

# ΑΝΑΓΕΝΝΗΣΗ

## The Marxist-Leninist publishing field during the 60s-70s in Greece

- ΜΙΑ ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΗ ΣΤΟΥΣ ΚΟΛΠΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΓΚΟΣΜΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΟΔΕΥΤΙΚΟΥ ΚΙΝΗΜΑΤΟΣ
- ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΑΝΑΓΕΝΝΗΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΙΝΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΑΣ
- Η ΝΕΟΛΑΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΟΔΕΥΤΙΚΟ ΚΙΝΗΜΑ
- ΜΙΑ ΑΠΟΠΕΙΡΑ ΑΝΤΙΠΕΡΙΣΤΡΑΣΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΩΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΝΕΤΕΡΩΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΡΑΣ
- Ο ΠΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΜΟΣΧΑΣ ΕΙΧΕ ΣΑΝ ΣΤΟΧΟ ΤΗΝ ΚΙΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΟΧΙ ΤΟΝ ΙΜΠΕΡΙΑΛΙΣΜΟ
- ΜΙΑ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΗ ΣΤΟ ΜΕΤΩΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ
- ΕΝΑ ΕΓΚΛΗΜΑΤΙΚΟ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟ ΠΑΖΑΡΕΜΑ

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ΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΟΣ

μηνιαία πολιτική επιθεώρηση

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\* The cover of the first issue of the first Marxist-Leninist periodical, the monthly political review *Anagennisi*, is pictured on the cover.

*Books are important vehicles of ideas that often challenge established norms and authorities.*<sup>1</sup>

## **1. Prologue**

Looking back upon fields of the publishing industry doesn't necessarily have to deal with just book history or nostalgia for the past. It may as well give useful insight for the present and the future. Although nobody can deny the importance of technological advancements, one must question if that is the driving force as far as the evolution of publishing is concerned? Are the changes (to come) in the industry a direct result of technological changes or do the social conditions play the key role? The use of such a scope is important not only for social scientists but also for book studies as well.

Even if the truth is somewhere in between, the aspect of social and political conditions is often neglected. An attempt to give an outline of what were the dynamics that gave birth to leftist publishing fields and especially the Marxist-Leninist (M-L) in Greece during the 60s-70s will be made in the pages to follow.

Political currents have often been taken as a unity with exactly the same characteristics worldwide. That is not quite true. Political trends and the publishing trends respectively that have in a way been marginalized in relation to their status 30 or 60 years ago, on a global scale, are still popular in certain regions. So publishing Mao's *Five Essays on Philosophy* could mean a possible business failure in a country of Western Europe but on the contrary could bring a substantial profit in a country of Latin America or Asia. This has to do with the different history of the Marxist-Leninist or Maoist movement in the Western world and in the so-called Third world countries.

The Marxist-Leninist publishing field did not appear as an independent publishing field until the early 60s. This is due to the fact that the main trend in the International Communist Movement after the October Revolution 1917 in Russia onwards was Marxism-Leninism. It did not even become an independent publishing field after 1956 and the change of politics within the Communist Party of the Soviet

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<sup>1</sup> D. Finkelstein – A. McCleery, *An introduction to book history*, (Routledge: New York, 2005), p. 2.

Union, which was considered as the leading force within the International Communist Movement. This was despite the fact some communist parties, or factions within other parties disagreed with this change. It was not until 1963 when China openly called for Marxists-Leninists to fight against what is presently known as Soviet Revisionism that we have the establishment of the Marxist-Leninist movement and thus of the Marxist-Leninist publishing field.

So the Greek Marxist-Leninist Publishing field in the 60s-70s cannot be analyzed exclusively within the scope of the social and political conditions of Greece alone. In order to be analysed in a sufficient manner it must take into consideration what took place in an international level and mainly in China during the same period. It is no coincidence that the course of the Greek and International Marxist-Leninist movement was parallel to the one of the Greek Marxist-Leninist publishing field and for that reason both gradually faded out during the early 80s. Also both the M-L movement and the M-L publishing field shared characteristics such as financial autonomy from the State and other institutions. Also a hierarchy of aims and goals where ideology and politics come first and financial issues such as making profit was irrelevant or was just seen as an opportunity for having more resources to use in order to promote ideological and political issues. First, I will sketch politics and ideology within the Greek society during the 60s-70s in relation to the publishing industry of that period.

Then and since I consider that Chinese (and Albanian) foreign policy determined in a great extent the course of the Marxist-Leninist movement on a global scale as the external force (key factor) of the creation, development and disintegration of the Greek Marxist-Leninist publishing field. This role is examined in Chapter 4.

In Chapter 5, I analyse the prehistory of M-L publications in Greece. Not all Greek communists were concentrated within Greece during the period 1949 (end of the Greek Civil War) and until 1974 (fall of the Junta). For this reason it is important to follow the parallel and for a long time independent course of the publishing activity of the Greek political refugees Marxist-Leninist movement, which is examined in Chapter 6, and that of the Marxist-Leninist movement within Greece which is examined in Chapter 7. These two movements underwent into a process of unification during the Junta and were unified (in geographical terms) after the fall of the Junta when the political refugees were allowed to return, and so did their publishing activity.

Some specific characteristics of the M-L publishing field which differentiates it from other publishing fields such as the fact that the agents within this field were non-professionals driven by ideology and politics and not from profit something that goes for the M-L publishing field as a whole is examined in section 7.2.4. Sections 7.2.5 refers to the principle of financial autonomy, which is another important aspect of this field.

Of course and due to the international developments mentioned before from the Junta onwards we have other splits within the M-L movement and the M-L publishing field, which are examined, in section 7.3.

## **2. Methodology**

When examining a political publishing field you have a juncture of the ideological, political and social sphere that is immanent in all trends of politics and of course of the publishing field. In this MA Thesis I used Pierre Bourdieu's theory of the literary field combined with Oral history.

David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery's words in their book *An Introduction to Book History* on Bourdieu are characteristic on why his theory fits in this MA Thesis:<sup>2</sup>

His articulation of the 'literary field' has proven fruitful for those concerned particularly with contemporary (nineteenth- to twenty-first-century) print culture and authorship. Bourdieu's 'literary field' stresses the juncture between culture, society, and material production, and is defined as common social, intellectual, and ideological arenas linking producers (publishers, editors and authors) to products (books, periodical publications, literary works).

Researching about the Greek Marxist-Leninist publishing and the Greek Marxist-Leninist movement in total is more of a trip to the unknown. So the use of oral history was done mainly in order to cover the gaps. The less than a handful of researches of the m-l movement note that Greek Marxist-Leninist history is

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<sup>2</sup> A., McCleery, D. Finkelstein, *An introduction to book history*, (New York: Routledge 2005), p. 22.

practically unknown and indistinct. Furthermore and apart from the lack of primary sources of important periods of this movement, the lack of secondary sources and the often contradictory information within these few sources are also obstacles to overcome. The use of oral history aimed at overtaking or at least bypassing some of these obstacles. Its use was successful as far as enlightening some unknown details of M-L publishing was concerned.

### **3. Publishing activity and the movement of ideas in Greece in the 60s-70s<sup>3</sup>**

The decades of the 60s-70s had it all. From anti-communism and censorship, to the political instability that led to the Junta, the advancement of the leftist movement and publishing these decades were full of developments in many levels (e.g. social, cultural, political). This constant tension led to political developments within the left movement – such as the birth of the m-l movement - which needed nurturing. And publications were the nourishment.

#### *3.1 Political situation in Greece during the 60s-70s*

The 60s were a decade where the whole world was in a constant turmoil. National Liberation Struggles in Africa and Asia, the Vietnam war, Coup d'états like in Congo and Ethiopia, student mobilizations all over the world.

In Greece the political situation was unstable with labor and popular mobilizations becoming more and more intense despite the police brutality and murders of progressives like the student Sotiris Petroulas who was murdered in 1965 during *Iouliana*, when people mobilized against the King's imposition on the elected government and the murder of the Member of Parliament Grigoris Labrakis.

The inner-imperialist contradictions and rivalry between Great Britain and the United States played a key role to the developments in Greece. Since the end of WWII the British lost their influence, and from then onwards Greece became a protectorate of the United States. Britain though didn't give up and was trying to regain its influence. At the same time the United States attempted to use Greece in

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<sup>3</sup> The title is borrowed from Axelos L., *Publishing Activity and the Movement of Ideas in Greece*. 2nd Ed., Stochastis, Athens 2008.

order to install NATO (U.S.) military bases in Cyprus. This had to be done in order to help them control the Arab peninsula. These were the reasons that led to the US-backed Junta of the Colonels (1967-1974).

During the Junta and especially after the first two or three years – in the early 70s – there had been a reorganization of the popular movement. Mainly the students have made attempts for student unionism independent from the regime that gradually led into political struggle against the regime. Also abroad, mainly in Western Europe, Greek students, immigrants and progressives in exile organized anti-Junta organizations. The students struggle led to the uprising and occupation of *Polytechnio* (The Polytechnical institute in Athens) in 1973, which until today is a symbol of the students and people struggle against the US-backed Junta.

After the end of the Junta and after seven years of oppression came the disappointment and frustration of mainly the youth of Greece. The reason was that the social and political change for which they fought during the Junta never came since the right-wing political party that had very close ties with the Junta came to power. So the student and labor movement were in a constant alert demonstrating, going on strike etc.

This came to an end during the early 80s and the rise of PASOK (Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement), a social democrat party that adopted the slogans and phraseology of the left in order to gain power. Even today some political scientists, activists or left political groups insist that in the first years it was a left party that turned bourgeois after a period of time. But this approach is far from the truth, is more an attempt to either cover their own illusions at the time instead of really looking into the real issues that the Left was unable to address at the time and led to PASOK's victory and the loss of the Left (in general). Finally, it gained control of the Labor and Student Unions and in October 1981 it won the National Elections.

The Left underwent an existential crisis due to PASOK. Many groups dismantled and their rank and files joined PASOK. Even those that due to their more solid ideological and political basis managed not to be absorbed by this new rising force of the Greek political scene lost lots of their cadres and members. This disintegration of the Left started taking place during the late 70s and was completed a few years later, in the mid-80s.

### *3.2 Publishing and Ideology*

The national and international developments, the anti-Junta struggle and the debates that followed during the *Metapolitefsi* - as the years that followed the fall of the Junta (from 1974 onwards) are called – led to respective developments in the publishing industry.

The production of magazines and periodicals as well as books and pamphlets increased substantially in order to serve the needs of the ongoing debates and struggles of the era. The demand of material, in our case printed in order to feed an audience, mainly university students, that had an urge for politics. This increasing production led to the development of distribution channels that often differed from the mainstream ones such as going to mainstream bookstores. That meant hand to hand distribution from political organizations – that were the publishers – members to their followers, establishment of political bookstores, distribution through political parties and organizations offices, etc.

#### **4. Determining what is Marxist-Leninist publishing**

Various ideological currents within the communist movement often use Marxism-Leninism as a denominator. So in order to proceed, it must be made clear what is considered as m-l publications. M-L publications are considered the publications produced by the Marxist-Leninist movement. That is the movement that was formulated after the call of Mao Zedong in 1963 for the creation of m-l parties. This is the reason that it is widely known as Maoist rather than m-l.

Parties created after Mao's appeal in 1963 in order to differentiate from revisionist parties that misappropriated the title Communist Party used M-L as well. So the revisionists in, lets say, Italy kept the title Communist Party of Italy so the genuine communists – Marxists-Leninists – established an m-l party, the Communist Party of Italy (marxist-leninist). Marxists-Leninists consider themselves as the genuine continuators of the course of the International Communist Movement from Marx and Engels until Lenin and Stalin. A course that in an international level had been continued by Mao Zedong and the Peoples' Republic of China until 1976.

In general the m-l movement was created in the mid 60s after a split within the international communist movement took place. We can schematically say that the two sides that mainly took place in the split are:

- 1) Those forces that aligned with the Soviet politics (also known as Revisionism<sup>4</sup> or Soviet Social-imperialism).
- 2) Those that rejected soviet politics and created what is known as the m-l movement.

The leading forces within the m-l movement have been the Communist Party of China led by Mao Zedong (that's why the split is usually mentioned as Sino-Soviet) and the Party of Labour of Albania led by Emver Hoxha.

There have been two major splits within the M-L movement as well. Firstly, in 1976 after the death of Mao and the rise of Deng Xiao-Ping in China and the second after Hoxha's criticism of Mao and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (G.P.C.R.) in 1978. These conflicts can be easily noticed in the m-l publications, either in the form of polemics or by the fact that some publishing houses stopped translations of Chinese or Albanian works or both. These conflicts within the m-l movement during the late 70s among other factors led to the disintegration of the movement by the early 80s.

Publications that meet at least the first term and/or the other terms mentioned below can be considered as m-l publications. Publications that:

- 1) Denounce Soviet Revisionism (the political turn initiated by the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, February 1956) and revisionism in general. Revisionism is the deviation of Marxism-Leninism.
- 2) Are translations of works from China and Albania – the two main forces conducting antirevisionist struggle in the 60s - as well as translations of publications by m-l parties from Europe and the World.
- 3) Are original publications on ideological, political or cultural - national or/and international - issues of m-l groups and parties.

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<sup>4</sup> Revisionism is the *fundamental* alteration of a theory, essentially usurping (though taking elements of) the former theory and replacing it with a new one. While the attributes of a theory are subject to change in accordance to changing historic circumstances, changing the *fundamental basis* of that theory is to nullify it in place of a new one. The term revisionism was used first against the German Social Democrat Edward Bernstein (1850-1932) and later on by the m-l movement against Nikita Khrushchev and the Soviet Union.  
<<http://www.marxists.org/glossary/frame.htm>> (03/08/2009).

This was not a Greek phenomenon. All over the world m-l groups, organizations and parties produced newspapers, periodicals and pamphlets. There have been publishing houses, bookstores and periodicals established all over the world in a similar manner selling material as described above.

In cases of countries like Greece, due to the fact we have a language limited within the boundaries of a single country, translations and original publications had to be made as well and played a key role in these countries where the local needs could not be covered just by distributing the material imported from abroad (e.g. China and/or Albania).

The distribution of publications of other m-l groups/parties/organizations and mainly publications of Foreign Languages Press of Peking was in some cases more essential for many groups since the publications were provided in their language on the first place. Nevertheless these groups still produced newspapers and periodicals along with pamphlets mainly concerning analysis on the internal situation and their stand on various issues.

Bookstores that mainly if not exclusively sold m-l publications were often set up in most of the countries the m-l movement was present. Bookstores played a significant role for the m-l movement as a whole for several reasons, such as:

- 1) These bookstores have been the main distribution channel of original publications.
- 2) Serving as a distribution channel and a source for international publications that gave an insight on the international developments of the m-l movement.
- 3) Bookstores were a significant part of the leftist political/public sphere. They served as a meeting and discussion point for leftist students, workers and intellectuals. It was part of the publishing sector of the m-l groups and the people working in the bookstores were party members.

The distinctiveness of the Greek case was that the whole development of the anti-revisionist or m-l movement was initiated much earlier than the rest of the world, where the anti-revisionist struggle was launched in 1963.

It all started after the intervention of the Soviets in the internal affairs of the Communist Party of Greece (CPG) of whom the vast majority was in exile after the defeat of the guerillas in 1949. On the 9<sup>th</sup> of September 1955 in Tashkent (Uzbekistan) where the majority (more than 7000) of the Greek Communist Party members lived - after the defeat of the guerillas from the US and Greek National

Army in 1949 - the Greek revisionists tried to take over the party offices with the cover of the soviets. About a year later the minority expelled the majority (around 85% of the party members that continued being loyal to the m-l principles) again under the guidance of the Soviet revisionists.

A similar political struggle that lasted for 6 years, from 1956 until 1962 took place in the Greek island of Ai Stratis where the vast majority of the communist political prisoners had been exiled. The reason was the denouncement of the 6<sup>th</sup> plenum of the Central Committee of the CPG, which was antidemocratic (a coup d'état by the Soviets and their people within the Communist Party of Greece) and a local attempt to implement the change of political line of the Soviet Union. Despite the various attempts to persuade the communists in exile to accept the new political line (revisionism) the vast majority stayed loyal to the m-l principles.

Besides the above, the leadership of the legal political formation of the left in Greece, EDA, which accepted the changes in the Soviet Union in practice, followed a policy of unconditional support of the moderate party Enosis Kentrou (Union of Centre). The pacifist approach and the loss of autonomy of EDA to the Enosis Kentrou made a lot of its members skeptical on the future of EDA. These were mainly either former exile of Ai Stratis that denounced these politics but also students, which were the most militant part of society at the time, but didn't see a militant stance from their leadership. A core of these dissentients (a group led by Yiannis Hontzeas and Isaac Iordanides) made the first publishing attempts of m-l publications and founded the first m-l publishing house *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and the monthly political review, *Anagennisi*.

So the ground from which m-l publishing originates had already been created in 1955, prior to the open revisionist turn of the Soviet Union in 1956. This was caused by internal (Greek) factors although it really became clear to the Greek Communist Movement ten years later, after 1963 Mao Zedong's appeal for creation of m-l groups all over the world, and thus the antirevisionist struggle expanded on a global scale.

M-L publishing followed a parallel course with the m-l movement in general. So the dynamics created by the external forces mentioned above led to the creation of a temporary publishing field (roughly from the early '60s until the early '80s). The field faced a crisis together with the m-l movement and the disintegration of the m-l

movement led to the disintegration of the publishing field, since the dynamics created by the antirevisionist and revolutionary struggle weakened substantially.

#### **4.1 External Forces**

Chinese and Albanian politics aided by their publications played a very significant role in the formation of the m-l movement and thus m-l publications. They provided ideological and political support through their foreign publications.

##### **4.1.1 The role of China**

The Communist Party of China played a great role and contributed towards the direction of the anti-revisionist (m-l) struggle. This was done mainly by ideological support through publications. Books, pamphlets and periodicals were published in China in English, French, Italian, German, Spanish, etc in order to be accessible (readable or easier to translate to native languages) all over the world.

More specifically, the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China (PRC) tried to fulfil three objectives by the use of periodicals and publishing houses aiming at an international audience:

- 1.** To promote the Chinese social, political, economic and cultural system.
- 2.** To expose the conditions in the third world (Asia, Africa and Latin America).

During the '60s-'70s national liberation struggles had been progressing in the aforementioned regions and the Chinese wanted to promote them, mainly through their publication Peking Review.

- 3. a)** To promote the revolutionary line in opposition to the revisionist line (Soviet Union) from 1963 onwards.
- b)** To promote the anti-revisionist struggle of the G.P.C.R. (1966-1969).<sup>5</sup>

At the end of the 1970s, after the death of Mao Zedong, the political line of the Chinese Communist Party changed from revolutionary to revisionist. That had as

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<sup>5</sup> Interview with Grigoris Constantopoulos is a member of the Central Organ of the Communist Party of Greece (marxist-leninist) (KKE(m-l)) and the publisher of its bi-weekly newspaper *Proletariake Simea* on the 17 January 2009.

a result that the three objectives changed. So the necessity for these publications started fading out.

#### 4.1.1.1 Chinese Publications for international use

Articles copied and translated from Chinese publications played an essential role in m-l publication in Greece (and elsewhere). These publications were created by China especially for an international use. So they were provided in various languages and a global distribution network was developed as well. Chinese publications played a very important role both to help solving and philosophical and ideological issues that some falsely used them without interpretation or translated and published anything coming from those publications uncritically. The most significant Chinese publications are briefly described next.

##### a) Foreign Languages Press

Foreign Languages Press (FLP) was established in Peking on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1952<sup>6</sup>. It produced both literary and political works in many languages. The titles were usually exported worldwide by Chinese immigrants or publishing houses that were set up for this purposes and where distributed mainly by the m-l organizations in each country and their bookstores where available.

FLP reproduced articles from the *People's Daily*<sup>7</sup> (Renmin Ribao) the organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist (CCP), the *Red Flag*<sup>8</sup> (Hongqi) which had been the major theoretical publication of the Central Committee of the CCP founded as a monthly publication in 1958 until 1979 when it became bi-monthly until 1988 when it was terminated and the *Liberation Army Daily*, newspaper of the People's Liberation Army (PLA).

The vast majority of Chinese publications, abroad, during the '60s-'70s were either by FLP, distributed worldwide or publications translated from FLP publications in cases like Greece where no Greek-language publications were provided by FLP.

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<sup>6</sup> < <http://www.flp.com.cn/en/newsdetail.cfm?iCntno=341> > (14/4/2009).

<sup>7</sup> L.R. Sullivan, *Historical Dictionary of the People's Republic of China*, Second Edition, (Scarecrow Press: Plymouth 2007), pp 379-380.

<sup>8</sup> L.R. Sullivan., *Historical Dictionary of the People's Republic of China*, pp 420-421.

There was only one exception of a Greek FLP publication, which concerned what is alleged to be the most printed book in history, the “*Quotations of Chairman Mao Zedong*”, better known as *The Little Red Book*. The Greek version was published by FLP in 1969.

#### b) Peking Review

*Peking Review*<sup>9</sup> was as significant as the FLP. This weekly English-language news magazine was launched on the 4 March 1958. A description provided by Guozi Shudian in the same letter as above states:

Peking Review gives you:

- \* China's views on current international questions
- \* Theoretical articles and important documents
- \* Authoritative coverage of developments in China
- \* Illustrations, cartoons, maps and charts

Airmailed to subscribers all over the world Spanish & French<sup>10</sup> editions also available.

Like FLP publications, it reproduced articles from the publications previously mentioned as well as articles of the *New China News Agency (Xinhua)*. *Peking Review* had been the main source for m-l newspapers and periodicals while FLP was providing booklets, pamphlets and books. Greek Marxist-Leninist publications mainly used as the basis of translations *Peking Review* as well as the French and German editions of it. This had to do with the fact that the main cores of Greek M-L especially during the Junta (1967-1974) were based in France and Germany.

According to Stelios Agoutoglou in an interview for the purposes of this research (Thessaloniki, 30 March 2009), member of the Communist Party of Greece (marxist-leninist) and member of the AMEE<sup>11</sup> (Militant Front of Greeks Abroad) in

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<sup>9</sup> Incomplete archives of *Peking Review* issues can be found at: <<http://www.marxists.org/subject/china/peking-review/index.htm>> (14/04/2009) and <http://www.massline.org/PekingReview/index.htm> (14/04/2009).

<sup>10</sup> The French edition was identical with the English one but the magazine was called *Pekin Information* instead <http://www.osaarchivum.org/files/holdings/300/8/3/text/10-4-7.shtml> (14/04/2009).

<sup>11</sup> AMEE was a mass anti-junta organization related to the Organization of Marxists-Leninists of Greece (OMLE). It was active in the period 1968-1974 and its most significant branches were in Paris and in Italian cities.

Italy, from 1968, *Pekin Information* that according to him could be found easily had been the main source for the articles translated and used in publications of Greek marxists-leninists of Italy. AMEE's key publication was *Laike Enoteta* (People's Unity) published in Modena.

The significance of *Peking Review* is stressed in an awkward way in page 3 of issue no. 6 of the periodical *Kokkine Simea* (Red Flag) organ of the Communist Party of Greece Marxists-Leninists (KKE/M-L), a small m-l organization constituted mainly by Greek students and immigrants living in West Germany, led by Giannis Zachos: "A bad impression was created by EKKE<sup>12</sup> [...] where after 'analyzing' the international contradictions (as if they are the only ones reading *Peking Review*) [...]"<sup>13</sup>.

#### c) New China News Agency (Xinhua)

Xinhua, China's national news agency has been the main news source for China's newspapers and magazines and by extension for m-l periodicals – until the revisionist turn in China, in 1976 - worldwide. It was established as Red China News Agency in November 1931 and changed its name into New China News Agency (Xinhua) in 1937. It established its first affiliate abroad in London in 1947. Its news reached all Marxists-Leninists worldwide through *Peking Review* and the other international editions that the Communist Party of China and the Peoples Republic of China published.

#### 4.1.1.2 Distribution

*Guozi Shudian*, established in December 1949, was the (official) governmental distribution channel through which the aforementioned publications and serials were exported worldwide. It's translated as *China Publications Centre* and it literally

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<sup>12</sup> Epanastatiko Kommounistiko Kinema Elladas (E.K.K.E.) [Revolutionary Communist Movement of Greece] is a marxist-leninist organization established in 1970 in West Germany.

<sup>13</sup> *Giro apo ta gegonota tes 23 Ioule 1976* (Around the Facts of the 23 July 1976), no. 6, *Kokkine Simea*, September 1975.

means “International Bookshop”.<sup>14</sup> Through this organization bookstores, organizations and individuals ordered and subscribed to any Chinese publications. It is still active today.

In the bibliography of Edgar Snow’s *Red Star Over China* - which is considered as one of the classics concerning the Chinese communist movement – the reader is referred to Guozi Shudian in order to obtain a complete lists of the works published by FLP in English and French.

In June 1963 a letter and catalogue from Guozi Shudian, exporters and importers of books and periodicals to a subscriber, states for one of the Foreign Languages Press Peking publications: “It is available in 14 languages, including English, French, Spanish, Russian and German” and for some other publications of the catalogue: “The above publications are available in English, French, Spanish, German, Russian, Japanese, Vietnamese, Arabic, Thai, Italian, Esperanto, etc”.<sup>15</sup>

Further on in the same letter the following is stated:

The Mail-Order Department of Guozi Shudian, Peking, is pleased to offer its service to readers in all parts of the world.

This Department:

- \* Handles orders for the foreign language books and periodicals of China from readers direct. Payment with order or after delivery.
- \* Supplies readers abroad with catalogues of the foreign language books and periodicals of China.
- \* Provides readers with the latest publication news from China, and introduces to them important Chinese publications.
- \* Recommends books and periodicals to readers according to their requirements, and also accepts blanket orders from them.
- \* Supplies free specimens of the foreign language periodicals of China for a trial reading upon request.

According to Stefan R. Landsberger there had even been *Renmin Shudian* (People’s Bookstores) in various European capital cities. A potential reader would

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<sup>14</sup> A. Donnithorne, *China’s Economic System*, fifth ed., (Routledge: London 2008), p. 325.

<sup>15</sup> <<http://www.osaarchivum.org/files/holdings/300/8/3/text/92-1-251.shtml>> (14/04/2009).

first visit them as well as Maoist and other political group bookstores in order to obtain material related to China or Marxist-Leninist issues or contact the Guozi Shudian directly.<sup>16</sup> In the latter case the reader could get a catalogue, order and receive printed material via airmail. The other way to get that material would also be by visiting Chinese Embassies. This was done mainly during the first years of the Sino-Soviet split (1963-1964) within the International Communist Movement. Greek political refugees living in the Eastern Block after the defeat of the Greek Democratic Army in 1949 did this.

#### 4.1.1.3 *Chinese policies*

During that period China had no copyright laws and on the contrary encouraged people to use, promote and distribute its publications since the aim was to promote their ideological, political and tactical views against revisionism by propagating their theory and practice and conducting polemics towards revisionist ideological and theoretical documents as well as revisionist actions and stand towards international events and issues such as the Cuba missile incident, Czechoslovakia 1968, etc. Publishing activity was not seen as a trade (economical) activity but as political act.

#### 4.1.1.4 *The Decline*

After the death of Mao Zedong and the rise of Deng Xiao-Ping in 1976, the Communist Party of China changed its politics abandoning the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist perspective and turning to revisionism like the Soviet Union had done twenty years before. That caused a crisis within the Marxist-Leninist movement and a gradual reduction of the Chinese publications for the international movement can be observed. This change in politics had an impact in m-l publications on a global scale since although a minority continued publishing Chinese articles and distributing Chinese titles for a couple of years after Mao Zedong's death. By the late '70s this was almost terminated due to the political circumstances since the revisionist turn of Chinese politics became clear to the vast majority of m-l groups and parties. This

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<sup>16</sup> <<http://chinese posters.net/resources/landsberger-confessions.php>> (24/06/2009).

caused a serious blow to the m-l publishing field in Greece as well. A very significant source of political and ideological documents but also of prestige is now gone.

#### 4.1.1.5 *Synopsis*

In conclusion, the CCP and the Chinese state created publishing houses (and in extension positions for various agents including translators into at least a dozen languages, printers of Latin, Arabic and other alphabets, editors etc) as well as distribution agencies. This was a direct result of the dynamics created by the Sino-Soviet split and the development of the Marxist-Leninist (also known as Maoist) movement on a global scale. This publishing activity expanded and became more systematic during the period of the Sino-Soviet split and after the revisionist split in China it gradually came to an end. This had an impact to the M-L movement outside China as well. In the case of Greece, which is of our interest, this caused a split within the M-L movement (similar to what happened in other countries as well) in 1976. This had an impact especially in the M-L press and periodicals where a significant part of their content was taken by translations of Chinese publications such as articles from Peking Review. In most cases of translations of Chinese documents the format and the covers of the Greek translations were identical with those of the originals (Chinese). This was probably done in an attempt of the Greek publishing houses to imply a connection with China and thus of the authority that such a relation would provide to the Greek M-L movement that would appear as the “ambassador” of China. Same goes with Albanian publications.

#### 4.1.1.6 The role of Albanian publications

For a long time, until roughly late 1978 - early 1979, the Labor Party of Albania under Emver Hoxha and the People’s Republic of Albania played a similar role for the m-l movement as the Chinese did until 1976 and the death of Mao. This was in parallel to the Chinese influence since these two were the main opposition to revisionism as the Soviets and its allies expressed it.

For these purposes they established the *8 Nentori* (8 November) publishing house in Tirana. This publishing house published political works, in English, French, Greek, etc. The Greek Minority in Albania published its own newspaper in

Argyrokastrro since 1945. It was called *Laiko Bema* (People's Podium) and it was the organ of the Democratic Front of the District of Argyrokastrro for the Greek Minority.<sup>17</sup> It contained translated articles from *Zeri i Popullit* (Voice of the People), which was the official organ of the Party of Labor of Albania. Greek M-L organizations had access to *Laiko Bema* through Albanian embassies and used it as a source or reproduced its content for their own publications.

*Laiko Bema* was a key source of information in print (Radio Tirana was also available with broadcasts in Greek) since there was no need for any publishing procedures such as translating or printing by the Greek Marxists-Leninists rather than just distributing it to their followers. The newspaper was provided by either Albanian embassies (Eastern Block countries) or by other Albanian authorities in case there were no bilateral relations between Albania and the country the Greek Marxists-Leninists lived, such as Canada or even Australia.

*Albania Today* and *New Albania* were bimonthly political and informative reviews published in during the 70s and the 80s. They were published in Albanian, French, English, Russian, Arabic, Italian, Spanish and German and served the same purpose for the Albanian regime as *Peking Review* did for the Chinese regime and which was described before.<sup>18</sup>

In April 1978 Emver Hoxha published *Imperialism and the Revolution* in Albanian and distributed it within the Party of Labour of Albania. It was then translated and published in 1979 in English. In this book, Enver Hoxha denounced Mao Zedong and the Cultural Revolution causing a split in the m-l movement that had more or less the same result as in the case of China (1976).

Some organizations that disagreed with the viewpoint of Albania, stopped using Albanian material and that had a negative impact in the m-l movement and thus on the Greek Marxist-Leninist publishing field. Even though Albanian documents

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<sup>17</sup> Greek population has been living in South Albania or North Epirus for centuries. This district was first part of Greece, then autonomous and after 1921 part of Albania. *Laiko Bema*, was the newspaper of the minority and is still active with a different political orientation since the change of the regime in the early 90s.

<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately and due to the fact that Albania didn't have the special weight China did within the m-l movement and as far as international politics are concerned less information are available. Some information on these periodicals can be found in the Open Society Archives website:

<<http://osaarchivum.org/library/periodicals?idx=Countries&id=2>> (04/08/2009).

didn't have as prominent position in the Marxist-Leninist press as those of China it still affected them.

## 5. Greek Marxist-Leninist publications

Although the m-l publishing field as such had been created in the early '60s, in Greece it happened in a slightly different way due to the unique political circumstances that were mentioned above (Tashkent 1955, Ai Stratis, etc). Also Mao Zedong and his comrades of the Communist Party of China ideas weren't unknown to Greek communists before 1963-64. Publications as well as articles in the progressive and communist press about China had been available since the mid 20s.

In the lists below we will not mention the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin that were published up to 1956 and which are m-l publications because until then there wasn't any debate on the issue since revisionism did not openly confront m-l principles. Stalin became a persona non grata for revisionism after it prevailed in the International Communist Movement in 1956.<sup>19</sup>

### 5.1 *Greek Civil War (1946-49)*

During the civil war the Communist Party of Greece, that was leading the Democratic Army of Greece, gave a lot of attention to the ideological work (political education-enlightenment and culture) and propaganda apart from the exclusively military aspect of the Democratic Army. From the establishment of the Democratic Army of Greece, in October 1946, duplicators and moving presses were placed in the dugouts where the General and Peripheral Headquarters were stationed.<sup>20</sup> In the ASKI digital collection of the Democratic Army of Greece, a two-page daily news report, 2

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<sup>19</sup> The issue of Stalin was debated during the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. For more details on the position of the new (revisionist) leadership of the CPSU read *Nikita S. Khrushchev: The Secret Speech – On the Cult of Personality* <<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1956khrushchev-secret1.html>> (04/08/2009).

<sup>20</sup> A. Matthaïou – P. Poleme, *H ekdotike peripeteia ton Ellenon Kommouniston: Apo to vouno sten yperoria 1947-1968*, Bibliorama – ASKI, Athens 2003, p. 19.

magazines<sup>21</sup> (a biweekly and a monthly), 11 newspapers<sup>22</sup>, 98 pamphlets and books (including one in English, five in French and two bilingual, English-French) can be found.<sup>23</sup>

This is the first time we have the translations and publications of ideological, political and military Chinese documents.<sup>24</sup> The press of the Communist Party of Greece and the Democratic Army of Greece - mainly *Eleftheri Ellada* [Free Greece] - printed them. According to the archive of the *Democratic Army of Greece* and the archive of *Left and Culture* belonging to the *Archeia Sygchrones Koinonikis Istorias* [Archives of Contemporary Social History] in Athens and the very well documented work of Matthaïou and Poleme<sup>25</sup> on the publications of Greek political refugees during the period 1947-1968, the following had been published during that period:

1. *Strategeka Problemata tou Epanastatiku Poleμου tes Kinas* [Strategic Problems of the Revolutionary war of China by *Mao Zedong*], published in the press office of *Eksormisi*<sup>26</sup> in 3000 copies on January 1949, 101 pages.
2. *E Dectatoria tes L. Demokratias, tou Mao-Tse-Toung Proedrou tis K.E. tou Kommounistikou Kommatos tis Kinas* [The dictatorship of People's Democracy] by Mao Zedong Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published by *Eleftheri Ellada*. This 16-page booklet was translated from the Russian newspaper *Pravda*, issue of the 6<sup>th</sup> of July 1949.
3. *Diethnismos kai Ethnikismos* [Internationalism and Nationalism], by Liu Shiaoqi published by *Eleftheri Ellada*, July 1949. This 57-page booklet was translated from the 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> of June issues of the Russian newspaper *Pravda*.

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<sup>21</sup><<http://62.103.28.111/ds/tree.asp?mynode=75818&afterroot=%20~%20Δ.Σ.Ε.%20Περι%20οδικά>> (04/08/2009).

<sup>22</sup><<http://62.103.28.111/ds/tree.asp?mynode=73519&afterroot=%20~%20Δ.Σ.Ε.%20Εφη%20μερίδες>> (04/08/2009).

<sup>23</sup><[http://62.103.28.111/ds/treeres.asp?mynode=73040&afterroot=%20~%20Εκδόσεις%20του%20Βουνού%20\(Δ.Σ.Ε.\)](http://62.103.28.111/ds/treeres.asp?mynode=73040&afterroot=%20~%20Εκδόσεις%20του%20Βουνού%20(Δ.Σ.Ε.))> (04/08/2009).

<sup>24</sup> The following publications are part of the Digital Archive of the Democratic Army of Greece of the Contemporary Archives of Social History, Athens <<http://62.103.28.111/ds/>> (14/04/2009).

<sup>25</sup> A. Matthaïou – P. Poleme, *H ekdotike peripeteia ton Ellenon Kommouniston: Apo to vouno sten yperoria 1947-1968*, Bibliorama – ASKI, Athens 2003.

<sup>26</sup> *Eksormisi was the newspaper of the Democratic Army of Greece from 1947 until 1949*. G.N., Alexatos, *Istoriko lexiko tou ellenikou ergatikou kinematos*, (Geitonies tou kosmou: Athens 2006), p. 167.

4. *Stechia gia to laiko apeleutherotiko strato tes Kinas* [Facts for the People's Liberation Army of China] by Siao Hua, published by *Eleftheri Ellada*, September 1949, 26 pages.<sup>27</sup>

*Neos Kosmos*, the monthly military-political organ of the General Headquarters of the Democratic Army that was the communist army during the civil war (1946-49) published translations and summaries of such works.

In 1948 issues 4 and 5 (1<sup>st</sup> year), April and May respectively published in two series part of Edgar Snow's *Red Star over China*, which is considered until today a classic book on Chinese Communists. The first issue (second year) of the magazine published in January 1949, published a fraction of the aforementioned Mao's booklet *Strategic problems of the revolutionary war in China*, stating that the whole book is going to be published. A five page (pp. 347-352) book report on the same book (incorrectly stating that it was published in February 1949 instead of January) can be found in issue 5 (second year), March 1949 by Lefteris Eleftheriou. In addition in issue 9 (second year), September 1949 an article on the liberation struggle of the Chinese people by the Supreme Commander of the People's Liberation Army of China Zhu De was published.

The reasons for such publications on behalf of the Democratic Army of Greece leadership are dual. Firstly, in order to raise the moral of the fighters since both the Greek and Chinese people conducted a national liberation struggle at the same time period although they ended in the opposite way. The Greek revolutionaries were defeated while the Chinese won. This was expressed in the poem 'Angina Pectoris' of the Turkish revolutionary poet *Nazim Hikmet*:

If the half of my heart is here, doctor  
The other half is in China  
With the army going down towards the Yellow river.  
And then every morning, doctor,  
Every morning at dawn  
My heart is shot in Greece.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> A book review on this book can be found in the newspaper *Leuteria* [Freedom], no. 200, 28<sup>th</sup> of October 1949.

<sup>28</sup> N. Hikmet, *Poems*, (New York: Masses & Mainstream, 1954), pp 35-36.

Secondly, Mao Zedong developed the theory of People's Protracted War through his military works. There is a case that due to the military advancements of the Chinese communists that became known worldwide through communist press such as the Russian newspaper *Pravda*, that the Greek communists started studying these works while seeking solutions to the problems they were facing during the Greek Civil War.

Despite the reasons that the leadership of the Communist Party decided to publish those documents the fact is that it gave the opportunity to its members to get to know Chinese communists works and Mao Zedong's in particular something that was later on important for the Marxist-Leninist movement and Marxist-Leninist publishing since these ideas were already introduced and there was some familiarity with them, at least for part of the Greek communists.

## 5.2 *Publications in Exile (1949 – 64)*<sup>29</sup>

After the defeat of the Democratic Army of Greece in the end of August 1949 Greek communists - about 50.000 men, women and children - were forced to abandon the country and resided in countries of the then Eastern Block, such as Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania and the former U.S.S.R, mainly in the capital of Uzbekistan, Tashkent where about 15.000 of them were placed. They were transferred to these countries through Albania but probably due to the fact it was the poorest country they were not stationed there but sent to the other Eastern Block countries and the U.S.S.R.

From the very beginning under the guidance of the Communist Party of Greece they started their publishing activity. This included newspapers, magazines but also books. The latter can be categorized in school books that were used for the education of the young children forced to leave Greece due to the war, literature and politics.

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<sup>29</sup> It cannot be easily determined when to separate the publishing activity from revolutionary to revisionist as far as the official Greek Communist Party press is concerned. Despite the fact the debate within it the clash between the two political lines (revolutionary-revisionist) was initiated in the mid-50s the official split – as in an organized political organization of the Marxist-Leninist political refugees took place almost 10 years later in 1964.

Publishing activity was controlled by the Communist Party of Greece and was mainly conducted in Bucharest where the Party headquarters were and the publications were then distributed to the rest of the Greek political refugees communities. Some publishing activity was conducted in the other countries as well, mainly newspapers.

The main publishing house was *Politikes kai Logotechnikes Ekdoseis* [Political and Literature Publications] founded in Bucharest, Romania in 1954 and stopped its activities in 1968. These books were consumed mainly among Greek political refugees and among Greeks living in Western Europe since they were illegal in Greece. This publishing house translated a volume of Mao Zedong's *Selected Works* from the Russian edition in April 1957 in 5000 copies.

It is most likely that this happened because although the revisionist turn in the USSR (1956) and within the Communist Party of Greece (1955-56) had already began, the Chinese didn't initiate their polemics at the time. It was going to be the first out of the four volumes of Mao Zedong's *Selected Works* published in China in 1951. A second volume was ready to be published afterwards but never did, most probably due to the Sino-Soviet split that occurred in the meantime. This can be supported by the fact that according to one of the leading cadres of the M-L movement in Greece in the 60s Yiannis Hontzeas talks about censorship on behalf of the revisionist leadership of the Communist Party of Greece in order to keep their members in the dark:

Acquiring documents with the Chinese positions was like committing "suicide". They bought the editions of *Pekin Information* containing the documents of the letters of the Communist Party of China<sup>30</sup> in order to make them vanish. [...] Those who attempted to find the documents of the Communist Party of China, apart from the measures they faced (threatened to be expelled, being expelled from the Communist Party), were often facing tremendous and often unovercamable obstacles. More have taken place.

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<sup>30</sup> Hontzeas is referring to the series of letters that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1963-5 concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement. The exchange of letters between the two parties has been the most known debate (polemics) between Marxism-Leninism (represented by the positions of the Communist Party of China) and Revisionism (led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union).

Publishers instigated by leaders of Communist Parties loyal to the ‘head’<sup>31</sup>, printed the documents and then they made them vanish. Wherever a discussion on the polemics took place they didn’t provide the documents of the Chinese letters, but concisely and guided, they provided a ‘summary’ and called those present to decide [on who is right and who is wrong]. This was the exception, the democratic one. Those who finally obtained the documents were under a load of blackmails.<sup>32</sup>

Apart from the above publication, in the political-theoretical magazine *Neos Kosmos*<sup>33</sup> (New World), organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, the following book references can be found:

1. The bibliographic note of the publishing production of 1950 states<sup>34</sup> that among others, the books *Nea Kina* [New China] and *E agrotike metarythmise stin Kina* [The agrarian reform in China] by Liu Shiaoqi in 3000 copies had been published in order to know socialist countries such as China and their problems better.
2. The bibliographical note of the publishing production of January-February 1951 great emphasis is given on the publication of Mao’s philosophical works *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* which in 3000 copies.<sup>35</sup> Until the time of the Sino-Soviet split in the mid-60s the publications of the Communist Party of Greece spoke very highly of Mao Zedong and his theoretical works.
3. The bibliographic note for the publishing production of July-August of 1951, states<sup>36</sup> that in August, the publishing *Nea Ellada* (New Greece) published a collection entitled *Pos nikise on kinezikos laos* [How did the Chinese people win]. This was a collection of articles published in the newspaper *Gia statheri Eirine, gia te Laiki Dimokratia* [For stable Peace, for People’s Democracy] for the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary

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<sup>31</sup> The “head” is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

<sup>32</sup> Y. Hontzeas, *To “telos” tou kommounismo* [The “end” of communism], (Athens: A/Synecheia, 1993), p. 322.

<sup>33</sup> *Neos Kosmos* was published in Bucharest, Romania from 1949 as a biweekly magazine and from 1950 until October 1974 when it stopped being published as a monthly magazine (Alexatos, G., *Istoriko lexiko tou ellinikou ergatikou kinematos*, p. 318).

<sup>34</sup> *Oi ekdoseis mas sto 1950*, *Neos Kosmos*, issue 1 (third year), January 1951, pp 43-44.

<sup>35</sup> *Oi ekdoseis mas to dimeno Genari-Flevari 1951*, *Neos Kosmos*, issue 3 (third year), March 1951, p. 44.

<sup>36</sup> *Oi ekdoseis mas sto dimeno Ioulios-Augoustos*, *Neos Kosmos*, issue 9 (third year), September 1951, pp. 54, 61.

of the Communist Party of China (CPC) preceded by the article of Mao Zedong *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship* written for the 28<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the CPC. The other articles were written by Zhu De, Deng Xiaoping, Deng Yung, Lu Dingyi. It was printed in August 1951 in 3000 copies.

Also there had been other publications like:

*Ekti (Platia) Olomeleia tou Kommounistikou Kommatos tis Kinas – Zetemata syneteristikopoiisis stin agrotiki oikonomia* Mao-Tse-Ntoun [6<sup>th</sup> (broad) Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China – On collectivization in agriculture economy by Mao Zedong], *Politikes kai Logotechnikes Ekdoseis 1955* in 3500 copies, and *To ogdoo pankineziko synedrio tou Kommounistikou Kommatos tis Kinas* [The eighth all-Chinese congress of the Communist Party of China], *Politikes kai Logotechnikes Ekdoseis 1957* in 4000 copies.

We also find a translation that comes from the French edition of *Foreign Languages Press, Peking* - the publishing house that later on fed the m-l press with material for almost two decades, from the Sino-Soviet Split and until the death of Mao Zedong. This was, *Thirty years of the Communist Party of China* by Hu Qiaomu. Up to then the source of Chinese documents had been the Soviet press. There had been also publications on China from non-Chinese authors.

### 5.3 M-L publications turning into revisionist

Later on after the revisionists with the help of the Soviets and the other Eastern Bloc parties took control of the leadership of the Communist Party of Greece in 1956 – and all its activities including publishing – they turned publications into revisionist as well.

It was explicitly stated that books that “are not compatible with the decisions of the 6<sup>th</sup> plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece and of the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union” should be withdrawn from circulation.<sup>37</sup>

After the Sino-Soviet split they started publishing anti-China, anti-Marxist-Leninist titles such as the series titled “*For the unity of the World Communist*

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<sup>37</sup> A. Matthaiou – P. Poleme, *H ekdotike peripeteia ton Ellenon Kommouniston: Apo to vouno sten yperoria 1947-1968*, pp 96-99.

*Movement*". This series included 6 titles written by Soviets and other revisionists. Also the *Open letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the communist organizations and all the communists of the Soviet Union*. This was the initiation of the polemics in print between m-l and revisionism and it included for the first and last time the Open letter the Communist Party of China sent to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well. In the future the Chinese sides documents were not to be published along with the Soviet sides and in fact weren't published at all so that the Greek communists wouldn't be able to compare the two political lines. They published for example the *Three Statements of the Soviet Government* explaining its side of the story for the split but never did the same with the Chinese side. All the above publications - of this section - were printed in 1963.

### 5.3.1 *Exiled and Censored*

In the meantime m-l books, both Greek titles such as those by Nikos Zachariades former General Secretary of the Party and foreign titles like those of Stalin, Hoxha and concerning Albania had been withdrawn from the bookshelves from the very beginning (1955-7). Manuscripts of m-l literature ready to be printed by the previous revolutionary literature and essays never seen the light of day and stayed into some party official's drawers if not destroyed. A bit later on the same happened with books of Mao and Chinese documents. Also books exposing Tito's revisionism had been withdrawn since Tito reestablished the relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and thus with the rest of the revisionist parties such as the Communist Party of Greece in the mid-50s.

They also conducted extensive censorship. One example is the novel *Matomeno Eliovasilema* [Bloody Sunset] by a V. Vardinoyiannis published in 1966. In March 1965 the *Enlightenment Committee* that decided if a book would be published or not and what changes or corrections should be made erased all references to Zachariades – the former General Secretary who was illegally dethroned by the revisionists and also references to Mao Zedong.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> A. Matthaiou – P. Poleme, *H ekdotike peripeteia ton Ellenon Kommouniston: Apo to vouno sten yperoria 1947-1968*, pp 665-666.

## 6. Publishing among Greek Marxist-Leninist Political Refugees (1960-1974)

As seen above, publishing activity took place among political refugees that lived in the former Soviet Union and in the Eastern Block after the defeat of the Democratic Army of Greece (August 1949) and after their repatriation to Greece in the mid-70s. This is the maybe the most intriguing part of Greek m-l publishing but most certainly the most difficult to conduct research on.

M-L publishing by political refugees was conducted in the most difficult conditions. They were conducting political and thus publishing activity under conditions that were at least unfriendly to them in two ways. Firstly, they were living in foreign countries where the (revisionist) regimes were opposing their ideas. This meant that they could be easily sent to prison, exile, lose their jobs or even be deported in a period that Greece was under a dictatorship but even if Greece wasn't under dictatorship nobody would hire them since they were communists.<sup>39</sup> Secondly they were members or former members of a revisionist communist party that was also against them and it would turn them in without second thoughts. This shows how strong the dynamics were created by the political situation that led them to conduct publishing activity under such great threats to their lives.

There are also great difficulties in conducting research on this issue for numerous reasons. Most of the protagonists of this political and publishing activity are either dead or quite old. Only a few of them have published some sort of biography on their lives when they were political refugees and they usually don't mention much on the publishing aspect of their m-l activities and even that is done in a rather general way. As it will be seen further on the existing sources are sometimes contradictive. Also primary sources such as the products of their publishing activities, like newspapers or pamphlets are extremely rare, and their existence is mainly known through the aforementioned biographies.

Giorgos Evgeniades, political refugee at the time in former Czechoslovakia writes in his memoirs<sup>40</sup> that there – in the organizations of the Communist Party of

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<sup>39</sup> There had been two known cases of such deportations of Greek marxists-leninists. One was saved by AMEE in Italy and the other has mysteriously vanished although some news reports claim he was murdered.

<sup>40</sup> G. Evgeniades, *Tes Ges oi Kolasmenoi* (The Damned of the Earth), Ektos ton teichon, Athens 2008, pp. 318-322.

Greece abroad - was the first major conflict between Marxists-Leninists and revisionists in the mid-50s. This inevitably laid the ground for the establishment of M-L groups and thus M-L publications. Especially after a Congress of the Romanian Workers' Party (the communist party in Romania) in Bucharest in 1960<sup>41</sup>, where a conference was held between Communist Parties no communiqué was published as it usually happened in such occasions because some parties rejected the Soviet revisionism such as allegations and accusations against Stalin and the period he was leading the Soviet Union and the theory of peaceful coexistence of socialism and capitalism.

Less than a year later the Twenty-second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union took place in October 1961. There, Khrushchev denounced Albania for its opposition to the Soviet political line, also sending a message to China that it would be next. The rapprochement of Tito and Yugoslavia that split from the International Communist Movement in 1949 on behalf from the Soviet leadership as well as the Cuban missile crisis where the Soviets played a political game on the back of the Cuban people in order to serve their rivalry towards the United States. At the same time in order to blackmail Albania and China, the soviet specialists that were sent as technical support to China and Albania as well as the financial help (loans) were withdrawn. This led the Chinese to make the polemics official.<sup>42</sup>

So the Greek Marxists-Leninists in Chechozlovakia visited the Chinese and Albanian embassies. There the Albanians promised them to send them political documents written in Czech and the newspaper *Laiko Bema*, which as mentioned before was published in Greek. The Chinese also promised to provide them with all the publications coming from Peking. The material was sent via post in order not to be confiscated and they were going to distribute it to the Czech workers they were

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<sup>41</sup> He incorrectly sets the time of the Congress in 1962. The Congress of the Romanian Workers' Party and the Conference of the Communist Parties took place in July 1960.

There was an alleged (phrasal) attack from Khrushchev - the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union – towards Mao Zedong during the conference.

This continued at a plenum the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in July the same year and about the same time they suspended the journal of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Society. B., Brugger,, *China, liberation and transformation, 1942-1962* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield 1981), p. 218.

<sup>42</sup> B. Brugger, *China, liberation and transformation, 1942-1962*, p. 218.

working with in the factories. This was done in order to inform them about the ongoing discussion and polemics within the International Communist Movement and especially the position and arguments of the Communist Party of China, Party of Labour of Albania and other antirevisionist forces.<sup>43</sup>

Stefanos Rizakis, a political refugee living in Poland at the time describes the situation in a similar manner in his autobiographical book on the life of political refugees.<sup>44</sup> After the split between the Soviets on one hand and China along with Albania on the other hand the latter started circulating ideological articles documents in Polish. He circulated them among his colleagues in the factory where he worked. The Chinese Embassy at his request sent these documents to him. For reading and circulating these documents he was expelled from the Polish United Workers' Party (the Communist Party in Poland). Furthermore he states that they also got *Laiko Bema* from the Albanian Embassy and other ideological material from the Albanian and Chinese Embassies.<sup>45</sup> This is the same kind of behavior towards anyone reading, agreeing or distributing m-l documents that Hontzeas described concerning the Communist Party of Greece.<sup>46</sup> Revisionists forbade Marxist-Leninist documents and those that did not comply would face severe punishments from being expelled from the Party to losing their jobs or even exiles.

So it can be said that the political situation created such dynamics that the Chinese and Albanians created publications and founded publishing houses (production, publishing and printing) as well as distribution agencies. Some periodicals (*Peking Review*) and publishing houses (*Foreign Languages Press, Peking*) were founded before the Sino-Soviet split but didn't have the same purposes nor the same necessity. They were serving more as for providing general information on China and focused on cultural issues than ideological up to the split in 1963 nor it had gained the popularity it did after 1963 that made its publishers to translate it in a diversity of languages.

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<sup>43</sup> G. Evgeniades, *Tes Ges oi Kolasmenoi*, pp 318-320.

<sup>44</sup> St. Rizakis, *Odoiporiko: Anadromi ste zoe kai drase ton politikon profegon* [Peregrination: Retrospect to the life and action of political refugees], Athens 1994, pp 118-123.

<sup>45</sup> St. Rizakis, *Odoiporiko: Anadromi ste zoe kai drase ton politikon profegon*, pp. 164-165.

<sup>46</sup> See pp 22-23.

The diversity of languages, titles, frequency of publications etc would have never become so prominent if it had not been for the creation of the Marxist-Leninist movement. Greek Marxists-Leninists were both users in order to fulfil their need to understand the situation better and get ideologically and politically stronger but also the distributor in order to promote the ideas they shared and expand their influence by exposing revisionism to the other political refugees and organizing themselves against the revisionist leadership.

But the political refugees themselves started their own publications apart from distribution Chinese and Albanian m-l documents. Firstly in order to organize themselves by finding those who were still loyal to the m-l ideology and rejected the revisionist turn in the Greek and International Communist Movement. So letters or documents were composed by Marxists-Leninists and then were circulated among political refugees to be read and if the political refugees agreed with the content of these documents they signed them. Rizakis refers to such a (typewritten) document - 40-page long - written in 1958 by a political refugee. After it had been approved by the coordinating committee of their newly formed m-l group in Poland they handed it to political refugees that up to then were members of the Communist Party of Greece and as a result 650 of them signed it. They also handed it to a member of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party after adjusting it and after his proposal, to the embassies of the other Socialist Countries as well.<sup>47</sup>

During the Junta, m-l political refugees established an antifascist-anti-junta front in Poland called AMEE (Antidiktatoriko Metopo Ellenwn Eksoterikou / Anti-junta Front of Greeks Abroad). They illegally published and circulated around thirty copies of a typewritten monthly information bulletin. This was managed by an editorial committee and had three persons in charge, one for the editorial committee and two to gather material and write. It included articles, comments and news mainly from Greece.<sup>48</sup>

The political refugees who had been expelled from the Party or left the Party due to their disagreement with the change of the political line of it from revolutionary to revisionist, created their own organization, the 'Communist Party of Greece

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<sup>47</sup> St. Rizakis, *Oidoporiko: Anadrome ste zoe kai drase ton politikon porsfygwn*, pp. 161-162.

<sup>48</sup> St. Rizakis, *Oidoporiko: Anadrome ste zoe kai drase ton politikon porsfygwn*, p. 172.

(marxist-leninist)'. According to the President of the temporary Central Committee of CPG (m-l), Polydoros Danielides<sup>49</sup>, they published a magazine named *Epanastatis* (Revolutionary). This was a monthly magazine and on behalf of the Secretariat of the temporary Central Committee of the CPG (m-l), Paschalis Vaskos was in charge of publishing and distributing the magazine as well as other periodicals such as *Laiko Bema* and other foreign language press of the Communist Party of China.<sup>50</sup> The m-l political refugees also subscribed to the Greek m-l monthly periodical *Anagennisi* after they found out about its existence – with the only exception those that lived in the Soviet Union due to currency restrictions. Of course due to the increasing censorship towards m-l ideas if *Anagennisi* was discovered at the post office it was confiscated.<sup>51</sup>

They also distributed magazines and newspapers from other countries such as the Greek newspaper *Laiko Bema* that was published in Argyrokastro of Albania and the foreign languages magazines of the Chinese Communist Party. Danielides also mentions<sup>52</sup> the establishment of an m-l group in West Berlin that had a very active publishing activity. This group provided the political refugees with a duplicator for their publishing needs. This started in the mid 50s after the events in Tashkent and continued until the late 70s when most of the political refugees returned to Greece after the fall of the Junta in 1974.

Giorgos Giannakopoulos states<sup>53</sup> that the Marxists-Leninists political refugees published two monthly newspapers, *Spitha* (Spark) in Romania and *Epanastati* (Revolutionary) in Czechoslovakia from 1964 and presents them in his bibliography as well. There is the possibility that this information is not accurate since there are conflicting sources.

*Epanastatis* was published in Romania and not in Czechoslovakia, (the first issue was published in September 1968), which was the country where the Temporary

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<sup>49</sup> P. Danielides, *O Polydoros Thimatai* (Polydoros Remembers), Istorikes Ekdoseis, Athens 1990, p. 291.

<sup>50</sup> St. Rizakis, *Odoiporiko: Anadrome ste zoe kai drase ton politikon prosfygon*, p. 170 and Danielides P., *O Polydoros Thimatai*, p. 291.

<sup>51</sup> St. Rizakis, *Odoiporiko: Anadrome ste zoe kai drase ton politikon prosfygon*, p. 172.

<sup>52</sup> P. Danielides, *O Polydoros Thimatai*, p. 295.

<sup>53</sup> G. Giannakopoulos, *Oi organoseis tis eksokoinovouleutikes aristeras sten Ellada ten periodo 1956-1981* [Organizations of the extra-parliamentary left in Greece during the period 1956-1981], (Panteio Universiteio: Athens 2002), p. 448.

Central Committee - and of the aforementioned Paschalis Vaskos who was in charge of the magazine – was based. Also an article of the newspaper *Anasyntaxi*<sup>54</sup> on the 100 years from the birth of Nikos Zachariades refers to an article of *Epanastatis*, which was according to this article published in Romania in 1969. It is likely that they were able to start their publishing activity around 1968 since that is probably the time they were able to get a duplicator.

In Romania things were more favorable since there were controversies between the Soviets and the Romanian government that the m-l political refugees could take advantage since the anti-revisionist propaganda was considered as anti-soviet. That was why it was chosen as the basis of the Temporary Central Committee and assumingly of *Epanastatis*. If the regime discovered any illegal publications it would confiscate them and highly recommend the Marxists-Leninists involved to stop acts that could be considered as attempts to reverse the regime but that was more or less it. In Bulgaria and Hungary they would be imprisoned or sent in exile. Despite these conditions they continued their activities, since the cause they were called to serve through these publications was more important for them than their own lives.

As far as *Spitha* (Spark) is concerned Danielides<sup>55</sup> mentions it in his biography but not as a publication of the Czech branch. He says it was the newspaper of the West Berlin group<sup>56</sup> - that provided them with the duplicator as previously mentioned - and with whom the Czech branch had relations. And also while most sources name Paschalis Vaskos as the one in charge of the publishing activity and namely *Epanastatis*, *Spitha* is not mentioned by anyone while it should have been in his responsibilities.

*Epanastatis* is probably the single official newspaper of the Marxists-Leninists political refugees since this was the official organ of the CPG (m-l). This is known by its subheading, which according to Koulouris<sup>57</sup> who was able to find some issues of it

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<sup>54</sup> *100 chronia apo te gennise tou Nikou Zachariade* [100 years from the birth of Nikos Zachariades], *Anasyntaxi*, No. 155, 1-15 April 2003.

<sup>55</sup> P. Danielides, *O Polydoros thimatai*, p. 295.

<sup>56</sup> Although it is not stated clearly, this group must be OEML [Organosis Ellenon Marxiston Leniniston / Organization of Greek Marxists Leninists] on led by a Yiannis Zachos who used to lead the AMEE branch in West Berlin until he was expelled in 1968.

<sup>57</sup> N. Koulouris, *Oi "marxistes-leninistes" politikoi prosfyges sten Anatolike Europi (1964-1974) kai to paranomo deltio "Epanastatis"* ["Marxist-Leninist" political

- since it's a very rare periodical, extremely hard to find, its existence is known mainly through the biographies of m-l political refugees – was the *Internal Bulletin of the Organizations Abroad of KKE (m-l)*<sup>58</sup>.

Although it is not unlikely for a communist organization to have more than one periodicals or press in general, it is not usual to print more than one newspaper since a newspaper is usually considered as the organ that expresses its ideological and political views. It can only be explained by making an assumption based on the words of *Danielides* concerning the leadership of Czechoslovakian branch. The leader, named *Labropoulos*, was considered to be stubborn and did things his own way regardless what the m-l organization central decisions were. For example he continued being related with the West Berlin group. So he probably published a newspaper but it is more possible it was published around 1968 as *Epanastatis* rather than in 1964 as Georgakopoulos states in his PhD dissertation. This assumption is drawn from the fact that although it wasn't possible to find the first issue, the second issue was published in Prague, 1969. *Danielides*<sup>59</sup> is probably mistaken since there is no reference to a *Spitha* newspaper published by any of the m-l West Berlin groups and on the contrary there is evidence the Czech group published it. There was a newspaper called *Spitha* published in Germany, but in Frankfurt during the Junta and it had a completely different political orientation.

Regardless the existence of *Spitha* as an m-l newspaper of the M-L organization branch in Czechoslovakia, *Epanastatis* would still be the main printed expression of m-l political refugees. *Epanastatis* as all m-l publications and political activities was illegal for reasons already explained previously; for that reason and according to Koulouris<sup>60</sup> its size was only 25X21 cm. It was a common for illegal publications to come out in small formats since in this way it was easier to hide it or

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refugees in Eastern Europe (1964-1974) and the illegal bulletin *Revolutionary*], in Mpontila M. (ed.), *To oplo parapoda: Oi politikoi prosfyges tou ellenikou emfyliou polemou sten Anatolike Europi* [*Political refugees of the Greek civil war in Eastern Europe*], Ekdoseis Panepistimiou Makedonias, Thessaloniki 2005, p. 237.

<sup>58</sup> KKE(m.l): Kommounistiko Komma Ellados (marxistiko-leninistiko) [Communist Party of Greece (marxist-leninist)]. It had organizations in Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Tashkent in U.S.S.R.

<sup>59</sup> His autobiography was not “written” by him. He dictated it, so it is possible the person that later on wrote it down made a mistake.

<sup>60</sup> N. Koulouris, *Oi “marxistes-leninistes” politikoi prosfyges sten Anatolike Europi (1964-1974) kai to paranomo deltio “Epanastatis”*, p. 237.

distribute it. The same thing was done with the m-l press in Greece during the Junta. The first issue of this newspaper was printed in September 1968. Although Giannakopoulos referred to the newspaper as being monthly, from the facts given from Koulouris<sup>61</sup> it is proven that it wasn't. It has already been mentioned that the first issue was published in September 1968; the fourth issue was out after twenty-one months in June 1970 and the eighth seven months later, in January 1971. Of course there is a case they intended publishing monthly newspapers but due to security and other problems, they weren't able to succeed in fulfilling such a goal.

Koulouris further mentions that although there are no facts on which was the last issue it can be assumed that it must have suspended its publication in October 1974 when the greek m-l organizations of political refugees who were based abroad and the one of those in Greece underwent a unification process. It is certain that *Epanastatis* published at least one issue during the last term of 1973 since Danielides refers to the fact that *Epanastatis* published an obituary of Nikos Zachariades who died in August 1973.<sup>62</sup>

There is no evidence on the print run, the editing committee and the distribution to the other countries of the Eastern Block as well as Tashkent where the m-l political refugees had branches.

### 6.1 *Relations with Greek Marxists-Leninists abroad*

It is also not known if they sent it to Greek Marxists-Leninists of the West. It is certain there were direct or indirect contacts since issues regularly included articles or documents from other m-l publications, mainly *Laikos Dromos* [Peoples' Way] - the monthly periodical of the Organization of Marxists-Leninists of Greece - which was published in Western Europe and even an article from the newspaper *Synepis Pale* [Consistent Struggle] of the Greek Marxist-Leninist organization of Toronto,

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<sup>61</sup> N. Koulouris, *Oi "marxistes-leninistes" politikoi prosfyges sten Anatolike Europi (1964-1974) kai to paranomo deltio "Epanastatis"*, pp 236-240.

<sup>62</sup> P. Danielides, *O Polydoros thimatai*, p. 290 and N. Koulouris, *Oi "marxistes-leninistes" politikoi prosfyges sten Anatolike Europi (1964-1974) kai to paranomo deltio "Epanastatis"*, p. 237.

Canada.<sup>63</sup> The known facts are that during the period 1964-1967 the political refugees were subscribers of the m-l monthly periodical *Anagennisi* (Renaissance) published in Athens and they were able to send some letters to the editors of the periodical which although remained unanswered. There was an attempt to get a contact through Bulgaria that has a common borderline with Greece but it wasn't possible. They were able to contact the Greek m-l groups, first in West Berlin through which they contacted with the Paris branch and even sent someone to Paris for discussions. It is likely they got the printed material like *Laikos Dromos* by mail from the Paris branch.

<sup>64</sup> Giannakopoulos further mentions that the Marxist-Leninist organizations of political refugees published pamphlets apart from their newspaper(s) that were channeled from Romania to Greece through Greek students in Italy especially after 1968. Two of these pamphlets are known to exist for sure.<sup>65</sup>

Although he doesn't mention why this took place especially after 1968 it can be assumed that this happened since Greek Marxists-Leninists didn't really have organizations abroad before the coup d'état on the 21 April 1967. But from 1968 onwards they were able not only to create organizations abroad but also control Greek Student Unions in Western Europe, especially in Italy where the front mass organization AMEE set up by the Greek m-l was an appreciable force of the anti-junta movement. After the collapse of the Junta in 1974 political refugees started returning. This led to absorption of the m-l organizations and thus publications by political refugees from the m-l organizations that were active in Greece and mainly OMLE that in 1976 became CPG (m-l), a name originally being used by the political refugees organization from 1964 until the collapse of the Junta.

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<sup>63</sup> N. Koulouris, *Oi "marxistes-leninistes" politikoi prosfyges sten Anatolike Europi (1964-1974) kai to paranomo deltio "Epanastatis"*, pp 237, 240.

<sup>64</sup> P. Danielides, *O Polydoros thimatai*, p. 294-296.

<sup>65</sup> *Gia to zetema tou Nikou Zachariade* [On the issue of Nikos Zachariades], M-L organosi politikon prosfygon Roumanias, 1968 and *O sosialimperialismos kai e Ellada*, M-L organosi politikon prosfygon Roumanias, 1973. A pamphlet with the same title was published five years later by the publishing house *Istorikes Ekdoseis* which belonged to the CPG (m-l) which was established in Greece in 1976 and which was the result of the unification of the m-l political refugees and the m-l living in Greece. The 1978 edition that appears with the same title by *Istorikes ekdoseis* is a new publication and not a reproduction of this title. (G., Giannakopoulos, *Oi organoseis tis eksokoinovouleutikes aristeras sten Ellada ten periodo 1956-1981*, p. 520).

## 7. M-L publishing in Greece

There is no evidence of Chinese publications in Greece before the Civil War. Works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin had been published until then, mainly illegally since communism in Greece was outlawed from its birth with the establishment of the Socialist Labor Party of Greece (1917) and later on of the Communist Party of Greece (1918) and until the collapse of the Junta in 1974. So due to the anticommunist legislation and of course censorship it was not possible for m-l works to be published and distributed freely or semi-legally apart from short time periods e.g. from the defeat of the Germans in 1944 until 1946 and during the 50s-60s. But even then with lots of restrictions, e.g. in the 50s-60s a newspaper or a magazine could not mention as a title or a subtitle the word communism or any of its derivatives.

Despite the lack of publications there had been articles in a lot of left and communist newspapers and periodicals<sup>66</sup> on Chinese Communism as early as 1927 but the vast majority until the mid-60s focused on cultural issues. The most significant is probably the issue 23-24, November-December 1956 of *Epitheorise Technis*. The whole issue was dedicated to China. This issue through its advertisements informs us of Mao's works published in Greece. More specifically in the inner back cover there is an advertisement of the publishing house *Gnose* (Knowledge) for the book *E Nea Demokratia* (The New Democracy), one of Mao's most significant works.<sup>67</sup>

But it has an even more significant advertisement on page 466. That of the publishing house *Morfosi* (Education). *Morfosi* informs the readers it started publishing the four volumes of Mao's *Selected Works*. It was published and sold in

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<sup>66</sup> Such newspapers and periodicals were *Rizospastis*, which belonged to the Communist Party, the left literacy magazine *Protoporoi*, the bi-weekly magazine of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece *Morfosi* until the Civil War. The unofficial organ of EDA – which was the legal expression of the Communist Party of Greece – *Avgi* including anti-Marxist-Leninist articles after the Sino-Soviet split. The monthly theoretical magazine of EDA in 1963-97, *Ellenike Aristera*, which attacked Marxists-Leninists, in international and national level, quite often as well as the monthly cultural review *Epitheoresi Technis* also affiliated with EDA published a lot of articles almost exclusively on culture. It was quite anti-Marxist-Leninist e.g. the article 'The paroxysm of dogmatism and the Cultural Revolution' by D. Raftopoulos in the issue 139-140, July-August 1966.

<sup>67</sup> The publisher of *Gnose* according to I. Iordanides was a member of EDA that was at that time promoting Mao Zedong and his works.

small luxury, leather bound issues every Friday. The issues were sold through bookstores, in newsstands and by door-to-door book salesmen. The advertisement noted that the first volume would be completed in 3 months time and the whole work in 10 months. The truth is that the whole project was quite delayed. The third volume was out in 1959 after a great delay and for that reason the fourth one wasn't out in series but as a single volume. Later on they were sold bound in two volumes which contained the First and Second volume and the Third and Forth respectively. The first volume came out more or less the same time as the one published by the political refugees.<sup>68</sup>

The fact that a trade publisher decided to publish the works of Mao, and not just one but all the available volumes at the time which was a time and money consuming project shows that; at the time there was an audience of an adequate size (or at least an increasing reading public) interested in Marxist-Leninist and in particular Mao's works that made it profitable for a publisher. It was sold in instalments since the audience (mainly young students and workers) would not be able to afford them sold as volumes which would be much more expensive. But these volumes were very important for the creation of the Marxist-Leninist publishing field as well. The people involved in the M-L publishing field were non-professionals, so in the beginning they used the volumes published by *Morfosi* as a guide for their own publications.<sup>69</sup>

Other titles on China were published then such as *E epopeia tou kinezikou laou: E Megale Poreia* [*The epopee of the Chinese people: The Great March*], MARSYAS, Athens 1961, with the collaboration of very well known left intellectuals, which strengthens the point of Iordanides that EDA was up to the split promoting Chinese works and Mao's in particular.

### 7.1 *The League of Friends of "New China"*

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<sup>68</sup> See Section 5.2, p. 22.

<sup>69</sup> Meeting with Iordanides (23/07/2009).

Established in 1956 after an initiative of the intellectual Beata Kitsiki<sup>70</sup> the *League of Friends of “New China”*<sup>71</sup> presented itself to be interested in the cultural and artistic aspect. In reality Kitsiki and other progressives and leftists wanted to help China fight against its international isolation by the capitalist-imperialist states.<sup>72</sup> In this attempt B. Kitsiki was even able to persuade intellectuals and moderate politicians to join including Dimitrios Papaspyrou, president of the Greek Parliament.

The *League* was based in a hall where they held meetings and cultural events on China. Kitsiki even managed to organize trips to China and played a very significant role as a source of Chinese publications that was used for translations. The *League* itself published the quarterly periodical *Ellenokinezika Chronika* [Greek-Chinese Chronicles] and in January 1959 it published the book *Ancient Chinese Myths*. The first time any official delegation ever visited Greece was a cultural one invited by the *League* in May 1960.<sup>73</sup>

#### 7.1.1 “How to know China better”

Later on, the *League* in cooperation with the publishing house *Feksi*, a series of more 30 books of mainly Chinese literature and art were published beginning with the book *Chinese Theater* which was published in a translation of Takis Mouzenides, a very well known Greek theatre and cinema director, in 1962. The series was called *Pos na gnorisoume kalitera tin Kina* [How to know China better]. Before that, in 1959, *Feksi* published a travel book about China by Petros Charis<sup>74</sup>, a well-known intellectual, titled *H Kina ekso apo ta teichi* [China outside walls]. The last is probably the *Selected Works of Lu Hsun*, vol. IV, translated by M. Cornelios<sup>75</sup> published in 1966. Most of the translators were known intellectuals themselves and

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<sup>70</sup> Beata Kitsiki published the book *Gnwrisa tous kokkinous frourous* [I met the red guards], Kedros, Athens 1982 which is about her personal experience of the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution in China.

<sup>71</sup> It is also known as: *Union of Friends of New China* and *Greek-Chinese friendship league*.

<sup>72</sup> Meeting with I. Iordanides in Drapetsona, Athens, 19 June 2009.

<sup>73</sup> *E prote kineziki pneumatiki antiprosopeia stin athina* [The first Chinese cultural delegation in Athens], Augi, Athens 20/5/1960.

<sup>74</sup> Alias name of Ioannis Marmariades.

<sup>75</sup> He is probably the known Greek poet and translator Manolis Cornelios.

some were surely related to the *League*, who selected the works to be translated along with the publisher.

Leonidas Christakis had designed the covers of many if not all<sup>76</sup> titles of this series. Christakis who died earlier this year was one of the best known publishers of the Antiauthoritarian and Anarchist movement in the 70s, especially known for his avant-guard graphic design of subversive magazines like *Panderma*, *Ideodromio*, etc.

## 7.2 The first Greek M-L Publishing House

In 1963<sup>77</sup> we see the establishment of the first Greek m-l publishing house, *Istorikes Ekdoseis* [Historical Editions]. This attempt started by a core of people gathered by Yiannis Hontzeas and Isaac Iordanides, old acquaintances from Ai Stratis where they conducted together the struggle against revisionism.<sup>78</sup> It was there that the first thoughts of what to be done led to *Istorikes Ekdoseis*. The first book published by *Istorikes Ekdoseis* was *Istoria tes Sygchrones Kinezikes Epanastasis* [A History of the Contemporary Chinese Revolution], edited by Ho Kan-Chi. The book was originally published by the Chinese Ministry of Higher Education in 1958 and was translated a year later by the Foreign Literature editions in Moscow.

The Greek-Soviet League provided the Russian edition that was used for the translation. It was translated from Russian and the translator although not mentioned is Isaac Iordanides. At that period it was not possible to find any books on China since there was no direct contact with China. It is ironic that the material for the first Marxist-Leninist publication after the revisionist turn in the Soviet Union (1956), was provided by revisionists. The book itself did not necessarily make a stand against revisionism but the fact alone it was about China was enough to make an anti-revisionist statement.

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<sup>76</sup> It was not possible to acquire the whole series of books in order to make an extensive research. *Feksi* has closed down decades ago and there is not archive, I am aware of, where a complete list of its titles can be found.

<sup>77</sup> Many incorrectly place the establishment of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* in 1964 e.g. G.N. Alexatos, *Istoriko Lexiko tou Ergatikou Kinematos*, p. 200. This is because the landmark of the M-L movement is the monthly periodical *Anagennisi*, which was published in 1964 so they identify the two as more or less synchronously established.

<sup>78</sup> According to I. Iordanides the leadership in Ai Stratis had some books hidden, which after some time were distributed and read by the rest of the exiles, among them was *New Democracy* of Mao Zedong. (Information provided by Iordanides)

This was a leather-bound volume so the edition cost the “publishers”<sup>79</sup>, Isaac Iordanides and Yiannis Hontzeas, a lot of money to publish it and it was expensive to buy as well, since at a time when an average monthly wage was around 800 drachmas, its price was 180.<sup>80</sup> This was probably done due to their lack of experience of the publishing industry being non-professionals. In their future publishing activity they mainly published pamphlets that were much cheaper and which their reading audience could afford.<sup>81</sup> The inexperience of Iordanides and Hontzeas is even more obvious if we compare their practice with the one by *Morfosi* which exactly in order to avoid such financial problems (cost of publishing) and by taking into consideration the purchasing power of the M-L reading audience chose instalments instead of single volumes. In the future and although *Istorikes Ekdoseis* published two volumes of the works of Mao in the same time they published the key documents of Mao in pamphlets in order to create a balance. In this way those interested could buy the pamphlets until they could afford the volumes.

It was not easy at the time to get your hands on books from China. On one hand there weren't any bilateral relationships between Greece and China. On the other hand the “official” Left, EDA, was trying to prevent its members from coming in touch with the m-l ideas as they were expressed by Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communist Party and used all means in order to succeed. By publishing a Chinese title the publishers, both well-known Marxists-Leninists, made the split with the revisionist EDA, of which they were members.

This publication was not only important because it made the split official but also because the establishment of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* worked as a centre for gathering

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<sup>79</sup> The use of quotation marks is due to the fact that the group of people around I. Iordanides and Yiannis Hotzeas who were the heart and soul of this publishing activity weren't actual publishers but political subjects who treated publishing as a political action and not as a trade. There only prior involvement with publishing was that I. Iordanides translated a few entries for the *World Soviet Encyclopedia* of *Kypseli* publishing house and Hontzeas edited a couple of books for a publishing house. (Information provided by Iordanides, 19 June 2009).

<sup>80</sup> Price lists and catalogues appeared in the back and the inner back of the periodical *Anagennisi*, published from 1964-67.

<sup>81</sup> All this information on the first steps of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* were provided by Isaac Iordanides co-founder of the publishing house in Drapetsona-Athens, 19 June 2009.

and organizing Greek Marxists-Leninists. Apart from that, this book was the reason for Beata Kitsiki and *Istorikes Ekdoseis* cooperation.

After the book was ready for sale the people of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* went to the bookstores in order to get some orders. One of the bookstores they went was *Feksi*.<sup>82</sup> *Feksi* contacted Kitsiki since they knew from their cooperation that she would be interested in this new publishing house. It was the same time the Chinese and the Soviets were close to the split.

Probably because *Feksi* was not a politically orientated publishing house but mainly into literature, Kitsiki was looking for someone else to publish the Chinese documents. The group of Marxists-Leninists that established *Istorikes Ekdoseis* on the other hand would be more than glad to get access to these documents let alone to publish them. In this publishing cooperation apart from the documents the *League of the friends of "New China"* provided translators as well. For example Mina Zografou and Elli Lambride and Elli Alexiou<sup>83</sup> that appears, as translators of publications of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* weren't affiliated with *Istorikes Ekdoseis* but with the *League of Friends of "New China"*.

*Istorikes Ekdoseis* was created in order to create a centre for mainly Marxists-Leninists former exiles and prisoners such as those that fought against revisionism while in the exile of Ai Stratis. The choice of titles to publish was also made not for profit but in order to serve the M-L cause and also the agents of this publishing house of it became such to serve this cause. This is the reason that after a while *Istorikes Ekdoseis* moved to a bigger office where there was a hall used for the discussions of the people that became part of this M-L nucleus around *Istorikes Ekdoseis*. They now had with them Aristeidis Tsampazis who they also knew from Ai Stratis and who worked as door-to-door book salesman and had a small office next to the first office of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*.

The first accumulation of Marxist-Leninists led them into publishing the monthly periodical *Anagennisi*. This was in order to expand their influence and

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<sup>82</sup> It was quite usual at the time and even up to today in Greece for publishers owning bookstores as well. M-L groups since it was not easy to achieve desirable distribution did this, especially after Metapolitefsi.

<sup>83</sup> All of them are known intellectuals and translators. It is one of the few cases if not the only one that professionals worked in m-l publishing and that is due to the cooperation with the *League of Friends of "New China"*.

become known to a wider audience and especially the youth that was radicalized but disappointed by the official politics of EDA. *Anagennisi* was a monthly periodical that together with *Istorikes Ekdoseis* had been the political expression of the first Greek m-l group. The first issue of *Anagennisi* went out in October 1964 and 29 issues had been published in total. *Anagennisi* published articles of its member's anonymously as well as Chinese and Albanian translation.

*Anagennisi* initiated the struggle against revisionist EDA and other smaller political groups. A short article in the first issue consists of a summary of what it stands as well as the reasons that led to this publication:<sup>84</sup>

Publishing *Anagennisi* is not a result of a sudden inspiration. It is the natural ending, of a hard ideological struggle of the Left that had been taking place for many years.

For a long time it has become consciousness of the vast mass of militants and followers of the Left in our country, the need to attain a public stand to promote and popularize a series of great issues of authority that have to do with the orientation of the movement, the intensity and [political] direction of the struggles of the Greek people in order for the country to get rid of the suffocating embrace of foreign imperialism, for peace and national independence, democracy and social advancement against opportunism and the policy of submission.

*Anagennisi* makes its appearance in very difficult and complicated circumstances. And it will have to face every kind of additional obstacles and difficulties... But *Anagennisi* will be the true voice of truth. And the truth doesn't count this difficulties nor it wears down by them. The enemies of truth, the disseminators of lies and defamation will lay themselves out to strike *Anagennisi*. But their best strike is too weak. There is no doubt that *Anagennisi* shall find warm popularity among the vast mass of the Left's militants and the Greek people. And it will meet their most energetic support. All of those who really love the people and the truth, all of those who fought with passion and faith and persist until today to fight the big, hard but beautiful struggle for people's liberation, will find in *Anagennisi* their voice, their own concerns, their

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<sup>84</sup> *Kataliksi mazi kai afetiria* [Ending and beginning together], *Apopseis kai sxolia*, *Anagennisi*, no. 1, October 1964, p. 5.

own hopes and expectations. And will stand by its side for sure. Dissolving the darkness that imperialism wants to preserve, breaking all barriers and obstacles, *Anagennisi* will move forward opening the way for the real renaissance of the left movement and of Greece.

The first two paragraphs summarize in a coded way<sup>85</sup> the struggle between Marxists-Leninists and revisionists, The group of people around *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and *Anagennisi*, got to know each other in this struggle and decided to do something. This was to establish m-l publications as a first step. The third paragraph makes a political stand by sketching the main political principles of *Anagennisi* and preparing its members and followers for the slander and war they were going to face from the revisionists of EDA if they choose to align with *Anagennisi*.

*Anagennisi* and *Istorikes Ekdoseis* suspended their publications in 1967 due to the Junta since the people working on them were either arrested or exiled or went underground and some left the country. *Istorikes Ekdoseis* restarted activities in 1974 and until 1976 it was the publishing house of OMLE (Organization of Marxists-Leninists of Greece) and from 1976 until 1981 of the Communist Party of Greece (marxist-leninist). After the disintegration of the CPG (m-l) in 1981 a group held *Istorikes Ekdoseis* - but mainly as a bookstore and not a publishing house – with the exception of a very important publication, the autobiography of *Polydoros Danielides*, “*O Polydoros Thimatai*”, in 1990.

After the crisis in the international Marxist-Leninist movement due to the revisionist turn in China (1976) and Hoxhas’s change of stance towards Mao Zedong it is noticeable that the place that up to then was taken by Chinese and Albanian publications is taken by issues that was up to then subordinated such as culture. From 1978 until 1981 *Istorikes Ekdoseis* published, for the first time in Greece, a number of works of *Dario Fo* and had planned to publish more, something that eventually didn’t happen due to the crisis and the disintegration of the Communist Party of Greece (marxist-leninist) and consequently of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*.

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<sup>85</sup> One of the characteristics of leftist publishing fields, either it is the Marxist-Leninist, the revisionist or any other is speaking in codes. A language code that is very much in common among leftists but is not that ordinary for anyone else. Where the names of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and others, along with the words revolution, imperialism, capitalism, socialism and communism along with revisionism, opportunism etc appear often.

### 7.2.1 *Censorship and “Censorship”*

Anticommunist laws such as the Law 509/47 constituted state censorship as well as Legislation Decree 4234/62. Both of them were abolished after the collapse of the Junta, in 1974. Apart from that in various periods e.g. 1967-71 various censorship mechanisms were in use. Even when censorship appeared to be inactive, auto-censorship had to take place from the publisher’s side if they didn’t want to get arrested. Ten years before the establishment of *Anagennisi* and nine before the establishment of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, an editor, Tasos Bournas, was court-martialed because of the publication of a book by Mao Zedong on the Chinese civil war, by using the law 509/47.<sup>86</sup>

But there is also another aspect of censorship, which in this specific case was probably more intense and had a more severe effect than the state censorship aspect. That was also because while the first had an impact on the publisher’s side, this one had an impact both on the publisher – which was expected and the publisher’s team was ready for it – but also on the audience. This was the “censorship” on behalf of the revisionists, EDA.

EDA directly or indirectly controlled the leftist press of the time in Greece. So with the appearance of *Anagennisi* we have a war by using all means from EDA’s side. The following report from *Anagennisi*’s first issue is characteristic of this war:<sup>87</sup>

A few months back, the publishing house *Istorikes Ekdoseis* published a little pamphlet entitled: *E Laiki Kina gia to Kypriako* [People’s China on the Cyprus Question]. [...]

The interested publishing house in its attempt to advertise this publication – which consists of a contribution to the cause of liberating the people of Cyprus - addressed *Demokratike Allagi*.<sup>88</sup> The advertisement was published the first day

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<sup>86</sup> IOS, *To ideogramma tou taksidioti: H Kina me ta matia ton Ellenon episkepton* [Traveler’s ideogram: China through the eyes of Greek visitors], Eleutherotypia, 20/07/2009.

<sup>87</sup> *Agonistike Synepeia kai Dimosiografiki Entimotita* [Militant Consistency and Journalistic Honesty], *Anagennisi*, no. 1, October 1964, pp 5-6.

<sup>88</sup> *Demokratike Allagi* [Democratic Change] was an afternoon newspaper of the left affiliated with EDA.

but not the second. There was even an issue about “wrongly” publishing it in the first place!

We will not deal with the whole disgraceful story of the attitude of the press organs of EDA which came to the point to deny publishing any advertisement of classic documents coming from People’s China by stating: “Never Mao Zedong. Because so we want” especially at a time that so many speeches are made and tears are spilled about “unity”<sup>89</sup>. What annoys us is the unprecedented action of attempting to obstruct the view of a great country, which is a warm support of the struggle of the people of Cyprus. Basic journalistic honesty – in order not to ask them for militant consistency – calls for themselves to promote these views that consist of important contribution to the struggle of liberating the people of Cyprus from the imperialist bonds. But the orders were clear: Not even an advertisement should be published on the fact that People’s China have views on the Cyprus question, in order to attack and project as People’s China line whatever comes handy. But the truth cannot be hidden in the end. And the attack that they have delivered against this pamphlet is the best proof for the response it had. And while this was and still is the stand of EDA’s leadership and of its press organs towards the Cyprus question, in People’s China and towards the classic works of a great representative of the vanguard theory, it has a completely different stand in advertising and projecting in headlines readings like: *RUSSIA AFTER THE DESTALINIZATION* by *Acropolis*<sup>90</sup> or of scab announcements of *Nea GSEE*.<sup>91</sup>

We leave our readers to draw their own conclusions!

Refusal of advertisements, false accusations and distorting the viewpoints of *Anagennisi* by EDA was one side of the story, a more or less expected one. But the attack on the reader’s side was unprecedented. Members of EDA were forbidden to read *Anagennisi* or publications of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*. They were expelled for reading,

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<sup>89</sup> Unity was one of the bigger blackmails and accusations within the International Communist Movement. Revisionists accused m-l of being fractionists despite the fact that it was they that changed the political line of the International Communist Movement.

<sup>90</sup> Bourgeois newspaper.

<sup>91</sup> A trade union closely related to the state and the employers.

agreeing with or distributing *Anagennisi*.<sup>92</sup> People that up to then had been their friends or comrades stopped talking to them. The people that belonged to the political group of *Anagennisi* – because in reality that was what they really were, an m-l group that at the same time ran a periodical and a publishing house – were facing a constant attempt by EDA’s leadership to completely isolate them.

### 7.2.2 EDA Youth and ‘*Anagennisi*’

This antidemocratic stand of EDA, as well as the unilateral presentation of the Soviet side in the Sino-Soviet polemics among other issues created a bad impression in EDA’s youth members.<sup>93</sup> More than 100 youth members and cadres left *EDA* due to this situation and aligned with *Anagennisi*. Of course *Anagennisi* from the very first issue dedicated a number of articles concerning the youth and student movement and the need for organizing the students’ anti-imperialist camp.<sup>94</sup>

Students affiliated with the Left used to publish student magazines either concerning a specific department of faculty (e.g. magazine of the students of the Polytechnic Institute) or for general student issues. One of those magazines was the monthly review *Spoudastikos Kosmos* [Student’s World] published in Thessaloniki. From 1963 until 1965 students of EDA published it and then it became the organ of P.P.S.P.<sup>95</sup> – the student organization established by students affiliated with *Anagennisi* – in May 1966. The former members of EDA that established P.P.S.P. had been leading members of EDA’s youth and they were very much involved in

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<sup>92</sup> For such detailed cases see: “*Sotires*” kai “*Ananeotes*” [“Saviors” and “Renewers”], *Anagennisi*, no. 2, November 1964, p. 25, *E oportounistike igesia tis EDA antimetopizei me “diagrafes” tous synepeis agonistes-meli kai stelechi tis EDA* [The opportunist leadership of EDA faces the consistent militants members and cadres of EDA with “expels”], *Anagennisi*, no. 3-4, November-December 1964, pp 60-66 and *Oi agonistes katagelloun ten oportounistiki politiki tis igesias tis EDA kai diachorizoun ti thesi tous* [Militants report the opportunist policy of EDA’s leadership and separate their position], *Anagennisi*, no. 7-8, April-May 1965, pp 24-30.

<sup>93</sup> K. St Martin, *Lambrakides: Istoría mias genias*, Polytypo, Athens 1984, pp 195-201.

<sup>94</sup> Due to anticommunist legislation they couldn’t use phraseology such as Marxist-Leninist camp so they used consistent and anti-imperialist instead.

<sup>95</sup> P.P.S.P. [Proodeutiki Panspoudastiki Syndikalistiki Parataksi / Progressive All-Students Syndicalist Union]. The first student union of Greece, up to then in the universities you could only find youths of political parties.

*Spoudastikos Kosmos*. In *Anagennisi*, issue 19 of April 1966 two articles can be found on this issue - a review of *Spoudastikos Kosmos* and an article that unofficially announcing the creation of P.P.S.P.

It is interesting to see the impact of these ideas in the student movement through the sales of *Anagennisi*. This stresses out the need of such publications within the circles of left students, since the existence of a reading audience is vital for any publishing field. In the case of m-l publishing this is one of the few cases we have data on the sales of any of the periodicals or other printed material especially from the first period (before the Junta of 1967) of this movement.

According to K. St Martin only about 50 students left EDA for *Anagennisi*.<sup>96</sup> But *Spoudastikos Kosmos* first issues – in early 1966 - after becoming affiliated and then an organ of P.P.S.P. sold between 550-650 copies in Athens.<sup>97</sup> *Panspoudastiki* [All-Students], EDA youth's equivalent of *Spoudastikos Kosmos* had an estimation of selling around 2000-3000 copies in Athens during the period 1964-1965.<sup>98</sup> So we see that the sales of *Spoudastikos Kosmos* in Athens equals around 25% of the sales of *Panspoudastiki* despite the fact that:

- 1) The youth of *Anagennisi* and later on P.P.S.P. didn't have an equivalent distribution network as EDA nor the number of members of EDA.
- 2) *Spoudastikos Kosmos* had to deal with the war and blackmails on behalf of EDA which made it difficult for someone to buy the magazine.
- 3) *Spoudastikos Kosmos* had no financial support and its editorial committee was proud for being the only independent student magazine. This has to do with the fact that there was an ideological conflict in which progressive students had to choose sides. The dynamics created in the field of politics, in the ideological arena were translated in equivalent dynamics in the publishing field.

*Spoudastikos Kosmos* stopped its circulation in 1967 and then it restarted in 1974 and until 1976. *Salpisma* [Call] then replaced it until 1981 when *Salpisma* suspended its publication since P.P.S.P. was dissolved as a result of CPG (m-l) disintegration.

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<sup>96</sup> K. St Martin, *Lambrakides: Istoría mias genias*, p. 198.

<sup>97</sup> ASKI digital archive Youth and the Left:  
<<http://62.103.28.111/neolaia/rec.asp?id=69519&nofoto=0>> (08/07/2009).

<sup>98</sup> ASKI digital archive Youth and the Left:  
<<http://62.103.28.111/neolaia/rec.asp?id=68226>> (08/07/2009).

### 7.2.3 How to advance

In 1965 a discussion within the leading organ of *Anagennisi* began on what the next step should be. This became even more intense when *Anagennisi* made some steps forward in unionism such as in universities in 1966. There was the need to make a more permanent and regular presence in a way. *Anagennisi* was a step forward from *Istorikes Ekdoseis* but now it wasn't enough. A monthly review – that often became bimonthly – could not serve the cause of an expanding m-l group.

The dynamics created each time due to the political and organizational advancements of the m-l movement can be translated into making specific actions or steps forward. Publishing *Anagennisi* was such a step forward, since it liberated forces from revisionism giving a boost to the m-l movement and thus creating even greater potentials that had to be expressed somehow.

On the 28<sup>th</sup> of January the weekly newspaper *Laikos Dromos* [Peoples Way] was published. Its subheading was *Weekly newspaper at the service of the Consistent Left*. Its front-page main article states the following:<sup>99</sup>

Where does the Left go?

At the bastion of the people's struggle stands today a new, fiery and decisive fighter, *Laikos Dromos*.

What is *Laikos Dromos*? How was it born? What are its causes?

*Laikos Dromos* is the child of the antiimperialist and antirevisionist storm. It comes from the roads opened in October 1964 by *Anagennisi* and represents this direct continuity and further development of the struggle engaged by *Anagennisi*. [...]

The article continues with an analysis of the m-l viewpoints on the national and international level, its differences from EDA etc. On the 1st of April SPAK [Synepis Politiki Aristeri Kinisi / Consistent Political Left Movement] was established. SPAK was a legal political group that was created as an umbrella

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<sup>99</sup> It was not possible to find the 12 issues of *Laikos Dromos*, published before the Junta apart from a case of bad quality photocopies. The front-page article can be found in:  
<<http://www.politikokafeneio.com/neo/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=1527>> (08/07/2009).

organization for those affiliated with *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, *Anagennisi*, *PPSP* and *Laikos Dromos*. It only lasted 3 weeks since on the 21st of April the Colonels *coup d'état* took place.

Publishing a newspaper is considered the highest state of publishing activity at least for the communist press. It is considered that through the newspaper it is possible to reach and create relations with the working class. Most of the groups use the article *Where to Begin* by Lenin written in 1901 from which I quote the piece that shows better the concept of the Marxists-Leninists groups towards the press:

In our opinion, the starting-point of our activities, the first step towards creating the desired organization, or, let us say, the main thread which, if followed, would enable us steadily to develop, deepen, and extend that organization, should be the founding of an All-Russian political newspaper. A newspaper is what we most of all need; without it we cannot conduct that systematic, all-round propaganda and agitation, consistent in principle, which is the chief and permanent task of Social-Democracy in general and, in particular, the pressing task of the moment, when interest in politics and in questions of socialism has been aroused among the broadest strata of the population. Never has the need been felt so acutely as today for reinforcing dispersed agitation in the form of individual action, local leaflets, pamphlets, etc., by means of generalized and systematic agitation that can only be conducted with the aid of the periodical press. It may be said without exaggeration that the frequency and regularity with which a newspaper is printed (and distributed) can serve as a precise criterion of how well this cardinal and most essential sector of our militant activities is built up.<sup>100</sup>

At their peak (during the '70s) the largest Marxist-Leninist groups were able to publish weekly newspapers, but none was ever able to publish a daily newspaper. Today biweekly Marxist-Leninist newspapers are still being published in Greece.

#### 7.2.4 *Non-professionals as agents of the field*

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<sup>100</sup> <<http://marx2mao.com/Lenin/WTB01.html>> (09/09/2009).

Neither Hotzeas nor Iordanides, co-founders of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, had been in the publishing industry before the establishment of *Anagennisi* and *Istorikes Ekdoseis*. They were in politics though. Politics, and in particular Marxism-Leninism, was the reason they undertook publishing activity. They used their knowledge in foreign languages, both translated from French and Iordanides translated from Russian as well. The names of R. Economou, C. Papaioannou and others appear as translators, mainly translating from English. They as well weren't agents of the publishing industry before. They became part of the Marxist-Leninist nucleus that established *Istorikes Ekdoseis* and this political participation was translated into publishing activity.

Those who left the m-l movement and that had been in the publishing house *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, did not continue working in the publishing field.<sup>101</sup> Publishing was part of their political contribution to the Marxist-Leninist cause, which they then served. Apart from some agents mainly from the *Metapolitefsi* (after 1974) period of this movement which were mainly sympathizers than members of Marxist-Leninist organizations I rarely identified any of the names of those involved in M-L publishing as active publishing agents outside it such as in trade publishing.<sup>102</sup>

The following makes the fact it was really a network of non-professionals that joined forces due to their political and ideological agreement in order to transform it into publishing even clearer. Most of the people whose names appear as translators hadn't studied foreign languages in the university. They either took some courses during their secondary education or especially from Junta onwards when Greek Marxists-Leninists organized groups in Europe<sup>103</sup> they used the knowledge of the language of the country they lived or studied. This was done especially in the first steps of M-L publishing before Junta. Iordanides learned French during his exile in Ai Stratis when various intellectuals decided to organize groups for those interested

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<sup>101</sup> This goes for the Marxist-Leninist publishing field as a whole, that is for the publishing houses of the main Marxist-Leninist groups in Greece plus some other activities of smaller groups some of which were just publications.

<sup>102</sup> I did this mainly by searching the databases of the National Book Centre of Greece (EKEBI) and the National Library of Greece.

<sup>103</sup> See section 7.3.2

where they taught them accordingly to their profession before being exiled.

Iordanides later on while exiled in the island of Leros, in Partheni, learned Italian.

The translations were done in a sort of collective way. All the translating team tried to contribute with their knowledge to the effort of the main translator of each work.<sup>104</sup> Quite often, especially in the publishing houses of the Revolutionary Communist Movement of Greece (EKKE) and the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Greece (M-L KKE)<sup>105</sup>, do not appear names of translators at all or mention that a committee translated the work.

The names of the agents play no significance either for the readers or for the publishing field as a whole. It's the publishing house itself that gives the prestige or the name of the author of the work (e.g. Mao Zedong). Agents are considered as soldiers in the service of the cause, just a cog in the machine. They do not provide their services for financial reasons, it's mainly volunteer work, and most of the times there is no payment.

The use of non-professionals as agents is also related with the issue of financial autonomy that will be analyzed later on. M-L groups, which owned the M-L publishing houses, had as only financial resources membership fees, contributions of their supporters and the sales of their publications. The use of professionals would increase the operating cost of the publishing house in such an extent that it would not be possible for it to function or would have to limit its publications.

#### *7.2.5 Financial Independence of the Marxist-Leninist Publishing Field*

As it was previously mentioned the editorial committee of *Spoudastikos Kosmos*, proudly announced to its readers that it was the only independent magazine, meaning that its only aids were income from sales and subscriptions plus donations of supporters. This applies for all Marxist-Leninist publications and of course for the

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<sup>104</sup> C. Papaioannou who was a member of *Istorikes Ekdoseis* before the Junta mentioned that Hontzeas that appears as the main translator of *Istorikes Ekdoseis*, from French, did not have knowledge of French. One can suppose that if this is true he translated by using existing translations such as those of *Morfosi* and with the help of his comrades in a collective way in combination with his knowledge of communist ideology and politics. (Thessaloniki, 8 June 2009).

<sup>105</sup> More details on these two groups in Section 7.3.2-7.3.3

Marxist-Leninist organizations as well which even when are allowed some state funding they refuse to take it as a sign of their political independency from the state and their refusal of advertisements is used as a sign of being based on their own forces and independency from economic interests.

The M-L publications in Greece even today do not use advertisements in their newspapers, periodicals etc as part of that tradition of independence from bourgeois and other political and economical interests. In a case that a group or publication accepts such funding or advertisements, it would be considered as a political setback and would be strongly criticized by other groups.

### **7.3 M-L publications during the Junta**

*Anagennisi* and the other m-l publications were the only ones that warned of the danger of a coup while the revisionists did the opposite. So we have two incidents that would have been quite funny if they weren't so tragic. On the 21<sup>st</sup> of April after the coup the army confiscates EDA's newspaper *Avgi*. One of the key articles is why there is not going to be a Junta in Greece.

On the other hand the editorial committee of *Spoudastikos Kosmos* was trialed and convicted by the Junta, for writing that there was going to be a Junta in Greece by using the anticommunist laws and with the excuse that they were trying to create turmoil among the people.

After the Junta a lot of the members of SPAK were arrested. A small nucleus of people stayed in Greece in order to organize the anti-junta struggle and the rest were sent abroad to organize the work there and to be called back if necessary after some steps were made. One of the two leaders, Iordanides was arrested during the first few days and sent to exile in the island of Leros. Hontzeas escaped and went underground. He organized a group of Marxists-Leninists that announced the establishment of OMLE. In August 1967 the leadership of OMLE sent a political document describing some basic political positions on Greek and international issues abroad. It was titled *Gramma apo ten Ellada* [Letter from Greece]. We can say that this was the platform on which the m-l organizations and publications were based.

#### *7.3.1 M-L publishing in Greece during the Junta*

After its establishment, OMLE initiated its publishing activity. First it issued a bulletin using a polygraph. Later on OMLE sets up an underground press and in November 1968 the clandestine newspaper *Proletariake Simea* [Proletariat's Flag] is published in a small size.<sup>106</sup> *Proletariake Simea* was sent abroad since its articles have been reproduced in publications abroad. In 1969 the key members of OMLE were caught and the Junta discovered the printing press. OMLE in 1968 established AME [Agonistiko Metopo Elladas / Militant Front of Greece] but there is no evidence of it having any publications.

After the arrest of the leading team of OMLE and due to problems of continuing the work initiated in the period 1967-1969, other smaller groups mainly splinters from OMLE - due to dissatisfaction by the actions of the new leadership, or even splinter actions of members of the new leadership - were created and they published their own material, mainly newspapers and magazines. Some examples of such groups - mainly active in Greece - in chronological order are:<sup>107</sup>

1970: *Marxistiki Leninisti Kinisi Elladas* [Marxist Leninist Movement of Greece] and *Popular Democratic Front of Greece* established in 1970 both established by Manolis Piblis and published *Pleroforiako Deltio of MLKE* [Information Bulletin of MLKE] and *Epanastatike Fone* [Revolutionary Voice] respectively.

1972-73: *Laike Eksousia* [People's Power] led by Kostas Zirinis published the *Bulletin of the organization of marxists-leninists Laike 'Eksousia'*.

1973: *Epanastatiko Ergatiko Apeleutherotiko Metopo* [Revolutionary Workers Liberation Front] by Kostas Bakirtzis, published *Neoi Agones* [New Struggles].

1974: *Kinese Ellenwn Marxiston Leniniston* [Movement of Greek Marxists Leninists] led by Nikos Raptis. Unfortunately no evidence of publishing activity exists.

### 7.3.2 M-L publishing abroad

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<sup>106</sup><[http://www.koel.gr/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=584&Itemid=83](http://www.koel.gr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=584&Itemid=83)> (08/07/2009).

<sup>107</sup> Most of this information comes from *Kritiki istoriki anadromi sto marxistiko – leninistiko kinema tis Elladas* [Critical historical retrospect to the Marxist – Leninist movement of Greece], *Kritiki – Syspeirosi*, no. 1, April 1975, pp 30-32 and G.N. Alexatos, *Istoriko Lexiko tou Ellenikou Ergatikou Kinematos*.

Greek Marxist-Leninist groups abroad could work under better conditions during the military Junta (1967-1974) than their comrades in Greece. This is because despite some disturbance by the Junta through Greek Embassy employees etc, they were not forced to work underground. That had as a result more intense discussions, establishment of student unions and Greek communities which were the places where the struggle between revisionists and m-l took place and as a result a lot more publications to serve the struggle between the various groups. An additional advance in relation to m-l publishing within Greece during the Junta was the fact of having access to Chinese and Albanian m-l documents as well.

Members of SPAK, which soon became OMLE, abroad created AMEE<sup>108</sup>. The various branches of AMEE in western European countries published monthly *Information Bulletins* i.e. in Germany, and also leaflet and flyers on various issues. In 1972 it started publishing a monthly newspaper in Modena, Italy named *Laike Enoteta* [People's Unity]. According to Giannakopoulos OMLE owned presses in Modena, Czechoslovakia and Canada.<sup>109</sup>

OMLE published a monthly review called *Laikos Dromos* as was the name of the newspaper of SPAK before Junta and also published pamphlets from time to time under the name *Laikos Dromos* as well.

In Germany the AMEE branch led by a Giannis Zachos who was expelled in 1968 splintered and Zachos created OEML [Organization of Greek Marxists-Leninists]. OEML published the monthly newspaper *Laike Fone* [People's Voice] between 1971-1974, the periodical *Protoporia* [Vanguard] which was its monthly theoretical organ, *Documents*, which was a periodical edition in English, *Kokkini Simea* [Red Flag] an also monthly review that was considered as its central theoretical organ. In late 1974 it changed its name to Communist Party of Greece / Marxists-Leninists and in 1975 it underwent a split. One of the two splinter groups that kept the same name had to change the name of its periodical to *Kokkino Asteri* [Red Star] since the other was able to keep *Kokkini Simea*.

After OMLE the second most significant group was EKKE [Epanastatiko Kommounistiko Kinema Elladas / Revolutionary Communist Party of Greece]

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<sup>108</sup> See p. 13.

<sup>109</sup> <sup>109</sup> G. Giannakopoulos, *Oi organoseis tis eksokoinovouleutikes aristeras sten Ellada ten periodo 1956-1981*, p. 182.

founded in Germany in 1970. EKKE published *Communistis* as its monthly organ. Some issues were illegally sent to Greece as well. It set up EKKE publications and in 1972 published series of pamphlets on the history of the international labor movement, on the history of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the Soviet Union, the history of the Communist Party of China etc. These series were translated from German.

There had been other smaller groups such as AKE (Antifascist Movement of Greece) that published the monthly periodical *Antifasistas* [Antifascist] in 1970 and published some pamphlets of Mao under the same name.

In Canada we have the creation of two M-L groups of Greek immigrants in Toronto and Montreal that didn't have any relationships with the groups back in Greece at first and didn't even know their existence. The group in Toronto published the monthly newspaper *Synepis Pale* [Consistent Struggle] while the group in Montreal published the monthly newspaper *Protoporos*. In Ringwood, Australia a group called Organization of Greek Marxists Leninists of Australia published the monthly newspaper *Neos Agonistes* [New Militant] from 1968.

The significance of the press for the Marxist-Leninist movement is stressed out by the fact that according to Iordanides<sup>110</sup> a number of young people during the Junta find out about Marxism-Leninism and especially with the group that was then named Organization of Marxists-Leninists of Greece through *Anagennisi*. The issues that were confiscated during the Junta by the police were somehow channeled back into the market in *Monasteraki*, Athens most known flea market from where they bought them and later on joined the group.

Now it was the anti-junta struggle the leading driving force for m-l publications. Of course the antirevisionist struggle did not cease especially as the anti-junta struggle advanced and thus a struggle among the various anti-junta organizations developed on the directions and the character of this struggle and the alliances that would serve an anti-junta front, e.g. with bourgeois forces or even King Constantine as some revisionist forces of the time suggested in their publications and which the m-l groups rejected and fought against in theirs.

### 7.3.3 From 'Metapolitefsi' to Social-democracy

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<sup>110</sup> Meeting with I. Iordanides in Drapetsona-Greece, 23 July 2009.

During the Junta we see the creation of a lot of m-l groups and publications. In many cases the term of m-l publications is more correct than m-l groups since these groups of people consist primarily of a publication than of a group.

As G. Alexatos states in his article on the m-l current in Greece during the decades 1960-1970 the differences between those groups had to do with the following:<sup>111</sup>

[...] full or critical support of the Chinese foreign policy<sup>112</sup>, what will be the character of the revolution in Greece (bourgeois-democratic, peoples-democratic or socialist)<sup>113</sup> and to the support or not of the policy of Nikos Zachariades as the leader of the historical Communist Party of Greece.<sup>114</sup>

These issues created respective dynamics that gave boost to m-l publications once again. And of course the antirevisionist issue which was a permanent topic of m-l publications.

So we have *Ekdoseis EKKE*<sup>115</sup> and *Morfotikes Ekdoseis*<sup>116</sup> that remained pro-Chinese after Mao's death continuing publishing Chinese works such as the *Three Worlds Theory*, which has been the reason for a great split among the m-l movement while *Istorikes Ekdoseis* don't. The most important publication made by m-l publishing house apart from *Istorikes Ekdoseis* was the fifth volume of Mao's *Selected Works* by *EKKE* publications and *Morfotikes Ekdoseis*.

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<sup>111</sup> G. Alexatos, 'From "Anagennisi" to the crisis of the post-maoist era: The M-L current in Greece during the decades 1960-1970', *Ektos Grammis*, no. 23, May 2009, p. 59.

<sup>112</sup> The issue is stated in a quite simplistic manner by the author. The issue was whether the Greek m-l movement can and should stand on its own two feet or it can't and thus it should create and keep relations with China or Albania in a relation known as Big brother – Little brother with the latter being the Greek m-l movement and the Big brother being China or Albania.

<sup>113</sup> This was related to the analysis of the character of the Greek society and economy each group made.

<sup>114</sup> This was more of an issue of making a critical assessment of the history of the Communist Party of Greece or not than an issue concerning Zachariades.

<sup>115</sup> EKKE used to publications brand, *Ekdoseis EKKE* and *Na Ypiretoume to Lao* [To serve the people] and also published the newspaper *Laikoi Agones*.

<sup>116</sup> Belonging to M-L CPG, a splinter group from OMLE in 1976. The rest of OMLE simultaneously created CPG (m-l). M-L CPG kept the title of the newspaper *Laikos Dromos* and CPF (m-l) started publishing *Proleteriki Simea* that was also published during the Junta as an underground newspaper.

The time from the mid to late 70s was a time of crisis for the m-l movement. China after Mao stopped being m-l and even the groups that initially supported the new regime that took power in 1976 under Deng XiaoPing soon had second thoughts. Enver Hoxha denounced Mao's politics in the late 70s and that created a split in the m-l movement.

The issue wasn't following Albania but in general following somebody. Most of the groups' leaders didn't have faith to their own strength. That is the main reason of the crisis. When nobody else in the world remained on the m-l side but turned revisionist (in the case of China) or dogmatic (in the case of Albania) they felt all alone against everybody.

The enormous dynamics once being created by the millions of Chinese Marxists-Leninists during the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution that gave them boost were long gone.

Apart from that we have the rise of PASOK. PASOK was a Social-Democratic party founded in 1974 and led by Andreas Papandreou. It presented itself as a Left party, using slogans of the Left. It was also promoted by the system as a force of stability since the right-wing party was not able to stay in power for long due to close links between its high-rank members and the Junta it started advancing. In 1981 it won the National elections. Due to the fact of the aforementioned lack of confidence to their power, which meant confidence to the m-l cause led them dissolving their groups and either stopping any political activity or joining the new rising political party, PASOK.

This led to the disintegration of the Marxist-Leninist publishing field in Greece. Publishing houses closed down, bookstores either closed down immediately, some turned into trade bookstores<sup>117</sup> or just survived until they sold their stocks. Today only some titles found in the remainders and second-hand bookstores reminds us of the existence of the Greek Marxist-Leninist publishing field that for almost two decades had a prominent position within Greek leftist publications, with bookstores<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> It is possible that the reason that in relation with other agents of the Greek M-L publishing field such as translators, there were more booksellers staying into the business since they worked mainly full-time while others e.g. translators, editors etc, only when it was necessary such as working on a book to be published.

<sup>118</sup> Tasoula Gkenidou, who owned a trade bookstore in her village Evropos in North Greece during the late '70s, informed me that back then M-L publications sold like

in Athens and Thessaloniki, dozens of newspapers and periodicals and hundreds of books and pamphlets.

## **8. Epilogue**

The Greek Marxist-Leninist publishing field followed the exact course of the Greek and international M-L movement. Its sperms were carried from the early 50s but it was not until the early 60s that it really started developing as the M-L movement did.

Non-professional journalists, authors, translators and booksellers wrote, translated and sold m-l publications. The vast majority of these people, who became agents, within the m-l publishing field had no past and in most cases - especially the translators - no future within the publishing industry. They became agents of this temporarily created publishing field because they believed in the M-L ideas. Most if not all of their work had been on a volunteer basis exactly because their work was considered ideological and political rather than a real job. Another reason that the M-L movement worked on a volunteer basis was due to the lack of capital on one hand the aim of maintaining financial independence from the State and financial institutions.

This happened during the mid-60s when this movement rose until the mid-70s. This time frame is what we now reflect upon as the golden era of the M-L movement. During that era the M-L struggle against revisionist was intense, before China's revisionist turn that pulled the carpet under the international M-L movement's feet and that was reflected to the M-L publishing activity, which followed a parallel course.

It was the international developments that led to the disintegration of this movement as they led to it's growth; since the leadership in most of these groups believed that there was too much weight to carry alone, without China and Albania. The leaders of those groups could not carry on the anti-revisionist; anti-imperialist struggle the M-L movement that was until then conducting.

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crazy, so that many times she didn't wait for the books to arrive from the publisher in Athens but lent them from other bookstores from Thessaloniki. (Evropos, 27 March 2009).

After the disintegration of the M-L movement especially after the end of 1981 when the Social democratic Party, PASOK, won the elections and “absorbed” or diminished the vast majority of the Greek Left, this publishing field diminished. The dynamics that created it in the first place, which was the anti-revisionist struggle as it was conducted in an international and national level faded away after China – the main force of this struggle - turned revisionist. Some of them after the splits or disintegration of the groups they belonged to, kept the bookstores until they sold the stock they had and/or turned their bookstores into trade bookstores, but in general they abandoned the M-L publishing field.

Although from the 80s until present day there is a spell of very limited M-L publications, one cannot compare it with the M-L publishing field of the 60s and the 70. Apart from the newspapers which themselves are limited in number in relation to the past, all other publications are sporadic. Publishing houses are no more than brand names used for these sporadic publications every time needed and consequently there is a limited number if any of agents consistently involved in M-L publishing activity

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