1978 to 1981 by members of, and people affiliated with, the major extra-parliamentary left-wing group of the 1970s, the KKE(M-L) [Communist Party of Greece (Marxist-Leninist)].

138. *Amfi* was published from 1978 until the mid-1980s, while unsuccessful attempts to republish it took place in the 1990s.

139. E Sintaxi [Editors], “E empori tis amfisvitis” [The Merchants of Contestation], *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos*, 8–9 (A trimester ’80), 24 [in Greek]. The word contestation in the note’s title is used in the context of contesting mainstream ideology and culture.

140. John McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters*, 36–37.

141. *Ibid.*, 36.

142. Apart from the criticisms by *Amfi* and *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos*, similar criticisms were raised by one of my interviewees—off the record. Teos Romvos, another archetypal figure of the Greek alternative scene wrote about “a whole generation of intellectuals that scorned him [as in, Christakis] because he became a nuisance to them” in an email exchange we had. Teos Romvos, email correspondence with the author, 1 May 2015. According to Christakis—in a letter he wrote to the poet and translator Nikos Spanias—he was attacked by both the “independent youth” who wrote abusive slogans on the walls around his house and by former friends and associates of his who became “lackeys of the establishment” [lakedes tu katestimenu]. Leonidas Christakis, “Portreto enos allote narkomanous” [Portrait of a Former Drug Addict], *Tyflomiga* (July–August 2013), 18 [in Greek].

Los Angeles *Free Press* (also known as *Freep*), a “barely above-ground” press.¹⁴³

It is worth painting a brief picture of the man behind *Ideodromio* before we proceed to discuss the Greek alternative publishing subfield in more detail in the later sections of the chapter.

LEONIDAS CHRISTAKIS AND HIS CONTRIBUTION
TO GREEK ALTERNATIVE MEDIA

Christakis—considered the patriarch of the subfield—was an editor of Greek alternative and countercultural media (both press and publications) from the *long sixties* and until his death in 2009. He served longer than any other editor in the subfield. A controversial and versatile figure of Greek arts and letters and a former painter and gallery owner through the 1950s and the early 1960s, he was involved in the Greek publishing world as an author, graphic designer, illustrator, editor and publisher for half a century. In April 1959 he launched an avant-garde magazine called *Kouros*,¹⁴⁴ named after an art gallery he owned at the time.¹⁴⁵ This was the first of many periodicals he founded and edited.¹⁴⁶ Known as a “swinger of isolated tal-

143. McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters*, 38.

144. The magazine was named after the ancient Greek statues of noble young males, accessed 25 May 2015, <http://ancient-greece.org/art/kouros.html>.

145. The launch of *Kouros* along with an overview of its contents was announced in the Greek daily newspaper *Ta Nea* (7 April 1959, p. 2). A simple search of the digital archives of *Ta Nea* reveals that the newspaper’s page 2, which was often dedicated to the arts and letters, often had references to Christakis, from the late 1950s to the mid-1960s, especially in relation to exhibitions he either organised as a gallery owner or manager or participated in as a painter as well as about books he illustrated or designed. See <http://premiumarchives.dolnet.gr>, accessed 25 May 2015.

146. Christakis was involved in numerous publishing projects of his own but also of others and lived an anti-conformist life that is very difficult to monitor and give an accurate account of his half a century publishing activity. Only a fragmented personal archive—partially sorted and catalogued—exists. This archive is the base for a digital archive developed and run by his son, Alexis. See <http://www.ideodromio.org>, accessed 26 May 2015. The archive along with some of his texts that are highly autobiographical are used in order to shed some light into his work.

ent”,¹⁴⁷ on account of his prominence in the Greek alternative media scene, during the early 1970s he redirected his publishing towards alternative and countercultural paths but always kept his pages open for the avant-garde. His unique combination of politics and culture—issues varying from drugs, and cultural imperialism (e.g., the Ford Institute) to the Beatniks and Surrealism—made his periodicals popular, initially to a marginal group of Athenian youth and later on to a broader part of the youth in the major Greek cities.¹⁴⁸

FORD FOUNDATION GRANTS: A LIFE-CHANGING EXPERIENCE

During his early youth, Christakis was not related to any political groups or parties, apart from his participation in the Second World War resistance group EPON.¹⁴⁹ Always socially and politically engaged—mainly through

147. This is how Ted Joans—an African American trumpeter, painter and poet, who found himself along with other American beatniks in Athens during the early 1960s—described Leonidas Christakis. The intriguing part is that the piece referring to the founder of the Greek alternative media was published in the *Village Voice*, often thought to be the first alternative newspaper of the United States, established in the then bohemian New York’s Greenwich Village. Ted Joans, “Then Nothing Happening: Letter from Athens”, *Village Voice*, IX, no. 16 (6 February 1964): 9. For a short introduction to the *Village Voice*, see McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters*, 33–36.

148. On the relationship between alternative media and avant-garde in Greece, see the extensive work of Elena Hamalidi, Maria Nikolopoulou and Rea Wallden in, “Real Beyond Realism: The Multiple Faces of Collage in Greek Avant-Garde Art in the 60s and 70 s”, in *OEI: Dokument, Dispositiv, Deskription, Diskurs*, eds. Jonas (J.) Magnusson and Cecilia Grönberg, OEI#53–54 (2011), 964–987; “Mapping the Greek Avant-Garde: The Function of Transfers Between Aesthetic and Political Dualisms”, in Harri Veivo (ed), *Transfers, appropriations et fonctions de l’avant-garde dans l’Europe intermédiaire et du nord*, Cahiers de la Nouvelle Europe, 2012, 233–258 and “A Second Avant-Garde Without a First: Greek Avant-Garde Artists in the 1960s and 1970s”, in Sascha Bru (ed), Laurence van Nuijs (ed), Benedikt Hjaranson (ed), Peter Nicholls (ed), Tania Ørum (ed), Hubert Berg (ed) *Regarding the Popular: High and Low Culture in the Avant-Garde and Modernism*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin / N. York, 2011, 425–444.

149. EPON [Eniea Panelladiki Organosi Neon (United Pan-Hellenic Youth Organisation)] was the youth branch of EAM [Ethniko Apeleftherotiko Metopo (National Liberation Front)]. It was established in 1943 and its members fought against the occupation of Greece by the Axis forces during the Second World War. Christakis briefly refers to his experience

his writings and publications—neither he nor his periodicals were affiliated with any political organisation.¹⁵⁰ Christakis was thus able to continue his publishing activity after the military coup of 21 April 1967.

A transition occurred with(in) Christakis sometime during the early 1970s. At that time, he was offered of a generous grant by the Ford Foundation. He was initially flattered, enthused by the possibility of obtaining a substantial amount of money. Later Christakis began to second guess the purity of the Ford Foundation's motives. The maximum value of the grant was 200,000 drachmas.¹⁵¹ To translate the amount in material terms, so that one may understand the significance of such an offer, I will use a letter of Christakis to the readers of *Kouros*, his magazine (see Figure 6).

This letter was published in the same period he received the offer from the Ford Foundation.¹⁵² According to this, *Kouros* faced a financial loss of

during the war in an interview he gave to Filippas Kiritsis. “Sinentefxi me ton Leonida Christaki” [Interview with Leonidas Christakis], 24/01/2008, <<http://old.eyploia.gr/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=1654>>, accessed 25 May 2015.

150. On 6 April 1965, the newspaper *Ta Nea* published a letter by Christakis accusing the Chamber of Arts, an institution to which the Greek artists belonged to, for being silent during social and political upheaval in Greece and abroad. Christakis begins his letter with a reference to the fact that Greek artists have raised their concerns or protested on a number of occasions, e.g., against the Vietnam War. At the same time their collective trade union and professional organ had been silence since the Metaxas Dictatorship (1936–1939) even when its members were imprisoned or exiled. He called for his colleagues to not just protest against the Vietnam War, but also protest against the Chamber of Arts “the silent stance of which is as obscene as the United States intervention in Vietnam”. (Leonidas Christakis, “Giati siopa to kallitechniko epimelitirio?” [Why does the Chamber of Arts remain silent?], *Ta Nea*, 6 April 1965, 2) [in Greek].

151. The grants did not come with a fixed amount. For instance, in an unpublished letter sent to the magazine *Anichto Theatro* [Open Theatre], the novelist Giorgos Skourtis stated that the grant he received from the Ford Foundation was 10,000 drachmas per month for a year. Giorgos Skourtis, “Anichti Epistoli Pros to Anichto Thearo” [Open Letter to the *Anichto Theatro*], 27 November 1972.

152. As already mentioned *Kouros* was first out in 1959 as the organ of the homonymous gallery Christakis owned at the time. During its first period, five issues were published. Nektarios Papadimitriou, “Underground Press: Entipa enantia sto revma (ap:o tous beat sta zines)” [Underground Press: Press Against the Current (From Beats to Zines)], in *To Athinaiko Underground*, ed. Thanasis Moutsopoulos (Athens: Athens Voice Books, 2012), 151 [in Greek].

Its second period was initiated in April 1971 when its first issue came out. The comeback



FIGURE 6. Cover of the first issue of *Kouros* (1959)

2,000 to 2,500 drachmas per issue. And this was despite the fact it had an average of 1,300 sales out of 2,000 copies, and 110 subscribers.¹⁵³ It had an additional income of 6,000 drachmas from advertisements. Of course, 33–40% was paid to the outlets that sold the magazine. Offset printing cost 7,200 drachmas per 24 pages¹⁵⁴ and 1,500 drachmas went on various sundries (postage and envelopes) and 25 hours of man-labour per week.¹⁵⁵ The

of *Kouros* was announced by the newspaper *Ta Nea* on page 2, which was dedicated to the arts and letters (28 April 1971). So were some of its issues to come (*Ta Nea*, 5 June 1971, 12 August 1971). Some issues from the second period of this magazine may be found in the International Institute of Social History, in Amsterdam (Publications CSD).

153. The issue price was 15 drachmas, but prices varied from 10 to 30 drachmas, due to the fact that the number of pages varied, while the subscription rate for six issues varied from 100 to 150 drachmas as a result of the price fluctuation.

154. The issues were usually around seventy-two pages long although shorter issues were published.

155. Leonidas Christakis, “Pos kataskevazete enas anagnostis—pos vidonete enas sindromitis” [How a Reader is Created—How a Subscriber is Bolted], *Kouros* (July 1971) accessed 2 June 2015, http://estrechogv.blogspot.nl/2012/09/blog-post_6.html [in Greek]. The letter was not only published in *Kouros* but was also sent to potential subscribers and reader. A copy of the letter was found in the archive of the publishing house Kalvos. Folder 4, Kalvos Archive, (ASKI), Athens.

total revenues of the magazine came to approximately 21,500 drachmas¹⁵⁶ while the total cost excluding the wages of Christakis for his personal labour—since *Kouros* was presumed to be a one-man operation—reached 23.000 drachmas. The money that accompanied the Ford Foundation grant was thus equal to the loss of 100 issues of *Kouros*. After he was presented with this offer, Christakis met with a lawyer friend, Nikos Karamanlis, who was also a translator. According to Christakis, Karamanlis was translating books according to his anti-American ideology. At the time of their meeting, Karamanlis was translating a book by Claude Julien.¹⁵⁷ The book offers a diatribe on the United States' global hegemony and has a particular chapter on the role of institutions, such as the Ford Foundation.¹⁵⁸ After meeting with Karamanlis, Christakis went on and held a meeting with the Greek representative of the Ford Foundation. During that meeting, he requested the names of the other Ford Foundation's beneficiaries. His request was denied as he was told that the list was classified. This increased his curiosity and with the help of a burglar he knew, he broke into the office of the Ford Foundation and stole the list with the names of the fellows.¹⁵⁹

How, we might ask, is all this relevant to the Greek publishing field? Well, the answer is more direct than one might think. For alternative media

156. The amount derives by dividing the income from subscriptions by six (same as the average number of issues per year), adding 63.5% of the revenue from sales (excluding the amount paid to retailers) and the revenue from advertising.

157. The author was a French journalist specialised in United States affairs and the first editor and director of the *Le Monde diplomatique*, a role in which he served until 1990. He passed away in 2005. Ignacio Ramonet, "Claude Julien: Décès", *Le Monde diplomatique*, 12 May 2005, accessed 1 June 2015, <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/carnet/2005-05-12-Claude-Julien>.

158. The book was *America's Empire*, is the most known work of Claude Julien. Originally published in France in 1968 by the Parisian Grasset editions, have been translated in many languages including, English (Pantheon Books, 1971) and Greek (Diogenis, 1971). Ramonet, "Claude Julien", Leonidas Christakis, *O Kyrios Athinai* [Mr Athens] (Athens: Delfini, 1992), 89 [in Greek]. The section of the book regarding the "Role of Institutions" was reprinted by Christakis in January 1973, in the third issue of his alternative magazine *Pandermana*.

159. Christos Mais, "Politimikes praktikes os praxis politikis antistasis: I ekdotiki drastiriotita sta chronia tis chountas kai to akreo paradigma tou Leonida Christaki" [Cultural Practices as Acts of Political Publishing: Resistance During the Junta and the Extreme Paradigm of Leonidas Christakis], *HYFEN* 10, no. 16 (2014): 16–18 [in Greek].

in Greece were really born of this otherwise nondescript burglary; the first alternative periodical was established soon afterwards. And what about its purpose? To serve, among other things, the crusade that Christakis launched against Ford Foundation and its beneficiaries after the break-in.

As already mentioned, all this was going on as Christakis continued to publish *Kouros*. An art periodical that carried collaborations with most of the known Greek artists and novelists of the time, Christakis did not want to jeopardise its existence and continuity by using it against the Ford Foundation. This could easily have driven many of his established collaborators away. This was not just because his collaborators would not necessarily share Christakis's view that there was something wrong with becoming a Ford Foundation fellow. It was mostly because *Kouros* would change, re-contextualised from a "pure" art magazine to something else. This would potentially alienate those artists and intellectuals who were not at all interested in mixing their art with politics under a military regime that was keen to dissuade the Greek people from becoming involved in politics.¹⁶⁰ Christakis did publish a supplement containing the list of the fellows in an issue of *Kouros*¹⁶¹ since he felt that he did not have time to wait for a new periodical to be ready (that would, in the end, come out a full year later). *Kouros* continued to be published but assumed an alternative (read: cultural) path after the Ford Foundation fellows were published in its pages, with an emphasis on literary currents such as the Beat literature. From this time onwards, Christakis started working with younger artists and writers and not with established ones as he had previously done.

This younger generation—influenced or intrigued by Western counter-culture, rock music and older avant-garde (literary and visual) genres, such as the Beats, surrealism and Dada—was the base for the collaborations of his future alternative publishing projects, and of their readership. The thin

160. Christakis, *O Kyrios Athinai*, 91.

161. The Greek police paid a visit to Christakis concerning the breaking and entering. Ms Ketii Kassimati-Mirivili, the Ford Foundation representative in Athens, decided not to press charges but Christakis nevertheless felt the pressure to act fast. An eight-page supplement with a list of the institute's fellows was published along with the issue of *Kouros* (September–December 1971). Christakis, *O Kyrios Athinai*, 92–93.

line between consumer and producer of cultural products had now been crossed. In the documentary *Voices from the Greek Underground*, several interviewees—visual artists in particular—referred to the fact that Christakis gave them the opportunity to present their work in his periodicals.

Furthermore, the case of Christakis is indicative of the shifts in the political publishing field that often took place. Political groups and their press and publications become defunct while others rise; shifts in ideological or political orientation occur, leading to changes in the affiliation of publishing ventures and agents of the field. There are cases of established press and publications becoming politicised during the *long sixties*, while other—traditionally radical—ones had turned mainstream by the end of the era.¹⁶²

This was done unconditionally, and while they were practically unknown kids since, at the time, most of them were between 16 and 18 years old. Christakis chose to include younger people in its publications. Not only as authors, graphic artists or as part of editorial collectives, but even in the production process that could include a line of people folding fresh-printed leaves of paper and assembling copies of the various alternative press and periodicals utilised by Christakis and his friends. Christakis took Walter Benjamin's call to democratise cultural production and put it in practice.¹⁶³

This shift in *Kouros* and Christakis is similar to that of *Ramparts* magazine, despite the different origins of the two. *Ramparts* started in San Fran-

162. For instance, the British Pluto Press, was established in 1969 and was linked to the International Socialists group (now Socialist Workers Party, SWP) but since 1979 is an independent left-wing publisher. (Ian Birchall, "Michael Kidron (1930–2003)", *Revolutionary History* 8, no. 3 (2003): 281–285, accessed 26 May 2015, <https://www.marxists.org/history/etol/writers/birchall/2003/xx/kidron.html>. "Pluto Press: About Us", accessed 26 May 2015, http://www.plutobooks.com/page/about_us. In addition, the Greek publishing house Poreia—its title can be translated both as March or Course—was originally affiliated with the political organisation KKE/ML [Communist Party of Greece/Marxists–Leninists] but since the late 1970s continued as a trade publisher. This re-alignment of the publisher was visible in the gradual shift in its publishing programme from political works (e.g., the works of Enver Hoxha or of the Greek communist leader Nikos Zachariadis) to literature.

163. Walter Benjamin, "The Author as Producer", in *Understanding Brecht* (London: Verso, 1998), 85–103.

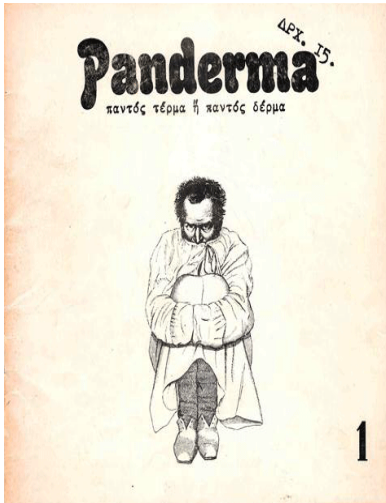


FIGURE 7. Cover of the first issue of *Paderma* (1972)

cisco in 1962 as a progressive Catholic magazine,¹⁶⁴ but soon enough shifted leftward.¹⁶⁵ It was the Vietnam War that triggered the transformation of a progressive magazine to the world of alternative media, just as the Ford Foundation had triggered Christakis'.¹⁶⁶ It published many articles on covert CIA operations and the role of US institutions worldwide.¹⁶⁷ This was the reason that it soon enough gained popularity not only on the national level but also internationally.¹⁶⁸ *Ramparts* even reached Greece, and its articles were used in the debate over the Ford Foundation.

164. The first issue was published in May 1962 and the magazine was subtitled “The National Catholic Journal”.

165. McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters*, 109.

166. Sol Stern, “The *Ramparts* I Watched: Our Storied Radical Magazine Did Transform the Nation—For the Worse”, *City Journal*, Winter 2010, accessed 3 June 2015, http://www.city-journal.org/2010/20_1_ramparts.html; Peter Richardson, *A Bomb in Every Issue: how The Short, Unruly Life of Ramparts Magazine Changed America* (New York: The Free Press, 2009).

167. The ongoing engagement of *Ramparts* with investigating the role of the CIA and other US government agencies resulted to being investigated by US government agencies. Geoffrey Rips, “The Campaign Against the Underground Press”, in *Unamerican Activities: The Campaign Against the Underground Press*, eds. Anne Janowitz and Nancy J. Peters (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1981), 75, 160–162.

168. Anthony Ashbolt, *A Cultural History of the Radical Sixties in the San Francisco Bay Area* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), 17.

Panderma was the first alternative magazine of Greece; the first issue hit the streets in November 1972 (see Figure 8). *Panderma* was conceived by Christakis as a way to expose the Ford Foundation grants. In issues 3 and 4—published in January and February 1973 respectively—the author Lily Zografou published long letters against both the grants and those receiving them. The second was an open letter to the foundation’s fellows, in which she recounted that she had published a book two years earlier¹⁶⁹ that had cited an article by Dr David Danson in *Ramparts* magazine exposing the complicity of the *Ford Foundation* and other US institutions in massacres that had taken place under the dictatorial regime of Suharto in Indonesia.¹⁷⁰ The journalist Fani Petralia who at the time was writing on fashion for the mainstream magazine *Gineka* [Woman], was given the same issue of *Ramparts* by the film director Costas Gavras during a meeting they had in Paris.¹⁷¹ The article was then translated,¹⁷² mimeographed and distributed by hand.¹⁷³ She recalls *Ramparts* being influential to her and others in respect to formulating an opinion regarding the issue of Ford Foundation grants that produced heated debates during the Greek military dictatorship. *Pan-*

169. Lily Zografou, *Iliopotis Elytis* [Sun-Drinking Elytis] (Athens: Ermeias, 1971), 69, cited in Lily Zografou, “Ford Foundation ‘2’: Anikti epistoli pros tus epichorigoumenus tu idrimatos fornt” [Ford Foundation ‘2’: Open Letter to the Fellows of the Ford Foundation], *Panderma*, December 1972, n.p. [in Greek].

170. Lily Zografou mistyped the name of the author. In reality she is referring to the article of David Ransom, “The Berkeley Mafia and the Indonesian Massacre” published in *Ramparts* 9, no. 4, 27–29, 40–49.

171. Fani Petralia, “Pali edo imaste? Mia sizitisi sto Panepistimio Koloumpia xipna mnimes ke ferni pikrus sinirmus” [Here We Are Again? A Discussion at Columbia University Brings up Memories and Creates Bitter Connotations], *Eleftherotypia*, 17 February 2001, 34 [in Greek].

172. According to Petralia’s article, the translator of the *Ramparts* article is the now economic history professor, Christina Agriantoni.

173. I assume that in order to reconstruct her memory, Fani Petralia used the articles written by Lily Zografou’s articles in *Panderma* since she also misspells the name of David Ransom in the same manner. Both Zografou and Petralia mistakenly refer to the article as being 32 and 50 pages long respectively, while in reality it was not longer than thirteen pages. Although recollections are invaluable in reconstructing the socio-political and cultural environment of past times, being used as the base for factual analysis is unsafe the least in order to produce solid conclusions.

derma ceased publication during the last 12 months of the regime, presumably due to its polemics against the Ford Foundation and its Greek fellows.¹⁷⁴

During the time of this heated debate, Christakis started carrying an announcement in the issues of his periodicals, from the very first issue of *Panderma* as well as in the following issues of *Kouros*:

Panderma is published and distributed by Leonidas Christakis, who also publishes *Kouros*. *Panderma* is of the same spirit as *Kouros*, with the only difference being that it covers wider topics. This periodical, as well as *Kouros*, is not sponsored by any Greek or foreign institutions or organisations. Its issues are not being pre-empted or bought by the Government's Presidency, the Sub-ministry of Culture, or any other state or private entities. They [i.e., the two magazines] do not receive of their legal right to *atelia chartou*,¹⁷⁵ a privilege enjoyed by all magazines in Greece.¹⁷⁶

The importance of this statement and of the Ford Foundation debate lies in how it contributed to the formulation of a significant characteristic of the political publishing field, from then onwards. This was the financial autonomy of the agents, institutions and ventures that constituted the political field. Advertisement-free press was the norm from the 1970s. Political groups and publishers, in general, refused state subsidies, advertising and sponsorship. The most extreme expression of this attitude was developed in the 1980s, when hardcore punks and anarchists refused to price their work—mainly fanzines and recorded tapes—at all, giving them to music stores, bookstores and newsstands to sell. Music bands also refused to sell tickets or have entrance fees for their gigs or even played in non-commer-

174. Its last issue during the junta was published in June 1973. According to Teos Romvos, the periodical was not officially banned but the police often paid editors and publishers a “friendly visit” in order to admonish them and if they did not consort with the regime, then they would have to face the consequences. Teos Romvos, email correspondence with the author 9 June 2015.

175. *Atelia chartou* literally means paper deficiency. It was a state subsidy towards publishers in order to compensate for the difficulties that the publishing industry faced, e.g., limited readership and advertisements and expensive paper. According to Christakis, a publisher applied for this subsidy to the competent governmental service. If the subsidy was granted the publisher could acquire paper with a discount of up to 55% in respect to the retail prices of paper. [Leonidas Christakis], “Atelia Chartou”, *Ideodromio*, 8 (29 June 1978), 5–6 [in Greek].

176. *Panderma*, 1 (November 1972), n.p. [in Greek].

cial spaces, such as parks and squats. Groups with this rationale were—and still are—referred to as the anti-commercialised “DIY [do-it-yourself] scene”.¹⁷⁷

During the *long sixties*, alternative media, and political media in general, often extended their reach to the international level, in disseminating information and raising awareness of socio-political issues and new cultural trends on a global scale. The *long sixties*, especially from the time of the military dictatorship onwards, also saw an exponential increase in the number of Greek youth studying abroad.¹⁷⁸ This youth mobility in and out of Greece had a great impact on the Greek political publishing field. As they returned from abroad with new ideas—picked up from press and publications in the countries of their studies—they contributed to an enrichment of the political publishing field back home, especially during a period when freedom of the press was still curtailed.¹⁷⁹ Ideas were disseminated in two key ways. The first was via exchanges with friends in Greece via letters or even in person once they returned. More proactively, returnees produced translations of foreign works—or lobbied agents involved in the Greek political publishing field on works that should be translated.¹⁸⁰

177. Mais, “Politismikes Praktikes”, 12. Concerning the rise of the DIY, see Amy Spencer, *DIY: The Rise of Lo-Fi culture* (London: Marion Boyars, 2008).

178. According to statistics from UNESCO and the Bank of Greece, the population of Greek students abroad climbed from approximately 9.000 in 1966 to 25.000 in 1974 and almost 40.000 in 1980. Charis S. Lampropoulos, Giorgos Psaropoulos, “Kenonikoekonomikes diastasis tis tritovathmias ekpedefsis: Tasis, provlimata ke dinates lisis” [Socio-Economic Dimensions of Tertiary Education: Tendencies, Issues and Possible Solutions], *The Greek Review of Social Research* 77 (1990): 200 [in Greek].

179. Vaggelis Karamanolakis, “Kalvos 1968–1974: Enas ekdotikos ikos sta chronia tis diktatorias” [Kalvos 1968–1974: A Publishing House in the Years of the Dictatorship], *Archei-otaksio*, 14 (2012): 118 [in Greek].

180. In the archives of Kalvos publishing house, which was established by left-wingers in 1968 and focused in publishing socio-political and historical non-fiction as well as progressive—as in left-wing—novels, dozens of letters from readers can be found. Some of them come from later on well-known figures of the Greek art and letters—such as, the author Aris Fakinos, the philosopher and university professor Cosmas Psychopedis—and politics, such as the leading cadre of the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) and for a long time parliamentary member, Tilemachos Chitiris. The then unknown young scholars or students proposed to Kalvos works of authors that at the time were not known in Greece. The proposals

Leonidas Christakis kept in contact with several collaborators and associates living abroad. Furthermore, he travelled and acquired literature from abroad—either directly from his contacts or during his trips—that he used not only as an inspiration or source of information for the content but also the form of the various press and publications that he was always planning. *Kouros* was published in a long narrow format (14x28 cm) while *Panderma* was published in a square format (19x19 cm and later on 23x24 cm), both unusual and avant-garde formats by Greek standards. *Ideodromio*, the most significant Greek alternative publication, was also original in its format. While on first sight it looked like a magazine (28x21 cm), in reality, it was a newspaper (28x42 cm) folded in such a manner so as to look like a magazine. Marina Emmanouil, in her PhD dissertation, asserts that Christakis chose strange foldings due to ecological concerns. However, this does not follow from the quotation she provides. Christakis, in fact, stated that he always “sought unusual shapes” but “never threw away paper”, saving it through “strange foldings”.¹⁸¹ What is evident from his recollections is a search for unconventional formats. It is a fact that he was as interested in (graphic) design as he was in the content of his press and publications. That he sought out ways not to throw away paper does not necessarily mean that he was ecologically conscious (but certainly does not exclude such a possibility). It is more likely that his motivations for saving paper were less noble. Christakis was known for his constantly precarious financial situation. He rarely stayed in one job for long and his own publishing ventures never really flourished; even their survival was constantly in question.¹⁸² Wasting paper was a luxury he simply could not afford. *Panderma* was relaunched

made often concerned iconic figures and works of the then European New Left, such as Günter Grass or Herbert Marcuse, since the correspondence came mainly from Germany, France and Italy. Most of the proposals made were materialised by either Kalvos or other publishing houses of the time. For instance, five works of Marcuse were published in 1971 by a number of publishers including Kalvos. Kalvos archive, Folder 3, Subfolder 1, ASKI, Athens.

181. Marina Emmanouil, *Graphic Design and Modernisation in Greece, 1945–1970*, vol. 1/2, (The Royal College of Art / Victoria and Albert Museum Department of History of Design, September 2012), 58.

182. Teos Romvos, “Les Oneidos Christakis”, *O Farfoulas*, 12 (Spring 2010): 10 [in Greek].

after the collapse of the junta in 1972 and ceased publication in 1977 after 38 issues.¹⁸³

“IDEODROMIO”: THE ALTERNATIVE RAG THAT MADE THE DIFFERENCE

While *Panderma* was the first alternative periodical, it did not have the impact that *Ideodromio*¹⁸⁴ had. Post-dictatorship Greece was dominated by radical political groups and Christakis’ life-long spirit of independence and non-affiliation with specific groups and closed ideology (which he preached throughout his work) was unpopular, to say the least. But by the second half of the 1970s things started changing. Most left-wing political groups underwent a crisis. Groups split, and their members started drifting away. This situation produced a mass of formerly affiliated but now autonomous leftists. Most young people adopted a more bohemian lifestyle. Listening to rock music (hitherto more or less prohibited by left-wing groups, being understood as a tool of US imperialism or as products of decadence),¹⁸⁵ and experimenting with drugs and sexuality, they sought alternative means of information, outside the normative left-wing press and publications. By normative, I mean the focus on classic Marxist interpretations of culture and everyday life, which either denounced the contemporary youth lifestyle or downplayed it as unimportant or secondary to the grand plan of the revolution. As Axelos notes:

It would be a mistake, I think, for anyone to forget or even distort the fact that,

183. Nektarios Papadimitriou, *op. cit.* 155. Christakis while referring to *Panderma* in 1976, he stated that “it was in decadence, nevertheless it had its *cult* readers, which were over 2000”. See Leonidas Christakis, “Prologos gia tin pempti ekdosi” [Prologue for the Fifth Edition], in Jason Xenakis, *Hipides ke kiniki* [Hippies and Cynicals] (Athens: Apopeira, 1998, 7 [in Greek].

184. *Ideodromio* is a compound word that was non-existent before it was conceptualised by Christakis. It literally means “road of ideas”.

185. See Grigoris Farakos, *Gia tin agonistiki taxiki diapedagogisi tis neoleas* [For the Militant Class Education of the Youth] (Athens: Odigitis, 1977), 9–12, accessed 10 June 2015, <https://kanali.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/kne-farakos-1977.pdf> [in Greek]. I politistiki epitropi tis PPSP [The cultural committee of PPSP], “Rock–1980?”, *Salpisma*, 6 (November–December 1980): 31 [in Greek].

following the restoration of democracy, a significant portion of youth sought a liberalization of thought, an essential pluralism and democracy, a liberalization in interpersonal and inter-communal relationships, the right to exercise social criticism, the liberalization of the imagination. In other words, it sought the change of the existing political, social and interpersonal relationships and a turn to a new viewpoint of politics, of political relationships, one which was more fertile and essential, less epic and rhetorical, but more humane and tragic, just as one's daily relationship to the inhospitable reality surrounding him is.

And yet, instead of this, youth was forced, to a large extent and in ample quantities, to swallow the mercilessly sterilised dry food of the various philosophical dictionaries and pseudo-optimistic political and literary texts of the indomitable relay-racers of native philistinism. For this reason and rightly so—to a certain degree—it turned to areas “outside of politics”, to prose and poetry. And equally justifiably, it sought to come into contact with the anti-authoritarian, anti-power trends of thought which promised it the discovery of its other self, of its lost subjectivity.¹⁸⁶

The conditions described above were those that made *Ideodromio* a success with a circulation of 4,000 copies. This is a noteworthy number if one considers that the targeted audience for such press was the student youth and secondarily high school students. It was in schools and universities where the hard-line members of left-wing groups were predominant. And they were by no means eager to read an anarchistic rag that sought to cultivate a libertarian youth that would break free from the ideological and political dogmatism of the traditional Left.¹⁸⁷ From 1979 the number of *autonomous* students—i.e., those not belonging to political groups—grew,

186. Loukas Axelos, “Publishing Activity and the Movement of Ideas in Greece”, *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, XI, no. 2 (Summer 1984): 37.

187. A glance at the university students' elections during the 1970s—there were not elections held during the junta—shows that the vast majority of the students, ranging from 70 to 90% voted for left-wing organisations that either considered themselves as some sort of Marxists (e.g., Marxists, Marxists–Leninists, communists). Things started changing after the university sit-ins of 1979–1980 against a new higher education law. These sit-ins ignited issues. See, for instance: E(lias) Kap(etanakis), “Pio agonistikes ke mazikes e fititikes ekloges” [The Student Elections Were More Militant and Massive], *Rizospastis*, 15 February 1979, 3 [in Greek]; “E fitites brosta se kenourgious agones” [Students in Front of New Struggles], *Rizospastis*, 7 March 1980, 1 [in Greek]; “Me plastografies den allazi to apotelesma ton eklogon” [Elections Results Cannot be Altered by Forgery], *Rizospastis*, 5 April 1981, 2 [in Greek].

rejecting the “vulgar politicization and partisanship” that was imposed on them by the political groups they had hitherto been affiliated with.¹⁸⁸ This vulgarity was precisely the reason that these young people sought out *Ideodromio*, which placed this dogmatic partisanship, which suffocated individuals, in its sights.

Ideodromio's subtitle, *Adesmefto periodiko politikis drasis kai koulouras*¹⁸⁹ gave a hint of its political independence.¹⁹⁰ Labelled by critics as a “liberal–libertarian rag”, the magazine was a ship crewed by crazy young amateurs, which for almost five years experimented with all sorts of prose and style.¹⁹¹ According to its publisher, *Ideodromio* ceased publication because of societal changes. As PASOK ascended to power, the hopes and expectations of the people rose with it. This led to a gradual passiveness among readers, who withdrew from political action, transforming them into mere consumers of ideas. The team behind the rag sought to energise the audience, rousing them to social and political action.

However, rising individualism made it impossible for the magazine to continue its publication without betraying its initial purposes. Thus, instead of becoming just another product for consumers in the “marketplace of ideas”, Christakis decided to cease publication.¹⁹² In a way, the decision was true to form: Christakis had a chaotic and unstable way of working and of initiating projects or ending others for no apparent reason. He would burn the bridges to his past, even literally destroying ongoing projects and using the residue to start something new. An anti-conformist, inquisitive and rebellious spirit, he never followed the rules—nor did he set any. Not

188. Axelos, “Publishing Activity” 37. Vicky Harisopoulou describes these transformations—in readership as well—in respect to being part of a left-wing youth organisation and after leaving it in her autobiographic novel, *Tis Metapolitefsis chameni genia* [The Lost Generation of Metapolitefsi] (Athens: Exantas, 2001) [in Greek].

189. Uncommitted magazine of political action and culture.

190. The word *adesmefto* is a direct reference of the magazine being non-affiliated with any organisation or group.

191. Leonidas Christakis, “Louketo stes idees ke ta Ideodromia: Prote sinoptikoediki gia to stamatima mias filladas” [Padlock to Ideas and Ideodromia: A First Special Summary on a Ceased Rag], *Tyflomiga* (April–May 2010): 38 [in Greek].

192. *Ibid.*, 42–43.

a few journalists, authors and people of culture have written, sketched or published for the first time in a Christakis press or publications, unconditionally and free of charge.¹⁹³

COUNTERCULTURE: THE FRAMEWORK FOR THE ALTERNATIVE MEDIA

Countercultural media, at least in the Greek case, cannot be separated from alternative media nor from the figure of Leonidas Christakis. *Pali* [Again], a magazine conceptualised by Christakis—he abandoned the project in its infancy due to differences of opinion among the members of the organising committee—was the first periodical that contained countercultural comic strips.¹⁹⁴ Christakis made systematic use of such comic strips in *Kouros*, *Panderma* and *Ideodromio* and in some cases even decorated the covers with caricatures and comic strips.

To a great extent, domestic (i.e., Greek) counterculture was fed both visually and content-wise by American and European counterculture. Panos (Pit) Koutrouboussis,¹⁹⁵ who was part of the *Pali* editorial group and a regular contributor to Christakis' publishing projects, lived in London and New York during the *long sixties* and was part of the countercultural scene of these cities. He was a contributor to London's two most known alternative rags of the sixties, *International Times* and *Oz*, as an artist for the former and a writer for the latter.¹⁹⁶ Furthermore, he was heavily involved in science fiction comics and especially with the *new wave* movement of science fiction through his collaboration with Michael Moorcock and *New Worlds* magazine.¹⁹⁷ Apart from his correspondence with or visits from friends like

193. "Free of charge" here has a double meaning, in the sense that—while Christakis never paid authors' for their work—he never charged a fee to publish it either. Many publishers in fact did charge publication fees for some contributions, such as poetry or short stories.

194. Hamalidi, et al, "Real Beyond Realism", 967.

195. See http://www.dedalus.gr/en/authors.php?authors_id=506, accessed 9 June 2015.

196. For instance, Panos Koutrouboussis designed the cover of issue 42 (18–31 October 1968) of *International Times*. He wrote a reportage about Lebanese prisons that was published in issue 43 (July–August 1972) of *Oz*. See <http://pers-www.wlv.ac.uk/~fa1871/LondonOz.html>, accessed 9 June 2015.

197. Thanasis Moutsopoulos, "To Athinaiko Underground 1964–1983" [The Athenian

Dimitris Poulidakos—another well-known figure in the Greek alternative scene and a member of the editorial group of *Pali*¹⁹⁸—Koutrouboussis visited Greece almost every summer. He and others worked as conveyors of the ideas of the counterculture and the alternative movement which developed mostly in Western Europe and the US.¹⁹⁹ The countercultural scene²⁰⁰ started developing in the early '60s when a small band of relatively young Greek men and women were introduced to the Beat literature and lifestyle by Beatniks themselves, such as Gregory Corso (see Figure 8 below), Allen Ginsberg, Sinclair Beiles and Harold Norse.

This handful of Greek young people that accompanied the Beatniks during their passage from Greece later emerged as key figures in what would become the countercultural scene of Greece—or, more accurately, of Athens. We have met Christakis already and mentioned—albeit in passing—Koutrouboussis and Poulidakos. Another figure was Spyros Meimaris, a poet whose first poems were published by Christakis. Meimaris travelled to San Francisco in the late 1950s as part of a student exchange programme. There, he met the Beats and a new cultural and social world opened up for him. He was the link that connected the Beats travelling to Greece with the local scene. Nanos Valaoritis, another member of the *Pali* editorial group, frequented Surrealist's circles in the early sixties and during the military dictatorship he lived in San Francisco where he taught creative writing at the San Francisco State University.

Alexis Tampouras, an artist, was not part of the *Pali* team nor was he connected to the Beats that travelled to Greece. Coming from a wealthy Athenian family, he had the opportunity to travel to the United States dur-

underground 1964–1983] in *The Athenian Underground* ed. Thanasis Moutsopoulos, 29–33 [in Greek]. For science fiction and the *New Worlds* magazine, see Adam Roberts, *The History of Science Fiction* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 230–263,

198. Koutrouboussis, a rocker who in his early stages wrote poetry, was also an occasional translator, among others, of Beat literature.

199. Panos Koutrouboussis, interview with the author, Athens, 6 June 2013.

200. The term was used by those involved in the various projects and activities in order to characterise this countercultural spectrum of creativity and develop an umbrella term to include the diverse places, press and periodicals, and organisations that were interested in as well as (re)produced counterculture.

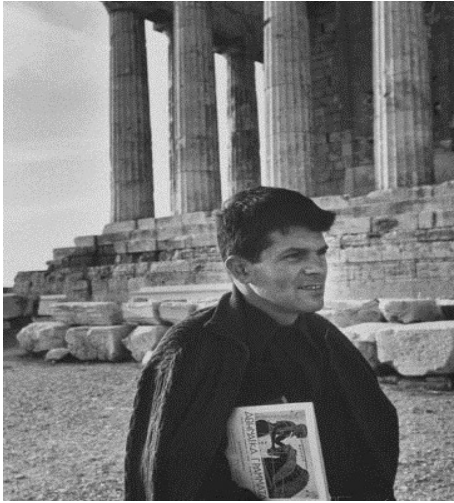


FIGURE 8.
 Beatnik Gregory Corso in
 front of the Parthenon on the
 Acropolis, Athens, in 1959
 © James Burke/Life.

ing the sixties. He describes his American experience in the Greek film “Mavro+Aspro” [“Black+White”] directed by his friend Thanasis Rentzis.²⁰¹ In the film, Tampouras gives some sketches he made during his stay in the USA to a friend of his and then launches into a monologue about his experiences:

America had a great impact on me [...] It was hell and heaven at the same time; a whirlpool in the field of art; pop and glorification of banality had reached their zenith. Meanwhile, some leading figures made their appearance, such as [Andy] Warhol, [Roy] Lichtenstein, [...] [James] Stanley Brakhage who gave some lectures to us. [He was] [a] new kind of intellectual, free-spirit creator, researcher. [Conventional] artists of the time started freaking out. There were thousands of movements on all levels in those days. I went to America with the intention to discover things. I just started forming my own viewpoints; there I came across a spirit that was completely unknown to me until then; an idealism and a cynicism at the same time, where people’s success was emphasised rather than lasting happiness [...] By the end of the year, major political developments were erupting. Awesome demonstrations took place in all campuses against the

201. Thanasis Rentzis (director), *Black+White*, Greece, 1973, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0264855/?ref_=nm_ov_bio_lk3, accessed 16 June 2015.

bombings in Vietnam. This was the first reaction on a mass level on an objectionable foreign policy.²⁰²

The significance of the passage cited above—and of Tampouras—to the Greek alternative media lie on two levels. Tampouras describes the blend of avant-garde art and politicisation of the youth in the United States as he experienced it during his stay there in the 1960s. This blend of art and politics is a unique characteristic of Greek alternative media with respect to the other subfields of the political publishing field. While other subfields focused primarily on the content of the publications and press, the alternative media treated aesthetics as equally, if not more, significant than content.²⁰³ Tampouras collaborated with Christakis in many of the latter’s alternative media.

ANTI: A “MAINSTREAM” ALTERNATIVE PERIODICAL

While Christakis and *Ideodromio* are synonymous with the Greek alternative scene, he was not the only publisher in it and—in terms of popularity—his work was relatively marginal. While there is a validity to the point raised on the marginality of the political publishing field in general not all political publishing ventures and projects were marginal.

The Greek alternative fortnightly political magazine *Anti* is the best example in the Greek publishing field of a relatively high-circulating publication. *Anti* was first published in May 1972. In the case of *Antipliroforisi* the “anti” is translated as “counter”, but for the magazine *Anti*, it is translated as “instead of”, an alternative.²⁰⁴ The Greek audience was very receptive and the 15,000 copies of the first issue—a very large print run for the Greek market—sold rapidly. *Anti*’s success was not tolerated by the colonels’ regime.

202. Ibid.

203. The issues of form and content will be treated extensively later on in another chapter.

204. Kostas Karavidas, *To periodiko “Anti” ke e simvoli tou stin anadixi tis neas ellinikis filologias: E simasia tis zontanis martirias* [*Anti Magazine and its Contribution in Promoting Modern Greek Literature: The Importance of Live Testimony* (unpublished PhD thesis, Faculty of Early Childhood Education, School of Education, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens, 2014), Appendix I, 13 [in Greek].

Christos Papoutsakis, its editor, was called in for questioning, the second issue was confiscated by the authorities, and *Anti* ceased publication for the duration of the military dictatorship.²⁰⁵ It was relaunched after the regime fell in 1974 but it was forced to cease publication in 2008 after being unable to pay the payout from a lawsuit brought against it.²⁰⁶ Throughout the 1970s it had an average circulation of more than 10,000 copies per issue.²⁰⁷ This number is noteworthy, not only by alternative media standards but even by mainstream standards in Greece.

Anti was heavily influenced by *Ramparts* magazines: many articles from the latter were translated and published in the former.²⁰⁸ It sought to expose socio-political scandals as well as the United States' interventionism in Greece. The latter was presumably what was behind Papoutsakis being denied a US visa in 2001.²⁰⁹ While Papoutsakis was not able to attend, *Anti* was honoured at an event organised by Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism on 1 February 2001.²¹⁰ The participation of one of the original editors of *Ramparts*, Warren Hinckle, highlighted the relation between *Anti* and *Ramparts*. Along with Hinckle, Victor Navasky of *The*

205. See *Index of Censorship*, June 20, 1972, 1:2, 92, Robert McDonald, "The Greek Press Under the Colonels", *Index of Censorship*, December 21, 1972, 3:4, 38, Richard Clogg, "Cultural Ferment", *Index of Censorship*, December 21, 1973, 2:4, 111.

206. Throughout the years, *Anti* and its editor Christos Papoutsakis were subjected to lawsuits due to sharp criticisms of state officials, politicians and known figures of the arts and letters or reports concerning political and financial scandals. For more information, see *Index of Censorship*, February 1989, 18, no. 2, 37, *Index of Censorship*, July 1989, 18 nos. 6–7, 78, *Index of Censorship*, November 1989, 18 no. 10, 37, *Index of Censorship*, February 1991, 20 no. 2, 37.

207. Karavidas, *To periodiko "Anti"*, 108–110.

208. Takis Diamantis, "Anti", in *Egiklopedia tou Ellinikou Tipou* [Encyclopaedia of the Greek Press], vol. a, eds. Loukia Droulia and Yioula Koutsopanagou (Institute of Neohellenic Research–National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens 2008), 234 [in Greek]; Karavidas, *To periodiko "Anti"*, 100.

209. Editorial, "In Fact...", *The Nation*, 8 February 2001, accessed 15 August 2015, <https://www.thenation.com/article/fact-99/>; Lolita Guevarra, "Reporters Crossing Borders Face Bureaucratic Struggles", *The News Media & The Law* 27, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 33.

210. Kim Brockway, "Dissenting Journalism: Greece, the CIA and the USA", *Columbia News: The Public Affairs and Record Home Page*, 30 January 2001 accessed 15 August 2015, <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/news/01/01/greek.html>.

Nation magazine, the oldest continuous weekly magazine in the United States,²¹¹ and Christopher Hitchens (who at the time was also working for *The Nation*) attended the ceremony. Hitchens—a Trotskyite activist during the *long sixties*—collaborated with many leftist publishing ventures, or what he called “agitational rags”, i.e., *The Socialist Worker* and *International Socialism*. At the same time, he was also working for “mainstream papers and magazines and TV stations” in order to earn a living.²¹² Frances Stonor Saunders, who at the time served as the arts editor of the *New Statesman*, a political weekly magazine based in London, researched the linkage between the United States, the CIA and funding of individuals, groups and organisations of the arts and letters.²¹³

The peculiarities of *Anti* were that it managed to create the notion of a forum for the Greek Left. It was the only periodical whose audience by far exceeded that of a specific political or ideological current, and it attracted authors and contributors in general from the wider Left; while most of its equivalents were restricted both audience-wise and contributor-wise to rather homogeneous political or ideological currents.

Anti was able to attract former members and cadres of left-wing political organisations to its ranks. Two examples are Petros Stangos and Stelios Kouloglou. Stangos was a former leading cadre of the Marxist–Leninist political organisation Revolutionary Communist Movement of Greece, EKKE. Kouloglou was a leader of EKKE’s student arm, the Anti-fascist Anti-imperialist Syndicalist²¹⁴ Organisation of Greece (AASPE). Stangos

211. *The Nation*, from a political point of view, is considered to be progressive. During the McCarthy era in the 1950s was considered to be pro-communist and was banned from several public-school libraries. See David Cauter, *The Great Fear: The Anti-Communist Purge Under Truman and Eisenhower* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1978), 454.

212. Christopher Hitchens, *Hitch-22: A Memoir* (New York: Twelve, 2011), 140–141.

213. For the *New Statesman*, see Peter Wilby, “A Dissenting Tradition: The New Statesman and The Left”, *New Statesman*, 20 May 2013, accessed 10 September 2015, <http://www.newstatesman.com/2013/05/dissenting-tradition-new-statesman-and-left>; Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta, 1999).

214. The term “syndicalist” is used in the same context as in the French case, meaning trade-unionist.

later worked as a correspondent for the Athens News Agency²¹⁵ and Kouloglou, now a Member of the European Parliament, became a documentary filmmaker and reporter for various Greek media. Giannis Floros, a former student activist from the leftist Euro-communism political current, became a member of the editorial team of *Anti*, like Kouloglou, and later became the chief editor of one of the largest daily newspapers in Greece, *Ethnos* [*Nation*].²¹⁶ Petros Efthymiou, another member of the editorial team, was a founding member of the social-democratic party PASOK and was elected as a Member of the European Parliament (1999) and later the Greek parliament (2004–2012). He also served as Minister of Education (2000–2004). *Anti*, as well as other alternative media, functioned as a pool for former dissident activists and authors.

Alternative media allowed (mainly) former student activists to develop their writing skills due to the relative freedom experienced in these media in terms of the authors' style of writing and selection of topics for their articles. Alternative media, and political publishing in general, served as workshops where amateurs tested and developed their skills in various forms and positions of publishing. To a great extent, the viability and sustainability—when achieved—of the political publishing field, including alternative media, was made possible because most of the actors involved were either volunteers or poorly paid. Volunteerism frequently meant short-term engagement by the various actors, who would soon find themselves in financial difficulties. This was stressed by Stelios Kouloglou at a symposium dedicated to *Anti*:

There was a very vital issue. All the occasional, but good, associates of *Anti*—

215. See <http://www.amna.gr/english/>, accessed 15 August 2015.

216. Nikos G. Xydakis served as the chief editor of another major Greek daily, *Kathimerini* [Daily], until April 2014 when he cooperated with the political party SYRIZA [Coalition of Radical Left], where he served as a Deputy Minister of Culture in the government formed in 2015 by SYRIZA. Nikos G. Xydakis, and Pantelis Mpoukalas, a columnist at *Kathimerini*, were founding members of *Symptoma* [Symptom], a student zine created by a group of students of the School of Dentistry, in Athens (1979–1982). The zine had anarchistic and leftist content. The majority of the group publishing the zine through their amateur publishing activity drifted from dentistry and through the political publishing field to the contemporary publishing industry in Greece.

who did not participate in it in order to become Ministers—were forced to leave the magazine due to the fact they could not support themselves. You worked there for four or five years and then your parents told you, “Now you are grown up, you got your diploma—you must get a job. *Anti* is not a job; it’s for pocket money”. That was the issue.

The scenario Kouloglou laid out was by no means a Greek peculiarity but an expression of a paradigm of his time. While in some cases individuals were able to tackle the issue of poor-paying or volunteer work in political publishing—as Hitchens did by simultaneously working in both mainstream and left-wing political media—this was not always possible. The Greek media industry was not as developed as that of the United Kingdom or the United States; most of those involved in the alternative press, therefore, had few opportunities to make a living working for mainstream media as well.²¹⁷

As Kouloglou further noted, this resulted in a discontinuity in the magazine’s “institutional memory”, since everyone but chief editor Christos Papoutsakis were effectively itinerant workers.²¹⁸ And *Anti* was no exception; indeed, it was the archetype. This is why, as a rule, publishing outfits were mostly a one-person show. The upshot of all this was that when the chief editor died or moved on, the publication often folded as well. Despite

217. In Greece, radio broadcasting was limited to public radio stations until 1987 and TV broadcasting until 1989. On the other hand, the majority of mainstream print media of the time that were able to pay their contributors belonging to a handful of national conglomerates that would be reluctant to hire known leftists. State monopoly over electronic media and conglomerates controlling the majority of the national press created a framework that was not favourable for left-wing journalists. For more on Greek press conglomerates, see the article by Mariniki Alevizopoulou and Augoustinos Zenakos, “E pantodinamia ke i parakmi tou Dimosiografikou Omilou Lambraki” [The Omnipotence and Fall of the Lambrakis Press] [in Greek]. The two journalists proceed to a presentation of the Lambrakis Press, a press group that was initiated in 1922, which despite its downfall remains the most powerful press conglomerate in Greece. The article was published in two serials in *Unfollow* magazine, issues 2 and 3, published in January and February 2012, respectively. It can be found at <https://unfollow.com.gr/print/16515-dol>, accessed 15 October 2015.

218. Stelios Kouloglou, presentation given at the symposium “Periodiko *Anti*” [*Anti* magazine] at the University Research Institute of Applied Communication, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens, 8 May 2012 [in Greek], accessed 15 August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BWj9AVu55nQ>.

the (declared) intention of being collective endeavours, alternative media rarely managed to live up to that ethos and remained the personal work of their editors-in-chief or founders.

Greek alternative publishing first appeared during the military dictatorship. In the beginning, this was mostly driven by unconventional arts and culture periodicals that became interested in more socio-political issues, while retaining their interests in the avant-garde. Most alternative publications were magazines. They became popular at the end of the Greek *long sixties*, and especially after the political crisis of the extra-parliamentary Left in the late 1970s. This led to the birth of numerous, short-lived, alternative periodicals mainly coming from tertiary students, and quite often from former members of extra-parliamentary groups and organisations. While *Anti* and to some extent *Ideodromio* reached a wider audience, were published over a relatively long period and were printed in large print runs using offset printing, the average alternative media outfit was quite different. They were short-lived, reached a limited audience, and were handmade productions using mimeograph (later Xerox) machines, and can be seen as the predecessors of the punk zines of the 1980s.²¹⁹

*Trade Publishers with a Clear Political and Ideological Mark:
The Kalvos Publishing House*

Trade publishers—while not part of the Greek political publishing field per se—often sought to profit from the popularity of some political writing. A number of these saw publishing political texts as an opportunity for profit when the demand for such titles was high, especially during the 1970s.²²⁰

219. See Stephen Duncombe, *Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture* (London and New York: Verso, 1997); Spencer, *DIY*; Nikos Souzas, “Ti ine ta fanzines? Apo tin aproskopti prosopike ekfrasi sti sigkrotisi neon morfon kinonikotitas” [What are Fanzines? From Unhindered Personal Expression to the Construction of New Forms of Socialisation], in *Antikoultoura: E anadisi enos neou kinonikou ipokimenou meta to 1980* [Counterculture: The Emersion of a New Social Subject After 1980] ed. Pantelis Arapinis (Sparta: Idiomorfi, 2012), 59–72 [in Greek].

220. This was far from being a uniquely Greek trend. André Schiffrin describes a similar trend in the United States book publishing during the 1960s. André Schiffrin, *The Business of*

An exhaustive assessment of trade publishing houses is beyond the scope of this dissertation since the trade publishing field is distinctively different from the political publishing field and is thoroughly addressed by Thompson. Notwithstanding their significance for Greek publishing history per se, as trade publishers, they add little value to the current research on the political publishing field. This is because their primary sphere of operation was the market.

This, of course, resulted in several contradictions. *Boukoumanis*, a trade publisher formed in 1969 by Elias Boukoumanis—a former door-to-door book salesman—remains in operation today.²²¹ In the 1970s—including during the period of the Greek military dictatorship—it published more titles of *Western Marxism*²²² than any other publisher in the Greek book market.²²³ This would not be worth mentioning if Boukoumanis himself had not been a right-winger publishing left-wing books—during a military dictatorship, no less.²²⁴ Proof—if proof were needed—that profit often trumps principle, it shows just how popular left-wing political books were at this time since even trade publishers opposed to the politics and ideology of the Left stood ready to publish these titles.

But there were other publishing ventures, established mainly by persons socially and economically excluded due to their political beliefs. These ventures were constituted primarily by small groups of people that saw the establishment of a publishing house as a means of survival since this was one of the few financial activities that were not directly or indirectly

Books: How International Conglomerates Took Over Publishing and Changed the Way We Read (London and New York: Verso, 2001), 62–69.

221. See <http://www.boukoumanis.gr/frameset.php>, accessed 12 November 2015.

222. For definitions of Western Marxism, see Marcel van der Linden, *Western Marxism and the Soviet Union: A Survey of Critical Theories and Debates Since 1917* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 1–10; Perry Anderson, *Considerations on Western Marxism* (London: New Left Books, 1976); Russell Jacoby, *Dialectic of Defeat: Contours of Western Marxism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

223. On the Greek editions of titles on Western Marxism, see Katerina Labrinou and Giannis Balabanidis, “E ekdotiki isagogi tou ditikou marxismou” [The Introduction of Publishing on Western Marxism in Greece], *Archeiotaxio* 14 (2012): 84–103 [in Greek].

224. Yorgos Hatzopoulos interview, Athens, 21 February 2013.

controlled by the Greek state.²²⁵ There are cases where the establishment of such ventures was driven by political motives, especially those founded by either young university students or graduates.²²⁶ Moreover, these publishing houses emerged for the most part during the colonels' rule.²²⁷

Yorgos Hatzopoulos was born in 1938. He trained and worked as a textile worker and later on studied in the Law School of the University of Athens. He was heavily involved in politics as a student and became the chief editor of the left-wing student magazine *Panspoudastiki* [*All-Students*] in 1958. *Panspoudastiki* was affiliated with the leftist political party, EDA [Eniea Dimokratiki Aristera (United Democratic Left)]. He served as the director or chief editor of the magazine until February 1962.²²⁸ During the early 1960s, he became critical of EDA, leaving—in 1964—to join Fili Neon Chorou–Kinisi Antiapikiakis Allileggiis [Friends of New Countries–Movement of Anti-colonial Solidarity], a Third-Worldist, anti-imperialist-cum-anti-colonialist organisation.²²⁹ He was active in the publication of the organisation's *Bulletin* and later on of its magazine, *Antiimperialisti* [*Anti-Imperialist*]. He also became a publisher of a fortnightly local newspaper in the Nea Ionia district of Athens where he grew up and resided at the time.²³⁰

He was captured after the coup d'état of 21 April 1967 and exiled to the island of Leros. Upon his release a few months later, he was informed by the then president of the Athens Bar Association that due to his beliefs, he would not be allowed to practise law. His prior engagement in press publishing led

225. Such was case for the publishing house Kalvos, but also of pre-junta publishers like Morfosi and Kypseli.

226. Such as the publishing house Stochastis.

227. See Axelos, "Publishing Activity", 16–24.

228. "Martiria tou Yorgou Hatzopouou gia to periodiko *Panspoudastiki*" [Testimony of Yorgos Hatzopoulos for the Magazine *Panspoudastiki*]. [In Greek] Published online on the blog of Spyros Koutroulis on 13 January 2011, accessed 24 November 2015, http://koutroulis-spyros.blogspot.com.cy/2011/01/blog-post_13.html.

229. On anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism during the *long sixties*, see Mais, "Anti-Colonialism", 806–812. On the group Fili Neon Chorou–Kinisi Antiapikiakis Allileggiis see Alexatos, *Istoriko lexiko*, 430 [in Greek].

230. Karamanolakis, "Kalvos", 106 [in Greek].

him back to publishing to earn a living.²³¹ He met with some friends and fellow believers from his neighbourhood, Nea Ionia, to establish a collective that would proceed to the establishment of a publishing house. They set up their office first at 20 Geraniou Street and later on at 1 Anaxagora Street, the site of a well-known Athens market so that they would not be close to the universities, which were filled with plain-clothes police, to whom he was well known. Hatzopoulos and his associates established a collective and egalitarian system of payments. The left-wing founders of Kalvos tried to overcome the capitalist contradiction of the division between intellectual and manual labour. Each person working for the publishing house wrote down his or her person-hours in a notebook. Person-hours were paid at a fixed rate, regardless of the nature of the work—intellectual or manual. Everyone’s pay thus depended only on the hours worked.²³² This model of payment was used for 40 years until Kalvos ceased operations in 2008. The person-hour rate of compensation at Kalvos was linked to the average hourly rate of an unskilled worker. Depending on the finances of the publishing house, it was adjusted and raised by 10–20%.²³³

Kalvos, following the Greek left-wing print culture that characterised the Greek political publishing field, aimed at providing its books at meagre prices. To achieve this, it simultaneously published its titles in both hardcover and paperback. According to Hatzopoulos, the hardcover editions were aimed at a bourgeois audience—“The ladies from *Kolonaki*”²³⁴—while the paperbacks were marketed to high school and university students and the Greek youth in general. In this way, hardcover sales gave Kalvos the ability to sell paperbacks at low prices. The latter was fundamental for the publishing house, since Kalvos—and left-wing publishers in general—perceived publishing as a task of enlightening the masses.²³⁵

231. When asked why he preferred establishing a publishing house to a newspaper or a magazine, Hatzopoulos replied that it was a more profitable venture that would allow him to earn a living. Yorgos Hatzopoulos interview, Athens, 21 February 2013.

232. Ibid.

233. Yorgos Hatzopoulos, Facebook communication with the author, 24 November 2015.

234. Kolonaki is a traditional bourgeois district in the centre of Athens. Yorgos Hatzopoulos interview, Athens, 21 February 2013; Karamanolakis, “Kalvos”, 110.

235. The term “enlightening” is not used randomly. This is a term with deep roots in the

The youth, especially given its increased participation in social movements worldwide since the 1960s, constituted the main audience of the publishing house and of the political publishing field in general.²³⁶ The increased attention that Kalvos received from a younger audience, and particularly from the students, explains the fact that the higher sales were achieved in cities where universities were situated.²³⁷ What made Kalvos, and a few other publishers of the time—such as Stochastis—different to the average left-wing publisher was the quality of their publications.²³⁸ Carefully edited and translated texts were not common in the Greek political publishing field.²³⁹ On the contrary, it exhibits poor publishing quality, with issues ranging from translations that are mediocre or even unreadable, lack of

left-wing and discourse. It can be found in Vladimir Lenin’s “What is to Be Done?”, a fundamental work regarding political agitation but it was also used in the context of the Greek political publishing field. See Lenin, “What is to Be Done?”; Axelos, “Publishing Activity”, 22; Kostis Kornetis, *Children of the Dictatorship: Student Resistance, Cultural Politics and the “Long 1960s” in Greece* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2013), 166.

236. On the rise of the youth as a social category with its own cultural and political characteristics see the chapter “New Actors, New Activities” in Arthur Marwick’s *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c. 1958–c. 1974* (London: Bloomsbury Reader, 2012) [e-book version]; Kostas Katsapis, *To “provlina neolea”: Mon-terni nei, paradosi ke amfisvitsisi sti metapolemiki Ellada, 1964–1974* [The “Youth Problem”: Modern Youth, Tradition and Contestation in Post-War Greece, 1964–1974] (Athens: Ekdo-seis Aproveptes, 2013) [in Greek]; Roberta Sharon Lexier, “The Canadian Student Movement in the Sixties: Three Case Studies” (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 2009), 13–14, 54–129.

237. Karamanolakis, “Kalvos”, 109.

238. There had been at least one political publisher prior to Kalvos and Stochastis, Themelio, that had produced high-quality books. The main difference was that Themelio was the publishing arm of EDA. Thus, it benefited in terms of both intellectual and from the help of the other members of the group. For more on Themelio see Polyxeni Iordanidou, *Ekdotikos ikos “Themelio”. E paragogi tu vivliu ke i kinisi ton ideon sti dekaetia tu ‘60* [“Themelio” Publishing House: Book Production and the Movement of Ideas in the 1960s], Athens: Pan-teion University, 2008, unpublished MA Thesis [in Greek].

239. At a presentation given by Loukas Axelos who was part of the group that established Stochastis publishing house at the same time as Kalvos he referred to the fact that the manuscripts of Stochastis publications are proofread three times. Loukas Axelos, “To vivlio ke i pali ton ideon sta chronia prin ke meta to chuntiko praxikopima tu 1967” [The Book and the Struggle of Ideas in the Years Before and After the Junta’s Coup of 1967], presentation given at the Open Philosophical School, Kallithea, 28 February 2012.

copy-editors and proof-readers, to poorly-designed covers and editions.²⁴⁰

The titles initially published by Kalvos were allegoric and allusive fiction promoting democratic values,²⁴¹ but soon moved to more political non-fiction publications, both translations and Greek titles. Books written by members of the US New Left movement such as David Horowitz but also by Herbert Marcuse, Franz Fanon and Charles Wright Mills—the latter being iconic figures of the 1960s movement—were translated and published by Kalvos.²⁴² It also published a series of classic texts of philosophy, sociology and the humanities in general that were not available in Greece until that time.²⁴³

240. The autobiography of Andreas Pappas, a law graduate of the junta era who never practised law but became an editor, translator, and for a time a publisher, is full of examples and accounts of bad translations, as well as of examples of publishers that saw the existence of an editor as a luxury. See Andreas Pappas, *Metaxi Gutenvergiu ke Marx: 30 chronia me molvi 4B kai mov markadoro* [Between Gutenberg and Marx: 30 Years With a 4B Pencil and a Purple Marker] (Athens: Hypodomi, 1999, 120–128 [In Greek]; The Greek literary critic Dimitris Raftopoulos refers to how the Greek translator—a dentist by profession—of the title *Aesthetics: Marxist–Leninist* of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, attributed the ancient Greek poet Homer as Gomer, and the Roman lyric poet Quintus Horatius Flaccus as Qvint Goriachi Flac. It is worth mentioning that these mistakes we overseen by the editor, Markos Avgeris, one of the leading intellectuals of the Greek Left of the time. Dimitris Raftopoulos, *Anatheorisi technis: E epitheorisi technis ke i anthropi tis* [Art Revision: The Epitheorisi Technis [Art Review] and Its People] (Athens: Sokoli Editions, 2006), 211 [in Greek].

241. The selection of titles published at the time should be viewed within the socio-political context of the time. From 21 April 1967 and until November 1969 preventive censorship was applied. That is, all manuscripts were sent to the authorities in order to be approved before sending them to the printer. See Kornetis, *Children*, 158; Vasilis Douvliis (director), *Affection to the People*, accessed 29 November 2015, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt3686230/?ref_=nm_film_dr_1; Exhibition Catalogue of *Affection the People*, accessed 29 November 2015, <http://www.gak.gr/frontoffice/portal.asp?cpage=RESOURCE&cesrc=448&cnode=1>.

242. David Horowitz's, *From Yalta to Vietnam: American Foreign Policy in the Cold War* was published by Kalvos in 1971 with the exception of a three-page chapter regarding the Greek Civil War (1946–1949). According to the Greek edition this was omitted because of the preparation of a special edition on Greece where it was to be included. In reality the chapter was omitted since, according to Yorgos Chatzopoulos (interview with the author, 21 February 2013) if it had been included, the book would never have passed the dictatorship's censorship mechanisms. The complete edition was published by Kalvos in 1975. For a list of Kalvos publications from 1968 to July 1974, see Karamanolakis, “Kalvos”, 120–121.

243. *Ibid.* 112.

As mentioned, Kalvos aimed at attracting a younger audience. This was to be achieved by publishing books that could provide the Greek youth of the time with a way to escape the stifling atmosphere of the authoritarian dictatorship. The publishing house provided translations of works that were popular with the youth globally in the *long sixties* at low prices. There are indications that this audience was reached and won over, through testimonies from interviewees conducted during the current research, as well as through the correspondence of readers with Kalvos.²⁴⁴

Readers' correspondence with Kalvos, especially during the time of the military dictatorship, is rather noteworthy for several reasons. Along with book sales, it is the only indicator of the tendencies of the readers of political publishing at the time. While book sales may give the researcher a notion of what the readers wanted to buy, the correspondence allows us to elaborate on the mechanics of the field. It sheds much-needed light on the internal dynamics and networks being formed in the political publishing field in Greece. These networks were various: between readers themselves; between readers and publishers; readers who would soon emerge as collaborators and publishers; and between the Greek political publishing field and the book market overseas.

The publishers themselves encouraged readers to be active. Then 22-year-old F[otis] Kouvelis—today a well-known Greek politician—and a friend, H. Tzimas, wrote a letter to Kalvos in May 1970. The letter was a reply to Kalvos' declaration that readers were not “redeemed” simply by buying or reading a book; readers needed to write their viewpoint as well. Taking up the challenge, Kouvelis and Tzimas wrote a review of the publishing house's activity. They found the works published rather specialised and wondered whether Kalvos should publish works aimed at a broader audience. They found the price, the language used and the translations—apart from minor mistakes—and the aesthetics to be good. The young men's criticisms, however, failed to recognise two key points. Readership in Greece

244. Hara Pelekanou, interview with the author, Athens, 25 September 2012; Vasilis Tomanas interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 17 July 2013; Folder 3, Folder 3 (new) and Folder 4, Kalvos archive, ASKI; Karamanolakis, “Kalvos”, 109.

was naturally limited. Additionally, the publishing house—according to its print runs and sales—was in fact already reaching a broad audience, wider than most publishing houses in the past.²⁴⁵ Kalvos' print runs ranged between 1,000 and 6,000 copies per title. During the *long sixties*, its publishing activity peaked (in 1970, to be precise). Sales fell during the first years of Metapolitefsi (1975–1976) and increased again until the early 1980s. Numbers gradually fell off during the late 1980s.²⁴⁶

Through correspondence between translators and publishers, we become aware that during that time a network between the two formed. This was not always a one-to-one network—that is translator-to-publisher. In some cases, publishers became intermediates between other publishers and translators. Publishers who could not afford to publish a translated manuscript they considered worth publishing, got in touch with other publishers until they found a fellow publisher with the will and financial capability to publish it.²⁴⁷

Kalvos created a paradigm that combined Penguin's diverse range of educational texts and quality fiction in cheap, pocket-sized, paperback editions and the radical content of publishers like Victor Gollancz and Secker

245. In the late 1950s, less than a decade from the appearance of Kalvos in the Greek political publishing field, print runs rarely exceeded one thousand copies—with some exceptions for fiction that reached 4,000–5,000 copies per print run—and sales were limited to a few hundred copies. See Axelos, “Publishing Activity”, 23–24; Christina Mpanou, *To epomeno vima tou Gutemvergiu: E ekdotike ike sin Ellada stis arches tou 21ou aiona* [Gutenberg's Next Step: Publishing Houses in Greece in the Early 21st Century] (Athens: Papazisi, 2012), 101–106 [in Greek]; Anna Karakatsouli, *Ste chora ton vivlion: E ekdotiki istoria tou Vivliopoliou tes Estias, 1885–2010* [At the Country of Books: The Publishing History of the Hestia Bookstore, 1885–2010] (Athens: Ekdoseis ton Synadelfon, 2011), 111–124, 152–153, 163–177 [in Greek].

246. In 1970 Kalvos sold 39,510 volumes while during the period 1975–1976 it sold an average of 11,734. During the period 1981–1982 the number of volumes sold were 25,009 per year. Subfolder 3, Folder 1, Kalvos Archives, ASKI.

247. Loukas Axelos, “Xanadiavazontas ton Gramsci: E politiki tou *An ke i ideologiki, politiki, politistiki-ekdotiki* mas pragmatikotita se schesi me to ergo tou” [Rereading Gramsci: The Politics of *If* and our ideological, political, cultural-publishing reality in respect to his work], in Antonio Gramsci, *Gia tin alithia e gia to pos na leme tin alithia stin politiki* [For the Truth or how to speak of the truth in politics], Athens: Stochastis, 2012, 21–23 [in Greek].

& Warburg.²⁴⁸ This resulted in much acclaim from readers, expressed in high sales and positive letters of support—as mentioned. Letters of criticism were also received—for titles that seemed controversial to a left-wing audience and for a left-wing publishing house.²⁴⁹ Kalvos was the first publishing house to combine a quality (back)list with low prices. The combination of fiction and non-fiction covered the needs of the majority of readers, the latter being even more important in a country where there was not (and still is not) a tradition of academic presses.²⁵⁰ Thus Kalvos is one of those cases that—while clearly part of the political publishing field—was able to survive after the field decomposed since it covered a broader set of interests than those of the strictly left-wing audience.

248. See Schiffrin, *Business of Books*, 10–14.

249. Most of the incoming letters praise Kalvos for its work and for the low prices, although the readers sometimes underline mistakes found in some translations. Nevertheless, some titles created controversies. The translation of James Burnham’s—a leading cadre within United States Trotskyism who gradually moved to conservatism—*The Managerial Revolution*, published by Kalvos in 1970, was not taken calmly by the readers. One referred to this publication as a “heavy insult”. Letter from Dinis Sideridis (Athens, 1 January 1970), Subfolder 1 & 2, Folder 3, Kalvos Archives, ASKI.

250. In the Greece of *Metapolitefsi*, higher education underwent a democratisation process as well as an expansion in enrolments in the field of social sciences and humanities. During this period, the books of Kalvos found their way to university libraries or they were offered as university textbooks. Folder 4, Kalvos Archives, ASKI, Athens.

CHAPTER 2

Theoretical Framework

The last chapter was largely empirical in nature, laying out the field in terms of a range of important particularities—its spatiality, its readership and the culture and technologies that shaped it over the course of the *long sixties* (and indeed beyond). As Chapter 1 laid out, political publishing during the Greek *long sixties* was highly complex and included a wide range of publishing activities and ventures, and sought to sketch the main lines of the conceptual map, covering terms like “underground” and “alternative” press, with details of the examples of the time.

The present chapter turns to theory. It will present the dissertation’s overall theoretical framework of analysis, first focusing on the relationship between print media and radical politics. It then offers a detailed overview of field theory as it relates to publishing, and includes a theoretical exposition on the various forms of capital—understood in the Bourdieusian sense—including economic capital, social capital and symbolic capital. This overview will therefore take the form of a condensed literature review.

Print Media and Politics

The centrality of print communication in radical politics, especially in countries with authoritarian states, is essential for assessing their socio-political history. As Herbert Pimlott notes:

The history of radical working-class movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Europe and North America has always been intimately connected to print media and radical journalists and pamphleteers. Although extensive scholarly and activist literatures exist on the problems and potential, and the successes and failures of Marxist philosophy, ideology, political strategy and parties during the 20th century, one key area central to Marxist organisation and political strategy that has been largely overlooked by scholars, despite its importance to the success of any political movement, is communication. Despite the scholarly neglect, however, the importance of communication was noted by leading Marxists, such as V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky.²⁵¹

Apart from the aforementioned communist leaders, we must add that others, like the Italian Antonio Gramsci, who was highly interested in the issues of culture and hegemony, also wrote extensively on these issues.²⁵² In May 1901, an article written by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin titled “Where to Begin?” was published in *Iskra*, a newspaper.²⁵³ The article raised the issue of founding an all-Russian political newspaper as a necessity to “develop, deepen and extend” the political organisation that he and his comrades were keen to establish, further on stating that a pamphlet developing this issue would be soon produced.²⁵⁴ The newspaper, according to Lenin, would serve the dual purpose of feeding the need for agitation and spreading propaganda:

Never has the need been felt so acutely as today for reinforcing dispersed agitation in the form of individual action, local leaflets, pamphlets, etc., by means of generalised and systematic agitation that can only be conducted with the aid of the periodical press. It may be said without exaggeration that the frequency and regularity with which a newspaper is printed (and distributed) can serve

251. Herbert Pimlott, “Marxism’s ‘Communicative Crisis’? Mapping Debates over Leninist Print-Media Practices in the 20th Century”, *Communication Studies Faculty Publications* 5 (2006): 58, http://scholars.wlu.ca/coms_faculty/5, accessed 28 June 2018.

252. See David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, ed., *Antonio Gramsci: Selection from Cultural Writings*, 2nd ed. (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2012).

253. *Iskra* (*The Spark* in Russian), was a newspaper produced by Russian socialist immigrants in Europe from 1900 to 1905. For more on *Iskra*, see Helen Rappaport, *Conspirator: Lenin in Exile* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), especially chapters 2–4.

254. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, “Where to Begin?” in *Lenin: Collected Works*, vol. 5 (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961), 13–24, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1901/may/04.htm>, accessed 9 May 2015).

as a precise criterion of how well this cardinal and most essential sector of our militant activities is built up.²⁵⁵

Almost a year later, the pamphlet announced in the aforementioned article was published. *What is to Be Done? Burning Questions of Our Movement* by Lenin was published in Germany and remains one of his most popular works among Greek leftists. Party propaganda via print is not the sole issue expanded on in this pamphlet but is nevertheless a crucial one. In reality, a lot more was attributed to the party newspaper than being a propaganda medium; the newspaper is considered to be the collective organiser, the precondition for the organisational and political advancement.²⁵⁶ Although some voices raised within the circles of the Russian socialist émigrés argued that “neither an all-Russian newspaper, nor a whole series of popular leaflets, nor a mountain of proclamations can be the fundamental beginning of a militant organisation for a revolutionary moment [such as we now face]”,²⁵⁷ it was Lenin that prevailed. And ever since, (self)proclaimed Leninists worldwide have used this pamphlet as a guide for building a revolutionary group.

The Greek political publishing field consisted of multidimensional publishing activity including books—and also pamphlets—but more often monthly reviews and more occasionally weekly or monthly newspapers. All the above are different expressions of publishing groups that use different publishing mediums to fulfil different needs. Pamphlets and books are used to provide general theoretical works while articles in reviews combine more contemporary and specific theoretical and mainly political topics and issues. In cases where the political group expands and thus accumulates more capital (symbolic, human, and partially economic), it attempts to reach a wider audience in a more consistent fashion by publishing a newspaper as in the above directive of Lenin.

In our case, the interest solely focuses on anti-establishment publishing,

255. Ibid.

256. Lars T. Lih, *What is to Be Done? In Context* (Chicago, Illinois: Haymarket Books, 2006).

257. Lars T. Lih, *What is to Be Done? In Context* (Chicago, Illinois: Haymarket Books, 2006).

in contrast to similar activities conducted in an institutionalised fashion, which has been contextualised in other works.²⁵⁸ The aim of the present research is not to exclusively reconstruct and narrate a publishing history but to use publishing history to shed light on the ways publishing and reading work as a political and cultural practice. We can state the central question succinctly; as one of viewing print (publishing) culture as part of a broader political culture. To do so, a number of issues that are not met in conventional trade publishing must be addressed. The unconventional—in relation to trade publishing—principles and organisation of radical or anti-establishment publishing raise a series of questions in respect to its functions as well as to the logic behind it. Issues such as the selection of works for translation or publishing (often far from being a rational business decision), the division of labour—or the lack thereof—as well as which individuals would work in the political publishing ventures, were choices based more on the level of political commitment than on expertise. These choices are indicative of both the distance that divides the political publishing field from trade publishing as well as on the diversity of issues that will be analysed in order to reconstruct and present the internal logic of the political publishing field, the general aspects of which will be analysed in the following section of this dissertation.

Publishing and Theoretical Models

This dissertation is written in the context of field theory, which was conceptualised by Bourdieu (1984, 1993), and modified by Thompson (2005, 2008). Due to the distinctive nature of the publishing activity in question, the political press of the *long sixties* in Greece—particularly the dissident press—rarely, if ever, followed the norms of a trade publishing house. Thus, I have adopted an approach that elaborates those elements of publishing

258. For an indicative but not exhaustive presentation of this issue, see Thompson *Books in the digital age*; Thompson, *Merchants of Culture*; Giles Clark and Angus Phillips, *Inside Book Publishing*, 4th ed. (Oxon: Routledge, 2008); Albert N. Greco, *The Book Publishing Industry*, 2nd ed. (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associations, 2005).

field theory that are consistent with—or may be adapted to—this particular case. This also reflects the aforementioned statement on theory as a tool rather than a closed framework within which the narrative is confined.

Although publishing models such as the publishing chain may partially fit non-mainstream or unconventional publishing—from underground press to fanzines—they can not assist in unravelling the specifics of these publishing fields. The main issue is that while the publishing models developed have a certain rational or logic concerning the series of processes taking place, the unconventionality of the field in question is precisely the absence of this publishing logic.

Bourdieu schematised the field of cultural production as an analytical model in which there is a dialectic relation between the field—namely, the environment in which cultural production, in our case publishing, takes place—and the individual agents, which Bourdieu conceptualised as *habitus*.²⁵⁹ This relation between the agents and the field allows a researcher to move beyond a structuralist approach, as is the case for the publishing chain, or a strictly Marxian approach, in which culture—and thus cultural production and publishing—is perceived within a scheme of base and superstructure, specifically as part of the latter.²⁶⁰ In structuralism, the relations between the various agents that hold positions within the publishing procedure in, say, the publishing chain (editor, proofreader, designer, etc) are significant while the agents themselves, as occupants of the various positions of the chain, are less important or insignificant.²⁶¹ Theories and models that propose the use of a concrete structure often overlook the importance of the content and almost exclusively focus on the form of the structure.

Furthermore, it is not uncommon for these theories to ignore the so-

259. Regarding the concepts of the field and the habitus, see the works of Bourdieu, *Cultural Production* and *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

260. For an overview of publishing chain theory, see Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, 20–26. In reality, this theory is problematic due to the fact that its structuralism—that is, its representation of publishing as a sum of fixed, inelastic activities as if it were a Ford assembly line—is far from publishing reality.

261. On structure and structuralism, see Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 301–308

cio-economic and political conditions within which the structure functions. In models such as the publishing chain—and even though a level of complexity and interplay among the different actors are recognised—the logic of the model is rather linear.²⁶² As already mentioned, formalist approaches do not take into account the content of the end products (i.e., book titles), and perceive publishers choices about what content to include as driven entirely by the motive to turn a profit.²⁶³ Another reason such a model would be inapt in our case relates to similar structures as a whole. Dissident press publishing is conducted in an out-of-the-box fashion, both due to resource limitations and the fact that the publishing ventures of the dissident press publishing field do not—on principle—correspond to the value framework or to the norms of trade publishing.

Moreover, a general property of structuralist models is their ahistoricism. In the case of dissident publishing, history played a dominant role in its birth. Thus, a framework that sets aside or underestimates the historical narrative is not fit for purpose.

On the other hand, an analytical or theoretical model that takes a marxist perspective is most probably unable to move beyond the base and superstructure scheme, despite possible differentiation among these theories.²⁶⁴ A rather common perception of the base and superstructure dialectic has been given by Stalin, a key figure for the Marxist–Leninist movement:²⁶⁵

The base is the economic structure of society at the given stage of its develop-

262. Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, 21–22.

263. *Ibid.*, 22.

264. Raymond Williams is a shining example of a non-deterministic Marxian perspective on culture. Nevertheless, the framework he provides—which can be described as cultural materialism—focuses on the socio-political aspects of culture but does not provide a tool that can adequately contribute to assessing political publishing in itself. In the case under examination, the socio-political factors that lead to the rise and fall of the field and that might be explained through Williams' work are equally important to the field itself. Marxian analysis cannot assist in the breakdown of the political publishing as a field distinctive from other publishing activities, structured by its own driving forces, guided by its own specific rationale, and with its own unique internal hierarchy in respect to the importance and categorisation of the different forms of capital.

265. During the *long sixties*, Marxism-Leninism was used by groups that were affiliated or were ideologically and politically close to Maoist China.

ment. The superstructure is the political, legal, religious, artistic, philosophical views of society and the political, legal and other institutions corresponding to them. Every base has its own corresponding superstructure. [...] If the base changes or is eliminated, then, following this, its superstructure changes or is eliminated; if a new base arises, then, following this, a superstructure arises corresponding to it. [...] Further, the superstructure is a product of the base, but this by no means implies that it merely reflects the base, that it is passive, neutral, indifferent to the fate of its base, to the fate of the classes, to the character of the system. On the contrary, having come into being, it becomes an exceedingly active force, actively assisting its base to take shape and consolidate itself, and doing its utmost to help the new system to finish off and eliminate the old base and the old classes.²⁶⁶

It is rather evident that within this spectrum—and although a level of autonomy is indeed recognised—cultural production is bound by the economic conditions within which it occurs. In other words, according to this assessment, in the age of capitalism, cultural production is doomed or restricted, at least, to a capitalist form. As we will see further along, one of the main characteristics of this publishing field was that economic capital and the maximisation of profit—two key elements of the capitalist mode of production—played the least significant role. This does not mean that no profitable publishing ventures have existed. Regardless of the actual financial conditions, profit and economic capital were simply not a priority, while other forms—especially symbolic capital—were.

The Frankfurt School also focused on issues of art and (mass) culture. Although scholars of this circle of critical theorists provided an insight in different aspects of the cultural production, mass culture and the culture industry, a general implementation of these theories is not possible for the publishing field in question and the Greek book industry in general at the time. The reason for this is the incompatibility between the reality of the Greek book market during the time under investigation and the notions of mass culture or culture industry. Despite print being categorised as mass media, Greek publishing had always been marginal, and political press and

266. J.V. Stalin, *Marxism and Problems of Linguistics* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1950), Marxists Archive Online, accessed 12 January 2013, <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1950/jun/20.htm>.

publishing were and still are even more marginal. Thus, critical theory's mass media criticism cannot be implemented productively in a non-mass publishing field.

Nevertheless, some aspects, as found in the work of Walter Benjamin and Theodor Adorno, allow us to get a better understanding of some dimensions of the field—namely, its aesthetics and the characteristics of its readership.²⁶⁷

The Political Publishing Field

In the following paragraphs, I will try to illustrate the key aspects of the political publishing field. To demonstrate this, where necessary I will further refer to Thompson's adaptation of Bourdieu's field theory before proceeding to my own variant, needed for the political publishing field.

In *Merchants of Culture*, Thompson gives us several reasons to adopt field theory to assess the publishing world.²⁶⁸ First, it enables us to see the publishing world as the sum of different worlds with distinctive characteristics, rather than as a unified domain. We can thus focus on a distinctive publishing field—such as the political one—without needing to make clarifications of what assessments can or cannot be generalised and which characteristics are shared with other fields (or not) and why. In other words, when we describe one particular publishing field, we identify its core features and characteristics. These may or may not apply to other publishing fields. Thus, any framework or theory developed for political publishing must be assessed for relevance and not used uncritically to analyse all areas of publishing. Researchers looking at other fields of publishing will surely

267. Walter Benjamin's concept of *aura* will be used while analysing the aesthetics of the political publishing field. Theodor Adorno's concept of *pseudo-culture* may be able to interpret, at least partially, the shift in the political publishing fields' readership from the 1980s onwards to non-political publishing. See Robert W. Witkin, *Adorno in Popular Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 16–32; Theodor W. Adorno, "Theory of Pseudo-Culture (1959)", *Telos* 95 (Spring 1993), 15–38.

268. Thompson, *Merchants of Culture*, 4–5.

find *some* aspects salient and directly applicable—but will also, as I have done with Thomson, need to engage in critical borrowing and modification.

The second reason is that the field theory provides a framework that allows us to move beyond specific publishing firms or agents to assess publishing in terms of the relations developed among the agents and organisations of the field. Field theory presupposes that there are dynamics of the field and thus an action taken by an agent or an organisation should be addressed in the context of the field as a whole and not in an isolated manner. The third reason is that the notion of the field stresses the fact that—apart from the interdependence among agents and organisations referred to above—there is also a dependence between the capacity of an agent or organisation in the field to act and the amount of the different forms of capital it possesses. The five forms of capital—economic, human, social, intellectual and symbolic—will be analysed further below.

According to Thompson, the publishing field can be conceptualised as a space of social positions occupied by different agents and publishing organisations.²⁶⁹ These positions depend on the resources available to the agents and organisations or to what Bourdieu refers to as forms of capital. Thompson's first assessment of the publishing field, *Books in the Digital Age*, included four forms of capital—economic, human, intellectual and symbolic. In later works, he added a fifth—social capital.²⁷⁰ These five forms of capital are the key resources for publishing organisations or agents in the publishing field. I must stress that this is an assessment in regard to the general publishing field and thus the significance of each form of capital may vary from one field to another and the hierarchy among the different forms of capital may vary.

Economic Capital

According to Thompson, “economic capital is the accumulated financial

269. For Thompson's general analysis of the publishing field, see Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, 30–46; Thompson, *Merchants of Culture*, 3–14.

270. For Thompson's assessment of the forms of capital within the publishing field, see *Books in the Digital Age*, 30–37; Thompson, *Merchants of Culture*, 5–11.

resources” that are available to a publisher. These resources include “stock and plant as well as capital reserves”. The latter may be directly available to the publisher or indirectly through his or her capacity to raise additional finance from either individuals or institutions.²⁷¹ While the accumulation of economic capital is a key variable while discussing the trade publishing field this—as I will present—is almost insignificant in the political publishing field and in other niche publishing fields, such as poetry.²⁷² This by no means implies that, in the aforementioned fields, the various publishing organisations and agents are indifferent to economic resources. Nevertheless, economic capital is not the determining factor with respect to their choices. On the contrary, choices that would most probably lead to losses rather than profits are made in full consciousness.

Thus, while in the trade publishing field the selection of titles to be published is more likely to follow economic rules—including delivering an economic return on funds invested, maximising profit or minimising risk-taking—in the political publishing field, the choices are often based on the desire to make a political or ideological statement. The latter choice should be seen as a means of accumulating symbolic capital. The choice of publishing a title written by a certain political figure or a foreign publisher that is related to a political organisation or an ideological current reflects an interest in accumulating prestige and creating a certain status for the publisher, even if it is an economically unorthodox or risky choice.

271. Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, 30–31.

272. It could be contended that this argument shares—or at least shared—validity in regard to university presses (i.e., publishing a title without expecting profit) since they are primarily concerned in disseminating knowledge and certifying a researcher’s or a research team’s legitimacy or scholarly value through publishing. There are two reasons this argument is only partially valid. The first is related to the shift within the field towards profit-making titles. The most important reason, which consequently led to the aforementioned shift, has to do with the ability to raise funding from institutions which is considered to be part of what Thompson frames as economic capital. The reason that university presses once had little concern for profits was that they could rely on subsidies from their universities. As these have been pulled back, the field’s internal logic has been reoriented towards profit-making. See Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, 81–83, 108–109.

Human Capital

Similarly, individuals perform as agents of the political publishing field without pursuing either a career or profits—although the latter may be achieved unintentionally.²⁷³ This results in the accumulation of human capital that is not always skilled but at the same time is eager to contribute to the publishing organisation. The choice of low-skilled agents consequently leads to published materials of poor quality in respect to either form (as in poor design and layout) or content (as in poor translations and errata that often make the text incomprehensible), and frequently both.

Some interviewees blamed the low quality of human capital accumulated on the lack of economic capital, especially regarding the design and layout of publications. Limited economic resources meant organisations could not hire professional graphic designers, translators, editors or proof-readers, a reality faced by political publishing organisations on a regular basis.²⁷⁴ Yet, despite often having the opportunity to allocate human capital to the publishing process to improve quality, this did not occur. In the case of the publishing arms of political groups, it was not uncommon to have in their ranks members with the necessary skills. Students and graduates of philology, i.e., Greek literature studies, were available to assist in copy-editing and proofreading manuscripts, while fine arts students or even architects could help with graphic design. Instead, not only was the allocated staff—either assisting as volunteers or full-time—limited but it often lacked anything approaching the skills that a successful agent in a publishing field would require.

I want to provide some examples of the above. The publishing house Is-

273. My empirical research regarding contemporary political publishing organisations in Greece indicated that there is a continuity of agents eschewing profit as well as offering services at much lower rates than those offered in the trade publishing field.

274. Isaak Iordanides, Roza Economou, Tasos Parkosides and Loukas Axelos in interviews with the author referred to the fact that they had to strive hard in order for their publishing organisations to function. The first two interviewees mentioned the first period of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* (1963–1967), the third commented on the second period (1974–1981) and the last one referred to the political publishing house *Stochastis* during the years of the military dictatorship. Axelos also referred to other political publishers functioning during the same period of time and stated that they were all in a similar financial position.

torikes Ekdoseis, which will be presented in much greater detail in Chapter 4, was founded in 1963 by four individuals, only one of whom had worked professionally in the field, as a door-to-door bookseller. Two of them occasionally translated or proofread and the last was an accountant. Tasos Parkosides, a geologist, was in charge of Istorikes Ekdoseis from 1974 until 1981. Dionysis Kounades, a physics student, directed the Istorikes Ekdoseis bookstore from 1974 onwards. Yorgos Kotanides, a veterinary school drop-out and actor, was in charge of the publishing house Na Ipiretoume Ton Lao [To Serve The People], the publishing branch of the Revolutionary Communist Movement of Greece or EKKE.

The translators used by these publishing groups are of particular interest. While they often disregarded the significance of form, at the same time, they stressed the significance of content. These publications were mostly translations of foreign works and so translating should have been a high priority. However, the vast majority of the translators used by the publishing branches of political groups did not practise translation outside or after their political engagement. In general, these agents were not even from a humanities or social sciences background, leaving them without even a modest connection between their studies and their practice.

The only real grounding of their position as agents within the political publishing field is the fact that they were all politically active at the time they translated. Nor did any have a family background in the field, at least not in general.²⁷⁵ The hierarchisation regarding the human capital accumulated was not based on the quality of their skills but rather their level of political commitment, even though this sometimes jeopardised the quality of political publishing outcomes.

Intellectual Capital

Another form of capital is intellectual capital, that is, the intellectual property possessed by a publisher. While discussing biogenetics, the acclaimed

275. The only exception I was able to trace is Thomas Kakoulidis, the son of a bookseller and publisher, who was involved with political publishing and then continued as a trade bookseller and publisher until his retirement a few years ago.

philosopher Slavoj Žižek argued about “the inappropriateness of private property for the so-called ‘intellectual property’” and furthermore made a parallel with Napster²⁷⁶ to show how the free circulation of music collides with the logic of profit.²⁷⁷ In an ironic twist of fate, Žižek’s work was one of the reasons the open-access online library aaaarg.org was taken down after a copyright controversy between the library and Verso Books, the “largest independent, radical publishing house in the English-speaking world”.²⁷⁸ Similar controversies occurred between the publisher Lawrence & Wishart—the website of which claims it is an “independent radical publisher”—and the Marxist Internet Archive, an online, open-access library of Marxist texts.²⁷⁹ While intellectual capital is very significant today, even for political publishing presses, it was rather unimportant during the *long sixties*, at least as far as Greece is concerned.

Although there were a few cases of copyright controversy during the Greek *long sixties*—in general, but especially in political publishing—these were the exception and not the rule. The vast majority of copyright lawsuits were related to trade publishing houses that published political books.²⁸⁰

276. Napster was a very popular peer-to-peer music file sharing internet service of the late 1990s that was shut down during the early 2000s after a number of lawsuits brought by musicians and record companies, the first of which came from the heavy metal band Metallica.

277. Slavoj Žižek, “Censorship Today: Violence, or Ecology as a New Opium for the Masses”, accessed 23 May 2016, <http://www.lacan.com/zizecology1.htm>.

278. For a defence of aaaarg.org, see “Deconstructing Verso: A Brief Word on the Pseudo-Leftist Publisher”, accessed 23 May 2016, <http://ebookcollective.tumblr.com/post/31062648947/deconstructing-verso-a-brief-word-on-the>. For a defence of Verso, see Stuart Elden’s “Ill-informed critique of Verso”, accessed 23 May 2016, <https://progressivegeographies.com/2012/10/20/ill-informed-critique-of-verso>. Information on Verso Books can be found at <https://www.versobooks.com/pg/about-verso>, accessed 23 May 2016.

279. On the controversy between Lawrence & Wishart and the Marxist Internet Archive, see Dylan Love, “A Publishing Company is Enforcing a Copyright on the Works of Marx and Engels and People are Freaking Out”, *Business Insider*, 29 April 2014, accessed 23 May 2016, <http://www.businessinsider.com/lawrence-and-wishart-copyright-on-marx-and-engels-collected-works-2014-4>.

280. Fifteen cases regarding intellectual property controversies during the *long sixties* were traced in the archives of the trade publisher Kalvos, which had a political orientation even though its team was not affiliated with any political party. These cases were connected to Greek authors and mainly with novelists trying to break their contracts at the end of the *long*

The most intriguing case of copyright infringement within the Greek political publishing field took place during the colonels' dictatorship. One of the first political publishing groups that appeared during the period of the junta was *Nei Stochi* [New Goals].²⁸¹ This group was the legal publishing branch of the small, underground Trotskyite group *Kommounistikos Epanastatikos Syndesmos*, under the leadership of Thimios Papanikolaou.²⁸² In 1970, *Nei Stochi* began publishing books and a year later it extended its activities by publishing an eponymous monthly review, subtitled *Miniea Ekdoti Economicon Kai Kenonikon Meleton* [*Monthly Edition of Economic and Social Studies*]. The backbone of its book list was reproduced, pre-dictatorship Trotskyite publications of either known Greek Trotskyite figures of the interwar years, such as Pantelis Pouliopoulos, or translations—mostly of works by Leon Trotsky and Ernest Mandel.

The review published nine issues, one of which was a double, from 1971 until 1972. In issue three, there are articles against the suppression of political publishing. While the first two referred to suppression by the regime, the last one had a rather distinctive aspect.²⁸³ The first article of issue 10 (July 1972) is entitled “E kratiki ke e idiotiki astinomefsi ton marxistikon

sixties, when fiction started dominating the Greek book market. Folder 1, Subfolders 6 and 7, Kalvos Archive, ASKI, Athens.

281. Its first books appeared under the name *Stochi* [Goals] and later became *Nei Stochi*.

282. *Epanastatikos Kommounistikos Syndesmos* [Revolutionary Communist Link]. Giorgos Alexatos, *Historical Dictionary of the Labour Movement*, 2nd ed. (Athens: Geitonies tou Kosmou, 2008), 256 [in Greek].

283. In issue 5 (November 1971) the last article of the review was entitled “Tha parthoun metra enanta sto aristero vivlio?” [Will There Be Measures Against Left-Wing Books?] (pp 110–112). This, in reality, was a mere compilation of three texts published in the newspapers of the time—an article, a comment and a letter—against the circulation of left-wing books. The first article of the next issue (6–7: January 1972) was entitled “E skotadistiki ekstratia enantia sto marxistiko vivlio” [The Obscurantist Campaign Against the Marxist Book] (pp 5–7). This two-page article, accompanied by a page of caricatures against censorship, was in a sense a continuation of the previous one. After referring to passages used in issue 5, it cited some additional excerpts from newly published articles from the press. The author, probably Thimios Papanikolaou himself, informed readers that this “orchestrated obscurantist campaign” (p. 6) had been combined with the fact that the police in Thessaloniki pressured a number of bookstore owners to withdraw the legally circulated copies published by *Neoi Stochoi* from their showcases. He stated how the publishing house was independent, unaffiliated with political

kimenon” [“The state and private policing of Marxist texts”]. The article starts with a short overview of the difficulties that Greek left-wing publishers were up against, especially at that moment in time. It then moved on to provide a description of what it referred to as “private book policing”. In particular, it presents a rather odd case where the spouses of leading figures of the Greek interwar communist movement were plaintiffs against a left-wing publisher for republishing their spouses’ translations:

Three ladies (Mrs Ekaterini Flessa-Lili, on behalf of her husband; Mrs Filisia, widow of P. Pouliopoulos; and Mrs Zacharenia, widow of G. Dumas) are judicially persecuting the Neoi Stochoi editions for the photo-reproduction of translations or original works by L. Trotsky, K. Marx, P. Pouliopoulos, claiming such a publishing act is illegal and punishable and demanding that the copies [of these texts] be withdrawn and confiscated. All three plaintiffs rejected reasonable financial compensation, which Neoi Stochoi proposed and was willing to pay, for the intellectual property rights of publishing books that were until then out of print or hard to find. This rejection, regardless of the plaintiff’s pretexts, more or less shows their disposition for obstructing the circulation of the aforementioned texts, which are the legacy of the labour movement and not the private “intellectual property” of some ladies. How could K. Marx imagine that the latest Greek edition of his *Critique of Political Economy* would be banned by the two translators’ widows; or L. Trotsky imagine that his works were requested to be confiscated by their translators’ relatives; or P. Pouliopoulos imagine that his own widow would solicit the confiscation of his work *Democratic or Socialist Revolution in Greece* (which was indeed dedicated to “the Greek communist youth for its struggles, for its communist enlightenment, of which the party was bereft”)? On our behalf, we report to the progressive readership and stigmatise these particular incidents as manifestations of a spiteful and obscurantist attitude.²⁸⁴

The aforementioned case was unique, and thus far from being the norm. It is most likely that the reasons for the legal actions of the relatives of the translators against the publishing group were political and not financially driven. This assumption is made on the basis that the publishing group had

parties, and that its publications comprised works that are freely published and circulated in the Western world.

284. “E kratiki ke e idiotiki astinomefsi ton marxistikon kimenon”, *Nei Stochi*, 10 (July 1972), 4–5.

asserted that the copyright owners had not accepted the offer of financial compensation. In addition, the latter did not sell the rights to any other publishers, suggesting that the Neoi Stochoi offer was not turned down on account of a better offer.²⁸⁵

The fact that publishing groups were not able to accumulate intellectual capital in terms of acquiring publishing rights for specific titles and authors does not mean that there were not such attempts. According to Loukas Axelos, one of the main publishers of Antonio Gramsci's works, an incident occurred during the colonels' dictatorship. While Gramsci's works were published by several different publishers during the military dictatorship, a newly arrived publisher from Italy claimed she had the copyrights and all other publishers should withdraw their editions. After communicating with the Gramsci Institute in Italy, Axelos was notified that they had never issued such a decision and anybody willing to publish Gramsci's works was more than free to do so. Evidently, had this bluff succeeded this new venture would have been able to establish a brand name as a *Gramscian* publisher.²⁸⁶

The collapse of the dictatorship put an end to the collaborative spirit among publishers, who more or less shared the same ideals and anti-authoritarian spirit. This led to the gradual acquisition of copyrights by publishers although even today there are a number of cases where copyrights are not acquired.²⁸⁷

285. I was not able to arrange an interview with Thimios Papanikolaou, despite the fact I tried to reach him on several occasions via email. When asked, Loukas Axelos, of Stochastis publishing house—who was active in publishing from 1969—confirmed the fact that this case of copyright infringement should not be seen as such, but as a case of a political conflict among the two parties. Loukas Axelos, interview with the author, 13 September 2013.

286. Gramsci's works were published on the personal initiative of several political prisoners during the dictatorship without any prior discussion among them. The fact that they were published by different publishers was more than a mere reflection of different translators addressing their proposal for publishing the works they published to different publishers. There had been cases where works of Gramsci were sent to publishers, who—due to a lack of economic capital—passed the proposal to other publishers until one was found that was willing and able to proceed with the publication. Loukas Axelos, interview with the author, 13 September 2013.

287. In 2008, while working for a publishing house, it came to my attention that a number of publishers would still not acquire copyrights for all the works they translated and published.

Istorikes Ekdoseis did not acquire any copyrights for the vast majority of the works it published during its two periods of operation: 1963–1967 and 1974–1981. This can be easily explained for the period 1963–1967, since all their book lists with the exception of one title were made up of translations of FLP’s publications, which were not bound by copyright restrictions.²⁸⁸ According to Isaak Iordanides, a co-founder of Istorikes Ekdoseis, they notified the Chinese official book exporter, Guozi Shudian, which supplied the primary texts that Istorikes Ekdoseis translated for the Greek market, but this was a mere informational act and not a copyright request.²⁸⁹

These findings are confirmed by interviews with people involved in the political publishing field. These field agents stated that copyright acquisition was never a priority nor a precondition for translating and publishing a book.²⁹⁰ In the post-dictatorship era, we often come across documentation of copyright acquisition. This correspondence between Greek publishers and their foreign counterparts or contracts for translation and publishing rights of foreign works provide no evidence that political publishers were striving to accumulate intellectual capital. The fact that the majority of political publishing houses in Greece were heavily geared towards publishing translations, rather than publishing Greek writers, meant that the purchase of subsidiary rights was a rarity and intellectual capital failed to accumulate.

Social Capital

Social capital is “the network of contacts and relationships that an individual or organization has built up over time”.²⁹¹ Given the absence of intel-

288. China had no copyright legislation during the *long sixties*. Mais, “Marxist–Leninist Publishing Field” 19.

289. For Guozi Shudian, see Mais, “Marxist–Leninist Publishing Field”, 17–19; Isaak Iordanides, interview with the author, 28 September 2012.

290. Loukas Axelos, interviews with the author, 8 March 2013; 13 September 2013; Yorgos Hatzopoulos, interviews with the author, 29 November 2012, 28 September 2013; Yorgos Garbis, interview with the author, 13 June 2013; Vasilis Tomanas, interview with the author, 17 July 2013.

291. Thompson, *Merchants of Culture*, 6.

lectual capital in the form of a legal entitlement (e.g. copyright) to publish specific titles, social capital has increased importance within the political publishing field. These ties and relationships were often built by the political groups behind publishing houses, but there have been cases where the ties between publishing branches preceded the strictly political affiliation.

Istorikes Ekdoseis developed relations with the Chinese state publishing apparatus—through Guozi Shudian, China’s book and press exporter—long before a political group was officially built by its cadres and even longer before this political group formed any official ties with the CPC.²⁹² In July 1980, the then head of Istorikes Ekdoseis, Tasos Parkosides, wrote a letter to the Italian trade publisher and leftist author Giorgio Bertani, who printed a lot of left-wing works. According to the historian Antonio Scalia, Bertani was “very much popularising the so-called Italian ‘season of the movements’ (1967–1977), but it later faded from the scene”.²⁹³ Bertani was the publisher of Dario Fo and Franka Rame, a married couple who were both authors, playwrights, actors and activists.

TRANSFORMING POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS INTO SOCIAL CAPITAL

In the remainders of the Istorikes Ekdoseis archive from 1974, correspondence with publishers and contracts can be found, mainly with Italian publishers and literary agents. Interestingly, there is a distinction between political and trade publishers regarding the approach. Tasos Parkosides, head of Istorikes Ekdoseis at the time, undersigned two letters to the leftist

292. Remainders of the correspondence between Istorikes Ekdoseis and Guozi Shudian can be found in ASKI in Athens and date back to August 1964. The first unofficial visit of a cadre of Istorikes Ekdoseis to China was in late 1966, and the first official visit by the Organisation of Marxists–Leninists of Greece—which was formed out of members of Istorikes Ekdoseis—took place ten years after the beginning of this publishing relationship, in 1974. Folder 483.7, EDA Archive, ASKI; Isaak Iordanides, interviews with the author, 23 February 2012, 28 September 2012.

On the visit to China in 1974, see Polydoros Danielidis, *O Polydoros thimate...* [Polydoros Remembers] (Athens: Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1990), 293; Stelios Manousakas, interview with the author, 21 May 2011.

293. Antonio Scalia, email correspondence with the author, 6–11 June 2016.

publisher Bertani Editore Verona and the trade publisher Giulio Einaudi Editore, on 6 and 7 July 1980, respectively.²⁹⁴ Both letters were written as inquiries about the intentions of Istorikes Ekdoseis to acquire permission, as in copyrights, to translate and publish works of Dario Fo in Greek. The letter to Bertani Editore Verona began with “Cari compagni” and ended with “I miei piu fraterni saluti militanti”—that is, “Dear comrades” and “My most fraternal militant greetings” respectively, in Italian. The letter to the trade publisher was structured in a formal manner, starting with “Egregi Signori” and ended with “Cordiali saluti”, that is, “Dear Sirs” and “Yours sincerely” respectively, in Italian.²⁹⁵

In the former, there is an attempt to build a relationship based on common values and even a common past by emphasising the ideological and political status of Istorikes Ekdoseis and its personnel, while in the latter there is an attempt to stay within a formal and politically neutral framework. The letter to *Einaudi* was less than a page long and half of it was a list of Dario Fo’s works published by *Einaudi* that were of Istorikes Ekdoseis interest. The letter to *Bertani* was a page-and-a-half long. It is structured in a quite odd manner concerning a copyright inquiry letter. It begins with an introduction regarding theatre in Greece and the reception of Dario Fo’s work in particular. Translating and publishing Fo’s work is presented as an act of politics rather than a business proposition. As the following excerpt shows the reason Fo’s works were chosen for publication was the fact that they had socio-political content:

From our point of view, we believe it is appropriate to publish the works of Dario Fo and bring them closer to the Greek people. We are certain we will not only offer [the Greek people] a healthy entertainment—which is extremely difficult in these days—but more importantly, we will provide political stimulus and provide knowledge of the Italian issues that are so similar to those of their own.

In my long stay in Italy as a student and as a member of the Greek political organisation AMEE, I myself had the opportunity to closely follow the political theatre and the struggle of the comrades of the “Comune” and Dario Fo and

294. Folder Istorikes Ekdoseis, KKE (M–L) (Athens branch) archive.

295. *Ibid.*

Franca Rame [...] and now as a publisher, I would be really pleased to present these works to my compatriots.²⁹⁶

But there is a prehistory regarding Dario Fo's works that adds to the correspondence itself. According to Stelios Manousakas—until 1981 a leading cadre of KKE (M–L)—he personally knew Dario Fo from his days in Italy, where he had lived from the late 1950s until the mid-1970s. Thus, when KKE (M–L) cadres and Istorikes Ekdoseis considered publishing his works, Manousakas initiated a correspondence with Dario Fo for this purpose, which was later on continued between Dario Fo's publishers and Istorikes Ekdoseis publishing house.²⁹⁷

In the International Institute of Social History, one may come across the archive of the British group Solidarity. Initially a Trotskyite outfit, it was very soon influenced by the work of the Greek philosopher Cornelius Castoriadis and is mainly categorised as a libertarian socialist group.²⁹⁸ Greek anarchist and anti-authoritarian groups were intrigued by Castoriadis and libertarian ideas, such as were expressed by Solidarity. Castoriadis therefore sought contact with Solidarity to translate and publish the work produced by the group.²⁹⁹

Folder 123 is one of the ninety-five correspondence folders (out of one-hundred and ninety folders in total) of the Solidarity archive and is titled "Greece" and subtitled "1972–80".³⁰⁰ This folder, along with a few others in the International Institute of Social History collections,³⁰¹ revealed

296. Letter from Anastasios Parkossidis to the publisher of Dario Fo, 6 July 1980 [in Italian]. KKE (M–L) (Athens Branch) archive.

Circolo "La Comune" was the theatre group of Dario Fo and Franca Rame. The groups' address was also found in the remainders of Istorikes Ekdoseis' archive. KKE (M–L) (Athens Branch) archive.

297. Stelios Manousakas, interview with the author, 21 May 2011.

298. Archives Solidarity (London), IISG, Amsterdam; Libcom Blog, "Solidarity and Me", blog entry by Paul Anderson, 12 March 2005, accessed 19 June 2016, <http://libcom.org/library/solidarity-me-paul-anderson>.

299. Greek anarchists spoke highly of *Solidarity* even though it was not an "orthodox" anarchist group. Yorgos Garbis, interview with the author, Athens, 13 June 2013.

300. See <https://search.socialhistory.org/Record/ARCH01366>, accessed 19 June 2016.

301. Similar letters from Greek anarchists were found in the papers of the Spanish anar-

a relatively small and unknown anti-authoritarian and anarchist publishing world to me, reflected in correspondence between Solidarity and various Greek publishers, translators, or even friends of Greek anarchist publishers. The folder tells us that correspondence between Solidarity and Greek groups was initiated in late 1972, first with a trade bookseller affiliated with the revolutionary left-wing circles in Greece and concerned to order the complete series of the Solidarity review. Someone likely ordered them through a trade bookseller not to raise suspicions. 1972 was marked by the loosening of control of the press and publishing known as *fileleleftheropiisi* [liberalisation], two years before the authoritarian regime would fall.

These letters reveal long-existing but at the same time intermittent contacts among the Greek and foreign anarchist publishers as well as the visits of Greek anarchists—mainly students—to the UK, serving as carriers of pamphlets, money or correspondence. Most of the letters are directly and indirectly connected to Diethnis Vivliothiki [International Library], the most influential anarchist publishing house in Greece from its early days during the military dictatorship. It also shows the secondary importance of the financial nature of the relationship between political publishing field agents and organisations. A letter from Solidarity to the publishing group Praxi, based in Athens, states the following:

[W]e are sending you in the same [unreadable word] some copies of our magazine. Please tell us if you received them all right and also which pamphlets you would like to receive. If you can't afford to pay, we will send you them free of charge.³⁰²

It is evident that all the correspondence among political publishing field agents and organisations evinces comradely and fraternal feelings. The main intention of these collaborations was to serve a political cause and not to acquire profit. Individuals that were related to publishing groups and occasionally served as translators were in contact with foreign publishing groups to promote international(ist) collaborations. This set of cor-

chist Antonio Téllez Solá, Folder 477, accessed 1 June 2016, IISH, <https://search.socialhistory.org/Record/ARCH02915>.

302. Folder 123, Archives Solidarity (London), IISG, Amsterdam.

respondence is indicative of the significant role of social capital and how political ties are transformed into social capital within the political publishing field.

Symbolic Capital

Symbolic capital is the most significant form of capital in the political publishing field. Indeed, for Bourdieu, it was a central thematic in every work incorporating field theory.³⁰³ Its significance has also been stressed by Thompson. In his assessment of the different forms of capital in the publishing field, symbolic capital dwarfs that of the other forms of capital; indeed, his treatment of symbolic capital is more extensive than all the others combined.³⁰⁴

According to Thompson, all “forms of capital are vital for the success of a publishing firm, but the structure of the publishing field is shaped above all by the differential distribution of economic and symbolic capital”.³⁰⁵ As already stressed, the Greek political publishing field lacked financial resources, and thus economic capital is of secondary importance to the analysis. It is in this sense that symbolic capital must be understood as the most significant form of capital within the Greek political publishing field. Positioning symbolic capital at the core of the analysis of the field enables us to comprehend the logic of political publishing. According to Thompson, “symbolic capital is best understood as the accumulated prestige, recognition and respect accorded to certain individuals or institutions. It is one of those intangible assets that is enormously important, indeed essential,

303. See Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991); Pierre Bourdieu, “The Production of Belief: Contribution to an Economy of Symbolic Goods”, *Media, Culture, Society* 2, no. 3 (July 1980): 261–293; Pierre Bourdieu, “The Market of Symbolic Goods”, *Poetics* 14 (1985): 13–44; Pierre Bourdieu, “Symbolic Power”, *Critique of Anthropology* 4, no. 13–14 (January 1979): 77–85; Michael Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 65–94.

304. Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, 32–36. See, also, John B. Thompson, *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 16–18.

305. Thompson, *Merchants of Culture*, 9.

for publishing firms”.³⁰⁶ Publishers function at many levels, one of which is that of “cultural mediators”.³⁰⁷ In the case of the political publishing field, publishers and publishing groups primarily function as ideological and political mediators. Thus, symbolic capital derives from the authors or the subject matter (or both), adding value to the publishing houses and the respective political groups. Symbolic capital is essential for publishers since “it is important for their image, to the way they see themselves and want to be seen by others”.³⁰⁸

In this particular field, the significance of symbolic capital is linked to the fact that publishing groups are mainly publishing arms of specific political organisations. Thus, the symbolic capital acquired by the publisher reflects the image of the political group behind the publisher. Within the field in question, it is not books of great publishing and design quality that add symbolic capital to their publishers but books of a specific political stature; although there were cases within the political publishing field that books of quality were produced, enabling these political publishers to transform into trade publishers.

A striking example of this process comes from Norway. *Forlaget Oktober* is a Norwegian publishing house established in 1970, named after the Russian October Revolution of 1917 and at one point the imprint of the Norwegian AKP (M–L) [Worker’s Communist Party (Marxist–Leninist)]. In the late 1970s, *Forlaget Oktober* shifted its publishing programme from hardcore politics to fiction while still being under AKP (M–L)’s remit. The shift from politics to fiction was not enough to prevent the publishing house from going under. However, as, over time, *Oktober* had acquired extensive symbolic and intellectual capital, it attracted the interest of a leading Norwegian publishing group, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), which acquired the bulk of its shares in 1992.³⁰⁹

The history of *Oktober* and its shift from the political to the trade pub-

306. Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, 32.

307. Ibid.

308. Thompson, *Merchants of Culture*, 8.

309. For more on the publication, see “About Oktober”, accessed 12 July 2016, <http://www.oktober.no/In-English/About-Oktober>.

lishing field is detailed in an article in one of the biggest Norwegian newspapers, *Dagbladet*. The article was published in Norwegian and its title is translated in English as “Started with Lenin and Mao, ended up with Knausgård”.³¹⁰ The focus on Karl Ove Knausgård—an acknowledged Norwegian author—in the article highlights the shift of *Oktober* from its early Marxist–Leninist years to its later literary ones.³¹¹ Revolution was no longer in the air in Norway in the late 1970s, and when Geir Berdahl took over the reins of *Oktober*, he opted for fiction.³¹² The intellectual capital of AKP (M–L), accumulated through these intellectuals and authors who had been members or sympathisers, was transferred into intellectual capital for *Oktober*. Apart from Berdahl, others like Knut Johansen, a renowned Norwegian translator, and Jon Michelet, a well-known Norwegian author, were party members and in this way added value to *Oktober* through their contributions.³¹³ Overall, the intellectual capital accumulated by *Oktober*—and by implication also its symbolic capital (the status of the publishing house)—in the country’s publishing field resulted in its passage from political publishing to trade publishing.

A publishing or political group that wants to create a name for itself and form a specific identity within, say, the Maoist³¹⁴ or Trotskyist

310. Fredrik Wandrup, “Startet med Lenin og Mao, endte opp med Knausgård”, *Dagbladet*, 25 October 2010, accessed 11 July 2016, http://www.dagbladet.no/2010/10/25/kultur/bok/litteratur/karl_ove_knausgard/oktober_forlag/13995307/.

311. Liesl Schillinger, “Why Karl Ove Knausgaard Can’t Stop Writing”, *Wall Street Journal Magazine*, 4 November 2015, <<http://www.wsj.com/articles/why-karl-ove-knausgaard-cant-stop-writing-1446688727>>, accessed 13/07/2016.

312. Apart from being a party cadre, Berdahl had an academic background in comparative literature of which he took advantage in his position within the publishing field.

313. Information on *Forlaget Oktober* and its relation to AKP(M–L) were provided by Jan Erik Skretteberg, a Norwegian activist, through Facebook correspondence with the author, 12 July 2016.

Another noteworthy fact is that in 2015 AKP (M–L)’s daily newspaper, *Klassekampen* (Class Struggle), according to the newspaper’s website, had a readership of over 21,000, almost 12.5% of the Norwegian market. <<https://www.klassekampen.no/article/20160309/ARTICLE/160309965>>, accessed 2 January 2019.

314. Hans Petter Sjøli makes an important assessment that has a universal application regarding the term “Maoism”: “While the term ‘Maoists’ has been coined retrospectively—the most common terms used at the time were ‘AKP-er’, ‘ML-er’ or ‘Marxist–Leninist-er’—it is a

movement will publish works of Mao or Trotsky, respectively, to acquire symbolic capital. Symbolic capital is transformed into political capital, allowing these groups to attract followers and members or to supplant rival political groups. Paraphrasing Thompson, one reason why symbolic capital can be advantageous to political groups is that it helps them to position and promote their ideas in a highly competitive political arena.³¹⁵ The panspermia of political groups during the *long sixties* saw a fierce struggle among them, each articulating minuscule ideological and political differences from the others, albeit with often almost identical names, as they jostled for position within the political field. It is of no coincidence that it is not a rare phenomenon for different political groups to publish the same titles to fortify their political status. The fifth volume of the *Selected Works* of Mao Zedong was published in Greek in 1977. The publishers were none other than the two publishing arms of two political groups—the Marxist–Leninist Communist Party of Greece (M–L KKE) and the EKKE—that strived to be recognised as the official Greek counterpart of the CPC.³¹⁶ International figures of the communist movement from Vladimir Lenin to Rosa Luxemburg and Antonio Gramsci to Mao Zedong “acquired large stocks of symbolic capital” as popular “brand names” among the existing left-wing readership.³¹⁷ Accumulated symbolic capital formulated a specific identity for the publishing group, which then raised expectations of the readership for future publications. In an interview with the author, the late Isaak Iordanides, co-founder of Istorikes Ekdoseis, noted that the publishing house—and the publications affiliated with it—were singled out for being too Sino-centric, “but that [Chinese texts] was what people asked for”.³¹⁸

useful term to separate this distinct political wing from the many and various fractions on the radical left in this period”. Hans Petter Sjøli, “Maoism in Norway: And How the AKP (M–L) Made Norway More Norwegian”, *Scandinavian Journal of History* 33, no. 4 (1988), 487.

315. Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, 32.

316. Mais, “Marxist–Leninist Publishing Field”, 59; Stelios Kouloglou, “E eksokino-vouleftiki aristera: Diaspasi, polydiaspasi, thrimmatismos...” [The Extra-Parliamentary Left: Splitting, Fragmentation, Crumbling...], *Anti* 200 (5 March 1982), 39 [in Greek].

317. Thompson, *Merchants of Culture*, 9.

318. Iordanides did not clarify who raised those criticisms but it is safe to assume that the

A diversity of social movements emerged at the global level during the *long sixties*. Anti-colonial movements in Third World countries, labour movements, and a wide range of social movements, such as the student, the feminist and the environmental movements emerged—mainly in Western countries.³¹⁹ The fan base of readers in the political publishing field, at least in our case, was not built by the publishing groups but rather by other players in the field, such as authors who had taken a stance in favour of or been highly active in those movements. Herbert Marcuse, Jean-Paul Sartre and Franz Fanon are but three examples of a wide array of intellectuals considered integral to the movement politics of the *long sixties*. Their works were deemed to be invaluable for activists at the time and had a place on shelves in student houses, reading groups and social centres.³²⁰ The impact of these authors in the various movements raised their symbolic status to such an extent that readers sent letters to publishers urging them to translate and publish them. I came across several such letters in the archives of the Kalvos publishing house.³²¹ The correspondents proposed that the publishers publish the works of Marcuse, Fanon and Günter Grass, among others.³²² These proposals were often made after discussions or correspondence exchanged with Greek students living abroad, or even due to references to these intellectuals in the Greek press that intrigued the readers.

critics were left-wingers who did not adopt Maoist dogma. Isaak Iordanides, interview with the author, 28 September 2012.

319. On the movements of the 1960s, see Samantha Christiansen and Zachary A. Scarlett, eds., *The Third World in the Global 1960s* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013); Christos Mais, “Anti-Colonialism and Imperialism (1960s–1970s)”, in *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism*, vol. I, ed. Immanuel Ness and Zak Cope (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan), 806–812.

320. On the influence and impact of intellectuals during the *long sixties*, see Fredric Jameson, “Periodizing the 60s”, *Social Text* 9/10 (Spring–Summer 1984), 178–209; Richard Wolin, *The Wind From the East: French Intellectuals, the Cultural Revolution and the Legacy of the 1960s* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010); Chapter 4, “Cultural Warfare”, in Kostis Kornetis, *Children of the Dictatorship: Student Resistance, Cultural Politics and the “Long 1960s” in Greece* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2014), 158–224.

321. Kalvos was a trade publisher that was established as a means of cultural resistance. A detailed presentation of this publisher can be found later in the dissertation.

322. Folder 3, Subfolder 1, Kalvos Archive, ASKI, Athens.

In my MA research, I made the assumption that the first title published by Istorikes Ekdoseis in 1963—the leather-bound volume *Istoria tes Sygchrones Kinezikes Epanastasis* [A History of the Contemporary Chinese Revolution], edited by Ho Kan-Chi (and a financial failure)—was published out of inexperience, due to the amateurism of the publishers.³²³ I now argue that the main reason for publishing a book that was destined for economic failure was *not* inexperience. The book was priced quite highly, and its audience comprised mostly formerly exiled left-wingers, progressive students, and workers—all of whom had limited financial capacity.³²⁴ Nevertheless, a leather-bound volume would strike the eye and make a statement for the newly formed publishing house. It was a commercial failure and thus only served to diminish the publisher's economic capital. Nevertheless it contributed significantly to boosting its symbolic capital.

In the next chapter, I will expand further on the way symbolic capital defined the aesthetics of the Greek political publishing field, where original book covers were copied in the Greek versions for the express purpose of exploiting their symbolic capital.

323. Mais, "The Marxist–Leninist Publishing Field", 42–43.

324. Soon after the end of the Second World War, the Greek Civil War kicked off. The war saw thousands of left-wingers expelled, many of whom remained in exile until the early 1960s. The founders of Istorikes Ekdoseis were among those banished.

CHAPTER 3

Visualising the Revolution: Imagery and the Political Imaginary

During the Greek *long sixties*, the majority of political publishing activity was based on translated works. In what follows, I will present the ways in which book covers and book formats in political publishing—especially that undertaken by political groups, organisations or movements—were heavily based on the originals. I argue that visual resemblance was used as proof of the authenticity—and thus the political authority—of the published titles and the political organisations that produced them. The book format and the allusions it produced, such as the allusion to political authority, enhanced the publisher's symbolic capital. The book *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong*, widely known as the *Little Red Book*, will be treated in both its transnational and its Greek context as a case study supporting these theoretical claims.

To present the argument, books will be mainly treated as material objects or cultural artefacts rather than textual vessels. For this reason, my focus is on *form* rather than *content*. Typically, analysis of political press and publishing has it the other way around—that is, the form is usually disregarded, and analysis of the content foregrounded. While the political press is often viewed as the mere sum of political texts, I argue that, in reality, the form is significant as well, especially on a symbolic level. Political publishing during the Greek *long sixties* was viewed merely as the production of important texts. Thus, the focus was on the content regardless of the form. I drew this conclusion after a series of interviews with people contemporarily or previously involved in political publishing as well as with readers of such

publications. The case of *Quotations from Chairman Mao* will illuminate the neglected or even downplayed aspect of form since, as I will show, its format was crucial for its use as a performative tool.

I will examine two distinctive dimensions of formatting and aesthetics that predominated the field of political publishing. The first aspect is the purposeful copying of originals—since the field was heavily based on translated works—and the second that of very cheap editions of poor aesthetic value, in terms of typography and art. Both books used to showcase these arguments were published by the same publishing venture, Istorikes Ekdoseis, and share the same author, Mao Zedong. These two were the Greek editions of the aforementioned *Quotations from Chairman Mao*³²⁵ and *the treatise On “Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR”*.³²⁶

Why we might ask, did poor aesthetics predominate in Greek political publishing activity? There are several reasons. When asked, many of the agents involved in the radical press often implied that just as politics is the art of the possible, so were the aesthetics of their work. In other words, the form was objectively defined by their personal and collective lack of both expertise and economic capital. Of course, these two very real restrictions must have played some role but viewing poor aesthetics as the objective end product of technical and financial limitations or the lack of skills is far from convincing. We know, for example, that the quality of translations was given high priority, especially in the case of Istorikes Ekdoseis. The majority of the translators employed had a working—rather than an in-depth—knowledge of foreign languages, yet their translations were considered very good. The importance of good translations was taken for granted and extra collective effort invested to ensure that outcome. The significance of the form was, in contrast, downplayed and design was therefore neglected.

The fact that several actors in the political publishing field—who also lacked either expertise or capital—attempted to focus on graphic design

325. *Apospasmata apo ta erga tou proedrou Mao Tse-Toung* [*Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*] (Athens: Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1966) [in Greek].

326. *Mao Tse-tung, Pano sta “Ekonomika provimata tou sosialismou stin ESSD”* [*On “Economics Problems of Socialism in the USSR”*] (Athens: Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1978) [in Greek].

and not just the content is indicative of the fact that up to a certain point poor aesthetics was a matter of choice. This is an indication that the course taken—as far as aesthetics is concerned—was not as deterministic as the agents of the publishing field describe. The latter viewed the outcome of their work as inevitable due to their shortfalls. The interviews with agents and readers of the time hardly ever feature any mentions of such shortcomings either concerning the form (aesthetics), or the content (translations, errata). When examined today, with the benefit of current knowledge and insight, such shortcomings are quite obvious. However, at the time, neither the agents nor the readers were able to identify them. What they were fully aware of was the fact that the audience for political press could only afford cheap publications.

One might wonder whether there is a contradiction—namely, a conflict between the two different practices briefly outlined above. I argue that there is no contradiction. In either case, the actors proceeded to publish by underestimating the dialectics of form and content. In the case of copying the originals to benefit at the symbolic level alone, they did so without actually addressing the issue of form. The publishers gave no credence to national particularities or simply dismissed the fact that design could play a role in communicating important signals for the organisation as well.

Meaning, Form, and Symbolic Power

According to Roland Barthes, there are three levels of meaning.³²⁷ The first is *informational*—pertaining to the message itself. The second level—which he terms *signification*—is *symbolic*. The third level is *obscure meaning*, a notion that Barthes developed to distinguish this third level from the symbolic one, perceived as conveying obvious—or at least widely understood—meaning. The first level pertains to the textual content and, as already mentioned, will not be analysed at this point. The second, symbolic level will be examined here.

327. Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text* (London: Fontana Press, 1977), 52–68.

Andrew Benjamin—no relation to Walter Benjamin—adapts Barthes’ third level of meaning. In so doing, he proposes the replacement—or “critical linking”—of Barthes quite blurry concept of *significance*, with Walter Benjamin’s notion of *aura*.³²⁸ *Aura*—or to be more precise, loss of aura—has been construed as a procedure that may be considered as either positive or negative, thus its use, if not clarified in advance, may bring ambiguity to the whole argument.³²⁹ I argue that in the case under examination there is no such thing as the loss of *aura*, but—on the contrary—the mechanical reproduction of vast quantities of political texts worldwide with similar or identical external characteristics (i.e. covers and formats that recreate the *political aura* of the original). I coin the term *political aura* to describe the symbolic capital enclosed in a book title due to its resemblance with the original text of a prominent political figure. For example, the purpose of creating exact copies of Mao Zedong’s *Little Red Book* was to access and accumulate symbolic capital, drawing on that acquired already by the Chinese leader. Here, we are speaking of the symbolic capital he accumulated as leader of the Chinese Revolution, the head of a vast socialist country and the architect of the Cultural Revolution, an important event in the 1960s. Just as a luminous entity like the sun provides light for dull entities like the moon, political aura transfers illumination from the original to the copy. The Benjaminian *aura* is the capacity of singular objects, namely works of art, to evoke a feeling of uniqueness. Benjamin defines the *aura* as:

[A] strange weave of space and time: the unique appearance or semblance of distance, no matter how close it may be. While at rest on a summer’s noon, to trace a range of mountain on the horizon, or a branch that throws its shadow on the observer, until the moment or the hour become part of their appearance—this is what it means to breathe the aura of those mountains, that branch. Now, to bring things closer to us or rather to the masses, is just as passionate an inclination in our day as the overcoming of whatever is unique in every situation by means of its reproduction. Every day the need to possess the object in close-up in the form

328. Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, 52–68; Andrew Benjamin, “The Decline of Art: Benjamin’s Aura”, *Oxford Art Journal* 9, no. 2 (1986), 30–35, 31.

329. Benjamin, “Decline of Art”, 31.

of a picture, or rather a copy, becomes more imperative. The difference between the copy, which illustrated papers and newsreels keep in readiness, and the original picture is unmistakable. Uniqueness and duration are intimately intertwined in the latter as are transience and reproducibility in the former.³³⁰

Here I draw an analogy between the work of art and political publishing products (i.e. books) as artefacts, rather than merely political texts. I argue that the *aura*—literally in the case of works of art before mechanical reproduction, and metaphorically in the case of ideology and politics where the subject, as in a reader of political texts, experienced a revelation as if the *aura*—was transmitted to the subject by reading or even carrying specific books. Mechanical reproduction provided the publisher with the capacity to convey the authority of the original to the copy and provide a sense of ideological and political authenticity to those producing or carrying and reading the copies.

Thus, I argue that the *political aura* is transmitted by the production of identical—in terms of form—translations. The transmission of the *aura* functions as a transfer of the symbolic power of the original and thus enhances the symbolic capital of the publisher who produces the translated works. The identical copies do not merely spread the content to a global audience, but also the sense of belonging to a special group of the politically and ideologically enlightened, that in a mental way participate in the great events of their fellow believers worldwide. A Greek reader of the *Little Red Book* felt a connection with the Chinese Red Guards in Tiananmen or the French Maoists at the Sorbonne during May '68 by reading the same text in the same format as his or her comrades-in-arms worldwide.

The *Little Red Book*, with all its fetishised qualities and as an extreme (but not unique) example, made very good use of this “appearance or semblance of distance”. These dialectics of distance and proximity are very visible in the fact that the widespread circulation of the book intended to collapse distances between the West and China. And yet, the mere fetishising

330. Walter Benjamin, “Little History of Photography”, in *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, ed. Michael W. Jennings, vol. 2, part 2 (Cambridge, MA and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1931–1934), 518–519.

of the book-object, not to mention its content, reproduced the distance—that is, attempted to salvage the *aura* precisely through its reproducibility.

The elements of authority and authenticity will also be examined as constituents of symbolic power that provides added value to Bourdieuan symbolic capital,³³¹ a crucial element of the political publishing field, and a key factor in the formation of political and ideological groups. *Quotations from Chairman Mao* will be used to illustrate the aforementioned arguments. The choice of this specific book as a case study is far from random since it is one of the most widely known and read books of all time and, as I will detail further below, the *Little Red Book* had a transnational impact during the *long sixties*, especially on the youth.

In addition, the ideological and the publishing alignment between Istorikes Ekdoseis and the Chinese FLP, which was the publisher of the original *Quotations from Chairman Mao*, demonstrates the significance of imagery and visual representation in the political and ideological imaginary. The latter was transformed into symbolic capital for the domestic publisher—in our case, Istorikes Ekdoseis—derived directly from the symbolic power of the published works and mainly from the author of the works, Mao Zedong. The mechanism here are the links between authors and publishers of the originals, whose aura is transmitted to a global audience by diffused local translations of those originals. In this way, symbolic capital from the originals—via translations into various local languages—is diffused and accumulated across time and space.

“Of All Books, We Love to Read Chairman Mao’s the Most”:³³² The Little Red Book that Shook the World

Translated works were at the core of the attempt of the CPC and the PRC

331. See Pierre Bourdieu, “Social Space and Symbolic Power”, *Sociological Theory* 7, no. 1 (Spring, 1989): 14–25; Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1984).

332. “National Conference on the Work of Printing and Distributing Chairman Mao’s Works”, *Peking Review*, no. 33 (12 August 1966): 15.

to create and transmit a global language for their revolutionary vision.³³³ The latter was taken literally by some young revolutionaries and as a young French Maoist of the 1960s admitted: “we used a Maoist language, taken straight out of the Little Red Book”.³³⁴ The FLP, the state publisher of China, established in 1952, grew extensively during the *long sixties* and spearheaded its production for a global audience.³³⁵ At the heart of the dissemination effort was Guozi Shudian—or the “International Bookstore”—which functioned as the Chinese centre for book exports. Although its purpose in serving national propaganda was stated as early as 1953—just four years after its establishment in 1949—it was not until the late 1950s that it assumed an active role regarding its aforementioned operation. In 1959, it ceased being part of the Ministry of Culture and from then on it was part of the newly formed Foreign Affairs Committee of the China Culture Council. From this point on, it occupied a vital role as a piece on the PRC’s foreign affairs chessboard.³³⁶ During this time there was a shift from book distribution being perceived as a commercial act to being performed as a revolutionary act, with the assumption that “distribution should accelerate world revolution”.³³⁷

The epitome of this effort was the mass translation, production and distribution of Mao Zedong’s works on a global scale. In 1968, when FLP exports reached their peak, 7.73 million volumes in thirty-two different languages were exported, along with 9.55 million periodicals.³³⁸ Almost 1.5

333. Lanjun Xu, “Translation and Internationalism”, in *Mao’s Little Red Book: A Global History*, ed. Alexander C. Cook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), iTunes e-book edition.

334. Cited in Kristin Ross, *May ’68 and Its Afterlives* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 111.

335. Cagdas Ungor, “Reaching the Distant Comrade: Chinese Communist Propaganda Abroad (1949–1976)”, (unpublished PhD thesis, Binghamton University, 2009), 90.

336. Lanjun “Translation”.

337. Cao Jianfei, ed., “*Zhongguo guoji tushu maoyi zonggongsi sishizhounian: shilunji* [The Fortieth Anniversary of the China International Publishing Company: Selected Papers on its History] (Beijing: China International Publishing Group, 1989)”, excerpted from Cook, *Mao’s Little Red Book*.

338. *Ibid.*, 254.

million copies of the *Quotations from Chairman Mao*—by far the FLP’s best seller³³⁹—were distributed between October 1966 and September 1967, in one-hundred and twenty-eight different countries or regions.³⁴⁰ The book was even translated in Braille script so that even the blind would be able to see the revolutionary truth.³⁴¹ From 1966 and for the next few years, almost every single issue of *Peking Review* featured articles or reports about the publication, distribution, dissemination and reception worldwide of the *Little Red Book* and Mao Zedong’s other translated works.³⁴² The *People’s Daily*, the daily newspaper that served as the organ of the CPC, also carried headlines regarding Mao’s works during the *Little Red Book* frenzy, such as: “Read Leader Mao’s Words, Go in the Direction that Leader Mao Points”.³⁴³ The *People’s Daily* photo reportages and headlines were also used to present the focus of Chinese publishing activity to a global audience from the culmination of the Cultural Revolution onwards; photos of foreigners reading the *Little Red Book* were published along with “pictures of soldiers, workers, students and farmers all studying the Little Red Book” in China.³⁴⁴ This was not just propaganda; the book was well-received on

339. Ungor, “Distant Comrade”, 206, notes that large quantities of the volumes of FLP books were freely distributed by the national distributor Guozi Shudian. Therefore, the term best “seller” is not exactly accurate.

340. “New Era with Mao Tse-tung’s Thought As its Great Banner”, *Peking Review* 48 (4 November 1967): 18.

341. Daniel Leese, “Performative Politics and Petrified Image—The Mao Cult During China’s Cultural Revolution” (unpublished PhD thesis, International University Bremen, 2006), 122.

342. See “The ‘Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung’ Lights the Whole World”, *Peking Review* 10 (3 March 1967): 24–26; “Use ‘Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung’ As a Weapon in Struggle: Call by the Organ of the Union of the French Communist Youth (M–L.)”, *Peking Review* 10 (3 March 1967): 23; “All True Marxist-Leninists Must Grasp Mao Tse-tung’s Thought: *La Voix du Peuple*, Organ of the Belgian Communist Party, Hails the Distribution of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in Belgium”, *Peking Review* 10 (3 March 1967), 23; “New Era With Mao Tse-tung’s Thought As its Great Banner”, *Peking Review* 48 (24 November 24 1967): 17–19; “‘Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung’ Published in Foreign Languages”, *Peking Review* 25 (16 June 16 1967): 8–9.

343. Cited in Cagdas Ungor, “Impact of Mao Zedong Thought, 1966–1977” (master’s thesis, Istanbul Bilgi University 2004), 21.

344. *Ibid.*, 22–24.

a global scale within the movements of the 1960s, especially among the youth.³⁴⁵

The sheer volume of books produced and distributed is astonishing. The *Little Red Book* is considered to be the second-most printed book of all time.³⁴⁶ This remarkable achievement is probably why the format of the book—a crucial variable—is often ignored or at least downplayed. Indeed, the book’s format was as salient as its content, or—to be more precise—as its author. This is evident in the way the book is remembered or widely referred to as *Mao’s Little Red Book* instead of its actual title, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. It is self-evident that this is a direct reference to both its format and the colour used on the cover. What is interesting is that such references regarding the format were probably initiated by the Chinese state through the *Peking Review*, something highly unusual since it was not possible to trace similar cases of descriptions or projections based on the visual depiction for other publications of the FLP. Especially during 1967–1970,³⁴⁷ there are numerous references to the “Red Book” many of which give it as the “treasured Red Book”,³⁴⁸ ascribing not only a descriptive but also a qualitative essence to the object.

345. Zachary A. Scarlett, “China’s Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Imagination of the Third World”, in *The Third World in the Global 1960s*, eds. Samantha Christiansen and Zachary A. Scarlett (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), 48–51; Thomas C. Kageff, *Towards a Transpacific Dialectic: Encounters with Maoism in the American Literature of the Long Sixties* (unpublished PhD thesis, Claremont Graduate University, 2011), 23–24.

346. Tania Branigan, “Mao’s Little Red Book to Get Revamp”, *The Guardian* (27 September 2013), accessed 16 March 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/27/mao-little-red-book-revamp>.

347. This title has been linked to the Chinese Cultural Revolution which took place in 1966–1969. The fact that the majority of the references to the book comes from issues of the *Peking Review* from that period seems to be no coincidence.

348. See Zachary A. Scarlett, “China’s Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Imagination of the Third World”, in *The Third World in the Global 1960s*, eds. Samantha Christiansen and Zachary A. Scarlett (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), 50; David G. Atwill and Yurong Y. Atwill, eds., *Sources in Chinese History: Diverse Perspectives from 1644 to the Present* (New Jersey: Pearson/Prentice Hall), 2010, 274; Liu Ching-chih, *A Critical History of New Music in China* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2010), 467. Beyond the above, a search at the marxists.org digital database provides a dozen of search results referring to the “treasured red book”, accessed 11 April 2018, <https://www.marxists.org>

The following excerpt is characteristic of how the CPC and the PRC presented and promoted the book:

The bright red-covered *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* has become the invaluable and best-loved revolutionary handbook, not only of the Chinese but of all the revolutionary peoples of the world. Editions in various foreign languages are being received abroad with unprecedented enthusiasm and are now the world's best seller. Publishers in some countries have produced their own translations of this volume to meet the urgent demand of the reading public. Some foreign friends, because no printed translation yet exists in their own language, have got friends to make translations which they have copied down to study.

Many foreign revolutionary friends who visit China eagerly ask for copies of the Quotations. They describe it as a "most precious gift" and a "priceless treasure". There are quite a few progressive friends from abroad, who, like their Chinese comrades, take along their Quotations wherever they go, study them whenever opportunity offers and take them as their guide to action. It is a demonstration of their boundless love and admiration for our great leader Chairman Mao.³⁴⁹

The symbolism is crystal clear, with the bright red colour of the cover being identical to the colour used to identify revolutionaries and communists worldwide. A reference found in another article—published a few months after the one quoted above—proceeds to further describe the foreign language editions of the *Quotations from Chairman Mao*:

The foreign languages editions of this cherished book have a red plastic cover. The title page is followed by a photograph of the great leader Chairman Mao and a facsimile of an inscription by Comrade Lin Piao.³⁵⁰

Beyond the red colour of the cover (see Figure 10), the picture of Mao that follows the title page (not shown)—a standard in Mao's works by FLP—familiarises the reader with the author. This specific book design is an exception since FLP's works of Mao Zedong followed a very specific pattern

[google.gr/search?q=site:marxists.org+%22treasured+red+book%22&newwindow=1&client=firefox-b-ab&dcr=0&ei=3RnOWpiIK4PZwQLCpouYQC&start=0&sa=N&biw=1258&bih=636](https://www.google.gr/search?q=site:marxists.org+%22treasured+red+book%22&newwindow=1&client=firefox-b-ab&dcr=0&ei=3RnOWpiIK4PZwQLCpouYQC&start=0&sa=N&biw=1258&bih=636).

349. "The "Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung" Lights the Whole World", *Peking Review* 10 (3 March 1967): 24.

350. "Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung" Published in Foreign Languages", *Peking Review* 25 (16 June 1967): 8–9.

in which Mao's figure is depicted in the form of a seal on the cover which until then was not made of red plastic but out of plasticised paper (see Figure 9). These differences in respect to the majority of FLP publications and those of Mao's works, in particular, provide a uniqueness to *Quotations* since its distinctive format and design makes it impossible to be mistaken for any other of the publisher's titles. The uniqueness of the book emerges on every level of the publishing sphere, not only in producing a title with a distinct design but also regarding the favourable and upscaled promotion and distribution.

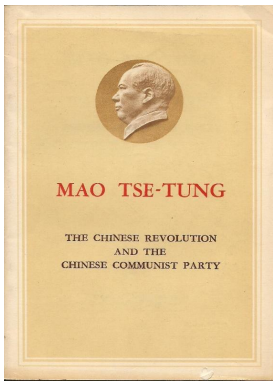


FIGURE 9.
An example of the ordinary cover of Mao's works published by China's Foreign Language Press

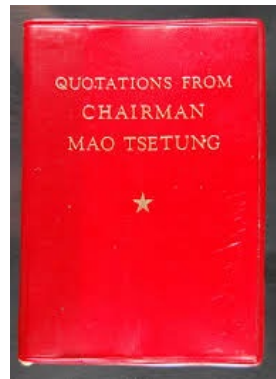


FIGURE 10.
The cover made for *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*.

Waving the Little Red Book: Performativity and Doctrine Identification

Translating, publishing, choosing a distinctive cover, printing, distributing and finally reading a book are not unfamiliar processes. On the contrary, these are all procedures one can find in the traditional publishing chain.³⁵¹ Yet the singularity of the *Little Red Book* lies in that it also introduced

351. Thompson, *Books in the digital age: The transformation of academic and higher education publishing in Britain and the United States*, Cambridge: Polity 2005, 20–26.



FIGURE 11. Chinese red guards holding and waving the *Little Red Book*



FIGURE 12. Black Panthers waving the *Little Red Book*

manifestations of mass performativity: millions of its readers in China and abroad waved the book at rallies and other gatherings, using it as an object, a banner *and* a book.³⁵²

Photographers of the time captured the momentum created by a book that was carried or waved by the youth worldwide from the Chinese Red Guards in Tiananmen Square (Figure 11³⁵³) to members of the Black Panther Party in the cities of the United States (Figure 12³⁵⁴).³⁵⁵

The philosopher Alain Badiou referred to the *Quotations* as being his and his comrades' guide "not at all, as the dummies say, in the service of dogmatic catechism but, on the contrary, in order for us to clarify and invent new ways in all sorts of disparate situations that were unknown to us".³⁵⁶

A similar experience was described by Mike Ely, who participated in the Maoist movement in the *long sixties* in the United States. Ely wrote a small piece on his Facebook page titled, "On the 50th Anniversary of Mao Zedong's Red Book":

The Red Book changed my life. I bought a copy in Paris during 1968 when I was still in high school, in my mid-teens. I read it over and over and over, hiding it from my father.

I still have that copy, full of scribbled question marks around the parts I couldn't understand.

But at the end, it made me a communist.

Six months later, I was smuggling Mao's Red Books across borders, into eastern Europe in 1969. We were three students, and my friends knew I had hidden them, sealed in packages at the bottom of my knapsack—in English, as many as I could find and buy in Paris.

352. L. S. Stavrianos, *Global Rift: The Third World Comes to Age*, New York: William Morrow and Company, 1981, 609.

353. See <https://weeklybolshevik.wordpress.com/author/klaasvelija/>

354. See http://s21.photobucket.com/user/That70sPhoto/media/China%20Cultural%20Revolution/5300027-cultural-revolution-01-800x537_zps297ca5e1.jpg.html

355. Amy Jane Barnes, "From Revolution to Commie Kitsch: (Re)-Presenting China in Contemporary British Museums through the Visual Culture of the Cultural Revolution" (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Leicester, 2009), 100.

356. Alain Badiou, "The Cultural Revolution: The last Revolution?", *Positions* 13, no. 3 (Winter 2005): 483.

They were extremely illegal. And no one in Czechoslovakia had had access to any.

[...]

When we told people we met that we had Mao's Red Book, the word went out, in whispers, person to person, in ways that startled us.

We would sleep in hostels (in Prague or Bratislava), and there would be a knock on our door... someone looking for me and a Red Book.

[...]

There are Soviet tanks in the city square. There are ugly puppets running the government. But somewhere, brother, sister, somewhere, there is a communist movement alive and radical and crackling. Its name is Mao. Its heart is the red guards. Its book is RED. And they wanted it.

Then I came back to the US, where the Black Panther Party had exploded left politics, by selling that Red Book on the Berkeley campus. I sat in Panther study groups, where youth paired up in twos and threes, to read the quotations out loud—literally teaching each other to read, in order to get at the meaning.³⁵⁷

While some, like Badiou and Ely, were fond of the book since it served as a guide for them in answering the thorny questions of their time, others used it as an accessory, more in the direction of performativity rather than in political and ideological exploration.³⁵⁸ Although it is not possible to determine which of the two was the dominant aspect—namely, mere performativity or reading and studying of the book by interested parties—it is certain that both existed.³⁵⁹

The feeling or presence of this performativity was strong enough to lead Jean-Luc Godard to make *La Chinoise*, a film released in late 1967. Godard—who soon after this film (in the post-May '68 era) inclined towards Maoism—proposed that the film was a positive representation of Maoism, a viewpoint that was not countered by others.³⁶⁰ The perception of the film

357. See <https://www.facebook.com/mike.ely.fb?fref=nf&pnref=story>, posted on 21 April 2015.

358. Pirkko-Liisa Kastari, "The Discovery of Chairman Mao in Finland in the 1960s", 449–450, accessed 29 May 2015, <http://elektra.helsinki.fi/kastarisum.pdf>.

359. The well-known historian Tony Judt argues that the "Mao Look", which included the *Little Red Book* as an accessory, "remained a minority taste—even among 'Maoists'". See Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2005), 397.

360. Jacques Bontemps, Jean-Louis Comolli, Michel Delahaye, Jean Narboni and Jean-

by both the filmmaker and the pro-Maoist audience as a positive representation of Maoism is somewhat surprising. It depicts a group of French students, dressed as Chinese Red Guards, hanging around a Parisian apartment reciting Mao Zedong all day long; the walls of their rooms are filled with quotations and posters of Mao Zedong, as well as Chinese magazine covers, while the bookshelves are packed with neatly arranged little red books.

The film viewed today would readily be reviewed as an orientalist parody, in which young Western Maoists proceeded to aestheticise an ideology; the outcome projected was not of a political group but a sect or a cult. Richard Wolin's assessment is that the pro-Chinese illusions of the "normaliens"³⁶¹ were immortalised in an idiosyncratic agitational film.³⁶² This aestheticisation took the form of a performative Maoism in which the *Little Red Book* held a key position. The fact that this aestheticisation was not perceived as such is an indication that it had roots in the Maoist movement and was not simply expressed through its cinematic representation.³⁶³ This is strengthened by Wolin's point that in 1967 Mao-collared suits were "immensely fashionable" while Parisian bookstores were "perpetually selling out of *Quotations from Chairman Mao*".³⁶⁴ Art historian Lars O. Ericsson recalled a similar performance:

[He] remembers with horror the first lecture he ever gave, in the Philosophy Department at Stockholm University. Ericsson was twenty-three years old and

Luc Godard, "Struggle on Two Fronts: A Conversation with Jean-Luc Godard", *Film Quarterly* 22, no. 2 (Winter, 1968–1969): 20–35.

361. *Normaliens* is a reference to students of l'Ecole normale supérieure.

362. Richard Wolin, *The Wind from the East: French Intellectuals, the Cultural Revolution, and the Legacy of the 1960s* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010), 15.

363. "The Internationalists are Maoists in the style of the young people portrayed in Jean-Luc Godard's film *La Chinoise*". This is how a group of Canadian Maoists are described by a sociologist who was doing field research with political groups in Canada during the 1960s. See Roger O'Toole, "Organizational Weapons and Political Sects", in *Philosophy, History and Social Action: Essays in Honor of Lewis Feuer*, ed. Sidney Hook (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1988), 332; Roger, O'Toole, "Some Social-Psychological Aspects of Sectarian Social-Movements: A Study in Politics and Religion", in *International Yearbook for the Sociology of Knowledge and Religion*, eds. Günter Dux, Tomas Luckmann and Joachim Matthes (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1975), 162.

364. Wolin, *Wind from the East*, 15.

had prepared to talk about Aristotle. Every time he said something they did not like, “The students, most of them wearing caps with red stars, slapped Mao’s Little Red Book against their desks”.³⁶⁵

Using the *Little Red Book* as the core of a performance is the most indicative, globally widespread, and probably the most extreme case. Yet it is not unique. Carrying titles of books by specific authors or publishing houses—or certain newspapers and periodicals—was a political statement during the *long sixties*. Doing so as a means of ideological and political identification and as a political statement was used both to attract prospective fellow believers and to provide the specific ideological and political mark that would distinguish and separate one group from the other in the vast ocean of groups that existed during the *long sixties*.

Publishing Politics as Identity Politics

The differentiation of one political group from the other—although presented as unbridged by the groups themselves—was almost imperceptible to an outsider. Distinctions were even more difficult if not impossible to make because many groups had similar or nearly identical names, such as *Marxist–Leninist Party of Greece* (M–L KKE), *Communist Party of Greece (Marxist–Leninist)* [KKE (M–L)], *Communist Party of Greece/Marxists–Leninists* (KKE/ML), and so on.³⁶⁶ The blurry distinctions between the myriad of political groups is hardly a Greek particularity. A brilliant projection of how such differentiation can play out in almost absurd fashion can be seen in Monty Python’s classic, *The Life of Brian*. Who can forget the hilarious dialogue in which the various characters attempt to hash out the differences between the “Judean People’s Front”, the “People’s Front of

365. Perry Johansson, *Saluting the Yellow Emperor: A Case of Swedish Sinography* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 171.

366. In *Maoism in the Developed World* by Robert J. Alexander, the section on “Greek Maoism” (97–101) is full of errors mainly due to its main source, the *Yearbook on International Communist Affairs* of which the author of the majority of the Greek reports, D. George Kousoulas, seemed unable to distinguish one organisation from the other, confusing the who is who of Greek Marxist–Leninist groups and their publications.

Judea”, the “Judean Popular People’s Front” and—last but not least—the “Popular Front of Judea”?³⁶⁷

These distinctions among almost identical groups were partially managed by identifying individuals or collectivities by their textual code of arms—that is, their publications. Many of them used the names of their publications to clarify their identity so that they would not be mistaken for their rivals. For these groups, differences in terms of ideology or political practice were vast; conversely, for the majority of the uninitiated, the variations in brand names were hardly even noticeable. In our case, the circle of people around Istorikes Ekdoseis in its first stage (1964–1967) were known as “Anagennites”, after the review. The importance of publications as trademarks was so crucial that during the various splits that occurred throughout the period, fierce custody battles over titles took place. These battles were so ferocious that some self-proclaimed revolutionaries—for whom Lenin’s *The State and Revolution* was a sacred text—appealed to the institutions of the state to enforce legal possession of their titles.³⁶⁸

Brand name and distinct book design were two of the few means employed by the ideological currents within the Greek Left, at a time when state terror against the Left was very intense.³⁶⁹ Emphasis was put on differentiation, and on attracting or reaching out to a new audience. The *Little Red Book*—with its distinctive design in terms of size, cover and colour—became a matchless revolutionary talisman.³⁷⁰ Mao Zedong’s thought, as I will illustrate further on, was considered or projected as a weapon for the “soldiers” of revolution worldwide. At the same time, the *Quotations* was also cherished as a talisman; small enough that it could be carried

367. Terry Jones (director), *Life of Brian*, Python Pictures 1979. The script with the dialogue concerning the variety of sects can be found at http://montypython.50webs.com/scripts/Life_of_Brian/8.htm.

368. In *The State and Revolution*, Lenin claimed that bourgeois state must be destroyed, and a new socialist state constructed in its place. See V. I. Lenin, *State and Revolution* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1964). This was one of the fundamental texts for all Marxists–Leninists and Maoists of the time.

369. On the relation between state terror and the Left in Greece, see Neni Panourgia, *Dangerous Citizens: The Greek Left and the Terror of the State* (New York: Fordham, 2009).

370. Barnes, “Commie Kitsch”, 85.

anywhere, it was studied as if it was a sacred book,³⁷¹ much like Muslim soldiers used miniature copies of the Qur'an during World War I.³⁷² Public mass waving of the book took the form of a ritual.

Greek Editions of the “Quotations from Chairman Mao”

Although there was a Greek FLP version of the book in 1969 (reprinted in 1972), I will focus on the edition published by Istorikes Ekdoseis in 1966.³⁷³ I do so not only because this one was published first, or because Istorikes Ekdoseis is the case study for this research. What is particularly interesting about this edition is that the Greek publishers chose to produce a Greek edition that was almost identical to the original. The Greek edition was slightly larger—supposedly due to restrictions set by the typographers—but just as likely to save money by economising on paper. One should always bear in mind that Istorikes Ekdoseis had limited, barely sufficient, economic capital with the basic source of revenues being the sales of their books. Thus, reducing losses—such as paper waste—was crucial.

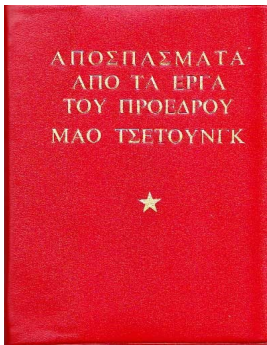


FIGURE 13.
The Greek FLP edition
of the *Quotations*

371. Leese, “Performative Politics”, 2; David Childs, *The Two Red Flags: European Social Democracy and Soviet Communism since 1945* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 60.

372. Christos Mais, “Miniature Qur’ans: Past and Present”, *Miniature Book Society Newsletter* 80 (March 2009): 13–15.

373. Throughout the *long sixties* the book was published by other Greek publishers in larger formats that differ significantly than the original. The title chosen was often different from the original but more recognisable by the public, that is *Kokkino Vivlio* [Red Book] (i.e., Ekdoseis Manole Geronte, 1972).

We now turn to discuss how the publication of the *Istorikes Ekdoseis* edition was presented through the pages of *Anagennisi*, the monthly review published under roof of the same publishing house. On the back cover of issue 26–27, one will find the following advertisement:

OUT NOW
 “QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO”
*The book that the whole world is talking about*³⁷⁴

This *Anagennisi* issue also carried another advertisement for booklets of *The Great Socialist Cultural Revolution in China*, originally published in Beijing by the FLP in 1966. Here—and even though the title clearly implies the subject of the publication—two lines describing the content were added: “A series of important articles and other documents regarding the Cultural Revolution in China”.³⁷⁵ The *Quotations* needed no further explanation; this was—after all—“the book the whole world is talking about”. The publishers did not feel the need to provide any further information about their newest release to promote it. At the same time, the way they presented their latest publication—positioning it at the epicentre of the whole world—placed the book (and thus themselves and their politics) within a global context.

On a winter’s day in 1967, a letter from China arrived in the working-class district of Drapetsona in Piraeus, Greece.³⁷⁶ The recipient was Isaak Iordanides, one of the founding members of the *Istorikes Ekdoseis* publishing house. The sender was one Y. Gou from Beijing. I was able to identify the Beijing post office box given as Mr Gou’s postal address as that of International Bookstore, better known by its Chinese name, Guozi Shudian. The letter concerned the Greek edition of the *Little Red Book*. It

374.

“KIKLOFORISE
 APOSPASMATA APO TA ERGA TU PROEDRU MAO
 To vivlio gia to opio ginete logos s’ olo ton kosmo”

Back cover advertisement in *Anagennisi*, issue 26–27 (November–December 1966), accessed 17 March 2015, http://morfotikesekdoseis.gr/sites/default/files/pdf/anagenisi_26-27.pdf.

375. Ibid.

376. The letter can be found in, ASKI, EDA Archive, box 483, folder 7.

seems that the Greek translation was based on the first FLP edition, so it did not include the infamous “Foreword to the second edition of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*”. The *Foreword*, written by Lin Biao, then a leading cadre of the CPC and one of the most high-ranked officials of the PRC, is now considered to be the key figure behind both the cult of personality of Mao Zedong and the frenzy regarding the *Little Red Book*, two issues that intertwine.³⁷⁷ The envelope contained a two-page typed letter of the *Foreword* accompanied by a note asking for the content of the letter—that is, the *Foreword*—to be added to the book *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. This is indicative of the fact that the PRC and CPC not only monitored activity regarding their works abroad but also tried to keep their international counterparts up to date with publishing developments in China. Istorikes Ekdoseis tried to please the Chinese and the *Foreword* was supplemented in the book. This is supported by the fact that letters from Guozi Shudian announcing new editions of FLP were sent to Istorikes Ekdoseis.³⁷⁸

It is not possible to precisely identify the impact of the book in Greece. The reason is that the 21 April coup occurred soon after its publication. Just a month before the military regime came to power—on 8 March—1,200 copies of the Greek edition were given to a news agency for distribution.³⁷⁹ Isaak Iordanides tells how, after the collapse of the publishing house in 1974, he received a call from the bookbinder with whom Istorikes Ekdoseis had done business prior to the dictatorship. The bookbinder reported that

377. Regarding the foreword by Lin Biao and culminating Mao’s cult of personality, see Alexander C. Cook, “The Spiritual Atom Bomb And its Global Fallout”, in *Mao’s Little Red Book: A Global History*, ed. Alexander C. Cook (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010). iTunes e-book edition. On the cult of Mao Zedong, see, also, Maurice Meisner, *Marxism, Maoism and Utopianism: Eight Essays* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), 155–183.

378. ASKI, EDA Archive, box 483, folder 7.

379. Statutory Declaration dated 8 March 1967, written and signed by Giannis Hontzeas to the Neon Praktoreion Efemeridon kai Periodikon [New Press and Periodicals Agency] regarding the delivery of 1,200 volumes of the Istorikes Ekdoseis Greek editions of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and 500 volumes of Stalin’s *Concerning Questions of Leninism*. ASKI, EDA Archive, box 483, folder 7.

he had a great number of unbound volumes of *Quotations from Chairman Mao* in his workshop, which had been sitting there gathering dust since 1967; he asked what he ought to do with them. While the authorities sent forces to confiscate leftist books and press from the premises of publishing houses, bookstores or even printers known to work with leftist firms and groups, it never occurred to them to raid bookbinders as well. This claim by Iordanides is supported by the archival remainders of Istorikes Ekdoseis. In handwritten notes on pending business, in *Anagennisi* or the newly published weekly newspaper *Laikos Dromos*, there is a reference to the name Kolovouris. He was a bookbinder at the time and next to his name there was a note “MAO Reminders (2,000)” and another regarding an offer made by Kolovouris in December 1966 regarding bookbinding per volume.³⁸⁰ According to these notes, the print run for Istorikes Ekdoseis publications was a standard 3,000 copies. Since 1,200 were given to the news agency and 2,000 more were still at the bookbinder—and if we bear in mind that publishers kept central distribution for themselves through their offices and network of political affiliates—it is safe to assume that the print run of *Quotations* exceeded the norm.

Symbolic Capital and Publishing Decisions

One of the distinctions of the political publishing field in respect to trade publishing is that while the latter would never consider removing best-sellers from the market, the former would not think twice if the bestseller stopped serving its ideological or political purposes. For this reason, the *Little Red Book* was not available in stock—nor was it republished—in the post-junta era by Istorikes Ekdoseis,³⁸¹ although other editions were available in Greek, including the FLP edition. In addition, as we know, unbound volumes from the pre-junta era were also available.

The explanation of this “puzzle” lies beyond the sphere of publishing.

380. ASKI, EDA Archive, box 483, folder 5.

381. Istorikes Ekdoseis book catalogue, Athens (1974–1976), Christos Mais Archive.

Interviewees within the political circle around *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and its political descendants, while discussing the *Little Red Book* frenzy of the long sixties felt the need to distance themselves from the fetishism surrounding the Quotations and to clarify that this was something they as individuals and as political groups did not engage in or embrace.³⁸² The position papers written by the Central Committee of KKE (M–L)—the political backbone of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*—for its second congress (published in 1980) refer to the *Little Red Book* in very negative terms. Here is the political explanation for the choice not to republish the *Little Red Book*:

Politicising the masses through the *Little Red Book* with the quotations from the works of Mao Zedong, and the mass memorisation of the quotations by youngsters and elders was a consequence of the domination of a dogmatic and mechanical viewpoint, which replaced the necessity of ideological and political education of the working class and the popular masses by the shallow, fragmental memorisation of certain quotations.³⁸³

The critique quoted above lies on two levels, one regarding the reading habits and the practice of memorising instead of in-depth reading and the other, the mass performativity that attended these habits. They further on criticise other aspects of the *Little Red Book* such as its role in the cultivation of a cult of personality, which went hand-in-hand with the depreciation of the works of other theorists, such as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.³⁸⁴

The symbolic power of a specific title, author or publisher is not only inherently fluid but sufficiently vulnerable that it may later attenuate or even expire altogether. The abrupt finish of the Cultural Revolution in 1969 ended the *Little Red Book* frenzy. The era in which this book was promoted by the CPC and PRC apparatus by any means possible is long gone. In 1979,

382. Stelios Manousakas, interviews with the author, Athens, 21 May 2011, 25 June 2013; Vasilis Samaras, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 22 August 2014.

383. KKE (M–L) [Central Committee], “2o Synedrio tou KKE (m-): E exelixis sto Pagkosmio Kommounistko Kinima ke e dimiourgia tou Marxistkou-Leninistkou kinimatos stin Ellada” [2nd Congress of the KKE (M–L): Developments in the World Communist Movement and the Formation of the Marxist–Leninist Movement in Greece], *Proletariaki Simea*, 179–184, Athens, 30 [in Greek].

384. *Ibid.*

just a few years after Mao's death in 1976, *Quotations from Chairman Mao* was withdrawn from circulation, copies were banned from being sold through the official channels—either in China or abroad—and apart from a limited number of copies that were held for potential future official use, the available stock of the *Little Red Book* was pulped.³⁸⁵ During the various splits within groups or within the international communist movement, books of yesterday's comrades had to be destroyed, since the authors had become today's foes. Istorikes Ekdoseis was also accused of pulping a book by a former comrade after a split that took place in 1976 concerning Istorikes Ekdoseis' parent organisation.³⁸⁶ These polemics were documented in the two—then weekly—newspapers, *Proletariaki Simea* of KKE (M–L) and *Laikos Dromos*, of M–L KKE.³⁸⁷ A series of articles written in July 1977 refers to the destruction of 2,500 copies of a book published by Istorikes Ekdoseis, the author of which then belonged to M-L KKE. On the other hand, Istorikes Ekdoseis replied that the cost of publishing the book had been covered by them and they would therefore not hand it over free of charge.

Splits at the global level also affected publishing policies. The separation of the political organisation affiliated with Istorikes Ekdoseis and the CPC is probably the reason it decided not to publish the fifth volume of Mao's *Selected Works*, which was published soon after his death. This, despite *Proletariaki Simea*—a newspaper that was affiliated with Istorikes Ekdoseis—having announced ahead of time that the fifth volume would be published upon a later announcement by the Chinese officials. It also published passages from the volume.³⁸⁸ This is probably because for some

385. Geremie R. Barmé, *Shades of Mao: The Posthumous Cult of the Great Leader* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1996), 7.

386. After the split, Istorikes Ekdoseis remained in the hands of the majority of the group while the organisation's organ *Laikos Dromos* and the periodical *Spoudastikos Kosmos and Mathitika Niata* of the university and high school student groups respectively remained in the hands of the minority group since its members were owners by law.

387. *Proletariaki simea* is translated as “proletarian flag”, while *laikos dromos* means “people's road”. The articles of the aforementioned debates were published in *Laikos Dromos* on 2 July and 16 July 1977 and in *Proletariaki Simea* on 9 July 1977.

388. Mao Tse-tung, “Pano stis Deka Megaes Schesis” [“On the Ten Major Relationships”], *Proletariaki Simea*, period b', issue 11 (Saturday 22 January 1977), 7 [in Greek];

time the position of KKE (M–L)—which ran *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and *Proletariaki Simea*—towards the CPC and the PRC was unclear. Later on, splits between those who could schematically be called pro-Maoists and those who were Hoxhaists—after the ideological and political line of the Albanian leader, Enver Hoxha—redirected the publishing programme of both camps since in the past they had been united and had either produced or distributed materials from their former allies (now implacable enemies).

Reception of the *Little Red Book* by Greek Marxists–Leninists Abroad

While in Greece the *Little Red Book* failed to shake the world, many Greeks living abroad during the time its popularity peaked experienced the cultural aftershock of its publication. Gregoris Konstantopoulos, an immigrant worker in Toronto during the Greek military dictatorship, described reading the *Little Red Book* as a revelation. The book served as a guide for young radicals like himself. Konstantopoulos' experience of the enthusiastic embrace of the *Little Red Book* is rather different—or even contra to—the sceptical or reserved views of other Greek Marxists–Leninists. But it resembles that described by fellow believers in other countries, especially in Western Europe and the United States, in “Waving the Red Book” (See Figures 11 and 12 above).

He furthermore explains how he and his small group of Greek Marxists–Leninists requested Greek copies of the book from the Chinese Embassy. One should bear in mind that the majority of these Greek immigrants were workers who had minimal knowledge of English at the time. Thus, reading in their native language was crucial, especially at a time when verbal

“Ekdothike o 5os tomos ton Eklekton Ergon tou Mao Tse-tung: Isagogi ston 5o tomo ton Eklekton Ergon tou Sintrofou Mao” [“The 5th Volume of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung was Published: Introduction to the 5th Volume of the *Selected Works* of Comrade Mao”, *Proletariaki Simea*, period b’, issue 24 (Saturday 23 April 1977), 7 [in Greek]; “Ekdothike o 5o tomos ton “Eklekton Ergon tou Proedrou Mao” [“The 5th Volume of the ‘Selected Works of Comrade Mao’ Was Published”], *Proletariaki Simea*, period b’, issue 25 (Saturday 30 April 1977), 7 [in Greek].

fetishism was at its peak. Polemics regarding the interpretation of political texts, especially those of a revolutionary Marxist bent, have always been on the frontline of the Left and the fear of misinterpreting texts written in a language one had yet to master was great.

The Chinese Embassy fulfilled the request of this small group of young Greek immigrants, who called themselves Synepi Pali [Consistent Struggle], the name of their monthly newspaper. Embassy staff took them to a warehouse where they found 10,000 volumes of the Greek edition of the FLP edition of *Quotations*. The books were given to the astonished Greeks free of charge, who—after keeping copies for their personal use—on-sold the entire stock to the Greek community of Canada. The number of volumes sold is indicative of the popularity of the specific title and political publications in general during the *long sixties*. The ease with which the Chinese government delivered 10,000 volumes free of charge to a group with which it had no official relations is a clear sign of the non-profit mentality of its publishing activity and its almost exclusive aim of transmitting its political and ideological viewpoints to a broad global audience.

Especially during the 1960s and after the Sino–Soviet split, part of the Chinese Communist Party considered itself as the centre of world revolution and subsequently every step it took was towards this direction. While Mao himself requested that “foreigners stop being armed with Mao Zedong Thought” and criticised viewpoints that saw China as an exporter of revolution³⁸⁹—a task mainly undertaken by Guozi Shudian, FLP and the *Peking Review*—Lin Biao was calling Mao’s Thought a “spiritual atom bomb of infinite power”.³⁹⁰ Not only did Lin urge the masses in China to study it but his speeches claimed that Mao’s spiritual atom bomb could have a global impact. Through its implementation by revolutionaries worldwide, the old world would be shattered to pieces.³⁹¹ Lin’s doctrine was “the orthodox

389. Ungor, “Distant Comrade”, 56–58.

390. Lin Biao, “Foreword to the Second Edition of ‘Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung’”, *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1966), [no pp] accessed on [no access date] <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/lin-biao/1966/12/16.htm>.

391. Lin Biao, “Speech at Peking Rally Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the

interpretation that introduced Mao's *Little Red Book* to the world".³⁹² The reference to Lin Biao is not random since he is "is credited with being the mastermind behind the Mao cult and with having invented its most prominent symbol, the Little Red Book, for reasons of personal ambition".³⁹³

The functioning of both Chinese media, especially those with a global target group like *Peking Review* and the FLP,³⁹⁴ and of high-ranking cadres like Lin Biao, are indicative of the actual policies of the CPC in exporting revolution through exporting books and periodicals—often handed out to those interested, free of charge—with the *Little Red Book* being its master "weapon of mass destruction", its "spiritual atom bomb". During the Cultural Revolution (1966–1969), the task of foreign propaganda was taken over by the Cultural Revolution Small Group. This group aimed to "export Chinese Revolution to other countries" and since Mao and his *Little Red Book* were considered to be China's heavy artillery, they were both promoted zealously.³⁹⁵ Quotations from the book were not limited for use in Chinese magazines; some were even written on the sides of ships, which on occasion led to diplomatic incidents.³⁹⁶

Poorly-Designed Books Are Still Books

I have attempted to demonstrate how the creation of translated works identical to the originals was one of the two aspects of book design. Mimicking the originals boosted the symbolic capital of the producers of the translated

October Revolution" (November 7, 1967) in *Selected Works of Lin Piao* ed. China Problems Research Center [no pub, no date], 172.

392. Cook, "Spiritual Atom Bomb".

393. Leese, "Performative Politics", 100.

394. On the use of Chinese media and publishing apparatus to internationalise Mao's thought, see Ungor, "Distant Comrade", 177–180.

395. *Ibid.*, 66–68.

396. For examples of the use of the *Quotations* in Chinese media, see Ungor, "Distant Comrade", 177–178. Chinese ships reaching Italian ports in the 1960s faced the problem of either having to remove quotations and slogans or not being able to do business. "Strong Protest Against the Political Provocation by Italian Authorities", *Peking Review* 36 (1 September 1967), 38–39.

works, drawing on the symbolic power of the original works. The other aspect is that of poorly-designed books, either translations or original works.

“It does not matter if it is a yellow cat or a black cat, as long as it catches mice” is a Sichuan proverb—often attributed to the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping—and is quite similar to the mentality of Greek political publishing agents regarding the form of a book—namely, its design.³⁹⁷ It does not matter whether the design is good or bad, as long as the edition is readable. This was the line that guided the majority of political publishing ventures during the Greek *long sixties*, especially those affiliated with political groups.

This section presents the design and text of one of the works of Mao that Istorikes Ekdoseis produced. I will highlight that the level of professionalism shown in this publication reflects the added value the book would offer in terms of symbolic capital. In this specific case, the lack of symbolic capital—for reasons that I will analyse below—was reflected in the poor overall design of the publication, from its cover to the structure of its contents.

Istorikes Ekdoseis published more than thirty of Mao Zedong’s works between 1963–1967 and again in 1974–1981.³⁹⁸ All but two were produced by translating the official publications of the FLP. In these cases—as with the *Little Red Book*—Istorikes Ekdoseis tried to create publications that were identical to the Chinese originals. The two works that were not a product of translation of Chinese official publications were Mao’s *Philosophical Works*³⁹⁹ and *On “Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR”*, both published in 1978. Since these two publication cases are identical, in terms of both being unofficial publications, the presentation of the latter is adequate to illustrate the argument made: the neglect of form when it was

397. Deng Xiaoping quoted this proverb in his speech “Restore Agricultural Solution”, given on 7 July 1962. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, vol I (1938–1965) (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1992), 293.

398. On the Greek editions of Mao Zedong’s works, see Christos Mais, “Ellinikes Ekdosis ton ergon tou Mao Zedong” [Greek publications of Mao Zedong works], in *Mao Zedong: Filosofika Erga* [Philosophical Works] ed. Manolis Arkolakis (Athens: Ektos ton Teichon, 2013), [no pp].

399. Mao Zedong, *Filosofika Erga* [Philosophical Works] (Athens: Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1978) [in Greek].

not related to symbolic capital as in the case of copying the originals. In this case, not spending economic capital was more significant than a well-designed publication.

The treatise *On “Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR”* (See Figure 15) is a translation of an Italian edition of a collection of documents written by Mao Zedong that were included in unofficial publications of his works. The Greek edition’s cover is not a copy of the original, which is highly unusual since in general, the Greek publishers copied the design of the original editions. This is not the only exception since they neither used the original title nor the introduction of the original, and for the first time, they added a very brief introduction of their own.⁴⁰⁰ Before moving any further, let me detail the reasons that led to such a shift in the—undeclared but consistent—publication policy of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*.

There are several reasons that differentiate this case concerning the political *aura* and symbolic power and capital treated in previous sections, reasons that lie beyond publishing and extend to the political sphere. On 9 September 1976, Mao Zedong died; in the ensuing few months an internal discussion was initiated within the Greek pro-Maoist forces about whether they would align with the CPC and PRC in the post-Mao era. The majority of the political carrier of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*—KKE (M–L)—decided not to align with the new leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese government. Thus, it gradually terminated the translation of new titles of the Chinese FLP without ever denouncing its prior decision to uphold Mao Zedong and therefore, without withdrawing Mao’s works from circulation.

Nevertheless, the death of Mao Zedong and the need of KKE (M–L) and *Istorikes Ekdoseis* to distance themselves from China reversed the prior publishing policy of creating exact copies—or at least very close resemblances—of the Chinese originals. The belief that China had turned “revisionist”⁴⁰¹—that is, it had turned from the revolutionary path after the

400. The paragraph-long note that serves as the introduction briefly refers to the source of the translated works of Mao. There are no references to the translator, copyrights or any other information regarding the Italian or the Greek editions whatsoever.

401. Revisionism: “A *fundamental* alteration of a theory, essentially usurping (though

death of Mao Zedong and the political defeat of his followers, known as the “gang of four”—resulted in the loss of China’s political *aura* and of the symbolic power that Chinese publications carried.⁴⁰² This is why they went forward and published two books of Mao’s documents that were not officially published by the CPC, although Istorikes Ekdoseis had ceased publishing FLP’s works. In this telling manner, they distanced themselves from Mao’s successors but not from Mao Zedong himself.

The Italian edition was titled *Su Stalin e sull’URSS: Scritti sulla costruzione del socialismo 1958–1961* [*On Stalin and the USSR: Writings on the Construction of Socialism 1958–1961*] (see Figure 14). It was published in 1975 by the left-wing trade publishing house Einaudi and was number 71 of the *Nuovo Politecnico* series established for publications on social and political issues after 1965.⁴⁰³ The Italian edition included an introduction written by Gianni Sofri—a Marxist intellectual and brother of Adriano Sofri, leader of the revolutionary leftist organisation Lotta Continua [Continuous Struggle]—which was not included in the Greek edition, even though an introductory essay titled “As an introduction” [in Greek] found its way in the contents. But instead of the introduction, the reader will find a text by Mao—namely, the treatise *On “Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR”* (November 1958)—that is missing from the contents. For several reasons, it is safe to assume that the text was unintentionally omitted from the book’s contents.⁴⁰⁴

taking elements of) the former theory and replacing it with a new one. While the attributes of a theory are subject to change in accordance to changing historic circumstances, changing the *fundamental basis* of that theory is to nullify it in place of a new one”, Marxists Internet Archive, accessed 3 May 2015, <https://www.marxists.org/glossary/terms/r/e.htm>.

402. For a summation of the developments in China after Mao Zedong’s death, see Rebecca E. Karl, *Mao Zedong and China in the Twentieth-Century World* (Durham and London: Duke University Press), 2010, 159–163.

403. The Greek edition was so flimsy that it referred to the Italian edition—the title of which was not stated—as *Nuovo Politecnico 71 Einaudi*.

404. The text used instead of the “As an introduction” corresponds to the pagination of the latter as defined in the contents. Thus, it cannot be said with certainty if the text is the one described in the contents and therefore the mistake was made in titling each section or whether the mistake was an omission of the actual introduction. The fact that the document by Mao that follows the acclaimed introduction, both in the contents and in the body of the



FIGURE 14.
The Italian edition of Mao's
*On "Economic Problems
of Socialism in the USSR"*

Therefore, three significant discrepancies can be observed between the Greek and the Italian edition. The first difference is visual and concerns the cover. The other two concern the title and the omission of the Italian introduction. Is it possible to read a dialectic relation between the visual and the textual differentiations? Could it be that these discrepancies emerge from issues that—once again—transcend the publishing sphere and lie in the sphere of politics and ideology? Is there a correlation between these differentiations and the symbolic capital of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*?

As we have discussed at various points, *Istorikes Ekdoseis* was established as the publishing branch of a Marxist–Leninist group that evolved into KKE (M–L). Fundamental elements of this group's identity politics cheered the USSR until the death of Joseph Stalin and supported China until the end of Mao Zedong. The collection of Mao Zedong's documents was the first—and the last—publication by *Istorikes Ekdoseis* to familiarise its audience with the criticism raised by Mao Zedong, one of their two funda-

book, is subtitled "Kimeno II" ["Document II"] is the reason I lean towards the latter rather than the former. It is highly unlikely that this document was meant to serve as an introduction instead of being part of the core of the collection. Not only this is a very significant text for the whole argument of this collection, a criticism of Stalin's economic policies implemented in the USSR, but also since the title of this collection, in a shorter version, serves as the title of the aforementioned document.

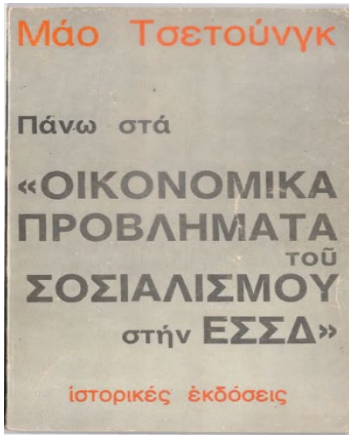


FIGURE 15.
Cover of the Greek translation of Mao's
*On "Economic Problems
of Socialism in the USSR"*

mental ideological and political benchmarks, regarding the other: Joseph Stalin.

It is highly unlikely that the cadres of Istorikes Ekdoseis and KKE (M–L) were unfamiliar with these documents after 1975. A similar version was published in December 1975 by a small Marxist–Leninist publishing group called Ekdoseis Tou Laou [People's Publishing] titled *For the Construction of Socialism: Criticism of Stalin and the USSR: Unpublished Documents*. This edition was better designed both in terms of cover as well as content than the one by Istorikes Ekdoseis. Ekdoseis Tou Laou used the two different editions⁴⁰⁵ available at the time to compile their own collection, making a selection from the translations of the documents they judged to be the best in each case. They also wrote a seven-page introductory note to familiarise readers with both the content of the book and the reasoning behind the decision to publish it.

According to the book's publisher, Giannis Koutsaftis—one of the leading figures behind this small group—their books were sampled and usually sold at the Istorikes Ekdoseis bookstore. Regarding Ekdoseis Tou Laou's publication of Mao's work, including *For the Construction of Socialism:*

405. The Italian edition was used by Istorikes Ekdoseis as well as the French edition, *Mao Tse-toung et la construction du socialisme* (Paris: Editions Seuil, 1975).

Criticism of Stalin and the USSR: Unpublished Documents, he mentioned that they were considered heretic since they did not follow official Chinese publications and the main Marxist–Leninist groups of the time accused them of being agents provocateurs.⁴⁰⁶ Although Koutsaftis did not mention who these groups were, only two fit the description: the OMLE, the forerunner of KKE (M–L), and the EKKE. The fact that a smaller political publishing group would proceed to such publishing activity can also be explained in terms of the publishing field. While Istorikes Ekdoseis was the principal agent of the Marxist–Leninist subfield of the political publishing field—followed by EKKE’s editions—it was difficult for smaller groups to establish a foothold within the field. Thus, minor differentiations in their ideological and political identity would provide them with an often marginal but also a distinctive position. By publishing unofficial versions of Mao’s works that were critical of Stalin, (i.e., those not approved by the CPC), Ekdoseis Tou Laou pushed itself as a distinctive and recognisable actor within the Greek political publishing field. The reason was that this publishing attempt differentiated itself from the official Marxist–Leninist narrative that saw Stalin and Mao in absolute unity.

It seems contradictory, to say the least, for an institution to publish something in 1978 that it had rebuked others for doing only three years prior. In reality, certain political conditions can explain the change of heart. Some occurred at the international level and others relate to shifts within the political formation behind Istorikes Ekdoseis itself between 1975–1978. Let me briefly discuss these conditions. In 1975 Istorikes Ekdoseis was closely following the publishing paradigm of the Chinese FLP. This was because the OMLE leadership at the time was unconditionally—and uncritically—Sinophile, which led to a split in late 1976; KKE (M–L) was formed in opposition to this trend. Sinophilia—conceptualised by many Marxist–Leninist groups as a blind trust in anything officially deriving from China—meant it was unthinkable to translate or publish unofficial documents by Mao, especially during his lifetime.

As will be detailed further on in the dissertation, Istorikes Ekdoseis

406. Giannis Koutsaftis interview with the author, Athens, 12 September 2013.

in the post-1976 period had a more diverse and less dogmatic publishing programme. While until 1976 their publishing programme seemed to be dictated by FLP, seeking to present the purportedly revolutionary truth that OMLE supposedly possessed, the post-1976 period seems more like an extended quest for answers. *Istorikes Ekdoseis* reoriented their publications to the fields of culture, gender and economy. *Istorikes Ekdoseis* would now seek works worth publishing beyond the Chinese and Albanian state publishers, which had been their almost exclusive source until 1976. The publication of this somewhat heretical book needs to be interpreted in this light.

But for a political organisation like KKE (M–L), whose symbolic capital was accumulated through the two benchmarks of Joseph Stalin and Mao Zedong, it was not easy to proceed to such a publication wholeheartedly. Especially since this accumulation was based on the narrative of an ideological and political continuity and alignment between Stalin’s USSR and Mao Zedong’s China, a narrative that such a publication could easily unsettle. For this reason, Stalin’s name—despite being directly implied, and having been included in both the Italian edition they drew on and in the Greek edition from *Ekdoseis Tou Laou*—was omitted from the title. This gives us good reason to conclude that the omission of Sofri’s introduction was intentional, and an extensive book review he wrote at the same time as the Italian edition also supports this case. The book reviewed was Stuart Schram’s *Mao Tse-tung Unrehearsed*⁴⁰⁷ which, among others, included Mao’s speeches and letters concerning Stalin. In his review, Sofri proceeds to a critical assessment of both Stalin’s USSR and, up to a point, the CPC and Mao’s stance towards the USSR, an assessment that was not likely to be embraced by the members and the supporters of KKE (M–L).⁴⁰⁸ It was not until 1980, during the 2nd Congress of KKE (M–L), that some of this criticism was raised in the position papers that were written for the Congress.⁴⁰⁹

In this case, both the content and the cover create a distance from the

407. Stuart Schram, *Mao Tse-tung Unrehearsed: Talks and Letters: 1956–1971* (London: Penguin Books, 1974).

408. Gianni Sofri, “Inediti di Mao”, *Rivista di Storia Contemporanea* 4, no. 1 (1 January 1975): 78–92.

409. KKE (M–L) [Central Committee], “2o Sinedrio”, 3–4, 25–28, 30.

publishing tradition of Mao's works developed by Istorikes Ekdoseis from the early 1960s. The new cover was very different from the official yellow one—with Mao's head depicted in a prominent position—that was copied from the Chinese FLP originals. The poor design of the cover and publication, in general, is not very far from the majority of the ideological and political publications during the Greek *long sixties*, except for cases in which the originals were copied, as with the *Little Red Book*. The unwritten guidelines for political book design were simple—if the cover did not provide symbolic added value, then only the content mattered.

In Conclusion

Book-cover design of the Greek political publishing field during the *long sixties* generally followed two divergent, if not opposite, paths. The first was a consistent attempt to duplicate the originals—since the field's book production was heavily based on translated works—to vest the translated work with the political *aura* of the original. This political *aura* was the added value for the publisher leading to the accumulation of symbolic capital that, in turn, served the identity politics of the political organisations that were behind the publishing groups. The *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, also known as the *Little Red Book*, an iconic text of the *long sixties* on a global scale, was used as the case study of my proposed argument. The analysis of the *Little Red Book* highlighted the element of political publications treated as material objects apart from their textual usage and emphasise its performativity. On the other hand, when political *aura* was not present and symbolic capital would not be accumulated through the form of the book published, then the cover design was considered irrelevant. Spending time, money or effort on decent book design was alien to the mentality of most agents in the political publishing field, a fact that becomes self-evident when one browses through the books accumulated in the period by the radicals of that time.

CHAPTER 4

Books and Politics: The Case of Istorikes Ekdoseis

There are three more or less distinct categories of political publishing. The first is publishing that constitutes a direct branch or sector of a political group, which—as Chapter 1 laid out, covers all underground publishing and some alternative media. The second is political literature published by trade publishing houses that frequently publish a much broader range of material, often not even related to politics. Publishing activities in this second group are not a part of our focus but, as also detailed in Chapter 1, such examples are indicative of the popularity of the political trend among readers during the period of our interest. The third category is where the publishing activity and the political group is one and the same. Here, we are speaking of a distinct political group that constitutes the entire personnel of a periodical (or, less often, a publishing group). In general, I argue that during the Greek *long sixties*, the history of Istorikes Ekdoseis leads us through the birth, rise and fall of the political publishing field.⁴¹⁰

In 1963, Istorikes Ekdoseis' first books hit the shelves of Greek bookstores. This particular publishing house was initially nothing more than a

410. As detailed in the introduction and first chapter of the dissertation, the political publishing field is replete with terms for the press, including “underground”, “radical”, “leftist”, “anarchist”, “alternative”, “counterculture” and “dissidents. In reality all these terms express a variety of subfields of the political publishing field, some of which converge, almost to the extent that it is difficult to strictly divide and categorise publishing activity in these fields. There are also hybrid situations, i.e. were a publishing entity is supposedly a formal legal entity but in reality, is disseminating its product through alternative paths.

tool of public expression and propaganda of a group of Marxists–Leninists, or at least, this was the initial aim of its foundation. In time, it faced its own transformations according to the social and political shifts within the Greek and international movement, as well as the shifts of the Greek youth towards a more cultural approach to politics, in contrast with the strictly ideological and political approach adopted hitherto. In this chapter, we will examine the formation and transformations of this project, during its two periods of activity, 1963–1967 and 1974–1981. Furthermore, I will briefly refer to concurrent projects, such as the monthly review *Anagennisi* and the weekly newspaper *Laikos Dromos*, as well as the activity of its founders and members during the period of the military dictatorship (1967–1974) when the new regime abruptly terminated its activity.

My aim is to identify its main and specific characteristics, its agents and the dynamics it developed within the political publishing field. In addition, I seek to show that the almost universal assumption that a political group's press is a transmitter and the audience is a receiver is not always accurate. Publishing projects of the time, despite their differences, were the expression of a political and cultural current of rising dissent against the establishment and mainstream political and cultural trends. Thus, the interplay between the audience and the publishing team, and the effect of the socio-political changes at the national and transnational levels on the publishing programme, are two issues we will try to tackle.

In the political publishing field—except for state publishing houses and mainstream political party publishing houses—the only thing taken for granted is the political aim or objective. Consequently, the operating principle of the field is each time directly connected to the ideological and political commitment of the publishing agents. The general concept behind these projects is that they function as messengers of (revolutionary) change. Thus, we should not overlook the dialectics between the global and the local trends in (revolutionary) politics and consequently of political publishing.

In our case, it is useful to examine first the international counterparts of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* to fully comprehend the functioning and logic of the latter, especially during its first period. While the networks for accessing information and printed material from international counterparts are more

or less the same worldwide, the actors in each country played a different role. Their role varied due to the circumstances in each country as well as due to the role they chose to assume. By the former, I mean that there had been cases where local agents took advantage of the fact that their international affiliates published material in the local language and so had only to import and disseminate it.

But even so, it is possible that the decisive factor here is not the circumstances but the role these agents decided to play. For example, *Istorikes Ekdoseis* during its first period chose to merely translate and publish Chinese texts in an identical form of the originals. *Anagennisi*, the monthly review the same political group was publishing at the time, was also heavily based on Chinese texts as well as on those from other fellow believers worldwide. As will become clear these roles are not prefixed or static and in the case of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* there indeed was a transformation that took place throughout its history. I shall observe, as well, shifts in the role of international counterparts—these counterparts and their relations and functions in respect to Greek publishing and political groups were always subject to change. Apart from the Chinese counterparts of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, I will refer to the *League of Friends of "New China"*, which was instrumental in the development of the publishing house.

Chinese International Publishing Policy and Greece

Print culture has always been a fundamental element of communist and left-wing politics. At its founding, the CPC developed a printing and publishing apparatus, as well as a theoretical framework supporting the necessity of textual production.⁴¹¹ After the establishment of the PRC, several printing, publishing and distribution organisations focusing on an international audience were established. This practice was, of course, not particular to

411. Christopher A. Reed, "Advancing the (Gutenberg) Revolution: The Origins and Development of Chinese Print Communism, 1921–1947", in *From Woodblocks to the Internet: Chinese Publishing and Print Culture in Transition, circa 1800 to 2008*, ed. Cynthia Brokaw and Christopher A. Reed (Brill: Leiden 2010), 275–276.

the Chinese—other socialist states, such as the Soviet Union, Albania and North Korea had similar apparatuses.

International Communist Propaganda During the Long Sixties: An Overview

Agitation and propaganda were always fundamental to the theoretical premises of the communist movement and communist leaders and intellectuals wrote extensively on such issues. Books and periodicals published and distributed in foreign languages as well as worldwide radio transmissions (i.e., Radio Moscow, Radio Peking and Radio Tirana) were the basic means used by socialist countries to disseminate their viewpoints. Textual propaganda included the production of Marxist (in its broadest sense) literature, books regarding socio-political, economic, cultural and scientific developments in the socialist bloc, translations of their literary production, as well as children's books and textbooks, among others.

The global movement of the 1960s, and the antagonisms between different socialist countries—predominantly China and the Soviet Union—saw this propaganda elevated to a higher level, driven by the interest of each in expanding influence and acquiring allies abroad. This textual war is documented in the Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute of the Open Society Archives at the Central European University in Budapest.⁴¹² I do not intend to investigate these propaganda mechanisms

412. Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty was established in 1949. Until 1995 it was based in Munich, when it moved to Prague. The organisation was funded by the CIA until the early 1970s. During the Cold War, it was used for radio transmissions aimed at the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc. It also served as an organisation that gathered information through monitoring the Socialist bloc broadcasts and publications. This information constitutes a very significant body of material and findings, that help us understand and assess communist propaganda and its dissemination through radio and print. It is particularly of our interest due to the fact that the CIA since 1960, explicitly insisted on the coverage of the Sino–Soviet conflict. The latter resulted in the documentation not only of the split per se, but of the pamphlet and propaganda war that burst among the two powers, which is very significant for this research. See Arch Puddington, *Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty*, The University Press of Kentucky (Kentucky: 2000), 31–32, 38–41.

here. I will only analyse those that are related to the present research. In other words, those organisations that Istorikes Ekdoseis and its affiliated press either: 1) established relations or contacts with; 2) used as a source for their publications or; 3) used to provide a framework for communist propaganda during that time.⁴¹³

A report dated 21 May 1958 stated that “the communist bloc produces roughly one-hundred periodicals for ‘export’—a hundred identical communist ‘flowers’.”⁴¹⁴ According to the report—which focused on communist periodicals sent abroad and books and magazines published in the “Soviet orbit” generally—there were 83 different titles, published in 27 different languages, coming from 11 different socialist bloc countries. The combinations of different languages and periodicals produced more than 300 different editions of those 83 periodicals. This excludes the 14 publications published by international front organisations—namely, the *World Youth* or the *Horizons* periodicals, published by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the World Peace Council, respectively. Every socialist country of that time, apart from Mongolia, produced propaganda periodicals to be exported.⁴¹⁵ By observing the content and form of the publications, one realises that almost one-third of it is pictorial or illustrated periodicals, and one-sixth news reviews and information bulletins that derived from the socialist bloc’s communist parties.

Thirteen periodicals came from China: a daily news bulletin, a fortnightly news review, two monthly pictorials; a monthly periodical covering foreign trade; five bi-monthly periodicals (of which four were scientific, and one was a women-related pictorial); two quarterly periodicals (one concerning literature and one concerning sports); and a non-periodic serial

413. The review *Anagennisi* was heavily based on Chinese foreign propaganda in order to compile its international pages—this was an extensive and significant part of the review itself. Articles and reports derived from *Peking Review* were translated and published in every single issue of *Anagennisi*.

414. “Khrushchev and the ‘Problems of Peace and Socialism’”, 3 July 1958. HU OSA 300-8-3-16891; Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute: Publications Department: Background Reports; Open Society Archives at Central European University, Budapest, 15.

415. *Ibid*, 15–17.

publication for the youth. All of the above were available in English, and some were also available in other languages, including Russian, Japanese, Indonesian, French, German, Spanish, Hindi, Vietnamese, Korean, Uighur, Tibetan and Mongolian.⁴¹⁶

After this comprehensive presentation of foreign language periodicals, a more analytic report followed, covering the production of books and periodicals for 1957 in the countries behind the Iron Curtain. Despite the anti-communist nature of the organisation that composed the report, it is very balanced and informative.⁴¹⁷ The report stresses the importance of print as a propaganda tool, and the fact it was being heavily used by the socialist bloc to “project to the outside world the image of their society”.⁴¹⁸ According to this document, a 14% increase of foreign propaganda publications written in “Free World languages” was witnessed in 1957 in respect to the year before and a much larger increase was witnessed for documents written in languages aiming at the so-called Third World countries (a 150% increase in the number of books, a 400% increase in the number of pamphlets, a 400% increase in the number of periodicals, and additionally, fourteen new language editions of foreign language periodicals). The estimate of the number of publications for 1958 was even higher, based on both the initial plans pronounced by the Soviets and prior experience. For 1956 and 1957 the Soviet Union produced almost 30 million copies of foreign language books and pamphlets each year.⁴¹⁹

Most interesting of all, the Soviets were continuing to expand into new

416. *Ibid.*, 40–41.

417. The report itself cannot be characterised as totally unbiased since, as Ungor “Distant Comrade”, 262–264 states, for the Western scholarly perception of Chinese propaganda, the fear of Communism during the Cold War led to an over-emphasis of the strength of communist propaganda. The size and geographical dissemination of the propaganda materials produced is often perceived or assumed to be identical to the audience reception, although the latter is not adequately researched or proven. Thus, expressions such as ‘the range of usage was, as usual, wide and impressive’ and ‘[t]he Free World, [...], received publications which were interesting in content, impressive in appearance, and arresting in their psychological and nationalistic appeals’ (“Khrushchev and the ‘Problems of Peace and Socialism’”, 18).

418. *Ibid.*, 18.

419. *Ibid.*, 19–20.

languages and thus new countries—both the Western (e.g., the Netherlands) and Eastern World (e.g., India). This included not only production and subsequent export from the Soviet Union directly, but also agreements with publishing houses abroad. In 1956, the Soviets published 100 million copies in collaboration with foreign publishers and were in contact with around seven hundred firms in fifty-eight countries on almost all continents (Europe, America, Asia and Australia).⁴²⁰ At the same time,⁴²¹ the PRC's production was smaller—four hundred and sixteen titles and 4.6 million copies, circulating in seventy-one countries. The rest of the socialist bloc also exported millions of copies to a variety of countries. Also notable are the low prices charged for this material—lower, in fact, than the estimated production cost. A safe assumption would be that publications were subsidised since the primary aim was not to turn in profit but to disseminate as widely as possible. We will further elaborate on this point when assessing Chinese foreign propaganda in the following sections.

A variety of means were used to promote communist book production, including agreements between libraries, scientific institutions and publishing companies worldwide for book exchanges. One of the most interesting agreements was signed, in 1957, between the PRC and the well-known British publishing firm Penguin, to exchange translated versions of their respective titles free of royalty.⁴²² Apart from the book exchanges, the socialist bloc sent bulks of titles as gifts, mainly to university libraries in the non-socialist countries.⁴²³

Communist propaganda was closely monitored by the state apparatus in various Western countries. For instance, the United States House of Representatives formed the Committee on Un-American Activities. The committee included production and dissemination of communist propaganda in the list of activities it monitored, investigated and prosecuted. In 1962, the second session of the 87th Congress of the Committee dedicated a large

420. *Ibid*, 20.

421. The information concerns the years 1949–1956.

422. *Ibid*, 22.

423. Helsinki University, for example, received more than 3,000 titles from the Soviet Union as a gift. See *Ibid*, 22.

segment of its time to investigating “communist outlets for the distribution of Soviet propaganda in the United States”, which included subpoenas and testimony from people involved in such activities.⁴²⁴ The aforementioned exaggeration regarding Soviet propaganda is more than evident from the very beginning of this document, which it casts as “one of the greatest single threats to the security of the United States and the free world”.⁴²⁵ This statement was made just as the pro-Soviet Communist Party of the United States of America was entirely marginal as a political organisation, and no real threat to the establishment.

Nevertheless, some interesting facts surfaced from these hearings. An earlier assumption on the existence of heavy subsidies of the publications produced in the socialist bloc on behalf of the socialist bloc governments seems to be backed by one of the testimonies. More specifically, the owner of the New Era Books and Subscription Agency, who had ordered 10,000 copies of the title *Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* from companies controlled by Myron Emmanuel Sharpe—who was assumed to be one of the key figures in disseminating Soviet propaganda material in the US—stated that he was only going to pay one cent per copy—the list price was 50 cents.⁴²⁶ There were also documents revealing the existence of agreements between US and Soviet publishing firms for the former to translate and publish Soviet titles and periodicals into English. These, according to the hearings, were distributed by the Soviet Embassy in “unsolicited bulk mails” at below cost.⁴²⁷ Further statements indicate that, apart from the free-of-charge provision of primary documents to serve as publishing material, there were indirect subsidies to US publishing firms from Moscow, supposedly to facilitate printing and distribution of communist propaganda material.⁴²⁸ The report claimed, not without justification, that those engaged in the production and dissemination of foreign commu-

424. “Hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities”, House of Representatives, 87th Congress, US Doc 2.791, 1587–1698.

425. Ibid, 1587.

426. Ibid, 1588–1589.

427. Ibid, 1589–1590.

428. Ibid, 1590–1591.

nist propaganda were related to the Communist Party of the United States and highlighted that these ventures were not profitable, their survival substantially depending on subsidies.⁴²⁹

The centrality of textual propaganda as a means to promote one's ideology, the involvement of individuals in such activities due to idealism and political faith rather than economic factors, and the overall and heavy dependence of domestic outlets on the socialist countries, are the main points one should always bear in mind when discussing the foreign language ideological and political propaganda of the socialist bloc. That economic issues were the last concern for the PRC, for example, is stressed by the fact that they had been supplying foreign distributors for years, even in countries with which they had no trade agreements (e.g., the United States), making it difficult to get paid for the shipments.⁴³⁰

Chinese Foreign Propaganda

Although one of the main characteristics of the Greek political publishing field we are analysing is the financial and political autonomy from the state, one must take into consideration that this does not always apply for its international counterparts. For example, textual communication in China at the same time "became essentially synonymous with party-state activities".⁴³¹ For this reason, an overview of the Chinese publishing policies is essential to fully comprehend the context within which *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, among others, functioned.

429. *Ibid.*, 1593–1595.

430. Henry Noyes established China Books & Periodicals in 1960, and he was unable to pay his Chinese counterparts for over a decade. He was able to transfer the money he owed in a blocked bank account, but not to China until 1971. The accumulated amount of this blocked account was not transferred to China before 1980. See Henry Noyes, *China Born: Adventures of A Maverick Bookman* (San Francisco: China Books & Periodicals, 1989), 72–76, 91–94. Constantly increasing sales of Chinese literature in the USA and consequently the increasing number of volumes shipped as well as the very generous financial agreement with Guozi Shudian, are convincing evidence that the PRC was less interested in making a profit or even breaking even, and much more interested in achieving the widest distribution possible for its publications.

431. Reed, "Advancing", 22–23.

Chinese publishing policies were characterised by freedom of reproduction, since there was a lack of any copyright legislation, and consequently of any restrictions, between 1949 and 1991.⁴³² Discussions on copyright legislation were initiated only in the post-Mao era.⁴³³ Copyrights went against socialist ideology—that is, the state ideology—which perceived “culture as public and social”.⁴³⁴ Apart from this ideological justification, to promote its positions within the international communist movement, the Chinese state had far more reasons to ease the dissemination of its foreign propaganda material. This was especially true after the disputes with the Soviet Union—which resulted in polarisation between the Soviet Union and its allies on the one hand, and the PRC, Albania and their allies, on the other. The race between the two camps to influence the existing socialist and communist parties worldwide or gain access to the newly formed groups of the *long sixties*, forced most of the so-called socialist countries into either upgrading their existing foreign propaganda policies and agencies or establishing new ones. Each camp pushed itself as the genuine revolutionary model, and printed propaganda was the means of doing so.⁴³⁵

We can track the development of Chinese foreign propaganda during the *long sixties* by studying the consecutive reports of the United States Department of Justice Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA).⁴³⁶ In FARA’s 1960 report, the vast majority of references to Chinese organisations functioning in the United States concerned the Kuomintang government based in Taipei and not the PRC. While the report dedicated a page to Soviet prop-

432. See “More About the Chinese Book Market”, Frankfurter Buchmesse, accessed 30 October 2014, http://www.buchmesse.de/images/fbm/dokumente-ua-pdfs/2014/china_buchmarkt_en_2014_44724.pdf.

433. Dong Han, “How the Copyright Law Was (Not) Made: Intellectual Property and China’s Contested Reintegration with Global Capitalism”, *International Journal of Communication* 8 (2014), 1517–1518.

434. *Ibid.*, 1519.

435. Ungor, “Distant Comrade”, 66.

436. FARA, valid since 1938, requires that each agent of a foreign principal—apart from foreign diplomats and government officials, or people working on a religious, academic or fine arts level—provides details, on its financial records, of the content of the propaganda disseminated in the USA, as well as, of all of its activities within the USA. See FARA website, accessed 22 November 2011, <http://www.fara.gov/fara-faq.html#1>.

aganda,⁴³⁷ there was not a single reference to that of the Chinese. During that time, the Soviets had almost 20 different organisations and individuals working on their propaganda in the United States. The Chinese had three, two of which were joint Sino–Soviet organisations.⁴³⁸

Just one year later, things had changed. The report for 1961 dedicates a page-and-a-half to “Red China propaganda”, both its content and how it was disseminated (the organisations used, and the major Chinese publications).⁴³⁹ The report also mentions the establishment of a new distributor of Chinese (as well as Soviet) publications in the United States. The 1962 report was almost identical to that of the year before. The increased references to China and the halt in imports of Chinese publications by distributors that had formerly done so (and their replacement with new distributors) attest to the impact of the Sino–Soviet Split in publishing and distribution of political texts and to the relationship between publishing and politics.

The Sino–Soviet Split

Before the Sino–Soviet Split in the early 1960s, the Chinese government used the Eastern Bloc countries as an intermediate access point for its propaganda towards Western Europe. After the split, China had to create its own networks for disseminating its propaganda and had created or further developed agencies involved in the production and distribution of print materials which were intended for a global audience.

A brief presentation of some of the most significant Chinese agencies that interacted with their Greek counterparts will follow the general context of the time to give the reader an impression of the propaganda apparatus and its interaction with the Greek political publishing field. To analyse the textual products of the time, the reader must also consider Chinese foreign policy of China and international developments in general. Besides the necessary global perspective this provides, it also allows us to zero in on the im-

437. FARA, Report to Congress for the calendar year 1960, July 1961, 14–15.

438. *Ibid.*, 47 and 101–105.

439. FARA, Report to Congress for the calendar year 1961, October 1962, 22–23.

fact of ideology. When researching ideologically loaded case studies like this, it is not hard to get carried away and neglect the fact that state survival will always come before ideology where existential threats are concerned. From the mid-1950s to the Sino–Soviet split, the PRC’s foreign policy was generally moderate. China was trying to ally with neighbours regardless of their ideological and political beliefs. After the split, however, it redirected its policy, becoming more supportive of revolutionary movements and parties globally. This was related to the split itself since the aim was to present itself as the true revolutionary model vis-à-vis the “revisionist” Soviet Union. This resulted in a boost in the range of publications—both in terms of titles and the number of languages into which originals were translated. The Greek Marxist–Leninist press, during its pre-Junta period, was heavily based on the Chinese foreign language periodicals *Peking Review*, its identical French version *Pekin Information*, the publishing house FLP in Beijing, and, in terms of distribution, Guozi Shudian.

As the rift between the Soviet and the Chinese camp deepened, the existing importers and distributors of both camps’ products had to choose sides. The majority of Western ventures aligned with the Soviet camp⁴⁴⁰ and Chinese publications were no longer available in pro-Soviet bookstores.⁴⁴¹ Pro-Soviet distributors declined to disseminate Chinese publications or translations, and these publications were no longer advertised in the pro-Soviet press.⁴⁴²

Peking Review was a weekly periodical launched to replace *People’s China* which had been the first English-language, bi-weekly periodical produced in China. The latter was published from 1950 to 1957 and sought to promote the newly formed PRC in the world, seeking to break international isolation by forging friendships and recruiting international support.⁴⁴³ It

440. This conclusion derives from the choice made by the vast majority of the Western communist parties to align with the Soviet Union. At the time, most publishers and booksellers who were in the communist publication business were either officially or unofficially affiliated with the communist parties in their respective countries.

441. Noyes, *China Born*, 76–78.

442. Mais, “E ekdotiki drastiriotita”, 71–72, 77–78.

443. Leonard W. Lazarick, “China’s Smiling Face to the World: Beijing’s English-Lan-

is no coincidence that during the 1950s friendship associations with China were established in several countries, including Greece. In the Greek case the Enosi Filon Neas Kinas (the League of Friends of New China), established in 1956, was the first collective to establish relations with the Chinese government and consequently import Chinese publications that were used as the basis for translated works in Greek. The history and work of the League will be detailed further below, highlighting how translated Chinese publications went from a niche publishing trend, one slice of a wider publishing field, to an autonomous political stance. I also discuss its significance for the first steps of Istorikes Ekdoseis.

In her PhD dissertation—the most significant and up-to-date scientific work written on Chinese foreign propaganda during the Mao Zedong era—Cagdas Ungor analyses and periodises the Chinese foreign language periodicals according to the four significant political episodes of modern Chinese history. These are the Great Leap Forward (1958–1961), the Sino–Soviet Split (1960–1964), the Cultural Revolution (1966–1969), and the Sino–US rapprochement (1971–1972).⁴⁴⁴ *Peking Review*, a highly ideological and political English-language magazine, was relaunched at the start of the Great Leap Forward.⁴⁴⁵ As Lazerick notes:

The new magazine was larger, more frequent, more serious and more ideological than its predecessor, even though produced by much of the same staff [...] The closing of the more conversational *People's China*, with its broader range of writing styles, subject matter and reportage from the field, also reflected the ideological shifts that occurred in 1957 and the greater political control of the period.⁴⁴⁶

Peking Review also served as a promotional instrument for other Chinese publications, i.e. the new foreign languages editions published by Beijing's

guage Magazines in the First Decade of the People's Republic" (master's thesis, University of Maryland, 2005), 1–2.

444. Ungor, "Distant Comrade", 24–25.

445. The Great Leap Forward had been an ambitious economic development plan, aiming at a quick transformation of Chinese Economy from an agrarian one to an industrial. This, unsuccessful, experiment attracted a lot of foreign attention during its time. The first issue of *Peking Review*, published on March 4, 1958, dedicated three out of four major articles on this specific matter.

446. Lazarick, "China's Smiling Face", 3.

FLP. These were an essential tool for both the PRC as well as its followers and sympathisers worldwide since China was isolated and had few official diplomatic or trade relations, especially in the Western world. The existence of a magazine and of other publications that would inform left-wingers and communists worldwide on the official position of the CPC on the various ideological and political issues that arose, especially during the Sino–Soviet split was a unique source of information at the time.

During and after the Sino–Soviet split occurred, being a subscriber of *Peking Review* served two purposes. On the one hand, subscribers used it to gain much-needed information about China and the position of the CPC. On the other, subscribing was a kind of virtue signal, a statement of alignment with the Chinese communists. In notes retrieved from the archives of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and *Anagennisi*, there are explicit references to the renewal of the group’s subscriptions to *Peking Review* and *Pekin Information*, and discussion of subscribing to the other Chinese periodicals available, as well as carrying advertisements for the foreign press in *Anagennisi*. While browsing through the digital copies of *Anagennisi*,⁴⁴⁷ it is rather apparent that, for some reason, the decision was made not to go forward with this proposal and the advertisements were never placed.

Although it is difficult to be sure due to the paucity of sources, it is certainly possible that the publishers of *Anagennisi*, who had only recently been released from exile, reconsidered their earlier decision due to probable risks of directly promoting a communist country’s press. One should always bear in mind that these publishing entities were active in a stridently anti-communist environment, where during that same time communism was prohibited by law and being a communist was considered as an act of treason. There had even been a case where a copy-editor of a Greek translation of a work by Mao Zedong was court-martialed under such legislation in 1954.⁴⁴⁸ We will now present a brief overview of the part of the Chinese publishing apparatus that is of particular interest.

447. See <http://morfotikesekdoseis.gr/?q=biblia-pdf>, accessed 18 November 2014.

448. Ios tis Kyriakis, “To ideograma tu taxidioti” [The traveller’s ideogram], *Eleftherotypia* (newsp.), 20/7/2008 <<http://www.iospress.gr/ios2008/ios20080720.htm>>, accessed 25/05/2015 [in Greek].

Guozi Shudian was established just two months after Mao Zedong proclaimed the establishment of the PRC. In the 1960s it served as the distribution centre for Chinese publishing production worldwide, both to organisations and directly to individuals. Its advertisements were carried in Chinese periodicals, such as the *Peking Review*—which was very popular among Western radicals and had been a primary source for translation material for their own periodicals and press. In the archives related to Istorikes Ekdoseis and its counterparts, we find evidence that they had subscribed to—mainly Chinese—foreign press agencies. These include correspondence regarding subscriptions as well as bank transaction statements regarding payments to these agencies.⁴⁴⁹ From the content of the responses of Guozi Shudian, it is clear that Istorikes Ekdoseis was informing the former about its publishing activities and intentions to translate specific titles distributed by Guozi Shudian and return a small number of the translated titles to China. This is stressed in an urgent letter, regarding the forthcoming Greek edition of *Quotations of Chairman Mao Tse-Tung*. The letter by Guozi Shudian requested that Istorikes Ekdoseis would include the “Foreword to the Second Edition”—which accompanied the letter—written by Lin Biao in their translated edition.

Guozi Shudian was at the heart of Chinese foreign propaganda since it handled the promotion of publications, subscriptions and distribution in general. Its services were advertised in the issues of *Peking Review*, but it also produced catalogues, and it informed organisations and individuals with whom it was in contact on its new publications via mail.

On the terror of the state and the legal framework in post-war Greece, see Panourgia, *Dangerous Citizens*, 23–38. On examples of censorship and persecution regarding publishing in Greece, see Mais, “Marxist–Leninist Publishing”, 47–49.

449. Despite the fact that the archival evidence date from the period 1966–1967, we are able to identify that the vast majority of the translated material from the *Anagennisi* review, published by the Istorikes Ekdoseis group from October 1964 (issue 1) to January–February 1967 (issue 28–29) comes from *Peking Review* and its French counterpart *Pekin Information*, although this is not explicitly stated. Since these periodicals were not distributed in Greece apart from specific subscriptions, it is safe to assume that the group affiliated with Istorikes Ekdoseis subscribed to these periodicals, at least after 1964.

Xinhua News Agency,⁴⁵⁰ the Global Marxist–Leninist Press and the Greek Publishing Field

When the Istorikes Ekdoseis group accumulated enough symbolic capital and thus a wider audience, it decided to launch a monthly review named *Anagennisi*.⁴⁵¹ The first issue was published in October 1964. Although the review included several articles written by the group members regarding the political situation in Greece and the polemics within the Greek communist movement, the lengthier part of each issue was related to the global communist movement. In order to stay up to date with the theoretical and political debates and polemics within the international communist movement, the group established contacts with a number of fellow believers worldwide. Each issue was compiled by a number of translations of articles that had been published in *Peking Review*; by the Xinhua News Agency or other Marxist–Leninist newspapers and periodicals. Costis Papaioannou, a member of the group at the time who was mainly involved in translations from English to Greek recalled the arrival of Xinhua’s bulletins via mail, “a roll of thin rice-paper pages”.⁴⁵² It was already demonstrated that Xinhua and *Peking Review* were the major sources of information for *Anagennisi*. Nevertheless, the remainders of *Anagennisi*’s archive imply the existence of other sources of information. Correspondence and handwritten notes regarding contacts and subscriptions to the publication of such entities were found among other archival material belonging to the *Anagennisi* and Istorikes Ekdoseis team.⁴⁵³ More specifically, there were yearly subscriptions to *La voix du peuple*,⁴⁵⁴ *L’humanité nou-*

450. Xinhua is the original Chinese name of the New China News Agency, established in 1931 as Red China News Agency. See Mais, “Marxist–Leninist Publishing”, 17.

451. That is, *Rebirth* in Greek.

452. Costis Papaioannou, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 8 June 2009.

453. Box 483, Folder 5 and Folder 7, EDA Archive, ASKI, Athens.

454. *La Voix du Peuple* [*The Voice of the People*] was a monthly that soon turned into a weekly magazine, of the Communist Party of Belgium, a Belgian Marxist–Leninist group led by Jacques Grippa. The magazine was launched in late 1963. See Marxists Archive Online, accessed 8 May 2015, <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/belgium-1st/index.htm>; Jacques Grippa, “*Theory*” and *Practice of the Modern Revisionists* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), 45–47.

*velle*⁴⁵⁵ and *La manchette*.⁴⁵⁶ Moreover, *Anagennisi* issues had their contents written in French, subsequently dispatched to the aforementioned counterparts in Europe and China.⁴⁵⁷ During this period, a member of the *Anagennisi* and Istorikes Ekdoseis group, Isaak Iordanides, visited China via France. Members of this publishing circle, mainly postgraduate students, were based in Paris and were in contact with their French comrades.⁴⁵⁸

*The League of Friends of “New China”*⁴⁵⁹

Established in 1956 on the initiative of the intellectual Beata Kitsiki,⁴⁶⁰ the League of Friends of “New China”⁴⁶¹ presented itself to be interested in promoting the cultural and artistic aspects of China. In fact, Kitsiki and other Greek progressives and leftists wanted to help China fight its inter-

455. *L’Humanité Nouvelle* [*The New Humanity*] was the monthly newspaper of the Federation of Marxist–Leninist Circles in France established in 1965.

456. *La Machete* [*The Machete*] was a Belgium-based, Haitian Marxist–Leninist periodical launched in 1966 with the help of Jacques Grippa’s group. CIA, “Intelligent Report: The Sino–Soviet Report Within the Communist Movement in Latin America” (Reference title: ESAU XXVIII), 15 June 1967, 172, CIA website, accessed 8 May 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/esau-32.pdf>.

457. Dispatch notes from *Anagennisi* to the Xinhua News Agency in London, *La Voix de Peuple*, *L’Humanité Nouvelle* as well as to the Chinese Embassy in Berne were traced in the archive of *Anagennisi*. Box 483, Folder 5, EDA Archive, ASKI, Athens.

458. Meeting with Isaac Iordanides in Drapetsona, Athens, 19 June 2009.

459. Syllogos Filon Neas Kinas [in Greek]. The association is still active today under the name *Greece–China Association*, but it has long ceased having a cultural and political orientation since it is now business-oriented. Dimitris Kitsikis, email correspondence with the author, 16 November 2014.

460. Beata Kitsiki published the book *Gnorisa tous kokkinous frourous* [*I Met the Red Guards*] (Athens: Kedros, 1982) [in Greek] which is about her personal experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. She had previously published another two books with her recollections from her visits in China, *Maties stin Kina* [Glimpses in China] (Athens: 1957) [in Greek] and *Ap’osa idame stin Kina: Apostoli 1963–1964* [*What We Saw in China: The 1963–1964 Expedition*] (Athens: Fexis, 1964) [in Greek]. Dimitris Kitsikis, email correspondence with the author, 30 November 2014.

461. The League was also known as the Union of Friends of New China and the Greek–Chinese Friendship League.

national isolation by the “capitalist–imperialist states”.⁴⁶² Kitsiki was even able to persuade intellectuals and moderate politicians and members of the Greek parliament to join, including Dimitrios Paspasyrou, the president of the parliament at the time.⁴⁶³ The strong ties Kitsiki was able to forge with moderate academics and politicians is indicated by the fact that her highly ideological and political book on the Chinese Cultural Revolution—*I Met the Red Guards*⁴⁶⁴—has a preface by Periklis Theocharis. Theocharis was an academic and president of the Academy of Athens—the most prominent but also the most conservative intellectual institution in Greece at the time. In his three-page-long preface, Theocharis referred to the work of Beata Kitsiki through the League, such as, the organised visits in China, one of which he himself attended. Moreover, he is speaking very fondly of Kitsiki and China.⁴⁶⁵

The League was based in a hall where meetings and cultural events related to China were held. Beata Kitsiki even managed to organise expeditions to China from 1956 onwards and played a very significant role as a source of Chinese publications that were used for translations. Furthermore, it published the quarterly periodical *Ellenokinezika Chronika* [Greek–Chinese Chronicles] and in January 1959 it also published the book *Ancient Chinese Myths*. The first official Chinese delegation to visit Greece was a cultural one, which followed an invitation by the League in May 1960.⁴⁶⁶

462. Meeting with Isaak Iordanides in Drapetsona, Athens, 19 June 2009; Isaak Iordanides interview with the author, Drapetsona, 23 February 2012; 28 September 2012; Yorgis Provelegios, interview with the author, Athens, 10 October 2012.

463. The second visit of the League to China was led by Yeorgios Mavros, one of the main political figures of the period that was considered, politically-speaking, to be on the centre-left part of the political spectrum. Dimitris Kitsikis, email correspondence with the author, 30 November 2014.

464. Kitsiki, *Red Guards*.

465. Periklis Theocharis, “Dio logia” [“Two words”], in Kitsiki, *Gnorisa tous*, 3–5 [in Greek].

466. “E proti kineziki politistikis antiprosopia stin Athina” [“The first Chinese cultural delegation in Athens”], *Augi*, Athens, 20 May 1960 [in Greek].

*The “How to Know China Better” Book Series*⁴⁶⁷

Later on, the League created a series of more than thirty books, mainly on Chinese literature and art, in collaboration with the publishing house Feksi—an established trade publisher of the time. The series was launched in 1962 with the title *Chinese Theatre*. This was the only title produced by a Greek author while all the others were translated Chinese texts. The author, Takis Mouzenides, a very well-known Greek theatre and cinema director, visited China himself as part of the League’s organised visits. Mouzenidis’ book was written with the support of the Minister of Culture of the PRC.⁴⁶⁸ The series was called “How to Know China Better” [in Greek]. Prior to Mouzenidis’ volume, in 1959, Feksi had published a travel book about China by Petros Charis,⁴⁶⁹ a well-known, conservative Greek intellectual, titled *China Outside the Walls*.⁴⁷⁰ Other intellectuals that participated in the expeditions organised by Kitsiki and the League had written and published about their experiences, but no other publishers created a series like Feksi.⁴⁷¹ In some of the published titles, we find a note that clarifies that the series was constituted by works selected due to the initiative and collaboration of the League.⁴⁷²

A more thorough explanation of the series can be found on the front flap of one the books’ dust jacket:

A new series by Feksi publishing

How to Know China Better

By reading his literature (novel, short story, poetry, theatre, essay) and

467. The series was published in Greek. The Greek title is “Pos Na Gnorisoume tin Kina Kalitera”

468. Wu Yue, *E Ellada ke e Kina: Prodiathesis ke politikes, 1946–1966* [*Greece and China: Predispositions and Politics, 1946–1966*] (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Athens, 2014), 163 [in Greek].

469. The alias of Ioannis Marmariades.

470. At least a dozen travellers’ books were published by Greek intellectuals, mainly conservative or non-left-wingers the least, from the mid-1950s until the mid-1960s. Most of them were involved in the League or its organised expeditions to China. See Yue *E Ellada ke e Kina*, 347–348.

471. *Ibid.*, 158–281.

472. See *E istoria tu Huang Siao ke alles kinezikes istories* [*The Story of Huang Siao and Other Chinese Tales*] (Athens: Feksis, 1962), n.p [in Greek].

everything that is relevant to his art (music, visual arts, cinema), we will be able to know the man of China.

By studying his philosophical and scientific thought—the foundations on which one of the greatest civilisations of mankind was based on.

Reading its ancient and modern history, in order to live the struggles, through time, of a great people to take his faith into his own hands and to take its place in this ambivalent world, and finally,

Getting to know the environment within which he lives, moves and creates: its geography, its social and political life and everything relevant about him.

*That is how we will know China better.*⁴⁷³

The above text served as an advertisement to lure subscribers, to whom a 30% discount and a wooden case would be provided to place the book series.⁴⁷⁴

The last published work of the series was most probably the fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Lu Hsun*, translated by M. Cornelios,⁴⁷⁵ published in 1966. Most of the translators were known left-wing intellectuals themselves, and some were surely related to the League, who selected the works to be translated along with the publisher.

Leonidas Christakis, whom we met in Chapter 2, was the graphic designer of the series.⁴⁷⁶ Christakis designed the covers and dust-jackets, illustrations, chose the font and had the supervision of the overall design of the series.⁴⁷⁷ As we detailed at length in Chapter 2, Christakis—who died in 2009—was one of the best-known publishers of the anti-authoritarian and anarchist movement in the ‘70s, primarily known for the avant-garde graphic designs of his subversive countercultural magazines, *Panderma* and *Ideodromio*. Prior to his countercultural activity, he was an established painter, gallery owner and graphic designer. During the early 1960s, he

473. Tsao Yu, *Bora* [Thunderstorm] (Athens: Feksis, 1964), dust jacket’s front flap [in Greek].

474. *Ibid.*

475. This was probably the well-known Greek poet and translator Manolis Cornelios.

476. It was not possible to acquire the whole series of books in order to undertake extensive research. Feksi closed decades ago and there is no archive I am aware of where a complete list of its titles can be found. Nevertheless, all the titles available name Christakis as the graphic designer and illustrator of the series.

477. Christakis, *O Kyrios Athinai*, 221–223.

worked as a graphic designer and an illustrator at Feksis publishing house, one of the most known Greek trade publishers at the time.

The only academic work on the cultural relations between Greece and China, by Wu Yue, makes reference to both the League and the travels to China and the book production that followed in the form of travellers' books. Nevertheless, the production of the series seems to have escaped the author's attention, despite its significance. The only known reference to the series is by the Greek poet, novelist and reporter Anastasis Vistonitis. In an article on contemporary Chinese literature and an overview of Chinese literature during the Maoist and post-Maoist era he wrote:

It was only recently that the repressive policy of the Maoist regime, the fierce wave of persecution of writers during the Cultural Revolution and the vast drop in the volume of literary production during that time became of concern to the rest of the world. In contrast, the [Chinese] regime saw to it that the poems of Mao Zedong and Zu Enlai would be translated in almost every language, along with propaganda books. These publications were generously funded [by the Chinese regime]. Just remember the unspeakable book series titled "How to Know China Better", published—with a view to making a profit, of course—by the Feksi publishing house.⁴⁷⁸

Vistonitis's aphorism contains a general truth concerning Chinese state propaganda of the time. However, there is hardly any evidence to support the claim that the Chinese state funded the aforementioned book series or any other printed material—in Greece—in support of China or Maoism. The remainders of the League's archive of the time, now situated in the ASKI collections, contain no financial information.⁴⁷⁹ Feksi publishing house has long passed to oblivion, and its archive location is unknown. Istorikes Ekdoseis' relationship with the League and Chinese authorities will be thoroughly analysed below. Yet, I will state in advance that there is no evidence to support Vistonitis's argument there either.

Feksi was not involved in politics. It was a third-generation trade pub-

478. Anastasis Vistonitis, "Ipo ti skia tis Disis" ["Under the shadow of the West"], *To Vima*, 10 August 2008 [in Greek], accessed on 19 May 2017, <http://www.tovima.gr/culture/article/?aid=190427>.

479. Folder 5, Box 696, EDA Archive, ASKI.

lishing house and one of the longest-running at the time. The founder, Yeorgios D. Feksis, was the first to create a professional trade publishing venture in Greece, during the early twentieth century, and to modernise the Greek book market through innovations such as monthly instalments and specialised book series for niche audiences.⁴⁸⁰ His grandson, Yeorgios F. Feksis, who in 1958 took the reins from his father, Filippos, continued his grandfather's tradition of specialised book series without being concerned about politics. Feksis simultaneously published the aforementioned book series on China, and the book series "Contemporary America", a project funded by the USIS, the United States Information Service.⁴⁸¹ There is a single reference to the fact that Feksis was the distributor of Guozi Shudian and Chinese press in Greece from 1960 until 1967, but I was not able to confirm this through my research. It is certainly possible that the League collaborated with Feksis on this level.⁴⁸² Nevertheless, as will be detailed further on, Istorikes Ekdoseis, who was the chief—if not the only—collaborator of Guozi Shudian during this time, had direct relations with China.

The interaction of Greek intellectuals and readers with Chinese culture and indirectly with Chinese politics during the early 1960s was quite significant, shaping a political publishing field that was quite China-oriented. It is clear that Vistonitis was not predisposed to the China-related book series of Feksi. On the other hand, Eleni Ladia, another Greek intellectual, considered the series very significant in acquainting Greek readers with China.⁴⁸³ Interest in China and its culture is more than obvious through the

480. Vasilias Tsokopoulos, *Istoria tis ekdosis stin Ellada: Mia episkopisi* [History of Publishing in Greece: An Overview], National Book Centre of Greece Online [in Greek], accessed 20 May 2017, <http://www.ekebi.gr/frontoffice/portal.asp?cpage=node&cnode=596>.

481. Stratis Bournazos, "To kratos ton ethnikofronon. Antikomunistikos logos kai praktikes" [The nationalists' state. Anti-communist rhetoric and practices] in *Istoria tis Ellados tou 20ou aiona* [History of Greece in the 20th Century], vol. D2, ed. Christos Chadjiiosif (Athens: Vivliorama, 2009), 40–42 [in Greek].

482. Yiorgos Feksis [in Greek], accessed 20 May 2017, <http://www.hellenicaworld.com/Greece/Person/gr/GiorgosFexis.html>.

483. Eleni Ladia, "Yiorgos Feksis (1927–2004)", *Nea Estia*, 1771 (October 2004): 580–581 [in Greek].

pervasiveness that the League had in intellectuals that were not sympathisers of Chinese politics, not even leftists.

It thus seems that the publisher was unwilling to get involved in the highly acute inter-communist polemics of the time.⁴⁸⁴ This was even though Feksi had published a few more political titles within the “How to Know China Better” series. Therefore, when Kitsiki decided to publish more political works and indirectly promote the Chinese ideological and political line during the Sino–Soviet strife, Feksi could not deliver. At this point, the League and Istorikes Ekdoseis came together through the mediation of Feksi.

The Birth and Early Years of Istorikes Ekdoseis Publishing

Istorikes Ekdoseis initiated its publishing activity in 1963, becoming one of the hundreds political publishing entities of the Greek *long sixties*. Most of these entities were the publishing arms of ideologically and politically driven collectives and, less often, of individuals. Most of this publishing was thus amateurish and irregular, certainly if compared with trade publishing. The driving force behind this publishing activity was a core of old co-exiles who had substantial political differences with the leadership of the Greek Left at the time. Therefore, this group of people started publishing to express their different viewpoints concerning the official political line of the Greek Left, as expressed by the dominant left-wing party EDA. According to one of its founders, the term Istorikes Ekdoseis—“historical editions” in Greek—had once been used by the now-defunct publisher. Since the initial thought was to publish books on the history of the communist movement—the first title is indicative of this attempt—the name seemed rather appropriate.⁴⁸⁵

What makes Istorikes Ekdoseis so particular—in respect to other pub-

484. Chen Boda, *O Mao Tse-Tung gia tin kineziki epanastasi* [Mao Zedong on the Chinese Revolution] (Athens: Feksi, 1964); Lin Mo-Han, *As ipsosume ti simea tis skepsis tou Mao Tse-Tung gia ta grammata ke tis technes* [Raise Higher the Banner of Mao Tse-tung’s Thought on Art and Letters] (Athens: Feksi, 1964) [both in Greek].

485. Isaak Iordanides, interview with the author, Drapetsona, 23 February 2012.

lishing entities—as to attract my attention? How—at the same time—does it fit the canon of the political publishing field? These are the questions I will address in this part of the dissertation. In order to do so, I will periodise the history of this publishing entity while applying the publishing field theory that I laid out in the first part of the dissertation.

Istorikes Ekdoseis' roots can be traced back to the mid-1950s when its three founders—Isaak Iordanides, Yiannis Hontzeas and Aristides Tsampazis—were political exiles. They met during their exile on the island of Ai Stratis and converged in terms of their politics and ideology. They were part of the “Stalinist” faction that rejected the outcomes of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics in 1956 and the “revisionist turn” that had taken place within the Communist Party of Greece a year earlier, in 1955.⁴⁸⁶ Through their common struggle in exile, they forged a friendship and an ideological and political unity that resulted in joint political and publishing activity after their release from exile.⁴⁸⁷ This began when they joined EDA a pro-Soviet outfit and the only leftist party in Greece at the time, but their publications were critical of both EDA and Soviet policies and practices.

The first book⁴⁸⁸ they published was a leather-bound volume, *History of the Contemporary Chinese Revolution*, edited by Ho Kan-Chi. The book had been originally published by the Chinese Ministry of Higher Education

486. On the political developments of the period, see Mais, “Marxist–Leninist Publishing”, 12–14. On the political debate in Ai Stratis, see Stefanos Stefanou, “E tris ‘fraxionismoi’ tou Ai-Strati” [The Three ‘Fraxionisms’ of Ai Stratis], *Archeiotaksio* 4 (May 2002): 147–155 and [Yannis Hontzeas], “Ap’ aformi ti simplirosi 20 chronon apo tin “6i Olomelia”: H epithesi tou revisionismou ston Ai-Strati” [On the Occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the ‘6th Plenum’: The Attack on Revisionism at Ai Stratis], *Laikos Dromos*, 17 April 1976, 5; 24 April 1976, 5; 30 April 1976, 5 [both in Greek] accessed 23 May 2017, http://istoriak.blogspot.gr/2015/11/blog-post_9.html?m=0.

487. Isaak Iordanides. interviews with the author, Drapetsona, 23 February 2012, 28 September 2012.

488. Two volumes of collections of articles from the Chinese newspaper *People's Daily* were published prior to this volume most likely by *Hontzeas* but without the name of the publisher or any other information regarding the publications. These were sold by Istorikes Ekdoseis and are mentioned in their catalogue. Furthermore, I found a copy that had the Istorikes Ekdoseis seal.

in 1958 and was translated a year later by the Foreign Literature Editions in Moscow. Being a leather-bound, multi-page edition, it was a quite costly publication that absorbed the collective's limited economic capital. In reality, there was no alternative. The collective sought a book that would highlight its pro-China position in the heated and ongoing Sino–Soviet conflict. However, there was no Chinese presence in Greece, and it was thus impossible for the collective to acquire any material suitable for publication. The high cost of printing resulted in a high selling price and condemned the title to commercial failure. There is plenty of evidence to support this fact, including archival and oral testimonies. Roza Economou and Isaak Iordanides both confirmed it. Iordanides even recalled the time he took the book to EDA headquarters to sell it—he and Hontzeas were not yet expelled from EDA. A party cadre who was present told him that it was probably not a good idea to begin their publishing activity with such an expensive book. At 180 drachmas, it was the most expensive book Istorikes Ekdoseis ever published. To get a sense of this, note that the average weekly wage of a Greek worker in 1964 was around 418 drachmas. The book would thus set her back 11% of her monthly wage.⁴⁸⁹ Three years after its release we find the following in the collective's notes: "Let's resolve to once again sell the big books, e.g., *History of the Chinese Revolution*, at cost price to small bookstores".⁴⁹⁰ This was one of three volumes that were priced at 100 drachmas and over.

As detailed in earlier chapters of the dissertation, there were far more important issues for a political publishing entity than the accumulation of economic capital. Isaak Iordanides stressed that the collective had no alternative than publishing a leather-bound book and pricing this text so high. The collective needed a book that would make an explicit—political—statement. It wanted to side with China in the debate within the international communist movement and wanted that choice to be broadcast loud and

489. In order to calculate the average weekly wage of workers in Greece in 1965 I processed the data provided by the National Statistics Agency of Greece, "Statistique du travail 1967", Athens 1969 [in Greek].

490. The note must have been written sometime between the spring of 1966 and the spring of 1967. Folder 5, Box 483, EDA Archive, ASKI.

wide. Indeed, a statement was made and it was very clearly received. An undated note⁴⁹¹ sent to Aristidis Tsambazis reads:

Dear Aristidis,

I returned the History [of the Chinese Revolution] to your old address. Please see to it. I am under the impression that your publishing activity exceeded any permitted limit. From this I conclude that there are other deeper objectives and aspirations; judging from the actions of your representatives you[r publishing activity] offers a very bad service.⁴⁹²

The note was sent by Menelaos Alexiadis, an EDA cadre from Thessaloniki, and it was written on the back of one of his business cards. Alexiadis was a representative of Athenian publishing houses in Thessaloniki. He was also in exile along with the founding members of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and, according to Iordanides, Tsambazis approaching him was not a coincidence—they had all been politically aligned during their exile.⁴⁹³ Alexiadis realised that *Istorikes Ekdoseis* was something more than a mere publishing entity and the book selected to initiate its publishing activity was no more random than his approach to Tsambazis.

No one would perceive publication of a book on the Chinese communist movement within the historical context of the intensifying Sino–Soviet strife as accidental; everyone would know it signalled the collective’s ideological and political alignment.⁴⁹⁴ His expressions, “exceeding any permitted limit” and “offers a bad service” as well as his reference to “deeper objectives and aspirations” within a total of three mere sentences on the back of a business card show just how frustrated he was. While whom the “bad service” was referring to is not stated, Alexiadis most likely meant to the Cause, the Movement, the Left. The use of capital letters here is not

491. My estimate is that the note was written sometime after late 1964, after *Anagenissi* was published.

492. Folder 7, Box 483, ASKI.

493. Isaak Iordanides, interview with the author, Drapetsona, 23 February 2012.

494. A brief narration of the Sino–Soviet conflict along with primary documents from each camp can be found at the Marxists Internet Archive, “The ‘Great Debate’: Document of the Sino–Soviet Split”, accessed 9 June 2016, <https://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/sino-soviet-split/index.htm>.

unintentional. At that time, this “holy trinity” was sacred and would be summed up in the one and only Communist Party of Greece and its legal front EDA. While communism was illegal at the time, left-wing politics in general was not, and so this is how EDA badged itself. Of course, no open criticism towards the Soviet Union and its political leadership from its Greek counterparts would be tolerated. Publishing something favourable towards China would be considered anti-Soviet and since they considered Soviet communism the only acceptable kind of communism, being anti-Soviet would be tantamount to being anti-communist, and therefore hostile to the cause. While the group did not engage in dialectical thinking of this sort, the underlying logic is nevertheless characteristic of the mentality and way of thinking within the Greek Left at the time.

ISTORIKES EKDOSEIS AND THE LEAGUE OF FRIENDS
OF “NEW CHINA” JOIN FORCES

A financial failure, this “heavy” book nevertheless made its mark in a market dominated by much cheaper and smaller editions. Indeed, it prompted the League of Friends of “New China” to meet and launch their joint collaboration in 1964. It all started while the members of the Istorikes Ekdoseis collective were visiting Athenian bookstores to sample their newly arrived book. While visiting the Feksi bookstore, the owner offered to mediate between themselves and the League. It is likely that the timing was perfect for him since he may well have been offered the deal to translate the highly polemic works of Mao Zedong and the CPC by the League. While the existing series on China were more within the cultural sphere, this would see the publisher wade deep into politics. An established trade publisher like Feksi knew better than to get involved in left-wing politics and more specifically into a left-wing civil war, potentially jeopardising its fame and clientele.

Collaboration between the League and Istorikes Ekdoseis would certainly alleviate this potentially awkward situation, but the partnership was not just in Feksi’s interests; everyone was set to gain. The League would find a publisher that was more than willing to publish its material and the collective would get its hands on Chinese material to both disseminate and

also assess for its own political purposes. We read in one of the titles published by Istorikes Ekdoseis in collaboration with the League that, as with Feksi, the two entities created a specific book series: “The People’s China and the Contemporary World”.⁴⁹⁵ Based on a cross-check of the catalogues of the National Library of Greece and the Library of the Greek parliament—every publisher was supposed to provide a copy of all published work to both of them—of price lists published in issues of *Anagennisi*, and the private archive of myself and Stergios Gioulakis, three titles were published in the aforementioned series. Based on the same cross-check, three additional titles were published in collaboration with the League outside the scope of the series. Notes on these publications were recovered in the remainders of the League’s archive. More specifically, handwritten notes regarding each title to be published along with an accompanying date—presumably of its release—were found. All dates are from June 1964 and some of the titles in the same list concern the series by Feksi.⁴⁹⁶

What is particularly interesting is that although Istorikes Ekdoseis and the League had launched a common project, some of the works were translated outside the series. More particularly, the collection of four documents of the CPC published as *On the Differences Between the Leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China*.⁴⁹⁷ This was presented as a new book series by Istorikes Ekdoseis, *The View of People’s China on Contemporary International Questions* [in Greek].⁴⁹⁸ League member Mina Zografou translated three out of four documents. Most of the left-wing members of the League were also members of the pro-Soviet EDA. Beata Kitsiki—the heart and soul of the League—and her husband, Nikos Kitsikis, were EDA cadres. Beata Kitsiki leaned towards

495. “E Laiki Kina ke o Sichronos Kosmos” in Greek.

496. Folder 5, Box 696, EDA archive, ASKI.

497. This particular booklet consists of the following four documents: “A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement”; “The Origins and Development of the Differences Between the Leadership of the CPSU and Ourselves”; “On the Question of Stalin”; and “Is Yugoslavia a Socialist Country”. All documents can be found in English at the Marxists Internet Archive, accessed on 17 June 2017, <https://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/sino-soviet-split/index.htm>.

498. E apopsi tis Laikis Kinas pano sta sichrona diethni provlimata

China during the Sino–Soviet split but never took an official stance.⁴⁹⁹ Her personal preferences towards Maoism are underlined in her book, *I Met the Red Guards*, published in 1982.⁵⁰⁰

This ambivalence in the League’s leadership was expressed in the continuity of the collaboration with Istorikes Ekdoseis—which gradually became *persona non grata* for the EDA due to its clear siding with China, especially after the launch of *Anagennisi* in October 1964—but in an unofficial manner. Thus, the collaboration between the two entities ceased since no more titles were published within the framework of their collaborative book series. EDA would have considered a possible continuation of their common publishing activity as a political statement on behalf of the League. In the political publishing field, publishing was far from just selecting and preparing manuscripts to be printed and then distributing and selling the printed books; publishing was primarily perceived as an ideological and political act.

The collaboration agreement between the League and Istorikes Ekdoseis included the provision of translators by the League. Istorikes Ekdoseis paid the translators well, regardless of the quality of the translation.⁵⁰¹ Isaak Iordanides recalled that he had had to correct a translation by Mina Zografou.⁵⁰² He also notes how he had had to redo one translation by Elli Alexiou completely, yet the book was still published with her as the translator and she was paid as agreed. The translators were known as progressive intellectuals in Greece and their “presence” on the titles boosted Istorikes Ekdoseis’ symbolic capital. Although they were well educated, especially compared

499. During the Sino–Soviet conflict respective leagues in various countries were often in the epicentre of the strife, the control of which was under question and often siding with China, as in France, Belgium, Japan or Canada. See Robert J. Alexander, *Maoism in the Developed World* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger, 2001), 42, 59, 68, 72, 113, 173–174.

500. The book was published by the publisher Kedros in 1982 although it was supposed to be published in 1967. It was being typeset when the 21 April 1967 military coup took place thus its publication was postponed. Kitsiki, *Gnorisa tous*.

501. In the archival remainders of Istorikes Ekdoseis there is a note that Mina Zografou was paid 3,500 drachmas for one of her translations. Folder 7, Box 483, EDA archive, ASKI.

502. This is the only publication by Istorikes Ekdoseis where the reference to the translator of each document is given separately in the accompanying title page of each one of the four.

with the former exiles who led *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, the latter did not always find the translations up to their standards. Alexiou was a highly educated Greek novelist, having studied in both Greece and France and Zografou was an experienced translator.

Nevertheless, because the translations were of important political texts, every single word counted and *Istorikes Ekdoseis* was incredibly demanding. This period was characterised by political debates that mirrored theological debates of the *filioque*, where the thin lines of the text could lead to wildly different interpretation and internecine disagreement. The wrong choice of words in translation could expose this ostensible publishing house to being much more—namely, a fully-fledged political organisation.

No written agreement was found that would clarify the exact arrangement between the two parties involved in this publishing project. Besides the titles themselves, the only other information gathered is some fragmentary information found in the archival remainders of the two parties as well as some information given in the oral testimonies by Isaak Iordanides and Rosa Economou, information that does not necessarily converge. Iordanides claimed that the League provided the original works along with translators and *Istorikes Ekdoseis* was responsible for paying the translators, printing and distributing the various titles. This arrangement—as laid out by Iordanides—would seem rather uneven, in favour of the League. Economou claimed that there was indirect financial support by the League since a great part of each print run of the titles that were collaboratively published was absorbed and thus paid by the League. Isaak Iordanides denied this.

Economou further claimed that the books being used by *Istorikes Ekdoseis* that came from the League were bought by the former and not taken for free.⁵⁰³ Her claims, despite the fact that her memory was fading during the time of our interview, seem to be correct. There is no other reasonable basis on which *Istorikes Ekdoseis* would have accepted an arrangement in which the publisher would purchase the material to be translated, pay for a translator (chosen by the other party) and get nothing in return apart from initial access to the works.

503. Roza Economou, interview with the author, Athens, 19 February 2012).

Furthermore, the League was a non-profit organisation driven by its will to promote China in its effort for global recognition and break its diplomatic and trade isolation. It seems unlikely it would impose a one-sided exploitative deal, as in imposing its own translators and giving nothing in return. Thus, it is possible that it imposed its own translators to secure what it would have considered translations of high quality. It might also have been trying to secure income for some of its members, who—while renowned intellectuals—were nonetheless well-known left-wingers who would be hard pressed to find decently paid and stable employment.

All this being said, it is rather likely that while it demanded the use of its members as translators, it countered that demand with offering to buy a substantial part of each print run. Consuming part of each print run would provide Istorikes Ekdoseis with liquidity and would cover the cost of the publication. For example, *On the Differences Between the Leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China* had a print run of 3,000 as the titles of Istorikes Ekdoseis often did and its production roughly cost 29,000 drachmas.⁵⁰⁴ Consequently, each copy cost a little under 10 drachmas while it was sold for 30 drachmas. If the League bought half of the copies even at wholesale prices, that would cover the cost of the entire edition.⁵⁰⁵ The lack of financial capital significantly enhances the importance of the agreement since the limited financial resources of Istorikes Ekdoseis were not bound up in one edition, but they could move forward and publish more books. Apart from their first book, on which I have already written, and one of the last ones that were priced at 180 and 130 drachmas respectively, some of the most expensive books were those published collaboratively with the League. Most of them were priced at 30 drachmas apart from one that was priced 100 drachmas. Only one of the collaborative works was cheap, being priced at just 10 drachmas.⁵⁰⁶ Ac-

504. Folder 7, Box 483, EDA Archive, ASKI.

505. According to the publisher Yorgos Hatzopoulos, the ordinary discount for wholesales was 35% of the retail price. Yorgos Hatzopoulos, Facebook correspondence with the author, 17 July 2017.

506. The prices used here were found in the pricelist printed in the back cover of *Anagenisi*, 15–16 (December 1965–January 1966).

ording to my findings, each book cost close to one-third of its retail price, multiplied by its 3,000 copy print run. These books were released in a short period of time, some of them within June 1964. It would be impossible for *Istorikes Ekdoseis* to have accumulated the amount needed to proceed to these publications without any guaranteed sales especially since during that time they had not established a wide circle of contacts who could widely circulate the books and produce sales.

Assuming all this is true, the question of Iordanides's disallowance of Economou's claim emerges. There is another contradiction, since, when asked about the timeframe of the collaboration between *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and the League, Iordanidis replied that it had continued until the 21 April 1967 coup.⁵⁰⁷ Indeed, the archival remainders indicate that the two entities were still collaborating until 1967, although the notes could easily be read as an indication of the end of this collaboration. More specifically, while a note (probably) from the spring of 1966 refers to the need to renew membership to the League, there is another note, estimated to have been written about a year later, that indicates the need of a clearance and return of the issues of the League's magazine that were in *Istorikes Ekdoseis*' possessions.⁵⁰⁸

The old generation of left-wingers, especially those that were part of the extra-parliamentary Left, felt the need to prove their financial and political independence from political centres, i.e. the Soviet Union, China or Albania. This need derived from their criticism that pro-Soviet groups—many of which originated from these parties or their youth movements—were dependent on the Soviet Union.

Nevertheless, these pathologies—namely, the reflexive turn to a more significant political centre for direction and leadership—were reproduced by the old left-wingers who had split from the USSR. These individuals sought then to replicate this kind of relationship with China and Albania. Iordanides is reluctant to accept the fact that the collaboration with the League brought benefits, fearing that his group will be perceived as having

507. Isaak Iordanides, interview with the author, Drapetsona, 28 September 2012.

508. Folder 5, Box 483, EDA Archive, ASKI.

been dependent on the League. Maoists always proclaimed the necessity of self-reliance, but theory and practice do not always correlate. At later stages of his political life, he had been dependent on the Chinese party, not in terms of funding—although such cases have been documented⁵⁰⁹—but in terms of the political line. He faithfully followed the Chinese until 1979.⁵¹⁰

It is important to assess Iordanidis' reluctance to accept the truth, for any neglect of it may lead to distorted conclusions regarding the publishing field. The vast majority of my interlocutors either presented the political groups they belonged to or even themselves as the only ones who were not avowedly dogmatic. While oral testimonies give us an insight into the logic of the field that cannot be derived from the archives, they need to be critically assessed. If the testimonies are taken literally, we are led to rather different conclusions. For example, if we take for granted the Iordanidis' reluctance to acknowledge the aforementioned dependence on China, this would lead to misconceptions about what actually took place at the time. I will further examine the financial and economic conditions of Istorikes Ekdoseis below when I will assess each form of capital with respect to this specific publishing house.

THE OVERALL PUBLISHING ACTIVITY OF ISTORIKES EKDOSEIS
UNTIL THE 21ST APRIL 1967 MILITARY COUP

The narrators I spoke to who were not involved with Istorikes Ekdoseis—or had soon distanced themselves from it—often referred to Istorikes Ekdoseis and its affiliates as *e kinezi* or *e kinezofili*,⁵¹¹ that is “the Chinese” or “the

509. See Matthew Rothwell, *Transpacific Revolutionaries: The Chinese Revolution in Latin America* (New York and London: Routledge, 2013), especially the chapter “China and Latin America”, 11–27.

510. This reluctance was also met in other oral testimonies, i.e. Ayis Tsaras when asked the same for his group, EKKE, he also denied any dependency although other testimonies of his comrades of the time, some of them being higher in the ranks of the group, admitted of being ideologically and politically dependent on China's line during the 1970s. Interviews with Ayis Tsaras, Thessaloniki, 29 August 2011, 18 July 2013; Yorgis Gikas, Menidi, 22 June 2012; and Christos Bistis, Athens, 19 June 2009.

511. Yorgos Hatzopoulos, interview with the author, Athens, 29 November 2012; Yorgos

Sinophiles". The same label was applied by authors that wrote biographies and autobiographic novels at this time.

To have described them thus was, in fact, more or less about right. From 1963 to 1967, the publishing group released more than fifty different editions—mainly pamphlets. More than thirty of them were translated works of Mao Zedong's and all the rest, apart from two, were translations of other works coming from the CPC and the PRC. I have documented fifty-three different publications based on the aforementioned cross-check of price lists, library catalogues and personal archives. Seven books and pamphlets were published in 1963, twelve in 1964, nineteen during the following year, twelve in 1966 and just two during the first trimester of 1967. From October 1964 to February 1966, the publishing group also published the political review *Anagennisi*. Twenty issues were published, nine of which were double; 52% of the total content was made up of translations of articles from Chinese publications.⁵¹²

During one of our discussions, Isaak Iordanides tackled the issue of the Chinese orientation of the group's publications without being asked. "That's what people wanted!" he said, in probably the only moment he was defensive about anything in his past.⁵¹³ Iordanides both admitted that the group was rebuked for its ultra-Sinophile publishing programme and at the same time he claimed that this was done to satisfy its audience. While the statement of Iordanides might be conceived as an excuse, it cannot be totally dismissed. The global frenzy around Mao's *Little Red Book* is not

Karabelias interview with the author, Athens, 28 September 2012, 30 May 2013; Teos Romvos and Hara Pelekanou interview with the author, Athens, 25 September 2012. Ayis Tsaras recalled rice being thrown at one of his comrades during his Student Union's general assembly by a rival group, as he was considered to be "Chinese". Ayis Tsaras, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 29 August 2011. See, also, Kornetis, *Children*, 136–138, 155; Halikias, *Prin ke Meta*, 157–158.

512. For the last four issues the percentage of translations increase to almost 74%, with the last issue's content being made up of translations alone. Percentages are derived by the division of pages of translations to the total sum of pages of each issue and the average was calculated from the calculated percentages.

513. Isaak Iordanides, interview with the author, Drapetsona, 28 September 2012.

irrelevant to this discussion.⁵¹⁴ The fact that EDA as the official party of the Greek Left selectively published the positions of China while promoting those of the Soviet Union created a demand for the positions of the Soviet Union's counterpart since this was considered to be a crucial issue for the future of the international communist movement.

PUBLISHING PLANS THAT WERE NEVER FULFILLED

There are indications that the group realised that it should move beyond—but not away from—China. Still, its publishing programme was entrapped in an old communist logic. In this context, the group published a booklet by Joseph Stalin, and as I will show in the next section doing so implied that more of Stalin's works would follow.

Through an assessment of the handwritten notes of the group, it is clear that in early 1967 it was considering other “classic” Marxist texts beyond Mao and Stalin and was even considering publishing novels. One proposal was to publish Karl Marx and Frederick Engel's *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* as well as Nikolai Ostrovsky's classic novel (for left-wingers), *How the Steel Was Tempered*. The latter was to be translated from the original, most probably by Isaak Iordanides since he was the only Russian-speaking member of the group.⁵¹⁵ Another note refers to the future publication of Lenin's *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* as well as work by Andrei Zhdanov.⁵¹⁶

The group was also considering publishing material of its own. This would cover its positions on issues, such as the Cyprus question and the group's political manifesto.⁵¹⁷ This came after the collective founded a pub-

514. For example, see Cook, *Little Red Book*. Jan Luc Godard's *La Chinoise* also depicts this frenzy and excessive Sinophilia.

515. Folder 5, Box 483, EDA Archive, ASKI.

516. Ibid. It is unclear which of Zhdanov's work was to be published since in the note the word *kritikes*, which is translated as “critiques”, “criticisms” or “reviews” was written. Unfortunately, I was not able to trace any work by Zhdanov that included any of these words in its title.

517. Ibid.

lic political group called SPAK⁵¹⁸ in April 1967, just before the coup took place. Furthermore, the group planned to publish another two FLP books on the Cultural Revolution.⁵¹⁹

AN ODD BOOK RELEASE JUST BEFORE THE 21 APRIL 1967 COUP

The last book published before the 1967 coup was a work by Stalin.⁵²⁰ At first glance, this was a quite odd edition and rather different from any of the other publications of the group. First of all, no information on the original work is provided. Secondly, it is the only edition from the group where the translator's name is not given; only the initials are printed. Also, the edition was supposedly published in Thessaloniki and not Athens, like all the others. It has a plain reddish cover, where the name of the author is printed alongside the name of the work, and since it is part of a larger volume of works of Stalin the name of the volume is also written along with the Latin number "I" in brackets. Furthermore, *Istorikes Ekdoseis* in capital letters along with the name and date are written at the bottom of the cover pages. Looking inside makes things even more complicated. This was the only book where footnotes of the translator were included and the typesetting seemed off and old-fashioned, compared with all the other books by the group. Coming across this booklet was very puzzling. Not only was the information provided by the booklet itself odd and limited but the various agents belonging to the group at the time with whom I discussed it could not recall it.

Towards the end of writing this dissertation, I came across a volume of Stalin's works in a private archive. It was published in 1950 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, in exile in Bucharest. When

518. *Sinepis Politiki Aristeri Kinisi* [Consistent Political Left Movement]. The Manifesto was published in the group's weekly newspaper *Laikos Dromos* 11 (8 April 1967) and was reproduced as a pamphlet during the dictatorship.

519. These were two out of four volumes that were released at the time. A total of ten volumes were published from 1966 to 1969. The first two were already published by *Istorikes Ekdoseis*. Guo Zian, Yongyi Song, and Yuan Zhou (eds.), *Historical Dictionary of the Chinese Cultural Revolution* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 422.

520. I. V. Stalin, *Provimata Leninismou: E vasis tou Leninismou* [Problems of Leninism: The Foundations of Leninism] (Thessaloniki: *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, 1967) [in Greek].

I decided to browse through it, everything became clear. The group had produced a facsimile of the first chapter of the volume produced in 1950, while the indication “(I)” implies that they would reproduce the other chapters as well. The choice to reproduce the volume in a series rather than as a whole is probably related to the limited financial resources of both the group and its audience; earlier publishing failures in terms of sales had chastened the collective.

But there are still a number of questions unanswered. Why did the group present the booklet as its own translation and production while omitting the information regarding the original translation and translated source? Should this be considered as an attempt at plagiarism or copyright infringement? If judged by today’s standards, one would undoubtedly regard it as such. That is why it is essential to historicise our findings and the publishing field per se. Even publishing became complicated within the framework of the institutional anti-communism in post-Second World War Greece. Legislation against communism and the Communist Party of Greece was not abolished before 1974 and that included propaganda, such as, books and pamphlets. Thus, the reproduction and distribution of a publication that was first published by the outlawed Communist Party of Greece could get the group into trouble with the authorities as it could be considered as dissemination of communist propaganda.⁵²¹ I argue that for these reasons, the group presented the booklet as a creation of its own translated by a ghost translator. During these turbulent times publishing entities of the political publishing field were not worried about financial failure—as their counterparts in trade publishing were—but rather feared being jailed or exiled.

BETWEEN OLD AND NEW LEFT: THE GENERATIONAL GAP
IN LEFT-WING PUBLISHING

During the period 1963–1967, Istorikes Ekdoseis attempted to acquire and promote works of Mao Zedong and the CPC as a clear act of siding with the

521. Raymond Detrez, “Greece: Modern”, in *Censorship: A World Encyclopedia*, vol 1–4, ed. Derek Jones (New York: Routledge, 2015), 982–984.

latter against the Soviets. As discussed in previous chapters, the organisation was the publishing arm of a political group that established and operated a range of publishing activities, including *Anagennisi* and the weekly newspaper *Laikos Dromos*.⁵²²

The group appeared not to wish to break from a tradition of conventional communist politics since it insisted on publishing Mao. But by choosing to expand its publishing program to include Stalin and other Marxist classics and Soviet literature, was certainly indicating a desire to go beyond a one-dimensional, Sinophile publishing programme. The combination of Soviet and Chinese literature as well as the conventional form used, place *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and *Anagennisi* squarely within the Old Left print culture at a time when the New Left print culture was on the rise.⁵²³ An example is the case of *Spoudastikos Kosmos*, where new forms were combined with content that was strictly ideological but also considered issues of art and culture. Thanasis Rentzis, a then young left-winger involved with cinema (and now an established cinema director in Greece) recalled the group's publishing activity: too old-fashioned and banal for his taste. It was the 1960s and a young left-winger's needs could not be met by the language and style of the previous generation.⁵²⁴

The only exception to this rule came from the city of Thessaloniki. While in Athens the dominant figures of Hontzeas and Iordanides defined the publishing politics of the group, in Thessaloniki the group was dominated by university students who had reached out to the Athenian group. These former members of EDA and the *Dimokratiki Neolea Lambraki* [Democratic Youth Lambraki (DNL)] youth broke with their former comrades and created their own student organisation, which was linked with *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and *Anagennisi*. Prior to the official formation

522. The newspaper was published in late January 1967 and until April 1967. Unfortunately, no copies of its issues were traced in any library and archive so that it could be assessed.

523. Kristin Mathews, "The Medium, the Message, the Movement: Print Culture and New Left Politics", in *Pressing the Fight: Print, Propaganda, and the Cold War*, eds. Gregory Barnhisel and Catherine C. Turner (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010), 31–49.

524. Thanasis Rentzis, interview with the author, Athens, 23 December 2014.

of their organisation, Proodeftiki Panspoudastiki Sindikalistiki Parataksi (Progressive All-Students' Syndicalists Organisation (PPSP)), they started publishing their own monthly student magazine. Actually, they republished a defunct student magazine of Thessaloniki left-wing students from the early 1960s.

The magazine *Spoudastikos Kosmos* [Student World]⁵²⁵ was more advanced than *Anagennisi* both in terms of form and content and was closer to the New Left perspective floating about in the West during that time. Prior to its reissue it had circulated irregularly and was known for its innovative covers and form in general. The latter was made possible by the introduction of offset printing and the possibilities it provided for design innovation and experimentation.

The significance of offset printing cannot be comprehended in full without a comparison of the form of the magazine before and after its introduction in the Greek printing industry. The first issues of the magazine, then a newspaper, were printed with the use of offset lithography. The offset lithography created issues are very old-school in view and resembled those published at the same time for an older and certainly conservative audience. The potential that offset printing gave to the editorial committee of the magazine was fully exploited. Furthermore, those forming the committee were able to use their talents and abilities in favour of the magazine. One of its members, Alkis Sahinis—art and photography lover—took photos for the magazine's covers.⁵²⁶ According to Ayis Tsaras, another member of the magazine and PPSP, who was then a student of architecture, two of his comrades used to take photos of the various articles they wrote and then

525. Before its Marxist–Leninist or Maoist turn, the magazine released six issues from 1963 until 1965. The editorial committee and founders were left-wing students; later on, moderate students also joined the effort. In 1966 the defunct magazine resumed operations under the dissident left-wing students that were politically close to *Anagennisi*. Nine issues, one of which was a double, were published from 1966 until April 1967, as the organ of PPSP.

526. Stergios Delialis, graphic designer, and founder of the first design museum in Greece recalled painting a slogan on a wall for Sahinis to photograph. As mentioned in a previous chapter, that photo became a cover of a *Spoudastikos Kosmos* issue. Delialis was not politically active but wanted to help his friend. Stergios Delialis, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 21/08/2014).

they used the films to compose each page of the magazine. One of his two comrades, Elias Moutopoulos, was a student of architecture as well and had created a dark room in his student apartment. The other was Tasos Darveris whose family owned a photography studio.⁵²⁷

A typewriter, a few pens, a camera and a self-made dark room were more than adequate to create a monthly magazine, with the help of an offset printer of course. The time-consuming typesetting was now replaced by film and specialised typesetters were also replaced by the young activists that became both authors and (up to a point) technical producers. Technological innovations were highly important for three reasons. First, the minimisation of time needed from content creation to printing offered the opportunity of creating periodicals on a regular basis. In the past, it had been difficult for activists to publish to a consistent schedule. Moreover, the new technology made publishing cheaper. Young activists often lacked capital even more than they lacked time. The democratisation of publishing—for a number of procedures there was no longer a need for specialists—consequently reduced the cost of production, making it possible for small groups of young people like our group to publish. The wholehearted involvement of all members in producing a periodical they completely owned is highly important in their formed memories. Ayis Tsaras is very critical of his former comrades in terms of the politics of the group he himself had helped to found. Nevertheless, he recalled *Spoudastikos Kosmos* and his comrades-in-arms with affection.⁵²⁸

Unlike *Anagennisi*, *Spoudastikos Kosmos* had a more vivid and modern profile. While the various contributors to the magazine were as ideologically and politically hardcore as their mentors at *Anagennisi*, they chose to publish a broader range of content, which was not limited to political and ideological articles. During its second period, as an organ of PPSP, *Spoudastikos Kosmos* published articles on Greek poetry and literature, theatre, linguistics, cinema, science and history. The magazine's themes ranged from the French new wave cinema of Agnès Varda and

527. Ayis Tsaras, interviews with the author, Thessaloniki, 29 August 2011; 18 July 2013.

528. Ibid.

Chris Marker⁵²⁹ and Bertolt Brecht and his work in original translations⁵³⁰ to Vietnam and US imperialism.⁵³¹ The editorial committee and PPSP members, in general, were able not only to write on topics of their interest but also experiment with how their topics were presented, such as photographic tributes, pagination and cover creation.

The magazine, during its Marxist–Leninist period, had an estimated print run of 2,000.⁵³² It was run by an editorial committee in Thessaloniki while an auxiliary committee was formed in Athens. The “friends” from Athens used to send their handwritten articles to Thessaloniki, where they were typed and paginated. At some point, the Athenian committee tried to take editorial control of the pieces coming from there and proposed to send them typewritten and paginated. This was not accepted by the Thessaloniki branch.⁵³³ While the Athenian branch was closer to the leadership of

529. Zisis Yianniotis, “Cinema: Agnès Varda and Chris Marker”, *Spoudastikos Kosmos* 7 (1966): 32–33 [in Greek].

530. Ayis Tsaras presented Brecht’s the play “Fear and Misery of the Third Reich” and his own translation of “Peat bog Soldiers”, one of the play’s acts, in *Spoudastikos Kosmos* 8 (April 1966): 21–23 [in Greek].

531. Grigoris Troufakos, “Aferoma ston agona tou vietnmezikou laou” [Tribute to the Vietnamese People’s Struggle], *Spoudastikos Kosmos* 12 (January 1967): 21–28 and Tasos Darveris, “Ta dogmata tou amerikanikou imperialismou–To dogma Eisenhower” [US Imperialism’s Doctrines–Eisenhower’s Doctrine], *Spoudastikos Kosmos* 12 (January 1967): 29–31 [both in Greek].

532. The remainders of the *Spoudastikos Kosmos* branch in Athens can also be found in the ASKI. One of the pieces of information retrieved from the remainders is that 700–800 copies of each issue were sent to Athens from Thessaloniki, where the magazine was issued and where the majority of the youth group was based. I assume that the minority received around 40% of the overall print run thus the total would be around 2000 copies. Folder 1, Box 299, EDA Archive, ASKI.

Pantelis Makris, one of the founding members told me in his interview that he himself had sold thousands of copies of a single issue he could not recall. In my opinion this is an excessive claim and a number of sales close to the overall print run is more probable. Pantelis Makris, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 1 August 2011. *Panspoudastiki* [All-Students], a periodical that was backed by the official left-wing party of EDA in that period, aimed at a 4,000 copy print run and sales ranging from 2,000 to 3,000 copies in Athens. Folder 2, Box 299, EDA Archive, ASKI.

533. Two-page letter of the Editorial Committee of Thessaloniki of *Spoudastikos Kosmos* to its Athenian counterpart, 6 October 1966, Folder 1, Box 299, EDA Archive, ASKI.

Anagennisi, the Thessaloniki branch did not accept being subordinated—or even being equal—to the comrades in Athens.⁵³⁴

The new, broader spirit of *Spoudastikos Kosmos*—in contrast to that of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and *Anagennisi*—could be perceived as a step closer to that adopted in print by the global New Left. The symbolic capital of the older comrades who spent their lives in exile or in prison could not be easily overlooked and thus confined the PPSPers of Athens. The fact that such symbolic capital could not be traced in Thessaloniki, where the old-timers were far fewer and had no real interaction with the youth,⁵³⁵ gave the PPSPers the liberty to create a magazine of their choice.

The Forms of Capital of Istorikes Ekdoseis

I will now analyse the different forms of capital accumulated by *Istorikes Ekdoseis* either at its starting point or through its activity over time. Where possible, I will proceed to generalisations regarding the political publishing field. Periodising through the first period of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* from 1963 until 1967 will provide an overview of the function and internal logic of a political publishing house of the time, and of the interaction between politics and ideology with publishing. The reader should always bear in mind that the generalisations are framed within the historical context of the era and of Greece. The latter does not necessarily mean that the conclusions drawn do not fit other countries or eras. On the contrary, I argue that similarities may be found with political publishing in other countries during the *long sixties*. Moreover, while the characteristics of the political publishing field differ significantly from other fields of different space and time, one should always use field theory as a guide or general framework rather than a set of rules that apply in every case.

534. Yorgos Karabelias, a founding member of PPSP in Athens and contributor of *Spoudastikos Kosmos* implied in his interviews that his comrades in Thessaloniki were more independent and militant. Yorgos Karabelias, interview with the author, Athens, 28 September 2012; 30 May 2013.

535. Pantelis Makris, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 1 August 2011.

THE HUMAN CAPITAL OF ISTORIKES EKDOSEIS

I will now give a brief overview of the main agents that constituted the human capital of this publishing entity in terms of their political and publishing prehistory and their position within the publishing entity. After a brief overview of their political and publishing past, I will attempt to identify some basic characteristics concerning the publishing entity's human capital.

Yannis Hontzeas was born in 1930 in Koroni, a village of Peloponnese. He was organised into the left-wing movement from the age of eleven until his death in 1994. He found himself in exile from 1947 for his political beliefs. He was released in May 1958 and returned to Athens where he had lived prior to his exile. In Athens, he was politically active within EDA's youth branch despite his political differences with EDA itself.⁵³⁶ Furthermore, after his release, he occasionally worked as a proofreader and this was his only experience in publishing until 1963. Upon his release, he functioned as a member of EDA. In addition, he had language skills, probably learned in exile. English was taught by his co-exiles before their capture, and it is from them that he probably picked this and other languages up.⁵³⁷ A quite extraordinary fact is that the majority of his translating work was done from French, a language he did not seem to have mastered. Of course, as Iordanides noted, many of the texts published by Istorikes Ekdoseis had been published in the 1950s by the Morfosi publishing house.⁵³⁸ These first translations were often used as a canvas, or a draft, that the translators of Istorikes Ekdoseis consulted and tried to improve on. Although it is unquestionable that Istorikes Ekdoseis was functioning as a collective, the role of Hontzeas as the key agent is indisputable. He was the main translator and proofreader.⁵³⁹

536. Isaak Iordanides "For Yannis Hontzeas", *Proletariaki Simea* 12 November 1994 [in Greek], accessed 24 May 2017, https://antigeitonies.blogspot.gr/2016/05/blog-post_77.html.

537. Antonis I. Flountzis, *Sto stratopedo tu Ai-Strati, 1950–1962* [*At Ai Stratis's camp, 1950–1962*], Athens: K. Kapopoulos, 1986, 92–95 [in Greek].

538. Mais, "Marxist–Leninist Publishing", 39–40, 54 (footnote 104).

539. There is no reference of proof-readers in any of the published material—while all books have the full name of the translator(s) apart from one that only has initials—but through

Hontzeas' comrade in arms, Isaak Iordanides, was not released before the abolition of all exile camps in 1962—apart from a one month leave he was allowed in 1960.⁵⁴⁰ Upon his release, he returned to Drapetsona—a working-class neighbourhood in the Piraeus district of Athens—where he had lived from 1945 and until his exile.⁵⁴¹ Iordanides was born in the former Soviet Union, in 1928, where he and his family had lived until 1939 when they migrated to Greece. He thus had a good working knowledge of the Russian language. His Russian language skills led him to translate a few entries for the *World Soviet Encyclopaedia*—published by the Kypseli publishing house from 1963 onwards—the only publishing experience he acquired before Istorikes Ekdoseis.⁵⁴² As we will detail further below, this skill turned out to be very helpful for the “anti-Soviet” Istorikes Ekdoseis. He was also politically active in EDA upon his release.

The third member of Istorikes Ekdoseis was Aristidis Tsambazis. It was not possible to acquire much information on Tsambazis since he split from this political and publishing circle just a few weeks before the military dictatorship of 1967. Thus, the narrative(s) I later present regarding Istorikes Ekdoseis and *Anagennisi* make no reference to him. I discovered his name in the archival remainders of Istorikes Ekdoseis and it was then, after I mentioned him, that some of his fellow comrades—Isaak Iordanides and Roza Economou in particular—began to include him in their oral testimonies.⁵⁴³ He was an older co-exile of Hontzeas and Iordanides—who were in their thirties—and was more of an old-school communist.⁵⁴⁴ He came

oral testimonies we know that proofreading was taking place primarily by Hontzeas and secondarily by Iordanides.

540. “To chroniko tis exorias” [The Exile Chronicle], Musio exoriston [The Exile Museum] [in Greek], accessed 24 May 2017, <https://www.exile-museum.gr>.

541. “Perase stin istoria o s. Isaak Iordanides” [Comrade Isaak Iordanides passed into history], *Laikos Dromos*, 30 April 2015 [in Greek], accessed 31 May 2017, <http://morfotikese-kdoseis.gr/?q=content/πέρασε-στην-ιστορία-ο-σ-ισαάκ-ιορδανίδης>.

542. Mais, “Marxist–Leninist Publishing”, 43 footnote 79.

543. Isaak Iordanides, interview with the author, Drapetsona, 28 September 2012; Roza Economou, interview with Konstantinos Lambrakis, Athens, 4 November 2014 (notes kindly provided to the author).

544. Roza Economou, interview with Konstantinos Lambrakis, Athens, 4 November 2014 (notes kindly provided to the author).

from the north of Greece and he probably stayed in Athens after his release from exile. We cannot be certain when that was but surely after 1956 since what unified these co-exiles was their common political stance during the 1956 debate. Nevertheless, he was the only one with actual experience in publishing since he was a door-to-door bookseller, a very typical form of employment for former exiles. He promoted the books of Istorikes Ekdoseis through his work and contact network. My findings imply that as far as the latter is concerned he was not that successful. This was due to the acute political confrontation between Istorikes Ekdoseis on one hand and EDA and his former comrades, who were now publishers or booksellers, on the other. Such was the case of Alexiadis previously presented. These three were full-time members of the publishing group and earned their living from their work in the political publishing field until 1967.

The fourth key agent was Dimitris Kaniaris. Like Tsambazis, he was not active after 1967, passing into oblivion. Kaniaris was an accountant and he helped out the publishing entity with his skills in economics and finance, organising the accounting and tax procedures. According to Roza Economou, Kaniaris supported the publishing activity financially through his salary as an accountant.⁵⁴⁵ There were other members of the political entity that helped out in the everyday tasks. For example, according to notes found in the archival remainders Alekos [Tegos]—another co-exile of the four and who at the time worked as a door-to-door salesman—was helping out with external work, such as going to various Athenian bookstores on behalf of Istorikes Ekdoseis.⁵⁴⁶ Isaak Iordanides verified that the name Alekos on the notes probably responds to Tegos, and explicitly stated that he was a door-to-door bookseller. Paradoxically, in the *Anagennisi* review—in early 1965—he is referred to as a waiter.⁵⁴⁷ It can be safely assumed—due

545. Roza Economou, interview with the author, Athens, 19 February 2012; Isaak Iordanides interview with the author, 23 February 2012.

546. Folder 5, box 483, EDA Archive.

547. “E oportunistiki igesia tis EDA antimetopizi me “diagrafes” tus sinepis agonistes-meli ke stelechi tis EDA” [EDA’s Opportunist Leadership Faces the Consistent Militants—Members and Cadres of EDA—with “Expulsions”], *Anagennisi*, 3–4 (December 1964–January 1965), 60, 64–65 [in Greek].

to their content—that the notes with references to Tegos, although undated, are from 1967. Therefore, it is probable that two years later Tegos shifted to another profession, especially to one dominated by people with his political characteristics and background.

The translation weight fell mainly on the shoulders of Yiannis Hontzeas. Nevertheless, Roza Economou (a chemist), Costis Papaioannou (an architect student), and others helped out with translating as part of their political duties. Economou, apart from her translations from English, further supported the attempt financially through her salary since she worked as a chemist.⁵⁴⁸ She became an integral part of the initial core thanks to Papaioannou, who was expelled from the School of Architecture of the National Technical University of Athens due to his student activism reached out to and later on joined the political group. His contact was a fellow student of his who was already part of the group. Since he was expelled and had a lot of spare time, he actively assisted Hontzeas with translations from English to Greek.⁵⁴⁹

It is evident that the human resources of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* were limited to a number of agents who were ideologically and politically aligned. The initial publishing circle of former co-exiles was enriched as their political circle expanded. Thus, we find political capital transformed into human capital. Through the short overview of each agent's biography, it is clear that their past in publishing was limited—to say the least. Even in the case of Aristidis Tsambazis—who had already been a bookseller before the establishment of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*—one should not assume he was particularly experienced. Door-to-door bookselling became widely popular during the post-War era primarily in Athens and secondarily in Thessaloniki. Tsambazis grew up in northern Greece where it is highly unlikely that he practised this profession in the interwar years or during the Second World War. The translation and proofreading skills of the founding team were limited, empirical and acquired in unorthodox places, including in exile. The group made no use of graphic designers or illustrators.

548. Roza Economou, interview with the author, Athens, 19 February 2012; Roza Economou, interview with Konstantinos Lambrakis, Athens, 4 November 2014 (notes kindly provided to the author).

549. Costis Papaioannou, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 8 June 2009.

PRIMARY ACCUMULATION OF SYMBOLIC CAPITAL, SOCIAL CAPITAL
AND THE ABSENCE OF INTELLECTUAL CAPITAL

The reaction of EDA cadre Alexiadis, quoted on p. 157, is indicative of the reception that Istorikes Ekdoseis' publishing program received from the EDA leadership. This first book was enough for Istorikes Ekdoseis to make a name for itself—as well as to create enemies. At the same time, it was the source for the initial accumulation of symbolic capital by the collective. The heavy volume might have been an economic failure due to its cost. At the same time, it was a necessary praxis in order for Istorikes Ekdoseis to establish its presence as a distinct agent of the political publishing field. As J. B. Thompson put it, “it is important to see that economic capital and symbolic capital do not necessarily go hand in hand”. As he further explains, the reason that these two forms of capital do not necessarily intertwine is that, as in our case, a firm can successfully build up “substantial stocks of symbolic capital” even if it lacks economic capital. This is achieved by “gaining a reputation for itself that far exceeds its strength in sheer economics terms”.⁵⁵⁰

The accumulation of symbolic capital was maximised with the publication of Mao Zedong's works. Mao Zedong had been an iconic figure during the 1960s, connecting his name with the anti-colonial struggles in the so-called “Third World” as well as with the Cultural Revolution. Both had been influential for the left-wing movements—especially the student movement—of the time on a global scale. Becoming the sole Greek publisher of Mao Zedong's work during the 1960s provided a specialist niche to the publishing group. The fact that the publishing firm was indirectly recognised by the Chinese further on added value to it.⁵⁵¹

The above is supported by a rather unexpected source—Constantine “Connie” Poulos, a Greek–American, Pulitzer Prize-winning, liberal jour-

550. Thompson, *Merchants of Culture*, 9.

551. *Peking Review* published a translation of an *Anagennisi* article in 1966 (“China's Great Cultural Revolution Will Decide the Future of the World”, *Peking Review* 9, no. 50 (9 December 1966): 18–19.

nalist.⁵⁵² Poulos was a correspondent from Greece during the Second World War and until the mid-1940s for the *Overseas News Agency*. In August 1965, he sent a two-page report from Athens. The very first paragraph of his report is about this Marxist–Leninist cell: “Within the Communist Party of Greece—which has been an important factor in Greek political affairs for over 30 years—a strong pro-Beijing faction is now developing”.⁵⁵³ Poulos then goes on to describe the “pro-Moscow” Communist Party of Greece, which, according to him, was under pressure from the aforementioned faction. He makes specific reference to the “large-scale defections from the communist-led student organizations” and the alignment of the defectors with the pro-Beijing faction. The last half-page of his report is solely on the publishing activity of the cell:

A theoretical monthly magazine, titled “Rebirth”,⁵⁵⁴ appears to be the fulcrum of the pro-Peking agitation and propaganda in Greece.

This magazine, which was started less than a year ago follows an unswerving Chinese communist position. It is a good-sized publication, well-edited, and well-printed.

[...]

A publishing firm here, named “Historical Documents”,⁵⁵⁵ has printed and is selling at a low cost — and on the instalment plan — a series of books and pamphlets, in Greek, on the Chinese Revolution, Peking’s fight with Moscow, Peking’s stand on the Vietnam crisis, etc. Nineteen pamphlets by Mao Tse-tung have also been published in Greek by this firm.

It is impossible to determine the strength of the pro-Chinese factor in the Greek Left at this time. But is fermenting [*sic*], and in time will become a serious factor in the Greek political situation.⁵⁵⁶

552. Poulos was a correspondent from Greece during the Second World War and until the mid-1940s for the *Overseas News Agency*. In 1965, he was the Athens correspondent of the *North American Newspaper Alliance*.

553. Folder 18, Box 8, John Poulos and Constantine Poulos Papers TAM.114, Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archive, New York University, New York.

554. i.e., *Anagennisi*.

555. i.e., *Istorikes Ekdoseis*.

556. *Ibid.* Annotation in the original.

Poulos was most likely covering the Greek political crisis that sparked off in July 1965 and ended in August.⁵⁵⁷ Writing a news report on the Greek Left is not unusual; this was the Cold War era and Greece was one of its theatres. What is extraordinary is that the “pro-Peking faction” is foregrounded in Poulos’s assessment. At the time, the “faction” had no organised presence in the mass student movement and no political front. It is unlikely that it had more than one or two hundred open supporters. At the same time, the “Moscow-oriented” EDA had 22 seats in the Greek parliament, thousands of supporters and offices and youth clubs in dozens of cities, towns and villages. Furthermore, it had labour and student organisations, two daily newspapers and a number of periodicals and publishing houses that were either affiliated directly or belonged to members and supporters. Nevertheless, Poulos focused on the minuscule group rather than the established party.

I argue that Poulos’ focus on this group stems from the significant symbolic capital it accumulated through its publishing activity, through which the group established itself as a political player within the Greek Left. Its distinctive pro-Chinese content, the quality of the publications and the low cost—which made it accessible to low-income students—were fundamental. They allowed the publishing projects to become an important agent of the Greek political publishing field and the political group to become one of the Greek Left. Negative propaganda on behalf of the Communist Party of Greece and the party of EDA also contributed to the group’s accumulation of symbolic capital. Dissenters of EDA and the Communist Party of Greece would gain knowledge of the group and more specifically its publishing activity through the polemics of the former; polemics that were based on the publishing activity of the latter.⁵⁵⁸

557. For a brief overview of this historical event, see Panos Kontogiannis, “The July Apostasy of 1965 in Greece; A Royal Coup Leading to the Regime of the Colonels”, accessed 10 August 2017, <http://www.stichtingjason.nl/the-july-apostasy-of-1965-in-greece-a-royal-coup-leading-to-the-regime-of-the-colonels>.

558. Each article of EDA and CPG was countered in *Anagennisi* thus we have a complete overview of the range of the polemics. See *Anagennisi* issues: 2 (November 1964), 5, 8–9, 83–95; 3–4 (December 1964–January 1965), 19–20, 32–66; 5 (February 1965), 29–48; 6 (March 1965), 16–37; 7–8 (April–May 1965), 24–30; 9 (June 1965), 6–15, 19, 10–11 (July–August 1965), 24–26; 12 (September 1965), 1–11, 13; 13–14 (October–November 1965),

Poulos's report is indicative of the symbolic capital the group had accumulated through its publishing activity. A group with limited financial resources, and a relatively small and unprofessional publishing and distribution mechanism was able to produce relatively high-quality publications with a very specific ideological and political mark. It could easily be considered rather remarkable that this band of unprofessional publishers were considered to produce "well-edited" and "well-printed" material. Nevertheless, we must bear in mind that within the political publishing field amateurism—and not professionalism—was the predominant feature. As we have seen throughout the dissertation, poorly-translated, un-edited texts printed on cheap paper were the canon. The fact that the group sought to work collectively—despite its limited experience in publishing—contributed to the increased quality of the publishing outcome. This probably created a false impression of the actual strength and size of the group.

On the other hand, the specific political and ideological mark made it possible for the group to acquire a distinct position within the political publishing field despite its lack of other resources and sources of capital. Establishing a firm position within the field is essential for a publishing agent. It gives the agent credibility, in terms of quality, and it forms an audience for itself.

Symbolic capital had even greater value due to the lack of intellectual capital. In a time when the political publishing field was constituted by titles coming from Marxist and communist figures—including Marx and Mao, Lenin and Ernest Mandel—the lack of copyright led to inability for publishing groups seeking to acquire and accumulate intellectual capital. In order for a publishing group to be "nominated" as the rightful representative of a specific ideological or political trend, it had to cultivate political ties with sources of symbolic capital, in this case, the PRC and the CPC. Social capital took the form of political ties between international counterparts. Social capital was then partially transformed back into symbolic capital

25–30; 15–16 (December 1965–January 1966), 14–20; 17 (February 1966), 1–15, 17, 19–23, 28–34; 20–21 (May–June 1966), 23 (August 1966), 21; 26–27 (November–December 1966), 8–9, 12–13.

for Istorikes Ekdoseis in relation to its local (Greek) audience), given that translated and published texts also carried the *aura* of the original source and the publishing group established itself as the counterpart of the source. As we will see later on, during the second period of Istorikes Ekdoseis, there was strife as to which group would become the official counterpart of China. This was a time when more than one political and publishing group in Greece referred to the same ideological current. Therefore, it was crucial to develop official ties with China in order to accumulate the symbolic capital that only a formal connection could bring.

ECONOMIC CAPITAL: THE FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL ASPECT
OF ISTORIKES EKDOSEIS

Istorikes Ekdoseis was initially formed as a corporate entity, a private company of Hontzeas but was very soon transformed into a general partnership among the four aforementioned former co-exiles. According to a handwritten note, Yannis [Hontzeas] had 35%, Aristos [Tsambazis] had 35%, Isaak [Iordanides] had 20% and 10% belonged to Dimitris [Kaniaris]. The latter was cross-referenced with Isaak Iordanides' tax returns for 1966 and 1967 where he was accountable for his 20% shareholding in Istorikes Ekdoseis.⁵⁵⁹ According to Isaak Iordanides, these were all a facade since the four of them were disinclined to identify as shareholders, nor did they share any dividends. It was not unusual for political publishing entities to ostensibly obey commercial and tax law to cover their actual purposes and so that they would not find themselves in trouble with the authorities. Even Kalvos, which was much closer to a trade publisher in comparison to Istorikes Ekdoseis, functioned as a collective both as far as the division of labour is concerned and in terms of the payment system, where a standard daily wage was paid. The daily wage equalled that of an unskilled worker, regardless of the work done and equal bonuses would be given in profitable years to every member of the collective.⁵⁶⁰

559. Folder 7, box 483, EDA Archive, ASKI.

560. Yorgos Hatzopoulos, interview with the author, Athens, 21 February 2013.

The oral testimony of Roza Economou—a founding member, as mentioned—supports the claim of Isaak Iordanides as far as Istorikes Ekdoseis is concerned.⁵⁶¹ Iordanides had also stressed in his testimony that the early troika of Hontzeas, Tsambazis and himself was soon replaced by a wider collective in terms of the actual ownership of profits and losses. Even if the troika did not share the profits, when there actually were any, it still ran the operations by itself during the first months. About a year after the first book was out, in the summer of 1964, a number of people—mainly former co-exiles of the troika—gathered and decided to form a political organisation. This Marxist–Leninist cell would launch a monthly review and from then onwards the publishing house and the review to be launched would be the publishing arm of the cell. Thus, Istorikes Ekdoseis and *Anagennisi*—launched in October that year—ceased being the projects of the troika and were now the projects of the cell. The troika continued to work full-time on the projects earning a minimum wage from the political group. The cell organised members in unions, such as that of waiters, but soon organised students. The new members could not actually provide any substantial financial support since they were not wealthy, but the broader base expanded the audience that the publishing projects could reach and indirectly supported the group in terms of sales.

Less than a handful of members, like Kaniaris and Economou, were financial contributors since they had external sources of income. But the main members' contribution was not financial, it was the sacrifice of their personal time to support the collective. Not only was there a dearth of economic capital for the group, but its target group was equally scarce in terms of economic resources. Due to the financial limitation of the target group the collective tried to produce cheap editions. It furthermore applied a number of policies, such as instalment plans (something common in the Greek publishing field even today, especially with door-to-door sales), subscriptions and discounts.

A full-page advertisement, titled “Interesting Announcement”, was published on the back cover of an *Anagennisi* issue, informing readers of dis-

561. Roza Economou, interview with the author, Athens, 19 February 2012.

count and instalment plan policies.⁵⁶² Four different options were provided. At the time, purchasing the whole backlist of Istorikes Ekdoseis cost 900 drachmas. One could buy a subscription for the full series which would provide a 25% discount. An advanced payment of 100 drachmas would be made and then 50 drachma monthly instalments would proceed until full payment. The whole series would be given to the subscriber upon subscription. A similar plan offered a 15% discount for subscriptions of 500 drachmas with an advanced payment and monthly instalments of 50 drachmas. The third plan, for under 500 drachmas, included a 10% discount, an advanced payment of 50 drachmas and monthly instalments of 20 drachmas. A 40% discount was provided for anyone paying cash. A few months later, in October 1965, the collective received a letter from a person claiming to be a repeat customer from a rural town in Trikala. He stated he would order eighteen titles, so long as the 40% discount for cash payments still applied; otherwise, he would not proceed with the order.⁵⁶³ Further on, the group's notes raise the question of discounts for students.⁵⁶⁴ This was in 1966 when the group started attracting dozens of students in Athens and Thessaloniki. According to the conducted interviews and my research with respect to these students and their socio-economic background, most of them were children of left-wingers of the 1940s. Thus, they belonged to persecuted families that were often in dire financial straits. Others belonged to families coming from the lower middle class while a very small percentage of them belonged to higher socio-economic strata.⁵⁶⁵

In conclusion, the lack of economic capital was common ground for most of the political publishing field agents. This was related not only to the lack of accumulated economic capital to be invested in the first place—due to the fact that most of the agents were left-wingers coming from exile or

562. "Endiaferusa Anakinosi", *Anagennisi* 9 (June 1965), back cover.

563. Folder 7, box 483, EDA Archive, ASKI.

564. *Ibid.*

565. According to my research, only one full member, Tasos Darveris, and one affiliated with the student arm of the group, Alkis Sachinis, came from wealthy families. Some, like Pantelis Makris, abandoned their studies for long periods of time to work in order to support themselves.

having served long prison sentences—but also to the limited resources of the reading audience. The cheap editions should be assessed in a strictly financial context but also in a cultural one. Left-wing publishing was viewed by its agents as a means for educating the masses. This is an integral characteristic of left-wing political culture worldwide. Publishing was part of a political culture and its educational aspect that complemented one another. The historian Paul Buhle, once a leading member of the SDS in the United States, recalled his memories from the 1960s:

The available Marxism of the early and middle 1960s at large, offered in pamphlets and study groups, was too often a “party Marxism” of various left entities, and theoretically limited by almost any measurement. The purpose of “party Marxism” was to create loyal cadre, not to encourage creative, let alone independent, thinking.⁵⁶⁶

Buhle’s assessment, based both on his professional expertise as a trained historian and his own personal background—being affiliated with the US New Left of that time and its publishing activity—is more evidence of the mentality of the agents of the field. Their main purpose was to use publishing as a means of converting the readership to their ideas and not to gain profit. Thus, cheap editions were not only an economic strategy but a way to reach a wider audience of potential followers. Trade publishing’s “merchants of culture”, as J. B. Thompson put it, are political publishing’s “prophets of the revolution or radical change”.

HUMAN CAPITAL COMPENSATES FOR THE LACK OF ECONOMIC CAPITAL

In trade publishing, it is economic capital that affords the publisher the opportunity to expand its business cycle. Taking under consideration the fact that, at this time, *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, and the vast majority of the field *per se* had no obligation to pay royalties, economic resources were mainly used in order to pay for the production, i.e., printing and binding, cost, as well

566. Salar Mohandesi (interviewer), “Building Radical America: An Interview with Paul Buhle”, *Jacobin* online, accessed 22 August 2017, <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/09/buhle-new-left-antiwar-sds-civil-rights>.

for the translation and editing, since it exclusively focused on publishing translated works. While the relatively inelastic production cost still had to be paid, the labour cost, as in translation fees, was minimised while the translating supply increased. The expansion of the original political group with the influx of younger and more educated members became the accumulated human capital.

The increase in human capital offered the publishing group the means to expand its publishing list with more titles since its translator team basically tripled. While Hontzeas remained the key translator, the new team members meant more titles could be translated and added to the list for publication. Roza Economou became an integral part of the group as early as 1964 and contributed financially, as we have noted, but mainly as a translator. After his expulsion from the School of Architecture in Athens, Costis Papaioannou became an unpaid full-time translator for the group. Thus, the initial translators' duo of Hontzeas and Iordanides, now also included the very active Roza Economou and Costis Papaioannou as well as Elias Moutopoulos and K[ostas] Georgiou. Elias Moutopoulos was an architect student in Thessaloniki. There is no further information on Georgiou. The new team members also meant translations from English could be produced; until then only translations from French had been possible.

Attracting new cadres through spreading the revolutionary word meant political groups could gradually accumulate human capital as a substitute for the lack of economic capital. The radicalisation of students during the *long sixties* was crucial here. Highly educated human resources, often multilingual, joined publishing entities, supplementing the older generation of left-wingers who often had a "working knowledge" of the language they were translating from, but little training in professional translation. Part of the audience (social capital) were transformed into unpaid translators (human capital) for the group.

The Abrupt End of the First Phase of Istorikes Ekdoseis

On 21 April 1967, a military coup took place in Greece, launching an authoritarian regime that came to be known as the colonels' dictatorship,

which would rule for seven years. Iordanides was captured on the first day of the coup and was subsequently exiled to the island of Leros. Hontzeas, Economou and Panayiotis Kyriazis, another member of the political—but not the publishing—group, met at the offices of Istorikes Ekdoseis. They destroyed part of the archive that contained references to names and addresses of people affiliated with the group and then went underground.⁵⁶⁷ The stock of the various publishing projects was confiscated by the regime but resurfaced a few years later—during the dictatorship—in the Athenian flea market of Monastiraki. There was even a debate as to whether the civic police had channelled the confiscated stock of left-wing books and periodicals to the market in order to track and trace the audience. More likely, some police were just looking to make a little extra money on the side.⁵⁶⁸ The regime was not that thorough in its confiscation protocols. Hundreds of indexed books could be found in town bookstores⁵⁶⁹ or were even left at bookbinders and other shops.

Iordanides recalled receiving a call in 1974—just after the collapse of the dictatorship—from the bookbinder with whom Istorikes Ekdoseis used to collaborate in the pre-dictatorship period. The bookbinder notified Iordanides that there were hundreds of copies belonging to the publishing firm that had remained there during the dictatorship and asked what the firm would like him to do with them.⁵⁷⁰ In 1974, Teos Romvos who established Octopus Press—the first anarchist bookstore in Greece, in Exarchia—recalled a similar experience. When he entered the space he had secured to establish his bookstore, he found a stock of Istorikes Ekdoseis books. He incorrectly recalled one of them being written by Hontzeas, probably confusing the customary translator of the group with the author. According to his telling, he posted an announcement that he would give the books for

567. Roza Economou (Athens, 19/02/2012).

568. Isaak Iordanides (Drapetsona, 23 February 2012, 28 September 2012). Axelos, *Publishing activity and circulation of ideas in Greece*, second ed., Athens: Stochastis, 2008, 75–76 [in Greek].

569. Pappas, *Metaxi Gutemvergiu*, 23.

570. Isaak Iordanides (Drapetsona, 23 February 2012).

free and many Maoists entered his shop for the first (and last) time to take him up on his offer.⁵⁷¹

THE GROUP GOES UNDERGROUND:
PUBLISHING DURING THE DICTATORSHIP

Members of the student youth of the group were able to reach the now clandestine members of Istorikes Ekdoseis.⁵⁷² At this meeting, it was decided that a small number of younger members would flee the country and setup anti-dictatorship groups abroad, beginning in Paris, where a number of their comrades were already based. Hontzeas, Economou and the rest of the group would stay in Greece and try to establish a clandestine group.⁵⁷³

The group established abroad was named Agonistiko Metopo Ellinon Exoteriku (Antiimperialistiko–Antifasistiko) [Militant Front of Greeks Abroad (Anti-Imperialist–Anti-Fascist)] or AMEE and had branches in France, Italy, Germany, Canada, Poland and Sweden.⁵⁷⁴ It initially published typewritten and mimeographed monthly information bulletins in Greek, and occasionally in the language of the host country.⁵⁷⁵ AMEE reproduced a limited number of Istorikes Ekdoseis pamphlets regarding Mao Zedong works. It later published *Laikos Dromos*—from December 1967— as a monthly political review and it used the name as its imprint. Prior to *Laikos Dromos*, the group published *Salpisma*.⁵⁷⁶ *Salpisma* was the publication of a group of mainly graduate students in Paris who were linked with

571. Teos Romvos and Hara Pelekanou (Athens, 25 September 2012).

572. Yorgis Provelegios (Athens, 10 October 2012)

573. Roza Economou (Athens, 19/02/2012) and Yorgis Provelegios (Athens, 10 October 2012).

574. Yorgos Vavizos wrote about his recollections as an AMEE member in *Etsi Denotan i Karbonara...* that is literally translated as *How the carbonara was tempered*. This is an ironic paraphrase of the classic Soviet work *How the steel was tempered* by Nikolai Ostrovsky.

575. The branch of AMEE in Italy published some bulletins in Italian. According to one of the leading cadres of the branch, Stelios Manousakas, the key reason they published the Italian copies was to gather money for their cause. Stelios Manousakas (Athens, 21 May 2011, 25 June 2013)

576. *Salpisma* may be translated as blare or trump.

Istorikes Ekdoseis and *Anagennisi*. The group published the first issue of *Salpisma*—typewritten and stapled, with a handmade cover—sometime before the coup.⁵⁷⁷ The second issue was published in May 1967 with the same printing technique. A special edition followed in September 1967 which comprised a single article written by Hontzeas and titled "Letter from Greece" [in Greek].

Laikos Dromos was printed in Italy or France, but its covers were often created in France even when the issue was printed in Italy. AMEE's Paris branch had a dual luxury—use of the infrastructure available for students, such as, art and design studios, as well as having in its ranks architects and students of architecture who had developed a sense of design as well as the required skills.⁵⁷⁸ AMEE from 1972 onwards published a monthly newspaper, *Laiki Enotita*,⁵⁷⁹ printed in Italy and then distributed Europe-wide and beyond. Many of these publications were reprinted in miniature form, smuggled into Greece and distributed in clandestine circles.⁵⁸⁰

Hontzeas organised a small clandestine group in Greece, mainly in Athens. The group was soon named OMLE. Apart from *Laikos Dromos* that was published abroad, OMLE published a mimeographed monthly information bulletin that was soon replaced by the monthly newspaper *Proletariaki Simea*. Both publications were produced and distributed underground in Greece and issues were also sent to the OMLE and AMEE branches abroad, which often reprinted articles in the publications they produced in their respective countries.

577. The issue is undated but is clearly written and printed before the coup. The last facts mentioned took place on early February 1967.

578. Ibid.

579. Popular Unity.

580. Stelios Manousakas (Athens, 21 May 2011, 25 June 2013); A presentation on this clandestine network of production and distribution of miniature pamphlets was given by me; Christos Mais, "Mixing Revolution and Pleasure: Visiting Greece during the Colonels' Dictatorship (1967–1974)", *Between Education, Commerce and Adventure. Tourist Experience in Europe since the Interwar Period*, Thomas Mergel / Nikolaos Papadogiannis, Institut für Geschichtswissenschaften, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin; Maren Möhring, Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung Potsdam, 19 September 2013.

Concluding the First Istorikes Ekdoseis Period

One of the conclusions that emerges at first glance by exploring the remainders of the archives is that in practice there was no actual division of labour between the different publishing and press projects.⁵⁸¹ In theory, Yiannis Hontzeas was in charge of Istorikes Ekdoseis and Isaak Iordanides was in charge of the monthly review *Anagennisi* launched in October 1964. Both were supposed to be managing the weekly newspaper *Laikos Dromos* launched in January 1967. In practice, the political group functioned as a publishing collective.⁵⁸² In other words, the political group behind the projects worked in a more or less unified way in order to process the workload.

The group focused on publishing translated texts from China. While not exclusively so, the choice of Chinese texts was primarily a political one. The group, which began as a book publishing project, later expanded its remit, publishing a monthly review and at the end, a weekly newspaper. From the very beginning, however, it aspired to become a political entity. Its publishing choices thus cannot be seen and assessed strictly as such but within a political context. It managed to acquire publishing and political ties with its Chinese counterparts. This gave it both access to original sources to translate and publish, but more crucially it enabled the group to accumulate symbolic capital.

Indeed, in the end, it all came down to symbolic capital. Symbolic capital enabled the initially small core of former exiles to accumulate human capital, mainly highly educated university students, which provided a much-needed counterbalance to the dearth of economic capital. The political ties that the group acquired with China were transformed into symbolic capital. And the bonds it made with a part of its readership, gradually incorporated into the group, were transformed into human capital.

The colonels' dictatorship forced the closure of all the projects launched in 1967. Key members of the political group were caught and those who avoided captivity went underground. The publishing group reemerged di-

581. Folders 5–7, box 483, EDA Archive.

582. According to the information printed in *Laikos Dromos*, a committee was in charge of the edition.

rectly after the coup as a clearly political group but kept one of the brand names, *Laikos Dromos*. The reason the group did not revive the publishing projects from before the dictatorship is probably that it did not want to create a direct affiliation of the pre-dictatorship members with the clandestine organisation. This would be incriminating and would have jeopardised both its previous membership and those who were now underground by linking its legal publishing and political activity prior to the coup with its underground activity. The use of *Laikos Dromos* as the name of a monthly review, as well as the reprinting of Istorikes Ekdoseis works and a number of publications that were mere collections of *Anagennisi* articles, created a sense of continuity and the transfer of the pre-dictatorship symbolic capital to the new ventures and projects at the time of the junta.

CHAPTER 5

The Second Life of Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1974–1981

On July 1974 the military regime collapsed. Political prisoners were released, those self-exiled and politically active in anti-regime groups abroad started travelling back to Greece and the underground and clandestine groups and individuals resurfaced. Political groups were established (or re-established), and bookstores and publishing projects focusing on politics and ideology sprouted like mushrooms in Greek cities. OMLE chose a quasi-underground status with just a handful of public spokespersons, but its various fronts and mass organisations resurfaced. PPSP was re-established, *Spoudastikos Kosmos* and *Laikos Dromos* were relaunched and Istorikes Ekdoseis not only resumed operations but furthermore established a bookstore in Athens and later on one in Thessaloniki.

This final chapter presents a reconstruction of the second period of Istorikes Ekdoseis, between 1974 and 1981. This includes a periodisation of its publishing activity and the forms of capital it acquired over this period. Before proceeding, I must add that there were challenges encountered while conducting the research on this period. First and foremost, the limited archival resources. The remainders of the Istorikes Ekdoseis archive of the time total fewer than a few dozen documents. Second—and quite strikingly, especially when compared to the first period of operation—is the quite limited information offered by the interviewees. While those involved in the first period described times that were not only turbulent but also fulfilling—if not exciting—those engaged in the second period described their work almost as a chore, as something they were not really cut out for or found en-

joyable. The latter could be considered as a shortcoming—the interviewees not being able to give an in-depth presentation of their publishing activity and of the political publishing field in general—but at the same time is a strong indication of a key characteristic of the field. Being an agent of the field was often an outcome of political activity and commitment rather than of a genuine interest in publishing—or of developing the set of skills needed for this line of work.

From the Collapse of the Dictatorship to the OMLE Split

The old leadership and founders of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and *Anagennisi* were no longer the heart and soul of the publishing activity due to political differences within the ranks of the organisation. Aristidis Tsambazis left with a group of *Anagennisi* just before the coup and this is probably one of the reasons his name has long been forgotten in the history of the Marxist–Leninist movement. Hontzeas and Iordanides had their own political differences and two years later, in 1976, Iordanides—with a group of his followers, a minority of OMLE—left the organisation and formed his own, taking with him the brand names *Laikos Dromos* and *Spoudastikos Kosmos*.

Two factions were formed within the OMLE, one around Isaak Iordanides—pro-Chinese all the way—and a more critical one. The latter was supported by the main figures of AMEE in France and Italy during the dictatorship and by Hontzeas, who did not play a key role at the time. Iordanides, despite the fact that his faction was a minority, managed to publish works that were of his political mentality through *Istorikes Ekdoseis*. In 1975, the firm published the *Positions of the C.C. [Central Committee] of OMLE During the 56 years after the establishment of KKE* and the *Speech by the Chairman of the Delegation of the PRC, Teng Hsiao-Ping at the Special Session of the UN General Assembly*.⁵⁸³ These two publications are proof that the power equilibrium within political formations and their respective

583. Deng Xiaoping's speech may be found at the Marxists Internet Archive, accessed 1 March 2018, <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/deng-xiaoping/1974/04/10.htm>.

publishing projects or arms were neither static nor absolute. The first document reflected the viewpoints of Iordanides in respect to the history of the communist movement of Greece and—at least on a certain level—his assessment on the path to be taken. The latter document by Deng Xiaoping⁵⁸⁴ is nothing but the encapsulation of his “Theory of the Three Worlds”, a theory that became the epicentre of the split within the Marxist–Leninist movement—including OMLE—soon after Mao Zedong’s death in 1976.⁵⁸⁵

As was demonstrated above, while Iordanides and his faction were a mere party minority⁵⁸⁶ he managed to push his political line even though the group’s publishing arm had a staff that was not in line with their politics.⁵⁸⁷ Although the information and sources are limited, it is safe to proceed to the following assertions. In political publishing houses and projects, publishing policies were often determined from the leadership of the political formations rather than the publishing agents of the group.

The inner political strife led to a struggle among the two political factions within OMLE over control of the various political and mass fronts of the group. Isaak Iordanides, while recalling the facts surrounding the issue, focused on Tasos Parkosides—who was legally in charge of Istorikes Ekdoseis—and his persistence in exerting control over the publishing house.⁵⁸⁸ The way that Iordanides presented the issue implied that Parkosides had

584. The inconsistency between the transliteration used in the 1970s and the contemporary one, as far as Deng’s name is concerned, has to do with the evolution of standardisation in transliterating Chinese names.

585. The impact of the theory on the Marxist–Leninist movement worldwide is evident by just browsing *The Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism Online*, where numerous documents are on the issue and are part of polemics of groups pro and against the theory at the time. See Marxists Internet Archive, accessed 12 March 2018, <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/>.

586. The split was in reality a parallel establishment of two “parties”, M–L KKE and KKE (M–L). The first had its founding congress in its offices and gathered around a hundred cadres and followers while the latter held its congress in a stadium with three thousand attendees.

587. Gregoris Konstantopoulos—a cadre of OMLE at the time—recalled furious members confronting him with Deng’s booklet in hand. They were questioning the purpose of publishing such documents, which were contrary to their beliefs. Gregoris Konstantopoulos. interview with the author, Athens, 17 January 2009.

588. Isaak Iordanides, interviews with the author, Drapetsona, 23 February 2012; 28 September 2012.

ulterior motives in persisting this way. This is far from the truth since Parkosides never took advantage of his legal ownership of the publishing firm for personal gain. My assessment is that the majority of OMLE—of which Parkosides was part—was uncertain on how things would evolve as far as the inner-party struggle was concerned. Therefore, it attempted to get ahead of developments and maintain control of party functions. Indeed, and as already mentioned, Iordanides and his followers invoked commercial law and kept brand names of publications that were, in reality, part of a collective. And they did so despite being a minority faction. This is something one may often come across during this period. The fight for the “name” was a struggle for the symbolic capital that had accumulated in the brand.⁵⁸⁹

From the Split to the Collapse

Istorikes Ekdoseis, as a brand name and bookstore, was held by the majority of OMLE, which formed the Communist Party of Greece (Marxist–Leninist) [KKE (M–L)] in November 1976. The publishing group’s members remained the same and Iordanides and his band formed the Marxist–Leninist Communist Party of Greece (M–L KKE) and created *Morfotikes Ekdoseis*.⁵⁹⁰

The brief period initiated after OMLE’s split and until the crisis that led to the dissolution of KKE (M–L) in 1981–1982, is the most interesting one. During this time the party drifted away from the grand Marxist–Leninist narratives and paradigms of China and Albania while Greece experienced the late rise of youth discontent that left no group unaffected—however hardcore its politics were. These two factors, as well as the gradual crisis of radical politics worldwide, were reflected in the publishing programme of Istorikes Ekdoseis.⁵⁹¹

589. Although in a different context, the account regarding *Gay News*, a London fortnightly born of the gay liberation movement of the time, offers some insight into the dynamics and polemics among members of publishing projects. See Gillian Hanscombe and Andrew Lumsden, *Title Fight: The Battle for Gay News* (London: Brilliance Books, 1983).

590. *Morfotikes Ekdoseis* is translated as Educational Editions.

591. By the end of the 1970s the demise of political groups and movements worldwide

Symbolic Capital

Despite the fact that Istorikes Ekdoseis was inactive for seven years, its symbolic capital did not diminish. On the contrary, it could be argued that its symbolic capital increased. The reason was that the publishing firm and its members were persecuted during the dictatorship. Its members were sent to prison or exiled or went underground, and their publishing projects were shut down and the stock confiscated.

The firm made it clear there was a historical continuity with the pre-dictatorship period. In 1975, it created a series that comprised of two subseries of three pamphlets each. The series were titled “The Marxist–Leninist Movement in Greece” [in Greek] and the subseries were titled, “Issues of the Labour Trade Union Movement, 1964–1967” [in Greek] and “On the Struggle for Bread, Democracy, Peace, National Independence, 1964–1967” [in Greek]. Each pamphlet was a compilation of articles that had been published during the pre-dictatorship period, mostly in *Anagennisi* but also in *Laikos Dromos*. These series built a bridge between the first and the second periods of Istorikes Ekdoseis and contributed in establishing the continuity between the two. In a way, this also contributed to the transfer of the symbolic capital accumulated prior to the dictatorship to the period after.

The main source for accumulating symbolic capital remained Mao Zedong and the PRC. In 1975, Istorikes Ekdoseis published its first four-page catalogue and a second catalogue in a similar format followed a year later. The first catalogue included thirty-six works. Twenty-seven of these were translations of publications from Peking’s FLP, more than 60% of which was Mao Zedong’s works. OMLE was recognised as the official counterpart of the Chinese Communist Party. Despite the fact that other “pro-Chinese” groups appeared and developed a limited publishing activity, none of them was able to counter or even question the hegemony of Istorikes Ekdoseis. The latter’s seniority, as well as its affiliation to China and the

was experienced bringing the *long sixties* to an end. George Katsiaficas, *The Imagination of the New Left: A Global Analysis of 1968* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1987); Steve Wright, *Storming Heaven: Class Composition and Struggle in Italian Autonomist Marxism* (London: Pluto Press, 2017), 183–207.

CPC, were the key reasons it had the whip hand over equivalent publishing projects belonging or related to other Greek political groups that shared the same ideology and politics.⁵⁹²

The second catalogue included forty-two titles and moreover eleven to be published at some future date. There was an additional informative note letting readers know that they could acquire various editions published by the PRC in English and French. There were no significant changes between the two catalogues in terms of what was or was not going to be published. What is noteworthy is the fact that the list of works to be published includes a number of titles that were never published, for example, three selected volumes of Mao Zedong's works. I assume that the non-compliance with this list of works to be published reflects two reasons. The first is related to the fact that Mao's death occurred very close to the printing of the catalogues and Istorikes Ekdoseis' subsequent gradual drift from China. The second reason is related to the internal split within OMLE, where the more conservative and pro-Chinese minority left the organisation, which was now led in reality by a younger generation that had been politically educated in Europe during the dictatorship and thus had a less traditional viewpoint.

After 1976 and the death of Mao, the KKE (M-L)⁵⁹³—OMLE's successor—broke its ties with China. Other political groups of the same trend were eager to replace the former group as China's chosen partner.⁵⁹⁴ KKE (M-L) preserved ties with Albania until the late 1970s—which was expressed in its publishing programme. Until 1976 and the split with Chinese politics, KKE (M-L) had only published four Albanian works.⁵⁹⁵ Then about a dozen works were published or distributed through to 1978.⁵⁹⁶ In 1979, the

592. Mais, "Marxist-Leninist Publishing Field", 55–61.

593. Communist Party of Greece (Marxist-Leninist).

594. See Kouloglou, "E eksokinovuleftiki aristera", 35–39.

595. Enver Hoxha, *E politiki mas ine mia anichti politiki, i politik iton proletariakon archon* [Our Policy is an Open Policy, the Policy of Proletarian Principles] (Istorikes Ekdoseis: Athens, 1975) [in Greek].

596. For example, *Scholio ga olus* [School for All] (Athens: Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1978) [in Greek]; Enver Hoxha, *E proletariaki dimokrata ine i alithini dimokratia* [Proletarian Democracy is Genuine Democracy], Tirana: 8 November 1978 [in Greek]; Enver Hoxha, *Isigisi sto*

KKE (M–L) parted with Albania as well. A year before, the Albanian leader Enver Hoxha had published *Imperialism and the Revolution* in Albanian.⁵⁹⁷ In this book, he attacked Mao Zedong, whom he accused of revisionism, the supreme insult of the time among revolutionaries. In 1979, the book was translated and published in foreign languages and moved to the foreground of a heated debate that split the Marxist–Leninist parties. Three leading KKE (M–L) cadres visited Albania, holding meetings.⁵⁹⁸ This resulted in a silent break with Albania that was reflected in the Istorikes Ekdoseis publishing programme.

The break with these two major counterparts redefined the rationale behind the publishing house’s programme. Until then, symbolic capital had been transmitted by translating works that carried the symbolic capital of the author or original publisher. This came to an end when China and Albania—which, for some left-wingers, including KKE (M–L), were considered the “lights of socialism”, as the Soviet Union was for others—stopped being the counterpart of KKE (M–L) and therefore of Istorikes Ekdoseis. This prompted a reorientation of the publishing programme of the organisation. Until the split, the whole backlist of Istorikes Ekdoseis consisted of works by Mao Zedong and Peking FLP, a few texts by Enver Hoxha and the Party of Labour of Albania, a handful of works by Stalin and Lenin as well as a series of documents of the Greek Marxist–Leninist movement. All the above were translated or reproduced from official sources. That is, all the documents from China and Albania were published by—and thus aligned with—the respective official newspapers of the parties and states.

At a time when most of the party members and sympathisers were young—high school and tertiary education students or young workers and toilers—the cultural aspect was neglected, to say the least, buried under dozens of severe political texts. This gradually became an issue when the

7o sinedio tu KEA [Report to the 7th Congress of the Albanian Labour Party], 2 vol. (Athens: Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1977) [in Greek].

597. See Marxists Internet Archive, accessed 26 February 2018 https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hoxha/works/imp_rev/toc.htm.

598. Vasilis Samaras Interviews with (Thessaloniki, 22 August 2014) and Yorgis Provelegios (Athens, 10 October 2012). These were two of the three members of the delegation.

extreme politicisation of the Greek youth experienced a cultural turn with an increased interest in and demand for art and literature but also gender issues. At the same time, the crisis of the international communist movement described above, the dead end of the movement in Greece and the international economic crisis created the need for assessments regarding revolutionary politics and of the logic of capital.

Although the above were addressed, in terms of titles that were either published or were going to be published before the party meltdown, this was not without contradictions.

Addressing New Questions with Outdated Tools: Gender and Culture

The post-1976 *Istorikes Ekdoseis* had to address a number of critical issues. These were critical not only on a theoretical level but in existential terms for the party behind *Istorikes Ekdoseis* itself. Increasing pressure was experienced by the party leadership both from its left—anarchism, counterculture but also identity politics such as feminism had an increasing influence on the Greek youth—as well as from its right as social democracy became a dominant political current and won power in 1981. At the same time, after years of struggle, the leadership of the party felt it had hit a dead end as far as the accumulation of forces was concerned, while experiencing the disintegration and disbanding of its fraternal organisations and parties worldwide. All of the above were (up to a point) reflected in the publishing process, something that was essential. There were two major shortcomings during this process. First, the publishing scope remained limited to translated foreign works, with just two original works being published as well as a couple of pamphlets comprised of articles from the *Proletariaki Simeia* newspaper.⁵⁹⁹ Second, even the translated works were to a great extent

599. Three pamphlets were traced on the issues of social imperialism, the youth and the European economic union, all of them poorly-printed between 1978–1979. The latter two were first published as articles in *Proletariaki Simeia*.

inadequate to address questions of the time since they were either vaguely relevant to the Greek case or⁶⁰⁰ clearly outdated, to say the least.

Feminism and Maoist Publishing and Publications

How else can one comment on the choice to publish August Bebel’s *Woman and Socialism*, in 1981—a work that was at the time a century old—if not as an outdated perspective on a contemporary issue? While the feminist movement was on a rise on a global scale, the release of this title must have been disappointing, at least for the female members and followers of the party. Nevertheless, in the remainders of the publishing house’s archive, two relevant references were made. On a sheet of paper, there is a handwritten list titled “For the women’s movement”. Three authors with a respective work are named: Bebel, Alexandra Kollontai and Carla Ravaioli. While the socialist Bebel and the Bolshevik Kollontai were two options within the box, Carla Ravaioli was not.⁶⁰¹ In contrast to the other two authors to be published, Ravaioli was not an “orthodox” communist and had first published in Greece two years prior, in 1979. An interview that Ravaioli held with a number of leaders of the Italian Communist Party, a “revisionist” party by KKE (M–L) standards, of which she was a prominent member, was published by Themelio.⁶⁰² The latter was the publishing house affiliated with the fraternal party of the Italian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Greece (interior). This is peculiar, to say the least, since while Ravaioli was indisputably a prominent feminist in Italy—where many KKE (M–L) key figures acted during the military dictatorship—she was also a prominent

600. Although never published, Istorikes Ekdoseis was meaning to print a book about women in China. They produced nothing about women in Greece.

601. The collection of articles of Kollontai and the book of Ravaioli, *The Woman Against Herself* (La donna contro se stessa) never reached the printer due to the internal crisis of the KKE (M–L). According to another note in the archival remainders presumably regarding delivery dates of translations, Ravaioli’s translation was due in July 1981.

602. Nikolaos Papadogiannis, *Militant Around the Clock? Left-Wing Youth Politics, Leisure and Sexuality in Post-Dictatorship Greece, 1974–1981* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2015), 262.

“revisionist”. The following question arises: can this be perceived as a sign of political maturity or as succumbing to the pressure of the rising feminist trend within its ranks? One should bear in mind that gender issues became of increased interest and groups and publications concerning feminism or gay and lesbian liberation sprung up, especially in the city of Athens.⁶⁰³ Although the book was never published, a contract was signed between Istorikes Ekdoseis and Ravaioli’s Italian publisher Eulama, dated 2 June 1981. This was found in the archival remainders of the Istorikes Ekdoseis.

These issues, which in general did not concern party publishing, concerned *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos* [Progressive Cinema]. This was a periodical on cinema published by members and supporters of KKE (M–L) but did not follow party directives, thus raising scepticism within the party about its usefulness and role.⁶⁰⁴ In issue 6, published in late 1979, the editors expanded their thoughts on homosexuality and reviewed a Greek film featuring a transvestite.⁶⁰⁵ Issue 9, published in early 1980, was—up to a point—a special issue on “The women’s question” and more specifically on maternity.⁶⁰⁶ Although articles on these issues were signed by the editors, they were mainly the work of Aris Maragopoulos and Anta Klampatsea, then a couple. After the disintegration of the KKE (M–L), Klampatsea was going to continue publishing the periodical in a more feminist perspective.⁶⁰⁷ According to an announcement in the periodical’s issue 10–11 (un-

603. For an overview on the issue of sexuality in respect to Greek left-wing youth, and feminism in particular, see Papadogiannis, *Militant Around the Clock?* 260–266.

604. Aris Maragopoulos, interview with the author, Athens, 26 June 2013. Aris Maragopoulos is an author. He was a member of KKE (M–L) and the editorial board of *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos*. For a brief outline of the periodical, see Papadogiannis, *Militant Around the Clock?*, 244–247.

605. E sintaxi [The editors], “Mpetti tou D. Stavraka. Mia tenia pu vazì to provlima tis omofilofilias” [Betty by D. Stavrakas: A film Addressing the Issue of Homosexuality], *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos* (per.), 6 (third trimester ’79), 38–40 and E sintaxi [The editors], “Skepsis gia to thema tis omiofilias” [Thoughts on the Issue of Homosexuality], *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos* (per.), 6 (3rd trimester ’79), 40–47 [in Greek].

606. Anta Klampatsea (ed.), “Gia to ginekio zitima: E gineka ke i mitrotita” [For the Women’s Question: Woman and Maternity], *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos* (per.), 8–9 (1st trimester 1980), 39–78 [in Greek].

607. Aris Maragopoulos, interview with the author, Athens, 26 June 2013.

dated),⁶⁰⁸ the editors were going to publish Nikolay Chernychevsky's *What is to Be Done?* a novel about socialist ideas and the emancipation of women.⁶⁰⁹ *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos* did not fulfil its promise and the book by Chernychevsky was not published then. It was, however, published in 2013, by Topos publishing house, in a translation by Eleni Bakopoulou and included an extensive appendix by Aris Maragopoulos who is in charge of the fiction series of the publishing house. Despite the three-decade delay, two old members of Istorikes Ekdoseis and *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos* joined forces in order to fulfil the long-forgotten promise. During the same period as *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos*' gender turn, we become aware of the existence of a women's group of PPSP. This group signed an article in PPSP's magazine, *Salpisma*.⁶¹⁰ Instead of a conventional title, they chose lyrics by Manolis Rassoulis, an unconventional songwriter and performer and moreover, a former Trotskyite until the late 1970s and then a new-ager. This may be perceived as a contestation against the official party line or as seeking out a new cultural and political way after the old ones had burned out. The dramatic reduction of the symbolic capital born in the early 1960s—i.e., of Mao(ism)—is starkly obvious. The women's group raised criticism towards the views of the “revisionists” of the pro-Soviet KKE and of the mainstream media regarding the “women's issue”. Although the criticism was supposedly not focused within the party, the promotion of “feminist perceptions of sexuality with vigour” was, in fact, targeting the party leadership as well, since its one-dimensional *workerist* approach where all issues were subjugated to class struggle would be less than happy with this article.⁶¹¹

This dual procedure, namely, the development of a feminist movement and thus the resurface of a heating debate on gender issues on one hand, and the initial avoidance of actually engaging to the discussion by Istorikes Ekdoseis, therefore, by the party leadership, may have led to the choice for pub-

608. At the time, the name changed to *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos–Alli Keri* [Progressive Cinema–Other Times].

609. Nikolay Chernychevsky, *What is to Be Done?*, <https://archive.org/details/cu31924096961036> accessed 20 April 2018.

610. *Salpisma*, 6 (November–December 1980): 28–30.

611. Papadogiannis, *Militant Around the Clock?*, 264–265.

lishing Ravaioli. Since different groups of KKE (M–L) members and sympathisers were already publicly involved in feminism, the leadership could not sweep the latter under the carpet. A question still remains, however: were the choices of Bebel or even Kollontai, choices of inadequacy or were these a defensive stance of traditional communism over radical modernity?

The Question of Literary Production: Between Tradition and Modernity

Until 1976, the publishing list of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* was constituted by pure non-fiction. Reading fiction or poetry was not only not a priority but could be even considered as a luxury. After all, Chairman Mao was very specific, “All literary activities must allow politics at the helm”.⁶¹² After all, this was the same reason that feminism was viewed with a lot of scepticism. In the same issue of *Salpisma*, where the “women’s group of PPSP” piece was published, in just the previous page, a brief note by the cultural group of PPSP Athens was published as well. Once again the main criticisms raised are not targeting within but self-criticism as far as the lack of a cultural aspect of the party is evident: “In a few words, our movement and the cultural issues were two paths that were not in parallel but neither crossed anywhere. It could be said that our effort focuses on bringing these two paths as close as possible.”⁶¹³ The historian Nikolaos Papadogiannis notes that the leadership of the Party was afraid that dealing with these issues could disorientate the whole organization from the key political front, that of “class struggle”.⁶¹⁴ At the same time there is an admission of weakness, not being many but having too many tasks to fulfil so that allocating resources on culture was considered to be a luxury.⁶¹⁵

612. Shuha Wang, “From Maoism to (Post) Modernism: *Hamlet* in Communist China, in *Shakespeare in the Worlds of Communism and Socialism*, eds. Irena R. Makaryk and Joseph G. Price (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 283–294.

613. *Salpisma*, 6 (November–December 1980): 27.

614. Papadogiannis, *Militant Around the Clock*, 265.

615. *Ibid.*, 247.

The outcome of the pressure on Istorikes Ekdoseis' to get involved on the cultural front was a duality between communist tradition and radical modernity. While some signs regarding the cultural activity were quite traditional, e.g. publishing Howard Fast's *Silas Timberman*, in 1981,⁶¹⁶ or a cassette by the PPSP choir, in 1977, singing songs from the guerrilla movement of the 1940s in a very conservative, classicist Soviet music style.⁶¹⁷ This traditional communist approach, both in terms of content but also style, was countered by the number of plays and books either of or about Dario Fo and his wife Franca Rame published or planned to be published. The times had changed, and copyrights were no longer as easy, although still possible, to disregard as in the 1960s.⁶¹⁸ Dealing with contemporary social issues while being extremely politicised Dario Fo seemed to be the ideal author for Istorikes Ekdoseis to publish. Even his theatrical approach of reassessing medieval Italy's *giullare*, that is, the joker, seems to bridge Istorikes Ekdoseis's dichotomy between modernity and tradition. In *La giullarata*, one of Fo's works published by Istorikes Ekdoseis there is an appendix regarding a meeting on culture hosted by Fo and his theatrical group in 1974 and Fo's speech at the meeting.⁶¹⁹ The fact that, according to the appendix, significant cultural agents of Italy, such as Umberto Eco, the Taviani brothers, Bellocchio and Bernardo Bertolucci attended the meeting increased the symbolic significance of Fo's speech. The speech was an epitome between communist tradition, since Joseph Stalin, Vladimir Lenin and Mao Zedong are often cited by Fo, along with Jean-Paul Sartre.⁶²⁰ The meeting itself was held in an occupied building, a squat, a popular trend at the time within the leftist, countercultural and anarchist movement but I should note that it was not popular within the ranks of the KKE (M–L).

616. Howard Fast was a well-known American writer. He had served as a member of the Communist Party of the USA. For more on Howard Fast see *The Guardian*, accessed 22 April 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2003/mar/14/guardianobituaries.books>.

617. The cassette was circulated in 1977 by Istorikes Ekdoseis and was republished by *Proletariaki Simea* as a CD in 2004.

618. See the section "Transforming political relationships into social capital" in Chapter 2.

619. Dario Fo, *La giullarata* (Athens: Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1981), 103–128 [in Greek].

620. *Ibid.*

Thus, through the production of a single work, we witness the attempt to balance political tradition and modernity.

The need for such a modernisation emerged since the intense sit-ins that took place from 1979 to 1980 in the Greek universities and their aftermath.⁶²¹ PPSP was heavily involved in occupying the Greek universities along with the rising anarchists and the newly formed “fluid network of autonomous left-wingers, mainly students, who named themselves as *Chóros* (Space).”⁶²² The debates and discussions with these new bands of friends—much more cultural, and less politically and ideologically rigid—raised a number of issues and questions within PPSP. While discussing *Istorikes Ekdoseis* with Dionysis Kounades, the key *Istorikes Ekdoseis* bookseller, he said that the answers given were inadequate.⁶²³ When I asked for a more specific example, he referred to the title *Istorikes Ekdoseis* published regarding the Spanish Civil War.⁶²⁴ His example was far from being random. The Spanish Civil War had been in the epicentre of the heated debates between the young anarchist and libertarian movement and the more traditional left-wing groups. Communists, anarchists and Trotskyites from Spain and abroad were involved. Thus, it was a unique historical event where the majority of the different ideological trends represented in the Greek movement of the long *sixties* were active. The defeat by fascism and who to blame for it was an additional issue that provoked debate.⁶²⁵

Another ulterior reason for the shift within the publishing programme of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* was related to the leadership. By the eve of the 1980s,

621. See Papadogiannis, *Militant Around the Clock?*, 225–251.

622. *Ibid.*, 5.

623. Dionysis Kounades, interview with the author, Athens, 14 September 2013.

624. [P.C. de Espana (M-L)], *Venceremos! Ispania 1936–1939. Kritiki apotimisi [Venceremos! Spain 1936–1939: Critical Assessment]* (Athens: *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, 1977) [in Greek].

625. See Christos Mais, “O Ispanikos emfilios ston elliniiko aristero ke anarchiko logo” [The Spanish Civil War in Greek Leftist and Anarchist Discourse], in *O Ispanikos Emfilios: Kypros, Ellada ke Evropi* [Spanish Civil War: Cyprus, Greece and Europe] (Nicosia: Research Institute Promitheas, 2015), 105–116 [in Greek]. The late Michalis Protopsaltis, who became one of the most well-known Greek anarchist publishers from the mid-1970s, talked with enthusiasm about his “homage in Barcelona” in 1976. Michalis Protopsaltis, interview with the author, Pireas, 18 June 2013.

the majority of the leadership of the party was between 35 and 45 years old. Many of them had started a family, which raised the bar of responsibilities. It was not uncommon for both partners to be heavily involved in the party, raising the issue of limited time for their children or for breadwinning. In addition, those who were full-time party members could barely manage to provide the basic needs of their families.⁶²⁶ The publication of Antonio Gramsci's *The Tree of the Hedgehog*⁶²⁷—a collection of letters the Italian communist leader and intellectual sent to his two young sons from prison—was an interesting exception to the publishing programme of any political publishing field publishing project. The only exception would probably be trade publishers involved in political publishing. There is no evidence on whether this book was published either in order for the leading cadres to have a book to read to their children, or, to use it as a handbook on how to raise their own children. Nevertheless, it is clear that the issue of having and raising children was urgent at the time for the members and cadres of KKE (M–L).⁶²⁸

From all the above we must view the cultural turn of Istorikes Ekdoseis as a dual pressure from below (the youth) and above (the leading cadres). At the same time, it was the outcome of an external factor (the rise of Chóros in the universities) and an internal one (the fact that the leading cadres themselves were entering a new phase in their personal lives).

Seeking a Concrete Analysis of a Concrete Situation

Lenin liked to stress how the “the very gist, the living soul” of Marxism was nothing but the “concrete analysis of a concrete situation”.⁶²⁹ As it was

626. Tasos Parkosides, interview with the author, Rizari, 20 March 2013.

627. The Greek translation of this Italian work was published in 1981 by Istorikes Ekdoseis.

628. A number of leading cadres, such as Yorgis Provelegios, Kostas Malafekas, Tasos Parkosides, Vasilis Samaras and Stelios Agoutoglou had become parents by 1981.

629. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, “Kommunismus: Journal of the Communist International”, in *Lenin's Collected Works*, 4th English ed., vol. 31 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965),

showcased in the historical overview of the two periods of operation of Istorikes Ekdoseis, this Leninist doctrine was not followed by the Greek Marxists–Leninists, at least not until the dusk of the 1970s. During the 1960s, it seemed as if revolution was in the air on a global scale. While the signs of political crisis were visible worldwide by the mid-1970s, the enthusiasm associated with Metapolitefsi and the surplus of radicalisation brought about by the seven-year suppression during the military dictatorship extended the revolutionary illusion. By the end of the decade not only had the revolutionary set back been realised but the leading cadres of the party had acknowledged the global economic crisis sparked by the oil price hikes of 1973 (repeated in 1979). The leadership realised that its theoretical and methodological tools were not sufficient to assess the developments worldwide. Bear in mind that until 1976 they would simply monitor primarily China’s assessments and until 1979 those of Albania. From 1980 they had none to follow, there was now a burden of not copying but creating the original. This led to an insufficient and limited attempt by the leading cadres to address the developments of the time. A leading cadre, Paris Gavallas, was also an executive of Shell in Greece. He penned an anonymous three-part article for *Proletariaki Simea* newspaper that was then published by Istorikes Ekdoseis in 1979 as a (poorly-designed) pamphlet.⁶³⁰ This is probably the first of a few attempts by KKE (M–L) to assess reality by itself, proceeding to its own genuine analysis.

Thus, the leading cadres engaged in a discussion regarding the economy, since according to Marxism, “the economic structure of society”⁶³¹ is its “real foundation”⁶³² as well as party building and functioning since their

165–167, Marxists Internet Archive, accessed 29 May 2018, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/jun/12.htm>.

630. [Paris Gavallas], *To provlima tis energias stin Ellada* [The Energy Question in Greece] (Athens: Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1979) [in Greek].

631. Publication of a translation of the book by Bruno Theret and Michel Wieviorka, *Critique of the Theory of “State Capitalism”* (Athens: Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1982) [in Greek, as *Kritiki tis theorias tu “kratikomonomoliaku kapitalismu”*] took place within this context.

632. Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), Marxists Internet Archive, accessed 30 May 2018, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/preface.htm>.

own party was in crisis. They furthermore tried to make critical assessments of the ideological and political issues of their time.⁶³³ This included translations of texts, some of which were turned into publications by Istorikes Ekdoseis while others remained unpublished and were used for internal discussions. All these works were part of a debate that took place among the leading cadres of KKE (M–L) within the framework of the Central Committee of the organisation. It is not clear in full whether the debates were fruitful, even sincere or, as it would be set in Marxist–Leninist terms, principled. The outcome, that is, a course that led to the dissolution of the party with the various fractions moving towards different but equally blurry paths are indicative; it was most likely a dialogue of the deaf.

Too Little, Too Late: Posthumous Publishing Activity

Yannis Hontzeas’ testimony is supportive of the prior assessment. Hontzeas, a prominent figure and founding member of the Marxist–Leninist movement in Greece, has accused—without naming—members of the leadership for stopping documents translated or produced from being published or for making unfounded criticisms in respect to specific works to be published.⁶³⁴ Hontzeas makes an explicit reference and harsh criticisms to what he viewed as unjust polemics and against an insufficient understanding of Karl Marx’s *Grundrisse* by members of the Central Committee.⁶³⁵ The fact is that he was the one translating *Grundrisse*—he therefore felt strong about this incident. Hontzeas was justified to argue on works that were never published, that remained proofs.⁶³⁶ The fact is that the majority of the

633. For example, *Anichti epistoli tu E.K.K. Chilis pros to K.K. Kinas* [Open Letter of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile to the Communist Party of China], Athens: Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1978 [in Greek].

634. Yannis Hontzeas, *Gia to Kommunistiko Kinima tis Elladas* [For the Communist Movement of Greece] (Athens: A/synechia, 2004), 334–339 [in Greek].

635. *Ibid.*, 336–337.

636. The historian Manolis Arkolakis, who was a member of the KKE (M–L), recalled retrieving unpublished excerpts of Rosa Luxemburg’s works in the remainders of the typesetting facilities. Manolis Arkolakis, email correspondence with the author, 7 May 2018.

works were published in 1982, after the second and last Congress of KKE (M–L) which led to the liquidation of the party. These were published by the fraction that was based in Athens and that held the title and mainly the bookstore of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* until the 90s. Thus, we cannot address these publications as being part of the publishing mentality of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* of *Metapolitefsi per se*.

Hontzeas aligned with the smallest and youth-based faction of KKE (M–L) that in 1982 founded a publishing house called *A/synechia* exactly like Hontzeas and his faction founded *Istorikes Ekdoseis* about two decades before. The first book *A/synechia* published, in December 1982, was the Introduction of *Grundrisse* accompanied by a translator’s note, that is, by Yannis Hontzeas. A few months later, in April 1983, a selection from *Grundrisse* was published, once again accompanied by a note of the translator and editor, Hontzeas.⁶³⁷ The striking difference between the work of Hontzeas in *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and that in *A/synechia* is the fact that he never published any prologues or notes in the works translated by him for the former while he did so with the latter. A number of issues raised within this dissertation in respect to a flood of translated works the necessity and importance of which was rarely justified by the translators or publishers were now dealt. But it was too late, and the political publishing field was at a crossroads.

In this case as well the self-generated content was limited, counting a mere three publications, one of which was not even published by *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and one being published a year after the meltdown of the party. The first was the work by Vangelis Pissias, a leading cadre of the party, who for a short while he was elected general secretary during the absence of Yorgis Provelegios⁶³⁸. His work was a critique of state policies on agricultural production.⁶³⁹ His topic is closely interrelated to his postgradu-

637. See <https://www.asynechia.gr/%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%8A%CF%8C%CE%BD/grundrisse-%CE%B3%CE%B5%CE%BD%CE%B9%CE%BA%CE%AE-%CE%B5%CE%B9%CF%83%CE%B1%CE%B3%CF%89%CE%B3%CE%AE-%CE%B5%CF%80%CE%B9%CE%BB%CE%BF%CE%B3%CE%AE/>, accessed 7 May 2018.

638. Vasilis Samaras, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 22 August 2014.

639. Vangelis Pissias, *Ta adioxoda tis agrotikis politikis–Kritiki tu eksichronismu apo*

ate studies, fulfilled a year before at the Université de Paris I, Pantheon / Sorbonne, concerning Greek agricultural production on the eve of Greece entering the European Economic Community. Two years before Pissias, Takis Tassopoulos, another leading cadre, published his book on the Greek industry.⁶⁴⁰ According to his preface, this book was based in a previous study of his conducted in 1971–1972 when he was abroad⁶⁴¹ which was not broadly distributed.

What strikes me as odd is that the book was not published by Istorikes Ekdoseis while the typesetting took place at the operation set up by KKE (M–L). Leading cadres when asked either said they had no recollections⁶⁴² or that Tassopoulos himself did not want to publish it in-house because he did not want to deduct from the limited resources of his party.⁶⁴³ This explanation is rather odd since at a time, as already stated, Istorikes Ekdoseis even owned photo-typesetting facilities thus publishing with a reduced cost of printing. It is a fact that the political positions of Tassopoulos differed from those of the majority of the leadership on a series of matters.⁶⁴⁴ It could be that by publishing his work with another publisher he wanted to make a statement—namely, that there was a political gap between him and the rest of the leadership.

anaptixiaki skopia [Agricultural Policy Dead Ends—Critique of Modernisation from a Development Viewpoint] (Athens: Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1981) [in Greek].

640. Takis Tassopoulos, *Elliniki viomichania: Monopoliaki anaptixi ke sigentrosi tis paragogis* [Greek Industry: Monopoly Growth and Concentration of Production] (Athens: Tymfi, 1979) [in Greek].

641. Tassopoulos studied economics in Athens from the late 1950s until the early 1960s and was a known left-wing student activist. He then moved to Moscow just before the military dictatorship to further pursue his studies in economics. Being a leading member of OMLE, his pro-Maoist, anti-Soviet stance made him unpopular for the regime and during the early 1970s he moved to Paris where his fellow comrades based the headquarters of OMLE.

642. Stelios Manousakas, interviews with the author, 21 May 2011, 25 June 2013.

643. Tasos Parkosides, interview with the author, Rizari, 20 March 2013.

644. This is certified by both oral testimonies from Stelios Manousakas, interview with the author, 25 June 2013; Yorgis Provelegios, interview with the author, Athens, 10 October 2012; Vasilis Samaras, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 22 August 2014; Gregoris Konstantopoulos, interview with the author, Athens, 17 January 2009), as well as by the internal debate that preceded the 2nd Congress of the KKE (M–L). The documents of this internal debate can be found in the Archive of the KKE (M–L), Thessaloniki Branch.

A short undated note written by the author was found in a copy of the book he sent to his comrade Vasilis Samaras and that now belongs to my private archive. The content of the note indicates that both the note and the book were sent in reply to a prior note by Samaras. Samaras in his own note indicated a number of errors regarding the various calculations and numbers used by Tassopoulos. He thanks Samaras for his thorough reading and explains himself. He refers to the fact that despite having triple checked the proofs, the first 200 copies were released with a number of errors. He then started correcting the errors he managed to trace by hand. He committed to correcting all the mistakes if a second edition occurred. Nevertheless, he stresses that these mistakes by no means affected his assessments and conclusions.

It is rather crucial that a close reader would find mistakes, mistakes that could have been avoided if proof-readers had been a vital part of the political publishing field, and they were not. Proofreading was an additional task for the authors or translators to take up if they could. While Tassopoulos claims that in his case the outcome was not altered by the mistakes, it is likely that this is not always the case. Thus, the lack of quality and quality control through the different stages of proofreading and copy-editing put the quality of the content reaching the reader in jeopardy.

The last title by Istorikes is a 42-page pamphlet that was probably published by the end of 1983.⁶⁴⁵ Although it is in fact outside the chronological scope of this dissertation I will include it in my assessment. The reason for this is that I have a firm belief that this publication and its specific characteristics underline prior points made about Istorikes Ekdoseis. This is one of the most carefully and originally designed pamphlets and books by Istorikes Ekdoseis. It has a designed front- and back cover and is illustrated with photographs. I first discovered a copy at the International Institute of Social History in 2010.⁶⁴⁶ The author is unknown and none of the leading cadres asked even recalled the existence of the pamphlet. The short preface

645. n.a., *Kinonikopisi, simmetochi, afodiachirisi, ergatikos elegchos* [Socialisation, Participation, Self-Management, Workers' Control] (Athens: Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1982) [in Greek].

646. Publications CSD, CSD 6732/3 <http://hdl.handle.net/10622/D0C9DA85-C242-482F-BF49-9A46B8AEC282>.

underlines that the recent discussions raised the need to “produce theory... in respect to the special characteristics of our country’s society and the contemporary productive and social relations”.⁶⁴⁷ This is a publishing requiem since the lack of theoretical production and the dead ends hit by uncritically following this or that international trend for years resulted in the Marxist–Leninist movement and its publishing project, as well as the majority of the political publishing field, to attenuate significantly.

The Sources of Capital of Istorikes Ekdoseis

In this section, I will address the different sources of capital of Istorikes Ekdoseis during its second (and final) period of operation. A special focus will be given to human and symbolic capital, two key forms of capital for the political publishing field. Human capital is crucial for such organisations since they are primarily based on their human resources on a more or less volunteer basis. Furthermore, the fluctuations of symbolic capital—which I have argued is the most significant source of capital for the political publishing field—are a barometer of the life and death, not only of Istorikes Ekdoseis but of the field writ large.

Human Capital

Tasos Parkosides, a geologist, was now in charge of Istorikes Ekdoseis. Parkosides came from a left-wing family, studied in Italy and became a high-ranking member of AMEE and OMLE during the dictatorship. He had no experience in publishing, but he was trustworthy and loyal to the cause.⁶⁴⁸ Alongside him was Dionysis Kounades, a physics student. Kounades was primarily in charge of the bookstore and had no prior experience in publishing or the book industry in general. He had been a member of AMEE and OMLE in Italy during the dictatorship.⁶⁴⁹ Eleni Bakopoulou,

647. n.a., *Socialisation*.

648. Tasos Parkosides, interview with the author, Rizari, 20 March 2013.

649. Dionysis Kounades, interview with the author, Athens, 14 September 2013.

who by now was an established translator of Russian literature in the Greek publishing industry, was also involved in *Istorikes Ekdoseis*. Bakopoulou studied history in the Soviet Union where she became involved with OMLE and continued her studies in France. Two or three more people worked for *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, all of them young militants. Apart from Parkosides and Kounades, it seems that the rest of the *Istorikes Ekdoseis* crew handled day to day operations, like the mimeograph or other printing equipment. This team managed the publishing house and the small printing facilities acquired in 1978⁶⁵⁰ and acted as members of the editorial committee of the bi-weekly newspaper *Proletariaki Simea*.

Gregoris (Gregorio) Kapsomenos, another party cadre based in Bologna, also assisted as an intermediate between *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and authors or publishers based in Italy. Kapsomenos was an engineering student active in the left-wing movement in general and AMEE especially. At the same time, he started working in the Italian book industry, as a bookseller. After the collapse of the dictatorship, he decided not to move back to Greece but to continue living and working in Italy. He became a very well-known antiquarian bookseller in Bologna— where he ran the bookstore *Libreria delle Moline*, along with his wife Marta—until his death in 2011.

What initially struck me as odd with respect to human capital was the complete absence of illustrators. OMLE and KKE (M–L), as well as most of the left-wing groups, were very strong in the Schools of Architecture of Athens and Thessaloniki, as well as in the School of Fine Arts. Nevertheless, these members of theirs were not involved in the publishing activity. This was before developing the argument in a previous chapter regarding the relationship between aesthetics and symbolic capital. Although I argue that this is the key issue with respect to aesthetics, an additional element may be added. During the 1960s and especially during and after May 1968, one can note a differentiation in the aesthetics of AMEE, especially of its French

650. During 1977, especially young members of the organisation, such as university students, went to work in factories and building sites. These “red day wages” were handed to the organisation to cover expenditures during that year’s national election campaign. These voluntary contributions led to a surplus that was used to acquire photo-typesetting equipment and part of an offset machine. Tasos Parkosides, interview with the author, Rizari, 20 March 2013.

branch. The strict and “serious” communist posters of the early dictatorship period seemed to be overtaken by posters influenced by May 1968.

This short avant-garde break was not to be continued and there was soon to be a return to normalcy. The end of experimentation and improvisation left no space for potential illustrators to create. When the original work’s cover was not to be exactly copied, a very simple and uninspired cover would be created. This simplicity was almost conservative in a time of experimentation and worldwide aesthetic breakthrough attempts and characterised the overall everyday life stance of the KKE (M–L) members.⁶⁵¹ And it was connected to the whole form versus content issue, and the lack of symbolic capital due to the lack of *aura*.

Apart from the team that handled the bookstore, the publishing house and later on the small printing facilities, other OMLE—and afterwards KKE (M–L)—cadres assisted, mainly serving as translators. In the remainders of the Istorikes Ekdoseis archive, we find the names of a number of the cadres—mainly those who were active in Italy during the military dictatorship—next to titles to be translated, such as, Stelios [Manousakas], Dimitris [Babakos] and Nasa [Papamikrouli–Babakou]. The former two were leading cadres of OMLE and KKE (M–L) until the early 1980s while Nasa, wife of Dimitris, was also a cadre. During the 1990s, Nasa Babakou translated three children’s books of Gianni Rontari for a trade publisher while the rest of the translators do not seem to have followed up with any more translations.

Although translations had been the epicentre of the Greek political publishing field and thus of Istorikes Ekdoseis we need to further assess the issue during the Metapolitefsi, that is, the post-1974 era. In the pre-dictatorship period of Istorikes Ekdoseis, the political circle around the publisher was primarily involved in propaganda through publishing. Therefore, leading cadres like Yannis Hontzeas and Isaak Iordanides acting as translators was not something unusual since the group worked as a preparatory stage for creating a political organisation. But during the post-1974 period, OMLE and KKE (M–L)—that is, political organisations acting in the stu-

651. On the cultural aspect of left-wing politics in Greece, see Papadogiannis, *Militant Around the Clock?*

dent and the labour movement and taking part in demonstrations and strikes on an everyday basis—substituted the pre-dictatorship publishing group. Thus, while publishing was still crucial in the group's politics, *Istorikes Ekdoseis* was now a mere tool, one of many, and not the core of the group's political life and practice.

Let us now address the qualitative and quantitative terms of the translations made. I would like to acknowledge the fact that *Istorikes Ekdoseis* was always concerned about the quality of its translations and provided high standards of translation for the time. Therefore, in terms of quality, translations remained excellent across the two periods. A breakthrough concerns the expansion of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*' human capital and its skills. The military dictatorship might have been a seven-year setback for *Istorikes Ekdoseis* but at the same time, it afforded the opportunity to accumulate multilingual and highly educated human capital through the recruitment of anti-junta activists in a variety of European countries. During the pre-dictatorship period *Istorikes Ekdoseis* translating team had limited language skills—Russian, English and French, mainly learned in exile. The *Metapolitefsi* team expanded its language skills with Italian and German mainly learned in higher education institutes of European countries.

Following the end of the military dictatorship the political organisation, OMLE and then KKE (M–L), increased its membership and influence and consequently *Istorikes Ekdoseis* increased its human capital. There is a direct relationship between the influence and especially the membership range of political groups and the respective accumulation of human capital for their publishing projects. The human capital was highly educated with advanced language skills. Nevertheless, it often had no prior engagement in publishing nor the urge to be engaged. It was just another political task.

A question arises as to why key political figures of the group would allocate their resources, i.e., their time, in order to act as translators. Most of the translations were from Italian to Greek, a language with which many of the members of the group were familiar, including the two key figures of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, Tasos Parkosides and Dionysis Kounades.⁶⁵² This

652. According to Stelios Manousakas, during the dictatorship, AMEE—OMLE's front

fact contradicts the fact that the same leading cadres have claimed that the absence of original assessments and analysis by KKE (M–L) was due to the lack of time. Since the establishment of Istorikes Ekdoseis in 1963, we witness a constant allocation of human resources to translations and the argument in parallel that there was neither the time nor the resources for the production of original works. Prioritising the use of human capital as translators rather than authors is indicative of the importance of symbolic capital. A leading cadre of the KKE (M–L) was equally ideologically capable of producing non-fiction works like those of the international party’s counterparts that were translated.

Symbolic Capital Fades Away

From 1974 until 1976, Istorikes Ekdoseis resumed the accumulation of symbolic capital through the same channels as in the first period, from 1963–1967. Added value to the accumulation of symbolic capital was provided by the persecution of the pre-dictatorship Istorikes Ekdoseis during the dictatorship and the anti-junta stance of its members and followers that escaped imprisonment and exile and participated in the anti-dictatorial struggle. Thus, a combination of political capital based on the militancy of the anti-junta activists affiliated with Istorikes Ekdoseis and the accumulated symbolic capital of the pre-dictatorship period due to the publication of Mao Zedong works and the affiliation with China. The elevation of Albania within the international communist movement and the respective publications from Albania, especially works of the Albanian leader, Enver Hoxha, was another source for accumulating symbolic capital. The period from 1976 to 1978 was a transitional one for Istorikes Ekdoseis and its symbolic capital was affected. The gradual distancing between Istorikes Ekdoseis and China after the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 made it vital to reorient fast because as the star of China faded so did the symbolic capital related to it. Focusing on publications from Albania—that although not as

in Italy—was around 800 strong. This is indicative of the availability of potential translators for Istorikes Ekdoseis. Stelios Manousakas, interview with the author, 21 May 2011.

flamboyant as China was still considered to be a socialist example for the publisher's readers—helped Istorikes Ekdoseis to temporarily salvage its symbolic capital.

By 1979 a new rupture between KKE (M–L) and Albania would take place over the issue of supporting or denouncing Mao Zedong.⁶⁵³ This incident marked the end of an era for Istorikes Ekdoseis since for the first time since their establishment in 1963 they had nowhere to directly draw symbolic capital from. A whole publishing logic of translating and carefully copying original works as a source of symbolic capital was no longer valid. Istorikes Ekdoseis would then translate works from fraternal parties such as those of Chile or Spain as well as works of Dario Fo who although popular was far from being a sufficient substitute for the loss of Mao Zedong's or even Enver Hoxha's symbolic capital. Until 1976 if not 1978 the publishing programme of Istorikes Ekdoseis had a continuity and thus a flow of symbolic capital. Even the abrupt pause during the military dictatorship did not necessarily lead to the symbolic capital's loss. From 1979 the publishing programme—with the exception of Dario Fo's work—had no consistency, and can be characterised as being a publishing programme in confusion, without clear directives and orientation. The publishing firm not only could hardly provide a symbolic surplus through its newly published titles, but it also started losing the one accumulated for years. The ideological and political crisis of KKE (M–L) and its mass organisations was a reflection of the diminishment of the symbolic capital of Istorikes Ekdoseis. While until then the political and ideological capital of the Marxist–Leninist movement was transformed into symbolic capital for the publishing arm(s) of the movement, the post-1978 crisis of the movement reflected in the symbolic capital of the publishing arm and vice versa.

Economic Capital: A Hitherto Virtually Insignificant Factor

Economic capital was never a priority for the political publishing field per se and its lack was almost taken for granted. Human capital in terms of un-

653. Yorgis Provelegios, interview with the author, Athens, 10 October 2012; Vasilis Samaras, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 22 August 2014.

paid or badly paid labour of activists would compensate for the lack of economic capital for years. As the years went by, the movement seemed to still be immature, without any assessments of its own, and incapable of making a mark for itself and its ideals. This reflected on the publishing programme and its shortcomings, which included original works based on Greek society rather than producing translated works that were vaguely relevant to the latter. Although the movement was still immature, the opposite could be said for its members. The 1960s youngsters were now in their 30s and 40s and were planning or even already had a family. Most of them acted for years as full-timers, as Lenin’s “professional revolutionaries”⁶⁵⁴ accepting very low wages, much lower than if they had an ordinary job or even volunteered. The party could not pay more. It had a number of expenses, from paying the bills and rents for dozens of party offices, producing a weekly newspaper and thousands of leaflets and pamphlets on a weekly, if not daily, basis. This was a common issue in most groups of the time, not only KKE (M–L)⁶⁵⁵ and intensified the crisis. The lack of economic capital saw the rapid reduction of ideological and political capital—and thus symbolic capital— precipitating a literal existential crisis. This not only concerned the existence of the political organisation, but it also its members individually and raised a question of what was they were to do with their lives. This is more than clear not only from what they said or how they said that during the time they were interviewed. But also from their silence, a silence that lasted for almost 30 years until they finally decided to accept my request to interview them and that often re-emerged during the interviews.

The End of the Second Life of Istorikes Ekdoseis

Istorikes Ekdoseis re-emerged in 1974. They initially functioned as if nothing had changed, as if 1967 was just the other day and they were simply re-

654. Lenin, “What is to Be Done?”, 347–530.

655. Tasos Parkosides, interview with the author, Rizari, 20 March 2013; Yorgis Provelgios, interview with the author, Athens, 10 October 2012; Yorgis Gikas, interview with the author, Menidi, 22 June 2012.

suming operations. Mao Zedong's death was the first blow, followed by the breaks first with China and then with Albania. At the same time youth—a preferential part of the political publishing field's readership—was fed up with hard-lined ideological and political texts. A cultural turn was vital in order for *Istorikes Ekdoseis* to serve the needs of its readers. Although the need for culture was covered up to a point with a series of Dario Fo's works initiated in 1980, the need to replace the lost symbolic capital that until then derived from copying works from China and Albania was never met. Nor was the necessity to produce original works to assess the questions of the time as far as the Greek economy and society and the global situation.

The agents of the publishing house gradually drifted away mainly because they felt that this cycle opened in 1963 was now closed. Beyond that or due to that they also felt the need to look after themselves and their families after years of complete commitment to the movement. *Istorikes Ekdoseis* seized their publishing activity in 1983. There was a mere publishing exception in 1990 when the autobiography of Polydoros Danielides was published under the imprint of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*. This was not a revival but a mere tribute to one of the oldest members of the movement that had passed soon before this publication was released.

Even today in second-hand bookstores, especially those based in Ex-archia, Athens, one may find books of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, especially the blue-covered Chinese documents or the yellow Mao's works with Mao Zedong stamped on them, but that cycle of the political publishing field has been ended a long time ago and only relics remain.

CONCLUSIONS

The Greek political publishing field flourished during the *long 1960s*. Varieties of subfields were created by the dozens—if not hundreds—of mainly small and short-lived publishing projects that sprung out of nowhere only to vanish into thin air soon after. If it had not been for second-hand bookstores and a handful of collectors and timeworn left-wingers who held on to their old books, their existence would have been long forgotten.

The Greek political publishing field was the fruit of an encounter between the youth radicalisation of the time and the communist tradition of the 1940s. The idealism and anti-establishment character of the field's agents resulted in limitations as far as some of the available resources are concerned. The initial lack of economic capital and the low hierarchisation are of great significance. Cheap pamphlets—both in terms of the material quality and the price—poor design and aesthetics, in general, were in large part a result of the lack of economic capital. The field's readers being young students and toilers—thus, with little spare cash for books—functioned also to restrict the field. Publishing projects were therefore forced to publish cheap pamphlets to keep costs and prices down and were thus always barely breaking even.

The standout characteristic of the field is the centrality of symbolic capital. Symbolic capital is what provides each individual publishing project—and the field as a whole—with radiance within the field and a specific position in the publishing sphere. The ideological and political *aura* of the global *long sixties* brought politics and thus the political publishing field to

the attention of the youth—primarily, but not only. The field thus attracted the most vivid (i.e., young, energetic and politically active) social group as readers. This gave a great boost since the youth was better educated and travelled than prior generations. Part of the readership thus became agents of the field—working as translators or reviewers of titles they read abroad. These networks were crucial for a publishing field that was characterised by a dearth of economic capital, boosting the centrality of symbolic capital since translated titles that conveyed political and ideological authority dominated it.

Symbolic and economic capital—as perceived by the agents of the field—was reflected in the materialisation of publishing production. The aesthetics of the field were heavily influenced by the significance of the former and the dearth of the latter. On the one hand, exact copies of the foreign editions to be translated were produced in an attempt to extract the symbolic capital of the original. On the other hand, the lack of economic capital led to a devaluation of aesthetics when symbolic capital was not interconnected to the work, i.e., the work of a significant publisher and author. In the case of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, that would be a work from the Chinese Foreign Languages Press during Mao Zedong's era.

The lack of economic capital but predominantly the fact the political publishing was in the epicentre of the political activity of the *long sixties*—being the only means of propaganda these minuscule groups had—led to the domination of amateurs as publishing field agents, except for printers. The majority of those involved in the field during the time had no prior engagement and none afterwards. Their publishing and political activity intertwined, and when the latter ceased, so did the former.

The field is constituted by various subfields that held partial autonomy, meaning that they could differentiate from the general characteristics of the field but not to the extent they could be considered autonomous publishing fields. For alternative and countercultural publishing, aesthetics was far more important, since it was considered to be a political statement.

The political publishing field peaked at the same time as social and national liberation movements worldwide. The political and ideological magnitude and *aura* of movements and revolutionary leaders globally—and

their publishing activity—were transformed into symbolic capital for the Greek publishing projects that were translating and publishing their works. By the end of the 1970s, revolution was no longer in the air. It is no coincidence that by this time the British punk-rock band *The Stranglers* would sing “No more heroes”, wondering what had happened to Leon Trotsky and “dear old Lenin”.⁶⁵⁶ Through this song, it is as if *The Stranglers* are paying tribute to the heroes of their youth, mourning their parting.

This end of an era, with the fading out of legendary revolutionary figures and movements, shook the political publishing field. A readjustment of publishing plans was attempted to salvage symbolic capital—and in so doing—the field as a whole. Issues such as gender, culture—as well as some original assessments based on the Greek reality—were attempted. But it was too late; the band had—to coin a phrase—moved on. The 1960s youngsters were now family men and women, and their commitment to the movement and to the various publishing projects without adequate financial compensation could not continue. Until then, they had been compensated by the feeling that they were contributing to a revolutionary cause that would soon be victorious. Not anymore. Political groups’ headquarters, publishing houses and bookstores were shuttered, their archives and stocks scattered. Due to this shortage of written resources, I had to revisit orality, through oral history, to be able to reconstruct what had been in practice an almost exclusively print culture. The rise of digital communication and publishing—from blogging to social media proved—a saviour here since it multiplied my sources in a dual way. So, too, has digitisation. On the one hand, many field agents of the time shared their stories in the online space or engaged in discussions about the period. On the other hand, it became much easier to trace and contact potential interviewees.

This publishing field—both as a historical narrative and a material culture—was long gone when I set about researching it. But the peculiarities of this field made it so intriguing—both from the perspective of social and cultural history and also of publishing studies—that I felt compelled to investigate. And—as best I could—to write it all down.

656. See <http://www.thestranglers.net/?p=14807>, accessed 11 May 2018.

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SUMMARY

This thesis deals with political publishing during the Greek *long sixties*, 1963-1981. In particular it provides a historical narrative of Greek left-wing publishing in the broad sense (including communist, leftist, anarchist, countercultural and alternative media) during this period.

The major argument of this thesis is that Greek political publishing during the time under investigation constituted a distinctive publishing field, in terms of John B. Thompson's treatise of the publishing field theory, which is in turn based on Pierre Bourdieu's field theory. I argue that the political publishing field differs distinctively from the trade-publishing field in terms of the significance of the five sources of capital (economic, social, human, intellectual, symbolic) defined by Thompson. While all five are present in the political publishing field, economic capital, which is vital in trade publishing, is of less significance, while symbolic capital is of the utmost importance. It is possible for characteristics to be shared across time and space, but generalising without investigating can easily lead to wrong conclusions since fields evolve in time and are also affected by the specific social, political, economic, and technological conditions of each country. Thus we need to investigate each field in a specific time and space frame and by drawing upon the publishing field theory specify its particular characteristics.

In order to illustrate my key argument I use a variety of case studies in Chapter 1, and a key case study, that of Istorikes Ekdoseis, in the last two chapters. Archival research has been used to reconstruct the universe of

Istorikes Ekdoseis as well as other case studies. Unfortunately, only fractions of archives have been recovered. A full reconstruction of the Istorikes Ekdoseis publishing project would not have been possible without the extensive use of oral history. Oral history also allowed me to develop an idea of the audience and readership of the publications—information that could not be acquired any other way. The internet and social media have in this regard proved to be crucial sources. The dissolution of the revolutionary movements of the long sixties resulted in the dispersal of their members, not only across Greece but even worldwide. The internet has provided the opportunity to track them down by searching the web or various databases. The recent social media boom offered the means to contact former agents of the field or readers.

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the Greek political publishing field during the *long sixties*. This chapter historicises the Greek political publishing field and discusses how both internal and international political developments had their impact on the formation and disintegration of the field. Issues of time and space are also discussed in this chapter. The political publishing field reflects the underlying sociality of space. The majority of the field's agents were concentrated in central city locations, close to the social spaces frequented by the youth, mainly student, target audience (i.e., university faculties, bars and cafes). Furthermore through the presentation of different case studies I conceptualise widely and loosely used terms, such as underground press, alternative, press, countercultural media. I also show how during this time due to the institutional anticommunism (until 1974) many intellectuals were involved in publishing (e.g. as printers, publishers, door-to-door salesmen) due to being banned from working in a variety of other sectors of the economy. This in combination with the popularity of political publishing led a number of trade publishers to be involved in political publishing during the time under investigation.

In Chapter 2 I apply Thompson's field theory to show that political publishing in Greece during the long sixties constituted a publishing field in its own right. The aforementioned major argument of this thesis is presented in theoretical terms in this chapter; that a distinct publishing field existed is shown by the importance of symbolic capital and the virtual absence

of economic capital, making it an anomaly in the trade publishing field. Unlike trade publishing's conventional sub-subfields, political publishing exhibited virtually no influence from economic capital. Likewise, other publishing fields are not affected by the historical context in the same way political publishing is. Of course, the particular circumstances of time and space affect all publishing fields to a greater or lesser extent. Technological advances, increased literacy and standards of living, or an increase of attendance in higher education all affect the way a publishing field or subfield will develop. In the case of the Greek political publishing field, however, historical time and context did not merely influence developments—they created the field itself. I argue that the rise of social movements in the long sixties in Greece and the attendant politicisation of the youth—today's “baby boomers”—were essential to the very rise of the field, while the end of the long sixties and the decline of the same social, cultural and political movements brought the field to its end.

In chapter 3, I elaborate on the dialectics of form and content of published works within the political publishing field through the use of case studies. I argue that the form, as in the graphic design and the material quality, was directly related to symbolic capital, and symbolic capital was—as I have argued—of overarching significance in the political publishing field. Two distinct patterns or publishing practices emerged in relation to the distinct form of the period. The first was the copying of originals in an attempt to draw on and transmit the symbolic capital that inhered in them—from the publisher, author or title of the original through to the copied works. The second pattern was the production of first-hand cheap editions with deliberately poor aesthetics when there was no symbolic capital in the original that might be transmitted via copying.

The fourth and fifth chapters explore in detail the dissertation's case study: *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, a Greek publishing venture prominent during the long sixties. Before proceeding with *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, both the Chinese policy regarding the foreign press and the use of press and publishing during the long sixties within the international revolutionary movements are discussed. This is necessary since one cannot fully comprehend the political publishing field if the global aspect is neglected. Various political trends

developed a sense of universality, both in terms of beliefs and in terms of the movements that championed them. The exchange of literature—translations, hosting articles or publishing works produced by comrades from all around the world—between “true believers” in different countries was a prevalent practice at the time, and in reality, it was nothing but the publishing embodiment of the perception of being part of a global revolutionary project.

Istorikes Ekdoseis is one of the few political publishing houses that operated through the entire period, save the seven years of military rule from 1967 to 1974. The ideological motivations of its founders and contributors throughout its operation and its highly political and ideological content, as well as the fact that it operated across the entire long sixties, are sufficient reasons to select Istorikes Ekdoseis as a representative case study of the Greek political publishing field. These two chapters cover, respectively, the first and second operational periods of Istorikes Ekdoseis (i.e., pre- and post-junta) and include both a narrative of the publishing activity per se and an application of publishing field theory. To reconstruct the history of this publishing project—and position it and its agents within the political publishing field—a series of methodological and research tools were employed. Elements of Bourdieu’s field theory—especially as modified by Thompson—have been pivotal in grounding the framework of the research. The focus on a single publisher should be perceived as a micro-historical approach, which is used to support and substantiate the arguments regarding the greater narrative. In this sense, it is not an attempt to scale down the research as this would be contradictory to the long sixties approach, itself a core element of the research framework. These two chapters thus, in a way, combine the core of the first two chapters of the dissertation: a historical narrative where publishing field theory is applied in order to reconstruct the field and at the same time determine its distinctive characteristics.

The conclusions that follow sum up the key arguments of the dissertation. These are:

1. Political publishing in Greece during the long sixties constituted a distinctive publishing field.
2. A fundamental characteristic of this field is the centrality of sym-

bolic capital. This form of capital is at the heart not only of every agent within the field but of the field itself. The decline of symbolic capital is closely intertwined with the decline of ideological and political currents at the time. This decline not only brought political publishers to their knees but also forced most of them to close down or migrate to other publishing fields, thereby turning them into relics of a once vivid and flourishing publishing space.

3. Another fundamental characteristic differentiating this publishing field from trade publishing is the relative insignificance of economic capital. One may think that this is due to the very real dearth of financial resources available to the agents of the field. In reality, this scarcity of financial resources is not the reason for the insignificance of economic capital. The main reason for this was political, rather than economic since publishing was primarily seen as a political task or duty. Since individuals were driven to the field by a sense of political duty, they took up the work even when not particularly suited to it and with little concern for the monetary compensation.

SAMENVATTING

Deze dissertatie gaat over politieke publicaties in de Griekse *lange jaren zestig*, 1963-1981. In het bijzonder geeft het een historisch verhaal van de Griekse linkse uitgeverij in brede zin (inclusief communistische, linkse, anarchistische, tegenculturele en alternatieve media) gedurende deze periode.

Het belangrijkste argument van deze dissertatie is dat de Griekse politieke uitgeverij in de onderzochte periode een onderscheidend publicatievakgebied vormde, in termen de verhandeling van John B. Thompson over de theorie van het publicatievakgebied, die op haar beurt gebaseerd is op de theorie van Pierre Bourdieu. Ik stel dat het politieke publicatievakgebied zich onderscheidt van het handelsuitgeversvakgebied door de betekenis van de vijf door Thompson gedefinieerde bronnen van kapitaal (economisch, sociaal, menselijk, intellectueel, symbolisch). Hoewel alle vijf aanwezig zijn in het politieke publicatievakgebied, is het economische kapitaal, dat van vitaal belang is in het handelsuitgeversvakgebied, van minder belang, terwijl het symbolische kapitaal van het allergrootste belang is. Het is mogelijk om kenmerken te delen in tijd en ruimte, maar veralgemenen zonder onderzoek kan gemakkelijk tot verkeerde conclusies leiden, aangezien vakgebieden zich in de tijd ontwikkelen en ook worden beïnvloed door de specifieke sociale, politieke, economische en technologische omstandigheden van elk land. We moeten dus elk vakgebied in een specifiek tijds- en ruimtekader onderzoeken en door gebruik te maken van de publicatievakgebiedtheorie de specifieke kenmerken ervan specificeren.

Om mijn belangrijkste argument te illustreren gebruik ik in Hoofdstuk 1

verschillende case studies, en een belangrijke case study, die van Istorikes Ekdoseis, in de laatste twee hoofdstukken. Archiefonderzoek is gebruikt om het universum van Istorikes Ekdoseis en andere case studies te reconstrueren. Helaas zijn er slechts fracties van de archieven teruggevonden. Een volledige reconstructie van het publicatieproject van Istorikes Ekdoseis zou niet mogelijk zijn geweest zonder het uitgebreide gebruik van de mondelinge geschiedenis. Mondelinge geschiedenis heeft mij ook in staat gesteld een idee te ontwikkelen wat betreft het publiek en het lezerspubliek van de publicaties - informatie die niet op een andere manier kon worden verkregen. Het internet en de sociale media zijn in dit opzicht cruciale bronnen gebleken. De ontbinding van de revolutionaire bewegingen van de lange jaren zestig resulteerde in de verspreiding van hun leden, niet alleen over Griekenland maar zelfs over de hele wereld. Het internet heeft de mogelijkheid geboden om ze op te sporen door te zoeken op het web of in verschillende databases. De recente social media-hausse bood de mogelijkheid om contact op te nemen met voormalige spelers uit het veld of lezers.

Hoofdstuk 1 geeft een overzicht van het Griekse politieke uitgeversvakgebied in de lange jaren zestig. In dit hoofdstuk wordt het Griekse politieke uitgeversvakgebied in kaart gebracht en wordt besproken hoe zowel de interne als de internationale politieke ontwikkelingen hun invloed hebben gehad op de vorming en het uiteenvallen van het vakgebied. In dit hoofdstuk worden ook kwesties van tijd en ruimte besproken. Het politieke publicatievakgebied weerspiegelt de onderliggende maatschappelijkheid van de ruimte. Het merendeel van de actoren in het vakgebied waren geconcentreerd op centrale stadslocaties, dicht bij de sociale ruimten die door de jongeren, voornamelijk studenten, worden bezocht en die de doelgroep vormen (d.w.z. de universitaire faculteiten, bars en cafés). Verder conceptualiseer ik door de presentatie van verschillende case studies breed en losjes gebruikte termen, zoals underground press, alternative, press, counterculturele media. Ook laat ik zien hoe in deze tijd vanwege het institutionele anticommunisme (tot 1974) veel intellectuelen betrokken waren bij de uitgeverij (bijvoorbeeld als drukker, uitgever, huis-aan-huisverkoper) vanwege het verbod om in diverse andere sectoren van de economie te werken. Dit in combinatie met de populariteit van de politieke uitgeverij leidde ertoe

dat een aantal vakuitgevers in de onderzochte periode betrokken waren bij de politieke uitgeverij.

In hoofdstuk 2 pas ik de theorie van Thompson toe om aan te tonen dat de politieke uitgeverij in Griekenland in de lange jaren zestig een op zichzelf staand publicatievakgebied was. Het bovengenoemde belangrijke argument van deze stelling wordt in dit hoofdstuk in theoretische termen gepresenteerd; dat er een apart publicatievakgebied bestond, blijkt uit het belang van het symbolische kapitaal en de virtuele afwezigheid van economisch kapitaal, waardoor het een anomalie is in het vakgebied van de handelsuitgeverij. In tegenstelling tot de conventionele deel-deelvakgebieden van de handelsuitgeverij heeft de politieke uitgeverij vrijwel geen invloed gehad op het economisch kapitaal. Ook andere vakgebieden van de uitgeverij worden niet op dezelfde wijze beïnvloed door de historische context als de politieke uitgeverij. Uiteraard hebben de bijzondere omstandigheden van tijd en ruimte in meer of mindere mate invloed op alle publicatievakgebieden. De technologische vooruitgang, de toegenomen geletterdheid en levensstandaard of de toename van het aantal deelnemers aan het hoger onderwijs hebben allemaal invloed op de manier waarop een publicatievakgebied of -subvakgebied zich zal ontwikkelen. In het geval van het Griekse politieke publicatievakgebied hebben de historische tijd en context echter niet alleen de ontwikkelingen beïnvloed - ze hebben het vakgebied zelf gecreëerd. Ik stel dat de opkomst van de sociale bewegingen in de lange jaren zestig in Griekenland en de daarmee gepaard gaande politisering van de "babyboomers" van vandaag essentieel waren voor de opkomst van het vakgebied, terwijl het einde van de lange jaren zestig en de neergang van dezelfde sociale, culturele en politieke bewegingen het vakgebied tot een einde brachten.

In hoofdstuk 3 ga ik dieper in op de dialectiek van vorm en inhoud van gepubliceerde werken binnen het politieke publicatievakgebied aan de hand van case studies. Ik argumenteer dat de vorm, zoals in de grafische vormgeving en de materiële kwaliteit, rechtstreeks verband hield met het symbolische kapitaal, en het symbolische kapitaal was - zoals ik heb betoogd - van overkoepelende betekenis in het politieke publicatievakgebied. Er zijn twee verschillende patronen of publicatiepraktijken naar voren ge-

komen met betrekking tot de verschillende vorm van de periode. Het eerste was het kopiëren van originelen in een poging om het symbolische kapitaal dat erin zat te benutten en over te dragen van de uitgever, de auteur of de titel van het origineel naar de gekopieerde werken. Het tweede patroon was de productie van goedkope edities uit de eerste hand met een opzettelijk slechte esthetiek wanneer er in het origineel geen symbolisch kapitaal aanwezig was dat via kopiëren zou kunnen worden overgedragen.

In het vierde en vijfde hoofdstuk wordt de case study van de dissertatie in detail uitgediept: *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, een Griekse uitgeverij die prominent aanwezig was in de lange jaren zestig. Alvorens verder te gaan met *Istorikes Ekdoseis* wordt zowel het Chinese beleid ten aanzien van de buitenlandse pers als het gebruik van pers en uitgeverij gedurende de lange jaren zestig binnen de internationale revolutionaire bewegingen besproken. Dit is noodzakelijk omdat men het politieke publicatievakgebied niet volledig kan begrijpen als het mondiale aspect wordt verwaarloosd. Verschillende politieke stromingen ontwikkelden een gevoel van universaliteit, zowel in termen van overtuigingen als in termen van de bewegingen die ze voorstonden. De uitwisseling van literatuur--vertalingen, het plaatsen van artikelen of het uitgeven van werken van kameraden uit de hele wereld--tussen "ware gelovigen" in verschillende landen was in die tijd een gangbare praktijk, en in werkelijkheid was het niets anders dan het uitgeven van de belichaming van de perceptie deel uit te maken van een globaal revolutionair project.

Istorikes Ekdoseis is een van de weinige politieke uitgeverijen die gedurende de hele periode actief is geweest, met uitzondering van de zeven jaar van het militaire bewind van 1967 tot 1974. De ideologische beweegredenen van de oprichters en medewerkers van *Istorikes Ekdoseis* gedurende haar werking en haar zeer politieke en ideologische inhoud, alsook het feit dat zij gedurende de hele lange jaren zestig opereerde, zijn voldoende redenen om *Istorikes Ekdoseis* te selecteren als een representatieve case study van het Griekse politieke publicatievakgebied. Deze twee hoofdstukken bestrijken respectievelijk de eerste en tweede operationele periode van *Istorikes Ekdoseis* (d.w.z. pre- en postjunta) en bevatten zowel een beschrijving van de publicatieactiviteit op zich als een toepassing van de theorie

van het publicatievakgebied. Om de geschiedenis van dit uitgeversproject te reconstrueren en het te positioneren binnen het politieke publicatievakgebied, werd een reeks methodologische en onderzoeksinstrumenten gebruikt. Elementen van Bourdieu's vakgebiedstheorie--met name zoals gewijzigd door Thompson--zijn van cruciaal belang geweest voor de onderbouwing van het onderzoekskader. De focus op één enkele uitgever moet worden gezien als een microhistorische benadering, die wordt gebruikt om de argumenten met betrekking tot het grotere verhaal te ondersteunen en te onderbouwen. In die zin is het geen poging om het onderzoek in te krimpen, omdat dit in tegenspraak zou zijn met de lange jaren zestig benadering, die zelf een kernelement van het onderzoekskader vormt. Deze twee hoofdstukken combineren dus in zekere zin de kern van de eerste twee hoofdstukken van de dissertatie: een historisch verhaal waarin de theorie van het publicatievakgebied wordt toegepast om het vakgebied te reconstrueren en tegelijkertijd de onderscheidende kenmerken ervan te bepalen.

De conclusies die volgen zijn een samenvatting van de belangrijkste argumenten van het proefschrift. Deze zijn:

1. Het politieke uitgeverijwezen in Griekenland vormde in de lange jaren zestig een onderscheidend publicatievakgebied.
2. Een fundamenteel kenmerk van dit vakgebied is de centraliteit van het symbolische kapitaal. Deze vorm van kapitaal staat niet alleen in het hart van elke deelnemer in het vakgebied, maar ook van het vakgebied zelf. De neergang van het symbolische kapitaal is nauw verweven met de neergang van ideologische en politieke stromingen in die tijd. Dit verval bracht niet alleen de politieke uitgevers op de knieën, maar dwong de meeste van hen ook om te sluiten of te migreren naar andere publicatievakgebieden, en zo te veranderen in relikwieën van een eens zo levendige en bloeiende publicatieruimte.
3. Een ander fundamenteel kenmerk dat dit publicatievakgebied onderscheidt van de handelsuitgeverij is de relatieve onbeduidendheid van het economisch kapitaal. Men zou kunnen denken dat dit te wijten is aan de zeer reële schaarste aan financiële middelen waarover de spelers in het vakgebied beschikken. In werkelijkheid is deze schaarste aan financiële middelen niet de reden voor de onbeduidendheid van

het economisch kapitaal. De belangrijkste reden hiervoor was politiek, en niet economisch, aangezien het publiceren vooral werd gezien als een politieke taak of plicht. Omdat individuen naar het vakgebied werden gedreven door een gevoel van politieke plicht, namen ze het werk op zich, zelfs als ze er niet bijzonder geschikt voor waren en er weinig aandacht was voor de monetaire compensatie.

CURRICULUM VITAE

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