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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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## CHAPTER 4

### *Books and Politics: The Case of Istorikes Ekdoseis*

There are three more or less distinct categories of political publishing. The first is publishing that constitutes a direct branch or sector of a political group, which—as Chapter 1 laid out, covers all underground publishing and some alternative media. The second is political literature published by trade publishing houses that frequently publish a much broader range of material, often not even related to politics. Publishing activities in this second group are not a part of our focus but, as also detailed in Chapter 1, such examples are indicative of the popularity of the political trend among readers during the period of our interest. The third category is where the publishing activity and the political group is one and the same. Here, we are speaking of a distinct political group that constitutes the entire personnel of a periodical (or, less often, a publishing group). In general, I argue that during the Greek *long sixties*, the history of Istorikes Ekdoseis leads us through the birth, rise and fall of the political publishing field.<sup>410</sup>

In 1963, Istorikes Ekdoseis' first books hit the shelves of Greek bookstores. This particular publishing house was initially nothing more than a

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410. As detailed in the introduction and first chapter of the dissertation, the political publishing field is replete with terms for the press, including “underground”, “radical”, “leftist”, “anarchist”, “alternative”, “counterculture” and “dissidents. In reality all these terms express a variety of subfields of the political publishing field, some of which converge, almost to the extent that it is difficult to strictly divide and categorise publishing activity in these fields. There are also hybrid situations, i.e. were a publishing entity is supposedly a formal legal entity but in reality, is disseminating its product through alternative paths.

tool of public expression and propaganda of a group of Marxists–Leninists, or at least, this was the initial aim of its foundation. In time, it faced its own transformations according to the social and political shifts within the Greek and international movement, as well as the shifts of the Greek youth towards a more cultural approach to politics, in contrast with the strictly ideological and political approach adopted hitherto. In this chapter, we will examine the formation and transformations of this project, during its two periods of activity, 1963–1967 and 1974–1981. Furthermore, I will briefly refer to concurrent projects, such as the monthly review *Anagenisi* and the weekly newspaper *Laikos Dromos*, as well as the activity of its founders and members during the period of the military dictatorship (1967–1974) when the new regime abruptly terminated its activity.

My aim is to identify its main and specific characteristics, its agents and the dynamics it developed within the political publishing field. In addition, I seek to show that the almost universal assumption that a political group's press is a transmitter and the audience is a receiver is not always accurate. Publishing projects of the time, despite their differences, were the expression of a political and cultural current of rising dissent against the establishment and mainstream political and cultural trends. Thus, the interplay between the audience and the publishing team, and the effect of the socio-political changes at the national and transnational levels on the publishing programme, are two issues we will try to tackle.

In the political publishing field—except for state publishing houses and mainstream political party publishing houses—the only thing taken for granted is the political aim or objective. Consequently, the operating principle of the field is each time directly connected to the ideological and political commitment of the publishing agents. The general concept behind these projects is that they function as messengers of (revolutionary) change. Thus, we should not overlook the dialectics between the global and the local trends in (revolutionary) politics and consequently of political publishing.

In our case, it is useful to examine first the international counterparts of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* to fully comprehend the functioning and logic of the latter, especially during its first period. While the networks for accessing information and printed material from international counterparts are more

or less the same worldwide, the actors in each country played a different role. Their role varied due to the circumstances in each country as well as due to the role they chose to assume. By the former, I mean that there had been cases where local agents took advantage of the fact that their international affiliates published material in the local language and so had only to import and disseminate it.

But even so, it is possible that the decisive factor here is not the circumstances but the role these agents decided to play. For example, *Istorikes Ekdoseis* during its first period chose to merely translate and publish Chinese texts in an identical form of the originals. *Anagennisi*, the monthly review the same political group was publishing at the time, was also heavily based on Chinese texts as well as on those from other fellow believers worldwide. As will become clear these roles are not prefixed or static and in the case of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* there indeed was a transformation that took place throughout its history. I shall observe, as well, shifts in the role of international counterparts—these counterparts and their relations and functions in respect to Greek publishing and political groups were always subject to change. Apart from the Chinese counterparts of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, I will refer to the *League of Friends of "New China"*, which was instrumental in the development of the publishing house.

## Chinese International Publishing Policy and Greece

Print culture has always been a fundamental element of communist and left-wing politics. At its founding, the CPC developed a printing and publishing apparatus, as well as a theoretical framework supporting the necessity of textual production.<sup>411</sup> After the establishment of the PRC, several printing, publishing and distribution organisations focusing on an international audience were established. This practice was, of course, not particular to

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411. Christopher A. Reed, "Advancing the (Gutenberg) Revolution: The Origins and Development of Chinese Print Communism, 1921–1947", in *From Woodblocks to the Internet: Chinese Publishing and Print Culture in Transition, circa 1800 to 2008*, ed. Cynthia Brokaw and Christopher A. Reed (Brill: Leiden 2010), 275–276.

the Chinese—other socialist states, such as the Soviet Union, Albania and North Korea had similar apparatuses.

*International Communist Propaganda During the Long Sixties: An Overview*

Agitation and propaganda were always fundamental to the theoretical premises of the communist movement and communist leaders and intellectuals wrote extensively on such issues. Books and periodicals published and distributed in foreign languages as well as worldwide radio transmissions (i.e., Radio Moscow, Radio Peking and Radio Tirana) were the basic means used by socialist countries to disseminate their viewpoints. Textual propaganda included the production of Marxist (in its broadest sense) literature, books regarding socio-political, economic, cultural and scientific developments in the socialist bloc, translations of their literary production, as well as children's books and textbooks, among others.

The global movement of the 1960s, and the antagonisms between different socialist countries—predominantly China and the Soviet Union—saw this propaganda elevated to a higher level, driven by the interest of each in expanding influence and acquiring allies abroad. This textual war is documented in the Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute of the Open Society Archives at the Central European University in Budapest.<sup>412</sup> I do not intend to investigate these propaganda mechanisms

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412. Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty was established in 1949. Until 1995 it was based in Munich, when it moved to Prague. The organisation was funded by the CIA until the early 1970s. During the Cold War, it was used for radio transmissions aimed at the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc. It also served as an organisation that gathered information through monitoring the Socialist bloc broadcasts and publications. This information constitutes a very significant body of material and findings, that help us understand and assess communist propaganda and its dissemination through radio and print. It is particularly of our interest due to the fact that the CIA since 1960, explicitly insisted on the coverage of the Sino–Soviet conflict. The latter resulted in the documentation not only of the split per se, but of the pamphlet and propaganda war that burst among the two powers, which is very significant for this research. See Arch Puddington, *Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty*, The University Press of Kentucky (Kentucky: 2000), 31–32, 38–41.

here. I will only analyse those that are related to the present research. In other words, those organisations that Istorikes Ekdoseis and its affiliated press either: 1) established relations or contacts with; 2) used as a source for their publications or; 3) used to provide a framework for communist propaganda during that time.<sup>413</sup>

A report dated 21 May 1958 stated that “the communist bloc produces roughly one-hundred periodicals for ‘export’—a hundred identical communist ‘flowers’.”<sup>414</sup> According to the report—which focused on communist periodicals sent abroad and books and magazines published in the “Soviet orbit” generally—there were 83 different titles, published in 27 different languages, coming from 11 different socialist bloc countries. The combinations of different languages and periodicals produced more than 300 different editions of those 83 periodicals. This excludes the 14 publications published by international front organisations—namely, the *World Youth* or the *Horizons* periodicals, published by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the World Peace Council, respectively. Every socialist country of that time, apart from Mongolia, produced propaganda periodicals to be exported.<sup>415</sup> By observing the content and form of the publications, one realises that almost one-third of it is pictorial or illustrated periodicals, and one-sixth news reviews and information bulletins that derived from the socialist bloc’s communist parties.

Thirteen periodicals came from China: a daily news bulletin, a fortnightly news review, two monthly pictorials; a monthly periodical covering foreign trade; five bi-monthly periodicals (of which four were scientific, and one was a women-related pictorial); two quarterly periodicals (one concerning literature and one concerning sports); and a non-periodic serial

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413. The review *Anagennisi* was heavily based on Chinese foreign propaganda in order to compile its international pages—this was an extensive and significant part of the review itself. Articles and reports derived from *Peking Review* were translated and published in every single issue of *Anagennisi*.

414. “Khrushchev and the ‘Problems of Peace and Socialism’”, 3 July 1958. HU OSA 300-8-3-16891; Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute: Publications Department: Background Reports; Open Society Archives at Central European University, Budapest, 15.

415. *Ibid*, 15–17.

publication for the youth. All of the above were available in English, and some were also available in other languages, including Russian, Japanese, Indonesian, French, German, Spanish, Hindi, Vietnamese, Korean, Uighur, Tibetan and Mongolian.<sup>416</sup>

After this comprehensive presentation of foreign language periodicals, a more analytic report followed, covering the production of books and periodicals for 1957 in the countries behind the Iron Curtain. Despite the anti-communist nature of the organisation that composed the report, it is very balanced and informative.<sup>417</sup> The report stresses the importance of print as a propaganda tool, and the fact it was being heavily used by the socialist bloc to “project to the outside world the image of their society”.<sup>418</sup> According to this document, a 14% increase of foreign propaganda publications written in “Free World languages” was witnessed in 1957 in respect to the year before and a much larger increase was witnessed for documents written in languages aiming at the so-called Third World countries (a 150% increase in the number of books, a 400% increase in the number of pamphlets, a 400% increase in the number of periodicals, and additionally, fourteen new language editions of foreign language periodicals). The estimate of the number of publications for 1958 was even higher, based on both the initial plans pronounced by the Soviets and prior experience. For 1956 and 1957 the Soviet Union produced almost 30 million copies of foreign language books and pamphlets each year.<sup>419</sup>

Most interesting of all, the Soviets were continuing to expand into new

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416. *Ibid.*, 40–41.

417. The report itself cannot be characterised as totally unbiased since, as Ungor “Distant Comrade”, 262–264 states, for the Western scholarly perception of Chinese propaganda, the fear of Communism during the Cold War led to an over-emphasis of the strength of communist propaganda. The size and geographical dissemination of the propaganda materials produced is often perceived or assumed to be identical to the audience reception, although the latter is not adequately researched or proven. Thus, expressions such as ‘the range of usage was, as usual, wide and impressive’ and ‘[t]he Free World, [...], received publications which were interesting in content, impressive in appearance, and arresting in their psychological and nationalistic appeals’ (“Khrushchev and the ‘Problems of Peace and Socialism’”, 18).

418. *Ibid.*, 18.

419. *Ibid.*, 19–20.



languages and thus new countries—both the Western (e.g., the Netherlands) and Eastern World (e.g., India). This included not only production and subsequent export from the Soviet Union directly, but also agreements with publishing houses abroad. In 1956, the Soviets published 100 million copies in collaboration with foreign publishers and were in contact with around seven hundred firms in fifty-eight countries on almost all continents (Europe, America, Asia and Australia).<sup>420</sup> At the same time,<sup>421</sup> the PRC's production was smaller—four hundred and sixteen titles and 4.6 million copies, circulating in seventy-one countries. The rest of the socialist bloc also exported millions of copies to a variety of countries. Also notable are the low prices charged for this material—lower, in fact, than the estimated production cost. A safe assumption would be that publications were subsidised since the primary aim was not to turn in profit but to disseminate as widely as possible. We will further elaborate on this point when assessing Chinese foreign propaganda in the following sections.

A variety of means were used to promote communist book production, including agreements between libraries, scientific institutions and publishing companies worldwide for book exchanges. One of the most interesting agreements was signed, in 1957, between the PRC and the well-known British publishing firm Penguin, to exchange translated versions of their respective titles free of royalty.<sup>422</sup> Apart from the book exchanges, the socialist bloc sent bulks of titles as gifts, mainly to university libraries in the non-socialist countries.<sup>423</sup>

Communist propaganda was closely monitored by the state apparatus in various Western countries. For instance, the United States House of Representatives formed the Committee on Un-American Activities. The committee included production and dissemination of communist propaganda in the list of activities it monitored, investigated and prosecuted. In 1962, the second session of the 87th Congress of the Committee dedicated a large

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420. *Ibid*, 20.

421. The information concerns the years 1949–1956.

422. *Ibid*, 22.

423. Helsinki University, for example, received more than 3,000 titles from the Soviet Union as a gift. See *Ibid*, 22.

segment of its time to investigating “communist outlets for the distribution of Soviet propaganda in the United States”, which included subpoenas and testimony from people involved in such activities.<sup>424</sup> The aforementioned exaggeration regarding Soviet propaganda is more than evident from the very beginning of this document, which it casts as “one of the greatest single threats to the security of the United States and the free world”.<sup>425</sup> This statement was made just as the pro-Soviet Communist Party of the United States of America was entirely marginal as a political organisation, and no real threat to the establishment.

Nevertheless, some interesting facts surfaced from these hearings. An earlier assumption on the existence of heavy subsidies of the publications produced in the socialist bloc on behalf of the socialist bloc governments seems to be backed by one of the testimonies. More specifically, the owner of the New Era Books and Subscription Agency, who had ordered 10,000 copies of the title *Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* from companies controlled by Myron Emmanuel Sharpe—who was assumed to be one of the key figures in disseminating Soviet propaganda material in the US—stated that he was only going to pay one cent per copy—the list price was 50 cents.<sup>426</sup> There were also documents revealing the existence of agreements between US and Soviet publishing firms for the former to translate and publish Soviet titles and periodicals into English. These, according to the hearings, were distributed by the Soviet Embassy in “unsolicited bulk mails” at below cost.<sup>427</sup> Further statements indicate that, apart from the free-of-charge provision of primary documents to serve as publishing material, there were indirect subsidies to US publishing firms from Moscow, supposedly to facilitate printing and distribution of communist propaganda material.<sup>428</sup> The report claimed, not without justification, that those engaged in the production and dissemination of foreign commu-

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424. “Hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities”, House of Representatives, 87th Congress, US Doc 2.791, 1587–1698.

425. Ibid, 1587.

426. Ibid, 1588–1589.

427. Ibid, 1589–1590.

428. Ibid, 1590–1591.

nist propaganda were related to the Communist Party of the United States and highlighted that these ventures were not profitable, their survival substantially depending on subsidies.<sup>429</sup>

The centrality of textual propaganda as a means to promote one's ideology, the involvement of individuals in such activities due to idealism and political faith rather than economic factors, and the overall and heavy dependence of domestic outlets on the socialist countries, are the main points one should always bear in mind when discussing the foreign language ideological and political propaganda of the socialist bloc. That economic issues were the last concern for the PRC, for example, is stressed by the fact that they had been supplying foreign distributors for years, even in countries with which they had no trade agreements (e.g., the United States), making it difficult to get paid for the shipments.<sup>430</sup>

### *Chinese Foreign Propaganda*

Although one of the main characteristics of the Greek political publishing field we are analysing is the financial and political autonomy from the state, one must take into consideration that this does not always apply for its international counterparts. For example, textual communication in China at the same time "became essentially synonymous with party-state activities".<sup>431</sup> For this reason, an overview of the Chinese publishing policies is essential to fully comprehend the context within which *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, among others, functioned.

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429. *Ibid.*, 1593–1595.

430. Henry Noyes established China Books & Periodicals in 1960, and he was unable to pay his Chinese counterparts for over a decade. He was able to transfer the money he owed in a blocked bank account, but not to China until 1971. The accumulated amount of this blocked account was not transferred to China before 1980. See Henry Noyes, *China Born: Adventures of A Maverick Bookman* (San Francisco: China Books & Periodicals, 1989), 72–76, 91–94. Constantly increasing sales of Chinese literature in the USA and consequently the increasing number of volumes shipped as well as the very generous financial agreement with Guozi Shudian, are convincing evidence that the PRC was less interested in making a profit or even breaking even, and much more interested in achieving the widest distribution possible for its publications.

431. Reed, "Advancing", 22–23.

Chinese publishing policies were characterised by freedom of reproduction, since there was a lack of any copyright legislation, and consequently of any restrictions, between 1949 and 1991.<sup>432</sup> Discussions on copyright legislation were initiated only in the post-Mao era.<sup>433</sup> Copyrights went against socialist ideology—that is, the state ideology—which perceived “culture as public and social”.<sup>434</sup> Apart from this ideological justification, to promote its positions within the international communist movement, the Chinese state had far more reasons to ease the dissemination of its foreign propaganda material. This was especially true after the disputes with the Soviet Union—which resulted in polarisation between the Soviet Union and its allies on the one hand, and the PRC, Albania and their allies, on the other. The race between the two camps to influence the existing socialist and communist parties worldwide or gain access to the newly formed groups of the *long sixties*, forced most of the so-called socialist countries into either upgrading their existing foreign propaganda policies and agencies or establishing new ones. Each camp pushed itself as the genuine revolutionary model, and printed propaganda was the means of doing so.<sup>435</sup>

We can track the development of Chinese foreign propaganda during the *long sixties* by studying the consecutive reports of the United States Department of Justice Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA).<sup>436</sup> In FARA’s 1960 report, the vast majority of references to Chinese organisations functioning in the United States concerned the Kuomintang government based in Taipei and not the PRC. While the report dedicated a page to Soviet prop-

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432. See “More About the Chinese Book Market”, Frankfurter Buchmesse, accessed 30 October 2014, [http://www.buchmesse.de/images/fbm/dokumente-ua-pdfs/2014/china\\_buchmarkt\\_en\\_2014\\_44724.pdf](http://www.buchmesse.de/images/fbm/dokumente-ua-pdfs/2014/china_buchmarkt_en_2014_44724.pdf).

433. Dong Han, “How the Copyright Law Was (Not) Made: Intellectual Property and China’s Contested Reintegration with Global Capitalism”, *International Journal of Communication* 8 (2014), 1517–1518.

434. *Ibid.*, 1519.

435. Ungor, “Distant Comrade”, 66.

436. FARA, valid since 1938, requires that each agent of a foreign principal—apart from foreign diplomats and government officials, or people working on a religious, academic or fine arts level—provides details, on its financial records, of the content of the propaganda disseminated in the USA, as well as, of all of its activities within the USA. See FARA website, accessed 22 November 2011, <http://www.fara.gov/fara-faq.html#1>.

aganda,<sup>437</sup> there was not a single reference to that of the Chinese. During that time, the Soviets had almost 20 different organisations and individuals working on their propaganda in the United States. The Chinese had three, two of which were joint Sino–Soviet organisations.<sup>438</sup>

Just one year later, things had changed. The report for 1961 dedicates a page-and-a-half to “Red China propaganda”, both its content and how it was disseminated (the organisations used, and the major Chinese publications).<sup>439</sup> The report also mentions the establishment of a new distributor of Chinese (as well as Soviet) publications in the United States. The 1962 report was almost identical to that of the year before. The increased references to China and the halt in imports of Chinese publications by distributors that had formerly done so (and their replacement with new distributors) attest to the impact of the Sino–Soviet Split in publishing and distribution of political texts and to the relationship between publishing and politics.

### *The Sino–Soviet Split*

Before the Sino–Soviet Split in the early 1960s, the Chinese government used the Eastern Bloc countries as an intermediate access point for its propaganda towards Western Europe. After the split, China had to create its own networks for disseminating its propaganda and had created or further developed agencies involved in the production and distribution of print materials which were intended for a global audience.

A brief presentation of some of the most significant Chinese agencies that interacted with their Greek counterparts will follow the general context of the time to give the reader an impression of the propaganda apparatus and its interaction with the Greek political publishing field. To analyse the textual products of the time, the reader must also consider Chinese foreign policy of China and international developments in general. Besides the necessary global perspective this provides, it also allows us to zero in on the im-

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437. FARA, Report to Congress for the calendar year 1960, July 1961, 14–15.

438. Ibid, 47 and 101–105.

439. FARA, Report to Congress for the calendar year 1961, October 1962, 22–23.

fact of ideology. When researching ideologically loaded case studies like this, it is not hard to get carried away and neglect the fact that state survival will always come before ideology where existential threats are concerned. From the mid-1950s to the Sino–Soviet split, the PRC’s foreign policy was generally moderate. China was trying to ally with neighbours regardless of their ideological and political beliefs. After the split, however, it redirected its policy, becoming more supportive of revolutionary movements and parties globally. This was related to the split itself since the aim was to present itself as the true revolutionary model vis-à-vis the “revisionist” Soviet Union. This resulted in a boost in the range of publications—both in terms of titles and the number of languages into which originals were translated. The Greek Marxist–Leninist press, during its pre-Junta period, was heavily based on the Chinese foreign language periodicals *Peking Review*, its identical French version *Pekin Information*, the publishing house FLP in Beijing, and, in terms of distribution, Guozi Shudian.

As the rift between the Soviet and the Chinese camp deepened, the existing importers and distributors of both camps’ products had to choose sides. The majority of Western ventures aligned with the Soviet camp<sup>440</sup> and Chinese publications were no longer available in pro-Soviet bookstores.<sup>441</sup> Pro-Soviet distributors declined to disseminate Chinese publications or translations, and these publications were no longer advertised in the pro-Soviet press.<sup>442</sup>

*Peking Review* was a weekly periodical launched to replace *People’s China* which had been the first English-language, bi-weekly periodical produced in China. The latter was published from 1950 to 1957 and sought to promote the newly formed PRC in the world, seeking to break international isolation by forging friendships and recruiting international support.<sup>443</sup> It

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440. This conclusion derives from the choice made by the vast majority of the Western communist parties to align with the Soviet Union. At the time, most publishers and booksellers who were in the communist publication business were either officially or unofficially affiliated with the communist parties in their respective countries.

441. Noyes, *China Born*, 76–78.

442. Mais, “E ekdotiki drastiriotita”, 71–72, 77–78.

443. Leonard W. Lazarick, “China’s Smiling Face to the World: Beijing’s English-Lan-

is no coincidence that during the 1950s friendship associations with China were established in several countries, including Greece. In the Greek case the Enosi Filon Neas Kinas (the League of Friends of New China), established in 1956, was the first collective to establish relations with the Chinese government and consequently import Chinese publications that were used as the basis for translated works in Greek. The history and work of the League will be detailed further below, highlighting how translated Chinese publications went from a niche publishing trend, one slice of a wider publishing field, to an autonomous political stance. I also discuss its significance for the first steps of Istorikes Ekdoseis.

In her PhD dissertation—the most significant and up-to-date scientific work written on Chinese foreign propaganda during the Mao Zedong era—Cagdas Ungor analyses and periodises the Chinese foreign language periodicals according to the four significant political episodes of modern Chinese history. These are the Great Leap Forward (1958–1961), the Sino–Soviet Split (1960–1964), the Cultural Revolution (1966–1969), and the Sino–US rapprochement (1971–1972).<sup>444</sup> *Peking Review*, a highly ideological and political English-language magazine, was relaunched at the start of the Great Leap Forward.<sup>445</sup> As Lazerick notes:

The new magazine was larger, more frequent, more serious and more ideological than its predecessor, even though produced by much of the same staff [...] The closing of the more conversational *People's China*, with its broader range of writing styles, subject matter and reportage from the field, also reflected the ideological shifts that occurred in 1957 and the greater political control of the period.<sup>446</sup>

*Peking Review* also served as a promotional instrument for other Chinese publications, i.e. the new foreign languages editions published by Beijing's

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guage Magazines in the First Decade of the People's Republic" (master's thesis, University of Maryland, 2005), 1–2.

444. Ungor, "Distant Comrade", 24–25.

445. The Great Leap Forward had been an ambitious economic development plan, aiming at a quick transformation of Chinese Economy from an agrarian one to an industrial. This, unsuccessful, experiment attracted a lot of foreign attention during its time. The first issue of *Peking Review*, published on March 4, 1958, dedicated three out of four major articles on this specific matter.

446. Lazarick, "China's Smiling Face", 3.

FLP. These were an essential tool for both the PRC as well as its followers and sympathisers worldwide since China was isolated and had few official diplomatic or trade relations, especially in the Western world. The existence of a magazine and of other publications that would inform left-wingers and communists worldwide on the official position of the CPC on the various ideological and political issues that arose, especially during the Sino–Soviet split was a unique source of information at the time.

During and after the Sino–Soviet split occurred, being a subscriber of *Peking Review* served two purposes. On the one hand, subscribers used it to gain much-needed information about China and the position of the CPC. On the other, subscribing was a kind of virtue signal, a statement of alignment with the Chinese communists. In notes retrieved from the archives of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and *Anagennisi*, there are explicit references to the renewal of the group’s subscriptions to *Peking Review* and *Pekin Information*, and discussion of subscribing to the other Chinese periodicals available, as well as carrying advertisements for the foreign press in *Anagennisi*. While browsing through the digital copies of *Anagennisi*,<sup>447</sup> it is rather apparent that, for some reason, the decision was made not to go forward with this proposal and the advertisements were never placed.

Although it is difficult to be sure due to the paucity of sources, it is certainly possible that the publishers of *Anagennisi*, who had only recently been released from exile, reconsidered their earlier decision due to probable risks of directly promoting a communist country’s press. One should always bear in mind that these publishing entities were active in a stridently anti-communist environment, where during that same time communism was prohibited by law and being a communist was considered as an act of treason. There had even been a case where a copy-editor of a Greek translation of a work by Mao Zedong was court-martialed under such legislation in 1954.<sup>448</sup> We will now present a brief overview of the part of the Chinese publishing apparatus that is of particular interest.

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447. See <http://morfotikesekdoseis.gr/?q=biblia-pdf>, accessed 18 November 2014.

448. Ios tis Kyriakis, “To ideograma tu taxidioti” [The traveller’s ideogram], *Eleftherotypia* (newsp.), 20/7/2008 <<http://www.iospress.gr/ios2008/ios20080720.htm>>, accessed 25/05/2015 [in Greek].



Guozi Shudian was established just two months after Mao Zedong proclaimed the establishment of the PRC. In the 1960s it served as the distribution centre for Chinese publishing production worldwide, both to organisations and directly to individuals. Its advertisements were carried in Chinese periodicals, such as the *Peking Review*—which was very popular among Western radicals and had been a primary source for translation material for their own periodicals and press. In the archives related to Istorikes Ekdoseis and its counterparts, we find evidence that they had subscribed to—mainly Chinese—foreign press agencies. These include correspondence regarding subscriptions as well as bank transaction statements regarding payments to these agencies.<sup>449</sup> From the content of the responses of Guozi Shudian, it is clear that Istorikes Ekdoseis was informing the former about its publishing activities and intentions to translate specific titles distributed by Guozi Shudian and return a small number of the translated titles to China. This is stressed in an urgent letter, regarding the forthcoming Greek edition of *Quotations of Chairman Mao Tse-Tung*. The letter by Guozi Shudian requested that Istorikes Ekdoseis would include the “Foreword to the Second Edition”—which accompanied the letter—written by Lin Biao in their translated edition.

Guozi Shudian was at the heart of Chinese foreign propaganda since it handled the promotion of publications, subscriptions and distribution in general. Its services were advertised in the issues of *Peking Review*, but it also produced catalogues, and it informed organisations and individuals with whom it was in contact on its new publications via mail.

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On the terror of the state and the legal framework in post-war Greece, see Panourgia, *Dangerous Citizens*, 23–38. On examples of censorship and persecution regarding publishing in Greece, see Mais, “Marxist–Leninist Publishing”, 47–49.

449. Despite the fact that the archival evidence date from the period 1966–1967, we are able to identify that the vast majority of the translated material from the *Anagennisi* review, published by the Istorikes Ekdoseis group from October 1964 (issue 1) to January–February 1967 (issue 28–29) comes from *Peking Review* and its French counterpart *Pekin Information*, although this is not explicitly stated. Since these periodicals were not distributed in Greece apart from specific subscriptions, it is safe to assume that the group affiliated with Istorikes Ekdoseis subscribed to these periodicals, at least after 1964.

*Xinhua News Agency,<sup>450</sup> the Global Marxist–Leninist Press and the Greek Publishing Field*

When the Istorikes Ekdoseis group accumulated enough symbolic capital and thus a wider audience, it decided to launch a monthly review named *Anagennisi*.<sup>451</sup> The first issue was published in October 1964. Although the review included several articles written by the group members regarding the political situation in Greece and the polemics within the Greek communist movement, the lengthier part of each issue was related to the global communist movement. In order to stay up to date with the theoretical and political debates and polemics within the international communist movement, the group established contacts with a number of fellow believers worldwide. Each issue was compiled by a number of translations of articles that had been published in *Peking Review*; by the Xinhua News Agency or other Marxist–Leninist newspapers and periodicals. Costis Papaioannou, a member of the group at the time who was mainly involved in translations from English to Greek recalled the arrival of Xinhua’s bulletins via mail, “a roll of thin rice-paper pages”.<sup>452</sup> It was already demonstrated that Xinhua and *Peking Review* were the major sources of information for *Anagennisi*. Nevertheless, the remainders of *Anagennisi*’s archive imply the existence of other sources of information. Correspondence and handwritten notes regarding contacts and subscriptions to the publication of such entities were found among other archival material belonging to the *Anagennisi* and Istorikes Ekdoseis team.<sup>453</sup> More specifically, there were yearly subscriptions to *La voix du peuple*,<sup>454</sup> *L’humanité nou-*

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450. Xinhua is the original Chinese name of the New China News Agency, established in 1931 as Red China News Agency. See Mais, “Marxist–Leninist Publishing”, 17.

451. That is, *Rebirth* in Greek.

452. Costis Papaioannou, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 8 June 2009.

453. Box 483, Folder 5 and Folder 7, EDA Archive, ASKI, Athens.

454. *La Voix du Peuple* [*The Voice of the People*] was a monthly that soon turned into a weekly magazine, of the Communist Party of Belgium, a Belgian Marxist–Leninist group led by Jacques Grippa. The magazine was launched in late 1963. See Marxists Archive Online, accessed 8 May 2015, <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/belgium-1st/index.htm>; Jacques Grippa, “*Theory*” and *Practice of the Modern Revisionists* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), 45–47.

*velle*<sup>455</sup> and *La manchette*.<sup>456</sup> Moreover, *Anagennisi* issues had their contents written in French, subsequently dispatched to the aforementioned counterparts in Europe and China.<sup>457</sup> During this period, a member of the *Anagennisi* and Istorikes Ekdoseis group, Isaak Iordanides, visited China via France. Members of this publishing circle, mainly postgraduate students, were based in Paris and were in contact with their French comrades.<sup>458</sup>

*The League of Friends of “New China”*<sup>459</sup>

Established in 1956 on the initiative of the intellectual Beata Kitsiki,<sup>460</sup> the League of Friends of “New China”<sup>461</sup> presented itself to be interested in promoting the cultural and artistic aspects of China. In fact, Kitsiki and other Greek progressives and leftists wanted to help China fight its inter-

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455. *L’Humanité Nouvelle* [*The New Humanity*] was the monthly newspaper of the Federation of Marxist–Leninist Circles in France established in 1965.

456. *La Machete* [*The Machete*] was a Belgium-based, Haitian Marxist–Leninist periodical launched in 1966 with the help of Jacques Grippa’s group. CIA, “Intelligent Report: The Sino–Soviet Report Within the Communist Movement in Latin America” (Reference title: ESAU XXVIII), 15 June 1967, 172, CIA website, accessed 8 May 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/esau-32.pdf>.

457. Dispatch notes from *Anagennisi* to the Xinhua News Agency in London, *La Voix de Peuple*, *L’Humanité Nouvelle* as well as to the Chinese Embassy in Berne were traced in the archive of *Anagennisi*. Box 483, Folder 5, EDA Archive, ASKI, Athens.

458. Meeting with Isaac Iordanides in Drapetsona, Athens, 19 June 2009.

459. Syllogos Filon Neas Kinas [in Greek]. The association is still active today under the name *Greece–China Association*, but it has long ceased having a cultural and political orientation since it is now business-oriented. Dimitris Kitsikis, email correspondence with the author, 16 November 2014.

460. Beata Kitsiki published the book *Gnorisa tous kokkinous frourous* [*I Met the Red Guards*] (Athens: Kedros, 1982) [in Greek] which is about her personal experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. She had previously published another two books with her recollections from her visits in China, *Maties stin Kina* [Glimpses in China] (Athens: 1957) [in Greek] and *Ap’osa idame stin Kina: Apostoli 1963–1964* [*What We Saw in China: The 1963–1964 Expedition*] (Athens: Fexis, 1964) [in Greek]. Dimitris Kitsikis, email correspondence with the author, 30 November 2014.

461. The League was also known as the Union of Friends of New China and the Greek–Chinese Friendship League.

national isolation by the “capitalist–imperialist states”.<sup>462</sup> Kitsiki was even able to persuade intellectuals and moderate politicians and members of the Greek parliament to join, including Dimitrios Paspasyrou, the president of the parliament at the time.<sup>463</sup> The strong ties Kitsiki was able to forge with moderate academics and politicians is indicated by the fact that her highly ideological and political book on the Chinese Cultural Revolution—*I Met the Red Guards*<sup>464</sup>—has a preface by Periklis Theocharis. Theocharis was an academic and president of the Academy of Athens—the most prominent but also the most conservative intellectual institution in Greece at the time. In his three-page-long preface, Theocharis referred to the work of Beata Kitsiki through the League, such as, the organised visits in China, one of which he himself attended. Moreover, he is speaking very fondly of Kitsiki and China.<sup>465</sup>

The League was based in a hall where meetings and cultural events related to China were held. Beata Kitsiki even managed to organise expeditions to China from 1956 onwards and played a very significant role as a source of Chinese publications that were used for translations. Furthermore, it published the quarterly periodical *Ellenokinezika Chronika* [Greek–Chinese Chronicles] and in January 1959 it also published the book *Ancient Chinese Myths*. The first official Chinese delegation to visit Greece was a cultural one, which followed an invitation by the League in May 1960.<sup>466</sup>

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462. Meeting with Isaak Iordanides in Drapetsona, Athens, 19 June 2009; Isaak Iordanides interview with the author, Drapetsona, 23 February 2012; 28 September 2012; Yorgis Provelegios, interview with the author, Athens, 10 October 2012.

463. The second visit of the League to China was led by Yeorgios Mavros, one of the main political figures of the period that was considered, politically-speaking, to be on the centre-left part of the political spectrum. Dimitris Kitsikis, email correspondence with the author, 30 November 2014.

464. Kitsiki, *Red Guards*.

465. Periklis Theocharis, “Dio logia” [“Two words”], in Kitsiki, *Gnorisa tous*, 3–5 [in Greek].

466. “E proti kineziki politistikis antiprosopia stin Athina” [“The first Chinese cultural delegation in Athens”], *Augi*, Athens, 20 May 1960 [in Greek].

*The “How to Know China Better” Book Series*<sup>467</sup>

Later on, the League created a series of more than thirty books, mainly on Chinese literature and art, in collaboration with the publishing house Feksi—an established trade publisher of the time. The series was launched in 1962 with the title *Chinese Theatre*. This was the only title produced by a Greek author while all the others were translated Chinese texts. The author, Takis Mouzenides, a very well-known Greek theatre and cinema director, visited China himself as part of the League’s organised visits. Mouzenidis’ book was written with the support of the Minister of Culture of the PRC.<sup>468</sup> The series was called “How to Know China Better” [in Greek]. Prior to Mouzenidis’ volume, in 1959, Feksi had published a travel book about China by Petros Charis,<sup>469</sup> a well-known, conservative Greek intellectual, titled *China Outside the Walls*.<sup>470</sup> Other intellectuals that participated in the expeditions organised by Kitsiki and the League had written and published about their experiences, but no other publishers created a series like Feksi.<sup>471</sup> In some of the published titles, we find a note that clarifies that the series was constituted by works selected due to the initiative and collaboration of the League.<sup>472</sup>

A more thorough explanation of the series can be found on the front flap of one the books’ dust jacket:

A new series by Feksi publishing

*How to Know China Better*

By reading his literature (novel, short story, poetry, theatre, essay) and

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467. The series was published in Greek. The Greek title is “Pos Na Gnorisoume tin Kina Kalitera”

468. Wu Yue, *E Ellada ke e Kina: Prodiathesis ke politikes, 1946–1966* [*Greece and China: Predispositions and Politics, 1946–1966*] (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Athens, 2014), 163 [in Greek].

469. The alias of Ioannis Marmariades.

470. At least a dozen travellers’ books were published by Greek intellectuals, mainly conservative or non-left-wingers the least, from the mid-1950s until the mid-1960s. Most of them were involved in the League or its organised expeditions to China. See Yue *E Ellada ke e Kina*, 347–348.

471. *Ibid.*, 158–281.

472. See *E istoria tu Huang Siao ke alles kinezikes istories* [*The Story of Huang Siao and Other Chinese Tales*] (Athens: Feksis, 1962), n.p [in Greek].

everything that is relevant to his art (music, visual arts, cinema), we will be able to know the man of China.

By studying his philosophical and scientific thought—the foundations on which one of the greatest civilisations of mankind was based on.

Reading its ancient and modern history, in order to live the struggles, through time, of a great people to take his faith into his own hands and to take its place in this ambivalent world, and finally,

Getting to know the environment within which he lives, moves and creates: its geography, its social and political life and everything relevant about him.

*That is how we will know China better.*<sup>473</sup>

The above text served as an advertisement to lure subscribers, to whom a 30% discount and a wooden case would be provided to place the book series.<sup>474</sup>

The last published work of the series was most probably the fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Lu Hsun*, translated by M. Cornelios,<sup>475</sup> published in 1966. Most of the translators were known left-wing intellectuals themselves, and some were surely related to the League, who selected the works to be translated along with the publisher.

Leonidas Christakis, whom we met in Chapter 2, was the graphic designer of the series.<sup>476</sup> Christakis designed the covers and dust-jackets, illustrations, chose the font and had the supervision of the overall design of the series.<sup>477</sup> As we detailed at length in Chapter 2, Christakis—who died in 2009—was one of the best-known publishers of the anti-authoritarian and anarchist movement in the ‘70s, primarily known for the avant-garde graphic designs of his subversive countercultural magazines, *Panderma* and *Ideodromio*. Prior to his countercultural activity, he was an established painter, gallery owner and graphic designer. During the early 1960s, he

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473. Tsao Yu, *Bora* [Thunderstorm] (Athens: Feksis, 1964), dust jacket’s front flap [in Greek].

474. *Ibid.*

475. This was probably the well-known Greek poet and translator Manolis Cornelios.

476. It was not possible to acquire the whole series of books in order to undertake extensive research. Feksi closed decades ago and there is no archive I am aware of where a complete list of its titles can be found. Nevertheless, all the titles available name Christakis as the graphic designer and illustrator of the series.

477. Christakis, *O Kyrios Athinai*, 221–223.

worked as a graphic designer and an illustrator at Feksis publishing house, one of the most known Greek trade publishers at the time.

The only academic work on the cultural relations between Greece and China, by Wu Yue, makes reference to both the League and the travels to China and the book production that followed in the form of travellers' books. Nevertheless, the production of the series seems to have escaped the author's attention, despite its significance. The only known reference to the series is by the Greek poet, novelist and reporter Anastasis Vistonitis. In an article on contemporary Chinese literature and an overview of Chinese literature during the Maoist and post-Maoist era he wrote:

It was only recently that the repressive policy of the Maoist regime, the fierce wave of persecution of writers during the Cultural Revolution and the vast drop in the volume of literary production during that time became of concern to the rest of the world. In contrast, the [Chinese] regime saw to it that the poems of Mao Zedong and Zu Enlai would be translated in almost every language, along with propaganda books. These publications were generously funded [by the Chinese regime]. Just remember the unspeakable book series titled "How to Know China Better", published—with a view to making a profit, of course—by the Feksi publishing house.<sup>478</sup>

Vistonitis's aphorism contains a general truth concerning Chinese state propaganda of the time. However, there is hardly any evidence to support the claim that the Chinese state funded the aforementioned book series or any other printed material—in Greece—in support of China or Maoism. The remainders of the League's archive of the time, now situated in the ASKI collections, contain no financial information.<sup>479</sup> Feksi publishing house has long passed to oblivion, and its archive location is unknown. Istorikes Ekdoseis' relationship with the League and Chinese authorities will be thoroughly analysed below. Yet, I will state in advance that there is no evidence to support Vistonitis's argument there either.

Feksi was not involved in politics. It was a third-generation trade pub-

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478. Anastasis Vistonitis, "Ipo ti skia tis Disis" ["Under the shadow of the West"], *To Vima*, 10 August 2008 [in Greek], accessed on 19 May 2017, <http://www.tovima.gr/culture/article/?aid=190427>.

479. Folder 5, Box 696, EDA Archive, ASKI.

lishing house and one of the longest-running at the time. The founder, Yeorgios D. Feksis, was the first to create a professional trade publishing venture in Greece, during the early twentieth century, and to modernise the Greek book market through innovations such as monthly instalments and specialised book series for niche audiences.<sup>480</sup> His grandson, Yeorgios F. Feksis, who in 1958 took the reins from his father, Filippos, continued his grandfather's tradition of specialised book series without being concerned about politics. Feksis simultaneously published the aforementioned book series on China, and the book series "Contemporary America", a project funded by the USIS, the United States Information Service.<sup>481</sup> There is a single reference to the fact that Feksis was the distributor of Guozi Shudian and Chinese press in Greece from 1960 until 1967, but I was not able to confirm this through my research. It is certainly possible that the League collaborated with Feksis on this level.<sup>482</sup> Nevertheless, as will be detailed further on, Istorikes Ekdoseis, who was the chief—if not the only—collaborator of Guozi Shudian during this time, had direct relations with China.

The interaction of Greek intellectuals and readers with Chinese culture and indirectly with Chinese politics during the early 1960s was quite significant, shaping a political publishing field that was quite China-oriented. It is clear that Vistonitis was not predisposed to the China-related book series of Feksi. On the other hand, Eleni Ladia, another Greek intellectual, considered the series very significant in acquainting Greek readers with China.<sup>483</sup> Interest in China and its culture is more than obvious through the

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480. Vasilias Tsokopoulos, *Istoria tis ekdosis stin Ellada: Mia episkopisi* [History of Publishing in Greece: An Overview], National Book Centre of Greece Online [in Greek], accessed 20 May 2017, <http://www.ekebi.gr/frontoffice/portal.asp?cpage=node&cnode=596>.

481. Stratis Bournazos, "To kratos ton ethnikofronon. Antikomunistikos logos kai praktikes" [The nationalists' state. Anti-communist rhetoric and practices] in *Istoria tis Ellados tou 20ou aiona* [History of Greece in the 20th Century], vol. D2, ed. Christos Chadjiiosif (Athens: Vivliorama, 2009), 40–42 [in Greek].

482. Yiorgos Feksis [in Greek], accessed 20 May 2017, <http://www.hellenicaworld.com/Greece/Person/gr/GiorgosFexis.html>.

483. Eleni Ladia, "Yiorgos Feksis (1927–2004)", *Nea Estia*, 1771 (October 2004): 580–581 [in Greek].



pervasiveness that the League had in intellectuals that were not sympathisers of Chinese politics, not even leftists.

It thus seems that the publisher was unwilling to get involved in the highly acute inter-communist polemics of the time.<sup>484</sup> This was even though Feksi had published a few more political titles within the “How to Know China Better” series. Therefore, when Kitsiki decided to publish more political works and indirectly promote the Chinese ideological and political line during the Sino–Soviet strife, Feksi could not deliver. At this point, the League and Istorikes Ekdoseis came together through the mediation of Feksi.

### *The Birth and Early Years of Istorikes Ekdoseis Publishing*

Istorikes Ekdoseis initiated its publishing activity in 1963, becoming one of the hundreds political publishing entities of the Greek *long sixties*. Most of these entities were the publishing arms of ideologically and politically driven collectives and, less often, of individuals. Most of this publishing was thus amateurish and irregular, certainly if compared with trade publishing. The driving force behind this publishing activity was a core of old co-exiles who had substantial political differences with the leadership of the Greek Left at the time. Therefore, this group of people started publishing to express their different viewpoints concerning the official political line of the Greek Left, as expressed by the dominant left-wing party EDA. According to one of its founders, the term Istorikes Ekdoseis—“historical editions” in Greek—had once been used by the now-defunct publisher. Since the initial thought was to publish books on the history of the communist movement—the first title is indicative of this attempt—the name seemed rather appropriate.<sup>485</sup>

What makes Istorikes Ekdoseis so particular—in respect to other pub-

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484. Chen Boda, *O Mao Tse-Tung gia tin kineziki epanastasi* [Mao Zedong on the Chinese Revolution] (Athens: Feksi, 1964); Lin Mo-Han, *As ipsosume ti simea tis skepsis tou Mao Tse-Tung gia ta grammata ke tis technes* [Raise Higher the Banner of Mao Tse-tung’s Thought on Art and Letters] (Athens: Feksi, 1964) [both in Greek].

485. Isaak Iordanides, interview with the author, Drapetsona, 23 February 2012.

lishing entities—as to attract my attention? How—at the same time—does it fit the canon of the political publishing field? These are the questions I will address in this part of the dissertation. In order to do so, I will periodise the history of this publishing entity while applying the publishing field theory that I laid out in the first part of the dissertation.

Istorikes Ekdoseis' roots can be traced back to the mid-1950s when its three founders—Isaak Iordanides, Yiannis Hontzeas and Aristides Tsampazis—were political exiles. They met during their exile on the island of Ai Stratis and converged in terms of their politics and ideology. They were part of the “Stalinist” faction that rejected the outcomes of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics in 1956 and the “revisionist turn” that had taken place within the Communist Party of Greece a year earlier, in 1955.<sup>486</sup> Through their common struggle in exile, they forged a friendship and an ideological and political unity that resulted in joint political and publishing activity after their release from exile.<sup>487</sup> This began when they joined EDA a pro-Soviet outfit and the only leftist party in Greece at the time, but their publications were critical of both EDA and Soviet policies and practices.

The first book<sup>488</sup> they published was a leather-bound volume, *History of the Contemporary Chinese Revolution*, edited by Ho Kan-Chi. The book had been originally published by the Chinese Ministry of Higher Education

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486. On the political developments of the period, see Mais, “Marxist–Leninist Publishing”, 12–14. On the political debate in Ai Stratis, see Stefanos Stefanou, “E tris ‘fraxionismoi’ tou Ai-Strati” [The Three ‘Fraxionisms’ of Ai Stratis], *Archeiotaksio* 4 (May 2002): 147–155 and [Yannis Hontzeas], “Ap’ aformi ti simplirosi 20 chronon apo tin “6i Olomelia”: H epithesi tou revisionismou ston Ai-Strati” [On the Occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the ‘6th Plenum’: The Attack on Revisionism at Ai Stratis], *Laikos Dromos*, 17 April 1976, 5; 24 April 1976, 5; 30 April 1976, 5 [both in Greek] accessed 23 May 2017, [http://istoriak.k.blogspot.gr/2015/11/blog-post\\_9.html?m=0](http://istoriak.k.blogspot.gr/2015/11/blog-post_9.html?m=0).

487. Isaak Iordanides. interviews with the author, Drapetsona, 23 February 2012, 28 September 2012.

488. Two volumes of collections of articles from the Chinese newspaper *People's Daily* were published prior to this volume most likely by *Hontzeas* but without the name of the publisher or any other information regarding the publications. These were sold by Istorikes Ekdoseis and are mentioned in their catalogue. Furthermore, I found a copy that had the Istorikes Ekdoseis seal.

in 1958 and was translated a year later by the Foreign Literature Editions in Moscow. Being a leather-bound, multi-page edition, it was a quite costly publication that absorbed the collective's limited economic capital. In reality, there was no alternative. The collective sought a book that would highlight its pro-China position in the heated and ongoing Sino–Soviet conflict. However, there was no Chinese presence in Greece, and it was thus impossible for the collective to acquire any material suitable for publication. The high cost of printing resulted in a high selling price and condemned the title to commercial failure. There is plenty of evidence to support this fact, including archival and oral testimonies. Roza Economou and Isaak Iordanides both confirmed it. Iordanides even recalled the time he took the book to EDA headquarters to sell it—he and Hontzeas were not yet expelled from EDA. A party cadre who was present told him that it was probably not a good idea to begin their publishing activity with such an expensive book. At 180 drachmas, it was the most expensive book Istorikes Ekdoseis ever published. To get a sense of this, note that the average weekly wage of a Greek worker in 1964 was around 418 drachmas. The book would thus set her back 11% of her monthly wage.<sup>489</sup> Three years after its release we find the following in the collective's notes: "Let's resolve to once again sell the big books, e.g., *History of the Chinese Revolution*, at cost price to small bookstores".<sup>490</sup> This was one of three volumes that were priced at 100 drachmas and over.

As detailed in earlier chapters of the dissertation, there were far more important issues for a political publishing entity than the accumulation of economic capital. Isaak Iordanides stressed that the collective had no alternative than publishing a leather-bound book and pricing this text so high. The collective needed a book that would make an explicit—political—statement. It wanted to side with China in the debate within the international communist movement and wanted that choice to be broadcast loud and

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489. In order to calculate the average weekly wage of workers in Greece in 1965 I processed the data provided by the National Statistics Agency of Greece, "Statistique du travail 1967", Athens 1969 [in Greek].

490. The note must have been written sometime between the spring of 1966 and the spring of 1967. Folder 5, Box 483, EDA Archive, ASKI.

wide. Indeed, a statement was made and it was very clearly received. An undated note<sup>491</sup> sent to Aristidis Tsambazis reads:

Dear Aristidis,

I returned the History [of the Chinese Revolution] to your old address. Please see to it. I am under the impression that your publishing activity exceeded any permitted limit. From this I conclude that there are other deeper objectives and aspirations; judging from the actions of your representatives you[r publishing activity] offers a very bad service.<sup>492</sup>

The note was sent by Menelaos Alexiadis, an EDA cadre from Thessaloniki, and it was written on the back of one of his business cards. Alexiadis was a representative of Athenian publishing houses in Thessaloniki. He was also in exile along with the founding members of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and, according to Iordanides, Tsambazis approaching him was not a coincidence—they had all been politically aligned during their exile.<sup>493</sup> Alexiadis realised that *Istorikes Ekdoseis* was something more than a mere publishing entity and the book selected to initiate its publishing activity was no more random than his approach to Tsambazis.

No one would perceive publication of a book on the Chinese communist movement within the historical context of the intensifying Sino–Soviet strife as accidental; everyone would know it signalled the collective’s ideological and political alignment.<sup>494</sup> His expressions, “exceeding any permitted limit” and “offers a bad service” as well as his reference to “deeper objectives and aspirations” within a total of three mere sentences on the back of a business card show just how frustrated he was. While whom the “bad service” was referring to is not stated, Alexiadis most likely meant to the Cause, the Movement, the Left. The use of capital letters here is not

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491. My estimate is that the note was written sometime after late 1964, after *Anagenissi* was published.

492. Folder 7, Box 483, ASKI.

493. Isaak Iordanides, interview with the author, Drapetsona, 23 February 2012.

494. A brief narration of the Sino–Soviet conflict along with primary documents from each camp can be found at the Marxists Internet Archive, “The ‘Great Debate’: Document of the Sino–Soviet Split”, accessed 9 June 2016, <https://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/sino-soviet-split/index.htm>.

unintentional. At that time, this “holy trinity” was sacred and would be summed up in the one and only Communist Party of Greece and its legal front EDA. While communism was illegal at the time, left-wing politics in general was not, and so this is how EDA badged itself. Of course, no open criticism towards the Soviet Union and its political leadership from its Greek counterparts would be tolerated. Publishing something favourable towards China would be considered anti-Soviet and since they considered Soviet communism the only acceptable kind of communism, being anti-Soviet would be tantamount to being anti-communist, and therefore hostile to the cause. While the group did not engage in dialectical thinking of this sort, the underlying logic is nevertheless characteristic of the mentality and way of thinking within the Greek Left at the time.

ISTORIKES EKDOSEIS AND THE LEAGUE OF FRIENDS  
OF “NEW CHINA” JOIN FORCES

A financial failure, this “heavy” book nevertheless made its mark in a market dominated by much cheaper and smaller editions. Indeed, it prompted the League of Friends of “New China” to meet and launch their joint collaboration in 1964. It all started while the members of the Istorikes Ekdoseis collective were visiting Athenian bookstores to sample their newly arrived book. While visiting the Feksi bookstore, the owner offered to mediate between themselves and the League. It is likely that the timing was perfect for him since he may well have been offered the deal to translate the highly polemic works of Mao Zedong and the CPC by the League. While the existing series on China were more within the cultural sphere, this would see the publisher wade deep into politics. An established trade publisher like Feksi knew better than to get involved in left-wing politics and more specifically into a left-wing civil war, potentially jeopardising its fame and clientele.

Collaboration between the League and Istorikes Ekdoseis would certainly alleviate this potentially awkward situation, but the partnership was not just in Feksi’s interests; everyone was set to gain. The League would find a publisher that was more than willing to publish its material and the collective would get its hands on Chinese material to both disseminate and

also assess for its own political purposes. We read in one of the titles published by Istorikes Ekdoseis in collaboration with the League that, as with Feksi, the two entities created a specific book series: “The People’s China and the Contemporary World”.<sup>495</sup> Based on a cross-check of the catalogues of the National Library of Greece and the Library of the Greek parliament—every publisher was supposed to provide a copy of all published work to both of them—of price lists published in issues of *Anagennisi*, and the private archive of myself and Stergios Gioulakis, three titles were published in the aforementioned series. Based on the same cross-check, three additional titles were published in collaboration with the League outside the scope of the series. Notes on these publications were recovered in the remainders of the League’s archive. More specifically, handwritten notes regarding each title to be published along with an accompanying date—presumably of its release—were found. All dates are from June 1964 and some of the titles in the same list concern the series by Feksi.<sup>496</sup>

What is particularly interesting is that although Istorikes Ekdoseis and the League had launched a common project, some of the works were translated outside the series. More particularly, the collection of four documents of the CPC published as *On the Differences Between the Leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China*.<sup>497</sup> This was presented as a new book series by Istorikes Ekdoseis, *The View of People’s China on Contemporary International Questions* [in Greek].<sup>498</sup> League member Mina Zografou translated three out of four documents. Most of the left-wing members of the League were also members of the pro-Soviet EDA. Beata Kitsiki—the heart and soul of the League—and her husband, Nikos Kitsikis, were EDA cadres. Beata Kitsiki leaned towards

495. “E Laiki Kina ke o Sichronos Kosmos” in Greek.

496. Folder 5, Box 696, EDA archive, ASKI.

497. This particular booklet consists of the following four documents: “A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement”; “The Origins and Development of the Differences Between the Leadership of the CPSU and Ourselves”; “On the Question of Stalin”; and “Is Yugoslavia a Socialist Country”. All documents can be found in English at the Marxists Internet Archive, accessed on 17 June 2017, <https://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/sino-soviet-split/index.htm>.

498. E apopsi tis Laikis Kinas pano sta sichrona diethni provlimata

China during the Sino–Soviet split but never took an official stance.<sup>499</sup> Her personal preferences towards Maoism are underlined in her book, *I Met the Red Guards*, published in 1982.<sup>500</sup>

This ambivalence in the League’s leadership was expressed in the continuity of the collaboration with Istorikes Ekdoseis—which gradually became *persona non grata* for the EDA due to its clear siding with China, especially after the launch of *Anagennisi* in October 1964—but in an unofficial manner. Thus, the collaboration between the two entities ceased since no more titles were published within the framework of their collaborative book series. EDA would have considered a possible continuation of their common publishing activity as a political statement on behalf of the League. In the political publishing field, publishing was far from just selecting and preparing manuscripts to be printed and then distributing and selling the printed books; publishing was primarily perceived as an ideological and political act.

The collaboration agreement between the League and Istorikes Ekdoseis included the provision of translators by the League. Istorikes Ekdoseis paid the translators well, regardless of the quality of the translation.<sup>501</sup> Isaak Iordanides recalled that he had had to correct a translation by Mina Zografou.<sup>502</sup> He also notes how he had had to redo one translation by Elli Alexiou completely, yet the book was still published with her as the translator and she was paid as agreed. The translators were known as progressive intellectuals in Greece and their “presence” on the titles boosted Istorikes Ekdoseis’ symbolic capital. Although they were well educated, especially compared

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499. During the Sino–Soviet conflict respective leagues in various countries were often in the epicentre of the strife, the control of which was under question and often siding with China, as in France, Belgium, Japan or Canada. See Robert J. Alexander, *Maoism in the Developed World* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger, 2001), 42, 59, 68, 72, 113, 173–174.

500. The book was published by the publisher Kedros in 1982 although it was supposed to be published in 1967. It was being typeset when the 21 April 1967 military coup took place thus its publication was postponed. Kitsiki, *Gnorisa tous*.

501. In the archival remainders of Istorikes Ekdoseis there is a note that Mina Zografou was paid 3,500 drachmas for one of her translations. Folder 7, Box 483, EDA archive, ASKI.

502. This is the only publication by Istorikes Ekdoseis where the reference to the translator of each document is given separately in the accompanying title page of each one of the four.

with the former exiles who led *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, the latter did not always find the translations up to their standards. Alexiou was a highly educated Greek novelist, having studied in both Greece and France and Zografou was an experienced translator.

Nevertheless, because the translations were of important political texts, every single word counted and *Istorikes Ekdoseis* was incredibly demanding. This period was characterised by political debates that mirrored theological debates of the *filioque*, where the thin lines of the text could lead to wildly different interpretation and internecine disagreement. The wrong choice of words in translation could expose this ostensible publishing house to being much more—namely, a fully-fledged political organisation.

No written agreement was found that would clarify the exact arrangement between the two parties involved in this publishing project. Besides the titles themselves, the only other information gathered is some fragmentary information found in the archival remainders of the two parties as well as some information given in the oral testimonies by Isaak Iordanides and Rosa Economou, information that does not necessarily converge. Iordanides claimed that the League provided the original works along with translators and *Istorikes Ekdoseis* was responsible for paying the translators, printing and distributing the various titles. This arrangement—as laid out by Iordanides—would seem rather uneven, in favour of the League. Economou claimed that there was indirect financial support by the League since a great part of each print run of the titles that were collaboratively published was absorbed and thus paid by the League. Isaak Iordanides denied this.

Economou further claimed that the books being used by *Istorikes Ekdoseis* that came from the League were bought by the former and not taken for free.<sup>503</sup> Her claims, despite the fact that her memory was fading during the time of our interview, seem to be correct. There is no other reasonable basis on which *Istorikes Ekdoseis* would have accepted an arrangement in which the publisher would purchase the material to be translated, pay for a translator (chosen by the other party) and get nothing in return apart from initial access to the works.

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503. Roza Economou, interview with the author, Athens, 19 February 2012).



Furthermore, the League was a non-profit organisation driven by its will to promote China in its effort for global recognition and break its diplomatic and trade isolation. It seems unlikely it would impose a one-sided exploitative deal, as in imposing its own translators and giving nothing in return. Thus, it is possible that it imposed its own translators to secure what it would have considered translations of high quality. It might also have been trying to secure income for some of its members, who—while renowned intellectuals—were nonetheless well-known left-wingers who would be hard pressed to find decently paid and stable employment.

All this being said, it is rather likely that while it demanded the use of its members as translators, it countered that demand with offering to buy a substantial part of each print run. Consuming part of each print run would provide Istorikes Ekdoseis with liquidity and would cover the cost of the publication. For example, *On the Differences Between the Leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China* had a print run of 3,000 as the titles of Istorikes Ekdoseis often did and its production roughly cost 29,000 drachmas.<sup>504</sup> Consequently, each copy cost a little under 10 drachmas while it was sold for 30 drachmas. If the League bought half of the copies even at wholesale prices, that would cover the cost of the entire edition.<sup>505</sup> The lack of financial capital significantly enhances the importance of the agreement since the limited financial resources of Istorikes Ekdoseis were not bound up in one edition, but they could move forward and publish more books. Apart from their first book, on which I have already written, and one of the last ones that were priced at 180 and 130 drachmas respectively, some of the most expensive books were those published collaboratively with the League. Most of them were priced at 30 drachmas apart from one that was priced 100 drachmas. Only one of the collaborative works was cheap, being priced at just 10 drachmas.<sup>506</sup> Ac-

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504. Folder 7, Box 483, EDA Archive, ASKI.

505. According to the publisher Yorgos Hatzopoulos, the ordinary discount for wholesales was 35% of the retail price. Yorgos Hatzopoulos, Facebook correspondence with the author, 17 July 2017.

506. The prices used here were found in the pricelist printed in the back cover of *Anagen-nisi*, 15–16 (December 1965–January 1966).

ording to my findings, each book cost close to one-third of its retail price, multiplied by its 3,000 copy print run. These books were released in a short period of time, some of them within June 1964. It would be impossible for *Istorikes Ekdoseis* to have accumulated the amount needed to proceed to these publications without any guaranteed sales especially since during that time they had not established a wide circle of contacts who could widely circulate the books and produce sales.

Assuming all this is true, the question of Iordanides's disallowance of Economou's claim emerges. There is another contradiction, since, when asked about the timeframe of the collaboration between *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and the League, Iordanidis replied that it had continued until the 21 April 1967 coup.<sup>507</sup> Indeed, the archival remainders indicate that the two entities were still collaborating until 1967, although the notes could easily be read as an indication of the end of this collaboration. More specifically, while a note (probably) from the spring of 1966 refers to the need to renew membership to the League, there is another note, estimated to have been written about a year later, that indicates the need of a clearance and return of the issues of the League's magazine that were in *Istorikes Ekdoseis*' possessions.<sup>508</sup>

The old generation of left-wingers, especially those that were part of the extra-parliamentary Left, felt the need to prove their financial and political independence from political centres, i.e. the Soviet Union, China or Albania. This need derived from their criticism that pro-Soviet groups—many of which originated from these parties or their youth movements—were dependent on the Soviet Union.

Nevertheless, these pathologies—namely, the reflexive turn to a more significant political centre for direction and leadership—were reproduced by the old left-wingers who had split from the USSR. These individuals sought then to replicate this kind of relationship with China and Albania. Iordanides is reluctant to accept the fact that the collaboration with the League brought benefits, fearing that his group will be perceived as having

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

508. Folder 5, Box 483, EDA Archive, ASKI.

been dependent on the League. Maoists always proclaimed the necessity of self-reliance, but theory and practice do not always correlate. At later stages of his political life, he had been dependent on the Chinese party, not in terms of funding—although such cases have been documented<sup>509</sup>—but in terms of the political line. He faithfully followed the Chinese until 1979.<sup>510</sup>

It is important to assess Iordanidis' reluctance to accept the truth, for any neglect of it may lead to distorted conclusions regarding the publishing field. The vast majority of my interlocutors either presented the political groups they belonged to or even themselves as the only ones who were not avowedly dogmatic. While oral testimonies give us an insight into the logic of the field that cannot be derived from the archives, they need to be critically assessed. If the testimonies are taken literally, we are led to rather different conclusions. For example, if we take for granted the Iordanidis' reluctance to acknowledge the aforementioned dependence on China, this would lead to misconceptions about what actually took place at the time. I will further examine the financial and economic conditions of Istorikes Ekdoseis below when I will assess each form of capital with respect to this specific publishing house.

THE OVERALL PUBLISHING ACTIVITY OF ISTORIKES EKDOSEIS  
UNTIL THE 21ST APRIL 1967 MILITARY COUP

The narrators I spoke to who were not involved with Istorikes Ekdoseis—or had soon distanced themselves from it—often referred to Istorikes Ekdoseis and its affiliates as *e kinezi* or *e kinezofili*,<sup>511</sup> that is “the Chinese” or “the

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509. See Matthew Rothwell, *Transpacific Revolutionaries: The Chinese Revolution in Latin America* (New York and London: Routledge, 2013), especially the chapter “China and Latin America”, 11–27.

510. This reluctance was also met in other oral testimonies, i.e. Ayis Tsaras when asked the same for his group, EKKE, he also denied any dependency although other testimonies of his comrades of the time, some of them being higher in the ranks of the group, admitted of being ideologically and politically dependent on China's line during the 1970s. Interviews with Ayis Tsaras, Thessaloniki, 29 August 2011, 18 July 2013; Yorgis Gikas, Menidi, 22 June 2012; and Christos Bistis, Athens, 19 June 2009.

511. Yorgos Hatzopoulos, interview with the author, Athens, 29 November 2012; Yorgos

Sinophiles". The same label was applied by authors that wrote biographies and autobiographic novels at this time.

To have described them thus was, in fact, more or less about right. From 1963 to 1967, the publishing group released more than fifty different editions—mainly pamphlets. More than thirty of them were translated works of Mao Zedong's and all the rest, apart from two, were translations of other works coming from the CPC and the PRC. I have documented fifty-three different publications based on the aforementioned cross-check of price lists, library catalogues and personal archives. Seven books and pamphlets were published in 1963, twelve in 1964, nineteen during the following year, twelve in 1966 and just two during the first trimester of 1967. From October 1964 to February 1966, the publishing group also published the political review *Anagennisi*. Twenty issues were published, nine of which were double; 52% of the total content was made up of translations of articles from Chinese publications.<sup>512</sup>

During one of our discussions, Isaak Iordanides tackled the issue of the Chinese orientation of the group's publications without being asked. "That's what people wanted!" he said, in probably the only moment he was defensive about anything in his past.<sup>513</sup> Iordanides both admitted that the group was rebuked for its ultra-Sinophile publishing programme and at the same time he claimed that this was done to satisfy its audience. While the statement of Iordanides might be conceived as an excuse, it cannot be totally dismissed. The global frenzy around Mao's *Little Red Book* is not

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Karabelias interview with the author, Athens, 28 September 2012, 30 May 2013; Teos Romvos and Hara Pelekanou interview with the author, Athens, 25 September 2012. Ayis Tsaras recalled rice being thrown at one of his comrades during his Student Union's general assembly by a rival group, as he was considered to be "Chinese". Ayis Tsaras, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 29 August 2011. See, also, Kornetis, *Children*, 136–138, 155; Halikias, *Prin ke Meta*, 157–158.

512. For the last four issues the percentage of translations increase to almost 74%, with the last issue's content being made up of translations alone. Percentages are derived by the division of pages of translations to the total sum of pages of each issue and the average was calculated from the calculated percentages.

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

irrelevant to this discussion.<sup>514</sup> The fact that EDA as the official party of the Greek Left selectively published the positions of China while promoting those of the Soviet Union created a demand for the positions of the Soviet Union's counterpart since this was considered to be a crucial issue for the future of the international communist movement.

#### PUBLISHING PLANS THAT WERE NEVER FULFILLED

There are indications that the group realised that it should move beyond—but not away from—China. Still, its publishing programme was entrapped in an old communist logic. In this context, the group published a booklet by Joseph Stalin, and as I will show in the next section doing so implied that more of Stalin's works would follow.

Through an assessment of the handwritten notes of the group, it is clear that in early 1967 it was considering other “classic” Marxist texts beyond Mao and Stalin and was even considering publishing novels. One proposal was to publish Karl Marx and Frederick Engel's *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* as well as Nikolai Ostrovsky's classic novel (for left-wingers), *How the Steel Was Tempered*. The latter was to be translated from the original, most probably by Isaak Iordanides since he was the only Russian-speaking member of the group.<sup>515</sup> Another note refers to the future publication of Lenin's *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* as well as work by Andrei Zhdanov.<sup>516</sup>

The group was also considering publishing material of its own. This would cover its positions on issues, such as the Cyprus question and the group's political manifesto.<sup>517</sup> This came after the collective founded a pub-

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514. For example, see Cook, *Little Red Book*. Jan Luc Godard's *La Chinoise* also depicts this frenzy and excessive Sinophilia.

515. Folder 5, Box 483, EDA Archive, ASKI.

516. Ibid. It is unclear which of Zhdanov's work was to be published since in the note the word *kritikes*, which is translated as “critiques”, “criticisms” or “reviews” was written. Unfortunately, I was not able to trace any work by Zhdanov that included any of these words in its title.

517. Ibid.

lic political group called SPAK<sup>518</sup> in April 1967, just before the coup took place. Furthermore, the group planned to publish another two FLP books on the Cultural Revolution.<sup>519</sup>

#### AN ODD BOOK RELEASE JUST BEFORE THE 21 APRIL 1967 COUP

The last book published before the 1967 coup was a work by Stalin.<sup>520</sup> At first glance, this was a quite odd edition and rather different from any of the other publications of the group. First of all, no information on the original work is provided. Secondly, it is the only edition from the group where the translator's name is not given; only the initials are printed. Also, the edition was supposedly published in Thessaloniki and not Athens, like all the others. It has a plain reddish cover, where the name of the author is printed alongside the name of the work, and since it is part of a larger volume of works of Stalin the name of the volume is also written along with the Latin number "I" in brackets. Furthermore, *Istorikes Ekdoseis* in capital letters along with the name and date are written at the bottom of the cover pages. Looking inside makes things even more complicated. This was the only book where footnotes of the translator were included and the typesetting seemed off and old-fashioned, compared with all the other books by the group. Coming across this booklet was very puzzling. Not only was the information provided by the booklet itself odd and limited but the various agents belonging to the group at the time with whom I discussed it could not recall it.

Towards the end of writing this dissertation, I came across a volume of Stalin's works in a private archive. It was published in 1950 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, in exile in Bucharest. When

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518. *Sinepis Politiki Aristeri Kinisi* [Consistent Political Left Movement]. The Manifesto was published in the group's weekly newspaper *Laikos Dromos* 11 (8 April 1967) and was reproduced as a pamphlet during the dictatorship.

519. These were two out of four volumes that were released at the time. A total of ten volumes were published from 1966 to 1969. The first two were already published by *Istorikes Ekdoseis*. Guo Zian, Yongyi Song, and Yuan Zhou (eds.), *Historical Dictionary of the Chinese Cultural Revolution* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 422.

520. I. V. Stalin, *Provimata Leninismou: E vasis tou Leninismou* [Problems of Leninism: The Foundations of Leninism] (Thessaloniki: *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, 1967) [in Greek].

I decided to browse through it, everything became clear. The group had produced a facsimile of the first chapter of the volume produced in 1950, while the indication “(I)” implies that they would reproduce the other chapters as well. The choice to reproduce the volume in a series rather than as a whole is probably related to the limited financial resources of both the group and its audience; earlier publishing failures in terms of sales had chastened the collective.

But there are still a number of questions unanswered. Why did the group present the booklet as its own translation and production while omitting the information regarding the original translation and translated source? Should this be considered as an attempt at plagiarism or copyright infringement? If judged by today’s standards, one would undoubtedly regard it as such. That is why it is essential to historicise our findings and the publishing field per se. Even publishing became complicated within the framework of the institutional anti-communism in post-Second World War Greece. Legislation against communism and the Communist Party of Greece was not abolished before 1974 and that included propaganda, such as, books and pamphlets. Thus, the reproduction and distribution of a publication that was first published by the outlawed Communist Party of Greece could get the group into trouble with the authorities as it could be considered as dissemination of communist propaganda.<sup>521</sup> I argue that for these reasons, the group presented the booklet as a creation of its own translated by a ghost translator. During these turbulent times publishing entities of the political publishing field were not worried about financial failure—as their counterparts in trade publishing were—but rather feared being jailed or exiled.

BETWEEN OLD AND NEW LEFT: THE GENERATIONAL GAP  
IN LEFT-WING PUBLISHING

During the period 1963–1967, Istorikes Ekdoseis attempted to acquire and promote works of Mao Zedong and the CPC as a clear act of siding with the

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521. Raymond Detrez, “Greece: Modern”, in *Censorship: A World Encyclopedia*, vol 1–4, ed. Derek Jones (New York: Routledge, 2015), 982–984.

latter against the Soviets. As discussed in previous chapters, the organisation was the publishing arm of a political group that established and operated a range of publishing activities, including *Anagennisi* and the weekly newspaper *Laikos Dromos*.<sup>522</sup>

The group appeared not to wish to break from a tradition of conventional communist politics since it insisted on publishing Mao. But by choosing to expand its publishing program to include Stalin and other Marxist classics and Soviet literature, was certainly indicating a desire to go beyond a one-dimensional, Sinophile publishing programme. The combination of Soviet and Chinese literature as well as the conventional form used, place *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and *Anagennisi* squarely within the Old Left print culture at a time when the New Left print culture was on the rise.<sup>523</sup> An example is the case of *Spoudastikos Kosmos*, where new forms were combined with content that was strictly ideological but also considered issues of art and culture. Thanasis Rentzis, a then young left-winger involved with cinema (and now an established cinema director in Greece) recalled the group's publishing activity: too old-fashioned and banal for his taste. It was the 1960s and a young left-winger's needs could not be met by the language and style of the previous generation.<sup>524</sup>

The only exception to this rule came from the city of Thessaloniki. While in Athens the dominant figures of Hontzeas and Iordanides defined the publishing politics of the group, in Thessaloniki the group was dominated by university students who had reached out to the Athenian group. These former members of EDA and the Dimokratiki Neolea Lambraki [Democratic Youth Lambraki (DNL)] youth broke with their former comrades and created their own student organisation, which was linked with *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and *Anagennisi*. Prior to the official formation

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522. The newspaper was published in late January 1967 and until April 1967. Unfortunately, no copies of its issues were traced in any library and archive so that it could be assessed.

523. Kristin Mathews, "The Medium, the Message, the Movement: Print Culture and New Left Politics", in *Pressing the Fight: Print, Propaganda, and the Cold War*, eds. Gregory Barnhisel and Catherine C. Turner (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010), 31–49.

524. Thanasis Rentzis, interview with the author, Athens, 23 December 2014.



of their organisation, Proodeftiki Panspoudastiki Sindikalistiki Parataksi (Progressive All-Students' Syndicalists Organisation (PPSP)), they started publishing their own monthly student magazine. Actually, they republished a defunct student magazine of Thessaloniki left-wing students from the early 1960s.

The magazine *Spoudastikos Kosmos* [Student World]<sup>525</sup> was more advanced than *Anagennisi* both in terms of form and content and was closer to the New Left perspective floating about in the West during that time. Prior to its reissue it had circulated irregularly and was known for its innovative covers and form in general. The latter was made possible by the introduction of offset printing and the possibilities it provided for design innovation and experimentation.

The significance of offset printing cannot be comprehended in full without a comparison of the form of the magazine before and after its introduction in the Greek printing industry. The first issues of the magazine, then a newspaper, were printed with the use of offset lithography. The offset lithography created issues are very old-school in view and resembled those published at the same time for an older and certainly conservative audience. The potential that offset printing gave to the editorial committee of the magazine was fully exploited. Furthermore, those forming the committee were able to use their talents and abilities in favour of the magazine. One of its members, Alkis Sahinis—art and photography lover—took photos for the magazine's covers.<sup>526</sup> According to Ayis Tsaras, another member of the magazine and PPSP, who was then a student of architecture, two of his comrades used to take photos of the various articles they wrote and then

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525. Before its Marxist–Leninist or Maoist turn, the magazine released six issues from 1963 until 1965. The editorial committee and founders were left-wing students; later on, moderate students also joined the effort. In 1966 the defunct magazine resumed operations under the dissident left-wing students that were politically close to *Anagennisi*. Nine issues, one of which was a double, were published from 1966 until April 1967, as the organ of PPSP.

526. Stergios Delialis, graphic designer, and founder of the first design museum in Greece recalled painting a slogan on a wall for Sahinis to photograph. As mentioned in a previous chapter, that photo became a cover of a *Spoudastikos Kosmos* issue. Delialis was not politically active but wanted to help his friend. Stergios Delialis, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 21/08/2014).

they used the films to compose each page of the magazine. One of his two comrades, Elias Moutopoulos, was a student of architecture as well and had created a dark room in his student apartment. The other was Tasos Darveris whose family owned a photography studio.<sup>527</sup>

A typewriter, a few pens, a camera and a self-made dark room were more than adequate to create a monthly magazine, with the help of an off-set printer of course. The time-consuming typesetting was now replaced by film and specialised typesetters were also replaced by the young activists that became both authors and (up to a point) technical producers. Technological innovations were highly important for three reasons. First, the minimisation of time needed from content creation to printing offered the opportunity of creating periodicals on a regular basis. In the past, it had been difficult for activists to publish to a consistent schedule. Moreover, the new technology made publishing cheaper. Young activists often lacked capital even more than they lacked time. The democratisation of publishing—for a number of procedures there was no longer a need for specialists—consequently reduced the cost of production, making it possible for small groups of young people like our group to publish. The wholehearted involvement of all members in producing a periodical they completely owned is highly important in their formed memories. Ayis Tsaras is very critical of his former comrades in terms of the politics of the group he himself had helped to found. Nevertheless, he recalled *Spoudastikos Kosmos* and his comrades-in-arms with affection.<sup>528</sup>

Unlike *Anagennisi*, *Spoudastikos Kosmos* had a more vivid and modern profile. While the various contributors to the magazine were as ideologically and politically hardcore as their mentors at *Anagennisi*, they chose to publish a broader range of content, which was not limited to political and ideological articles. During its second period, as an organ of PPSP, *Spoudastikos Kosmos* published articles on Greek poetry and literature, theatre, linguistics, cinema, science and history. The magazine's themes ranged from the French new wave cinema of Agnès Varda and

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527. Ayis Tsaras, interviews with the author, Thessaloniki, 29 August 2011; 18 July 2013.

528. Ibid.

Chris Marker<sup>529</sup> and Bertolt Brecht and his work in original translations<sup>530</sup> to Vietnam and US imperialism.<sup>531</sup> The editorial committee and PPSP members, in general, were able not only to write on topics of their interest but also experiment with how their topics were presented, such as photographic tributes, pagination and cover creation.

The magazine, during its Marxist–Leninist period, had an estimated print run of 2,000.<sup>532</sup> It was run by an editorial committee in Thessaloniki while an auxiliary committee was formed in Athens. The “friends” from Athens used to send their handwritten articles to Thessaloniki, where they were typed and paginated. At some point, the Athenian committee tried to take editorial control of the pieces coming from there and proposed to send them typewritten and paginated. This was not accepted by the Thessaloniki branch.<sup>533</sup> While the Athenian branch was closer to the leadership of

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529. Zisis Yianniotis, “Cinema: Agnès Varda and Chris Marker”, *Spoudastikos Kosmos* 7 (1966): 32–33 [in Greek].

530. Ayis Tsaras presented Brecht’s the play “Fear and Misery of the Third Reich” and his own translation of “Peat bog Soldiers”, one of the play’s acts, in *Spoudastikos Kosmos* 8 (April 1966): 21–23 [in Greek].

531. Grigoris Troufakos, “Aferoma ston agona tou vietnmezikou laou” [Tribute to the Vietnamese People’s Struggle], *Spoudastikos Kosmos* 12 (January 1967): 21–28 and Tasos Darveris, “Ta dogmata tou amerikanikou imperialismou–To dogma Eisenhower” [US Imperialism’s Doctrines–Eisenhower’s Doctrine], *Spoudastikos Kosmos* 12 (January 1967): 29–31 [both in Greek].

532. The remainders of the *Spoudastikos Kosmos* branch in Athens can also be found in the ASKI. One of the pieces of information retrieved from the remainders is that 700–800 copies of each issue were sent to Athens from Thessaloniki, where the magazine was issued and where the majority of the youth group was based. I assume that the minority received around 40% of the overall print run thus the total would be around 2000 copies. Folder 1, Box 299, EDA Archive, ASKI.

Pantelis Makris, one of the founding members told me in his interview that he himself had sold thousands of copies of a single issue he could not recall. In my opinion this is an excessive claim and a number of sales close to the overall print run is more probable. Pantelis Makris, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 1 August 2011. *Panspoudastiki* [All-Students], a periodical that was backed by the official left-wing party of EDA in that period, aimed at a 4,000 copy print run and sales ranging from 2,000 to 3,000 copies in Athens. Folder 2, Box 299, EDA Archive, ASKI.

533. Two-page letter of the Editorial Committee of Thessaloniki of *Spoudastikos Kosmos* to its Athenian counterpart, 6 October 1966, Folder 1, Box 299, EDA Archive, ASKI.

*Anagennisi*, the Thessaloniki branch did not accept being subordinated—or even being equal—to the comrades in Athens.<sup>534</sup>

The new, broader spirit of *Spoudastikos Kosmos*—in contrast to that of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and *Anagennisi*—could be perceived as a step closer to that adopted in print by the global New Left. The symbolic capital of the older comrades who spent their lives in exile or in prison could not be easily overlooked and thus confined the PPSPers of Athens. The fact that such symbolic capital could not be traced in Thessaloniki, where the old-timers were far fewer and had no real interaction with the youth,<sup>535</sup> gave the PPSPers the liberty to create a magazine of their choice.

### *The Forms of Capital of Istorikes Ekdoseis*

I will now analyse the different forms of capital accumulated by *Istorikes Ekdoseis* either at its starting point or through its activity over time. Where possible, I will proceed to generalisations regarding the political publishing field. Periodising through the first period of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* from 1963 until 1967 will provide an overview of the function and internal logic of a political publishing house of the time, and of the interaction between politics and ideology with publishing. The reader should always bear in mind that the generalisations are framed within the historical context of the era and of Greece. The latter does not necessarily mean that the conclusions drawn do not fit other countries or eras. On the contrary, I argue that similarities may be found with political publishing in other countries during the *long sixties*. Moreover, while the characteristics of the political publishing field differ significantly from other fields of different space and time, one should always use field theory as a guide or general framework rather than a set of rules that apply in every case.

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534. Yorgos Karabelias, a founding member of PPSP in Athens and contributor of *Spoudastikos Kosmos* implied in his interviews that his comrades in Thessaloniki were more independent and militant. Yorgos Karabelias, interview with the author, Athens, 28 September 2012; 30 May 2013.

535. Pantelis Makris, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 1 August 2011.

## THE HUMAN CAPITAL OF ISTORIKES EKDOSEIS

I will now give a brief overview of the main agents that constituted the human capital of this publishing entity in terms of their political and publishing prehistory and their position within the publishing entity. After a brief overview of their political and publishing past, I will attempt to identify some basic characteristics concerning the publishing entity's human capital.

Yannis Hontzeas was born in 1930 in Koroni, a village of Peloponnese. He was organised into the left-wing movement from the age of eleven until his death in 1994. He found himself in exile from 1947 for his political beliefs. He was released in May 1958 and returned to Athens where he had lived prior to his exile. In Athens, he was politically active within EDA's youth branch despite his political differences with EDA itself.<sup>536</sup> Furthermore, after his release, he occasionally worked as a proofreader and this was his only experience in publishing until 1963. Upon his release, he functioned as a member of EDA. In addition, he had language skills, probably learned in exile. English was taught by his co-exiles before their capture, and it is from them that he probably picked this and other languages up.<sup>537</sup> A quite extraordinary fact is that the majority of his translating work was done from French, a language he did not seem to have mastered. Of course, as Iordanides noted, many of the texts published by Istorikes Ekdoseis had been published in the 1950s by the Morfosi publishing house.<sup>538</sup> These first translations were often used as a canvas, or a draft, that the translators of Istorikes Ekdoseis consulted and tried to improve on. Although it is unquestionable that Istorikes Ekdoseis was functioning as a collective, the role of Hontzeas as the key agent is indisputable. He was the main translator and proofreader.<sup>539</sup>

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536. Isaak Iordanides "For Yannis Hontzeas", *Proletariaki Simea* 12 November 1994 [in Greek], accessed 24 May 2017, [https://antigeitonies.blogspot.gr/2016/05/blog-post\\_77.html](https://antigeitonies.blogspot.gr/2016/05/blog-post_77.html).

537. Antonis I. Flountzis, *Sto stratopedo tu Ai-Strati, 1950–1962* [*At Ai Stratis's camp, 1950–1962*], Athens: K. Kapopoulos, 1986, 92–95 [in Greek].

538. Mais, "Marxist–Leninist Publishing", 39–40, 54 (footnote 104).

539. There is no reference of proof-readers in any of the published material—while all books have the full name of the translator(s) apart from one that only has initials—but through

Hontzeas' comrade in arms, Isaak Iordanides, was not released before the abolition of all exile camps in 1962—apart from a one month leave he was allowed in 1960.<sup>540</sup> Upon his release, he returned to Drapetsona—a working-class neighbourhood in the Piraeus district of Athens—where he had lived from 1945 and until his exile.<sup>541</sup> Iordanides was born in the former Soviet Union, in 1928, where he and his family had lived until 1939 when they migrated to Greece. He thus had a good working knowledge of the Russian language. His Russian language skills led him to translate a few entries for the *World Soviet Encyclopaedia*—published by the Kypseli publishing house from 1963 onwards—the only publishing experience he acquired before Istorikes Ekdoseis.<sup>542</sup> As we will detail further below, this skill turned out to be very helpful for the “anti-Soviet” Istorikes Ekdoseis. He was also politically active in EDA upon his release.

The third member of Istorikes Ekdoseis was Aristidis Tsambazis. It was not possible to acquire much information on Tsambazis since he split from this political and publishing circle just a few weeks before the military dictatorship of 1967. Thus, the narrative(s) I later present regarding Istorikes Ekdoseis and *Anagennisi* make no reference to him. I discovered his name in the archival remainders of Istorikes Ekdoseis and it was then, after I mentioned him, that some of his fellow comrades—Isaak Iordanides and Roza Economou in particular—began to include him in their oral testimonies.<sup>543</sup> He was an older co-exile of Hontzeas and Iordanides—who were in their thirties—and was more of an old-school communist.<sup>544</sup> He came

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oral testimonies we know that proofreading was taking place primarily by Hontzeas and secondarily by Iordanides.

540. “To chroniko tis exorias” [The Exile Chronicle], Musio exoriston [The Exile Museum] [in Greek], accessed 24 May 2017, <https://www.exile-museum.gr>.

541. “Perase stin istoria o s. Isaak Iordanides” [Comrade Isaak Iordanides passed into history], *Laikos Dromos*, 30 April 2015 [in Greek], accessed 31 May 2017, <http://morfotikese-kdoseis.gr/?q=content/πέρασε-στην-ιστορία-ο-σ-ισαάκ-ιορδανίδης>.

542. Mais, “Marxist–Leninist Publishing”, 43 footnote 79.

543. Isaak Iordanides, interview with the author, Drapetsona, 28 September 2012; Roza Economou, interview with Konstantinos Lambrakis, Athens, 4 November 2014 (notes kindly provided to the author).

544. Roza Economou, interview with Konstantinos Lambrakis, Athens, 4 November 2014 (notes kindly provided to the author).

from the north of Greece and he probably stayed in Athens after his release from exile. We cannot be certain when that was but surely after 1956 since what unified these co-exiles was their common political stance during the 1956 debate. Nevertheless, he was the only one with actual experience in publishing since he was a door-to-door bookseller, a very typical form of employment for former exiles. He promoted the books of Istorikes Ekdoseis through his work and contact network. My findings imply that as far as the latter is concerned he was not that successful. This was due to the acute political confrontation between Istorikes Ekdoseis on one hand and EDA and his former comrades, who were now publishers or booksellers, on the other. Such was the case of Alexiadis previously presented. These three were full-time members of the publishing group and earned their living from their work in the political publishing field until 1967.

The fourth key agent was Dimitris Kaniaris. Like Tsambazis, he was not active after 1967, passing into oblivion. Kaniaris was an accountant and he helped out the publishing entity with his skills in economics and finance, organising the accounting and tax procedures. According to Roza Economou, Kaniaris supported the publishing activity financially through his salary as an accountant.<sup>545</sup> There were other members of the political entity that helped out in the everyday tasks. For example, according to notes found in the archival remainders Alekos [Tegos]—another co-exile of the four and who at the time worked as a door-to-door salesman—was helping out with external work, such as going to various Athenian bookstores on behalf of Istorikes Ekdoseis.<sup>546</sup> Isaak Iordanides verified that the name Alekos on the notes probably responds to Tegos, and explicitly stated that he was a door-to-door bookseller. Paradoxically, in the *Anagennisi* review—in early 1965—he is referred to as a waiter.<sup>547</sup> It can be safely assumed—due

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545. Roza Economou, interview with the author, Athens, 19 February 2012; Isaak Iordanides interview with the author, 23 February 2012.

546. Folder 5, box 483, EDA Archive.

547. “E oportunistiki igesia tis EDA antimetopizi me “diagrafes” tus sinepis agonistes-meli ke stelechi tis EDA” [EDA’s Opportunist Leadership Faces the Consistent Militants—Members and Cadres of EDA—with “Expulsions”], *Anagennisi*, 3–4 (December 1964–January 1965), 60, 64–65 [in Greek].

to their content—that the notes with references to Tegos, although undated, are from 1967. Therefore, it is probable that two years later Tegos shifted to another profession, especially to one dominated by people with his political characteristics and background.

The translation weight fell mainly on the shoulders of Yiannis Hontzeas. Nevertheless, Roza Economou (a chemist), Costis Papaioannou (an architect student), and others helped out with translating as part of their political duties. Economou, apart from her translations from English, further supported the attempt financially through her salary since she worked as a chemist.<sup>548</sup> She became an integral part of the initial core thanks to Papaioannou, who was expelled from the School of Architecture of the National Technical University of Athens due to his student activism reached out to and later on joined the political group. His contact was a fellow student of his who was already part of the group. Since he was expelled and had a lot of spare time, he actively assisted Hontzeas with translations from English to Greek.<sup>549</sup>

It is evident that the human resources of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* were limited to a number of agents who were ideologically and politically aligned. The initial publishing circle of former co-exiles was enriched as their political circle expanded. Thus, we find political capital transformed into human capital. Through the short overview of each agent's biography, it is clear that their past in publishing was limited—to say the least. Even in the case of Aristidis Tsambazis—who had already been a bookseller before the establishment of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*—one should not assume he was particularly experienced. Door-to-door bookselling became widely popular during the post-War era primarily in Athens and secondarily in Thessaloniki. Tsambazis grew up in northern Greece where it is highly unlikely that he practised this profession in the interwar years or during the Second World War. The translation and proofreading skills of the founding team were limited, empirical and acquired in unorthodox places, including in exile. The group made no use of graphic designers or illustrators.

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548. Roza Economou, interview with the author, Athens, 19 February 2012; Roza Economou, interview with Konstantinos Lambrakis, Athens, 4 November 2014 (notes kindly provided to the author).

549. Costis Papaioannou, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 8 June 2009.



PRIMARY ACCUMULATION OF SYMBOLIC CAPITAL, SOCIAL CAPITAL  
AND THE ABSENCE OF INTELLECTUAL CAPITAL

The reaction of EDA cadre Alexiadis, quoted on p. 157, is indicative of the reception that Istorikes Ekdoseis' publishing program received from the EDA leadership. This first book was enough for Istorikes Ekdoseis to make a name for itself—as well as to create enemies. At the same time, it was the source for the initial accumulation of symbolic capital by the collective. The heavy volume might have been an economic failure due to its cost. At the same time, it was a necessary praxis in order for Istorikes Ekdoseis to establish its presence as a distinct agent of the political publishing field. As J. B. Thompson put it, “it is important to see that economic capital and symbolic capital do not necessarily go hand in hand”. As he further explains, the reason that these two forms of capital do not necessarily intertwine is that, as in our case, a firm can successfully build up “substantial stocks of symbolic capital” even if it lacks economic capital. This is achieved by “gaining a reputation for itself that far exceeds its strength in sheer economics terms”.<sup>550</sup>

The accumulation of symbolic capital was maximised with the publication of Mao Zedong's works. Mao Zedong had been an iconic figure during the 1960s, connecting his name with the anti-colonial struggles in the so-called “Third World” as well as with the Cultural Revolution. Both had been influential for the left-wing movements—especially the student movement—of the time on a global scale. Becoming the sole Greek publisher of Mao Zedong's work during the 1960s provided a specialist niche to the publishing group. The fact that the publishing firm was indirectly recognised by the Chinese further on added value to it.<sup>551</sup>

The above is supported by a rather unexpected source—Constantine “Connie” Poulos, a Greek–American, Pulitzer Prize-winning, liberal jour-

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

551. *Peking Review* published a translation of an *Anagennisi* article in 1966 (“China's Great Cultural Revolution Will Decide the Future of the World”, *Peking Review* 9, no. 50 (9 December 1966): 18–19.

nalist.<sup>552</sup> Poulos was a correspondent from Greece during the Second World War and until the mid-1940s for the *Overseas News Agency*. In August 1965, he sent a two-page report from Athens. The very first paragraph of his report is about this Marxist–Leninist cell: “Within the Communist Party of Greece—which has been an important factor in Greek political affairs for over 30 years—a strong pro-Beijing faction is now developing”.<sup>553</sup> Poulos then goes on to describe the “pro-Moscow” Communist Party of Greece, which, according to him, was under pressure from the aforementioned faction. He makes specific reference to the “large-scale defections from the communist-led student organizations” and the alignment of the defectors with the pro-Beijing faction. The last half-page of his report is solely on the publishing activity of the cell:

A theoretical monthly magazine, titled “Rebirth”,<sup>554</sup> appears to be the fulcrum of the pro-Peking agitation and propaganda in Greece.

This magazine, which was started less than a year ago follows an unswerving Chinese communist position. It is a good-sized publication, well-edited, and well-printed.

[...]

A publishing firm here, named “Historical Documents”,<sup>555</sup> has printed and is selling at a low cost — and on the instalment plan — a series of books and pamphlets, in Greek, on the Chinese Revolution, Peking’s fight with Moscow, Peking’s stand on the Vietnam crisis, etc. Nineteen pamphlets by Mao Tse-tung have also been published in Greek by this firm.

It is impossible to determine the strength of the pro-Chinese factor in the Greek Left at this time. But is fermenting [*sic*], and in time will become a serious factor in the Greek political situation.<sup>556</sup>

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552. Poulos was a correspondent from Greece during the Second World War and until the mid-1940s for the *Overseas News Agency*. In 1965, he was the Athens correspondent of the *North American Newspaper Alliance*.

553. Folder 18, Box 8, John Poulos and Constantine Poulos Papers TAM.114, Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archive, New York University, New York.

554. i.e., *Anagennisi*.

555. i.e., *Istorikes Ekdoseis*.

556. *Ibid.* Annotation in the original.

Poulos was most likely covering the Greek political crisis that sparked off in July 1965 and ended in August.<sup>557</sup> Writing a news report on the Greek Left is not unusual; this was the Cold War era and Greece was one of its theatres. What is extraordinary is that the “pro-Peking faction” is foregrounded in Poulos’s assessment. At the time, the “faction” had no organised presence in the mass student movement and no political front. It is unlikely that it had more than one or two hundred open supporters. At the same time, the “Moscow-oriented” EDA had 22 seats in the Greek parliament, thousands of supporters and offices and youth clubs in dozens of cities, towns and villages. Furthermore, it had labour and student organisations, two daily newspapers and a number of periodicals and publishing houses that were either affiliated directly or belonged to members and supporters. Nevertheless, Poulos focused on the minuscule group rather than the established party.

I argue that Poulos’ focus on this group stems from the significant symbolic capital it accumulated through its publishing activity, through which the group established itself as a political player within the Greek Left. Its distinctive pro-Chinese content, the quality of the publications and the low cost—which made it accessible to low-income students—were fundamental. They allowed the publishing projects to become an important agent of the Greek political publishing field and the political group to become one of the Greek Left. Negative propaganda on behalf of the Communist Party of Greece and the party of EDA also contributed to the group’s accumulation of symbolic capital. Dissenters of EDA and the Communist Party of Greece would gain knowledge of the group and more specifically its publishing activity through the polemics of the former; polemics that were based on the publishing activity of the latter.<sup>558</sup>

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557. For a brief overview of this historical event, see Panos Kontogiannis, “The July Apostasy of 1965 in Greece; A Royal Coup Leading to the Regime of the Colonels”, accessed 10 August 2017, <http://www.stichtingjason.nl/the-july-apostasy-of-1965-in-greece-a-royal-coup-leading-to-the-regime-of-the-colonels>.

558. Each article of EDA and CPG was countered in *Anagennisi* thus we have a complete overview of the range of the polemics. See *Anagennisi* issues: 2 (November 1964), 5, 8–9, 83–95; 3–4 (December 1964–January 1965), 19–20, 32–66; 5 (February 1965), 29–48; 6 (March 1965), 16–37; 7–8 (April–May 1965), 24–30; 9 (June 1965), 6–15, 19, 10–11 (July–August 1965), 24–26; 12 (September 1965), 1–11, 13; 13–14 (October–November 1965),

Poulos's report is indicative of the symbolic capital the group had accumulated through its publishing activity. A group with limited financial resources, and a relatively small and unprofessional publishing and distribution mechanism was able to produce relatively high-quality publications with a very specific ideological and political mark. It could easily be considered rather remarkable that this band of unprofessional publishers were considered to produce "well-edited" and "well-printed" material. Nevertheless, we must bear in mind that within the political publishing field amateurism—and not professionalism—was the predominant feature. As we have seen throughout the dissertation, poorly-translated, un-edited texts printed on cheap paper were the canon. The fact that the group sought to work collectively—despite its limited experience in publishing—contributed to the increased quality of the publishing outcome. This probably created a false impression of the actual strength and size of the group.

On the other hand, the specific political and ideological mark made it possible for the group to acquire a distinct position within the political publishing field despite its lack of other resources and sources of capital. Establishing a firm position within the field is essential for a publishing agent. It gives the agent credibility, in terms of quality, and it forms an audience for itself.

Symbolic capital had even greater value due to the lack of intellectual capital. In a time when the political publishing field was constituted by titles coming from Marxist and communist figures—including Marx and Mao, Lenin and Ernest Mandel—the lack of copyright led to inability for publishing groups seeking to acquire and accumulate intellectual capital. In order for a publishing group to be "nominated" as the rightful representative of a specific ideological or political trend, it had to cultivate political ties with sources of symbolic capital, in this case, the PRC and the CPC. Social capital took the form of political ties between international counterparts. Social capital was then partially transformed back into symbolic capital

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25–30; 15–16 (December 1965–January 1966), 14–20; 17 (February 1966), 1–15, 17, 19–23, 28–34; 20–21 (May–June 1966), 23 (August 1966), 21; 26–27 (November–December 1966), 8–9, 12–13.

for Istorikes Ekdoseis in relation to its local (Greek) audience), given that translated and published texts also carried the *aura* of the original source and the publishing group established itself as the counterpart of the source. As we will see later on, during the second period of Istorikes Ekdoseis, there was strife as to which group would become the official counterpart of China. This was a time when more than one political and publishing group in Greece referred to the same ideological current. Therefore, it was crucial to develop official ties with China in order to accumulate the symbolic capital that only a formal connection could bring.

ECONOMIC CAPITAL: THE FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL ASPECT  
OF ISTORIKES EKDOSEIS

Istorikes Ekdoseis was initially formed as a corporate entity, a private company of Hontzeas but was very soon transformed into a general partnership among the four aforementioned former co-exiles. According to a handwritten note, Yannis [Hontzeas] had 35%, Aristos [Tsambazis] had 35%, Isaak [Iordanides] had 20% and 10% belonged to Dimitris [Kaniaris]. The latter was cross-referenced with Isaak Iordanides' tax returns for 1966 and 1967 where he was accountable for his 20% shareholding in Istorikes Ekdoseis.<sup>559</sup> According to Isaak Iordanides, these were all a facade since the four of them were disinclined to identify as shareholders, nor did they share any dividends. It was not unusual for political publishing entities to ostensibly obey commercial and tax law to cover their actual purposes and so that they would not find themselves in trouble with the authorities. Even Kalvos, which was much closer to a trade publisher in comparison to Istorikes Ekdoseis, functioned as a collective both as far as the division of labour is concerned and in terms of the payment system, where a standard daily wage was paid. The daily wage equalled that of an unskilled worker, regardless of the work done and equal bonuses would be given in profitable years to every member of the collective.<sup>560</sup>

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559. Folder 7, box 483, EDA Archive, ASKI.

560. Yorgos Hatzopoulos, interview with the author, Athens, 21 February 2013.

The oral testimony of Roza Economou—a founding member, as mentioned—supports the claim of Isaak Iordanides as far as Istorikes Ekdoseis is concerned.<sup>561</sup> Iordanides had also stressed in his testimony that the early troika of Hontzeas, Tsambazis and himself was soon replaced by a wider collective in terms of the actual ownership of profits and losses. Even if the troika did not share the profits, when there actually were any, it still ran the operations by itself during the first months. About a year after the first book was out, in the summer of 1964, a number of people—mainly former co-exiles of the troika—gathered and decided to form a political organisation. This Marxist–Leninist cell would launch a monthly review and from then onwards the publishing house and the review to be launched would be the publishing arm of the cell. Thus, Istorikes Ekdoseis and *Anagennisi*—launched in October that year—ceased being the projects of the troika and were now the projects of the cell. The troika continued to work full-time on the projects earning a minimum wage from the political group. The cell organised members in unions, such as that of waiters, but soon organised students. The new members could not actually provide any substantial financial support since they were not wealthy, but the broader base expanded the audience that the publishing projects could reach and indirectly supported the group in terms of sales.

Less than a handful of members, like Kaniaris and Economou, were financial contributors since they had external sources of income. But the main members' contribution was not financial, it was the sacrifice of their personal time to support the collective. Not only was there a dearth of economic capital for the group, but its target group was equally scarce in terms of economic resources. Due to the financial limitation of the target group the collective tried to produce cheap editions. It furthermore applied a number of policies, such as instalment plans (something common in the Greek publishing field even today, especially with door-to-door sales), subscriptions and discounts.

A full-page advertisement, titled “Interesting Announcement”, was published on the back cover of an *Anagennisi* issue, informing readers of dis-

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561. Roza Economou, interview with the author, Athens, 19 February 2012.

count and instalment plan policies.<sup>562</sup> Four different options were provided. At the time, purchasing the whole backlist of Istorikes Ekdoseis cost 900 drachmas. One could buy a subscription for the full series which would provide a 25% discount. An advanced payment of 100 drachmas would be made and then 50 drachma monthly instalments would proceed until full payment. The whole series would be given to the subscriber upon subscription. A similar plan offered a 15% discount for subscriptions of 500 drachmas with an advanced payment and monthly instalments of 50 drachmas. The third plan, for under 500 drachmas, included a 10% discount, an advanced payment of 50 drachmas and monthly instalments of 20 drachmas. A 40% discount was provided for anyone paying cash. A few months later, in October 1965, the collective received a letter from a person claiming to be a repeat customer from a rural town in Trikala. He stated he would order eighteen titles, so long as the 40% discount for cash payments still applied; otherwise, he would not proceed with the order.<sup>563</sup> Further on, the group's notes raise the question of discounts for students.<sup>564</sup> This was in 1966 when the group started attracting dozens of students in Athens and Thessaloniki. According to the conducted interviews and my research with respect to these students and their socio-economic background, most of them were children of left-wingers of the 1940s. Thus, they belonged to persecuted families that were often in dire financial straits. Others belonged to families coming from the lower middle class while a very small percentage of them belonged to higher socio-economic strata.<sup>565</sup>

In conclusion, the lack of economic capital was common ground for most of the political publishing field agents. This was related not only to the lack of accumulated economic capital to be invested in the first place—due to the fact that most of the agents were left-wingers coming from exile or

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562. "Endiaferusa Anakinosi", *Anagennisi* 9 (June 1965), back cover.

563. Folder 7, box 483, EDA Archive, ASKI.

564. Ibid.

565. According to my research, only one full member, Tasos Darveris, and one affiliated with the student arm of the group, Alkis Sachinis, came from wealthy families. Some, like Pantelis Makris, abandoned their studies for long periods of time to work in order to support themselves.

having served long prison sentences—but also to the limited resources of the reading audience. The cheap editions should be assessed in a strictly financial context but also in a cultural one. Left-wing publishing was viewed by its agents as a means for educating the masses. This is an integral characteristic of left-wing political culture worldwide. Publishing was part of a political culture and its educational aspect that complemented one another. The historian Paul Buhle, once a leading member of the SDS in the United States, recalled his memories from the 1960s:

The available Marxism of the early and middle 1960s at large, offered in pamphlets and study groups, was too often a “party Marxism” of various left entities, and theoretically limited by almost any measurement. The purpose of “party Marxism” was to create loyal cadre, not to encourage creative, let alone independent, thinking.<sup>566</sup>

Buhle’s assessment, based both on his professional expertise as a trained historian and his own personal background—being affiliated with the US New Left of that time and its publishing activity—is more evidence of the mentality of the agents of the field. Their main purpose was to use publishing as a means of converting the readership to their ideas and not to gain profit. Thus, cheap editions were not only an economic strategy but a way to reach a wider audience of potential followers. Trade publishing’s “merchants of culture”, as J. B. Thompson put it, are political publishing’s “prophets of the revolution or radical change”.

#### HUMAN CAPITAL COMPENSATES FOR THE LACK OF ECONOMIC CAPITAL

In trade publishing, it is economic capital that affords the publisher the opportunity to expand its business cycle. Taking under consideration the fact that, at this time, *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, and the vast majority of the field *per se* had no obligation to pay royalties, economic resources were mainly used in order to pay for the production, i.e., printing and binding, cost, as well

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566. Salar Mohandesi (interviewer), “Building Radical America: An Interview with Paul Buhle”, *Jacobin* online, accessed 22 August 2017, <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/09/buhle-new-left-antiwar-sds-civil-rights>.



for the translation and editing, since it exclusively focused on publishing translated works. While the relatively inelastic production cost still had to be paid, the labour cost, as in translation fees, was minimised while the translating supply increased. The expansion of the original political group with the influx of younger and more educated members became the accumulated human capital.

The increase in human capital offered the publishing group the means to expand its publishing list with more titles since its translator team basically tripled. While Hontzeas remained the key translator, the new team members meant more titles could be translated and added to the list for publication. Roza Economou became an integral part of the group as early as 1964 and contributed financially, as we have noted, but mainly as a translator. After his expulsion from the School of Architecture in Athens, Costis Papaioannou became an unpaid full-time translator for the group. Thus, the initial translators' duo of Hontzeas and Iordanides, now also included the very active Roza Economou and Costis Papaioannou as well as Elias Moutopoulos and K[ostas] Georgiou. Elias Moutopoulos was an architect student in Thessaloniki. There is no further information on Georgiou. The new team members also meant translations from English could be produced; until then only translations from French had been possible.

Attracting new cadres through spreading the revolutionary word meant political groups could gradually accumulate human capital as a substitute for the lack of economic capital. The radicalisation of students during the *long sixties* was crucial here. Highly educated human resources, often multilingual, joined publishing entities, supplementing the older generation of left-wingers who often had a "working knowledge" of the language they were translating from, but little training in professional translation. Part of the audience (social capital) were transformed into unpaid translators (human capital) for the group.

### *The Abrupt End of the First Phase of Istorikes Ekdoseis*

On 21 April 1967, a military coup took place in Greece, launching an authoritarian regime that came to be known as the colonels' dictatorship,

which would rule for seven years. Iordanides was captured on the first day of the coup and was subsequently exiled to the island of Leros. Hontzeas, Economou and Panayiotis Kyriazis, another member of the political—but not the publishing—group, met at the offices of Istorikes Ekdoseis. They destroyed part of the archive that contained references to names and addresses of people affiliated with the group and then went underground.<sup>567</sup> The stock of the various publishing projects was confiscated by the regime but resurfaced a few years later—during the dictatorship—in the Athenian flea market of Monastiraki. There was even a debate as to whether the civic police had channelled the confiscated stock of left-wing books and periodicals to the market in order to track and trace the audience. More likely, some police were just looking to make a little extra money on the side.<sup>568</sup> The regime was not that thorough in its confiscation protocols. Hundreds of indexed books could be found in town bookstores<sup>569</sup> or were even left at bookbinders and other shops.

Iordanides recalled receiving a call in 1974—just after the collapse of the dictatorship—from the bookbinder with whom Istorikes Ekdoseis used to collaborate in the pre-dictatorship period. The bookbinder notified Iordanides that there were hundreds of copies belonging to the publishing firm that had remained there during the dictatorship and asked what the firm would like him to do with them.<sup>570</sup> In 1974, Teos Romvos who established Octopus Press—the first anarchist bookstore in Greece, in Exarchia—recalled a similar experience. When he entered the space he had secured to establish his bookstore, he found a stock of Istorikes Ekdoseis books. He incorrectly recalled one of them being written by Hontzeas, probably confusing the customary translator of the group with the author. According to his telling, he posted an announcement that he would give the books for

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567. Roza Economou (Athens, 19/02/2012).

568. Isaak Iordanides (Drapetsona, 23 February 2012, 28 September 2012). Axelos, *Publishing activity and circulation of ideas in Greece*, second ed., Athens: Stochastis, 2008, 75–76 [in Greek].

569. Pappas, *Metaxi Gutemvergiu*, 23.

570. Isaak Iordanides (Drapetsona, 23 February 2012).

free and many Maoists entered his shop for the first (and last) time to take him up on his offer.<sup>571</sup>

THE GROUP GOES UNDERGROUND:  
PUBLISHING DURING THE DICTATORSHIP

Members of the student youth of the group were able to reach the now clandestine members of Istorikes Ekdoseis.<sup>572</sup> At this meeting, it was decided that a small number of younger members would flee the country and setup anti-dictatorship groups abroad, beginning in Paris, where a number of their comrades were already based. Hontzeas, Economou and the rest of the group would stay in Greece and try to establish a clandestine group.<sup>573</sup>

The group established abroad was named Agonistiko Metopo Ellinon Exoteriku (Antiimperialistiko–Antifasistiko) [Militant Front of Greeks Abroad (Anti-Imperialist–Anti-Fascist)] or AMEE and had branches in France, Italy, Germany, Canada, Poland and Sweden.<sup>574</sup> It initially published typewritten and mimeographed monthly information bulletins in Greek, and occasionally in the language of the host country.<sup>575</sup> AMEE reproduced a limited number of Istorikes Ekdoseis pamphlets regarding Mao Zedong works. It later published *Laikos Dromos*—from December 1967— as a monthly political review and it used the name as its imprint. Prior to *Laikos Dromos*, the group published *Salpisma*.<sup>576</sup> *Salpisma* was the publication of a group of mainly graduate students in Paris who were linked with

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571. Teos Romvos and Hara Pelekanou (Athens, 25 September 2012).

572. Yorgis Provelegios (Athens, 10 October 2012)

573. Roza Economou (Athens, 19/02/2012) and Yorgis Provelegios (Athens, 10 October 2012).

574. Yorgos Vavizos wrote about his recollections as an AMEE member in *Etsi Denotan i Karbonara...* that is literally translated as *How the carbonara was tempered*. This is an ironic paraphrase of the classic Soviet work *How the steel was tempered* by Nikolai Ostrovsky.

575. The branch of AMEE in Italy published some bulletins in Italian. According to one of the leading cadres of the branch, Stelios Manousakas, the key reason they published the Italian copies was to gather money for their cause. Stelios Manousakas (Athens, 21 May 2011, 25 June 2013)

576. *Salpisma* may be translated as blare or trump.

Istorikes Ekdoseis and *Anagennisi*. The group published the first issue of *Salpisma*—typewritten and stapled, with a handmade cover—sometime before the coup.<sup>577</sup> The second issue was published in May 1967 with the same printing technique. A special edition followed in September 1967 which comprised a single article written by Hontzeas and titled "Letter from Greece" [in Greek].

*Laikos Dromos* was printed in Italy or France, but its covers were often created in France even when the issue was printed in Italy. AMEE's Paris branch had a dual luxury—use of the infrastructure available for students, such as, art and design studios, as well as having in its ranks architects and students of architecture who had developed a sense of design as well as the required skills.<sup>578</sup> AMEE from 1972 onwards published a monthly newspaper, *Laiki Enotita*,<sup>579</sup> printed in Italy and then distributed Europe-wide and beyond. Many of these publications were reprinted in miniature form, smuggled into Greece and distributed in clandestine circles.<sup>580</sup>

Hontzeas organised a small clandestine group in Greece, mainly in Athens. The group was soon named OMLE. Apart from *Laikos Dromos* that was published abroad, OMLE published a mimeographed monthly information bulletin that was soon replaced by the monthly newspaper *Proletariaki Simea*. Both publications were produced and distributed underground in Greece and issues were also sent to the OMLE and AMEE branches abroad, which often reprinted articles in the publications they produced in their respective countries.

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577. The issue is undated but is clearly written and printed before the coup. The last facts mentioned took place on early February 1967.

578. Ibid.

579. Popular Unity.

580. Stelios Manousakas (Athens, 21 May 2011, 25 June 2013); A presentation on this clandestine network of production and distribution of miniature pamphlets was given by me; Christos Mais, "Mixing Revolution and Pleasure: Visiting Greece during the Colonels' Dictatorship (1967–1974)", *Between Education, Commerce and Adventure. Tourist Experience in Europe since the Interwar Period*, Thomas Mergel / Nikolaos Papadogiannis, Institut für Geschichtswissenschaften, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin; Maren Möhring, Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung Potsdam, 19 September 2013.

*Concluding the First Istorikes Ekdoseis Period*

One of the conclusions that emerges at first glance by exploring the remainders of the archives is that in practice there was no actual division of labour between the different publishing and press projects.<sup>581</sup> In theory, Yiannis Hontzeas was in charge of Istorikes Ekdoseis and Isaak Iordanides was in charge of the monthly review *Anagennisi* launched in October 1964. Both were supposed to be managing the weekly newspaper *Laikos Dromos* launched in January 1967. In practice, the political group functioned as a publishing collective.<sup>582</sup> In other words, the political group behind the projects worked in a more or less unified way in order to process the workload.

The group focused on publishing translated texts from China. While not exclusively so, the choice of Chinese texts was primarily a political one. The group, which began as a book publishing project, later expanded its remit, publishing a monthly review and at the end, a weekly newspaper. From the very beginning, however, it aspired to become a political entity. Its publishing choices thus cannot be seen and assessed strictly as such but within a political context. It managed to acquire publishing and political ties with its Chinese counterparts. This gave it both access to original sources to translate and publish, but more crucially it enabled the group to accumulate symbolic capital.

Indeed, in the end, it all came down to symbolic capital. Symbolic capital enabled the initially small core of former exiles to accumulate human capital, mainly highly educated university students, which provided a much-needed counterbalance to the dearth of economic capital. The political ties that the group acquired with China were transformed into symbolic capital. And the bonds it made with a part of its readership, gradually incorporated into the group, were transformed into human capital.

The colonels' dictatorship forced the closure of all the projects launched in 1967. Key members of the political group were caught and those who avoided captivity went underground. The publishing group reemerged di-

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581. Folders 5–7, box 483, EDA Archive.

582. According to the information printed in *Laikos Dromos*, a committee was in charge of the edition.

rectly after the coup as a clearly political group but kept one of the brand names, *Laikos Dromos*. The reason the group did not revive the publishing projects from before the dictatorship is probably that it did not want to create a direct affiliation of the pre-dictatorship members with the clandestine organisation. This would be incriminating and would have jeopardised both its previous membership and those who were now underground by linking its legal publishing and political activity prior to the coup with its underground activity. The use of *Laikos Dromos* as the name of a monthly review, as well as the reprinting of Istorikes Ekdoseis works and a number of publications that were mere collections of *Anagennisi* articles, created a sense of continuity and the transfer of the pre-dictatorship symbolic capital to the new ventures and projects at the time of the junta.