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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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### **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>

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Cover Page



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

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

## 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,<sup>19</sup> it is necessary to establish a uniform terminology in order to avoid confusion

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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.<sup>20</sup>

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.<sup>21</sup> It may also be an organised institution (such as a state or trade publishing press) or a grassroots group using either mimeograph machines<sup>22</sup> 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

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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.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> Within this geographical space, we have

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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.<sup>25</sup>

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 publishers<sup>26</sup> or potential translators<sup>27</sup> 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-

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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, Neo 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.<sup>28</sup> 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”.<sup>29</sup> 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

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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.<sup>30</sup> 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*.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> Let us not wonder why it is declared by some of those who want to act, that the most significant book of

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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.<sup>33</sup>

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

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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.<sup>34</sup> This anti-intellectualism contradicted the educational policies of the communist movement.<sup>35</sup> 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”.<sup>36</sup>

Indeed, the research confirms that non-fiction works geared towards politics and ideology dwarfed the reading of fiction among intellectuals during the *long sixties*.<sup>37</sup> This was also admitted in a number of the interviews I conducted.<sup>38</sup> 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”.<sup>39</sup> 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

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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*.<sup>40</sup> 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' établi* (“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

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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.<sup>41</sup> 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*.<sup>42</sup> 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".<sup>43</sup> 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

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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,<sup>44</sup> very few references are made to their reading habits and culture. Much like Hoggart and Thomson, the focus is on newspaper reading<sup>45</sup> as well as the publication of their own bi-weekly newspaper.<sup>46</sup> One of them refers to the Commissar of the Red Army, Vasily Chapaev, who was a hero of Soviet novels and films,<sup>47</sup> and the *Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.<sup>48</sup> 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 apprentices<sup>49</sup> 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

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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.<sup>50</sup> 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*.<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup>

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.<sup>53</sup> 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.<sup>54</sup> 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”.<sup>55</sup> In any event, the impact of technological advances in printing should not be underestimated.<sup>56</sup> On the contrary, it seems

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(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.<sup>57</sup>

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.<sup>58</sup>

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

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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.<sup>59</sup>

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.<sup>60</sup> 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:<sup>61</sup>

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

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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 Papatthasiou, 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](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.<sup>62</sup>

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.<sup>63</sup>

Roza Economou, who became a founding member of the Organisation of Marxists–Leninists of Greece (OMLE)<sup>64</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup> Mime-

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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](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.<sup>66</sup>

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*<sup>67</sup> 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'".<sup>68</sup> 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

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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.<sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup>

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.<sup>71</sup> 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

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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.<sup>72</sup> 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”.<sup>73</sup>

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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](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.<sup>74</sup>

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.<sup>75</sup> 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.<sup>76</sup> The latter was quite evident in periodicals. The stu-

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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).<sup>77</sup> 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.<sup>78</sup>

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

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Left Printing Renaissance of the 1960s—and Beyond”, accessed 15 May 2016, [http://www.docspopuli.org/articles/New\\_Left\\_Printing.html](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)

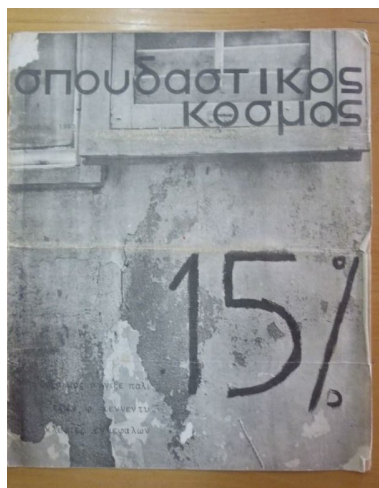


FIGURE 2. Cover of the third or fourth edition of *Spoudastikos Kosmos* (late 1963–early 1964)

even had the technology not advanced,<sup>79</sup> 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.<sup>80</sup>

In his introduction, Kaplan refers to “alternative and underground media”,<sup>81</sup> 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”.<sup>82</sup> 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”.<sup>83</sup> 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”<sup>84</sup> 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”.<sup>85</sup> 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.<sup>86</sup> 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.<sup>87</sup>

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

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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”.<sup>88</sup> Thus I advocate using “underground” only for press and publications produced and distributed illegally, often anonymously or under *noms de guerre*.<sup>89</sup>

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

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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.<sup>91</sup> 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*]<sup>92</sup>—a “poorly-printed periodical with a scarlet cover and fiery content”<sup>92</sup>—fell into my hands.<sup>93</sup> 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,<sup>94</sup> com-

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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](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 publication<sup>95</sup> in 1983, falsely claims the periodical belonged to the far-left armed group ELA [Epanastatikos Laikos Agonas (Revolutionary Popular Struggle)].<sup>96</sup> 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.<sup>97</sup>

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.

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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 *Anti-pliroforisi* would reach its destination.<sup>98</sup> 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.

*Anti-pliroforisi*'s fifth issue contains a significant editorial piece, which followed the aforementioned standard note addressing the reasons impelling the editors to publish it.<sup>99</sup> 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”.<sup>100</sup> The criticisms raised, and claims made, do not differ from those of Noam Chomsky published in Greece at the same time as *Anti-pliroforisi*. 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

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98. *Anti-pliroforisi*, 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”, *Anti-pliroforisi*, 5, 1 [in Greek].



the various agents<sup>101</sup> involved in *Antipliroforisi* came across Chomsky's book and imbibed the ideas in it.<sup>102</sup>

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 media<sup>103</sup>—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.<sup>104</sup> 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.<sup>105</sup>

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

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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,<sup>106</sup> or challenges for the masses in general, such as housing problems.<sup>107</sup> 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”.<sup>108</sup> 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

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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,<sup>109</sup> the first category changed to *Taksikes Kinitopoiiseis* [Class Mobilisations] (See Figures 4 and 5).<sup>110</sup> 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.

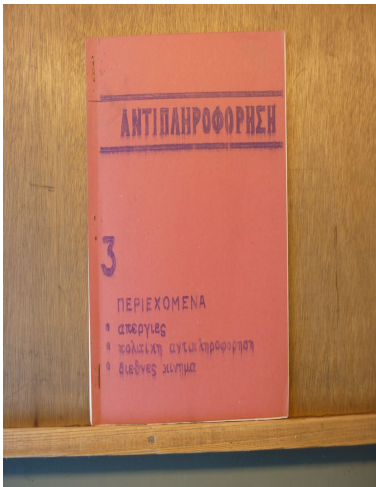


FIGURE 4.  
Cover of issue 3 of *Antipliroforisi*

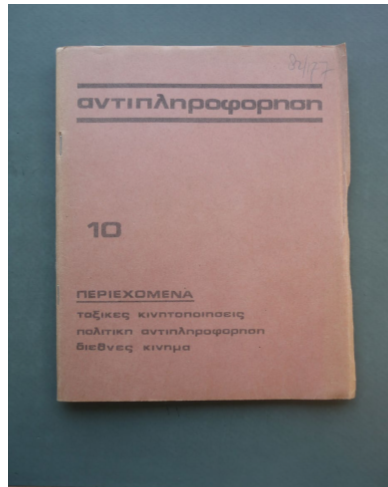


FIGURE 5.  
Cover of issue 10 of *Antipliroforisi*

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.<sup>111</sup>

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.<sup>112</sup> 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.<sup>113</sup>

Although *Antipliroforisi*’s print runs were far from small,<sup>114</sup> 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

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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.<sup>115</sup> Even during the Metapolitefsi period, not all the necessary equipment and supplies were freely available.<sup>116</sup>

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-

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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.<sup>117</sup>

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]<sup>118</sup> 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!<sup>119</sup>

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 OSAWATOMIE<sup>120</sup> 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,

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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.<sup>121</sup>

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 *Antiiproforisi*. The fundamental objective of the publication was to promote workers’ struggles and to assist in the establishment of labour unions and committees.<sup>122</sup> 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”

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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], *Antiiproforisi* 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].<sup>123</sup>

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.<sup>124</sup>

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.<sup>125</sup> 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

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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.<sup>126</sup> 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.<sup>127</sup>

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.

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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.<sup>128</sup>

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

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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-counterculture-anti-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.<sup>130</sup> Regrettably, this designation was itself designed first and foremost to define the underground press.<sup>131</sup> 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.<sup>132</sup> 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

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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.<sup>133</sup> 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.<sup>134</sup> His key works provide an overview of the most prominent definitions of alternative media, briefly analysing their strengths and shortcomings.<sup>135</sup>

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.<sup>136</sup> 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

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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.<sup>137</sup> 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].<sup>138</sup> 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”.<sup>139</sup> These accusations do not substantially differ from those aimed at Paul Krassner, the heart and soul of the *Realist*.<sup>140</sup> 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.<sup>141</sup> 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.<sup>142</sup> Beyond the similarity with Krassner, Christakis—or more accurately, his publication *Ideodromio*—resembled, even more, the work of Artur Kunin and his

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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.<sup>143</sup>

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*,<sup>144</sup> named after an art gallery he owned at the time.<sup>145</sup> This was the first of many periodicals he founded and edited.<sup>146</sup> Known as a “swinger of isolated tal-

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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”,<sup>147</sup> 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.<sup>148</sup>

#### 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.<sup>149</sup> Always socially and politically engaged—mainly through

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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.<sup>150</sup> 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.<sup>151</sup> 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.<sup>152</sup> According to this, *Kouros* faced a financial loss of

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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.<sup>153</sup> 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 pages<sup>154</sup> and 1,500 drachmas went on various sundries (postage and envelopes) and 25 hours of man-labour per week.<sup>155</sup> The

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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](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 drachmas<sup>156</sup> 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.<sup>157</sup> 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.<sup>158</sup> 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.<sup>159</sup>

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

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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.<sup>160</sup> Christakis did publish a supplement containing the list of the fellows in an issue of *Kouros*<sup>161</sup> 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

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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.<sup>162</sup>

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.<sup>163</sup>

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-

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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](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.

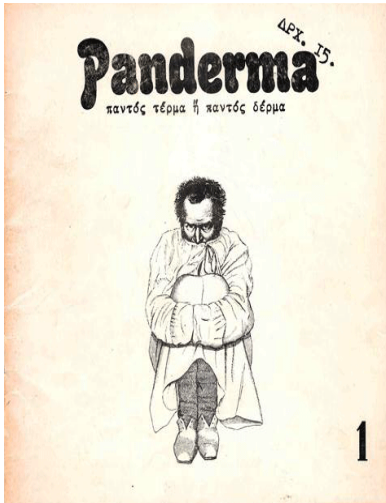


FIGURE 7. Cover of the first issue of *Paderma* (1972)

cisco in 1962 as a progressive Catholic magazine,<sup>164</sup> but soon enough shifted leftward.<sup>165</sup> 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'.<sup>166</sup> It published many articles on covert CIA operations and the role of US institutions worldwide.<sup>167</sup> This was the reason that it soon enough gained popularity not only on the national level but also internationally.<sup>168</sup> *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](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 earlier<sup>169</sup> 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.<sup>170</sup> 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.<sup>171</sup> The article was then translated,<sup>172</sup> mimeographed and distributed by hand.<sup>173</sup> 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-*

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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.<sup>174</sup>

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*,<sup>175</sup> a privilege enjoyed by all magazines in Greece.<sup>176</sup>

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-

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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”.<sup>177</sup>

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.<sup>178</sup> 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.<sup>179</sup> 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.<sup>180</sup>

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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”.<sup>181</sup> 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.<sup>182</sup> Wasting paper was a luxury he simply could not afford. *Panderma* was relaunched

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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.<sup>183</sup>

“IDEODROMIO”: THE ALTERNATIVE RAG THAT MADE THE DIFFERENCE

While *Panderma* was the first alternative periodical, it did not have the impact that *Ideodromio*<sup>184</sup> 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),<sup>185</sup> 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,

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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.<sup>186</sup>

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.<sup>187</sup> From 1979 the number of *autonomous* students—i.e., those not belonging to political groups—grew,

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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.<sup>188</sup> 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*<sup>189</sup> gave a hint of its political independence.<sup>190</sup> 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.<sup>191</sup> 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.<sup>192</sup> 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

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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.<sup>193</sup>

#### 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.<sup>194</sup> 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,<sup>195</sup> 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.<sup>196</sup> 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.<sup>197</sup> Apart from his correspondence with or visits from friends like

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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](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*<sup>198</sup>—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.<sup>199</sup> The countercultural scene<sup>200</sup> 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-

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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.

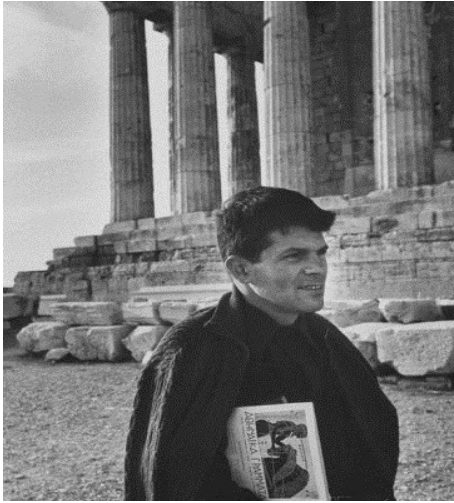


FIGURE 8.  
Beatnik Gregory Corso in  
front of the Parthenon on the  
Acropolis, Athens, in 1959  
© James Burke/Life.

ing the sixties. He describes his American experience in the Greek film “Mavro+Aspro” [“Black+White”] directed by his friend Thanasis Rentzis.<sup>201</sup> 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](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.<sup>202</sup>

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.<sup>203</sup> 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.<sup>204</sup> 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.

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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.<sup>205</sup> 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.<sup>206</sup> Throughout the 1970s it had an average circulation of more than 10,000 copies per issue.<sup>207</sup> 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.<sup>208</sup> 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.<sup>209</sup> 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.<sup>210</sup> 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*

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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,<sup>211</sup> 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.<sup>212</sup> 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.<sup>213</sup>

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 Syndicalist<sup>214</sup> Organisation of Greece (AASPE). Stangos

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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 Agency<sup>215</sup> 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*].<sup>216</sup> 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*—

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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.<sup>217</sup>

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.<sup>218</sup> 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

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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.<sup>219</sup>

*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.<sup>220</sup>

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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.<sup>221</sup> In the 1970s—including during the period of the Greek military dictatorship—it published more titles of *Western Marxism*<sup>222</sup> than any other publisher in the Greek book market.<sup>223</sup> 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.<sup>224</sup> 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

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

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.<sup>228</sup> 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.<sup>229</sup> 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.<sup>230</sup>

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

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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](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.<sup>231</sup> 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.<sup>232</sup> 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%.<sup>233</sup>

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*”<sup>234</sup>—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.<sup>235</sup>

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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.<sup>236</sup> 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.<sup>237</sup> 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.<sup>238</sup> Carefully edited and translated texts were not common in the Greek political publishing field.<sup>239</sup> On the contrary, it exhibits poor publishing quality, with issues ranging from translations that are mediocre or even unreadable, lack of

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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”: Monterni nei, paradosi ke amfisvitisiti 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.<sup>240</sup>

The titles initially published by Kalvos were allegoric and allusive fiction promoting democratic values,<sup>241</sup> 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.<sup>242</sup> 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.<sup>243</sup>

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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](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.<sup>244</sup>

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

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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.<sup>245</sup> 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.<sup>246</sup>

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.<sup>247</sup>

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

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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.<sup>248</sup> 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.<sup>249</sup> 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.<sup>250</sup> 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.

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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 Dinos 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.

