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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 5

### *The Second Life of Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1974–1981*

On July 1974 the military regime collapsed. Political prisoners were released, those self-exiled and politically active in anti-regime groups abroad started travelling back to Greece and the underground and clandestine groups and individuals resurfaced. Political groups were established (or re-established), and bookstores and publishing project focusing on politics and ideology sprouted like mushrooms in Greek cities. OMLE chose a quasi-underground status with just a handful of public spokespersons, but its various fronts and mass organisations resurfaced. PPSP was re-established, *Spoudastikos Kosmos* and *Laikos Dromos* were relaunched and Istorikes Ekdoseis not only resumed operations but furthermore established a bookstore in Athens and later on one in Thessaloniki.

This final chapter presents a reconstruction of the second period of Istorikes Ekdoseis, between 1974 and 1981. This includes a periodisation of its publishing activity and the forms of capital it acquired over this period. Before proceeding, I must add that there were challenges encountered while conducting the research on this period. First and foremost, the limited archival resources. The remainders of the Istorikes Ekdoseis archive of the time total fewer than a few dozen documents. Second—and quite strikingly, especially when compared to the first period of operation—is the quite limited information offered by the interviewees. While those involved in the first period described times that were not only turbulent but also fulfilling—if not exciting—those engaged in the second period described their work almost as a chore, as something they were not really cut out for or found en-

joyable. The latter could be considered as a shortcoming—the interviewees not being able to give an in-depth presentation of their publishing activity and of the political publishing field in general—but at the same time is a strong indication of a key characteristic of the field. Being an agent of the field was often an outcome of political activity and commitment rather than of a genuine interest in publishing—or of developing the set of skills needed for this line of work.

### From the Collapse of the Dictatorship to the OMLE Split

The old leadership and founders of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and *Anagennisi* were no longer the heart and soul of the publishing activity due to political differences within the ranks of the organisation. Aristidis Tsambazis left with a group of *Anagennisi* just before the coup and this is probably one of the reasons his name has long been forgotten in the history of the Marxist–Leninist movement. Hontzeas and Iordanides had their own political differences and two years later, in 1976, Iordanides—with a group of his followers, a minority of OMLE—left the organisation and formed his own, taking with him the brand names *Laikos Dromos* and *Spoudastikos Kosmos*.

Two factions were formed within the OMLE, one around Isaak Iordanides—pro-Chinese all the way—and a more critical one. The latter was supported by the main figures of AMEE in France and Italy during the dictatorship and by Hontzeas, who did not play a key role at the time. Iordanides, despite the fact that his faction was a minority, managed to publish works that were of his political mentality through *Istorikes Ekdoseis*. In 1975, the firm published the *Positions of the C.C. [Central Committee] of OMLE During the 56 years after the establishment of KKE* and the *Speech by the Chairman of the Delegation of the PRC, Teng Hsiao-Ping at the Special Session of the UN General Assembly*.<sup>583</sup> These two publications are proof that the power equilibrium within political formations and their respective

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583. Deng Xiaoping's speech may be found at the Marxists Internet Archive, accessed 1 March 2018, <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/deng-xiaoping/1974/04/10.htm>.

publishing projects or arms were neither static nor absolute. The first document reflected the viewpoints of Iordanides in respect to the history of the communist movement of Greece and—at least on a certain level—his assessment on the path to be taken. The latter document by Deng Xiaoping<sup>584</sup> is nothing but the encapsulation of his “Theory of the Three Worlds”, a theory that became the epicentre of the split within the Marxist–Leninist movement—including OMLE—soon after Mao Zedong’s death in 1976.<sup>585</sup>

As was demonstrated above, while Iordanides and his faction were a mere party minority<sup>586</sup> he managed to push his political line even though the group’s publishing arm had a staff that was not in line with their politics.<sup>587</sup> Although the information and sources are limited, it is safe to proceed to the following assertions. In political publishing houses and projects, publishing policies were often determined from the leadership of the political formations rather than the publishing agents of the group.

The inner political strife led to a struggle among the two political factions within OMLE over control of the various political and mass fronts of the group. Isaak Iordanides, while recalling the facts surrounding the issue, focused on Tasos Parkosides—who was legally in charge of Istorikes Ekdoseis—and his persistence in exerting control over the publishing house.<sup>588</sup> The way that Iordanides presented the issue implied that Parkosides had

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584. The inconsistency between the transliteration used in the 1970s and the contemporary one, as far as Deng’s name is concerned, has to do with the evolution of standardisation in transliterating Chinese names.

585. The impact of the theory on the Marxist–Leninist movement worldwide is evident by just browsing *The Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism Online*, where numerous documents are on the issue and are part of polemics of groups pro and against the theory at the time. See Marxists Internet Archive, accessed 12 March 2018, <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/>.

586. The split was in reality a parallel establishment of two “parties”, M–L KKE and KKE (M–L). The first had its founding congress in its offices and gathered around a hundred cadres and followers while the latter held its congress in a stadium with three thousand attendees.

587. Gregoris Konstantopoulos—a cadre of OMLE at the time—recalled furious members confronting him with Deng’s booklet in hand. They were questioning the purpose of publishing such documents, which were contrary to their beliefs. Gregoris Konstantopoulos. interview with the author, Athens, 17 January 2009.

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

ulterior motives in persisting this way. This is far from the truth since Parkosides never took advantage of his legal ownership of the publishing firm for personal gain. My assessment is that the majority of OMLE—of which Parkosides was part—was uncertain on how things would evolve as far as the inner-party struggle was concerned. Therefore, it attempted to get ahead of developments and maintain control of party functions. Indeed, and as already mentioned, Iordanides and his followers invoked commercial law and kept brand names of publications that were, in reality, part of a collective. And they did so despite being a minority faction. This is something one may often come across during this period. The fight for the “name” was a struggle for the symbolic capital that had accumulated in the brand.<sup>589</sup>

### From the Split to the Collapse

Istorikes Ekdoseis, as a brand name and bookstore, was held by the majority of OMLE, which formed the Communist Party of Greece (Marxist–Leninist) [KKE (M–L)] in November 1976. The publishing group’s members remained the same and Iordanides and his band formed the Marxist–Leninist Communist Party of Greece (M–L KKE) and created *Morfotikes Ekdoseis*.<sup>590</sup>

The brief period initiated after OMLE’s split and until the crisis that led to the dissolution of KKE (M–L) in 1981–1982, is the most interesting one. During this time the party drifted away from the grand Marxist–Leninist narratives and paradigms of China and Albania while Greece experienced the late rise of youth discontent that left no group unaffected—however hardcore its politics were. These two factors, as well as the gradual crisis of radical politics worldwide, were reflected in the publishing programme of Istorikes Ekdoseis.<sup>591</sup>

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589. Although in a different context, the account regarding *Gay News*, a London fortnightly born of the gay liberation movement of the time, offers some insight into the dynamics and polemics among members of publishing projects. See Gillian Hanscombe and Andrew Lumsden, *Title Fight: The Battle for Gay News* (London: Brilliance Books, 1983).

590. *Morfotikes Ekdoseis* is translated as Educational Editions.

591. By the end of the 1970s the demise of political groups and movements worldwide

## Symbolic Capital

Despite the fact that Istorikes Ekdoseis was inactive for seven years, its symbolic capital did not diminish. On the contrary, it could be argued that its symbolic capital increased. The reason was that the publishing firm and its members were persecuted during the dictatorship. Its members were sent to prison or exiled or went underground, and their publishing projects were shut down and the stock confiscated.

The firm made it clear there was a historical continuity with the pre-dictatorship period. In 1975, it created a series that comprised of two subseries of three pamphlets each. The series were titled “The Marxist–Leninist Movement in Greece” [in Greek] and the subseries were titled, “Issues of the Labour Trade Union Movement, 1964–1967” [in Greek] and “On the Struggle for Bread, Democracy, Peace, National Independence, 1964–1967” [in Greek]. Each pamphlet was a compilation of articles that had been published during the pre-dictatorship period, mostly in *Anagennisi* but also in *Laikos Dromos*. These series built a bridge between the first and the second periods of Istorikes Ekdoseis and contributed in establishing the continuity between the two. In a way, this also contributed to the transfer of the symbolic capital accumulated prior to the dictatorship to the period after.

The main source for accumulating symbolic capital remained Mao Zedong and the PRC. In 1975, Istorikes Ekdoseis published its first four-page catalogue and a second catalogue in a similar format followed a year later. The first catalogue included thirty-six works. Twenty-seven of these were translations of publications from Peking’s FLP, more than 60% of which was Mao Zedong’s works. OMLE was recognised as the official counterpart of the Chinese Communist Party. Despite the fact that other “pro-Chinese” groups appeared and developed a limited publishing activity, none of them was able to counter or even question the hegemony of Istorikes Ekdoseis. The latter’s seniority, as well as its affiliation to China and the

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was experienced bringing the *long sixties* to an end. George Katsiaficas, *The Imagination of the New Left: A Global Analysis of 1968* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1987); Steve Wright, *Storming Heaven: Class Composition and Struggle in Italian Autonomist Marxism* (London: Pluto Press, 2017), 183–207.

CPC, were the key reasons it had the whip hand over equivalent publishing projects belonging or related to other Greek political groups that shared the same ideology and politics.<sup>592</sup>

The second catalogue included forty-two titles and moreover eleven to be published at some future date. There was an additional informative note letting readers know that they could acquire various editions published by the PRC in English and French. There were no significant changes between the two catalogues in terms of what was or was not going to be published. What is noteworthy is the fact that the list of works to be published includes a number of titles that were never published, for example, three selected volumes of Mao Zedong's works. I assume that the non-compliance with this list of works to be published reflects two reasons. The first is related to the fact that Mao's death occurred very close to the printing of the catalogues and Istorikes Ekdoseis' subsequent gradual drift from China. The second reason is related to the internal split within OMLE, where the more conservative and pro-Chinese minority left the organisation, which was now led in reality by a younger generation that had been politically educated in Europe during the dictatorship and thus had a less traditional viewpoint.

After 1976 and the death of Mao, the KKE (M–L)<sup>593</sup>—OMLE's successor—broke its ties with China. Other political groups of the same trend were eager to replace the former group as China's chosen partner.<sup>594</sup> KKE (M–L) preserved ties with Albania until the late 1970s—which was expressed in its publishing programme. Until 1976 and the split with Chinese politics, KKE (M–L) had only published four Albanian works.<sup>595</sup> Then about a dozen works were published or distributed through to 1978.<sup>596</sup> In 1979, the

592. Mais, "Marxist–Leninist Publishing Field", 55–61.

593. Communist Party of Greece (Marxist–Leninist).

594. See Kouloglou, "E eksokinovuleftiki aristera", 35–39.

595. Enver Hoxha, *E politiki mas ine mia anichti politiki, i politik iton proletariakon archon* [Our Policy is an Open Policy, the Policy of Proletarian Principles] (Istorikes Ekdoseis: Athens, 1975) [in Greek].

596. For example, *Scholio ga olus* [School for All] (Athens: Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1978) [in Greek]; Enver Hoxha, *E proletariaki dimokrata ine i alithini dimokratia* [Proletarian Democracy is Genuine Democracy], Tirana: 8 November 1978 [in Greek]; Enver Hoxha, *Isigisi sto*

KKE (M–L) parted with Albania as well. A year before, the Albanian leader Enver Hoxha had published *Imperialism and the Revolution* in Albanian.<sup>597</sup> In this book, he attacked Mao Zedong, whom he accused of revisionism, the supreme insult of the time among revolutionaries. In 1979, the book was translated and published in foreign languages and moved to the foreground of a heated debate that split the Marxist–Leninist parties. Three leading KKE (M–L) cadres visited Albania, holding meetings.<sup>598</sup> This resulted in a silent break with Albania that was reflected in the Istorikes Ekdoseis publishing programme.

The break with these two major counterparts redefined the rationale behind the publishing house’s programme. Until then, symbolic capital had been transmitted by translating works that carried the symbolic capital of the author or original publisher. This came to an end when China and Albania—which, for some left-wingers, including KKE (M–L), were considered the “lights of socialism”, as the Soviet Union was for others—stopped being the counterpart of KKE (M–L) and therefore of Istorikes Ekdoseis. This prompted a reorientation of the publishing programme of the organisation. Until the split, the whole backlist of Istorikes Ekdoseis consisted of works by Mao Zedong and Peking FLP, a few texts by Enver Hoxha and the Party of Labour of Albania, a handful of works by Stalin and Lenin as well as a series of documents of the Greek Marxist–Leninist movement. All the above were translated or reproduced from official sources. That is, all the documents from China and Albania were published by—and thus aligned with—the respective official newspapers of the parties and states.

At a time when most of the party members and sympathisers were young—high school and tertiary education students or young workers and toilers—the cultural aspect was neglected, to say the least, buried under dozens of severe political texts. This gradually became an issue when the

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*7o sinedrio tu KEA* [Report to the 7th Congress of the Albanian Labour Party], 2 vol. (Athens: Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1977) [in Greek].

597. See Marxists Internet Archive, accessed 26 February 2018 [https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hoxha/works/imp\\_rev/toc.htm](https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hoxha/works/imp_rev/toc.htm).

598. Vasilis Samaras Interviews with (Thessaloniki, 22 August 2014) and Yorgis Provelegios (Athens, 10 October 2012). These were two of the three members of the delegation.

extreme politicisation of the Greek youth experienced a cultural turn with an increased interest in and demand for art and literature but also gender issues. At the same time, the crisis of the international communist movement described above, the dead end of the movement in Greece and the international economic crisis created the need for assessments regarding revolutionary politics and of the logic of capital.

Although the above were addressed, in terms of titles that were either published or were going to be published before the party meltdown, this was not without contradictions.

### **Addressing New Questions with Outdated Tools: Gender and Culture**

The post-1976 Istorikes Ekdoseis had to address a number of critical issues. These were critical not only on a theoretical level but in existential terms for the party behind Istorikes Ekdoseis itself. Increasing pressure was experienced by the party leadership both from its left—anarchism, counterculture but also identity politics such as feminism had an increasing influence on the Greek youth—as well as from its right as social democracy became a dominant political current and won power in 1981. At the same time, after years of struggle, the leadership of the party felt it had hit a dead end as far as the accumulation of forces was concerned, while experiencing the disintegration and disbanding of its fraternal organisations and parties worldwide. All of the above were (up to a point) reflected in the publishing process, something that was essential. There were two major shortcomings during this process. First, the publishing scope remained limited to translated foreign works, with just two original works being published as well as a couple of pamphlets comprised of articles from the *Proletariaki Simeia* newspaper.<sup>599</sup> Second, even the translated works were to a great extent

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599. Three pamphlets were traced on the issues of social imperialism, the youth and the European economic union, all of them poorly-printed between 1978–1979. The latter two were first published as articles in *Proletariaki Simeia*.

inadequate to address questions of the time since they were either vaguely relevant to the Greek case or<sup>600</sup> clearly outdated, to say the least.

## Feminism and Maoist Publishing and Publications

How else can one comment on the choice to publish August Bebel's *Woman and Socialism*, in 1981—a work that was at the time a century old—if not as an outdated perspective on a contemporary issue? While the feminist movement was on a rise on a global scale, the release of this title must have been disappointing, at least for the female members and followers of the party. Nevertheless, in the remainders of the publishing house's archive, two relevant references were made. On a sheet of paper, there is a handwritten list titled "For the women's movement". Three authors with a respective work are named: Bebel, Alexandra Kollontai and Carla Ravaoli. While the socialist Bebel and the Bolshevik Kollontai were two options within the box, Carla Ravaoli was not.<sup>601</sup> In contrast to the other two authors to be published, Ravaoli was not an "orthodox" communist and had first published in Greece two years prior, in 1979. An interview that Ravaoli held with a number of leaders of the Italian Communist Party, a "revisionist" party by KKE (M–L) standards, of which she was a prominent member, was published by Themelio.<sup>602</sup> The latter was the publishing house affiliated with the fraternal party of the Italian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Greece (interior). This is peculiar, to say the least, since while Ravaoli was indisputably a prominent feminist in Italy—where many KKE (M–L) key figures acted during the military dictatorship—she was also a prominent

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600. Although never published, Istorikes Ekdoseis was meaning to print a book about women in China. They produced nothing about women in Greece.

601. The collection of articles of Kollontai and the book of Ravaoli, *The Woman Against Herself* (La donna contro se stessa) never reached the printer due to the internal crisis of the KKE (M–L). According to another note in the archival remainders presumably regarding delivery dates of translations, Ravaoli's translation was due in July 1981.

602. Nikolaos Papadogiannis, *Militant Around the Clock? Left-Wing Youth Politics, Leisure and Sexuality in Post-Dictatorship Greece, 1974–1981* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2015), 262.

“revisionist”. The following question arises: can this be perceived as a sign of political maturity or as succumbing to the pressure of the rising feminist trend within its ranks? One should bear in mind that gender issues became of increased interest and groups and publications concerning feminism or gay and lesbian liberation sprung up, especially in the city of Athens.<sup>603</sup> Although the book was never published, a contract was signed between Istorikes Ekdoseis and Ravaioli’s Italian publisher Eulama, dated 2 June 1981. This was found in the archival remainders of the Istorikes Ekdoseis.

These issues, which in general did not concern party publishing, concerned *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos* [Progressive Cinema]. This was a periodical on cinema published by members and supporters of KKE (M–L) but did not follow party directives, thus raising scepticism within the party about its usefulness and role.<sup>604</sup> In issue 6, published in late 1979, the editors expanded their thoughts on homosexuality and reviewed a Greek film featuring a transvestite.<sup>605</sup> Issue 9, published in early 1980, was—up to a point—a special issue on “The women’s question” and more specifically on maternity.<sup>606</sup> Although articles on these issues were signed by the editors, they were mainly the work of Aris Maragopoulos and Anta Klampatsea, then a couple. After the disintegration of the KKE (M–L), Klampatsea was going to continue publishing the periodical in a more feminist perspective.<sup>607</sup> According to an announcement in the periodical’s issue 10–11 (un-

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603. For an overview on the issue of sexuality in respect to Greek left-wing youth, and feminism in particular, see Papadogiannis, *Militant Around the Clock?* 260–266.

604. Aris Maragopoulos, interview with the author, Athens, 26 June 2013. Aris Maragopoulos is an author. He was a member of KKE (M–L) and the editorial board of *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos*. For a brief outline of the periodical, see Papadogiannis, *Militant Around the Clock?*, 244–247.

605. E sintaxi [The editors], “Mpetti tou D. Stavraka. Mia tenia pu vazì to provlima tis omofilofilias” [Betty by D. Stavrakas: A film Addressing the Issue of Homosexuality], *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos* (per.), 6 (third trimester ’79), 38–40 and E sintaxi [The editors], “Skepsis gia to thema tis omofiofilias” [Thoughts on the Issue of Homosexuality], *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos* (per.), 6 (3rd trimester ’79), 40–47 [in Greek].

606. Anta Klampatsea (ed.), “Gia to ginekio zitima: E gineka ke i mitrotita” [For the Women’s Question: Woman and Maternity], *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos* (per.), 8–9 (1st trimester 1980), 39–78 [in Greek].

607. Aris Maragopoulos, interview with the author, Athens, 26 June 2013.

dated),<sup>608</sup> the editors were going to publish Nikolay Chernychevsky's *What is to Be Done?* a novel about socialist ideas and the emancipation of women.<sup>609</sup> *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos* did not fulfil its promise and the book by Chernychevsky was not published then. It was, however, published in 2013, by Topos publishing house, in a translation by Eleni Bakopoulou and included an extensive appendix by Aris Maragopoulos who is in charge of the fiction series of the publishing house. Despite the three-decade delay, two old members of Istorikes Ekdoseis and *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos* joined forces in order to fulfil the long-forgotten promise. During the same period as *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos*' gender turn, we become aware of the existence of a women's group of PPSP. This group signed an article in PPSP's magazine, *Salpisma*.<sup>610</sup> Instead of a conventional title, they chose lyrics by Manolis Rassoulis, an unconventional songwriter and performer and moreover, a former Trotskyite until the late 1970s and then a new-ager. This may be perceived as a contestation against the official party line or as seeking out a new cultural and political way after the old ones had burned out. The dramatic reduction of the symbolic capital born in the early 1960s—i.e., of Mao(ism)—is starkly obvious. The women's group raised criticism towards the views of the “revisionists” of the pro-Soviet KKE and of the mainstream media regarding the “women's issue”. Although the criticism was supposedly not focused within the party, the promotion of “feminist perceptions of sexuality with vigour” was, in fact, targeting the party leadership as well, since its one-dimensional *workerist* approach where all issues were subjugated to class struggle would be less than happy with this article.<sup>611</sup>

This dual procedure, namely, the development of a feminist movement and thus the resurface of a heating debate on gender issues on one hand, and the initial avoidance of actually engaging to the discussion by Istorikes Ekdoseis, therefore, by the party leadership, may have led to the choice for pub-

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608. At the time, the name changed to *Proodeftikos Kinimatografos–Alli Keri* [Progressive Cinema–Other Times].

609. Nikolay Chernychevsky, *What is to Be Done?*, <https://archive.org/details/cu31924096961036> accessed 20 April 2018.

610. *Salpisma*, 6 (November–December 1980): 28–30.

611. Papadogiannis, *Militant Around the Clock?*, 264–265.

lishing Ravaioli. Since different groups of KKE (M–L) members and sympathisers were already publicly involved in feminism, the leadership could not sweep the latter under the carpet. A question still remains, however: were the choices of Bebel or even Kollontai, choices of inadequacy or were these a defensive stance of traditional communism over radical modernity?

### The Question of Literary Production: Between Tradition and Modernity

Until 1976, the publishing list of Istorikes Ekdoseis was constituted by pure non-fiction. Reading fiction or poetry was not only not a priority but could be even considered as a luxury. After all, Chairman Mao was very specific, “All literary activities must allow politics at the helm”.<sup>612</sup> After all, this was the same reason that feminism was viewed with a lot of scepticism. In the same issue of *Salpisma*, where the “women’s group of PPSP” piece was published, in just the previous page, a brief note by the cultural group of PPSP Athens was published as well. Once again the main criticisms raised are not targeting within but self-criticism as far as the lack of a cultural aspect of the party is evident: “In a few words, our movement and the cultural issues were two paths that were not in parallel but neither crossed anywhere. It could be said that our effort focuses on bringing these two paths as close as possible.”<sup>613</sup> The historian Nikolaos Papadogiannis notes that the leadership of the Party was afraid that dealing with these issues could disorientate the whole organization from the key political front, that of “class struggle”.<sup>614</sup> At the same time there is an admission of weakness, not being many but having too many tasks to fulfil so that allocating resources on culture was considered to be a luxury.<sup>615</sup>

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612. Shuha Wang, “From Maoism to (Post) Modernism: *Hamlet* in Communist China, in *Shakespeare in the Worlds of Communism and Socialism*, eds. Irena R. Makaryk and Joseph G. Price (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 283–294.

613. *Salpisma*, 6 (November–December 1980): 27.

614. Papadogiannis, *Militant Around the Clock*, 265.

615. *Ibid.*, 247.

The outcome of the pressure on Istorikes Ekdoseis' to get involved on the cultural front was a duality between communist tradition and radical modernity. While some signs regarding the cultural activity were quite traditional, e.g. publishing Howard Fast's *Silas Timberman*, in 1981,<sup>616</sup> or a cassette by the PPSP choir, in 1977, singing songs from the guerrilla movement of the 1940s in a very conservative, classicist Soviet music style.<sup>617</sup> This traditional communist approach, both in terms of content but also style, was countered by the number of plays and books either of or about Dario Fo and his wife Franca Rame published or planned to be published. The times had changed, and copyrights were no longer as easy, although still possible, to disregard as in the 1960s.<sup>618</sup> Dealing with contemporary social issues while being extremely politicised Dario Fo seemed to be the ideal author for Istorikes Ekdoseis to publish. Even his theatrical approach of reassessing medieval Italy's *giullare*, that is, the joker, seems to bridge Istorikes Ekdoseis's dichotomy between modernity and tradition. In *La giullarata*, one of Fo's works published by Istorikes Ekdoseis there is an appendix regarding a meeting on culture hosted by Fo and his theatrical group in 1974 and Fo's speech at the meeting.<sup>619</sup> The fact that, according to the appendix, significant cultural agents of Italy, such as Umberto Eco, the Taviani brothers, Bellocchio and Bernardo Bertolucci attended the meeting increased the symbolic significance of Fo's speech. The speech was an epitome between communist tradition, since Joseph Stalin, Vladimir Lenin and Mao Zedong are often cited by Fo, along with Jean-Paul Sartre.<sup>620</sup> The meeting itself was held in an occupied building, a squat, a popular trend at the time within the leftist, countercultural and anarchist movement but I should note that it was not popular within the ranks of the KKE (M–L).

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616. Howard Fast was a well-known American writer. He had served as a member of the Communist Party of the USA. For more on Howard Fast see *The Guardian*, accessed 22 April 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2003/mar/14/guardianobituaries.books>.

617. The cassette was circulated in 1977 by Istorikes Ekdoseis and was republished by *Proletariaki Simea* as a CD in 2004.

618. See the section "Transforming political relationships into social capital" in Chapter 2.

619. Dario Fo, *La giullarata* (Athens: Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1981), 103–128 [in Greek].

620. *Ibid.*

Thus, through the production of a single work, we witness the attempt to balance political tradition and modernity.

The need for such a modernisation emerged since the intense sit-ins that took place from 1979 to 1980 in the Greek universities and their aftermath.<sup>621</sup> PPSP was heavily involved in occupying the Greek universities along with the rising anarchists and the newly formed “fluid network of autonomous left-wingers, mainly students, who named themselves as *Chóros* (Space).”<sup>622</sup> The debates and discussions with these new bands of friends—much more cultural, and less politically and ideologically rigid—raised a number of issues and questions within PPSP. While discussing *Istorikes Ekdoseis* with Dionysis Kounades, the key *Istorikes Ekdoseis* bookseller, he said that the answers given were inadequate.<sup>623</sup> When I asked for a more specific example, he referred to the title *Istorikes Ekdoseis* published regarding the Spanish Civil War.<sup>624</sup> His example was far from being random. The Spanish Civil War had been in the epicentre of the heated debates between the young anarchist and libertarian movement and the more traditional left-wing groups. Communists, anarchists and Trotskyites from Spain and abroad were involved. Thus, it was a unique historical event where the majority of the different ideological trends represented in the Greek movement of the long *sixties* were active. The defeat by fascism and who to blame for it was an additional issue that provoked debate.<sup>625</sup>

Another ulterior reason for the shift within the publishing programme of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* was related to the leadership. By the eve of the 1980s,

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621. See Papadogiannis, *Militant Around the Clock?*, 225–251.

622. *Ibid.*, 5.

623. Dionysis Kounades, interview with the author, Athens, 14 September 2013.

624. [P.C. de Espana (M-L)], *Venceremos! Ispania 1936–1939. Kritiki apotimisi* [*Venceremos! Spain 1936–1939: Critical Assessment*] (Athens: *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, 1977) [in Greek].

625. See Christos Mais, “O Ispanikos emfilios ston elliniiko aristero ke anarchiko logo” [The Spanish Civil War in Greek Leftist and Anarchist Discourse], in *O Ispanikos Emfilios: Kypros, Ellada ke Evropi* [Spanish Civil War: Cyprus, Greece and Europe] (Nicosia: Research Institute Promitheas, 2015), 105–116 [in Greek]. The late Michalis Protopsaltis, who became one of the most well-known Greek anarchist publishers from the mid-1970s, talked with enthusiasm about his “homage in Barcelona” in 1976. Michalis Protopsaltis, interview with the author, Pireas, 18 June 2013.

the majority of the leadership of the party was between 35 and 45 years old. Many of them had started a family, which raised the bar of responsibilities. It was not uncommon for both partners to be heavily involved in the party, raising the issue of limited time for their children or for breadwinning. In addition, those who were full-time party members could barely manage to provide the basic needs of their families.<sup>626</sup> The publication of Antonio Gramsci's *The Tree of the Hedgehog*<sup>627</sup>—a collection of letters the Italian communist leader and intellectual sent to his two young sons from prison—was an interesting exception to the publishing programme of any political publishing field publishing project. The only exception would probably be trade publishers involved in political publishing. There is no evidence on whether this book was published either in order for the leading cadres to have a book to read to their children, or, to use it as a handbook on how to raise their own children. Nevertheless, it is clear that the issue of having and raising children was urgent at the time for the members and cadres of KKE (M–L).<sup>628</sup>

From all the above we must view the cultural turn of Istorikes Ekdoseis as a dual pressure from below (the youth) and above (the leading cadres). At the same time, it was the outcome of an external factor (the rise of Chóros in the universities) and an internal one (the fact that the leading cadres themselves were entering a new phase in their personal lives).

## Seeking a Concrete Analysis of a Concrete Situation

Lenin liked to stress how the “the very gist, the living soul” of Marxism was nothing but the “concrete analysis of a concrete situation”.<sup>629</sup> As it was

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626. Tasos Parkosides, interview with the author, Rizari, 20 March 2013.

627. The Greek translation of this Italian work was published in 1981 by Istorikes Ekdoseis.

628. A number of leading cadres, such as Yorgis Provelegios, Kostas Malafekas, Tasos Parkosides, Vasilis Samaras and Stelios Agoutoglou had become parents by 1981.

629. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, “Kommunismus: Journal of the Communist International”, in *Lenin's Collected Works*, 4th English ed., vol. 31 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965),

showcased in the historical overview of the two periods of operation of Istorikes Ekdoseis, this Leninist doctrine was not followed by the Greek Marxists–Leninists, at least not until the dusk of the 1970s. During the 1960s, it seemed as if revolution was in the air on a global scale. While the signs of political crisis were visible worldwide by the mid-1970s, the enthusiasm associated with Metapolitefsi and the surplus of radicalisation brought about by the seven-year suppression during the military dictatorship extended the revolutionary illusion. By the end of the decade not only had the revolutionary set back been realised but the leading cadres of the party had acknowledged the global economic crisis sparked by the oil price hikes of 1973 (repeated in 1979). The leadership realised that its theoretical and methodological tools were not sufficient to assess the developments worldwide. Bear in mind that until 1976 they would simply monitor primarily China’s assessments and until 1979 those of Albania. From 1980 they had none to follow, there was now a burden of not copying but creating the original. This led to an insufficient and limited attempt by the leading cadres to address the developments of the time. A leading cadre, Paris Gavallas, was also an executive of Shell in Greece. He penned an anonymous three-part article for *Proletariaki Simea* newspaper that was then published by Istorikes Ekdoseis in 1979 as a (poorly-designed) pamphlet.<sup>630</sup> This is probably the first of a few attempts by KKE (M–L) to assess reality by itself, proceeding to its own genuine analysis.

Thus, the leading cadres engaged in a discussion regarding the economy, since according to Marxism, “the economic structure of society”<sup>631</sup> is its “real foundation”<sup>632</sup> as well as party building and functioning since their

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165–167, Marxists Internet Archive, accessed 29 May 2018, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/jun/12.htm>.

630. [Paris Gavallas], *To provlima tis energias stin Ellada* [The Energy Question in Greece] (Athens: Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1979) [in Greek].

631. Publication of a translation of the book by Bruno Theret and Michel Wieviorka, *Critique of the Theory of “State Capitalism”* (Athens: Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1982) [in Greek, as *Kritiki tis theorias tu “kratikomonomoliaku kapitalismu”*] took place within this context.

632. Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), Marxists Internet Archive, accessed 30 May 2018, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/preface.htm>.

own party was in crisis. They furthermore tried to make critical assessments of the ideological and political issues of their time.<sup>633</sup> This included translations of texts, some of which were turned into publications by Istorikes Ekdoseis while others remained unpublished and were used for internal discussions. All these works were part of a debate that took place among the leading cadres of KKE (M–L) within the framework of the Central Committee of the organisation. It is not clear in full whether the debates were fruitful, even sincere or, as it would be set in Marxist–Leninist terms, principled. The outcome, that is, a course that led to the dissolution of the party with the various fractions moving towards different but equally blurry paths are indicative; it was most likely a dialogue of the deaf.

### Too Little, Too Late: Posthumous Publishing Activity

Yannis Hontzeas’ testimony is supportive of the prior assessment. Hontzeas, a prominent figure and founding member of the Marxist–Leninist movement in Greece, has accused—without naming—members of the leadership for stopping documents translated or produced from being published or for making unfounded criticisms in respect to specific works to be published.<sup>634</sup> Hontzeas makes an explicit reference and harsh criticisms to what he viewed as unjust polemics and against an insufficient understanding of Karl Marx’s *Grundrisse* by members of the Central Committee.<sup>635</sup> The fact is that he was the one translating *Grundrisse*—he therefore felt strong about this incident. Hontzeas was justified to argue on works that were never published, that remained proofs.<sup>636</sup> The fact is that the majority of the

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633. For example, *Anichti epistoli tu E.K.K. Chilis pros to K.K. Kinas* [Open Letter of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile to the Communist Party of China], Athens: Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1978 [in Greek].

634. Yannis Hontzeas, *Gia to Kommunistiko Kinima tis Elladas* [For the Communist Movement of Greece] (Athens: A/synechia, 2004), 334–339 [in Greek].

635. *Ibid.*, 336–337.

636. The historian Manolis Arkolakis, who was a member of the KKE (M–L), recalled retrieving unpublished excerpts of Rosa Luxemburg’s works in the remainders of the typesetting facilities. Manolis Arkolakis, email correspondence with the author, 7 May 2018.

works were published in 1982, after the second and last Congress of KKE (M–L) which led to the liquidation of the party. These were published by the fraction that was based in Athens and that held the title and mainly the bookstore of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* until the 90s. Thus, we cannot address these publications as being part of the publishing mentality of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* of *Metapolitefsi* per se.

Hontzeas aligned with the smallest and youth-based faction of KKE (M–L) that in 1982 founded a publishing house called *A/synechia* exactly like Hontzeas and his faction founded *Istorikes Ekdoseis* about two decades before. The first book *A/synechia* published, in December 1982, was the Introduction of *Grundrisse* accompanied by a translator's note, that is, by Yannis Hontzeas. A few months later, in April 1983, a selection from *Grundrisse* was published, once again accompanied by a note of the translator and editor, Hontzeas.<sup>637</sup> The striking difference between the work of Hontzeas in *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and that in *A/synechia* is the fact that he never published any prologues or notes in the works translated by him for the former while he did so with the latter. A number of issues raised within this dissertation in respect to a flood of translated works the necessity and importance of which was rarely justified by the translators or publishers were now dealt. But it was too late, and the political publishing field was at a crossroads.

In this case as well the self-generated content was limited, counting a mere three publications, one of which was not even published by *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and one being published a year after the meltdown of the party. The first was the work by Vangelis Pissias, a leading cadre of the party, who for a short while he was elected general secretary during the absence of Yorgis Provelegios<sup>638</sup>. His work was a critique of state policies on agricultural production.<sup>639</sup> His topic is closely interrelated to his postgradu-

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637. See <https://www.asynechia.gr/%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%8A%CF%8C%CE%BD/grundrisse-%CE%B3%CE%B5%CE%BD%CE%B9%CE%BA%CE%AE-%CE%B5%CE%B9%CF%83%CE%B1%CE%B3%CF%89%CE%B3%CE%AE-%CE%B5%CF%80%CE%B9%CE%BB%CE%BF%CE%B3%CE%AE/>, accessed 7 May 2018.

638. Vasilis Samaras, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 22 August 2014.

639. Vangelis Pissias, *Ta adiexoda tis agrotikis politikis–Kritiki tu eksichronismu apo*

ate studies, fulfilled a year before at the Université de Paris I, Pantheon / Sorbonne, concerning Greek agricultural production on the eve of Greece entering the European Economic Community. Two years before Pissias, Takis Tassopoulos, another leading cadre, published his book on the Greek industry.<sup>640</sup> According to his preface, this book was based in a previous study of his conducted in 1971–1972 when he was abroad<sup>641</sup> which was not broadly distributed.

What strikes me as odd is that the book was not published by Istorikes Ekdoseis while the typesetting took place at the operation set up by KKE (M–L). Leading cadres when asked either said they had no recollections<sup>642</sup> or that Tassopoulos himself did not want to publish it in-house because he did not want to deduct from the limited resources of his party.<sup>643</sup> This explanation is rather odd since at a time, as already stated, Istorikes Ekdoseis even owned photo-typesetting facilities thus publishing with a reduced cost of printing. It is a fact that the political positions of Tassopoulos differed from those of the majority of the leadership on a series of matters.<sup>644</sup> It could be that by publishing his work with another publisher he wanted to make a statement—namely, that there was a political gap between him and the rest of the leadership.

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*anaptixiaki skopia* [Agricultural Policy Dead Ends—Critique of Modernisation from a Development Viewpoint] (Athens: Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1981) [in Greek].

640. Takis Tassopoulos, *Elliniki viomichania: Monopoliaki anaptixi ke sigentrosi tis paragogis* [Greek Industry: Monopoly Growth and Concentration of Production] (Athens: Tymfi, 1979) [in Greek].

641. Tassopoulos studied economics in Athens from the late 1950s until the early 1960s and was a known left-wing student activist. He then moved to Moscow just before the military dictatorship to further pursue his studies in economics. Being a leading member of OMLE, his pro-Maoist, anti-Soviet stance made him unpopular for the regime and during the early 1970s he moved to Paris where his fellow comrades based the headquarters of OMLE.

642. Stelios Manousakas, interviews with the author, 21 May 2011, 25 June 2013.

643. Tasos Parkosides, interview with the author, Rizari, 20 March 2013.

644. This is certified by both oral testimonies from Stelios Manousakas, interview with the author, 25 June 2013; Yorgis Provelegios, interview with the author, Athens, 10 October 2012; Vasilis Samaras, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 22 August 2014; Gregoris Konstantopoulos, interview with the author, Athens, 17 January 2009), as well as by the internal debate that preceded the 2nd Congress of the KKE (M–L). The documents of this internal debate can be found in the Archive of the KKE (M–L), Thessaloniki Branch.

A short undated note written by the author was found in a copy of the book he sent to his comrade Vasilis Samaras and that now belongs to my private archive. The content of the note indicates that both the note and the book were sent in reply to a prior note by Samaras. Samaras in his own note indicated a number of errors regarding the various calculations and numbers used by Tassopoulos. He thanks Samaras for his thorough reading and explains himself. He refers to the fact that despite having triple checked the proofs, the first 200 copies were released with a number of errors. He then started correcting the errors he managed to trace by hand. He committed to correcting all the mistakes if a second edition occurred. Nevertheless, he stresses that these mistakes by no means affected his assessments and conclusions.

It is rather crucial that a close reader would find mistakes, mistakes that could have been avoided if proof-readers had been a vital part of the political publishing field, and they were not. Proofreading was an additional task for the authors or translators to take up if they could. While Tassopoulos claims that in his case the outcome was not altered by the mistakes, it is likely that this is not always the case. Thus, the lack of quality and quality control through the different stages of proofreading and copy-editing put the quality of the content reaching the reader in jeopardy.

The last title by Istorikes is a 42-page pamphlet that was probably published by the end of 1983.<sup>645</sup> Although it is in fact outside the chronological scope of this dissertation I will include it in my assessment. The reason for this is that I have a firm belief that this publication and its specific characteristics underline prior points made about Istorikes Ekdoseis. This is one of the most carefully and originally designed pamphlets and books by Istorikes Ekdoseis. It has a designed front- and back cover and is illustrated with photographs. I first discovered a copy at the International Institute of Social History in 2010.<sup>646</sup> The author is unknown and none of the leading cadres asked even recalled the existence of the pamphlet. The short preface

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645. n.a., *Kinonikopiisi, simmetochi, afodiachirisi, ergatikos elegchos* [Socialisation, Participation, Self-Management, Workers' Control] (Athens: Istorikes Ekdoseis, 1982) [in Greek].

646. Publications CSD, CSD 6732/3 <http://hdl.handle.net/10622/D0C9DA85-C242-482F-BF49-9A46B8AEC282>.

underlines that the recent discussions raised the need to “produce theory... in respect to the special characteristics of our country’s society and the contemporary productive and social relations”.<sup>647</sup> This is a publishing requiem since the lack of theoretical production and the dead ends hit by uncritically following this or that international trend for years resulted in the Marxist–Leninist movement and its publishing project, as well as the majority of the political publishing field, to attenuate significantly.

### **The Sources of Capital of Istorikes Ekdoseis**

In this section, I will address the different sources of capital of Istorikes Ekdoseis during its second (and final) period of operation. A special focus will be given to human and symbolic capital, two key forms of capital for the political publishing field. Human capital is crucial for such organisations since they are primarily based on their human resources on a more or less volunteer basis. Furthermore, the fluctuations of symbolic capital—which I have argued is the most significant source of capital for the political publishing field—are a barometer of the life and death, not only of Istorikes Ekdoseis but of the field writ large.

#### *Human Capital*

Tasos Parkosides, a geologist, was now in charge of Istorikes Ekdoseis. Parkosides came from a left-wing family, studied in Italy and became a high-ranking member of AMEE and OMLE during the dictatorship. He had no experience in publishing, but he was trustworthy and loyal to the cause.<sup>648</sup> Alongside him was Dionysis Kounades, a physics student. Kounades was primarily in charge of the bookstore and had no prior experience in publishing or the book industry in general. He had been a member of AMEE and OMLE in Italy during the dictatorship.<sup>649</sup> Eleni Bakopoulou,

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647. n.a., *Socialisation*.

648. Tasos Parkosides, interview with the author, Rizari, 20 March 2013.

649. Dionysis Kounades, interview with the author, Athens, 14 September 2013.

who by now was an established translator of Russian literature in the Greek publishing industry, was also involved in Istorikes Ekdoseis. Bakopoulou studied history in the Soviet Union where she became involved with OMLE and continued her studies in France. Two or three more people worked for Istorikes Ekdoseis, all of them young militants. Apart from Parkosides and Kounades, it seems that the rest of the Istorikes Ekdoseis crew handled day to day operations, like the mimeograph or other printing equipment. This team managed the publishing house and the small printing facilities acquired in 1978<sup>650</sup> and acted as members of the editorial committee of the bi-weekly newspaper *Proletariaki Simea*.

Gregoris (Gregorio) Kapsomenos, another party cadre based in Bologna, also assisted as an intermediate between Istorikes Ekdoseis and authors or publishers based in Italy. Kapsomenos was an engineering student active in the left-wing movement in general and AMEE especially. At the same time, he started working in the Italian book industry, as a bookseller. After the collapse of the dictatorship, he decided not to move back to Greece but to continue living and working in Italy. He became a very well-known antiquarian bookseller in Bologna—where he ran the bookstore *Libreria delle Moline*, along with his wife Marta—until his death in 2011.

What initially struck me as odd with respect to human capital was the complete absence of illustrators. OMLE and KKE (M–L), as well as most of the left-wing groups, were very strong in the Schools of Architecture of Athens and Thessaloniki, as well as in the School of Fine Arts. Nevertheless, these members of theirs were not involved in the publishing activity. This was before developing the argument in a previous chapter regarding the relationship between aesthetics and symbolic capital. Although I argue that this is the key issue with respect to aesthetics, an additional element may be added. During the 1960s and especially during and after May 1968, one can note a differentiation in the aesthetics of AMEE, especially of its French

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650. During 1977, especially young members of the organisation, such as university students, went to work in factories and building sites. These “red day wages” were handed to the organisation to cover expenditures during that year’s national election campaign. These voluntary contributions led to a surplus that was used to acquire photo-typesetting equipment and part of an offset machine. Tasos Parkosides, interview with the author, Rizari, 20 March 2013.

branch. The strict and “serious” communist posters of the early dictatorship period seemed to be overtaken by posters influenced by May 1968.

This short avant-garde break was not to be continued and there was soon to be a return to normalcy. The end of experimentation and improvisation left no space for potential illustrators to create. When the original work’s cover was not to be exactly copied, a very simple and uninspired cover would be created. This simplicity was almost conservative in a time of experimentation and worldwide aesthetic breakthrough attempts and characterised the overall everyday life stance of the KKE (M–L) members.<sup>651</sup> And it was connected to the whole form versus content issue, and the lack of symbolic capital due to the lack of *aura*.

Apart from the team that handled the bookstore, the publishing house and later on the small printing facilities, other OMLE—and afterwards KKE (M–L)—cadres assisted, mainly serving as translators. In the remainders of the Istorikes Ekdoseis archive, we find the names of a number of the cadres—mainly those who were active in Italy during the military dictatorship—next to titles to be translated, such as, Stelios [Manousakas], Dimitris [Babakos] and Nasa [Papamikrouli–Babakou]. The former two were leading cadres of OMLE and KKE (M–L) until the early 1980s while Nasa, wife of Dimitris, was also a cadre. During the 1990s, Nasa Babakou translated three children’s books of Gianni Rontari for a trade publisher while the rest of the translators do not seem to have followed up with any more translations.

Although translations had been the epicentre of the Greek political publishing field and thus of Istorikes Ekdoseis we need to further assess the issue during the Metapolitefsi, that is, the post-1974 era. In the pre-dictatorship period of Istorikes Ekdoseis, the political circle around the publisher was primarily involved in propaganda through publishing. Therefore, leading cadres like Yannis Hontzeas and Isaak Iordanides acting as translators was not something unusual since the group worked as a preparatory stage for creating a political organisation. But during the post-1974 period, OMLE and KKE (M–L)—that is, political organisations acting in the stu-

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651. On the cultural aspect of left-wing politics in Greece, see Papadogiannis, *Militant Around the Clock?*

dent and the labour movement and taking part in demonstrations and strikes on an everyday basis—substituted the pre-dictatorship publishing group. Thus, while publishing was still crucial in the group's politics, *Istorikes Ekdoseis* was now a mere tool, one of many, and not the core of the group's political life and practice.

Let us now address the qualitative and quantitative terms of the translations made. I would like to acknowledge the fact that *Istorikes Ekdoseis* was always concerned about the quality of its translations and provided high standards of translation for the time. Therefore, in terms of quality, translations remained excellent across the two periods. A breakthrough concerns the expansion of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*' human capital and its skills. The military dictatorship might have been a seven-year setback for *Istorikes Ekdoseis* but at the same time, it afforded the opportunity to accumulate multilingual and highly educated human capital through the recruitment of anti-junta activists in a variety of European countries. During the pre-dictatorship period *Istorikes Ekdoseis* translating team had limited language skills—Russian, English and French, mainly learned in exile. The *Metapolitefsi* team expanded its language skills with Italian and German mainly learned in higher education institutes of European countries.

Following the end of the military dictatorship the political organisation, OMLE and then KKE (M–L), increased its membership and influence and consequently *Istorikes Ekdoseis* increased its human capital. There is a direct relationship between the influence and especially the membership range of political groups and the respective accumulation of human capital for their publishing projects. The human capital was highly educated with advanced language skills. Nevertheless, it often had no prior engagement in publishing nor the urge to be engaged. It was just another political task.

A question arises as to why key political figures of the group would allocate their resources, i.e., their time, in order to act as translators. Most of the translations were from Italian to Greek, a language with which many of the members of the group were familiar, including the two key figures of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, Tasos Parkosides and Dionysis Kounades.<sup>652</sup> This

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652. According to Stelios Manousakas, during the dictatorship, AMEE—OMLE's front

fact contradicts the fact that the same leading cadres have claimed that the absence of original assessments and analysis by KKE (M–L) was due to the lack of time. Since the establishment of Istorikes Ekdoseis in 1963, we witness a constant allocation of human resources to translations and the argument in parallel that there was neither the time nor the resources for the production of original works. Prioritising the use of human capital as translators rather than authors is indicative of the importance of symbolic capital. A leading cadre of the KKE (M–L) was equally ideologically capable of producing non-fiction works like those of the international party’s counterparts that were translated.

### *Symbolic Capital Fades Away*

From 1974 until 1976, Istorikes Ekdoseis resumed the accumulation of symbolic capital through the same channels as in the first period, from 1963–1967. Added value to the accumulation of symbolic capital was provided by the persecution of the pre-dictatorship Istorikes Ekdoseis during the dictatorship and the anti-junta stance of its members and followers that escaped imprisonment and exile and participated in the anti-dictatorial struggle. Thus, a combination of political capital based on the militancy of the anti-junta activists affiliated with Istorikes Ekdoseis and the accumulated symbolic capital of the pre-dictatorship period due to the publication of Mao Zedong works and the affiliation with China. The elevation of Albania within the international communist movement and the respective publications from Albania, especially works of the Albanian leader, Enver Hoxha, was another source for accumulating symbolic capital. The period from 1976 to 1978 was a transitional one for Istorikes Ekdoseis and its symbolic capital was affected. The gradual distancing between Istorikes Ekdoseis and China after the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 made it vital to reorient fast because as the star of China faded so did the symbolic capital related to it. Focusing on publications from Albania—that although not as

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in Italy—was around 800 strong. This is indicative of the availability of potential translators for Istorikes Ekdoseis. Stelios Manousakas, interview with the author, 21 May 2011.

flamboyant as China was still considered to be a socialist example for the publisher's readers—helped Istorikes Ekdoseis to temporarily salvage its symbolic capital.

By 1979 a new rupture between KKE (M–L) and Albania would take place over the issue of supporting or denouncing Mao Zedong.<sup>653</sup> This incident marked the end of an era for Istorikes Ekdoseis since for the first time since their establishment in 1963 they had nowhere to directly draw symbolic capital from. A whole publishing logic of translating and carefully copying original works as a source of symbolic capital was no longer valid. Istorikes Ekdoseis would then translate works from fraternal parties such as those of Chile or Spain as well as works of Dario Fo who although popular was far from being a sufficient substitute for the loss of Mao Zedong's or even Enver Hoxha's symbolic capital. Until 1976 if not 1978 the publishing programme of Istorikes Ekdoseis had a continuity and thus a flow of symbolic capital. Even the abrupt pause during the military dictatorship did not necessarily lead to the symbolic capital's loss. From 1979 the publishing programme—with the exception of Dario Fo's work—had no consistency, and can be characterised as being a publishing programme in confusion, without clear directives and orientation. The publishing firm not only could hardly provide a symbolic surplus through its newly published titles, but it also started losing the one accumulated for years. The ideological and political crisis of KKE (M–L) and its mass organisations was a reflection of the diminishment of the symbolic capital of Istorikes Ekdoseis. While until then the political and ideological capital of the Marxist–Leninist movement was transformed into symbolic capital for the publishing arm(s) of the movement, the post-1978 crisis of the movement reflected in the symbolic capital of the publishing arm and vice versa.

### *Economic Capital: A Hitherto Virtually Insignificant Factor*

Economic capital was never a priority for the political publishing field per se and its lack was almost taken for granted. Human capital in terms of un-

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653. Yorgis Provelegios, interview with the author, Athens, 10 October 2012; Vasilis Samaras, interview with the author, Thessaloniki, 22 August 2014.

paid or badly paid labour of activists would compensate for the lack of economic capital for years. As the years went by, the movement seemed to still be immature, without any assessments of its own, and incapable of making a mark for itself and its ideals. This reflected on the publishing programme and its shortcomings, which included original works based on Greek society rather than producing translated works that were vaguely relevant to the latter. Although the movement was still immature, the opposite could be said for its members. The 1960s youngsters were now in their 30s and 40s and were planning or even already had a family. Most of them acted for years as full-timers, as Lenin's "professional revolutionaries"<sup>654</sup> accepting very low wages, much lower than if they had an ordinary job or even volunteered. The party could not pay more. It had a number of expenses, from paying the bills and rents for dozens of party offices, producing a weekly newspaper and thousands of leaflets and pamphlets on a weekly, if not daily, basis. This was a common issue in most groups of the time, not only KKE (M–L)<sup>655</sup> and intensified the crisis. The lack of economic capital saw the rapid reduction of ideological and political capital—and thus symbolic capital— precipitating a literal existential crisis. This not only concerned the existence of the political organisation, but it also its members individually and raised a question of what was they were to do with their lives. This is more than clear not only from what they said or how they said that during the time they were interviewed. But also from their silence, a silence that lasted for almost 30 years until they finally decided to accept my request to interview them and that often re-emerged during the interviews.

### **The End of the Second Life of Istorikes Ekdoseis**

Istorikes Ekdoseis re-emerged in 1974. They initially functioned as if nothing had changed, as if 1967 was just the other day and they were simply re-

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654. Lenin, "What is to Be Done?", 347–530.

655. Tasos Parkosides, interview with the author, Rizari, 20 March 2013; Yorgis Provelgios, interview with the author, Athens, 10 October 2012; Yorgis Gikas, interview with the author, Menidi, 22 June 2012.

suming operations. Mao Zedong's death was the first blow, followed by the breaks first with China and then with Albania. At the same time youth—a preferential part of the political publishing field's readership—was fed up with hard-lined ideological and political texts. A cultural turn was vital in order for *Istorikes Ekdoseis* to serve the needs of its readers. Although the need for culture was covered up to a point with a series of Dario Fo's works initiated in 1980, the need to replace the lost symbolic capital that until then derived from copying works from China and Albania was never met. Nor was the necessity to produce original works to assess the questions of the time as far as the Greek economy and society and the global situation.

The agents of the publishing house gradually drifted away mainly because they felt that this cycle opened in 1963 was now closed. Beyond that or due to that they also felt the need to look after themselves and their families after years of complete commitment to the movement. *Istorikes Ekdoseis* seized their publishing activity in 1983. There was a mere publishing exception in 1990 when the autobiography of Polydoros Danielides was published under the imprint of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*. This was not a revival but a mere tribute to one of the oldest members of the movement that had passed soon before this publication was released.

Even today in second-hand bookstores, especially those based in Exarchia, Athens, one may find books of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, especially the blue-covered Chinese documents or the yellow Mao's works with Mao Zedong stamped on them, but that cycle of the political publishing field has been ended a long time ago and only relics remain.