



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

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

Mais, C.

### **Citation**

Mais, C. (2020, September 22). *The Greek political publishing field during the long 1960s, exemplified by the case of Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1963-1981*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/136910>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/136910>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/136910> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

**Author:** Mais, C.

**Title:** The Greek political publishing field during the long 1960s, exemplified by the case of Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1963–1981

**Issue Date:** 2020-09-22

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

Proefschrift  
ter verkrijging van  
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,  
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof.mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,  
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties  
te verdedigen op dinsdag 22 september 2020  
klokke 13:45 uur

door  
Christos Mais  
geboren te Nicosia in 1981

### **Promotores**

Dhr. Prof.dr. A.H. van der Weel

Dhr. Prof.dr. M.M. van der Linden  
(Universiteit van Amsterdam/Internationaal Instituut  
voor Sociale Geschiedenis)

### **Promotiecommissie**

Dhr. Prof.dr. P.G. Hoftijzer

Dhr. Prof.dr. E.J. Zurcher

Dhr. Dr. E. van Ree  
(Universiteit van Amsterdam)

Dr. Eugenia Palieraki  
(Cergi Paris University)

*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



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	9
LIST OF FIGURES .....	12
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS .....	13
NOTE ON ROMANISATION OF CHINESE TERMS .....	15
PROLOGUE .....	17
INTRODUCTION .....	19
CHAPTER 1 <i>The Greek Political Publishing Field and Subfields</i> .....	33
Introduction .....	33
The Field's Distinctive Characteristics and	
the Logic of the Field .....	36
<i>The Spatiality of the Field</i> .....	37
<i>Readership and the Book Market</i> .....	39
<i>Reading Cultures</i> .....	41
<i>The Printing Revolution: Printing Technologies and the Political</i>	
<i>Publishing Field</i> .....	46
Concrete Definitions of Fluid Terms .....	57
<i>Underground Press: The Case of Antipliroforisi</i> .....	59
<i>Alternative Press and Publishing</i> .....	71
Leonidas Christakis and His Contribution to Greek Alternative Media ..	76
Ford Foundation Grants: A Life-changing Experience .....	77
“Ideodromio”: The Alternative Rag that Made the Difference .....	88
Counterculture: The Framework for the Alternative Media .....	91
Anti: A “Mainstream” Alternative Periodical .....	94
<i>Trade Publishers with a Clear Political and Ideological Mark: The Kalvos</i>	
<i>Publishing House</i> .....	99

CHAPTER 2 <i>Theoretical Framework</i> .....	109
Print Media and Politics .....	109
Publishing and Theoretical Models .....	112
The Political Publishing Field .....	116
<i>Economic Capital</i> .....	117
<i>Human Capital</i> .....	119
<i>Intellectual Capital</i> .....	120
<i>Social Capital</i> .....	125
Transforming Political Relationships into Social Capital .....	126
<i>Symbolic Capital</i> .....	130
CHAPTER 3 <i>Visualising the Revolution: Imagery and the Political</i>	
<i>Imaginary</i> .....	137
Meaning, Form, and Symbolic Power .....	139
“Of All Books, We Love to Read Chairman Mao’s the Most”:	
The Little Red Book that Shook the World .....	142
<i>Waving the Little Red Book: Performativity and Doctrine Identification</i> ...	147
Publishing Politics as Identity Politics .....	152
Greek Editions of the “Quotations from Chairman Mao” .....	154
Symbolic Capital and Publishing Decisions .....	157
Reception of the Little Red Book by Greek	
Marxists–Leninists Abroad .....	160
Poorly-Designed Books Are Still Books .....	162
In Conclusion .....	170
CHAPTER 4 <i>Books and Politics: The Case of Istorikes Ekdoseis</i> .....	171
Chinese International Publishing Policy and Greece .....	173
<i>International Communist Propaganda During the Long Sixties:</i>	
<i>An Overview</i> .....	174
<i>Chinese Foreign Propaganda</i> .....	179
<i>The Sino–Soviet Split</i> .....	181
<i>Xinhua News Agency, the Global Marxist–Leninist Press and the Greek</i>	
<i>Publishing Field</i> .....	186
<i>The League of Friends of “New China”</i> .....	187
<i>The “How to Know China Better” Book Series</i> .....	189
<i>The Birth and Early Years of Istorikes Ekdoseis Publishing</i> .....	193
Istorikes Ekdoseis and the League of Friends of “New China”	
Join Forces .....	197



The Overall Publishing Activity of Istorikes Ekdoseis Until the 21st April 1967 Military Coup .....	203
Publishing Plans That Were Never Fulfilled .....	205
An Odd Book Release Just Before the 21 April 1967 Coup .....	206
Between Old and New Left: The Generational Gap in Left-Wing Publishing .....	207
<i>The Forms of Capital of Istorikes Ekdoseis</i> .....	212
The Human Capital of Istorikes Ekdoseis .....	213
Primary Accumulation of Symbolic Capital, Social Capital and the Absence of Intellectual Capital .....	217
Economic Capital: The Financial and Commercial Aspect of Istorikes Ekdoseis .....	221
Human Capital Compensates for the Lack of Economic Capital .....	224
<i>The Abrupt End of the First Phase of Istorikes Ekdoseis</i> .....	225
The Group Goes Underground: Publishing During the Dictatorship .....	227
<i>Concluding the First Istorikes Ekdoseis Period</i> .....	229
CHAPTER 5 <i>The Second Life of Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1974–1981</i> .....	231
From the Collapse of the Dictatorship to the OMLE Split .....	232
From the Split to the Collapse .....	234
Symbolic Capital .....	235
Addressing New Questions with Outdated Tools: Gender and Culture ..	238
Feminism and Maoist Publishing and Publications .....	239
The Question of Literary Production: Between Tradition and Modernity .....	242
Seeking a Concrete Analysis of a Concrete Situation .....	245
Too Little, Too Late: Posthumous Publishing Activity .....	247
The Sources of Capital of Istorikes Ekdoseis .....	251
<i>Human Capital</i> .....	251
<i>Symbolic Capital Fades Away</i> .....	255
<i>Economic Capital: A Hitherto Virtually Insignificant Factor</i> .....	256
The End of the Second Life of Istorikes Ekdoseis .....	257
CONCLUSIONS .....	259
BIBLIOGRAPHY & SOURCES .....	263
Non-Peer-Reviewed Articles .....	263

Peer-Reviewed Articles .....	266
Book Chapters .....	270
Books .....	273
Unpublished Sources .....	282
Newspapers & Periodicals .....	283
Interviews-Oral Testimonies .....	284
Email Correspondence .....	285
Facebook Correspondence .....	285
Online & Digital Resources .....	285
Archival Resources .....	288
Audiovisual Sources .....	288
Other Sources .....	288
SUMMARY .....	291
SAMENVATTING .....	297
CURRICULUM VITAE .....	303

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Completing a PhD is an individual task and at the same time a collective achievement through the help and support of many. To all those who helped and supported me I feel indebted forever and I apologise in advance if I omit to mention anyone due to word restrictions or my own memory shortcomings. Though the Leiden academic conventions forbid me to thank my professors at the MA Book & Digital Media Studies by name, I am grateful to them for inspiring in me the love of book studies that eventually culminated in this thesis. I would also like to thank Marcel van der Linden, who gracefully consented to join Adriaan van der Weel as my second supervisor, for his useful comments, and Simon Watmough for his copy-editing skills, which transformed my occasional Greeklish into proper English.

Antonis Liakos and Vangelis Karamanolakis and their postgraduate seminar at the University of Athens on the “1960s Historical Culture” introduced me to different historiographical trends and had an impact on my way of thinking. I owe so many things to Tasoula Vervenioti for her teachings regarding not only Oral History but also on issues of integrity not only as a scholar but also as a human being. Theopisti Stylianou-Lambert for my residency at her “Visual Sociology and Museum Studies Lab” of the Cyprus University of Technology I transformed my chaotic thoughts on design and symbolic capital into a chapter (Chapter 3). Loukianos Hassiotis and Polymeris Voglis gave me the opportunity to share parts of my work and get feedback through invited lectures at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and the University of Thessaly respectively. Seraphim Sefheriadis

and Nikos Serdedakis for our fruitful discussions at the early stages of my research.

My work would be poorer if it was not for the oral testimonies I gathered. I am indebted to every single person that accepted to talk to me and all of their names can be found at the Bibliography section of the Thesis. But I would like to thank especially some people for either accepting to talk to me for the first time or for helping me talk to others, or for becoming my friends. The late Grigoris Konstantopoulos, Isaak Iordanidis and Christos Mpistis were some of the first people I talked to and helped me clarify a lot in my head and take my research to other than the obvious paths of a strictly ideology-dominated work. Giorgos Chatzopoulos, Loukas Axelos, Thodoros Romvos, Stelios Manousakas, assisted me greatly with their knowledge and long discussions, but mainly with their friendship. Isaak Iordanidis, once again, Giorgis Proveleggios and Tasos Parkosidis for accepting to talk to me in the first place. I know it was not easy on them and I appreciate it.

Archival research has been equally crucial. Special thanks to everyone at the Archives of Contemporary Social History and Anta Kapola especially as well as to everyone at the International Institute of Social History. Leids Universiteits Fonds sponsorship was very helpful for conducting research in New York and Doug Norberg who assisted me and Eric Schmidt, Analisa Sverhaug and Russ Jennings hosted me in a very expensive metropole.

Along with my supervisor it was Kostis Karpozilos that helped me the most to break with teleology as a way of thinking and I thank him for this amongst many other things. Kostis Kornetis and Nikos Papadogiannis with whom I have the opportunity to talk extensively on the long 1960s and pick each other's brain on our common research interests. Panos Kompatsiaris has been an important interlocutor through the years.

Giorgos Marias, Giorgos Roussakis and Lampros Mountrakis have been there for me whenever I needed a place to stay while conducting research. For the above and many more I want to thank Stelios Heracleous and Nikos Christofis, with whom we shared a lot since we first met in Leiden in 2008. Chryssa Marinou and Manolis Arkolakis have shared their couch with me on numerous occasions, but it is the friendship and thought provoking discussions that have been truly invaluable throughout the years. Klimis Mas-

toridis and Niki Sioki are two people who have been inspiring, influential and supportive to both my research and myself. I am honoured to consider them peers but foremost friends.

My parents, Giorgos and Eleni, have unconditionally supported me in difficult times even if they never really understood what I have been doing or why.

This Thesis is dedicated to my partner Maria who has stood by me throughout this long journey and has sacrificed a lot in order for me to succeed. I would have never made it without her and my gratitude cannot be expressed in words.

Any shortcomings are mine and mine alone!

THESSALONIKI 2020

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1. Cover of the first edition of <i>Spoudastikos</i> <i>Kosmos</i> (28 January 1963) . . . . .	56
FIGURE 2. Cover of the third or fourth edition of <i>Spoudastikos</i> <i>Kosmos</i> (late 1963–early 1964) . . . . .	56
FIGURE 3. Cover of the twelfth edition of <i>Spoudastikos</i> <i>Kosmos</i> (January 1967) . . . . .	57
FIGURE 4. Cover of issue 3 of <i>Antipliroforisi</i> . . . . .	65
FIGURE 5. Cover of issue 10 of <i>Antipliroforisi</i> . . . . .	65
FIGURE 6. Cover of the first issue of <i>Kouros</i> (1959) . . . . .	79
FIGURE 7. Cover of the first issue of <i>Paderma</i> (1972) . . . . .	83
FIGURE 8. Beatnik Gregory Corso in front of the Parthenon on the Acropolis, Athens, in 1959 . . . . .	93
FIGURE 9. An example of the ordinary cover of Mao’s works published by China’s Foreign Language Press . . . . .	147
FIGURE 10. The cover made for <i>Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung</i> . . .	147
FIGURE 11. Chinese red guards holding and waving the <i>Little Red Book</i> . . . .	148
FIGURE 12. Black Panthers waving the <i>Little Red Book</i> . . . . .	148
FIGURE 13. The Greek FLP edition of the <i>Quotations</i> . . . . .	154
FIGURE 14. The Italian edition of Mao’s <i>On “Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR”</i> . . . . .	166
FIGURE 15. Cover of the Greek translation of Mao’s <i>On “Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR”</i> . . . . .	167

## 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”).

