
The Unidad Popular Process as Represented through Siglo XXI Publishers: Between Local Reception and the Construction of a Global Event

MARIANO ZAROWSKY

University of Buenos Aires, CONICET, Argentina

This article deals with the role played by books and publishing houses in the representations and circulation of ideas relating to the Chilean Unidad Popular process (1970–1973). Due to its transnational nature, Siglo XXI stands out as a privileged object of analysis. This publishing house was founded by Orfila Reynal in Mexico in 1965, and opened a branch in Buenos Aires in 1971. Amidst political and cultural radicalisation, Siglo XXI Argentina factored in the local reception of ideas about the Chilean road to socialism, and its shaping into a global event.

Keywords: circulation, intellectuals, politics, publishing, reception, Salvador Allende.

In October 1973, in an article published in the Argentine journal *Crisis*, Arnaldo Orfila Reynal recalled his meeting Salvador Allende on the afternoon of 4 November 1970. During the presidential inauguration celebrations, the founder of Siglo XXI Editores had been warmly welcomed by the elected Chilean President, who expressed the following request: ‘You, my comrade, with whom I have shared parallel ideas over so many years – had said Allende – are going to help me in the task of making books for Chile [...]. It is a pressing need, which we must take upon ourselves’ (Orfila Reynal, 1973: 72). In this tribute article, Orfila Reynal expressed his perplexity at the importance Allende had set on his role as publisher just when he was embarking on such a hard enterprise. Notwithstanding the modesty of the narrator, who pondered Allende’s humbleness, this scene clearly shows the encounter of two realms, or, rather, the position of book and the book publishing industry in the socialist president’s agenda. As early as 1967, Allende had filed a bill in Parliament in favour of the creation of a state-owned publishing house (López, 2014: 6). The publication of books, though, would actually gain momentum after the electoral victory of the Unidad Popular, with the national Press Quimantú as its cultural reference (Albornoz, 2005; Bergot, 2005; Molina, 2018). Orfila Reynal’s words attest to Siglo XXI’s explicit long-lasting commitment to Allende and the Chilean experience.

Orfila Reynal had met Allende in 1967, while spending some time in Santiago. The University of Chile had invited him over so that he could help bolster a university project similar to Eudeba, the University of Buenos Aires Press, which he had helped to forge in Buenos Aires by the end of the 1950s (Sorá, 2017: 160; Dujovne, 2016). Shortly after Orfila Reynal’s visit, Siglo XXI signed a regional publishing and distribution agreement with the Instituto Latinoamericano de Planificación Económica y Social (Latin American Institute for the Economic and Social Planning, ILPES), a Santiago-based press which was part of the Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, CEPAL). This was the start of a sort of alliance, whereby the scholarly production of Chile, then a regional vanguard pole, could find a way out of its own borders through Mexico (Beigel, 2010; Chocrón, 2010). Because of its small scale, compared to other Latin American countries, the Chilean publishing industry would profit from this alliance, inasmuch as it was a way to disseminate its social sciences scholarly production, both locally and

internationally. Siglo XXI co-published eight titles with ILPES between 1967 and 1976 (Siglo XXI, 1986: 205–207) and, in the same line, signed a co-publication agreement with the University of Chile (Pinto et al., 1970).

The publication of books *from* or *about* Chile, though, would take momentum after the electoral victory of the Unidad Popular. Once again in Santiago, in February 1971, an excited Orfila Reynal participated in a meeting of high-ranking officials to define the future profile of the national publishing house, which had been created out of the nationalisation of the old Zig Zag. Apart from Orfila Reynal, the meeting was attended by Allende himself, the head of the Cuban Book Institute, Rolando Rodríguez, and Sergio Maurin and Jorge Arrate, directors of Quimantú at the time (Molina, 2018: 28–29).

Orfila Reynal had founded Siglo XXI Mexico in 1965, after quitting the leadership of the Fondo de Cultura Económica because of differences with the Mexican authorities over the orientation of its catalogue. Shortly afterwards – according to Gustavo Sorá – the new publishing house became a benchmark for the emerging left wing across the continent. In 1966, Siglo XXI launched a distribution hub in Buenos Aires to reach the local and regional markets, which would soon begin to reprint some of the titles locally (Sorá, 2017: 223, 234). In 1971, following an agreement with the group of intellectuals who had led Signos Publishers, this reprinting and distribution office officially became the Argentine branch of Siglo XXI (García, 2011). No less importantly, its founding group, which comprised young intellectuals and former members of the Gramscian journal *Pasado y Presente* (*Past and Present*), would give the management of Siglo XXI Argentina new dynamism and a more vanguard-like approach. The modernisation of disciplines in Argentina was reinforced by the emergence of new publishing houses, which kept up with it by means of specialised innovative ventures, balancing their commercial side with their will to bear on the public scene by publishing specialised books (Sorá, 2004; Blanco, 2006). As shown by Sorá, Siglo XXI Argentina stood out among these emerging publishing houses. Although closely monitored by Orfila, the Buenos Aires branch produced books and reprinted material from the head office with a certain autonomy. That means that some of the books produced in Mexico but reprinted in Buenos Aires underwent an editorial filter. Likewise, titles produced in Argentina might be distributed in other countries in the region and in Spain, where a local office had been set up in 1967. A culturally avant-garde site of attraction for new left intellectuals, and with a transnational publishing structure, where Buenos Aires was a major hub, Siglo XXI Argentina provides a multifarious perspective on the Argentine reception of the Unidad Popular process and its projection as a global phenomenon through the publishing industry.

This article will use book and publishing studies and intellectual and scholarly history to examine the international circulation of ideas and meanings around the Chilean socialist experience. Specifically, it will examine which books about Chile were produced or distributed by Siglo XXI in Argentina and what that tells us about the circulation and reception of ideas and representations about the Chilean Unidad Popular process. How did those books echo in the more politically involved sectors of the cultural and popular arena on both sides of the Andes? Finally, in what ways did these publications contribute to the configuration of the so called ‘Chilean road to socialism’ as a global event? A global approach involves, for one, a quest for the out-of-boundary scope and modulations of the Chilean socialist experience, but, more specifically, for those cross-relationships and contacts which brought a domestic development *across* national borders, by spreading transnational cultural and political connections (Compagnon and Moine, 2015; Harmer, 2021). To deal with these matters, we have explored the Siglo XXI catalogue, analysed the paratexts of books about Chile, tracked their circulation and press reception in political-cultural journals and magazines from Argentina and Chile, and finally, gathered the voices of some of the ‘mediators’ or ‘cultural carriers’ involved in the publishing process. Rather than focusing on the networks and connections that favoured the formation of this transnational radical publishing space (although the issue will be tackled to some extent, it far exceeds the scope of this article and would warrant another sort of documentary approach), we would like to spot the textual marks that impact on the circulation of ideas and meanings about the Chilean question in Argentina, or, better still, the circulation of ideas and meanings *between* Chile and Argentina.

The Chilean Road: Between the Local and the Global

In April 1971, a few months after the debut of the Unidad Popular government, Siglo XXI published *Conversación con Allende* (*A Conversation with Allende*), a long interview by Régis Debray with the socialist president. In March, the Chilean weekly *Punto Final* had launched a special issue: 'Allende habla con Debray' ('Allende speaks with Debray'). *Punto Final* stated that it had acquired the interview copyright for Chile and the rest of the Latin America countries, and that Feltrinelli Press had bought the copyright for Europe and the US (*Punto Final*, 126, 1971). The 'international journalistic hit' announced in the promotion of the interview by the magazine (*Punto Final*, 125, 1971: 1) was, actually, a publishing hit. It pursued a publisher network which had proved efficient through the publication of *¿Revolución en la revolución?* (*A Revolution within the Revolution?*), also by Debray, and *Che Guevara, the Bolivian Diary* (Hage and Torregrosa, 2017; Castilho de Lacerda, 2018; Marchesi, 2019), though now with a broader scope, as it weaved a global network of publishers and left-wing readers. *Conversación con Allende* was published in Italy by Feltrinelli (1971), in France by Maspero (1971), in London by New Left Books (1971), and in the United States by New York Vintage Books and Pantheon Books (1971). Between 1972 and 1973, the book was also released in Bolivia, Netherlands, Germany, Turkey, and China. As pointed out in the literature, the publishers produced differing meanings and readings of the Chilean process through accurate editorial *selection* and *mark-up* operations (Zarowsky, 2020b).

The first issue of *Conversación con Allende* was released by Siglo XXI Press in Mexico a few weeks after its appearance in *Punto Final*, simultaneously with the Milan and Paris editions. It included a subheading: 'Will Chile Succeed in Implanting Socialism?' Two thousand copies were immediately printed in Buenos Aires. Modest though this first print run might have been, the book was repeatedly reprinted up to its eighth and last print run in 1976 (Siglo XXI, 1986: 344). The cover art featured a centred black-and-white picture of Allende, surrounded by a lattice of bright pop-like coloured 'lurching' pictures of Debray. By means of this cover design and the question about the chances of the Chilean experiment, Siglo XXI paratexts highlighted the controversy about the nature of the Chilean socialist transition and its feasibility. Allende's election victory was hailed on the back cover as a major event for all Latin American countries.

The dialogue between the representative of the democratic peaceful road to socialism and the scholarly disseminator of the Cuban road *staged* the convergence of both roads to revolution. The views of Orfila Reynal's publishing house were certainly not at odds with the Cuban new strategy for the region (Pedemonte, 2019) and favoured Allende himself, who endeavoured to contain the Chilean left-wing currents, both inside and outside the Unidad Popular. Debray's lengthy introduction supports this encounter between the 'two roads'. However, the Buenos Aires journalistic press, though having supported the publication, somehow confronted both characters (i.e. the roads they embodied) against one another. The weekly *Siete Días* (vía democrática y pacífica al socialismo) highlighted Allende's purported moral and intellectual superiority (*Siete Días*, 1971: 204), whereas the newspaper *La Opinión* (vía cubana) dismissed the controversy as an intergenerational conflict. It confronted Debray's 'youthful' irreverence to Allende's 'maturity', tipping the balance in favour of the latter's chosen road, and, all in all, refraining from tackling the true core issues (*La Opinión*, 1971, 3 October). The emergence of a revolutionary youth was a pressing issue in Argentina. Since 1969, the 1966 military dictatorship was being resisted by increasing workplace and street struggles, as well as by nascent armed revolutionary organisations. In 1971, the politically beset Argentine President Alejandro Lanusse decided to call proscription-free elections for the first time since Juan Domingo Perón's overthrow in 1955. The appeal to political institutional order was expected to stop popular mobilisation and the growth of armed organisations, while paving the way for economic development (Pucciarelli, 1999).

In May 1972, in the magazine *Cuaderno de La Plata* (La Plata Notebook), Siglo XXI Argentina announced an agreement with the Chilean national press Quimantú for the sole distribution in Argentina of 'the documents that proved ITT's conspiring against the Chilean political process' (Quimantú Siglo XXI Argentina, 1972: 2). The ruses of the International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) company to prevent Allende from taking office had been revealed by the journalist Jack Anderson in the American media in March 1972. The Chilean publication of this material in a popular volume by Quimantú, with the sponsorship of the Government General Secretariat, was one of the

highlights of Allende's government, which started using denunciation as a drive for domestic and international public opinion mobilisation. The state-owned publishing house launched a mass print run to be distributed by newspaper stalls, selling as many as 200,000 copies in scarcely eight days, compared to its average sales of 50,000 weekly copies (Molina, 2018: 72). Both the average and this special issue print run were high, considering that Chile at the time had around 10 million inhabitants. The documents were unveiled in a 1972 rally attended by 400,000 people, where president Allende announced the expropriation of ITT (*La Opinión*, 1972, 20 April: 2).

The role of the Chilean diplomacy in disseminating the ITT papers in Argentina is less well known. Journalist Gregorio Selser (1974: 8) states that the Chilean ambassador in Buenos Aires, Ramón Huidobro, helped him to prepare a special issue with the papers and championed its publication in Argentina. We ignore whether the Quimantú-Siglo XXI agreement implied the distribution of the Chilean issue or the production of a local version of the papers. However, the above announcement sheds light on the commitment of the Argentine publishing house Siglo XXI to the Chilean process, and on how this commitment shaped the business promotion and symbolic positioning strategy of Siglo XXI in the Argentine cultural and publishing environment. The ITT papers were eventually shown elsewhere as well: the journal *Cuaderno de La Plata* itself published part of the material in May 1972, in an issue devoted to imperialism and dependent capitalism. The material prepared by Selser was published as a book in Buenos Aires by Granica (1974).

Sorá (2017) notes that Siglo XXI contributed to this period of renovation, promotion, and dissemination of social sciences in Latin America. We may add that its Argentine office brought the interest for the Chilean scholarly institutions together with the allure of the Unidad Popular political process. The published materials sometimes arrived through 'cultural bridging agents' and intellectual relationships that mediated between the publishing fields on both sides of the Andes. An interesting background is given by two works published by Signos, a small press led by Argentine intellectuals which would, in 1971, merge with Orfila Reynal's publishing house, as shown above. The first one, Norbert Lechner's *La democracia de Chile* (Chile's Democracy), was printed in Buenos Aires in November 1970. It was a synthesis of his doctoral thesis presented in 1969 in Germany, where the author used a political sociology approach to analyse the wavering of Eduardo Frei's government's so-called 'revolution in freedom' programme. By the end of 1970, Signos published Armand Mattelart, Carmen Castillo, and Leonardo Castillo's *La ideología de la dominación en una sociedad dependiente. La respuesta ideológica de la clase dominante chilena al reformismo* (*The Ideology of Domination in a Dependent Society: The Ideological Response of the Chilean Dominant Class to Reformism*). It analysed the reactions of the dominant classes to the land reform carried out by Eduardo Frei's government (1964–1970). This publication is relevant because of the intellectual networks it contrived: it connected Armand Mattelart, from the Universidad Católica de Chile, with Héctor Schmucler and Santiago Funes, at the time editors of Signos, and director and chief editor respectively of the journal *Los Libros*, a publication related to the new Argentine intellectual left wing. It was the beginning of a relationship that would impinge on the profile of Siglo XXI and, further on, the emergence of a specialised field of communication knowledge in the region. As Funes states, Mattelart himself came to the offices of Signos in Buenos Aires bringing the manuscript and the money for its publication. They might have been put in contact by two Argentine scholars exiled in Chile: Mabel Piccini and Carlos Sempat Assadourian (interview with Santiago Funes, 2019). Schmucler, former chief editor of the journal *Pasado y Presente* (*Past and Present*) (1963–1965), would become managing director and commissioning editor of Siglo XXI Argentina, together with José Aricó, pioneering translator of Gramsci in Argentina and director of Mattelart et al.'s journal. Both are key figures to understand the profile of the Argentine office of Orfila Reynal's company (Sorá, 2017: 231–233). Notwithstanding Orfila's commitment to Allende's government, the connection of Siglo XXI with the Chilean process can in no lesser measure be accounted for by Schmucler's career in Argentina.

Indeed, Schmucler was the 'bridging agent' of Armand Mattelart and Ariel Dorfman's *Para leer al Pato Donald* (*How to Read Donald Duck*), which had been published by the University of Valparaíso at the end of 1971. Back from Chile, where he had been as a publisher, Schmucler himself brought the print master films by bus and was struck with fear as an Argentine frontier soldier searched through his baggage, lingering on the book (interview with Héctor Schmucler, 2007). Now in Buenos Aires, he designed the new version, including a prologue by himself, a new cover, and a subheading:

Comunicación de masa y colonialismo (*Mass Communication and Colonialism*). Apart from finding a business opportunity – this should not in any way be underestimated – Schmucler’s intervention sought to consolidate a subject field, while addressing the left-wing theoretical-political arguments. In his introduction, Schmucler put Dorfman and Mattelart’s analysis in the context of the ‘singular Chilean case’ and the cultural debate over the socialist transition (Schmucler, 1972).

Para leer al Pato Donald helped to project the Chilean socialist experience into the region and the world: since its first print run in July 1972 in Buenos Aires, it quickly became a bestseller. The sixth edition was released in September 1973, and the twelfth in 1974; every edition used to be 3,000 volumes (the number and location of the editions prior to 1976 should be reassessed, since Siglo XXI recorded the simultaneous Argentina and Mexico reprints as consecutive ones). Feltrinelli published an Italian version virtually at the same time as the Siglo XXI edition, including Schmucler’s prologue. Seth Siegelaub, an American editor who lived in France, would soon have the book translated into English, French, and Portuguese; later on, more than a dozen versions would turn it into a global book (Zarowsky, 2013: 99–106).

In a sort of play on echoes, the Argentine edition of *Para leer al Pato Donald* became part of the Chilean left-wing cultural discussion. In August 1972, the weekly *Chile Hoy* (*Chile Today*) (1972–1973) published an extensive article about the Argentine release of the book. The Siglo XXI edition, and Schmucler’s prologue became the focus. The critic Mariano Aguirre (1972) pointed out that, although misread by part of the Chilean left wing (he alluded between lines to Communist Party members, such as Carlos Maldonado, 1972 and Bernardo Subercaseaux, 1972), Dorfman and Mattelart’s work had been immediately praised abroad. By that time – Aguirre announced – English, Italian, French, and Swedish translations were under way. As the Siglo XXI edition was not to circulate in Chile by virtue of distribution agreements, *Chile Hoy* deemed it important to publish some paragraphs from Schmucler’s prologue, in an article titled ‘Schmucler says’, half of which was actually occupied by Schmucler’s words verbatim. Setting an eye on the Argentine left-wing debate and another on the Chilean arguments, Schmucler aimed at the self-proclaimed revolutionary sectors which repeated strictly mechanistic positivist stances, hindering any cultural initiatives. He asserted that all social relationships were actually contained in the superstructure, with culture playing a key role in the transformation process, and that hindering cultural transformation would sooner or later neutralise the new conquered structures. The author of *Chile Hoy* article pointed out that Schmucler’s prologue exceeded the merely introductory to provide ‘a sound approach to our country’s experience, the complexity of a revolutionary process, and the contradictions haunting it’ (Aguirre, 1972: 19). ‘You may agree or disagree with its views, but you cannot doubt – concluded the article – the importance given to the Chilean case in Latin America, and how this prologue shows it’ (*ibid.*). Thus, Schmucler’s intervention helped to turn Chile into a privileged object of analysis and basis for intervention into the Argentine and regional cultural debate. The allusions to Schmucler’s prestige (made through highlighting, for instance, the fact that he was managing director of the journal *Los Libros*), apart from being a symbolic positioning strategy by *Chile Hoy*, betrays the existence of a region-wide network, where the publishing industry was both a connection hub and a resonance box: the managing director of *Chile Hoy*, Marta Harnecker, was one of the most prominent and best-selling authors of Siglo XXI.

The release of Dorfman and Mattelart’s book started the collection *Comunicación de Masa* (*Mass Communication*), which sought both the specialisation of the subject field, and the promotion of alternative cultural and intellectual practices (Zarowsky, 2019; Zarowsky, 2020a). The collection also included Mattelart’s *La comunicación masiva en el proceso de liberación* (*Mass Communication and Liberation Process*). This book, an anthology of papers previously published in Chile during the Unidad Popular process, was ready at the time of the *coup d’état*. It was finally released in Buenos Aires in November 1973. Perhaps that was the reason why neither the title nor the cover art, which emphasised the disciplinary inscription of the book, explicitly alluded to the Chilean process. By contrast, the French translation, published by Anthropos in 1974, based on the Argentine version, bore the title *Mass media, ideologies et mouvement révolutionnaire: Chili 1970–1973* (*Mass Media, Ideologies and Revolutionary Movement, Chile 1970–1973*). The Chilean question was highlighted as a major topic both by the title and by the cover art, which replicated an image taken of the alternative press of the Santiago industrial belt.

Publishing compilations of materials previously released in Chile was a regular praxis in the editions of Siglo XXI Argentina at the time. In August 1973, Siglo XXI published *Los cristianos y el socialismo* (*The Christians and Socialism*), a selection of papers and speeches from the ‘First Latin American Meeting of Christians for Socialism’, celebrated in Santiago in April 1972. A first edition had been published in Chile that same year. Major dissertations included those of Gonzalo Arroyo (one of the organisers of the meeting and movement spokespersons), Clodomiro Almeyda (socialist leader and Chancellor at the time) and the selfsame president Salvador Allende. The Siglo XXI Argentine edition included a series of brand features, related to its editorial profile and the book’s insertion into the local and Latin American situation. The cover design by Isabel Carballo (who, together with Carlos Boccardo created the signature vanguard style of the publishing house) was a collage, which included a picture of Camilo Torres (a Colombian sociologist and ‘guerrilla priest’) and fragments of a song attributed to him, about class violence and the legitimacy of popular response *Víctimas de la violencia | fueron solo campesinos | la estructura dirigente | se plegó a los asesinos | En el cielo manda Dios | y solo en el cielo manda* (Victims of violence | Were all peasants | The leading structures | joined the murderers. | God rules in Heaven | but only in Heaven). In this vein, the meeting of Christians for Socialism, was inscribed in the wider continental situation, by means of a short unsigned introduction, which incorporated an authoritative quotation by Fidel Castro. Remarkably, in Chile, in 1971, the Cuban leader had alluded to the strategic alliance of all Christians for the Latin American revolution. Gathering Christianity, Marxism, and avant-garde, the meeting attested to the ‘inexorability of the Latin American revolution’ and its unique character, as it respected the region’s traditions and peculiarities (Arroyo et al., 1973: 11). The idea was consistent with Salvador Allende’s meeting intervention, in which he underscored the scope and heterogeneity of the political alliance he led, where lays, Marxists, and Christians understood one another (*ibid.*: 38). The idea had local implications on this side of the Andes: a broad movement connected Christianity, left-wing ideas, and revolutionary activism in Argentina at that time (Campos, 2016).

1973 and Afterwards: Homage, Denunciation, and Assessment

Siglo XXI took part in the regional left-wing debate over the overthrow of the Unidad Popular government. Notably, the publishing of Joan Garcés’ *El Estado y los problemas tácticos en el gobierno de Allende* (*The State and the Tactical Problems of Allende’s Government*) in Mexico, in November 1973 was quickly followed by a reprint in Argentina, a second edition of which was released in March 1974. A Spanish national with a PhD in Political Sciences from the Paris Sorbonne University, Garcés had been one of the closest counsellors of Allende’s and a theoretical champion of the ‘Allendeist ideas’. His book was considered a specific contribution to the Chilean left-wing global project (Casals Araya, 2010: 266–273). It included some texts from the 1970–1973 period and others written after the *coup d’état*, and incorporated an epilogue signed in Paris in November 1973. Several paratextual elements in the first edition of the volume are particularly meaningful. The cover design, which was reproduced in the local edition, showed a pop-like high-contrast red and black military figure, foreshadowing the outcome of the process. The editor’s voice in the back cover praised Garcés as a particular type of intellectual, making a point of his ‘direct contact with the Chilean reality’ and personal friendship with Allende (Garcés, 1974: back cover). Testimony, commitment (it was a book written in the course of events), and analytical accuracy were attributed to Garcés and, by extension, to the publisher’s profile, as conveyed by the paratext. Garcés’s essay explained Allende’s political project and the rise of ‘fascism as a last resource to hinder the Chilean people’s road to socialism’ (*ibid.*). As stated by one of the closest counsellors of Allende’s and one of the champions of the so-called ‘Chilean road to socialism’, Garcés’s words were remarkably meaningful: ‘It has been the right-wing itself – rounded up Garcés – that has set the new ground for our revolution. The dialectically developed political-institutional road has paved the way for the insurrectionary road. One government has fallen, but Revolution goes on’ (*ibid.*: 309). According to Garcés, a new stage started for the left-wing in the region, which should take on a rupturing strategy (although these positions were to be revised in *Allende y la experiencia chilena: las armas de la política* (*Allende and the Chilean Experience: The Weapons of Politics*), published in 1976 in Spain by Siglo XXI). The release of Garcés’s book took

on full significance in the Argentine context. Perón had been president since October 1973 and, at the beginning of 1974, the struggle between right- and left-wing Peronism had reached a point of no return, for which both political and intellectual sectors were discussing different alternatives. In short, these alternatives entailed either supporting Perón's social agreement of prices and salaries between workers and businesses, or going for the revolutionary radicalisation of the political process. Both were the alternatives in the face of a likely military coup (Franco, 2012; Nahmías, 2013; Sigal and Verón, 2014; Borreli, 2021).

It was in this context that Siglo XXI Argentina launched, in November 1974, Manuel Castells's *La lucha de clases en Chile* (*Class Struggle in Chile*), printing 4,000 copies. Once again, the editor's voice in the paratext positioned the volume into a definite set of discussions. On the one hand, it posited the urge to pick up the fruits of 'these three years' lessons' to understand and to 'modify future actions'; on the other hand, it distinguished Castells's work from the all-pervading tactics-centred discussions about the Chilean experience. By standing analytically before the *coup d'état*, the Catalan sociologist avoided – as we can read in the back cover – 'giving lessons' on what could have been done in the situation to reach a different result (Castells, 1974: back cover). The editor's inverted commas critically allude to a discursive series, where 'the lessons from Chile' had become a trite rhetorical argument in the local political discussion, as opposed to the analytical, pondering work of the Catalan sociologist. And yet again, the remark commended the author and contributed to modulate an editorial profile; the Chilean experience was both a privileged object of observation and a resonance box. These are the conditions under which Castells emerged as an author. He referred to the false antinomy posed by the Chilean road debate among the Western left wing, stating that it was more rhetoric than analytic; his book, conversely, appeared as a contribution to political sociology. The actual analysis of the political dynamics of class struggle in Chile could contribute to the formulation of a 'general theory of the working class movement' (Castells, 1974: 22–24).

For all the editor's forestalling, Castells's book was quickly incorporated into the Argentine new left-wing discussions about the Allende government's strategic possibilities and the causes of its downfall. A book review by Mario Toer in the journal *Los Libros* celebrated Castells's ability to delimit positions and insight, regretting, though, that the author should expect to lecture on the strategy of the Unidad Popular. From the author's and the publication's Maoist stance (Schmucler had stopped being managing director in 1972), Allende's venture was considered an illusion: the Chilean road, since its very strategic conception, was a 'pacific road to failure'. According to Toer, the Peronist left wing that had supported Allende had been deluded into accepting the same phantasmagoria in Argentina (Toer, 1974a, 1974b, 1974c).

Coda on a Mexican Series: 'Our Books about Chile'

This review would be incomplete without an overview of the titles published on Chile by the head office of Siglo XXI in Mexico as of 1974. The worsening of the political situation in Argentina affected the activity of the local office. Shortly after its rise to power in March 1976, the military junta closed the offices of Siglo XXI Argentina and forced many of its leaders to go into exile. In Mexico, the greatest commitment of Siglo XXI with the Chilean experience was expressed by the 1974 series. Particularly significant is the large number of titles in such a short time and the cover design: The press logo was accompanied by a boxed red Chilean bell flower dripping red drops, which provided overall consistency and linked the image of the publishing house to the memory, experiences and cultural traditions of the Chilean society. The ambivalent dripping red Chilean bell, which can express either blood or tears, shows and subsumes the feeling of mourning, the solidarity drive, and the urge to denounce the Chilean military dictatorship. (The red Chilean bell flower is part of the Chilean cultural heritage: it was incorporated into the popular musical and literary repertoire; authors and musicians, notably including Pablo Neruda and Violeta Parra dedicated verses and songs to it. The military junta declared it national flower in 1977.)

Although not conceived as a specific collection, an announcement by the publishing house advertised 'our books about Chile' as a unity (Uribe, 1974: 214). It referred to Joan Garcés's *El Estado y los problemas tácticos en el gobierno de Allende* (*The State and the Tactical Problems of Allende's*

Government); Solón Barraclough's *Diagnóstico de la reforma agraria chilena* (*A Diagnosis of the Chilean Agrarian Reform*); Alain Touraine's *Vida y muerte del Chile popular* (*Life and Death of the Popular Chile*); Pío García's *Las fuerzas armadas y el golpe de Estado en Chile* (*The Armed Forces and the Coup D'État in Chile*); Armando Uribe's *El libro negro de la intervención norteamericana en Chile* (*The Black Book of American Intervention in Chile*); Régis Debray's *Conversación con Allende* (*A Conversation with Allende*); and *La vía chilena al socialismo* (*The Chilean Road to Socialism*), a book published in August 1973 with speeches by scholars and government leaders – including Allende – in a homonym meeting in Santiago in 1972.

Actually, some of the advertised titles had been published before the *coup d'état*, and did not display the red Chilean bell flower on their cover, which was not added until 1974. Other titles mentioned here could certainly have been included in the series, too. All in all, Allende's inauguration-day request to Orfila Reynal, about 'making books for Chile', had turned by 1974 into a sort of homage, denouncement, and fulfilment of a political heritage through publishing. That same year came the publications of *El poder dual en América latina. Estudios de los casos de Bolivia y Chile* (*The Dual Power in Latin America: The Cases of Bolivia and Chile*) by René Zavaleta Mercado, and *El poema negro de Chile* (*Chile's Black Poem*), by the poet Efraín Barquero, in which cover it did include the bleeding red Chilean bell flower. Finally, in October 1974, the sixth and last edition of *Conversación con Allende*, by Régis Debray, was published, the paratext of which included some revisions in tune with the newer circumstances: Debray's 'pop' images were obliterated from the cover, and Allende's picture was substituted with a more formal one, over a black background, which functioned as a kind of graphic obituary. Furthermore, the subheading from the first edition, 'Will Chile succeed in implanting socialism?', was removed.

Out of the titles listed in 1974, only two, Garcés and Debray, had gone beyond the first edition by 1985 (Siglo XXI, 186: 344–345). Such a poor sales performance may hint at the fact that the publishing drive for the series was given by ethical-political reasons. Analysing the internal dynamics of Siglo XXI and the Mexican publishing and politico-cultural context would far exceed the limits of this article. Whatever the case, our conjecture tends to support our key hypothesis: the existence of mediations in the publishing sector, not only between market, culture, and politics, but also between the local, the regional, and the global spheres, that helped to modulate the Chilean socialist experience as a hub for transnational connections and a world reaching phenomenon.

Siglo XXI México published other titles in the following years, including works by top officers of the Unidad Popular government, party leaders, or diplomats, in line with many of the books in the series so far reviewed. It offered these authors a privileged channel for disseminating their positions and ideas. Though this statement would require further research, we may suggest that such connections bring back those established by Allende and Orfila Reynal from the 1960s onwards, and the strong networks of Chilean exiles in Mexico, composed mostly of political and intellectual elite sectors, and especially those related to the Socialist Party (Rojas Mira, 2006). By the end of the 1970s, we can find books such as Germán Marín's *Una historia fantástica y calculada. La CIA en el país de los chilenos* (*A Fantastic and Calculated Story: The CIA in the Country of the Chileans*) (1976), *Dialéctica de la derrota* (*Dialectics of Defeat*) (1977), by Carlos Altamirano, at the time Secretary General of the Chilean Socialist Party in exile in Germany, and, finally, *Transición, socialismo y democracia. La experiencia chilena* (*Transition, Socialism, and Democracy: The Chilean Experience*) (1979), by Sergio Bitar, minister of mining during Allende's government, exiled in Venezuela. From different approaches, both Altamirano and Bitar, cast their Chilean experience 'lessons' onto a sector of the Western left wing, which at the time wondered about the possible articulations between socialism and democracy and discussed the so-called 'crisis of Marxism'. By and large, assessments about Chile were a privileged object of study and a sounding box for an identity and conceptual reconfiguration process which had transformed the Western left-wing culture and Marxist discourse by the end of the decade. Siglo XXI participated in this movement of ideas (Cortés, 2015). Indeed, it continued to use Chile as a promotion and editorial benchmarking tool. The back cover of Bitar's book stated that it offered 'a privileged analysis outlook, since the author had lived 'a transcendental political experience, not just "from within", but from a top leadership position' (Bitar, 1979: back cover). The editor's voice highlighted Bitar's intellectual profile (Bitar had proved committed in his engagement with the events, without losing analytical insight) and, in doing so, assumed it for the publishing house itself.

Conclusions

Siglo XXI Argentina stands out as a privileged object of analysis. For one, its publications served as a bridge for the local circulation of ideas and meanings regarding the Chilean experience, and as an outstanding space for the modulation of the Chilean process as a global event. Key to it were the conformation of a local venue staffed with emerging new left-wing intellectuals, and its articulation with a transnational publishing structure, which reached the Spanish and Latin American world, and which provided connections with international publishers. Thus, studying the process of production and circulation of books about Chile in Siglo XXI allowed us to detect the existence of a network on both sides of the Andes, connecting journalists, intellectuals, and social scientists; in such a network, the publishing activity served as a means of aggregation and dissemination. In this context, Siglo XXI Argentina editions were a sounding box for the production of meanings around the Chilean road to socialism and the development of intellectual discussions, both domestically and regionally.

The book-object was a privileged tool to build meanings and to intervene in the struggle about information, both inside and outside Chile. Telling examples are the interview between Allende and Debray, or the unveiling of the ITT secret papers. Moreover, the fact that the Argentine edition of *Para leer al Pato Donald* was discussed in Chile sheds light on the shaky character of the cultural borders and the transnational making of the socialist experience as a laboratory of ideas. At the same time, books about Chile were being read in Argentina in the local perspective, projected as *usage*, or tools for intervention in a national situation impinged by emerging mass struggles, the return of Peronism to government, and the radicalisation of cultural and political alternatives.

Following the overthrow of the Unidad Popular government, the epicentre of the Siglo XXI Chile series moved to Mexico, though with some locally published volumes. Now, it was devoted to paying homage to Allende, discussing his heritage, and elaborating on a strategic balance. The Chile series, whose authors were mostly outstanding intellectuals, government officers, or relevant Unidad Popular leaders, was particularly noteworthy because of the commitment of Siglo XXI to Allende, its prestige, and the connections it had created over the previous stage, where the Argentine venue played a significant role. The publishing house founded by Orfila Reynal contributed to disseminating the assessments made on the Chilean experience by the Western left wing, which had been subject to a conceptual reformulation movement since the late 1970s. Furthermore, studying the publishing world and its articulations with other cultural production fields has helped us to emphasise the plural and contentious character of the signifier ‘Chilean road to socialism’ and the existence of mediations between market, culture, and politics, and also between the regional, the local, and the global, which helped to modulate the Chilean socialist experience as a hub for transnational connections and a worldwide phenomenon.

References

- Aguirre, M. (1972) ‘Pato Donald. Dragón de papel’. *Chile Hoy* 11: 19.
- Albornoz, C. (2005) ‘La cultura en la Unidad Popular. Porque esta vez no se trata de cambiar un presidente’ in J. Pinto Vallejos (ed.) *Cuando hicimos la historia: la experiencia de la Unidad Popular*. LOM: Santiago de Chile, 147–176.
- Arroyo, G., Almeida, C., Méndez Arceo, S. et al. (1973) *Los cristianos y el socialismo. Primer encuentro latinoamericano*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Argentina.
- Beigel, F. (2010) ‘La institucionalización de las ciencias sociales en América Latina: entre la autonomía y la dependencia académica’ in F. Beigel (ed.) *Autonomía y dependencia académica. Universidad e investigación científica en un circuito periférico: Chile y Argentina (1950–1980)*. Buenos Aires: Biblos, 47–65.
- Bergot, S. (2005) ‘Quimantú Une maison d’édition d’État durant l’Unité Populaire chilienne (1970–1973)’. *Bulletin de l’Institut Pierre Renouvin* 21: 91–112.
- Bitar, S. (1979) *Transición, socialismo y democracia. La experiencia chilena*. Mexico: Siglo XXI.
- Blanco, A. (2006) *Razón y Modernidad. Gino Germani y la sociología en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI.
- Borrelí, M. (2021) *Las revista políticas Argentina: desde el peronismo a la dictadura (1973–1983)*. Prometeo: Buenos Aires.

- Campos, E. (2016) *Cristianismo y Revolución: el origen de montoneros: violencia, política y religión en los 60*. Buenos Aires: Edhasa.
- Casals Araya, M. (2010) *El alba de una revolución: la izquierda y el proceso de construcción estratégica de la 'vía chilena al socialismo' 1956–1970*. LOM: Santiago de Chile.
- Castells, M. (1974) *La lucha de clases en Chile*. Siglo XXI Argentina: Buenos Aires.
- Castilho de Lacerda, F. (2018) 'La Revolución Latinoamericana como Acontecimiento Global' in François Maspero Trikont Verlag and las Estrategias de recepción de la Izquierda Latinoamericana en Europa'. *Unpublished dissertation*. IV Congreso de Historia Intelectual de América Latina: Santiago de Chile.
- Chocrón, G. (2010) 'La producción de conocimiento social en Santiago de Chile y su circulación vía México' in F. Beigel (ed.) (dir.) *Autonomía y dependencia académica. Universidad e investigación científica en un circuito periférico: Chile y Argentina (1950–1980)*. Biblos: Buenos Aires.
- Compagnon, O. and Moine, C. (2015) 'Pour une histoire globale du 11 de septembre 1973'. *Monde(s)* 8(2): 9–26.
- Cortés, M. (2015) *Un nuevo marxismo para América Latina: José Aricó: traductor, editor, intelectual*. Siglo XXI: Buenos Aires.
- Dujovne, A. (2016) 'La máquina de traducir: Eudeba y la modernización de las ciencias sociales y humanas (1958–1966)'. *Papeles de Trabajo* 10: 123–144.
- Franco, M. (2012) *Un enemigo para la nación. Orden interno, violencia y 'subversión', 1973–1976*. Fondo de Cultura Económica: Buenos Aires.
- Garcés, J. (1974) *El Estado y los problemas tácticos en el gobierno de Allende*. Siglo XXI Argentina: Buenos Aires.
- García, D. (2011) 'Signos: notas sobre un momento editorial'. *Políticas de la Memoria* 10–11–12: 149–158.
- Hage, J. and Torregrosa, G. (2017) 'La generación de editores que protagonizó la descolonización: radicalismo, esplendor y decadencia del activismo editorial'. *Trama and Texturas* 32: 80–93.
- Harmer, T. (2021) 'Towards a Global History of the Unidad Popular'. *Radical Americas* 6(4): 1–14.
- López, H. (2014) *Un sueño llamado Quimantú*. Editorial Ceibo: Santiago de Chile.
- Maldonado, C. (1972) 'El proceso cultural como incentivador de la praxis'. *Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional* 12: 69–83.
- Marchesi, A. (2019) *Hacer la revolución. Guerrillas latinoamericanas, de los años sesenta a la caída del Muro*. Siglo XXI: Buenos Aires.
- Molina, M. (2018) 'Las prácticas editoriales en Quimantú' in M. Molina (ed.) *Quimantú: prácticas, política y memoria*. Grafito ediciones: Santiago de Chile, 19–86.
- Nahmias, G. (2013) *La batalla peronista: de la unidad imposible a la violencia política (Argentina 1969–1973)*. Buenos Aires: Edhasa.
- Orfila Reynal, A. (1973) 'O si no, asesinado'. *Crisis* 6: 72.
- Pedemonte, R. (2019) 'The Meeting of Two Revolutionary Roads: Chilean–Cuban Interactions, 1959–1970'. *Hispanic American Historical Review* 99(2): 275–302.
- Pinto, A. et al. (1970) *Chile Hoy*. Siglo XXI: Santiago de Chile.
- Pucciarelli, A. (ed.) (1999) *La primacía de la política: Lanusse, Perón y la Nueva Izquierda en tiempos del GAN*. Eudeba: Buenos Aires.
- Quimantú Siglo XXI Argentina (1972) 'Todos los documentos que prueban la actuación de la ITT en el proceso político chileno'. *Cuaderno de La Plata* 6: 2.
- Rojas Mira, C. (2006) 'La Casa de Chile en México, 1973–1993' in J. Del Pozo (ed.) *Exiliados, emigrados y retornados: chilenos en América y Europa, 1973–2004*. RIL: Santiago de Chile, 107–126.
- Schmucler, H. (1972) 'Donald y la política' in A. Dorfman and A. Mattelart (eds.) *Para leer al Pato Donald. Comunicación de masa y neocolonialismo*. Siglo XXI Argentina: Buenos Aires, 3–8.
- Selser, G. (1974) *Una empresa Multinacional: la ITT en los Estados Unidos y en Chile. Documentos secretos sobre Chile*. Granica Editor: Buenos Aires.
- Sigal, S. and Verón, E. (2014) *Perón o muerte: los fundamentos discursivos del fenómeno peronista*. Eudeba: Buenos Aires.
- Siglo XXI (1986) *Catálogo general 1965–1985*. Siglo XXI: México City.
- Sorá, G. (2004) 'Editores y editoriales de ciencias sociales: un capital específico' in M. Plotkin (ed.) *Intelectuales y expertos: la constitución del conocimiento social en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Paidós, 265–292.
- Sorá, G. (2017) *Editar desde la izquierda: la agitada historia del fondo de cultura económica y de siglo XXI*. Siglo XXI Argentina: Buenos Aires.
- Toer, M. (1974a) 'Chile: vía pacífica al fracaso'. *Los Libros* 33: 31–35.
- Toer, M. (1974b) 'Clases sociales y estrategias de poder en Chile'. *Los Libros* 37: 28–29.
- Toer, M. (1974c) *La 'vía chilena': un balance necesario*. Tiempo Contemporáneo: Buenos Aires.
- Uribe, A. (1974) *El libro negro de la intervención norteamericana en Chile*. Siglo XXI: Mexico City.

The United Popular Process as Represented through Siglo XXI Publishers

- Zarowsky, M. (2013) *Del laboratorio chileno a la comunicación-mundo: un itinerario intelectual de Armand Mattelart*. Buenos Aires: Biblos.
- Zarowsky, M. (2019) 'Comunicación de Masa en Siglo XXI Argentina: una colección orientada por Héctor Schmucler'. *Revista Internacional de Comunicación y Desarrollo* 10: 22–31.
- Zarowsky, M. (2020a) 'Héctor Schmucler. Izquierdas, vanguardias, comunicación' in G. Mastrini, M. Rodríguez and M. Zarowsky (eds.) *Pensadoras de la comunicación argentina*. Ediciones UNGS: Buenos Aires, 113, 72–113.
- Zarowsky, M. (2020b) 'Salvador Allende-Régis Debray: prensa y edición entre la diplomacia y el mercado'. *Meridional: Revista Chilena de Estudios Latinoamericanos* 15: 67–98.

Newspapers

- Opinión, L. (1971) Salvador Allende-Regis Debray. Dos culturas, dos generaciones, dos formas de ver el mundo, 3 October, pp. 8–9.
- Opinión, L. (1972) Buenos Aires, 20 April, p. 2.
- Siete Días Ilustrados (1971) Diálogo sobre la revolución. Allende responde Debray, 18 April, pp. 10–14.
- Subercaseaux, B. (1972) Para leer al pato Donald. *El Siglo*, 16 January, pp. 8–10.

Interviews

- Funes, S. (2019) Chief Editor in Signos, Electronic exchange with the author, February–March. Buenos Aires-Villard Saint Pancrace.
- Schmucler, H. (2007) Chief Editor in Siglo XXI Argentina, 19 December. Buenos Aires.

Data Availability Statement

The data that support the findings of this study are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.