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Our Men in Paris? *Mundo Nuevo*, the Cuban Revolution, and the Politics of Cultural Freedom

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Our Men in Paris? *Mundo Nuevo*, the Cuban Revolution, and the Politics of Cultural Freedom

by

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my parents, Patricia and Candler Cobb.

Acknowlegments

This dissertation has its roots in my coursework as Master's student in Spanish, when I was fortunate to benefit from the knowledge and expertise of three committee members, Naomi Lindstrom, César Salgado, and Nicolas Shumway. Dr. Lindstrom, in particular, was instrumental in helping me understand the rigors and expectations of scholarly writing. Her patience and guidance have been essential in helping me carry out this project. She read and reread different versions of the dissertation, and helped to stick to deadlines, something that did not come naturally for me. Dr. Salgado and Dr. Shumway opened my eyes to the important connections between twentieth-century Latin American literature and its social and historial context in graduate seminars. I am grateful for their continued support as my interests evolved over the years.

I must thank Charles Rossman for giving me the original idea to take on *Mundo Nuevo* not just as a unique vehicle for literature, but as an important link to Cold War politics. Dr. Rossman has been a source of constant intellectual stimulation over extended talks over coffee. I must also thank him for helping mold my prose style into a more accessible and readable style. As a historian, Dr. Mark Lawrence's suggestions proved invaluable as I related a literary magazine to larger historical movements. He provided a list of books and challenged my thinking about U.S.-Latin American relations as well as providing valuable feedback about the project in its early stages. Dr. Dolora Chapelle Wojciehowski also challenged me to re-examine some assumptions about art and political power in a way that enriched not only this dissertation, but my critical thinking abilities as a whole. I thank her for her words of encouragement in my moments of doubt.

I must also thank the staff of the various libraries I consulted over the past two years, especially at the University of Chicago, Princeton University, the Benson Latin American Collection, and the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin. These libraries allowed me access to important archival materials. In many ways, this work retraces an unkown history of connections between writers, editors, and political figures. Open access to archives is essential for creating honest and accurate history and I thank those institutions for encouraging and funding this sort of work.

Many friends in Austin, New York, and Oklahoma, helped me work through the ideas presented here. In particular, I would like to thank Courtney Johnson, Jaime Marroquin, Chris Sachse, Jonathan Shainin, for pushing me to explain the tricky relationship between the CIA and Latin American literature, often over a few beers and hard questions. True intellectual gratification comes from a sense of community and these people—among others—helped me establish a meaningful dialogue with other writers and critics.

I owe almost everything to my soon-to-be wife, Rachel Hertz, for her unrelenting, unquestioning support with this project. Rachel pushed me to trudge on when I wanted to stop. She proofread the manuscript at various stages, often pushing aside her own work to help me with mine. She has been my constant companion, editor, and friend. I would have given up a long time ago without her.

Finally, I thank my mother, Pat Cobb, for tolerating my whims, entertaining my wanderlust, and at least pretending to understand the crazy ideas put forth in the following pages even when they seemed to make no sense. Although this project covers many continents, languages, and ideologies, I remain, like my family, an Okie at heart.

Our Men in Paris? *Mundo Nuevo*, the Cuban Revolution, and the Politics of Cultural Freedom

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The Paris-based literary magazine *Mundo Nuevo* disseminated some of the most original and experimental Latin American writing from 1966—the date of its founding—to 1968, the year its editor-in-chief resigned and the magazine moved to Buenos Aires. Despite its fame, the magazine's role in the Boom and the cultural Cold War has been misunderstood by critics, who have either viewed *Mundo Nuevo* as a tool for CIA propaganda (it was recipient of CIA funds for two years) or non-political, avant-garde magazine. *Mundo Nuevo*'s founding editor, Emir Rodríguez Monegal, saw the magazine

as an outlet for turning Latin American literature in world literature. *Mundo Nuevo* published essays, interviews and fiction from such writers as Gabriel García Márquez, Carlos Fuentes, and Guillermo Cabrera Infante. Because its funding has been traced back to the CIA-sponsored Congress for Cultural Freedom, *Mundo Nuevo* has also been a lightning rod for political controversy. Since the magazine's inception, Cuban intellectuals denounced *Mundo Nuevo* as "imperialist propaganda" for the U.S. government. Although Monegal insisted on calling *Mundo Nuevo* "a magazine of dialogue," it was both financially and ideologically linked to European and American liberalism, which sought, in Arthur Schlesinger's words, to assert "the ultimate integrity of the individual." *Mundo Nuevo*'s stance toward Cuba became evident in editorials against the repression of artists in Cuba, as well as in the publishing of works by writers who found themselves at odds with the cultural politics of the new regime and in the publication of feature articles highlighting the economic failures of the Revolution. I argue that *Mundo Nuevo* was neither an instrument of "Yankee imperialism"—as Roberto Fernández Retamar called it in *Casa de las Américas*— nor a disinterested, politically non-committed "magazine of dialogue," as the journal's editor often claimed. As much of the material from the archives in the Congress for Cultural Freedom demonstrates, *Mundo Nuevo* was set up by the Congress as a bulwark against the Cuban Revolution, and used the rhetoric of disinterested, cosmopolitan literature to counter the Revolution's model of literature *engagée*.

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Introduction

Nothing pains a man like having to represent a country.

-Julio Cortázar, *Rayuela*

I'd put Stalin on the payroll if I thought it would help us defeat Hitler

-William Donovan, OSS officer and chief architect of the CIA

In 1967, the Paris-based literary magazine *Mundo Nuevo* and its Cuban rival, *Casa de las Américas*, both published homages to the towering figure of Hispanic *modernismo*: the Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío, on the centenary of his birth. In the hundred years since Darío's birth, Latin American writing had achieved a prominent place in world literature. Whereas European and U.S. critics and publishers had once regarded Latin American fiction as derivative or merely regionalist, it now elicited intense interest. In the United States and France in particular, publishers, critics, and novelists turned to older Latin American writers like Jorge Luis Borges, as well as younger writers like Carlos Fuentes, to help reconfigure the international literary avant-

garde. On the centenary of Darío's birth, the Boom in Latin American fiction was at its peak: in 1967, the Guatemalan writer Miguel Angel Asturias won the Nobel Prize for Literature and Gabriel García Márquez's *Cien años de soledad* was released to critical acclaim and commercial success.

Casa de las Américas and *Mundo Nuevo* were the two most recognizable journals of the new Latin American writing. Unlike their predecessors in Argentina, Cuba and elsewhere, these magazines boasted an international readership that included influential cultural figures in France, Great Britain, Spain, and the United States. Moreover, one could trace both magazines' funding to government sources: *Casa* to the Castro regime and *Mundo Nuevo* to the CIA. Although *Mundo Nuevo* and *Casa de las Américas* often published the same writers, the magazines were political rivals, so it was no surprise that each had a very different interpretation of Darío's legacy to the contemporary scene. Although *Mundo Nuevo* and *Casa* both recognized the importance of Darío in establishing a poetics particular to Latin American literature, the magazines painted a very different portrait of the Nicaraguan and his oeuvre. When one reads the collection of essays from *Mundo Nuevo,* one gets the sense that Darío was a high modernist whose work was on par with his European contemporaries such as Rilke or Mallarmé. Emphasis is placed on the poet's formal inventiveness and symbolism, while scant attention is paid to his social or political thought. In a conversation between Emir Rodríguez Monegal (the magazine's editor), Tomas Segovia, and Severo Sarduy—reprinted in *Mundo Nuevo*, January 1967—the baroque, aestheticized Darío comes to light. In the words of Sarduy—who was himself a marginalized Cuban writer whose decadence had come into conflict

with the socialist Hombre Nuevo of Cuba in the mid to late 1960s—we see a Europeanized, "Art Nouveau" Darío:

> Al venir de Europa, Darío viene hacia un mundo de proliferación de objetos, es decir, de Art Nouveau, arte por excelencia de proliferación. Por eso, se articula con el rococó, el flamboyant, y el arte flavio de la escultura romana, porque son artes en que la ornamentación se manifiesta como elemento predominante: artes de adjetivación, como la poesía de Darío. En ellos, lo accesorio—el adorno—es lo esencial.[1]

This campy version of Darío, in which the poet's "adornments" and "flamboyance" take center stage, was of obvious use to Sarduy, who was developing his own highly wrought, neo-baroque style of prose in Paris. This Darío is a decadent outsider, more at home in *fin-de-siècle* Paris than in his native Nicaragua.

In contrast, the portrait that emerges from the *Casa de las Américas* articles is of a nationalist, anti-imperialist, political poet who was conscious of his unequal relationship to first-world writers. In René Depestre's essay "Rubén Darío: Con el cisne y el fusil," the poet is seen as a Calibanesque prototype of a Cuban guerrilla, ready to confront American imperialism:

> Y ha llegado el momento de decir que, en el plan político así como en el plan militar, uno de los grandes méritos de la Revolución cubana reside en que—además de ofrecernos su ejemplo—nos permite tener ya una visión global de

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1 Severo Sarduy, Tomás Segovia, and Emir Rodríguez Monegal, "Nuestro Rubén Darío," *Mundo Nuevo* 7 (January, 1967), 34.

> nuestro destino. La vieja torre colonial de Washington ha dejado de ser el único lugar del continente de donde es posible obtener una visión panorámica de nuestra vida, abarcar con la mirada nuestro futuro. Con perspectivas completamente diferentes, opuestas, y en el propio interés de nuestas culturas, podemos vernos todos desde Cuba, como en este Varadero de la libertad y de Rubén Darío, en esta torre popular abierta sobre el mar y la poesía.[2]

Darío, along with José Martí, is appropriated as an apostle of left-wing armed struggle and Third-World consciousness. This Darío had knocked down the ivory tower and is ready to pick up a rifle to defend the Revolution.

Which version of Darío is the correct one? It is practically impossible to say. Neither interpretation lacks textual evidence in Darío's work: the poet's views on poetry and politics had evolved in unpredictable ways over decades and it is difficult to attach one label to the poet's constantly changing aesthetic vision. For the editors and contributors of *Casa*, it was assumed that any aesthetic vision had a political dimension. Cultural production had been highly politicized in Cuba since the first days of the Revolution. Films, novels, and music perceived as counterrevolutionary were censured or marginalized. The filmmaker Sabá Cabrera Infante saw his short documentary, "P.M.," banned from theaters, while his brother, Guillermo Cabrera Infante, had his literary magazine, *Lunes de Revolución*, shut down in 1961 after a show trial that involved Fidel

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[2] René Depestre, "Rubén Darío: Con el cisne y el fusil" *Casa de las Américas* 46 (May-June 1967), 75.

Castro himself. Even though they never endorsed a doctrine of socialist realism, Cuban cultural authorities wanted to make sure that cultural production on the island was committed to the Revolution and the Castro regime.

Mundo Nuevo's editor, Monegal, saw things differently. For him, writers were "independent intellectuals" whose activities should be divorced from political commitments. The writer's fist duty was to his or her craft and politics only got in the way of true literature. The Paris-based magazine trumpeted the idea of cultural freedom, that no writer should be beholden to, or advocate for, any political cause. This is not to say that *Mundo Nuevo* was apolitical. The magazine devoted a great deal of space to current events, political theory, and essays about identity and history. *Mundo Nuevo* did, however, attempt to mask any ideological self-awareness by taking up the banner of the cosmopolitan independent intellectual, a figure constantly defining himself (and it is, almost always, a "he") as above the fray. Hence, it is no surprise that Darío himself is portrayed in the pages of *Mundo Nuevo* as both a political outsider and a member of the literary avant-garde.

The case of the two Daríos is just one instance in which these two magazines battled one another over aesthetics, politics, and prestige. At a time when Latin American literature was enjoying unprecedented international recognition, *Mundo Nuevo* and *Casa de las Américas* were trying to mold the region's culture in their own image. This was, in other words, more than a purely literary feud: it represented an important moment in which Cold War politics affected the interpretation and production of literature. The Boom did not occur simply because a group of writers happened to pen a series of extraordinary novels and short stories during the mid 1960s to the early 1970s (although

the flowering of Latin American literature—it must be remembered—could not have happened without the works of the writers themselves). The Boom occurred because a unique historical moment—the aftermath of the Cuban Revolution—coincided with the artistic maturation of a handful of remarkable writers, who, in turn, benefited from a network of links to funding sources and cultural capital.

What made *Mundo Nuevo* a key vehicle in the commercial and critical success of the Boom was the intersection of four phenomena, all of which I discuss in depth in this dissertation. First, Latin America possessed a long tradition of publishing serious literature in magazines, which were at the very center of the continent's intellectual and cultural life; they were, in a sense, the region's public sphere. Furthermore, literary magazines had relatively wide networks for distribution and *Mundo Nuevo* was able to tap into this tradition to gain an international readership. Two, the Cuban Revolution's popularity among avant-garde writers made Latin America an important battleground in the cultural Cold War, which pitted the CIA's anti-communist initiative, the Congress for Cultural Freedom, against Marxist Cuban institutions, most notably, the cultural clearinghouse Casa de las Américas. *Mundo Nuevo* published and promoted writers who found themselves ostracized by the official Cuban culture without succumbing to anti-communist screeds or seeming like CIA propaganda. Three, *Mundo Nuevo*'s editor, Monegal, demonstrated an uncanny knack for finding the most innovative and talented writers in Latin America. He gave relatively unknown figures like Sarduy, Manuel Puig, and José Donoso ample space and freedom, complementing their writing with extensive interviews, which he also published in *Mundo Nuevo*. Four—and most controversially—*Mundo Nuevo* had the financial backing of the CIA through a series of non-profit front

organizations. Because Cuba was perceived as one of the—if not the most—dangerous threats to the United States in the early to mid 1960s, much money was spent on Latin American non-communist initiatives like *Mundo Nuevo*. Without this money, Monegal would have been unable to publish and promote his favorite writers.

At first glance, the very idea of a serious relationship between the Cold War-era CIA and the Latin American literary avant-garde seems absurd. After all, the CIA has, since its inception in 1949, been primarily interested in gathering intelligence relating to armed threats to U.S. interests. Experimental fiction from Latin America does not, it would seem, pose much of a threat to anyone's national security. Nevertheless, it is now clear that the CIA was aware of the subtle ways in which culture—literature, music, painting—reflected subtle ideological concerns. It is no surprise that the CIA would become interested in how writers and artists might work as weapons in the Cold War: the Soviet Union was openly advocating socialist writers as "engineers of the soul"[3] since the 1930s, when the Popular Front galvanized writers and intellectuals across the globe. Nevertheless, traditional historiography of Cold War foreign policy has not given much attention to cultural production as an important feature of the decades-long conflict. Although recent books have done much to redress the absence of literature, film, and music in Cold War studies (especially concerning European affairs), the cultural

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3 The saying "Writers are the engineers of the soul" is often attributed to Stalin, although there is conflicting historical evidence that the Soviet leader was the first to utter the memorable line.

dimensions of United States and Latin American relations during the era remains understudied or misunderstood.

Part of this misunderstanding can be attributed to the imbalance of power in the region and the deep mistrust of the U.S. government in Latin American intellectual and artistic circles. Suspicion of the CIA is especially deep-seated, and for good reason. Apart from "intelligence gathering," the CIA has also been in the business of helping to topple Latin American governments with the aid of military intervention, most notably in 1954 in Guatemala and in 1971 in Chile. Equally damaging to the reputation of the U.S. government was the botched CIA-sponsored invasion of Cuba in 1961 by Cuban exiles. The invasion backfired in that it allowed Fidel Castro to solidify his grip on power and silence the impressive range of cultural experimentation in literary magazines, as we shall see later. Other failed covert operations sponsored by the CIA revealed to Latin Americans that the Agency wanted to infiltrate the region's intellectual life and create a cadre of technocrats and thinkers that would remake the fields of journalism and academia. One such plan, "Project Camelot," was discovered and exposed in Chile in the 1960s before it could be successfully carried out. Project Camelot would have created a "social systems model" to influence the country's political structure from the inside.[4] These and other CIA-sponsored attempts to covertly direct the course of Latin American history gave rise to a rhetoric of anti-Americanism that condemned the United States as a neo-colonial power.

4 Irving Horowitz, *The Rise and Fall of Project Camelot* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1967).

Considering the context of this fraught relationship between American power and twentieth-century Latin American literature, then, it would appear odd that the CIA—a branch of government deeply mistrusted by many Latin Americans—would be involved in funding and disseminating *Mundo Nuevo*. Nevertheless, the historical record is clear about the financial—if not the intellectual—connections between the magazine and the CIA. The Agency—through the Congress for Cultural Freedom—provided the money and connections to give *Mundo Nuevo* a prominent place in the pantheon of late 1960s magazines. This did not mean, however, the CIA controlled or even completely understood the importance of the magazine in promoting new Latin American literature. Indeed, Monegal published many writers whose political sympathies were distinctly anti-American. The Agency—especially John Hunt, a CIA officer and writer who was fluent in Spanish and kept up with the latest developments in Latin American culture—never exercised control over the magazine. Although the CIA officers who worked in the CCF made it clear that *Mundo Nuevo*—like its anticommunist predecessor, *Cuadernos*—should expose the repression of cultural freedom of writers in Cuba, they never imposed a political line on the magazine. For the CIA, it was important to provide an alternative to the Cuban model of writing within the Revolution. While Monegal shared the CIA and the CCF's view that the Castro regime was tyrannical and should be overthrown, he sought to steer the magazine away from political polemics and focus on producing good literature. There was, in other words, no overriding conspiracy to promote U.S. foreign policy initiatives.

A Brief Overview of *Mundo Nuevo* and its Cultural Context

The magazine began publishing in July, 1966, under the editorship of Emir Rodríguez Monegal, a Uruguayan cultural critic who had previously served as editor of the cultural pages of *Marcha*. The idea for *Mundo Nuevo* came from the Secretariat of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which had published another literary magazine aimed at a Latin American readership, *Cuadernos por la Libertad de la Cultura*, since 1953. *Cuadernos,* the Secretariat felt, was a journal primarily aimed at refugees from the Spanish Civil War and was increasingly out of touch with the new generation of Latin American thinkers—a group that looked not to Spanish Republicanism, but to the Cuban Revolution for inspiration.

After many changes in the editorship of *Cuadernos* during the 1960s, the magazine was shut down in 1966. Months later, *Mundo Nuevo* started publishing from the same office on the rue Pépinière in Paris. In contrast to *Cuadernos*, the editors of *Mundo Nuevo* tried hard to convey the look and feel of a modern, intellectual literary magazine of the 1960s. Each issue had a simple, non-illustrated cover; titles and authors of the magazine were printed in bold, sans-serif font and the background featured two rows of alternating colors, which changed from issue to issue. The design of the magazine had been suggested by CCF personnel working on *Encounter* in London, but many Latin American readers commented that the design was "conservative," or a failed attempt to look ultra-modern and minimalist. Indeed, unlike its Cuban rival, *Casa de las Américas*, *Mundo Nuevo* did not look much different from an academic journal: there was little in the way of bold graphic design and the artwork that did appear in the magazine

appeared drawn in at the last second—especially illustrations by the Mexican artist José Luis Cuevas.

Each issue consisted of at least three sections: "Documentos," articles about current events usually reprinted from other publications; "Cuentos," short stories or novels usually—but not exclusively—by young Latin American writers; and "Sextante," a section in which Monegal wrote about literary and cultural events around the world. This section was written in a breezy style that might remind the reader of a *New Yorker* magazine "Talk of the Town" article. Later, Monegal would go on to become a sophisticated literary critic as a professor at Yale University. During his brief tenure at *Mundo Nuevo*, however, he primarily worked as an editor rather than a critic. He conducted long interviews with writers such as Fuentes, Cabrera Infante, and Sarduy, which covered aesthetics, politics, and literary history, but Monegal had yet to articulate a formal vision of literary criticism. Indeed, much of Monegal's writing in *Mundo Nuevo* was published to defend his magazine against accusations that it was CIA propaganda. In most issues, there were also sections for poetry and book reviews as well, although these sections changed from issue to issue.

Mundo Nuevo was a monthly publication that billed itself as "a magazine of dialogue" (this was to be the magazine's motto: "una revista de diálogo") and, indeed, there was no political or aesthetic line to which authors had to adhere. Unlike *Cuadernos* and other CCF publications, which condemned communism and "fellow travelers" at every turn, *Mundo Nuevo* was open to opposing viewpoints. Polemics about the Vietnam War, mass culture, and national identity found space in the magazine's pages. Even its detractors—especially Roberto Fernández Retamar—admitted that the first issues were

much more diverse than *Cuadernos*. In terms of prose style, the magazine also presented a vast array of styles and approaches to contemporary fiction. A short survey of the fiction that appeared in the first two years of the magazine reveals the tremendous diversity of authors and styles flourishing in Latin America at the time: *Mundo Nuevo* published magical realist work by Gabriel García Márquez, modernist fiction by Carlos Fuentes, baroque experimentation by Severo Sarduy, and realist, "postmodern," stories by Manuel Puig.[5]

The magazine was published in Paris, but circulated primarily in Latin America, and, to a lesser extent, the United States and Europe. Even though *Mundo Nuevo* never had what a mass-market magazine would consider a high circulation (it was around 5,000-6,000 per issue), the magazine was distributed throughout Latin America, with no one single nation dominating the circulation numbers. *Mundo Nuevo* was also part of what CCF Executive Secretary Michael Josselson called the "grande famille" of anti-Communist magazines, and, as such, was also read and translated by other CCF affiliates around the world. Because it republished articles from other CCF publications at will, it is impossible to read *Mundo Nuevo* outside of the context of the cultural Cold War.

In the summer of 1968, Monegal resigned as *Mundo Nuevo*'s editor, and the magazine moved its offices to Buenos Aires. It continued to publish on a monthly basis with the Argentine writer Horacio Daniel Rodríguez as the editor-in-chief. By this time, allegations of the CIA's funding of the CCF had surfaced in the *New York Times* (1966)

5 Chapter Three deals with the literary innovations of these and other texts.

and *Ramparts* magazine (1967). Excerpts from these articles had been translated into Spanish and published in the Cuban literary magazine *Casa de las Américas* and the left-leaning Uruguayan newspaper *Marcha*. Details about the magazine's connection to the CIA made it into print in major newspapers throughout Latin America, causing a worldwide scandal; as a result of the negative publicity, the two CIA agents in the CCF resigned and the Ford Foundation took over as the sole funding source. Monegal had hoped that Ford would eventually take over and claimed in the press that the organization had been the sole funding source all along.[6]

When Monegal's wish was finally granted, however, the Ford Foundation proved to be more demanding than the CCF or the CIA. While CIA agents did suggest directions for *Mundo Nuevo* from 1966 to 1968 (I will dwell on these interventions in Chapters Two and Three), the Ford Foundation—perhaps ironically—was more forceful than the CIA in directing the magazine's content. The U.S.-based non-profit envisioned *Mundo Nuevo* as a magazine about social problems in Latin America, not as a cosmopolitan experiment in literary innovation. It was the Ford's heavy-handedness about *Mundo Nuevo* that forced Monegal to resign.

It is almost universally acknowledged that the quality of the magazine declined during the Buenos Aires years, since many

6 Monegal's desire to have the Ford Foundation take up funding is the subject of many of his letters to CCF secretaries, especially Shepard Stone and Michael Josselson. See IACF papers, University of Chicago Special Collections Library.

writers avoided *Mundo Nuevo* out of fear of being associated with the CIA. Also during this time, the focus of the magazine shifted from literature to social science in accordance with the requests of its new sponsor. It was the Ford Foundation who insisted that the magazine be centered in Latin America, not Paris. The Ford Foundation also phased out its support of the magazine, requesting that it become self-sustaining by 1971. When the Ford Foundation ceased funding *Mundo Nuevo* that year, the magazine was forced to stop publishing.

During its entire existence, *Mundo Nuevo* was published under the auspices of the Instituto Latinoamericano de Relaciones Internacionales (ILARI), an organization that, while legally independent of the CCF, nevertheless received direction and financial support from the Congress until 1968. In 1966, according to Peter Coleman (an Australian CCF member and author of *The Liberal Conspiracy*), the CCF gave ILARI $260,000. The sum amounted to more money than any other non-Communist organization or publication had ever received from the CCF.[7] Latin America was, in other words, seen as a major investment by 1960s Cold Warriors. ILARI had four publications: *Mundo Nuevo*, a magazine primarily aimed at creative writers and readers of literature, and *Aportes*, a journal aimed at social scientists; there were two smaller journals as well: *Cadernos Brasileiros* and *Temas*. *Cadernos* was the only one of the four published in Portuguese and it had little impact on the Brazilian cultural scene.

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7 See Peter Coleman, *The Liberal Conspiracy: The Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Struggle for the Mind of Postwar Europe*. (New York: The Free Press, 1989).

Of ILARI's four publications, *Mundo Nuevo* had the biggest budget and the most ambitious goals as a magazine.[8] It would not only promote the up-and-coming literary scene in Latin America as World Literature, it would also attempt to establish dialogue between the revolutionary Left and liberal anti-Communists associated with the Argentine magazine *Sur*. The relationships between *Mundo Nuevo*, the CCF, the Ford Foundation, and the CIA are complex and will be detailed later. For now, it will suffice to say that without CIA money, channeled through the CCF and various non-profits, *Mundo Nuevo*, a magazine that published some of the most innovative and challenging prose in Spanish during its short lifespan, would not have existed. For its entire lifespan, *Mundo Nuevo*—much like an academic journal—was dependent on outside funding and the good graces of its benefactors. It never made a profit. Although its relatively small subscriber base betrays a significant influence on the region's cultural base, *Mundo Nuevo* simply could not survive without U.S. money.

As I developed this project over the past two years, I have often been asked if the CIA was unaware of the actual substance of *Mundo Nuevo* because it was so distant from the day-to-day workings of the magazine. Indeed, my initial assumption was that the magazine was so far removed from the CIA (the Agency, as we shall see later, deposited money in non-profit "fronts" which then gave the money to the CCF, which, in turn, sponsored individual magazines) that it must have been ignorant of what *Mundo Nuevo* published. After all, the magazine had a very small subscription base and was hardly

8 This project is limited to an analysis and history of *Mundo Nuevo*, although it will make mention of *Aportes* and ILARI where appropriate.

useful as pro-U.S. propaganda. Perhaps, then, the magazine was secretly subverting the CIA's mission by publishing innovative fiction and leftist political commentary and getting away with it because the CIA was too busy trying to develop another way to kill Castro. A close look at the CCF's involvement in Latin America, however, reveals that *Mundo Nuevo*'s distinct blend of innovative fiction and non-Communist leftist politics was part of a deliberate strategy and received attention from the highest levels of the CCF and the CIA. Indeed, even ranking members of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations—such as Adai Stevenson—understood the critical role of literary culture in shaping political attitudes in Latin America. CCF members such as Keith Botsford, Theodore Draper, and Luis Mercier Vega all hoped to channel the enthusiasm for social change brought about by the Cuban Revolution into a non-violent, democratic movement. CIA agents Michael Josselson and John Hunt were also intensely aware the Cuban Revolution's power over the Latin American imagination and were ready to jettison the organization's rigid anticommunism in order to appeal to writers and intellectuals. As I will show in later chapters, these agents were both sophisticated readers of literature and political thinkers; they realized that McCarthy-esque anticommunism would never work in the developing world and that the Cuban Revolution required that the United States drastically rethink its role in Latin American affairs.

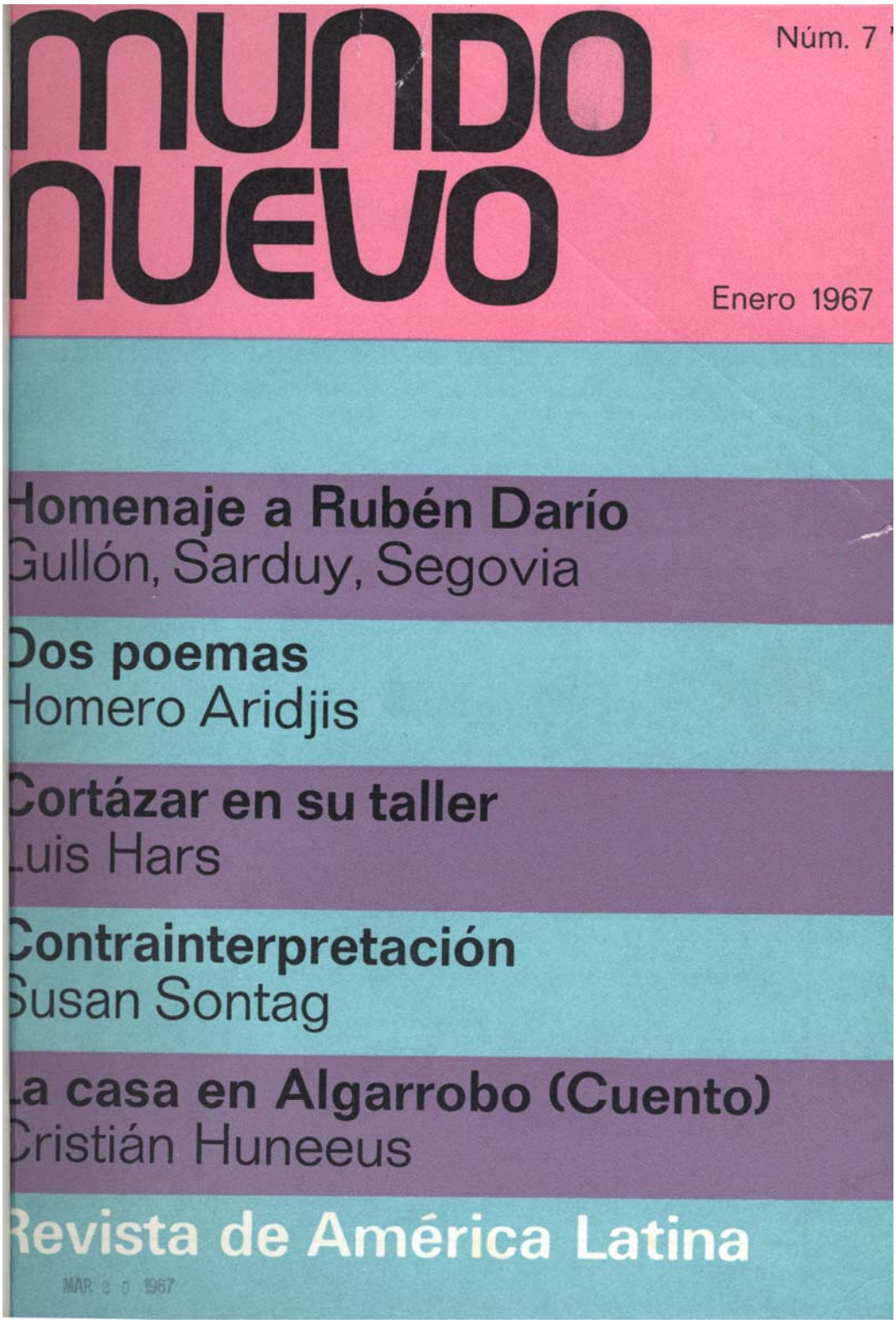
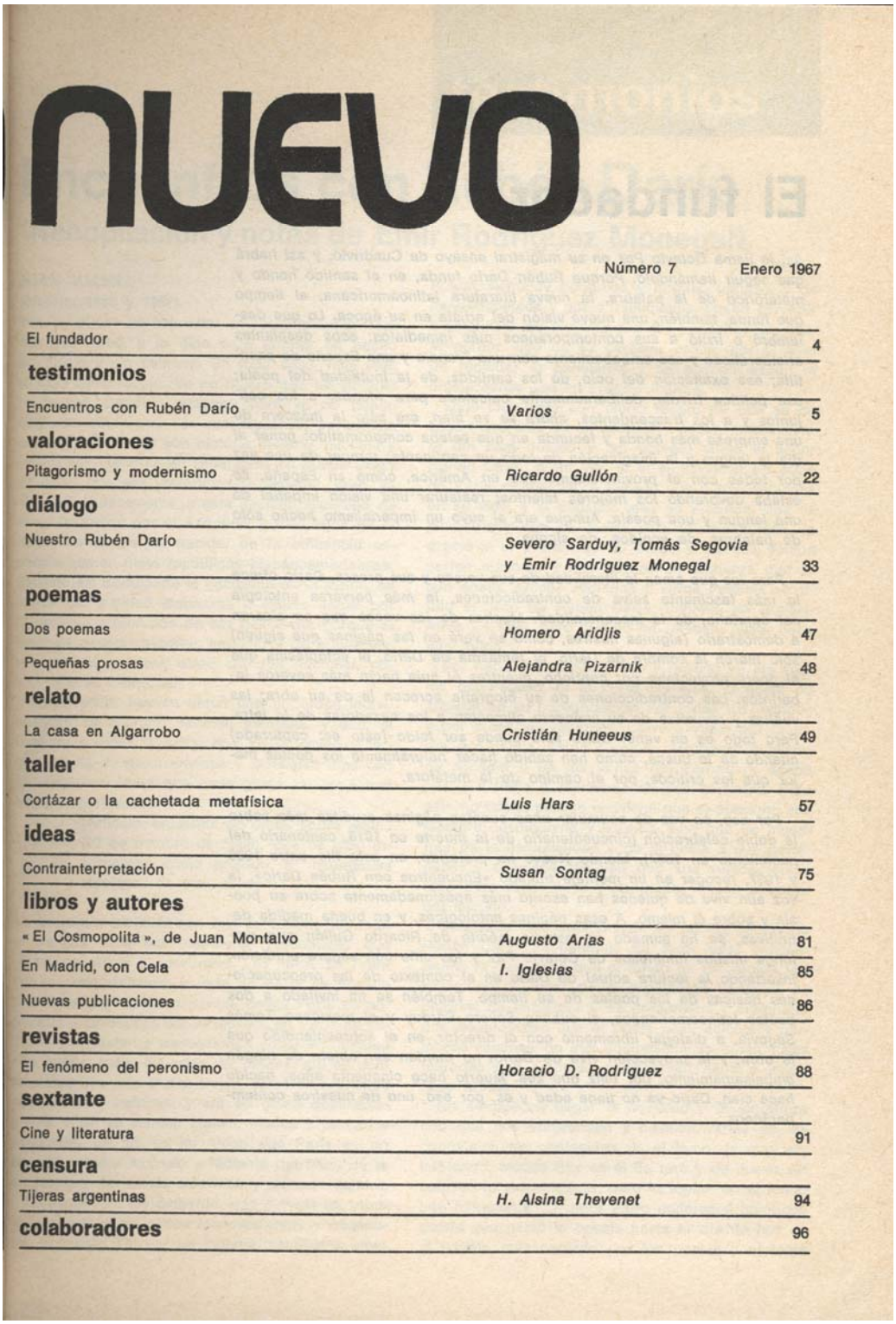


Illustration 1: Cover from *Mundo Nuevo*, number 7



NUEVO

Número 7 Enero 1967

Illustration 2: Table of Contents from *Mundo Nuevo*, number 7

Methodological Overview

There are many approaches to writing a critical history of a literary journal. In recent years, a number of studies of literary magazines have been published and each one carves out a unique methodology for evaluating a journal over time. One such study, *The Tel Quel Reader*, focuses on themes that emerged in the journal's pages.[9] Surveying the contributions of literary critics such as Julia Kristeva, Roland Barthes, and Philippe Sollers, the editors of this collection conclude that *Tel Quel* promoted a "scientific" view of literature during the 1960s. Later, the idea that literature could be studied scientifically lost its influence among the journal's key contributors. In any case, *Tel Quel*, as a journal of critical theory, generated many articles of similar themes, since the many of the contributors participated in similar Paris-based intellectual circles.

A similar approach to *Mundo Nuevo* would be difficult to undertake. Whereas there was a circle of writers associated with *Tel Quel*, *Mundo Nuevo* published a diverse array of writers and intellectuals, whose aesthetic and political visions varied widely. Some of these writers were the same liberal anticommunists who had been frequent contributors to *Cuadernos*. Others, such as Sarduy, were young outsiders who had no defined political agenda. As I have already stated, Monegal published a diverse array of authors whose aesthetic and political visions varied widely. Some—like Puig—were obvious precursors to postmodernism. Others—like Pablo Neruda, had already achieved

[9] Patrick Ffrench and Roland-François Lack, editors. *The* Tel Quel *Reader*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

an iconic status. Still others were connected to the non-communist left establishment of the Congress for Cultural Freedom.

Because it is difficult to generalize about the themes or an overall aesthetic vision of the magazine, I have chosen to analyze *Mundo Nuevo*'s particular role in the Boom and the cultural Cold War. I see these two events as interrelated, even though it would be reductive to say that the Cold War determined the Boom. After all, the Boom would have been impossible without the modernist, narrative innovations that characterize such works as Fuentes's *La muerte de Artemio Cruz* (1962), Julio Cortázar's *Rayuela* (1963), Gabriel García Márquez's *Cien años de soledad* (1967), and Mario Vargas Llosa's *La casa verde* (1966). Still, as I demonstrate, the Boom's commercial and critical success is inseparable from the cultural politics of the Cold War. In this respect, my work draws on and extends a body of scholarship that investigates how specific cultural moments flourished by placing them in their historical and political contexts.

Since the 1980s, scholars have devoted significant attention to the specific ways in which seemingly "apolitical" works convey ideology. This project derives its methodology and theoretical premises from a handful of critical works in literary and art history that seek to understand artistic production in the light of political conflict and ideology. In *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art* (1982), the art critic Serge Guilbault details how Abstract Expressionism, an avant-garde artistic movement that defined itself in purely formal and aesthetic terms, was marshaled into an ideological counterweight to the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Guilbault claims that in the late 1940s, as the exigencies of Cold War politics began to affect every aspect of European and American life, American policymakers wanted to neutralize the left-wing tendencies

of artists by making Western "artistic freedom" synonymous with Western liberal democracy and by "de-Marxifying" the intelligentsia, who had been sympathetic to communism during the Popular Front years of the 1930s. "Because of avant-garde art's self-proclaimed neutrality, it was soon enlisted by governmental agencies and private organizations in the fight against Soviet cultural expansion,"[10] writes Guilbault.

Rather than promoting American elite culture—literature, painting, music—as propaganda for Western-style liberal democracy during the Cold War, anti-Communist writers and critics insinuated through magazines like *Partisan Review* that avant-garde cultural innovation could occur only in Western democracies, principally the United States. The literary critic Louis Menand, summing up much of the recent scholarship about the role of international politics in shaping the reception of abstract expressionism, addressed what he calls a "revisionist interpretation of art history" in the *New Yorker* in October 2005. Menand's review is worth quoting at length because it sets the stage for the sort of political and historical turn I enact in my reading of *Mundo Nuevo*. Menand writes:

> What would have been the geopolitical uses of Abstract Expressionism? The theory, as it was proposed in *Artforum* and other journals in the nineteen-seventies, and then elaborated in Serge Guilbault's "How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art" and Frances Stonor Saunders's "The Cultural Cold War," is

10 Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 11.

> that abstract painting was an ideal propaganda tool.[11] It was avant-garde, the product of an advanced civilization. In contrast to Soviet painting, it was neither representational nor didactic. It could be understood as pure painting—art absorbed by its own possibilities, experiments in color and form[…]. Either way, Abstract Expressionism stood for autonomy: the autonomy of art, freed from its obligation to represent the world, or the freedom of the individual—just the principles that the United States was defending in the worldwide struggle[…]. But the C.I.A. lurked in the shadows. It turned out that a Pollock had a politics.[12]

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11 Although I agree with Menand's overall assessment of the scholarship here, his claim that Abstract Expressionism was "propaganda" is overstated. I would argue that non-representational painting—much like avant-garde poetry or prose—is devoid of any single determinate meaning and therefore incapable of being propaganda. The works themselves are open-ended; it is in their reception that meaning is created. Abstract Expressionism becomes charged with significance and symbolism only by the communities that display the paintings, review them in magazines, and teach them in universities. The same rule, I believe, applies to Modernist literature: it is the interpretive communities who read, disseminate, translate, reproduce, and teach these works that creates their meaning. The works themselves have ambiguous and sometimes contradictory political orientations.

12 Louis Menand, "Unpopular Front." *The New Yorker* (October 17, 2005), 177.

Thus, the reverence for "autonomy" and "artistic freedom" in the United States during the Cold War turns out to be a liberal, capitalist ideology that cloaks itself in a rhetoric of absolute freedom for the individual.

For Menand, this "revisionism" has two prongs. The first concerns a web of connections between governmental policy-makers, non-profit foundations, and the artists and writers themselves. There is much circumstantial, but little concrete, evidence to support this strand of revisionism. Thomas Braden, a CIA agent, had also worked as the director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York City and as a professor of English at Dartmouth. Still another director of the MOMA was Nelson Rockefeller, who publicly ordered the removal of Diego Rivera's mural from Rockefeller Center because of its portrayal of Lenin. These men were aware of art's political possibilities, and sought to neutralize its leftist tendencies. They did so not by publicly advocating censorship, but by privately advocating for highly formal models of modern art. While this is an intriguing line of inquiry for understanding how ideology can be infused into supposedly apolitical artworks, it can often resemble conspiracy theory. That is, there is often little specific documentation of a CIA agent or government official arguing that a work should be promoted as non-political in order to hide its real agenda.

The second prong of revisionism attempts reveal the secret political agendas of former Marxist art critics Clement Greenberg and Harold Rosenberg, both of whom advocated an apolitical approach to art criticism. Both critics had had a very public falling-out with Communism, and sought to distance their criticism from it as much as possible. Like Rockefeller and Braden (a figure who plays an important role in the *Mundo Nuevo* saga), these art critics concealed their anti-Communist ideology in a

rhetoric of “artistic freedom” and “autonomy,” terms that seemed to have no distinct political agenda. As I will demonstrate in Chapter One, a similar rhetoric was deployed by *Mundo Nuevo*’s editor, Emir Rodríguez Monegal, in the promotion of Latin American modernism. This second prong is easier to understand: there is more textual evidence to show intellectuals rhetorically manipulating art than there is for government agents doing the same.

Lawrence Schwartz, in *Creating Faulkner’s Reputation: The Politics of Modern Literary Criticism*, outlines a similar process to Guilbault’s in the field of American literary production. In literature, the New Criticism performed a role comparable to that of Abstract Expressionism in the early days of the Cold War: it established a cultural politics for the artist in society, which, paradoxically, insisted that the artistic had no role in politics. As Schwartz demonstrates, many of the writers who insisted on literature’s autonomy from politics were themselves aware that such an insistence was, in fact, fraught with political consequences. In the late 1930s, Alan Tate and John Crowe Ransom, two founders of the American New Criticism, sought to promote the then-unpopular William Faulkner as the ideal writer for a conservative Agrarian philosophy. Later, as Cold War politics began to filter into literary circles, Faulkner was repackaged as a cosmopolitan at the vanguard of literary innovation. Schwartz writes:

> Tate and Ransom well understood the contradictory nature of having a literature created by politically conservative writers who possessed a deep historical and philosophical sense but who appeared to write as if they had no explicitly philosophical purpose. After the war, Faulkner would come to represent these

> literary values now transformed from Agrarianism to New Criticism and modernism, from American provincial to international avant-garde.[13]

The attempt to redefine the cultural politics of the arts during the Cold War was by no means limited to American cultural production, although Guilbault and Schwartz focus on the post-World War II American scene. As many recent scholars of Cold War cultural history have demonstrated, the Congress for Cultural Freedom was also instrumental in promoting a supposedly politically neutral policy of "artistic freedom" throughout the world in literary journals, concerts, and conferences during the entire period of the Cold War. During the early years of the Cold War, the CCF's main focus was on Europe, where the threat of Soviet expansion was most dreaded by American policymakers like George Kennan. Consequently, much of the present scholarship on the CCF focuses on Europe.[14] Australian member of the CCF, writes in *The Liberal*

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13 Schwartz, 137.

14 The most comprehensive survey of the CCF's international activities can be found in Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: New Press, 2000). Stonor Saunders's book, while extensively documented, lacks the analytical arguments of other books about the period and is primarily concerned with Europe. While she does address a few notable examples of the CCF's intervention into the cultural scenes of the developing world, my primary use for the book is as a reference for CCF and CIA connections in Europe. *Mundo Nuevo* is not mentioned in her book.

Conspiracy that this situation made the Congress rethink its strategy throughout the "underdeveloped world," but especially in Latin America. Coleman writes:

> When the Congress Secretariat reassessed its program in Latin America in the late 1950s and early 1960s, it was clear that it had failed and that its cultural-intellectual network aiming at the climate of opinion was no match for the *fidelistas* aiming at revolutionary power[…]. [A]nti-Communist activists had little appeal to the young[…]. The Secretariat decided to close down the remaining committees and try to replace them, again, with "centers of intellectual ferment" that would not so much defend cultural freedom as practice it. It would also make another attempt to reach the radical young and the non-Communist Left (in accordance with Michael Josselson's slogan, *Fidelismo sin Fidel*, revolution without dictatorship). In 1962, it sent Keith Botsford to Brazil and Luis Mercier Vega to Uruguay, the former to concentrate on writers, the latter to concentrate on social scientists, and both to work together.[15]

Coleman was the first to point out that the ultimate outcome of this reassessment was *Mundo Nuevo,* a journal that would appeal to the revolutionary left yet create an outlet for writers and intellectuals disillusioned with the increasingly totalitarian character of the Cuban Revolution. The slogan "Fidelismo sin Fidel" encapsulates the CCF's vision of the magazine: politically and aesthetically revolutionary, yet distinctively non-Communist. In this sense, *Mundo Nuevo* became a weapon in the "cultural Cold War" even as its editor

[15] Peter Coleman, The Liberal Conspiracy. The Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Struggle for the Mind of Postwar Europe (New York: Free Press, 1989), 205-206.

Monegal insisted on the magazine's openness to dialogue and its politically neutral character. Monegal, as I will show in Chapter Three, was so consumed with his self-appointed mission—promoting Latin American writers as worthy of the best in the European modernist tradition (i.e., "the Boom")—that he never came to terms with the political function of his magazine in the "cultural Cold War."

Chapter One: Genealogy of a Polemic: Tracing the History of *Mundo Nuevo* Through Latin American Literary Magazines

Mundo Nuevo had a hybrid genealogy in that it was, as mentioned in the Introduction, undoubtedly part of the CCF's "big family" of anticommunist magazines. Monegal had an agreement with Melvin Lasky—an editor at *Encounter* and a CCF intellectual aware of the CIA's influence—that permitted him to publish Spanish translations of works in other CCF publications at no cost to *Mundo Nuevo*. There was a strong affinity between *Mundo Nuevo* and the other dozen or so CCF magazines around the world. At the same time, the magazine's intellectual heirs were also to be found in Latin America, with the region's proud tradition of publishing distinctive—and polemical—journals. Even though *Mundo Nuevo* was published and directed from Paris, the magazine was targeted at Latin American audiences and sought to recapture the spirit of other literary magazines in Spanish that had generated excitement beyond national boundaries. This chapter explores *Mundo Nuevo*'s intellectual genealogy through an

examination of three important literary magazines that preceded it in Spanish America: the Argentine journal *Sur* (1931-1971), the cultural pages of the Uruguayan newspaper *Marcha* (1939-1974),[1] and the weekly Cuban magazine *Lunes de Revolución* (1959-1961). These three publications, I argue, formed an intertextual field of literary production that best explains *Mundo Nuevo*'s unique intervention in Latin American Cold War literary history.

The term "intertextuality" signifies different concepts to different critics, and has been notoriously difficult to define. I would like to expand the notion of intertextuality beyond the notion of literary allusion, and relate it to the discourse of the literary magazine in twentieth-century Latin America. That is, intertextuality not only refers to a concrete allusion of one text to another text; it also implies a system of signification, in which one text engages in an already established discourse. Michel Foucault, in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), elaborates this idea of intertextuality by challenging the definition of an individual book:

> The frontiers of a book are never clear-cut: beyond the title, the first lines and the last full stop, beyond its internal configuration and its autonomous form, it is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences: it

[1] *Marcha* presents a taxonomical problem: its motto was "toda la semana en un día," giving the impression that it was a newsmagazine. Its newspaper-like format, however, resembles a newspaper more than a magazine. *Marcha* was printed on newsprint, and contained none of the intricate, artistic formatting of *Sur*, for example.

> is a node within a network[...]. The book is not simply the object that one holds in one's hands[...]. Its unity is variable and relative.[2]

The idea that a book—or, in this case, a literary magazine—is "a node within a network" forms the theoretical basis for the rather practical investigation that follows in this chapter. Without this theoretical presupposition, there is little point in investigating a group of literary magazines, or even the magazines themselves, since they would merely represent a vehicle for a certain text's circulation in the world. *Mundo Nuevo* was a node within two frameworks: twentieth-century Latin American literary magazines, and Cold War anti-Communist journals. This chapter explores the first node, while Chapters Two and Three deal with the more politically charged second node.

The term "literary magazine" is itself fraught with problems. A survey of its various manifestations in Spanish America reveals that literary magazines have assumed various formats and genres and have appealed to vastly different audiences. Some, like *Marcha*, were materially indistinguishable from newspapers except that they published on a weekly rather than a daily basis. Others, like *Lunes de Revolución*, appeared as supplements to newspapers. Still others, like *Sur*, varied in format, and were published irregularly. Furthermore, the very material form of *Sur*, unlike *Marcha* and *Lunes*, could be treasured by its readers as an *objet d'art*: *Sur* featured high-quality paper and sparse yet elegant illustrations not meant for cheap, mass-market circulation, but to be enjoyed by a limited number of the Argentine cognoscenti. *Sur* also differed from the other two

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2 Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 23.

magazines in its limitation of space for advertising.[3] While *Sur*—unlike many highbrow North American literary magazines—accepted advertisements in its pages, it generally relegated these ads to the "back of the book."[4] While *Marcha* contained large-scale ads for apartments, shoe polish, and mattresses, *Sur* featured only a few small-scale ads, mainly for bookstores, publishers, or other magazines. This difference in advertising policy symbolizes a larger ideological difference between the two publications. *Marcha* was populist, while *Sur* was elitist; together they represented opposite ends of a spectrum of attitudes towards the relationship among literary publishing and mass culture in the River Plate region. It is no coincidence, then, that *Sur*'s politics were liberal and anti-populist, while *Marcha* was a Marxian, populist newspaper with a particularly strong cultural dimension.

This region—the highly urbanized section of Argentina and Uruguay near the mouth of the River Plate—has a distinctive significance in Latin American literary history. It is one of the few regions in Latin America where the production of literature developed into a mass-market, middle-class phenomenon. Near the end of the nineteenth century, *modernista* writers such as Darío were able to gain a wide readership thanks to

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3 The role of advertising in literary magazines constitutes a black hole in the existing scholarship. All literary magazines accepted advertisements and advertisers proved essential to the financial livelihood of the magazines, but this element of magazine publishing is rarely, if ever, analyzed.

4 In the jargon of magazine publishers, the phrase "back of the book" refers to the final pages of the magazine.

the extensive distribution of the Buenos Aires magazine *Caras y Caretas*, which did much to lay the groundwork for a vibrant literary culture in the region. A historian of the magazine, Howard Fraser, claims in *Magazines and Masks:* Caras y Caretas *as a Reflection of Buenos Aires, 1898-1908*, that

> *Caras y Caretas* was an extraordinary magazine. Launched in 1898, the magazine catered to a mass audience whose thirst for information on cultural events and new literary experiences sought gratification in a broad spectrum of popular publications. But, unlike other short-lived, purely literary publications, *Caras y Caretas* succeeded in attracting ever greater numbers of readers.[5]

Other newspapers, such as *La Nación*, carried on the strong tradition of literary journalism in the region by seeking out novelists, such as the American novelist and essayist Waldo Frank, to become correspondents. It was precisely this mass-market cultural phenomenon which irked elitists like Victoria Ocampo. For her, true literary value could never be understood or appreciated by the masses, even as the market in the River Plate demonstrated a desire for "serious" literature: poetry, essays, and short fiction. Ocampo, like members of the nineteenth-century Russian aristocracy, had grown up speaking French and looking to Europe for the latest trends in art. She had little interest in the sort of politically engaged, nationalist cultural production happening elsewhere in Buenos Aires.

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[5] Fraser, Howard M. *Magazines and Masks: Caras y Caretas as a Reflection of Buenos Aires, 1898-1908* (Tempe: Center for Latin American Studies, 1987), 2.

Mundo Nuevo, meanwhile, claimed a middle ground between the left-wing populism and mass-produced format of *Marcha* and *Lunes* on the one hand, and the highbrow, stylish format of *Sur*, on the other. *Mundo Nuevo*'s editor, Monegal, admired *Sur* and worked at *Marcha*, despite his differences with many of the contributors there. When he was presented with the opportunity to direct *Mundo Nuevo*, he started to see himself as the chief promoter and critic of Latin American writing the 1960s, but the magazine's supervisors in the Congress for Cultural Freedom saw the magazine as dependent on a small circle of readers. Luis Mercier Vega, the CCF's most important figure for Latin American affairs, complained to others in the CCF that "*Mundo Nuevo* est devenu une revue littéraire reservée a une très faible minorité. Cette situation exige une nouvelle politique administrative."[6] Indeed, according IACF documents,[7] circulation figures for *Cuadernos* had once reached a high of nearly 9,000 per issue during the early 1960s, but *Mundo Nuevo* was losing readers, even if it was successful in appealing to a certain segment of the literary elite. Considering the differences in audience, then, special

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6 From a letter dated December 12, 1967 to CCF members Shepard Stone and Pierre Emmanuel in the International Association for Cultural Freedom paper at the Special Collections Research Center at the University of Chicago Library. Documents from this collection will be abbreviated IACF, followed by box and folder number. I will also provide the names of addressees and dates when possible.

7 The Congress for Cultural Freedom became known as the International Association for Cultural Freedom in 1967, after John Hunt and Michael Josselson resigned. The CCF's papers at the University of Chicago officially known as the IACF papers.

attention should be paid to the different audiences of these magazines, and the ways in which the magazines created "interpretive communities" in domestic and international contexts. As John King notes in his survey of *Sur*, "the context in which articles [in a literary magazine] are read can often determine how they are read."[8]

In magazine publishing, editors must "construct" an audience by appealing to the tastes and opinions of certain sectors of society. In order to retain advertising revenue, magazines must prove that they have a steady, loyal base of readers. Thus, we must consider the publication and reception of these magazines as a two-way street; ignoring the reception of magazines would mean neglecting the audiences that nurtured the editors and contributors of those magazines. *Sur*, *Lunes de Revolución*, and *Marcha* created markets for their products and then shaped the tastes and opinions of those markets by publishing certain authors and excluding others.

For *Mundo Nuevo*, a literary magazine which represented an important intervention in the cultural Cold War, part of this context was the venerable tradition in Latin America of literary production through magazines or cultural supplements to newspapers. Although this tradition is not limited to Latin America, it takes on a special significance there since book circulation was not as widespread as it was in Europe or the United States to this day. As Jorge Ruffinelli, an Uruguayan editor and literary critic, has stated: "Las revistas, lo sabemos, son el lugar de encuentro en el cual los escritores de un

8 King, 200.

período aprenden a leerse y discutirse mutuamente."[9] Magazines, for Ruffinelli, are the textual equivalent of a public square, where ideas and trends clash. In the comment quoted above, Ruffinelli alludes to the interpretive community established and maintained in Latin America through these magazines, where authors from different genres and political perspectives read each other and defined the cultural and political debates of the day. Much of this tradition can be attributed to the weak infrastructure and high costs of the book publishing industry in Latin America, which created a greater reliance on more ephemeral (and cheaper) periodicals.

The idea of the "interpretive community" originates in the work of Stanley Fish, who uses the term to describe the way meanings and interpretations are assigned to texts by communities of readers, as opposed to a single reader or a God-like author. For Fish, texts derive meaning from their interaction with readers; even canonical texts like *Paradise Lost* lack a stable, transcendental meaning outside of that which is imposed on it by a community of readers. Fish's approach to literature is rhetorical: it sees meaning as formed out of the confluence of authors, readers, and texts. Reed Way Dasenbrock, summarizing the interpretive community, states that in a given rhetorical situation, readers establish meanings

> by virtue of the theories or beliefs about meaning and about texts that they hold to be true. This new formulation, the theory of interpretive community, replaces the

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9 Jorge Ruffinelli, "Mario Benedetti y mi generación", in Carmen Alemany, Remedios Mataix y José Carlos Rovira, editors, *Benedetti: Inventario cómplice.*(Alicante: Servicio de Publicaciones, 1998), 29.

> individual reader of reader-response criticism with a community of readers sharing a set of interpretive strategies in common.[10]

The interplay between readers, texts, and authors in an interpretive community is an important concept for the study of literary magazines because these publications compete in a marketplace of ideas in which they must create an audience that will financially and intellectually sustain their publications. The interaction between these journals and their interpretive communities created a conversation about art and politics into which *Mundo Nuevo* would intervene for four years and whose resonance would continue until the present day.

While William Luis may be correct in asserting that "The history of Spanish American literature is best represented by its literary magazines,"[11] the material format of those magazines is often left unexamined by critics. This is understandable. Literary critics are trained to analyze language; the visual rhetoric of magazines and their material artifacts are often left unexamined by critics whose main interest lies in the content of the publications in question. Still, the variety of formats of *Marcha*, *Sur*, *Mundo Nuevo*, and other magazines calls on us to consider the physical differences in any sort of

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10 Reed Way Dasenbrock, "Stanley Fish" in *The Johns Hopkins Guide to Literary Theory and Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005). Accessed online at < http://litguide.press.jhu.edu/cgi-bin/view.cgi?eid=101&query=reed%20way> [March 21, 2007]

11 William Luis, "Exhuming *Lunes de Revolución*," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 2.2 (2002), 253.

periodical.[12] Those such as *Marcha* printed on black-and-white newsprint have less of a chance of surviving than *Sur*, which was bound like a book and contained colorful prints within the journal. The wide range of formats calls into question the very notion of a "magazine." The Spanish term "revista" is usually taken to signify any kind of non-daily periodical, while the English term "magazine" is often differentiated from a "journal," which is presumed to have a more academic or specialized focus. It is worth analyzing the terms "magazine" and "revista" in order to better understand why and how this particular format became so important in the development of the Latin American Boom.

Critics such as Pablo Rocca and King have cited *Marcha* and *Sur* as antecedents for *Mundo Nuevo*'s unique blend of literary experimentation and social commentary, but have overlooked the fact that both magazines were published under very different circumstances and with very different target audiences in mind than those of *Mundo Nuevo*. This is perhaps in part because the term "literary magazine" (the term "little magazine" is often used in an Anglo-American context, although this term is not frequently employed in Latin America) is rarely examined critically. The term is somewhat of a misnomer since many Spanish American "literary magazines" were only partially concerned with literature as we understand it today—fictional short stories, novels, or poetry—per se. In its infancy during the 1930s, for example, Ocampo's *Sur* had little interest in publishing fiction, a staple of most contemporary literary magazines. Ocampo was primarily interested in the philosophical essay, especially those essays which explored "universal" values. The Argentine editor and heiress was keenly

12 See Inserts for illustrations of these magazines.

interested in European thinkers like Virginia Woolf and José Ortega y Gasset, and published these writers' essays in her magazine while also cultivating a small circle of native Argentine fiction writers, poets, and essayists, including Jorge Luis Borges and Ezequiel Martínez Estrada. These writers also shared Ocampo's interest in mysticism; many of *Sur*'s early essays explored Eastern religions or cultish branches of Western religions. The members of Ocampo's circle all had one thing in common: a distaste for literature as a vehicle for social protest. Realism was disdained as lowbrow and didactic. Ocampo looked down on writers like the Argentine novelist Roberto Arlt who dealt with the gritty realities of urban life among poor immigrants in Buenos Aires.

Perhaps the most notable omission in *Sur* was the Uruguayan-born writer Horacio Quiroga, who lived much of his life in Argentina and wrote short stories about the Argentine province Misiones. Even though Quiroga transcended regionalist "local color" by adopting many of the plot twists and narrative techniques of Edgar Allan Poe, Quiroga was ignored. For the *Sur* crowd, Quiroga's formidable talent was negated by his reputation as a purveyor of regionalism, one of *Sur*'s many *bête noires*. Skepticism towards political and artistic manifestations of regionalism would be another legacy that *Mundo Nuevo* would inherit from *Sur*. In the case of *Mundo Nuevo*, however, the political stakes would be higher as the magazine's antagonists allied themselves with Third World revolutionary struggles and portrayed *Mundo Nuevo* as an unwitting ally of the United States.

Whereas North American literary magazines are commonly associated with journals that almost exclusively publish literary fiction and poetry, Latin American literary magazines have ranged more broadly across the arts, politics, and social

commentary. This means that the interpretive communities for Latin American literary magazines have been broader than those for North American literary magazines.[13] In the United States, the publishing of poetry and literary fiction—that is, writing that announces itself as "artistic" and distinct from so-called "genre fiction" (science fiction, detective fiction, romance novels, etc.) has become highly professionalized and is regulated by creative writing programs and their respective journals, which are rarely read by the general public.[14] The notable exceptions—magazines like *Harper's* and *The*

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13 This can be a curse or a blessing. The case of *Lunes de Revolución* exemplifies the dilemma of achieving a wide readership outside the intellectual elite. While *Lunes* was successful in reaching a diverse audience (boasting a circulation of around 200,000) without compromising its intellectual integrity, its popularity also brought it to the attention of the highest levels of government, who closed the magazine.

14 The distinction between "literary fiction" and "genre fiction" has led to many incidents of hand-wringing and public consternation by writers and critics, most notably in a flare-up between the writer Jonathan Franzen and talk-show host Oprah Winfrey. In 2001, Franzen declared his novel, *The Corrections*, to be a work of "serious literary fiction," and, thus, not appropriate for Winfrey's book club. Franzen was roundly criticized as being "elitist" for his remark, but he only echoed a distinction that has been created and reinforced through literary prizes such as the Pushcart and O. Henry Prize, which expressly ban "genre fiction." I realize that such categories are constructs, but find it instructive to analyze these constructions.

New Yorker—have been holdouts in an overall decline in interest toward literary fiction in U.S. magazines.

Even though Latin American publishing is a much smaller industry than publishing in the United States,[15] Latin American literary magazines have traditionally enjoyed a significant readership outside the narrow circles of fiction writers and poets. There are many reasons for the lack of book circulation in Latin American nations, but the most important is economic: Latin American writers have, out of sheer financial necessity, had to work as journalists, editors, bureaucrats, and politicians to support their craft. Monegal, in a 1984 interview with Alfred MacAdam, claimed that Carlos Fuentes was the first Latin American writer to take on the services of a literary agent in the United States—a virtual necessity for a contemporary writer who aims to achieve mass market circulation:

> Fuentes was the first Latin American writer I can think of to have an agent, and an American one at that. Now everybody does. The economic factor, again, is paramount: When writers could not make a living by their writings, as was the case before the Boom, there was no need for agents. But now, although this applies only to a few people, books by Latin American writers sell throughout Latin America and around the world, so agents are a necessity.[16]

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15 Furthermore, many notable literary works in Latin America originate from Spanish publishing houses such as the Barcelona-based Seix Barral, which—along with *Mundo Nuevo*—was instrumental in launching the Boom in the early 1960s.

16 MacAdam, 31.

The Chilean writer José Donoso's network of connections to the U.S. publishing marketplace was a breakthrough for Latin American writers, since such connections could yield lucrative book contracts and even more money through film option rights.[17] Although few Boom-era novels were turned into blockbuster movies—Cortázar's short story, "Las babas del diablo," the inspiration for Michelangelo Antonioni's 1966 film, *Blow-Up*, was an exception—Boom authors were certainly aware of the possibility of film adaptations.

Although the precarious situation for writers in Latin America before the Boom may have been detrimental to the development of a professional class of creative writers in the region, it has, paradoxically, meant that writers have enjoyed more prestige and cultural capital than in the United States. In a region where creative writers are also politicians and journalists, the activities of writers such as Pablo Neruda or Gabriel García Márquez have become as important—if not more important—than those of the politicians themselves.[18] Thus, the stakes for publishing literary magazines in Latin

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17 See José Donoso, *The Boom in Spanish American Literature: A Personal History* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1977). Donoso, an alumnus of Princeton University, was sanguine about his connections to the U.S. market, while committed leftist writers saw any commercial success as a corruption of purely literary values.

18 During the writing of this dissertation, photographs of García Márquez after a fight with Vargas Llosa surfaced after almost forty years; the photographs made front-page headlines in some Latin American countries.

America have long been high and the region's literary magazines have done much to determine the political vision and cultural values of generations of readers.

Broadly speaking, the literary magazine in Latin America can also be differentiated from a U.S.-style literary journal that specializes in the production of literary fiction and poetry by the demographics of its target audience. While many United States-based literary journals seek to publish writers for an audience of other writers and critics, the literary magazine in Latin America has often sought out a broader audience by incorporating a wide variety of genres within the magazine itself. Thus, even small-circulation magazines, like *Sur* in the 1930s, published poetry, photographic essays, literary criticism, and essays on Pan-Americanism. Because Latin American interpretive communities lacked the institutional structures to create highly specialized cadres of thinkers and academics—such as in the case of the United States during the Cold War—these communities tended to engage in dialogue with each other, even when that dialogue became ideologically polarized. The Uruguayan literary critic Pablo Rocca comments on this phenomenon in *35 años en Marcha*, discussing that magazine's tenuous affiliation with both academics and writers:

> La inexistencia de un marco académico funcional en el país [Uruguay] obligó [*Marcha*] a tomar posiciones colindantes a ese terreno, porque la Universidad no cubría las expectativas necesarias en el abordaje de los estudios culturales, que sólo esporádicamente irrumpían en la revista oficial, *Anales de la Universidad*.[19]

[19] Pablo Rocca, *35 Años en MARCHA: Crítica y Literatura en MARCHA y en el Uruguay, 1939-1974* (Montevideo: División Cultura, 1992), 53.

For Rocca, then, *Marcha* filled the public square with ideas that universities were unable to disseminate to a broad public.

Literary magazines such as *Sur*, *Lunes de Revolución*, and *Marcha* must also be differentiated from mass-market, general-interest magazines (which are usually considered the terrain of professional journalism). Literary magazines in twentieth-century Latin America can be distinguished from general-interest magazines by two factors: audience and style. In the case of all the magazines examined in this project, the audience consisted of an intellectual elite, which (whether its editors admitted it or not) saw "high culture"—literature, classical music, fine arts—as an essential component of culture. In the rather peculiar case of *Lunes de Revolución*, this elitist component was expanded to include popular music, film, and television. *Lunes*, as we will see, attempted to democratize culture by broadening the range of subjects to be explored; the magazine also made much of its circulation figures, which, at one point, were purported to be as high as 250,000. Despite its unparalleled success at reaching a middle-class audience, *Lunes*, much like *Sur*, targeted the intellectual and cultural elite of Cuba. Likewise, *Marcha* also targeted a middle-class, educated audience with its slogan of "toda la semana en un día." In terms of cultural impact, however, *Marcha* was an affair of the Uruguayan intellectual elite—writers, academics, and publishers—who read and published in its pages.

These magazines can also be differentiated from mass-market magazines by their prose style. Literary magazines—especially the ones in question here—did not compromise their aesthetic and philosophical viewpoints with concerns about mass marketability or sales at the newsstand. In *Sur*'s first years, the magazine was almost

entirely financed by its editor, Victoria Ocampo. Many Cuban publications—including the renowned *Casa de las Américas*—have relied on government funding, which decreases the publications' dependency on subscribers and advertisers. In the case of Cuba, financial support has come from the Castro regime, which has placed a high value on the arts and culture since the triumph of the Revolution in 1959. Castro—like Stalin—has taken a keen interest in writers as "engineers of the soul."

In the terminology of Pierre Bourdieu, Latin American literary magazines have generally been more significant in terms of cultural capital (or prestige) than economic capital. Bourdieu's distinction between economic and cultural capital is important because it can help us understand how literary magazines like *Sur* and *Mundo Nuevo*—journals with small circulation numbers—can be at once intellectually prestigious and financially unprofitable. Bourdieu argues that literary Modernism, with its self-consciously "difficult" style, creates a sense of deferred gratification in the reader. Symbolic value is attributed to those goods that have a rarified circulation and that proclaim themselves as "autonomous" from the economic marketplace:

> The 'market of symbolic goods' assigns cultural value to those works, and those authors, that defer immediate returns: 'high' art is differentiated from 'low' culture by the former's apparent distance from or denial of temporal rewards. In *Les Règles de l'art* (1992, *The Rules of Art*, 1996), Bourdieu's most sustained examination of literature, he shows how the novelist Gustave Flaubert, among

> other late nineteenth-century writers, sought to constitute a literary field whose autonomy was defined by its 'rupture with the economic order.'[20]

Bourdieu's insights about the literary field only take us so far, however. One of the main features of Bourdieu's approach to literary criticism is his belief that literature constitutes an autonomous field of culture, obeying its own rules of value. Viewed in the context of the Cold War, however, literary magazines were never fully autonomous; my contention here is that even when they claimed to be autonomous (or "independent," in the terminology of the day) they were responding to subtle ideological pressures from fields not normally associated with literary production, U.S. and Cuban foreign policy in particular. Literary magazines, meanwhile, muddy the waters of the concept of "autonomy." While *Sur* never sought a wide audience, other magazines tried to expand the marketplace for literature into the middle and working classes. The populist *Marcha* aimed to have the most prestigious cultural supplement in Uruguay while also actively

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[20] If Bourdieu's insight into economic versus cultural capital is important for my reading of Latin American literary magazines, his dense prose style often creates more confusion about the very distinctions he seeks to elucidate. For reasons of clarity and brevity, I have used the *Johns Hopkins Guide to Literary Theory and Criticism* to summarize the concept of cultural capital. John Beasley-Murray, "Pierre Bourdieu," *Johns Hopkins Guide to Literary Theory and Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), online edition. <http://litguide.press.jhu.edu/cgi-bin/view.cgi?eid=37&query=cultural%20capital> [accessed on March 23, 2007]

seeking out up-and-coming writers and critics in other, less well-known publications like *Marginalia* and *Clinamen*.

The difference in approach and orientation between a mass-market magazine and a literary magazine can be illustrated by example. John King relates an episode in which Victoria Ocampo was notified of the appearance of a middlebrow, semi-literary magazine in Buenos Aires in the 1960s, *Primera Plana*. As King notes, *Primera Plana* had attempted to reach a young, university-educated class brought up under the reform-minded regime of Arturo Frondizi. In the 1960s, for the first time, Borges had started to achieve a wide readership in Argentina, brought about, paradoxically, by his "discovery" in France. Ocampo found this situation deplorable, and argued that real literature was always "para minorías."[21] The idea that the "vulgo" would read the latest work by Cortázar in the subway and not be bored, was, to Ocampo, laughable.[22] While *Primera Plana*'s circulation was undoubtedly higher than *Sur*'s (it was a glossy magazine with advertisements for refrigerators and tires), Ocampo's magazine managed to retain a superiority in terms of cultural capital: it was the gold standard to which all other literary magazines would be compared until the 1960s. In the world of Cold War literary-magazine publishing in Latin America, the struggle to accumulate cultural capital had little or nothing to do with economic capital, as magazines with small circulation figures (*Mundo Nuevo*, *Sur*, *Número*) were often cited as more influential among intellectuals than glossy magazines like *Primera Plana*. Indeed, as Bourdieu notes in a study of music

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21 See King, *Sur*.

22 King, 170.

tastes in France, one of the characteristics of cultural capital is that it lacks a mass appeal. *Mundo Nuevo*, like *Sur*, realized that the lack of a mass appeal, and a selected targeting of cosmopolitan intellectuals, would be important for the magazine's long-term sustainability.

Illustration 3: *Primera Plana* from June, 1967: The Boom becomes a mass-market phenomenon as *Cien años de soledad* becomes a literal best-seller (it was listed as the number one selling book in Argentina in this issue, Number 234). Only months before, García Márquez had considered taking a job as Monegal's correspondent for $400 a month. Financial success from the novel allowed him to decline the offer.

Mundo Nuevo in the Pantheon of Latin American Literary Magazines

Some Marxist critics have argued that *Mundo Nuevo* should not even be analyzed in the same category as other notable Latin American literary magazines. Its connection to the CIA is the equivalent of an asterisk by its name in the history of literary publishing. Because of *Mundo Nuevo*'s distinctive financial ties to American foreign-policy initiatives, many critics have shied away from placing the magazine squarely within a framework of Latin American literary history, dismissing it as U.S. propaganda. Nestor Kohan, in a 2002 issue of *Casa de las Américas*, exemplifies the tendency of many leftist critics to dismiss *Mundo Nuevo* as a CIA mouthpiece. Writers for *Mundo Nuevo*, he says, were "protegidos bajo el paraguas de la compañía"[23]—the "company" being an obvious allusion to the CIA. Yet *Mundo Nuevo* constituted an intervention into a field of cultural production that had been well established since the beginning of the century, and Monegal's contacts with Latin American intellectuals (including the Cuban poet and critic who would later become one of his fiercest rivals, Retamar) indicate that he assumed the magazine would be of interest to these intellectuals. *Mundo Nuevo*, despite

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23 Nestor Kohan, "La pluma y el dólar. La guerra cultural y la fabricación industrial del consenso," *Casa de las Américas* 227 (2002). <http://www.casa.cult.cu/publicaciones/revistacasa/227/kohan.htm> [accessed on March 23, 2007]

its ties to international anti-Communism, was very much a part of a Spanish American intertextual discourse, discourse that was founded in the pages of *Sur*, *Marcha*, *Número*, the Cuban literary journal *Orígenes*, and many other twentieth-century magazines. Given *Mundo Nuevo*'s unique situation as a node in two frameworks, the magazine operated not only within the context of the international, anti-communist interpretive community (which found outlets in CCF magazines like *Encounter* and *Preuves*), but also within the framework of Latin American literary history.

When the first issue of *Mundo Nuevo* appeared in June 1966, rumors about its financial links to the CIA had already begun to circulate in Cuba and in many leftist circles in Latin America. A series of letters between Monegal and the head of *Casa de las Américas*, Roberto Fernández Retamar, revealed *Mundo Nuevo*'s affinities with the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Monegal told Retamar that his new "magazine of ideas" would be associated with, "pero no dependiente," on the anti-Communist group. He told Retamar that he hoped to open a dialogue with the Cubans and carve out an alternative path to intellectual freedom, away from nationalism or doctrinaire Marxism. As I shall demonstrate later in this chapter, Monegal's attempt to construct an intellectual third way between Marxism and quasi-fascist nationalism à la Perón was not original. It had been attempted in other contexts, and derived much of its inspiration from the Argentine magazine *Sur*, as well as from his experience as an editor at *Marcha* and the ill-fated Cuban experiment, *Lunes de Revolución*. *Mundo Nuevo* would also manage to lure many talented writers and editors to the magazine because of their falling out with the Cuban government over the *Lunes de Revolución* affair.

Thus, despite the magazine's many claims to the contrary—even the title announces the publication's novelty—*Mundo Nuevo* was not an entirely new event in Latin American cultural history. Nevertheless, like a good promoter, Monegal fetishized "the new" in art and culture and presented his magazine as an avatar of a new wave in Latin American cultural production. The magazine's inaugural "Presentación" in the first issue is worth quoting at length, as it demonstrates the avant-garde cosmopolitanism that would come to dominate each issue:

> América Latina tiene una enorme responsabilidad en esta hora en que el hombre se encuentra al borde de un mundo nuevo. Liberado de los más obvios lazos coloniales hace ya siglo y medio, pero todavía atada a servidumbres económicas y políticas[…]. El propósito de Mundo Nuevo es insertar la cultura latinoamericana en un contexto que sea a la vez internacional y actual, que permita escuchar las voces casi inaudibles o dispersas de todo un continente y que establezca un diálogo que sobrepasa las conocidas limitaciones de nacionalismos, partidos políticos, capillas más o menos literarias.[24]

Despite its claims to transcend the "well-known limitations of nationalism and political parties," *Mundo Nuevo* was, ultimately, a political intervention into a long-standing debate among Latin American writers.[25] Here, Monegal navigates between cosmopolitan liberalism and Marxism, acknowledging the continent's "colonial ties" while also attempting to construct an international audience for Latin American literature. These are

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24 Emir Rodríguez Monegal, "Presentación," *Mundo Nuevo* 1 (July, 1966), 4.

25 Ibid, [my translation].

treacherous waters, troubled by a debate about literature and politics that, in many ways, originates with the Argentine magazine *Sur*.

From *Sur* to *Mundo Nuevo*: The Politics of Cosmopolitan Elitism

Sur had its humble beginnings in 1931. It was financed by the personal fortune of its editor, Victoria Ocampo, who sought out contributions from her international circle of friends. *Sur*, like *Mundo Nuevo*, was to espouse a cosmopolitan, detached liberalism and a devotion to formal innovation throughout its history. Emir Rodríguez Monegal, as a self-professed admirer of Borges—an integral part of *Sur*'s identity—did not deny this influence. According to Pablo Rocca, it was Monegal, not Victoria Ocampo, who was the first critic to promote Borges as one the most important writers of the twentieth century; Monegal turned promoting Borges into a full-time activity. The Uruguayan was the first critic to extol Borges's writing as a "model" for other Latin American writers.[26] Unlike *Sur*, though, *Mundo Nuevo* did not shy away from the controversial political issues dominating the headlines. In fact, *Mundo Nuevo*'s liberal cosmopolitanism and its willingness to engage in political debate made the magazine an innovator in the Latin American cultural scene, and more akin to the combative *Lunes* than the aloof *Sur*.

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26 Rocca, 46.

Up until the early 1930s, magazines like *Sur* adopted a disinterested view of political struggle. Taking their cues from intellectuals like José Ortega y Gasset and Julien Benda, the editors of these magazines (Ocampo is the example *par excellence*) viewed politics as unfitting a literary magazine's true mission. That mission can be summed up in Ocampo's reply to an accusation by an Argentine Catholic magazine, *Criterio*, that *Sur* was "communistic." *Criterio*'s attack occurred during the Spanish Civil War; Ocampo's response would, in many ways, mirror the responses Monegal would offer to the accusation that his magazine was an apologist for American imperialism. Ocampo wrote in 1937 that, "Esta revista [*Sur*] no tiene color político[…]. Queremos un clero mejor, un clero al que le interesa más la cuestión de lo spiritual que los manejos transitorios de la política."[27] While *Sur* was able to evade the question of political commitment by relying on a rhetoric of "spirituality" in the 1930s, the contentious years of the 1960s forced Monegal to confront political struggle head-on. The 1930s were years of the international Popular Front, in which political divisions could be subsumed into the desire to defeat fascism; in the 1960s, the issue of Cuba became a touchstone for political controversy in Latin America.

In his seminal study of *Sur*, King remarks that, by the 1960s, the politically engaged model of literature offered by the Cuban journal *Casa de las Américas* had, in many ways, displaced the prestige of the Europhilic *Sur*. For King, *Mundo Nuevo* and *Casa de las Américas* were the most important magazines for highbrow Latin American culture during the 1960s. As King notes, *Sur* had enjoyed a long period as a cultural

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27 Quoted in King, 58.

tastemaker in Latin America, but was perceived as outmoded and conservative following the Cuban Revolution. Whereas *Sur* was genteel and cosmopolitan, the generation of writers who came of age around the time of the Cuban Revolution was increasingly preoccupied with the social conditions of Latin America and the region's connection to the rest of the Third World. This generation, which was later dubbed the Boom more for its publishing success than any shared aesthetic vision, found little in common with *Sur*. King writes,

> The two major Latin American cultural magazines in the 1960s were *Casa de las Américas* and *Mundo Nuevo*[…]. They represented the two major poles of attraction for Latin American intellectuals: towards revolutionary social practice or towards a revolution in style. Casa de las Américas, magazine and publishing house, evolved slowly to its role as would-be revolutionary conscience of the continent.[28]

As King implies, it took *Casa* years to accumulate the sort of cultural capital necessary to become the region's "revolutionary conscience." This is in part because when the magazine began publishing in 1959, it lacked a coherent vision of the role of the arts in society. Many of the writers who published for *Casa* also contributed to *Lunes de Revolución*, which saw its role as the critical conscience, rather than the "servant," of the Revolution.[29] It was only in the mid-1960s, after Antón Arrufat resigned the editorship of *Casa* and the American poet Allen Ginsberg was reportedly expelled from Cuba for

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28 King, 184.

29 King, 185.

expressing his sexual desire for the revolutionary hero Ernesto "Che" Guevara, that *Casa* embraced its role as a decidedly Marxist cultural magazine.[30] As King writes, "Fernández Retamar gave the magazine a clearer Marxist, internationalist and Third-World [sic] stance, which it has retained ever since."[31]

Mundo Nuevo, meanwhile, had become a more "up-to-date" progeny of *Sur*. King argues—as do most critics—that *Mundo Nuevo* was a sort of non-political counterpart to *Casa*. His assessment of *Mundo Nuevo* is worth quoting at length, as it sets out many of the intellectual commonplaces that have become associated with Monegal's magazine:

> *Mundo Nuevo* avoided discussion of concrete political commitment and treated the new novelists as part of a cultural renaissance, free from ideological disputes. It gave support to the boom by favourably reviewing the latest texts, conducting interviews with the authors and printing short extracts of new work. In this, it revived the earlier traditions of *Sur*, accomplishing what that magazine could not achieve in the 1960s. *Sur* could not adjust to the radicalism of these years, either politically or in the abstract sphere of letters.[32]

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30 There are many accounts of Ginsberg's misadventures in Cuba. According to Peter Coleman, Ginsberg said the Argentine revolutionary figure was "cute" and that he wanted to have sexual relations with him "as soon as possible." See also: Ricardo L. Ortiz, "Revolution's Other Histories: The Sexual, Cultural, and Critical Legacies of Roberto Fernández Retamar's 'Caliban.'"

31 King, 185.

32 King, 187.

King's analysis of *Sur*'s decline in cultural capital during the 1960s may be apt, but his characterization of *Mundo Nuevo* as a non-ideological magazine misses the point. *Mundo Nuevo*, unlike *Sur* and the pre-revolutionary Cuban journal *Orígenes*, did not avoid political disputes. In contrast to other magazines that were characterized as liberal, cosmopolitan literary journals, *Mundo Nuevo* jumped into the fray of some of the most pressing issues of the day, including the U.S. intervention in Vietnam (which it denounced). King's characterization of *Mundo Nuevo* as non-ideological is ironic, given his approach to *Sur*, which skillfully unmasks the Argentine journal's rhetoric of "universal human values" as a subterfuge for a distinct, anti-Peronist, liberal politics. *Sur*, as did *Mundo Nuevo*, found itself protecting liberalism in the face of populist revolution on the right and left, while also attempting to efface its own ideology.

When *Sur* began publishing in 1931, Argentine liberalism—an ideology closely associated with the nineteenth-century thinker and politician Domingo Faustino Sarmiento—was once again on the defensive after many years of ascendancy. The economic fallout from the Great Depression had put pressure on Argentina's unique, quasi-colonial relationship with Great Britain, in which British companies controlled large sectors of the Argentine economy. The push for nationalization of the Argentine economy troubled Europhile aristocrats like Ocampo, who had long looked overseas for artistic inspiration and cultural values. Ocampo had cultivated ties with many of the leading lights of Continental thought, and particularly admired the *Nouvelle Revue Française*, which published André Gide and Julien Benda, among others.

In 1927, Benda had caused a stir in Europe with his essay "La trahison des clercs," in which he accused intellectuals of betraying the cause of truth and beauty for

short-term political goals. For Benda, intellectuals were precisely those people who did not concern themselves with politics. Intellectuals—or "clercs"—were "all those whose activity essentially is *not* the pursuit of practical aims, all those who seek their joy in the practice of an art or a science or a metaphysical speculation, in short in the possession of non-material advantages." [33]

If there was one aspect of Benda's argument that was to especially resonate with Ocampo and the *Sur* crowd, though, it was the idea that intellectuals had become servants of nationalism. Benda believed that intellectuals had traded in the ideal of the universal human spirit for notions of "the French soul," or the "immutability of[…] the German consciousness." [34]Feelings of distrust and suspicion of Argentine nationalism would mark *Sur*'s politics for its entire history—even as it denied any political orientation. Ocampo's unapologetically elitist view of culture would make her and her magazine an easy target for populists on the left and on the right. Over the years, *Sur* would be accused by the right and the left of being "extranjerizante," (foreignizing) and inimical to Argentina's "criollo" identity. The conflict with nationalists was particularly acute during Juan Perón's first regime during the 1950s, when Ocampo was briefly imprisoned by Peronist elements in the Buenos Aires police force. This accusation of being anti-Argentine and elitist would also dog *Mundo Nuevo* until it moved its offices from Paris to Buenos Aires in 1968. By situating itself in Paris at a time when Latin Americans were

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33 Quoted in Charles Kurzman and Lynn Owens, "The Sociology of the Intellectuals," *Annual Review of Sociology* 28: 63-90 (2002).

34 See Kurzman and Owens for an analysis of Benda's view of nationalism.

increasingly looking to the Third World for political solidarity, *Mundo Nuevo* had symbolically announced its affiliation with the liberal cosmopolitanism of *Sur* and thumbed its nose at the armed struggle of the Cubans.

The nationalists' accusations, however, would seem to be belied by *Sur*'s title, which self-consciously references Argentina's location in the world. This self-identification with the South—one of Europe's and North America's many Others—would be further established by an arrow pointing toward the bottom of the page on the cover (this arrow presumably symbolized the magazine's "southerly" orientation). *Sur*'s first years did, in fact, demonstrate a preoccupation with Latin American identity, as well as the idea of Pan-Americanism. This "Americanist" orientation of the magazine in the 1930s was partly due to the influence of the U.S. writer Waldo Frank, who tirelessly promoted an idealistic version of Pan-Americanism in the arts. Frank and Ocampo developed a friendship in the 1920s and he frequently contributed to the magazine in its early days, writing about topics such as the religious differences between North and South America. According to King, the idea for *Sur* may have been Frank's, not Ocampo's.

Nevertheless, Frank's vision of "Americanism" had little in common with the Marxist version of Americanism of Cubans like Retamar, or Marxian[35] intellectuals like

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35 *Marcha* contributors like Rama were influenced by Marx, but were also open to social theory—especially "dependency theory"—developed in Latin America. Later in life, the work of Foucault also influenced Rama's thinking. The label "Marxian" (as opposed to

Angel Rama. Frank sought out a "spiritual" connection across the Americas; he mythologized Latin America in an attempt to create a Rooseveltian "Good Neighbor" attitude among his compatriots. In *Sur*'s early years, he was quite successful. Even Borges, a writer whose distaste for realism and politically engaged literature is well documented, contributed translations of the African-American poet Langston Hughes, whose famous poem, "I, Too, Sing America" appeared in the magazine's fourth issue, in 1931. Borges appears at this point to be interested in the common ground between the suffering of Argentine blacks (who had been victims of a nineteenth-century episode of "ethnic cleansing" in a war with Paraguay) and African Americans; he would soon abandon this interest in favor of cerebral, fantastical short prose that explored such themes as eternity and the limits of epistemology. Frank's influence on *Sur*'s contributors and Latin American intellectual life more generally would also mysteriously disappear during the 1940s and 1950s.

The interest in various forms of "Americanisms," although abandoned by *Sur*, would be cultivated in *Mundo Nuevo* some thirty years later. Just as Borges had translated many important North American writers from English into Spanish for *Sur*, *Mundo Nuevo* would introduce writers like Mary McCarthy and Saul Bellow to a Spanish-language audience in the 1960s. Many of the contributors, like C. Wright Mills and Lewis Mumford, would have distinctly leftist politics, although none shared the viewpoints of the sort of dogmatic Marxism that had started to appear in *Casa de las*

"Marxist") better captures the spirit of thinkers whose materialist approach to culture was inspired by, but not limited to, the works of Karl Marx himself.

Américas in the middle to late 1960s. *Sur*'s most important legacy for *Mundo Nuevo*, however, was the idea that Latin American literature was part of World Republic of Letters, a literature on par with that of the United States and Europe. It only lacked a vehicle to bring this literature to the world.

The most important intervention by *Sur* into the Latin American cultural scene was its tireless defense of universal, humanist values in the face of attacks from the fascistic or nationalist right and the Marxist left. It was Borges—a writer most commonly associated with the intellectual short stories collected in *Ficciones* (1944)—who led the charge. As World War II loomed, and Argentina's neutrality became a thorn in the side of the Allied forces, Borges attacked the Nazi ideology head on:

> No sé si el mundo puede prescindir de la civilización alemana. Es bochornoso que le estén corrumpiendo con enseñanzas de odio[…]. El mero pacifismo no basta. La guerra es una antigua pasión que atienta los hombres con encantos ascéticos y morales. Para abolirla, hay que oponerle otra pasión.[36]

For Borges, the best way to oppose Nazi hatred was through traditional European humanism. The passion that could neutralize fascism was that of "el buen europeo—Leibniz, Voltaire, Goethe, Arnold, Renan, Shaw, Russell, Unamuno, T. S. Eliot—que se sabe heredero y continuador *de todos los paises*" (my emphasis).[37]

While Borges may have seen these writers and thinkers as the province of universal human values, many of these same writers were also being utilized by

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36 Quoted in King, 68.

37 Quoted in King, 68.

politicians and propagandists to shore up nationalist ideologies. Eliot was himself something of an anti-Semite; Goethe was a favorite of Goebbel's Nazi propaganda. All these writers' positions in the canon of "liberal Western values" are still far from certain. While most critics now share the belief that how these authors are ultimately read depends on the context in which they are read, it is perhaps interesting to note that Borges continued to reject postmodern relativism even when, in the 1960s, he came to be regarded as one of its seminal figures. It is also important to note that, by the 1960s, no one on the left in Latin America conceived of "el buen europeo" as a way to fight right-wing ideologies. The "good European" was, in fact, part of the problem.

As King demonstrates, *Sur* was the tastemaker for Latin American audiences of international high culture until the late 1950s, when the Cuban Revolution caused an internal division in the magazine. The division between the magazine's *jefe de redacción*, José Bianco, and its publisher, Ocampo, proved fatal to the magazine's continued status as the most prestigious literary magazine on the continent. Ocampo was never seduced—as many intellectuals were—by the figures of Fidel Castro and Ernesto "Che" Guevara. In a special issue dedicated to Latin America (King remarks that *Sur* treated its home turf with the same distance it might have treated Canada or Japan), Humberto Piñera, a former professor at the University of Havana, attacked the Castro regime: "De Cuba desapareció la libertad tan pronto como llegó al poder Fidel Castro."[38] This sort of antagonistic stance against the Cuban Revolution was rare among the Latin American

38 Quoted in King, 182.

intelligentsia in the first years after the Revolution and contributed to *Sur*'s loss of prestige during the 1960s.

The final blow came when Bianco, who had worked with Ocampo since the founding of the magazine, attended a conference in Cuba hosted by *Casa de las Américas*. Ocampo printed a statement in *Sur* that said that the magazine rejected Bianco's participation in the conference as a representative of the magazine, and Bianco then offered his resignation. This episode not only signaled the divisiveness of the Cuban Revolution at a supposedly "apolitical" magazine; it also proved just how out-of-step the magazine was with the younger generation of writers, who almost unanimously—in the early to mid 1960s, at least—supported the Revolution. It is in this context that Monegal's overtures to Retamar make sense for *Mundo Nuevo*. Monegal was certainly aware of the crisis at *Sur* and hoped to avoid antagonizing the Cuban establishment. Although *Mundo Nuevo* was to adopt liberal positions similar to those of *Sur*, Monegal was clearly attempting to demonstrate to the Cuban intellectuals at *Casa de las Américas* that it would be more open-minded about the Revolution and would not make the same mistake as *Sur* in condemning it wholesale.

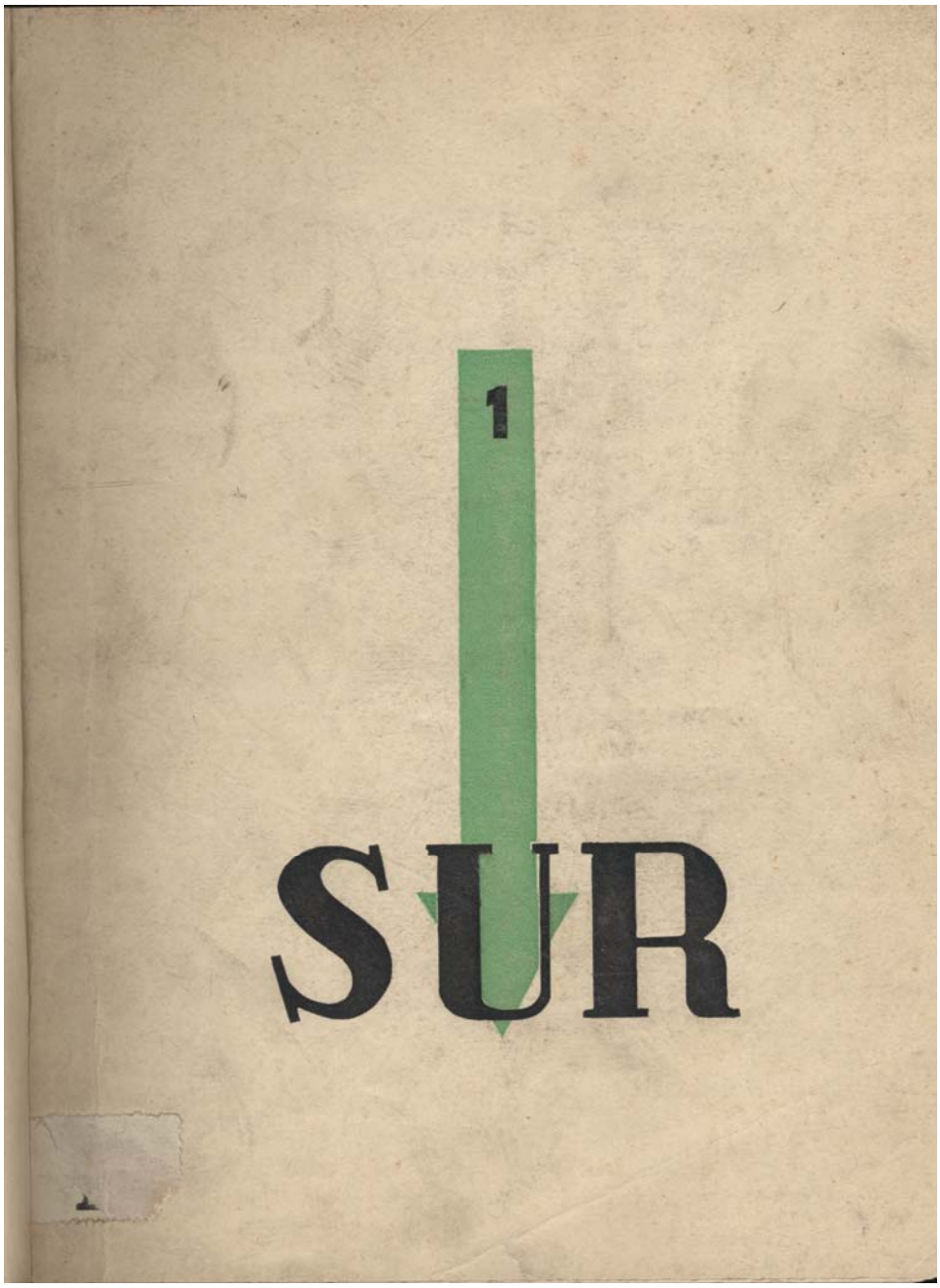
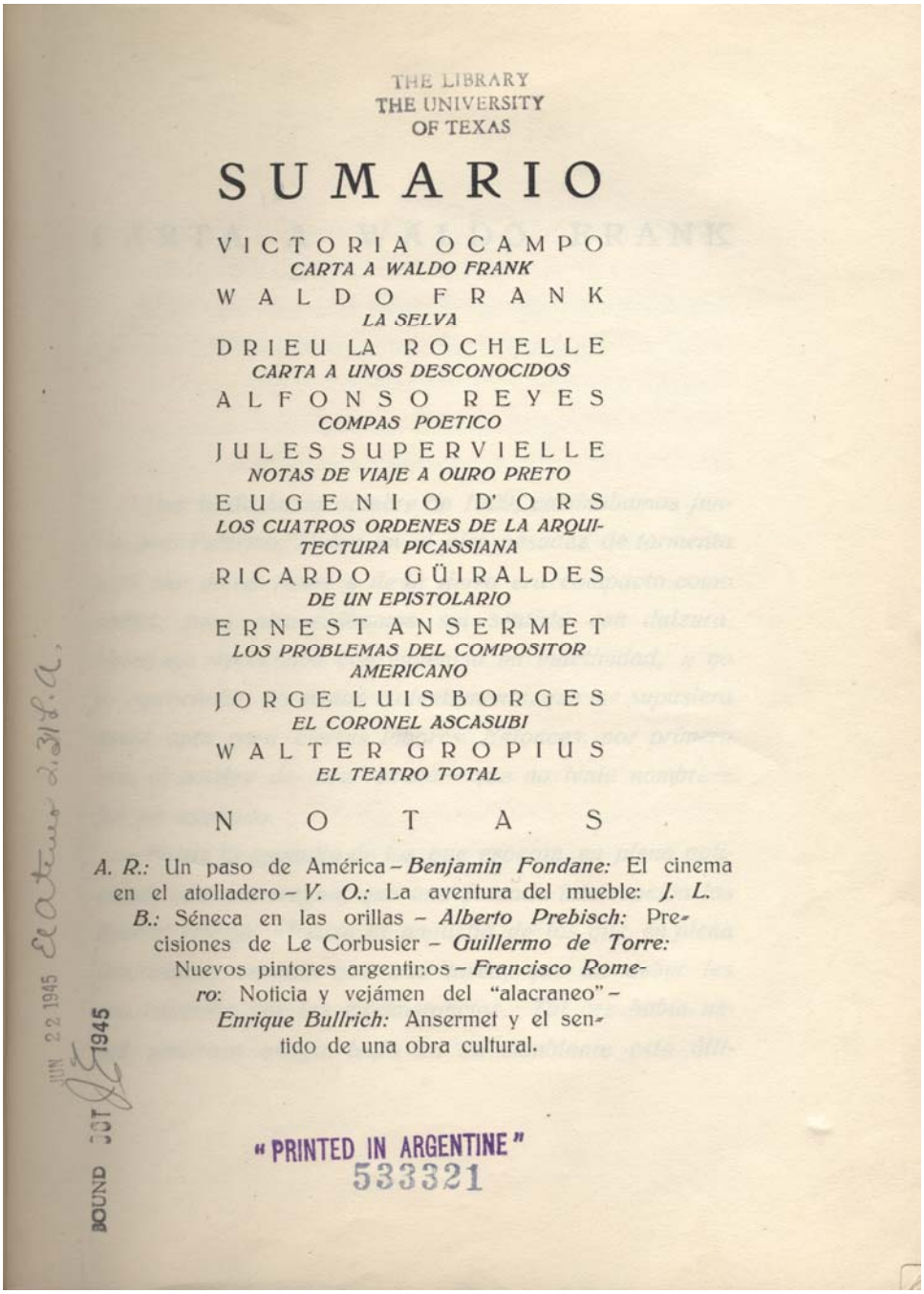


Illustration 4: The cover of the first issue of *Sur* from 1931. There are conflicting accounts about whether Waldo Frank or José Ortega y Gasset first suggested the idea for the magazine.



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A. R.: Un paso de América – *Benjamin Fondane:* El cinema en el atolladero – *V. O.:* La aventura del mueble: *J. L. B.:* Séneca en las orillas – *Alberto Prebisch:* Precisiones de Le Corbusier – *Guillermo de Torre:* Nuevos pintores argentinos – *Francisco Romero:* Noticia y vejámen del "alacraneo" – *Enrique Bullrich:* Ansermet y el sentido de una obra cultural.

Illustration 5: Table of Contents for the first issue of *Sur*; Ocampo and Frank explored America through essays and photographs. Later issues would look toward Europe for inspiration.

Marcha and *Mundo Nuevo*: From Uruguay to the World Republic of Letters

Emir Rodríguez Monegal's first full-time job as an editor was with the Uruguayan weekly magazine *Marcha*. Although Monegal was primarily an autodidact—he never obtained an advanced degree—he would become a sophisticated literary critic.[39] Thanks in part to grants from the Rockefeller Foundation and the British Council, Monegal was fluent in English and was versant in the latest trends literary analysis in Europe and the United States. According to Pablo Rocca, "en *Marcha* fue Rodríguez Monegal quien divulgó la gran literatura europea y norteamericana del siglo XX que apenas se conocía en el Uruguay."[40] Later, at Yale University, he would turn his attention to promoting the status of Latin American literature in the U.S. academy.[41] Monegal was, in other words, a cosmopolitan whose fluency in English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, helped him become a major player in the international literary scene of the 1960s to 1980s. He was not simply a "promoter;" he understood contemporary trends in literature and took an

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39 See Homero Alsina Thevenet and Pablo Rocca, eds. *La obra crítica de Emir Rodríguez Monegal*, Montevideo: Ediciones de la Plaza, 1993, for a brief biography of Monegal.

40 Rocca and Thevenet, 16.

41 See Rocca and Thevenet, 19.

unpopular stand against politically committed literature as an editor and critic. [42] This stand for formalism would make him an ideal candidate for the CCF's campaign remake its efforts in Latin America.

Monegal worked as an editor for the magazine's cultural pages on an intermittent basis for almost two decades and directed the literary section from 1945 to 1948. *Marcha* had begun publishing in 1939, and quickly achieved notoriety for its leftist commentary on national and international affairs, but distanced itself from the Soviet Union and the Comintern. In the cultural field, *Marcha* distinguished itself by featuring extensive coverage of the Uruguayan intellectual and artistic scene, from cinema to academic publishing to novel writing. Although it was not a "pure" literary magazine like *Sur* or *Número* (a Uruguayan journal edited by Monegal that focused more exclusively on literature) *Marcha* was the touchstone for Uruguayan cultural life for nearly four decades. During its existence, almost every Uruguayan writer of note published or worked at *Marcha*, including Mario Benedetti, Juan Carlos Onetti, Angel Rama, Idea Vilariño, Ida Vitale, and Felisberto Hernández. According to the Uruguayan critic and editor Ruffinelli, *Marcha* was the most important forum for the country's leading voices:

> Si *Número* fue importante en términos de literatura, el semanario *Marcha* constituyó el eje intelectual del país en política, economía y cultura. Fundada en 1939 por Carlos Quijano, abogado de vocación economista, *Marcha* fue el lugar de encuentro ya no de una generación literaria sino de la *intelligentsia* del país.

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42 See Rocca and Thevenet's discussion of the cultural politics of *Marcha* during the 1960s.

> Abierta a todos los sectores de pensamiento progresista, fue también el campo de batalla para los debates culturales y políticos.[43]

Marcha was, in many ways, Uruguay's public square. The director, Quijano, was a politician and professor who had studied under José Enrique Rodó, author of the seminal book-length essay *Ariel* (1900). Rodó, along with Karl Marx, was to be the guiding light for the magazine's politics and cultural values.

At the turn of the century, Rodó had urged the youth of Latin America to have faith in themselves as cultural pioneers and inheritors of the Classical tradition. He urged Latin American writers and intellectuals to take pride in their culture's Greco-Latin roots, and to disavow the encroaching imperialism of the United States. For Quijano and the generation after Rodó, their mentor's call to arms would inspire political movements, reforms in education, and new trends in literature. More specifically, Rodó inspired *Marcha*'s "Americanist" orientation. Rodó's Americanist philosophy complemented Waldo Frank's literary take on the "Good Neighbor" policy. In the pages of *Sur*, Frank argued that the two Americas shared a spiritual bond (they are were both a mix of European, African, and indigenous American peoples), but that the Catholic roots of Latin America remained truer to the spirit of the New World. Meanwhile, Rodó argued in *Ariel* that Latin America was the true heir to the greatest elements of Mediterranean civilization—especially Greece and Rome—unlike its sister to the north, the United States, which was enslaved to a "utilitarian" mindset. The United States, which Rodó called "la América nórdica," may have appeared to be the next great power, but it was

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[43] Ruffinelli, 29.

spiritually bankrupt. Rodó employed allusions to two key characters in Shakespeare's "The Tempest" to create a dichotomy between "la América nórdica" and Latin America. Caliban, the brute monster who was possessed of physical strength but devoid of culture, symbolized the turn-of-the-century United States, which was quickly gaining its own empire in the Caribbean and South Pacific. Ariel, on the other hand, was a lithe spirit who lacked physical prowess yet had the intelligence to serve his master, the intellectual Prospero (who, in *Ariel*, stands in for the voice of the author, Rodó). Rodó is often caricatured as "anti-American" because of this rather schematic dichotomy in *Ariel* and his ill-informed notions of American culture, but, in fact, he was ultimately ambivalent about the United States. In one of the essay's most famous lines, he states, "As for me, you have already seen that, although I do not love them [the United States], I admire them."[44]

If Rodó was the spiritual father of *Marcha*'s vision of Latin American culture and its particular brand of Americanism, its inspiration for historical, political, and economic philosophy was Marx. Rodó's highly aestheticized views were in contrast to Marx's materialist view of history and the world economy. The German philosopher was no less of an influence on the magazine for it, however. In 1958, on the eve of Monegal's departure for London and the triumph of the Cuban Revolution, Quijano wrote:

> Si alguna formación tenemos, ella no es otra que la marxista. A todo lo largo de nuestra vida, Marx nos ha ayudado a pensar. Nutrió en alguna época de las primeras y dilatadas lecturas, nuestra mocedad. Renán decía que el vino de la

44 Rodó, 77.

> iglesia dejaba para siempre su aroma en el vaso. A Marx, una vez conocido, no se le puede olvidar. Marca e impregna. Volveremos a él, para refutarlo, para contradecirlo, para negarlo; pero también para confirmarlo y confirmamos.[45]

Quijano here signals a Marxian vision that would filter into the magazine's cultural pages as well, especially under the directorship of Angel Rama, who would, after Monegal, be the most important voice of literary criticism in the magazine. Quijano, it is important to note, was not an orthodox Marxist and the magazine was never especially pro-Soviet. For Quijano, the most important aspect of *Marcha*'s political vision was "anti-imperialism," a vision shared by Rama.

According to Rocca, whose *35 años en Marcha* documents the rise and fall of the Uruguayan magazine, Rama's politics were more in line with the general editorial direction of *Marcha* than Monegal's. Monegal, as we have seen, was a devotee of Borges and Ocampo, and often found himself in opposition to *Marcha*'s leftist editorial positions. Rocca notes that the conflict between Rama, a Marxist-materialist critic who would become well known for his studies of Latin American literature and society in *Transculturación narrativa en América Latina* (1982) and *La ciudad letrada* (1984), and Monegal began with Rama's first book reviews in another literary magazine, *Clinamen*. Monegal called Rama's essay "too schematic" and lampooned him for reading Borges as a working-class "tanguero." Monegal finished his note on Rama's review with one of the

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[45] Quoted in Rocca, 77.

biting flourishes for which he would become well known: “Perhaps he [Rama] should broaden the horizons of his study.”[46]

As director of *Marcha*’s cultural pages, Monegal seemed to demonstrate more interest in the goings-on of the London theater scene than Uruguayan culture. He maintained a column called “English Letters” in which he informed his readers about recent productions of Shakespeare or the scandal created by the English film *Look Back in Anger* (1958). Rocca remarks that Monegal established the “English Letters” column at a time when the Generation of 1945—a generation considered by many to be the most important in the history of twentieth-century Uruguay—called for the promotion of national literature and subsidies for Uruguay’s fledgling book industry. While Monegal was in favor of promoting book-publishing across Latin America, he had little interest Uruguay itself. Monegal soon found himself at odds with the rhetoric of leftist populism in other sections of *Marcha* and in Uruguayan intellectual circles in general. Like Ocampo in Argentina, he chafed at the populism of his contemporaries. In a column in 1954, he wrote:

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46 Quoted in Rocca, 59. The feud between Rama and Monegal was peaked with Rama’s death in an airplane crash in Spain in 1982. Rama’s visa had not been renewed by the State Department and he had been forced to resign his position as a professor at the University of Maryland. Many people suspected—although it could never be confirmed—that Monegal, then a professor at Yale, had been behind the visa refusal. It was on his way to Spain from the United States that Rama’s plane crashed.

> Después de diez o doce años de instrucción primaria o secundaria, los uruguayos[...] se sientan a leer un rato y qué leen. La minoría de exquisitos lee a Graham Greene[...] los más bastos (y vastos) leen *Life en español*, o sólo la miran, leen las tiras cómicas, los programas de cine, las crónicas de football.[47]

Monegal's distaste for the masses and his emphasis on literature for a intellectual minority mirror Ocampo's remarks about the Argentine newsweekly *Primera Plana*. Both editors reflect an elitist cosmopolitan liberalism that—perhaps by definition—found itself in an antagonistic relationship with the larger society and with populist intellectual sectors as well. This was a posture that had grown out of post-World War I pessimism in Europe; it was a fundamentally anti-democratic mindset, which had achieved its fullest expression in Benda's "La trahison des clercs" and Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset's *La rebelión de las masas* (1930), which warned about the impact of the masses on culture and politics. Given this anti-democratic, elitist perspective, it is ironic that Monegal was chosen to direct *Mundo Nuevo*, a magazine whose financiers saw it as a vehicle for the kind of democratic liberalism called for in John F. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress.[48]

Monegal's elitist ideas about literature and society were also shared for many years by Mario Benedetti, one of Uruguay's most important writers of the twentieth century. Benedetti had been involved with *Marcha* from the beginning, and was a

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47 Quoted in Rocca, 120.

48 Chapter Two deals more specifically about the connection between *Mundo Nuevo* and the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Alliance for Progress.

frequent columnist as well as the magazine's *jefe de redacción* (managing editor). Rocca argues that in 1959, however, Benedetti experienced a radical change in perspective about Latin America's literature and its relationship to social change. Benedetti remarks that, prior to 1959, he, like most Uruguayan writers, was "charmed by everything European."[49] After the triumph of the Cuban Revolution and a disastrous visit to the United States, in which he felt the sting of the country's racial divisions (and its prejudice against "Hispanics," a "race" to which Benedetti was surely shocked to learn he belonged) Benedetti's politics were radicalized. He attempted to push *Marcha*'s politics even further to the left. When the director, Quijano, refused, Benedetti resigned. This left Angel Rama in control of the literary section of *Marcha*.

The transition from Monegal's cosmopolitan liberalism to Angel Rama's materialist Marxism began in 1960, when Monegal finally stopped publishing in *Marcha*. At that point, Rama decided to "reinsertar la literatura dentro de una estructura general de cultura."[50] Rama rejected Monegal's view that modernist literature was to be enjoyed for its own sake, and that the social and political views of the writer had little import in the assessment of a work's value. It should be noted here that while Monegal was an unabashed Anglophile, his approach to criticism should not be lumped in with the New Criticism. Unlike the New Critics—who were enjoying academic ascendancy at this time in the United States—Monegal took a keen interest in individual writers' biographies. The New Critics, by contrast, argued that criticism drawing on an author's life would

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49 Quoted in Rocca, 130.

50 Quoted in Rocca, 137.

succumb to the "intentional fallacy." The New Critics also frowned on any interpretation derived from social or political contexts; the text acquired a sort of divine status, and was to be placed above all else when one engaged in serious reading.

While Monegal was always interested in the latest critical trends from Europe and the United States, he was also a promoter—rather than a critic—of Latin American literature. Monegal conducted long interviews with writers, and looked to important events in writers' lives as significant in their literary formation. This approach would be featured in *Mundo Nuevo* as well as in Monegal's later biographies of Neruda and Borges. Indeed, *Mundo Nuevo*'s most-discussed articles in critical circles have been its extensive, rambling interviews with controversial authors, especially Guillermo Cabrera Infante, Severo Sarduy, and Carlos Fuentes.[51] These interviews have drawn interest in part because they cover a wide range of polemical topics, from contemporary politics to attitudes toward consumer culture.[52]

Rama, on the other hand, insisted on reorienting the literary section of *Marcha* (known as "Literarias") of the magazine away from a cosmopolitan view that saw Latin America as simply another province in the World Republic of Letters. He would act to

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[51] Each of these interviews will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

[52] The proliferation of interviews in *Mundo Nuevo* calls to mind *The Paris Review*, which was also famous for its wide-ranging interviews of up-and-coming authors. Monegal read *The Paris Review* and the magazine was clearly an inspiration for his magazine.

"situar el interés sobre los escritores de las comunidad latina."[53] Rama also had a populist streak that ran contrary to Monegal's elitism. While the latter ridiculed the idea of the masses enjoying—or even understanding—great works of literature, the former insisted on training his compatriots to read past and contemporary authors from Uruguay. Rama used his column to argue for reform in the public schools, and a greater emphasis on literature in the classroom. He saw *Marcha*'s project as not just the criticism of existing texts, but of the construction of a literature faithful to Third World and Latin American realities. Rama was also a fierce critic of *Mundo Nuevo*; he was one of the authors of a *Casa de las Américas* broadside against the magazine dated January 8, 1967:

> El militarismo con sus métodos habituales, y al Alianza para el Progreso con mayor sutileza, tratan de malograr esa revolución o de encauzarla con miras a sus propios fines. En el plano cultural, tanto la Alianza como la O.E.A [Organization of American States], instrumentos de la nueva política de colocar a nuestros intelectuales en una disyuntiva, ofreciéndoles posibilidades y abriéndoles perspectivas frente a cuya verdadera naturaleza tenemos el deber de poner en guardia a los escritores y a los artistas.[54]

Rama was particularly troubled by initiatives like the Alliance for Progress and *Mundo Nuevo* because he saw them as attempts to co-opt the Latin American left. They were

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53 Quoted in Rocca, 137.

54 "Declaración del Consejo de Colaboración de la Revista *Casa de las Américas*," *Casa de las Américas* 40 (January-February, 1967). The "declaration" was published as a pullout pamphlet on the first page of the magazine.

not—as the non-communist left believed—genuine manifestations of a liberalized, non-dogmatic approach to social problems. They were wolves in sheep's clothing.

Rocca states that the difference in aesthetic and political visions was exacerbated by a personal feud between Rama and Monegal. Even after the latter ceased to collaborate with *Marcha*, their rivalry intensified. Rama sought to strengthen ties between Uruguay and the rest of Latin America, calling attention to the work of the Brazilian sociologist-turned-literary critic Antonio Cándido, then unknown in Spanish America. Monegal, meanwhile, published long interviews with authors—a practice Rama detested—in his own literary magazine, *Número.* These differences came to a head when Monegal accepted the editorship of the Congress for Cultural Freedom's new Latin American magazine, *Mundo Nuevo*. Monegal, who had moved back to Uruguay from London in 1960, relocated to Paris in 1966 to start the magazine. As rumors began to circulate about the CCF's connection to the CIA, Rama republished an article from the *New York Times* (it initially appeared on April 27, 1966) which claimed to have identified a "triple pass" for CIA money to cultural fronts. This operation consisted in the CIA giving money to a non-profit, which then gave the money to the CCF, which, in turn, funded its various magazines, including *Mundo Nuevo*. These allegations were to haunt Monegal for the rest of his life. Rama, meanwhile, commented at the end of the *Times* article: "Como el lector observerá hay alguna sospecha de que el mentado Congreso no es un servicio del Departamento del Estado, como ha proclamado con justa indignación, sino de la CIA."[55]

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55 Quoted in Rocca, 188.

If, as Rocca claims, the line in the sand that separated Rama and his allies from Monegal's cosmopolitan liberalism was the Cuban Revolution, it would ironically be this Revolution which would infuse *Mundo Nuevo* with the vitality that would help the magazine to become one of the most important factors in the Latin American Boom.

Illustation 6: *Marcha* in 1967 was radicalized and called for armed Revolution.

Lunes de Revolución: Prefiguring *Mundo Nuevo* in Havana

Lunes de Revolución began publishing in 1959 as a cultural supplement to the official newspaper of the July 26 Movement (Fidel Castro's political party), *Revolución*. The newspaper was edited by Carlos Franqui, one of Castro's advisors during the rebels' long fight against the dictator Fulgencio Batista, who ruled from 1952-1959. Despite its connections with the revolutionary government, the newspaper and its literary companion, *Lunes*, found themselves at odds with the government's turn toward Marxist-Leninism in 1961. Many of *Lunes*'s contributors came from a defunct literary magazine called *Ciclón* (1955-1957, 1959), which had taken a stance against Batista but also distanced itself from the highly aestheticized and avowedly "non-political" magazine *Orígenes* (1944-1956).

When *Lunes* began publishing its Monday supplement of stories, reviews, and essays, it garnered the praise of Ernesto "Che" Guevara and Castro, who called it "'a worthy attempt to give expression to three similar things: revolution, the people, and culture.'"[56] Like *Marcha*, its sister publication, *Revolución* had a decidedly leftist political orientation that could sometimes run afoul of the party line, due to the heterogeneous assortment of personalities working as its editors and contributors. Like *Marcha* in Montevideo, *Lunes* could draw on a broad audience of urban, middle-class

56 K. S. Karol, *Guerrillas in Power: The Course of the Cuban Revolution* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1970), 241.

intellectuals in Havana, a rarity in Latin America. Unlike *Marcha*, however, *Lunes* was eclectic in its tastes. An article in *Lunes* was as likely to praise a Hollywood Western as it was to celebrate a Soviet film. In the heady days after the Revolution's triumph and before the Bay of Pigs invasion, the government did not seek to control *Lunes*'s unorthodox articles, which featured subjects as diverse as Marx's *Communist Manifesto* and Havana nightlife and the cha-cha-cha.

The publication's young editor-in-chief, Guillermo Cabrera Infante, reflected the varied interests of *Lunes de Revolución*. Cabrera Infante had worked as a journalist and film critic, but was also a fiction writer and fervent supporter of the Revolution. On the surface, he appeared to represent the sort of committed intellectual Castro sought to defend the Revolution in literary circles. After the Bay of Pigs invasion, Cabrera Infante vowed to continue promoting highbrow culture—painting, poetry, music—but with more militant commitment to the Revolution. After the battle, Cabrera Infante wrote that Lunes would continue its work of producing innovative literature, but with "a rifle at the side."[57] Literature, for Cabrera Infante and his *Lunes* cohort, was to be made in the trenches and not in an ivory tower. His magazine, however, never displayed a consistent political ideology, and often directly criticized governmental institutions such as the Cuban Film Institute (ICAIC). When Franqui gave Cabrera Infante the opportunity to direct *Lunes*, he opened up the magazine's pages to diverse and even contradictory views on politics and aesthetics. In one issue, *Lunes* might celebrate the Beat Generation,

57 See Luis, "Exhuming *Lunes*."

Sartre's model of *littérature engagée*, and the eroticism of Hollywood, all without apologies for the apparent contradictions.

With the revolutionary government's backing, Cabrera Infante attempted to democratize and mass-market his literary magazine on a scale never before seen in Latin America. The advent of *Lunes* corresponded to a government campaign to teach literacy throughout the country, and, as the official organ of the government's political party, *Lunes* was in an enviable position to gain a wide readership. Many sources, including Seymour Menton in *Prose Fiction of the Cuban Revolution* (1974) and William Luis in "Exhuming *Lunes de Revolución*" (2002), cite circulation figures as high as 250,000, although the original source for these numbers cannot be verified. Unlike *Sur*, *Lunes* embraced a tabloid format that resembled a glossy newsweekly. It purportedly modeled itself on the French magazine *Esprit*. Its content, however, belied its mass-market format: it published challenging articles on Sartre and Picasso—all to the amazement of the former, who expressed his admiration on a visit to the island. *Lunes* also encouraged avant-garde expression in literature and took great care to distance itself from any form of socialist realism. Indeed, its opening editorial resembles *Mundo Nuevo*'s embrace of Latin American experimentalism and intellectual freedom, and can be read as a template for *Mundo Nuevo*.

William Luis translated *Lunes*'s editorial position in a 2002 issue of the *New Centennial Review*:

> The Revolution has done away with all obstacles and has allowed the intellectual, the artist, and the writer to become part of the nation's life from which they were alienated. We believe—and want—that this paper be the vehicle—or rather the

> road—to a desired return to ourselves[...]. We are not part of a group, neither literary nor artistic. We are simply friends and people more or less of the same age. We do not have a defined political philosophy, although we do not reject certain systems which approach reality—and when we speak of systems we are referring, for example, to dialectical materialism or psychoanalysis, or existentialism. Nevertheless, we believe that literature—and art—of course, should approach reality more and to approach it more is, for us, to also approach the political, social, and economic phenomena of the society in which we live.[58]

The simultaneous engagement with culture as a form of political struggle and rejection of any party line resembles *Mundo Nuevo*'s statement in "Presentación," which I quoted earlier in this chapter. Like *Lunes*, *Mundo Nuevo* also published seemingly contradictory articles and stories, delighting in its irreverent stance towards political and aesthetic orthodoxies, while always embracing the cult of the new. *Lunes*, however, blazed a middle path between the liberal elitism of *Sur* and the rather dim model of socialist realism offered by other communist countries. By doing so, *Lunes* became a cultural manifestation of what the U.S. State Department defined as "the non-communist left." Its playful, ironic attitude reflected the "Tropicália" movement in Brazil in the late 1960s, a movement the radical left dismissed as the "esquerda festiva."

The similarity of editorial missions in the two publications, I believe, is not a coincidence. The political repression that led to *Lunes*'s demise fueled *Mundo Nuevo*'s production; they are two nodes within a discursive framework of the Cuban Revolution.

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58 Luis, 255-6.

Of particular importance in this respect is the figure of Cabrera Infante, who directed *Lunes* until it was closed down in November, 1961. Cabrera Infante, as I have stated earlier, argued for expansive coverage of popular and elite culture in his magazine. Not only did he publish classics of leftist political thought, he also wrote reviews of foreign films, including favorable reviews of many U.S. films. The turning point in *Lunes*'s fortunes occurred, however, when Cabrera Infante criticized the government censorship of a Cuban documentary, *P.M.* (1961), which portrayed the rollicking nightlife of the Afro-Cuban Havana club scene. This episode occurred shortly after the CIA-sponsored invasion of the Bay of Pigs failed and Castro officially announced the "socialist character" of the Cuban Revolution.

The Cuban writer and critic Lisandro Otero has classified this time period as the "second stage" of the Revolution (1961-1962), when the "bewilderment" of the first stage (1959-1960) gave way to an "intensification of the class struggle."[59] At this moment the Revolution also began to establish official institutions for culture, making it easier to control the political messages of artists and intellectuals. The most important institutions include the magazine and cultural clearinghouse Casa de las Américas (1960), the Cuban Institute of Movie Art and Industry, or ICAIC (1960), and the Union of Cuban Writers and Artists, or UNEAC (1962). By creating official, government-sponsored interpretive communities, the Cuban government was able to direct Cuban culture without imposing a heavy-handed dictum of "socialist realism," which it has never endorsed.

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59 Lisandro Otero, "Notas sobre la funcionalidad de la cultura," *Casa de las Américas* 68 (1971), 92.

Even if the Cuban Revolution never imposed a strict political line on writers of socialist realism, it did enforce a consensus that made some topics—especially homosexuality—taboo. Writers marginalized by this radical consensus found the pages of *Mundo Nuevo* more accepting. The eroticism of José Lezama Lima, Severo Sarduy, and Reinaldo Arenas found a vehicle in Monegal's magazine, a practice that reportedly infuriated the cultural bureaucrats of the UNEAC, who had the last say on who and what was published on the island. Indeed, Arenas wrote to Monegal in 1967 telling the editor of the trouble he had faced as a result of publishing a fragment of his violent, sexual, and experimental novel *Celestino antes del alba* in *Mundo Nuevo*. The letter is worth quoting at length because it demonstrates the increasingly repressive atmosphere in Cuba on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the political naïveté of Arenas:

> A raíz de la publicación de un fragmento de mi novela *Celestino antes del alba* en su prestigiosa revista, lo cual le agradezco profundamente, me he visto, sin embargo, conminado por los oficiales de la UNEAC y sus policías, a redactar una carta de protesta que ellos, los directores de la UNEAC publicarán inmediatamente en su periódico, *La Gaceta de Cuba*. Primero me negué a escribir la carta, y entonces ellos, encabezados por Nicolás Guillén en persona, me presentaron la expulsión de la UNEAC donde además trabajo, expulsión que significa ir a parar a un campo de trabajo forzado y desde luego la cárcel. Hice entonces una carta benigna. Pero el mismo Guillén la rechazó: quería algo agresivo y denunciante. Así pues tuve que elegir entre la redacción de la infame carta o la prisión. Quiero seguir escribiendo, creo que esa es mi verdad por encima de todas las otras. Y espero que mis manuscritos, inéditos (por razones

> obvias) lleguen a sus manos, para que vea cuál es mi labor[…]. En la misma carta oficial me las arreglé para decir que "no me quedaba otra alternativa" y contra la revista *Mundo Nuevo* puse los insultos que ellos han publicado, no los míos, que no existen. Admiro tanto su revista, como su labor crítica. No soy un personaje político. Pero sé que todo lo que se dice contra *Mundo Nuevo* es una infamia. Espero que algún día podamos hablar. Espero, aunque sin mucha esperanza, ser algún día un hombre libre. Pero por ahora espero, por lo menos que esta carta llegue a sus manos, y sepa comprender mi situación, mi realidad; y perdonarme.[60]

Arenas's plea to Monegal reflects not only the repressive situation of marginalized writers in Cuba, but also an unawareness of the political stakes of literature during the period; even if we sympathize with Arenas's desire to be a "free man," his claim that he is "non-political" demonstrates his ignorance of the ideological context of magazine publishing during the Cold War.

The Cuban government began to clamp down on the wild experimentalism of projects such as *Lunes de Revolución* as a direct result of a series of international crises and domestic uprisings that threatened the government's legitimacy. First, on March 4, 1960, a French ship called *La Coubre* carrying 76 tons of munitions mysteriously blew up in Havana harbor, resulting in scores of deaths. No one has been able to pinpoint the exact cause of the explosion, and conspiracy theories about anti-Castro plots abound to this day. Then, most importantly, anti-Castro forces were defeated at the Bay of Pigs in

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60 *Homenaje a Emir Rodríguez Monegal* (Montevideo, Ministerio de Educación y Cultura, 1987), 47.

April 1961. After this incident, which had some local support, the government determined to crack down on all dissent. After Cabrera Infante published an article ridiculing the government's censorship of *P.M.*, the entire editorial staff of *Lunes* was called before a board of inquiry headed by a PSP (Partido Socialista Popular) official, Edith García Buchacha, on June 16, 1961, the same day Fidel Castro proclaimed his "Words to Intellectuals." Officials in the PSP—the party most closely associated with Cuban communism—were worried about *Lunes*'s celebration of writers banned in the Soviet Bloc, and accused *Lunes* of creating internal strife within the Revolution. During the hearings, Castro himself proclaimed that, while he would not dictate content or ideas to writers, they should work within the framework of the Revolution; "Dentro de la Revolución, todo; en contra de la Revolución, nada,"[61] were Castro's famous words.

During the entire Cold War, widespread acrimony between Soviet-styled Communist Parties associated with the Comintern and various Trotskyite and Democratic Socialist parties plagued revolutionary movements. Aleksandr Fursenko and Timothy Naftali, in *One Hell of a Gamble: Khrushchev, Castro, and Kennedy* (1998), chronicle the mutual suspicions between the Cuban Communists and Fidel Castro during months and years of the Revolution. While many autochthonous movements—including Castro's rebels—looked askance at the foreign-inspired Communist parties, they also found them to be incredibly disciplined and well-financed. Until the Bay of Pigs invasion, the Cuban Revolution had managed to balance the interests of these competing ideologies. Castro's own party, the Movement of July 26, had yet to announce its alignment with the Cuban

61 Quoted in Menton, 11.

communists of the PSP (Partido Socialista Popular). When Castro integrated his movement with the PSP in July 1961 under an umbrella organization known as the ORI (Integrated Revolutionary Organization), however, the crackdown on unsanctioned (or counter-revolutionary) cultural activities came swiftly.

After *Lunes* was shut down by the government, its three most important editors were sent abroad on cultural missions. The second most important editor, Pablo Armando Fernández, returned to Cuba in the good graces of the Revolution and has remained a staunch defender of the cause until the date of this writing. Cabrera Infante, however, wound up in Belgium as a cultural attaché and started to cultivate a disaffection for the Castro regime, which he would articulate in *Mundo Nuevo*.[62] He later took up permanent exile in London, where he wrote fiction and essays against the repression in Cuba. From London, Cabrera Infante became one of the most important voices in *Mundo Nuevo*. He fit the profile of the type of writer the Congress for Cultural Freedom (and the CIA) had envisioned publishing in *Mundo Nuevo*. Like many of his older European colleagues, Cabrera Infante was a writer with a substantial amount of literary prestige in his home country who had once been a true believer in a Marxist revolution. In this, he was not unlike many older European ex-Communists or "fellow travelers," who had been

62 Cabrera Infante's interventions against Cuban cultural policy in the pages of *Mundo Nuevo* are taken up more fully in Chapter Four.

alienated from Marxism during Stalin's purges of the 1930s.[63] In a 1968 issue of *Mundo Nuevo*, Cabrera Infante published a scathing satire of the excesses of the Cuban Revolution in a short story called "Delito por bailar el chachachá" [Crime for Dancing the Cha-Cha-Cha].

Like other anti-Communist writers in *Mundo Nuevo* and other CCF publications, Cabrera Infante never articulated an alternative politics to the Third World Marxism of the Cuban Revolution. Rather than elaborating a vision of culture and society that would generate a specific kind of interpretive community, *Mundo Nuevo* (along with other CCF magazines) celebrated the vague notion of Western "artistic freedom," while denouncing repression in Cuba and the Soviet Bloc. *Mundo Nuevo* had also implicitly distanced itself from the elitism of *Sur* as well. In the magazine's debut edition, Monegal interviewed Carlos Fuentes, who talked about the importance of incorporating elements of consumer culture into Latin American fiction. Over time, *Mundo Nuevo* would take up the cause of a number of Cuban writers who found themselves at odds with the Castro government, including José Lezama Lima and Severo Sarduy, a move that would increase *Mundo Nuevo*'s prestige at the same time as it damaged the Cuban government's.[64] Only in the 1990s, during the Cuban "special period," would official institutions within the country declare their error and restore these writers' reputations.

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63 In Chapter Two, I discuss at greater length the connection between Old World anti-Communist Cold Warriors like Arthur Koestler, and the Cuban exiles who contributed to *Mundo Nuevo*.

64 This is an issue I take up in more depth in Chapter Four.

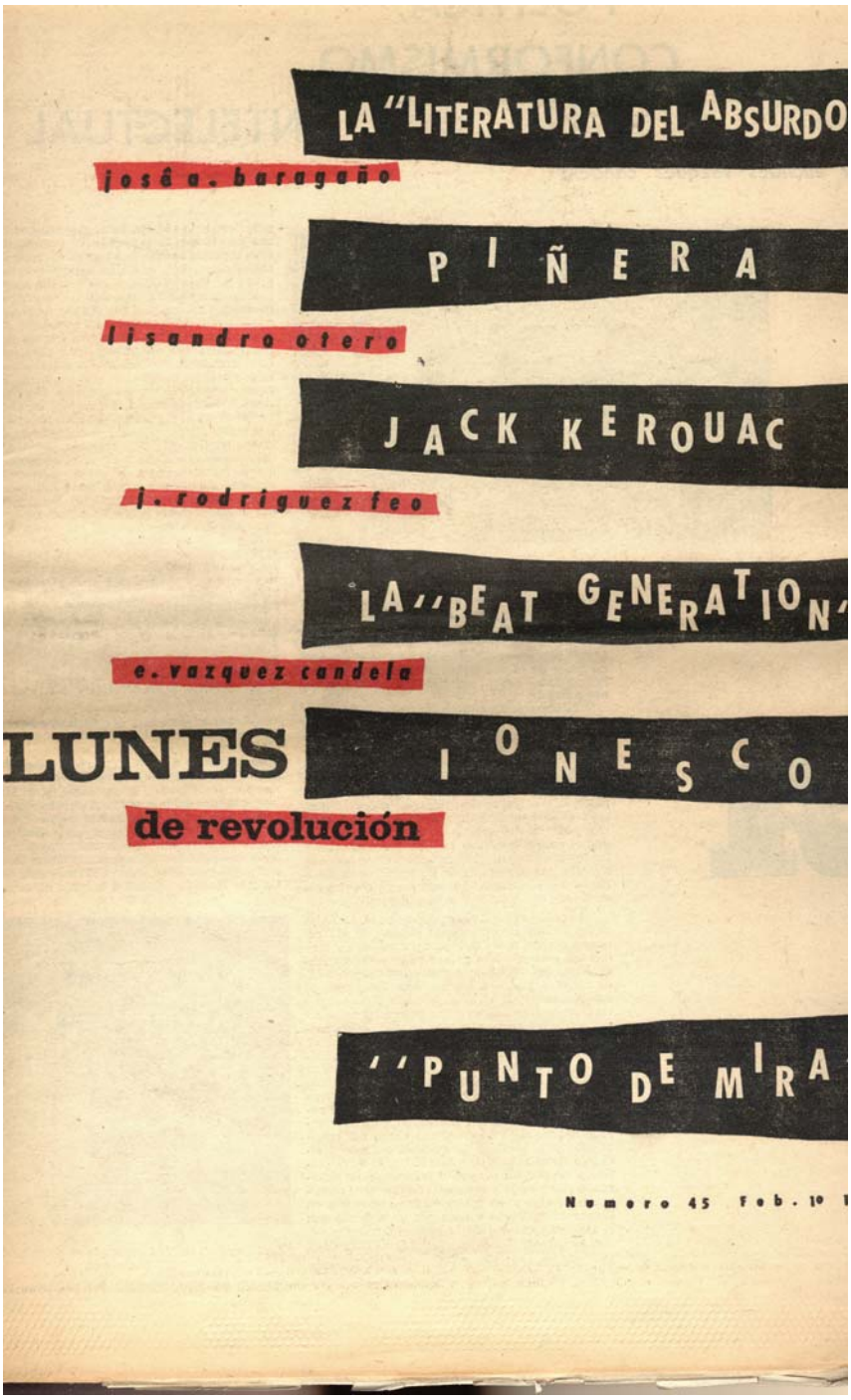

Illustration 7: Issue 45 (February, 1961) of *Lunes* celebrates the Beat Generation and "the Literature of the Absurd." Ginsburg would later be thrown out of Cuba.

Conclusion: From a Latin American Polemic to an International Boom

Mundo Nuevo may have been, as its detractors stated, a vehicle for a liberalized version of pro-U.S. anti-Communism, but it was also an integral part of a pan-Latin American interpretive community that had been profoundly altered by the Cuban Revolution. As Monegal admitted in a 1984 interview, was primarily a publishing—not an aesthetic—phenomenon. *Mundo Nuevo* was but one of the institutions that helped promote the publishing success of Latin American literature during the 1960s. Many critics, including Deborah Cohn, have demonstrated the importance of publishers, particularly Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., and Seix Barral, in taking an interest in little-known Latin American writers and promoting them on a worldwide scale. Other factors that led to the Boom include the unprecedented success of Latin Americans in winning literary prizes—including the Nobel Prize for Miguel Angel Asturias in 1967 and for Pablo Neruda in 1971. The Boom, if we are to believe Monegal in his interviews with MacAdam, also represented the first time in history that Latin American writers retained the services of literary agents, who would help to promote the authors' "brand." An complete account of the Boom would take in these and many more factors.

Mundo Nuevo is undoubtedly one of the most important contributors to the Boom. In this chapter, I have excavated the intellectual history of literary journals in Latin America in order to account for *Mundo Nuevo*'s eclectic brand of anti-Communist—but still certainly leftist—politics, its embrace of the cult of the new in literary innovation, and its cosmopolitan, anti-nationalist view of culture in general. Central to this

investigation is the assumption that *Mundo Nuevo* operated in an intertextual system with these other magazines, and its appearance on the Latin American cultural landscape represented an intervention into a long-standing debate among elites that had taken place in other twentieth-century journals, such as *Sur*, *Marcha*, *Orgines*, *Número*, and *Lunes de Revolución*.

Chapter Two:

The Congress for Cultural Freedom's Quest for a New Latin American Magazine of Ideas

This chapter explores the intellectual and financial relationship between the Congress for Cultural Freedom, the CIA, and *Mundo Nuevo*. In this chapter, I discuss why the CCF and its previous literary magazine aimed at Latin America, *Cuadernos*, were widely perceived as failures by the Latin American intelligentsia following the Cuban Revolution. *Mundo Nuevo* represented a new strategy in the CCF's efforts in Latin America: the Congress sought to liberalize the rigid anti-Communism of its forerunner, while also seeking to promote Latin American literature as a cosmopolitan, modernist expression of universal values. *Mundo Nuevo*'s editor, Emir Rodríguez Monegal, tried to

disassociate his magazine from the CCF in the hopes that it might be perceived as completely independent of any political agenda. As María Eugenia Mudrovcic points out, Monegal hoped to make *Mundo Nuevo* into a "revista de autores," rather than one of themes or issues. Despite Monegal's attempts to distance his magazine from the CCF and CIA, I argue here that these organizations influenced *Mundo Nuevo*'s content in important ways, even though it was never the mouthpiece for Latin American anti-Communism that its benefactors might have hoped for.

I begin the chapter by analyzing the CCF's internationalist strategy for creating a discourse of "artistic freedom" that would combat the communist model of politically engaged art. While the CCF seemed like a diverse amalgamation of artists and intellectuals with no distinct political agenda, the organization's documents reveal that CCF functionaries—especially the CIA agents working in the CCF—sought to mask their anti-Communist, pro-U.S. ideology with the rhetoric of freedom of expression and modernist innovation. I discuss how *Mundo Nuevo* fit that paradigm by recasting Latin American literary production in a cosmopolitan mode, which tried to avoid the partisan polemics that doomed *Cuadernos*. I briefly discuss the CCF's history from the early 1950s to the late 1960s, and explain why and how the CIA became involved in its operations.

This broad, international history provides a context to the CCF's particular problem in Latin America: that is, the Congress's inability to form a united front of artists and intellectuals that would confront the growing influence of Cuban cultural institutions like Casa de las Américas. I argue that a politically disengaged paradigm of cultural production had little appeal to the up-and-coming generation of writers in Latin America

after the Cuban Revolution (writers who would form the core of the Boom), particularly the novelists Carlos Fuentes, Mario Vargas Llosa, and Gabriel García Márquez. Thus, the CCF's creation of ILARI (Instituto Latinoamericano de Relaciones Internacionales) in 1965, an organization that appeared independent of the CCF, represented a major shift in focus for the CCF in Latin America.

The shift away from the unyielding anti-Communism of Julián Gorkin at *Cuadernos* to the high modernist and cosmopolitan sensibility of Monegal at *Mundo Nuevo* also correlated with the more progressive attitudes about Latin America embodied in the U.S. program for development on the continent, the Alliance for Progress. Like *Mundo Nuevo*, the Alliance for Progress embraced the rhetoric of modernity and liberalism, which appealed to many left-leaning Latin Americans who felt alienated by both the Communist turn of the Castro regime and the resurgent influence of Perón-style nationalist populism. I will show that, despite *Mundo Nuevo*'s many efforts to distance itself from CCF-style anti-Communism by cultivating an image of a disinterested literary magazine, it ultimately proved to be a powerful cultural weapon for combating Cuban-style Marxism, publishing exiled Cuban writers, highlighting censorship on the island, and promoting prestige for Latin American writers in Paris.

Despite the subtle anti-Castro strain in *Mundo Nuevo*'s content, the magazine actually proved to be much more leftist in its sensibilities than other CCF publications; it was also much more diverse in its politics than its detractors in *Casa de las Américas* and *Marcha* claimed. (*Casa* and *Marcha* demonstrated intense interest in affairs of the CCF, and *Mundo Nuevo* and published many documents relating to the operations of Monegal's magazine.) As I will show in this chapter, *Mundo Nuevo* dissented from much

of U.S. foreign policy of the time, disproving the charge that the magazine was a tool of the CIA. The magazine devoted a series in of articles in 1967 to intellectuals opposing the Vietnam War ("Vietnam y los intelectuales") and published an essay by deposed Dominican Republic president Juan Bosch, who had fallen from the graces of the Johnson Administration. The U.S. government, fearing communist infiltration in Bosch's political party, had sent 42,000 troops to the island to help throw out Bosch and his allies. Finally, I will explore how revelations of CIA funding for the CCF in the *New York Times* and elsewhere delegitimized the magazine, and how attempts to revive the magazine in Buenos Aires failed to rekindle its brief moment of prestige and cultural impact.

The Congress of Cultural Freedom: From Berlin to "Nuestra América"

During the Cold War, the U.S. government used proxy non-profit organizations to funnel hundreds of millions of dollars into international cultural projects such as art exhibits, classical music festivals, and literary magazines. The idea motivating this initiative was not only to rescue the image of American culture from Soviet propaganda, but also to promote an international network of artists, writers, and intellectuals that

would encourage anti-Communist cultural production in their home countries.[1] These interventions took place from 1949—the date of the first U.S.-sponsored conference on "cultural freedom" in Berlin—to the late 1960s, when revelations about CIA funding of the arts forced the government out of covert operations in the Congress for Cultural Freedom. The projects spanned national borders, political ideologies, and artistic genres; their only shared trait was their collective emphasis on the freedom of the individual artist or thinker.

By and large, the CIA made the arrangements of these projects possible. The CIA was one of the few governmental organizations whose budget was hidden from public view (unlike the State Department, which would have been a more natural outlet for "official" cultural policy abroad); the agency also had a built-in network of international contacts managed by multilingual, transnational intellectuals like the Estonian-born, naturalized U.S. citizen Michael Josselson. And it was the CIA, as Stonor Saunders claims in *The Cultural Cold War*, that acted as the United States's de facto "Ministry of Culture"[2] during the Cold War, using its connections to cultivate prestige for some writers, while actively working to undermine the standing of others noted for their anti-American views. Major figures in literature and the arts, such as Jackson Pollock, Igor Stravinsky, and Pablo Neruda, all unwittingly received CIA funds through these

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1 The Soviets, as Penny Von Eschen has demonstrated, waged an effective propaganda campaign early in the Cold War that painted U.S. society as hopelessly racist and culture-less.

2 Stonor Saunders, 129.

organizations during the period. Oftentimes, as in the case of Neruda, CIA agents working within the Congress for Cultural Freedom encouraged editors to publish writers known for their leftist views in the hopes that they could soften anti-American rhetoric. John Hunt, a CCF member and CIA agent within the organization who worked closely with the Congress's Latin American initiatives, had campaigned against Neruda when word got out that the Chilean poet was being considered for a Nobel Prize in the early 1960s.[3] Later, however, Hunt was aware of *Mundo Nuevo*'s intention to publish Neruda's non-political poetry in 1966.[4] Hunt and Josselson were the only two known CIA agents working within the CCF, but there were also thousands of Congress members who thought of themselves as independent intellectuals and knew nothing of the group's ties to the U.S. government. These CIA agents facilitated the transfer of money from the CIA to non-profit organizations to the CCF, a complicated arrangement vividly described in Peter Coleman's *The Liberal Conspiracy* (1989) as well as Stonor Saunders's *The Cultural Cold War*.

The ultimate goal of this massive undertaking—as both Coleman (a former CCF member and sympathizer) and Stonor Saunders (a CCF critic) note—was to reclaim cultural production in the name of "artistic freedom," a byword for Cold War-era anti-Communism and Western liberalism, by gently moving artists away from the Marxist model of politically engaged cultural activity. The fact that many of the artists and

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3 Stonor Saunders, 350.

4 *Mundo Nuevo* published some of Neruda's "nature" poetry, but never published his overtly political poetry.

intellectuals who published CCF-sponsored magazines were committed socialists or anarchists was unimportant to the CIA; the mission was to move writers away from the influence of the Soviet Union, not turn them into capitalists. As the epigraph by William Donovan—"I'd put Stalin on the payroll if I thought it would help us defeat Hitler"—shows, the CIA was more interested in containment than ideological purity. As Michael Warner, a CIA historian writing for the agency's *Studies in Intelligence* (1995) series writes,

> The Congress for Cultural Freedom is widely considered one of the CIA's more daring and effective Cold War covert operations. It published literary and political journals such as *Encounter*, hosted dozens of conferences bringing together some of the most eminent Western thinkers, and even did what it could to help intellectuals behind the Iron Curtain[…]. [The CCF]—despite the embarrassing exposure of its CIA sponsorship in 1967—ultimately helped to negate Communism's appeal to artists and intellectuals, undermining at the same time the Communist pose of moral superiority.[5]

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[5] Michael Warner, "Cultural Cold War: Origins of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, 1949-50," *CIA Studies in Intelligence* (1995). <https://www.cia.gov/csi/studies/95unclass/Warner.html#rft1> [accessed on March 24, 2007]. Warner's version of the events is important because it reveals exactly what the agency sought to gain from sponsoring leftist groups during the Cold War. Unfortunately, not all of Warner's report is available; the article contains the following footnote:

The assumption among U.S. officials, according to CCF historians, was that the United States was at a serious intellectual and cultural disadvantage to the Soviet Union, which had made direct appeals to writers like Neruda who were well known and admired in their home countries and also praised in international critical circles. The Soviet Union had made it official cultural policy to sponsor visits to Moscow and award high-profile literary prizes to left-leaning writers from around the world.[6] In the early days of the Cold War, the Soviets continued their cultural operations in the model of the Popular Front of the 1930s, in which they stressed solidarity against fascism and advocacy for international peace, playing down—in rhetoric, if not in reality—ideological divisions among communists, socialists, and "fellow travelers."

According to Stephen Spender, the British poet and editor of *Encounter* (perhaps the most famous CCF-sponsored journal), the Popular Front gave poets and writers a sense of belonging to a larger cause; it liberated the poet from the pitfalls of self-absorption and narcissism and opened the writer to collective social action. British poets

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This article is an excerpt from a larger classified draft study of CIA involvement with anti-Communist groups in the Cold War. The author retains a footnoted copy of the article in the CIA History Staff. This version of the article has been redacted for security considerations (phrases in brackets denote some of the redactions.

6 In 1953, Neruda won the "Stalin Peace Prize"—the Soviet equivalent of the Nobel Prize.

in the 1930s suddenly became "honorary French intellectuals"[7] in that their pronouncements helped orient society's ethical compass, forcing the poet out into the public square. Furthermore, the shared commitment to defeating fascism created an internationalist bond among writers, something that "reactionaries" (Spender's term) such as T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound never desired. Reactionary writers, wrote Spender, devoted themselves to an imagined conservative tradition, rather than to a living political cause. These poets—and the same could be said for nominally "apolitical" figures like Jorge Luis Borges—were less likely to be seduced by worldly power than left-leaning writers and kept their distance from political figures, even the ones they admired. Ezra Pound, in other words, may have endorsed the Italian fascist Mussolini, but he never saw himself as *Il Duce*'s mouthpiece. Although Spender would become cynical about his contemporaries' involvement in political struggle and their subordination of poetry to political causes, the idea of internationalism and detachment from political action—although certainly not politics per se—would remain important, not just for Spender, but for the entire enterprise of the Congress. The disillusionment with communism as an intellectual ideal culminated in the 1949 anthology *The God that Failed*, to which Spender and other European intellectuals contributed.[8]

The Popular Front's activities in Spain also galvanized solidarity between Latin American poets, many of whom not only supported the Spanish Republican cause, but

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7 Stephen Spender, "Notes on Revolutionaries and Reactionaries," *Poetry and Politics*, ed. Richard Jones (New York: William and Morrow, 1985), 60.

8 *The God that Failed*, ed. Richard Crossman (New York: Harper, 1949).

also made use of it in their poetry. Neruda, César Vallejo, and other prominent vanguardist poets wrote about their experiences in the Spanish Civil War in verse, singing the praises of the Popular Front (which was always the true voice of "the people") and grieving over Franco's ascent. Antifascism was a given for all but a few Latin American writers;[9] even supposedly non-political literary figures—like Virginia Ocampo's *Sur* crowd—brooked no empathy for the rise of Franco, Mussolini, and Hitler. For Spender, the political urgency of defeating fascism in the 1930s differentiated his generation from the Bloomsbury group, which (much like the *Sur* circle in Argentina) had vaguely "liberal" sentiments, but viewed the world of politics as inferior to their more lofty commitment to art and universal ideas. Spender writes:

> That the old (E. M. Forster, Virginia Woolf, et. al.) who professed liberal principles did not see the threat of Fascism to democracy, or that, seeing it, they did not take action against the dictators, seemed to the young (Spender, George Orwell, etc.) a betrayal of basic liberal principles by liberals.[10]

The work of the CCF, then, was to give liberalism a shot in the arm and make it as vital and urgent in its fight against communism as the Popular Front had been in its fight against fascism. This strategy achieved some success in the United States and Europe, where the threat of Soviet-style communism seemed imminent; in Latin America,

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9 One notable exception was the Argentine writer Leopoldo Lugones, who, after spending most of his youth as a socialist-anarchist, gradually became a fascist late in life. (Lugones committed suicide in 1938, shortly before Franco's definitive triumph.)

10 Spender, 60.

however, the threat of the Soviet Union paled in comparison to the menace of U.S. imperialism, at least from the point of view of left-leaning writers.[11] Luis Mercier Vega, the CCF's roving representative on Latin American affairs, wrote that it had become something of a cliché in intellectual circles on the continent in the 1950s to remark on the unequal influence of the superpowers on Latin American life.

News of Stalin's brutal treatment of dissidents in gulags, as well as betrayal of the Popular Front in his pact with Hitler in 1939, cost the Soviet Union support among internationalist leftists like Spender. Key supporters of the Popular Front—George Orwell, Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, Spender—became anti-Communist and anti-Moscow in their political worldviews. Importantly for the CCF, most of these writers were disenchanted with the political machinations and repression of the Soviet Union, not with the ideals of socialism per se, thus giving rise to the term "Non-Communist Left" in official government circles.

Despite the increasing disillusionment with Stalin in international literary circles, the CIA continued to view the Soviet Union as a formidable opponent in the cultural Cold War, primarily in Europe. As Mudrovcic is correct to point out in *Mundo Nuevo: cultura y guerra fría en los 60* (1997), the most important battle over literary culture before 1959 was waged—almost exclusively—in Europe; Latin America and the rest of

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11 See Jorge Castañeda, *Utopia Unarmed: The Latin American Left after the Cold War* (New York: Vintage, 1994). Castañeda demonstrates that the debates about Stalin and Communism never carried much weight in Latin America outside the small circles of Spanish exiles.

the developing world were only an afterthought to the CCF and U.S. foreign policy more generally. As Mudrovcic writes:

> El primer número de *Cuadernos* es del año 1953, el mismo año en que el Congreso lanza *Encounter* y *Forum*. Es decir, un momento en el que el interés el la Guerra Fría giraba exclusivamente alrededor de Europa y que el tercer mundo no importaba a casi nadie. Por eso, tan pronto como en la década de los 60 cambió el orden de las demandas históricas, la función de la revista envejeció rápidamente y a duras penas logró sobrevivir hasta 1965 ritualizando las viejas consignas que en otros tiempos habían difundido las 'horneadas' tradicionales del Congreso.[12]

Thus, the end of the 1950s ushered in a new—and perhaps more competitive—antagonist to the CCF-style, liberal anticommunism: indigenous Third World revolutionary movements, like Fidel Castro's July 26 group. Movements in Cuba, Algeria, Vietnam, and elsewhere might have been supported by the Soviets, but their main appeal lay in a populist and nationalist rhetoric of economic and cultural anti-colonialism.

For CIA historian Warner, then, the United States was correct in fearing that Communism had achieved the upper hand in the early stages of the cultural Cold War. In March, 1949, the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel hosted a conference of over 2,800 artists and

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12 Mudrovcic, 103. Like many of the magazine's critics, she is astute at pointing out links between the magazine and the CCF. Nevertheless, as I argue in the introduction, she fails to account for the many instances in which the magazine directly contradicted U.S. foreign policy and anticommunist ideology.

intellectuals (a short list of dignitaries includes Norman Mailer, Lillian Hellman, Dmitri Shostakovich, and Arthur Miller) who called for peace with Stalin and denounced "U.S. warmongering."[13] The Popular Front-style rhetoric against fascism and imperialism had shifted its object of criticism from Nazi Germany to the United States, which was still the only country capable of atomic warfare and was also deeply divided along racial lines. The Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace—as it was officially known—was widely suspected of being underwritten by the Soviet Union (a claim, which, to this day, is impossible to verify). Anti-Communists feared that the Soviets were co-opting intellectuals with words like "peace" and "freedom," and thus winning the Cold War by controlling the terms of the debate. As Thomas Braden, head of the CIA's International Organizations Division (the division that oversaw the CIA's relationship with the CCF) stated in a 1967 article in the *Saturday Evening Post*,

> First, they [the communists] had stolen all the great words. Years later after I left the CIA, the late United Nations Ambassador Adlai Stevenson had told me how he had been outraged when delegates from underdeveloped countries, young men who had come to maturity during the cold war, assumed that anyone who was for "Peace," "Freedom," and "Justice," must also be for communism.[14]

While it is debatable whether words like "peace," "freedom," and "justice" actually connoted Communism in Latin America during the Cold War, they clearly did not

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13 Warner, par. 5.

14 Tom Braden, "Why I'm Glad the CIA Is 'Immoral,'" *Saturday Evening Post* 240 (10 May 20, 1967), 12.

represent U.S. foreign policy in the minds of young writers and intellectuals. Likewise, the Waldorf Conference demonstrated that large segments of the U.S. intelligentsia, while not open supporters of the Soviet Union, nevertheless opposed the Truman administration's anti-Communist policies of direct confrontation with the USSR and military escalation in Europe and elsewhere. The Waldorf Conference demonstrated that many left-leaning intellectuals who opposed Communism still preferred reconciliation with Stalin to military escalation. Many CCF historians such as Warner and Coleman credit the Waldorf Conference with being the inspiration behind the Congress for Cultural Freedom. While the CCF was well equipped to point out the contradictions in Soviet intellectual propaganda like the Waldorf Conference (conference participants talked of peace and disarmament as Stalin consolidated power in Eastern Europe), it proved incapable of counteracting the appeal of Third World nationalism, which downplayed the threat of the Soviet Union and called attention to U.S. "neocolonialism."

Rampant post-World War II anti-Americanism troubled U.S. officials in the State Department and the CIA; each attempt to promote what they saw as the democratic spirit of American culture was met with resistance from politically engaged writers, who frequently pointed to the irony of rhetoric about "freedom" and "democracy" originating in a country divided along racial lines. Melvin Lasky, the editor of the German CCF journal *Der Monat*, complained to U.S. military officials that the United States was losing the battle for the hearts and minds of European intellectuals. In the words of Lasky's *Washington Post* obituarist, Adam Bernstein,

> [In 1949 Lasky] wrote to Gen. Lucius D. Clay, the U.S. military governor of Germany, that the Western powers were failing to fight Soviet propaganda that

depicted Americans as jazz freaks who liked dumb movies and calendars with naked girls. Simmering below such decadence was the moral hypocrisy of racial segregation and economic inequities, according to the Soviets.[15]

The image of the United States as a culturally debased and racially divided society held significant influence in Latin America as well. *Modernista* Latin American writers, from José Martí to Ruben Darío to José Enrique Rodó, had created an image of the United States as a culturally banal, money-hungry empire threatening to remake Latin America in its image. Thus, a political critique of U.S. foreign policy in this epoch mixed with a cultural and aesthetic critique which, in turn, appealed to a long-standing rhetoric of the cultural superiority of what José Martí in his much-cited essay of 1881 called "Nuestra América" to the industrial behemoth to the North—what Carlos Fuentes jokingly referred to as "Yankeelandia." This meant that the CCF had to contend not only with the radicalization of the left in Latin America after the Guatemalan coup of 1954 in which the CIA helped topple the leftist president Jacobo Arbenz; it also faced a general anti-United States sentiment that was deeply rooted in the continent's intellectual history. As first formulated by the Uruguayan writer Rodó, in his 1900 book-length essay *Ariel*, Spanish America represented pure intellect and high art, as embodied in Shakespeare's Ariel. The other America represented Caliban: brute force, aesthetic illiteracy, and industrialization. Although Rodó's protégés were to interpret "Arielismo" as resolutely

15 Adam Bernstein, "Melvin J. Lasky; Outspoken Anti-Communist," *Washington Post* (May 27, 2004), B07.

anti-American, Rodó was actually quite ambivalent about the United States, claiming that, although he did not love the country, he admired it.

The critique of the United States by Rodó and his protégés was, as Castañeda states in *Utopia Unarmed*, a conservative one rooted in a Hegelian idea of the Spirit. In Darío's poetry and Rodó's essay, the United States represented the opposite of the Spirit: the material body. For these *modernista* writers, the United States might prosper economically, but it was lacking spiritual and religious gravitas. As Castañeda correctly argues, this evaluation of the United States in the early part of the twentieth century was culturally conservative; only after the Mexican Revolution did criticism of the United States come to be associated with a leftist, or Marxist, critique of capitalism, as Mexico moved to nationalize its oil industry under the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas. Indeed, Darío's 1905 anti-imperialist poem "A Roosevelt" is a religiously conservative denunciation of the United States. The poem concludes with these words of caution:

> Tened cuidado. ¡Vive la América Española!
> Hay mil cachorros sueltos del León Español.
> Se necesitaría, Roosevelt, ser, por Dios mismo,
> el Riflero terrible y el fuerte Cazador,
> para poder tenernos en vuestras férreas garras.
> Y, pues contáis con todo, falta una cosa: ¡Dios![16]

16 Rubén Darío, "A Roosevelt," *Antología crítica de la poesía modernista hispanoamericana*, ed. José Olivio Jiménez (Madrid: Hiperión, 1994), 210.

In any case, by the time of the Guatemalan coup in 1954, anti-Americanism had become firmly rooted in the rhetoric of the Latin American left, while the acronym CIA had become a symbol for U.S. imperialism more generally. For anti-Communist intellectuals like Melvin Lasky and the culture warriors in the CIA, the solution to anti-American rhetoric during the cultural Cold War was to promote the seemingly apolitical ideal of individual artistic and intellectual freedom as a universal value—an issue that could unite Trotskyites, liberals, socialists, and non-committed writers like Borges (who saw all political engagement in the arts as trite and provincial). Unlike Communist propaganda, which sought to deliberately remake human consciousness and implement political action through art, the promoters of artistic freedom had no clear-cut, discernible ideology. As the art historian Serge Guilbault and the literary critic Lawrence Schwartz have demonstrated in their studies of Cold War culture, "artistic" or "cultural freedom" was rhetorically analogous to the Soviets' "World Peace" initiatives in that it hid a series of ideological positions, which, it turn, obeyed a Cold War logic of "us or them." Thus, behind the non-confrontational rhetoric of "cultural freedom" was a broad strategy to co-opt a sector of the international left that thought of itself as too wise to be duped by either side.

Lasky and Spender—two of the most prominent intellectuals in the CCF—advocated an international, anti-totalitarian commitment by artists and writers, but seldom argued along partisan lines, and rarely did they urge writers to engage in direct political action. The CCF brought people of different political viewpoints together under the banner of individual freedom, forming an uneasy truce between socialists and liberals. In the CIA jargon of the time, this alliance came to be known as the NCL ("Non-

Communist Left"). The agency took special interest in NCL types who had once been Communists but had turned their backs on Moscow. *Cuadernos* editor Julián Gorkin exemplified this type: he had been a party member in Spain who claimed to have been a victim of numerous assassination attempts by Communist agents after he had sided with Trotsky during the post-Lenin era of the Communist Party. NCL types like Gorkin had a natural home in the CCF, where disaffected radicals like Arthur Koestler and Ignacio Silone held significant influence. As Warner writes,

> Agency files reveal […] [the Berlin conference in 1950] helped to solidify CIA's emerging strategy of promoting the non-Communist left—the strategy that would soon become the theoretical foundation of the Agency's political operations against Communism over the next two decades.[17]

Finding and cultivating the non-Communist left in Europe in the 1950s proved to be a much easier task than duplicating the same mission in Latin America in the 1960s. Before I explore the CCF's troubled mission in Latin America, however, it is important to establish how and why the CIA became involved.

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17 Warner, par. 5. The Berlin Conference was the official launch of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. The phrase in brackets was "redacted" by the CIA "for security considerations."

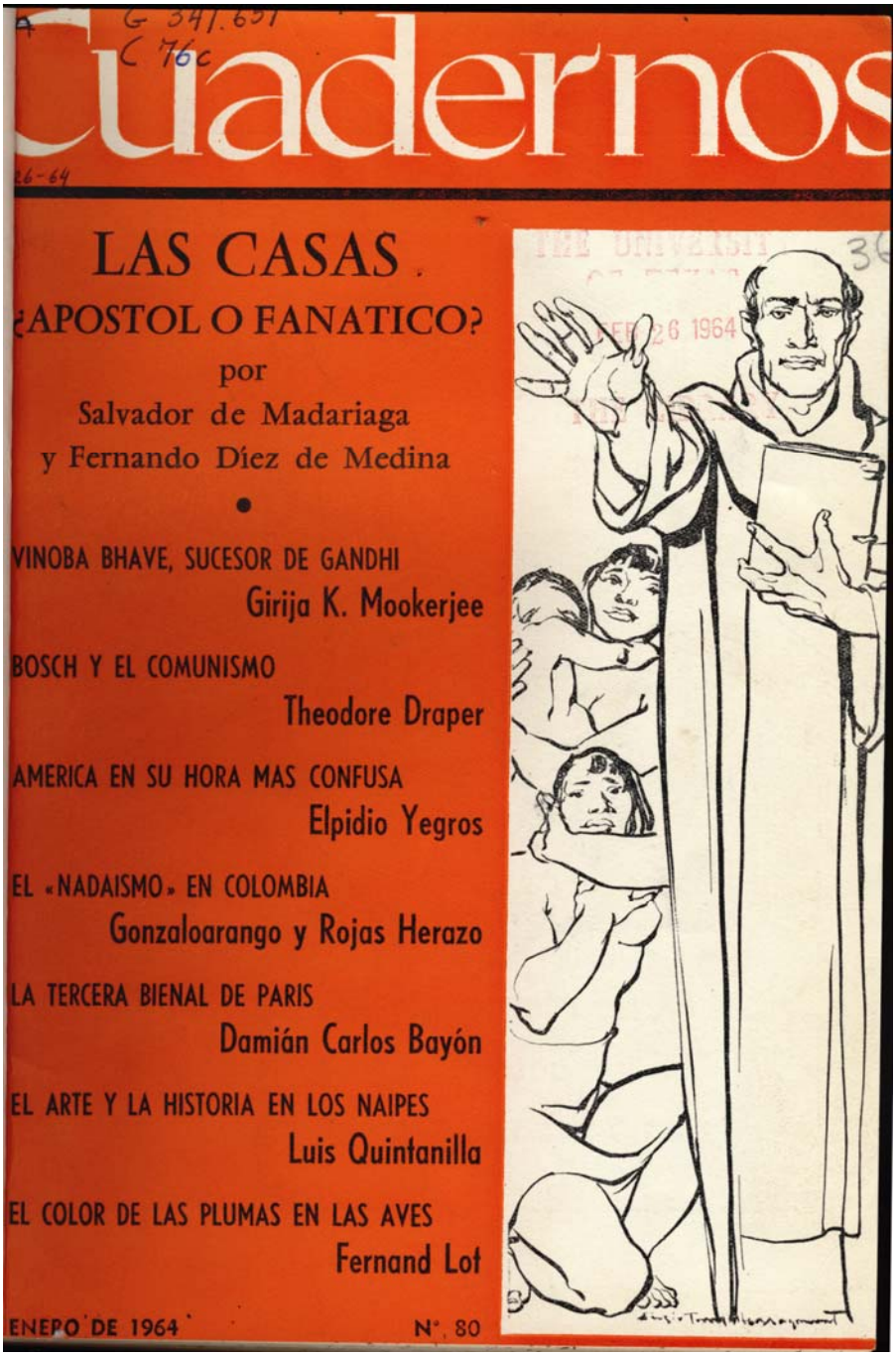

Illustration 8: *Cuadernos* (January, 1964) seemed out of touch with the avant-garde spirit of the mid-1960s in Latin America. Contributors debated whether Bartolomé de las Casas was a "fanatic" or an "apostle" while new fiction was ignored.

The Cultural Cold War Begins at Home

The CIA's intervention into what scholars have called the "cultural Cold War"—an international battle of ideas among some of the most important artists and intellectuals of the twentieth century—has its origins in U.S. domestic politics. In the early days of the Cold War (late 1940s to early 1950s), U.S. officials in the White House and State Department tried to combat Communist intervention in literature and the arts with their own, high-profile efforts to win over "high culture" to the side of Western liberalism. Shortly after the end of World War II, the State Department began channeling funds into art exhibitions and concerts that would showcase the most daring and innovative American artists.

In *Satchmo Blows Up the World* (2004), Penny von Eschen details how jazz musicians like Duke Ellington and Louis Armstrong profited from the open support of the highest levels of the government, including presidents Truman and Eisenhower. This support gave jazz musicians the opportunity to tour areas of the world that they would have never visited without government backing. Ellington's tour of the Middle East (Iraq, Syria, Egypt, etc.) even inspired him to compose an album called "The Far East Suite" (there may have been some geographic confusion on Ellington's part, since his orchestra never made it to East Asia). The irony of this project was that many government officials who promoted American jazz abroad had little interest in the music or the civil rights of African Americans at home. In this respect, the promotion of jazz had nothing to do with aesthetics and everything to do with politics. By supporting the most innovative black musicians abroad, the U.S. government was able to reap two significant public relations

victories: first, the United States was able to demonstrate the creativity and vitality of home-grown culture to people who tended to view U.S. culture as decadent (or overly "utilitarian," in the vision of "Arielismo" in Latin America); second—and most importantly—this support for black musicians visibly contradicted Soviet propaganda that African Americans were treated as second-class citizens in the United States.

Despite the successes of these programs, however, there was a backlash against government subsidies for experimental art forms at home. Members of the U.S. Congress—especially those from the South and Midwest—saw support for jazz and avant-garde art as corrupt and antithetical to traditional American values. Indeed, the conservative right had one belief in common with the radical left during the 1960s: leaders from both sides argued that covert U.S. sponsorship of international writers and artists was an unethical misappropriation of taxpayer money. A 1946 exhibition of U.S. artists including Georgia O'Keefe, Arthur Dove, John Marin, and Ben Shahn called "Advancing American Art" had been sent abroad (much of the collection went to Latin America) and soon conservatives were protesting. A congressman from Michigan, George Dondero, wrote a broadside against modern art, while Harry Truman himself mused that the collection was the product of "half-baked lazy people."[18] Dondero claimed that Modernism was an assault on American morality. He wrote,

> Cubism aims to destroy by designed disorder. Futurism aims to destroy by the machine myth[...]. Dadaism aims to destroy by ridicule. Expressionism aims to

18 Quoted in Menand, 174.

> destroy by aping the primitive and insane[...]. Abstractionism aims to destroy by the creation of brainstorms. Surrealism aims to destroy by the denial of reason.[19]

By 1949, official government support for modern art had been drastically cut back, but the State Department was still convinced that programs promoting U.S. culture abroad had been a success. This was the scenario that led to the CIA's intervention into the international cultural scene in the 1950s and 1960s. Since the CIA could appropriate funds for organizations and people without public oversight, it was the perfect outlet for the United States's effort in the cultural Cold War. The CIA, which was in its early days run by Allen Dulles, who had a great deal of respect and admiration for modernist culture, would be able to broaden the front of the cultural Cold War by reaching out to non-American artists and writers as well. In Europe, this meant supporting the Paris-based Congress for Cultural Freedom, which was active in countering communist cultural offensives in countries like France and Austria, which appeared sympathetic to Marxism.

A Latin American *Encounter*: From *Cuadernos* to *Mundo Nuevo*

The Congress for Cultural Freedom was designed and managed by culturally astute agents who could easily move back and forth between the cosmopolitan "World

19 Quoted in Menand, 127.

Republic of Letters" and the world of defense intelligence. From 1950 to 1967 the Congress organized arts festivals, classical music concerts, and lecture series; most importantly for my project, it also funded literary magazines.

Like the title character of Graham Greene's *The Quiet American*, Alden Pyle, these operatives worked so secretly that sometimes the senior editors of the magazines themselves did not know that almost their entire salary could be traced back to CIA money. Pyle's political idealism lies in desire to find a "third way" between European colonialism and Soviet Communism in Vietnam. At first, he is convinced that the United States—unlike France—is capable of helping the Vietnamese install a fully autonomous, socially just democracy by wooing support away from military strongmen. As the novel progresses, however, it becomes clear that Pyle's—and the United States's—motives are not so pure, and that *Realpolitik* demands they betray their stated goals. Like Pyle, the CIA agents in the CCF used a progressive rhetoric of cultural freedom and democracy in public while working behind the scenes to leverage influence for some authors and against others. As Stonor Saunders notes, many of the writers who received money and other resources from the CCF had been starving artists who, thanks to CIA funds, began to enjoy a network of connections guaranteeing a paycheck and increased prestige. The CCF began to resemble the Ford Foundation in Dwight Macdonald's memorable characterization: "a large body of money surrounded by people who want some."[20]

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20 Dwight Macdonald, *The Ford Foundation: The Men and the Millions* (New York: Reynal, 1956), 3.

Many of these writers—while perhaps suspicious of the funding source—were too content with their situation to launch a serious inquiry. Also, with the notable exception of a Macdonald essay for *Encounter* called "America! America!"(1958), the CIA was never known to have directly censored a writer's work.[21] The CIA understood that it could not afford to employ heavy-handed editorial techniques when it was waging a culture war in the name of artistic freedom. The CIA would have to learn to tolerate "fellow travelers" as long as they did not accept the Stalin Peace Prize.

Michael Josselson, the businessman who had come to New York as a refugee during World War II, was the CIA's point man for the CCF. Although the CIA did not create the idea for the CCF—the philosopher Sidney Hook and magazine editor Melvin Lasky were the driving forces behind the original Berlin conference in 1949—it was the CIA that sustained the Congress until the Ford Foundation took over most of the funding in 1967-1968. Josselson had lived in Paris for many years and spoke fluent Russian, French, German, and English. During the war, he served in the U.S. Army as an intelligence specialist and translator, and was discharged as a lieutenant in 1950. After the war, Josselson lived in Berlin and worked for the War Department as a cultural affairs

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21 Macdonald's essay was a denunciation of American culture, which he found boorish, and American politics, which he found imperialistic. According to Stonor Saunders, someone at *Encounter*—perhaps Lasky—sent "America! America!" on to the CIA, which replied that the article might jeopardize funding for the Congress. Spender, under pressure from many sides, ultimately rejected Macdonald's essay. He later published it in *Dissent*. See Stonor Saunders, 317-318.

officer. As the Allied forces worked to "de-Nazify" German political and intellectual life, Josselson concentrated his efforts on countering Communist propaganda in Berlin. The experience of working among the intellectual elite in Germany in the service of the military made Josselson the CIA's ideal candidate to help the Congress for Cultural Freedom become a permanent institution with outlets around the world. Josselson was the CCF's Administrative Secretary and later its Executive Secretary. As such, he was the figure most responsible for coordinating the various initiatives (magazines, conferences, concerts, etc.) with funds from non-profit organizations, which, in turn, received money from the agency.

The CIA historian Warner states that the CCF was deemed a success by headquarters in Virginia, and that the Agency agreed to pour more money into the European *Kulturkampf* during the 1950s and early 1960s. The money was a boon to struggling writers in Europe trying to rebuild their lives after the war. Soon, CCF-sponsored publications like *Encounter* developed a reputation for paying above the industry standard for a small-circulation, intellectual magazine. *Encounter* was the CCF's most visible and influential publication; it provided much of the content for other, smaller-circulation CCF magazines in other languages —what Josselson called the "grande famille"—including *Cuadernos* and, later, *Mundo Nuevo* in Spanish. *Encounter* was the only CCF-associated magazine that managed to sustain itself without the CIA's help in the 1960s, and it achieved a reputation for publishing rigorous articles from a decidedly anti-Communist point of view. *Encounter* also encouraged literary innovation, publishing high-profile poets and fiction writers.

It is important to note that *Encounter*'s version of anti-Communism had very little in common with McCarthyism in the United States. In fact, the anti-intellectualism of Sen. Joseph McCarthy's witch hunts clashed with the liberal-leftism of many Congress figures. In the words of a conservative critic of the CCF, Ronald Radosh,

> Rather than being reactionaries or even conservatives, the Congress intellectuals were by and large liberals, social democrats, and even democratic socialists. Indeed, the very premise of U.S. support for the work of the Congress was that supporting "the non-Communist Left" would be the most effective response to the appeal of the totalitarian (pro-Soviet) Left in Europe. It was for this reason that many followers of Senator Joseph McCarthy distrusted the Congress and saw it as a hotbed of radicalism.[22]

Encounter's contributors and audience mainly consisted of, as Radosh claims, "the non-Communist Left," which included figures like philosopher Sidney Hook and economist George Kennan, who advocated a "democratic socialism" that was at once anti-Communist and anti-capitalist. This concerted effort to support the left earned the Congress and the CIA many enemies among conservative politicians in the United States. The head of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover, was famously jealous of the CIA and Joseph

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[22] Ronald Radosh, "The Liberal Conspiracy: The Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Struggle for the Mind of Postwar Europe: Book Review," *National Review* (September 29, 1989), par. 4. <http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1282/is_n18_v41/ai_7962295> [accessed on March 24, 2007]

McCarthy was convinced that the organizations were infiltrated by communists.[23] *Encounter* was also committed to a high level of artistic innovation and individual freedom. Spender served as co-editor for many years—alongside the American socialist Irving Kristol until 1958 and then Lasky until 1967—and ensured that the magazine's literary content maintained a high standard of literary production. As we have seen, Spender was a writer with bona fide leftist credentials. He had briefly flirted with Communism in Spain during the Civil War, but remained a socialist even after his falling out with the Communist Party. He was hardly the paragon of a strident, pro-United States Cold War ideology, and yet Josselson appeared satisfied with his work at the magazine. Spender—like most people affiliated with the CCF—was astounded to learn in a *New York Times* exposé that *Encounter* had been a CIA ploy to co-opt non-Communist intellectuals with leftist sympathies. The most damaging claim about the CIA's connection to Latin American intellectual activity came in the following paragraph:

> In other domestic offshoots of the CIA's foreign dealings, American newspapers and magazine publishers, authors, and universities are often the beneficiaries of direct or indirect CIA subsidies[…]. Congressional investigation of tax-exempt foundations in 1964 showed that the J.M. Kaplan Fund, Inc., among others, had disbursed at least $400,000 in a single year for a research institute. This

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23 This an aspect of the Cultural Cold War many Latin American critics often overlook. The was never a consensus about how to approach the non-Communist elements of the left, and some people—especially in the State Department—were genuine in their openness to social democracy.

> institution, in turn, financed research centers in Latin America that drew support from the Agency for International Development, the Ford Foundation, and such universities as Harvard and Brandeis.[24]

The connection to *Encounter* and anti-Communist activities in Cuba was published under the subhead, "Magazine Got Funds:"

> Through similar channels, the CIA had supported groups of exiles from Cuba and refugees from Communism in Europe, or anti-Communist but liberal organizations of intellectuals such as the Congress for Cultural Freedom, and some of their newspapers and magazines. *Encounter* magazine, a well-known anti-Communist intellectual monthly with editions in Spanish and German, as well as English, was for a long time—though it is not now—one of the indirect beneficiaries of CIA funds. Through arrangements that have never been publicly explained, several book publishers have also received CIA subsidies.[25]

Encounter was clearly a model of success for the Congress (it had weaned itself off CIA funds by developing a loyal readership), and Josselson and Hunt hoped that *Mundo*

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[24] "Electronic Prying Grows," *New York Times* (April 27, 1966), 1-2. This article has a complex history of its own: it was one in a series of article in the *Times* that investigated the expanding role of the CIA at home and abroad. The *Times* found that that the CIA had infiltrated labor unions, student groups, and political sciences organizations. The CIA was, for obvious reasons, not pleased with the articles, but worked with the *Times* so that key details—such as the name of a "Latin American institute"—would remain secret.

[25] Ibid.

Nuevo would duplicate that magazine's prestige among the Latin American intelligentsia. The new magazine would have its work cut out for it: the Congress did not have a good publishing track record in Latin America.

The CCF's Spanish-language magazine from 1953 to 1965 was *Cuadernos por la Libertad de la Cultura*, a journal that achieved a wide readership among Spanish exiles in Latin America and other liberal types who found themselves equally at odds with leftist radicals and Perón-style populists or nationalists. As Coleman describes the *Cuadernos* milieu, most of the contributors were "patriarchal" humanists, who had one foot in politics and one foot in literature. Many were diplomat-poets like the Colombian Germán Arciniegas who were hardly revolutionaries, but still commanded respect in literary circles. There were others, like Waldo Frank, who had once held an immense amount of literary prestige in Latin America. Yet even in this milieu, *Cuadernos* had a tough time achieving the sort of cultural capital the CCF envisioned for it. Coleman writes that the CCF's "natural allies" in Mexico would have been contributors for the *Revista Mexicana de Literatura*, especially Octavio Paz and Carlos Fuentes, "but they disliked *Cuadernos* so much that they refused to publish an advertisement for it."[26] Although many Latin Americans were skeptical of *Cuadernos* from the beginning because of its open affiliation with the CCF, which wore its pro-U.S. politics on its sleeve, its editor managed to establish an honorary board of former ministers who had enormous political and cultural capital, including the Venezuelan novelist and ex-president Rómulo Gallegos and the Cuban philosopher and historian Jorge Mañach.

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26 Coleman, 207.

Nevertheless, CCF Cold Warriors in Latin America—especially *Cuadernos*'s editor, Gorkin—would never reconcile themselves to the Cuban Revolution or Comintern in Latin America, and the directorate of the CCF had to find a way to appeal to younger intellectuals. The solution came from the two CIA agents who worked at the CCF in Paris, Josselson and John Hunt, as well as a Spanish anarchist and CCF functionary named Luis Mercier Vega.[27]

While Hunt never achieved the same stature as Josselson, he proved to be more knowledgeable and interested in the Latin American situation during the 1960s than his CIA colleague. Hunt was an Oklahoma-born novelist who had fallen in love with France during World War II and returned to live and write in Paris after graduating from Harvard. It is unclear how the Oklahoman became involved with Latin American affairs, but his correspondence with CCF representative Mercier Vega (who, in the early to mid-1960s, was based in Montevideo) demonstrates that he understood the potential impact of contemporary Latin American literature on the intellectual life of the continent and beyond. In 1964, Hunt came up with the idea of giving a grant to Latin American writers, which was to be established by the Council for Literary Magazines. This would generate prestige for writers—"preferably of the younger generation," he wrote to Mercier Vega.[28] Hunt's idea was that four or five magazines would judge the quality of the work: *Sur* and

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27 See the International Association for Cultural Freedom Papers at the University of Chicago Library.

28 Memo from John Hunt to Luis Mercier Vega, April 9, 1964, IACF Papers, Series II, Box 184.

Cuadernos would be able to join forces with a few other magazines and establish a new standard for Latin American literature. While the project appears to not have gone further than the planning stages, the scheme reveals Hunt's hands-on approach to literary production in Latin America. His interest in left-leaning writers who had sympathized with the Cuban Revolution also revealed him to be a more liberal CIA man than Josselson, who was wary of "fellow travellers."

Josselson, meanwhile, suggested that *Mundo Nuevo* address "the question of German, French, British and American influence" in Latin American literature shortly before the magazine began publishing in 1966. Josselson was even interested in topics for literary criticism in Latin America: "When it comes to 'the novel,' I just wonder whether the subject could not be narrowed down to either 'Alienation,' or to 'Social Revolt' or to 'Clash of Generations' in the Latin American Novel," he wrote to Mercier Vega.[29] Anything but "armed revolution" or "anti-imperialism," presumably. While Josselson was less involved than Hunt in Latin American affairs, the CCF Executive Secretary also perceived that his organization's future in Latin America depended on its ability to publish literary works of a high quality. Josselson wrote to Gorkin that the way to attract "les jeunes gens de Amérique Latine" was to publish more articles on arts and literature in *Cuadernos*, a journal primarily known for its anti-fascist and anti-Communist essays on politics and culture, while also taking a harder line against the Castro government. In a

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29 Memo from Josselson to Mercier Vega, Undated, IACF Papers, Series II, Box 131, Folder 3.

letter dated August 14, 1961, Josselson wrote to Gorkin to express his dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs in Latin America:

> Je trouve que *Cuadernos* pour ces sujets là [agarian reform, structural reform] devrait devenir plus radicale [Josselson's emphasis] tout en combattant le castrisme et le communisme. Il faudra absolument que nous fassions appel a de jeunes économistes de l'amérique latine [sic].[30]

Gorkin agreed with Josselson's idea to take a harder stance against Castro, and the CCF's newfound interest in Latin America pumped new life into the magazine. In 1961, *Cuadernos* went from a monthly publication to a bimonthly publication, even as it lost many readers because of its anti-Castro posture.

Gorkin and Josselson did not see eye to eye, however, when it came to the issue of the "jeunes gens de Amérique Latine," especially the young, talented writer Carlos Fuentes. While Gorkin seemed content with the Congress's work in Mexico, Josselson complained that only "third-rate" writers in that country collaborated with *Cuadernos*, and he took an interest in Fuentes. As we have seen, Fuentes and Octavio Paz had little respect for the CCF; the fact that *Mundo Nuevo* was able to attract both figures to contribute to the magazine is illustrative of its significant break with the organization's anti-Communist politics. Gorkin, for example, replied to Josselson that Fuentes was a "Castriste, cent pour cent," and, as such, had no interest publishing him.

Rather than promoting up-and-coming fiction writers, Gorkin wanted to use the new space in *Cuadernos* to publish political writings from non-Communist Left leaders

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30 Memo from Josselson to Gorkin, August 14, 1961, IACF Papers, Series II, Box 131.

like the Peruvian Raúl Haya de la Torre and the Venezuelan Rómulo Betancourt. These leaders were held up as models for the sort of democratic reform Kennedy envisioned in the Alliance for Progress, according to Stephen Rabe in *The Most Dangerous Area of the World* (1999). Even if these leaders were an improvement over pro-United States *caudillos*, they were still not the sort of figures that would attract the attention of writers like Fuentes, who was still sympathetic to the idealism of the Cuban Revolution. Ironically, then, the CIA's Josselson and Hunt proved to be more interested in publishing new Latin American literature than *Cuadernos*'s editor, Gorkin, who spent most of his latter years at the magazine staking out a viable voice for the liberal left in an era of armed insurrection.

Although many critics, including Mudrovcic, have seen *Cuadernos* and *Mundo Nuevo* as willing accomplices in the CIA's strategy of luring young writers away from Cuba, it is also important to note that Cuba was not the magazines' sole obsession. Much like *Sur* in Argentina, both these magazines made clear their distaste for nationalism and *caudillos* like Juan Perón and Rafael Trujillo. The CCF was especially interested in Argentine liberalism, and supported the *Sur* crowd when Ocampo and a handful of other writers were imprisoned 1953. In a 1962 pamphlet written for a Spanish-speaking audience, the CCF stressed its opposition to anti-democratic revolutions, regardless of their ideological orientation:

> Los Comités latinoamericanos—y numerosos colaborades en los países donde no existen todavía comités—realizaron en su tiempo intensas y perservantes campañas después del aplastamiento de la revolución húngara, con motivo de la condena y ejecución de Imre Nagy, en torno a Pasternak[…]. Han realizado

> asimismo constantes protestas contra las persecuciones franquistas y contra todos los abusos de las dictaduras latinoamericanas.[31]

Before Kennedy's Alliance for Progress, when it became official U.S. policy to support liberal, democratic regimes, *Cuadernos* and the CCF refused to support military dictatorships in Latin America and remained constant critics of Franco in Spain. Indeed, Gorkin, as a Spanish exile, had a personal stake in the fight against Franco, and his activism against Franco had little in common with official U.S. policy at the time, which viewed the Spanish dictator as an important ally in the fight against communism. But such was the paradoxical nature of the CCF's activities in Latin America: the organization was denounced as a puppet for U.S. Cold War ideology by the radical left even as it continued to battle what it saw as fascism in Spain and Argentina under the Perón regime. *Mundo Nuevo* would pay a price for continuing *Cuadernos*'s opposition to populist leaders like Perón. The magazine was confiscated by Argentine and Brazilian customs agents during both countries' military dictatorships. Later, when Kennedy announced that the United States would no longer support military dictatorships—even anti-Communist ones—under the Alliance for Progress, the CCF and *Cuadernos* looked like mere public relations maneuvers for the U.S. government. The credibility of *Cuadernos*, in other words, declined proportionately to the liberalization of U.S. government policy—a bitter irony for people like Gorkin who had worked hard to cultivate the image of an "independent intellectual." Meanwhile, Josselson and Hunt were worried about the CCF's Latin American publication maintaining credibility among

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31 El Congreso por la Libertad de la Cultura (Paris: Secretaría Internacional, 1962), 27.

intellectuals and looked for ways to change the magazine's image. As the early 1960s wore on, they became convinced that *Cuadernos* had become too one-dimensional in its anti-Communism and they began to look for a more unconventional, literary editor to replace Gorkin.

When Gorkin finally stepped down as editor in 1963, the CCF designated the Colombian diplomat and essayist Germán Arciniegas as the new editor. Arciniegas seemed like the ideal candidate: he was a self-proclaimed liberal with a more "literary" approach to publishing. He had edited a collection of literary essays on Latin America, which had been translated into English and published under the title *The Green Continent* in 1944 by Alfred A. Knopf. Hunt and Mercier Vega, however, saw Arciniegas's brief tenure at *Cuadernos* as a complete failure. As Marta Ruiz Galvete notes in "*Cuadernos del Congreso por la Libertad de la Cultura*: Anticomunismo y guerra fría en América latina,"

> Ensayista, miembro del Consejo de Honor y único latinoamericano presente en el Congreso de Berlín, Arciniegas marginaría *Cultura*: anticomunismo y guerra fría en América Latina:enseguida a todos los colaboradores y distribuidores españoles, haciendo de *Cuadernos* una revista "literario-liberal del siglo XIX" desconectada de la actualidad política internacional y centrada en Colombia. Tras advertir de la situación al Secretariado Internacional en varios informes (*cf.* cartas a John Hunt del 21 de noviembre de 1963 y del 25 de marzo de 1965, Correspondencia 2282

AJGG-559-38) y ver fracasar toda tentativa de mediación, el mismo Gorkin aconsejaría su suspensión. *Cuadernos* acababa de cumplir sus 100 números.[32]

As Arciniegas was turning *Cuadernos* into an elitist literary magazine with an air of nineteenth-century detachment from political actualities, the allure of Cuban Marxism grew. Assassination attempts on Fidel Castro by the CIA made support for the Cuban cause and defiance of the U.S. government more urgent. Cold War historians such as Stephen Rabe have shown that while John F. Kennedy's record on Latin America was mixed—his idealistic notion of creating a "peaceful social revolution" was often undercut by his support for anti-Communist strong men—Lyndon Johnson's administration had little ambition for social change in Latin America. Thus, as the CCF was seeking ways to liberalize anti-Communism in its own publications, the U.S. government had abandoned its commitment to progressive causes in the region.

This political situation was undoubtedly beneficial for the Cuban cultural front. Cultural institutions like Casa de las Américas started attracting more Latin American writers and artists to the island by offering prizes, scholarships, and a prominent voice in society; at the same time, the Cuban government marginalized a once-thriving national chapter of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which had, at one point, claimed Jorge Mañach and Raúl Roa as members. By 1965, Hunt, Josselson, and Mercier Vega were convinced that they would have to take drastic measures to save the CCF. They called for

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[32] Marta Ruiz Galvete, "*Cuadernos del Congreso por la Libertad de la Cultura*: Anticomunismo y guerra fría en América Latina," *El Argonauta Español* 3 (2006). < http://argonauta.imageson.org/document75.html> [accessed on March 25, 2007]

a meeting in Lima in which members would vote to dissolve the Congress, create a pan-Latin American organization (ILARI), and plan a new magazine for the redesigned CCF. To paraphrase a famous quote from the Vietnam War: it became necessary to destroy the CCF and *Cuadernos* in order to save them.

The CCF directorate had decided that it needed a change in its Latin American activities once before at a meeting in 1960 in Paris, but the resolution they adopted did not take a strident tone against Castro or armed revolution. This time, the CCF would make sure that the Castro regime was denounced as totalitarian. Until roughly the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, the official CCF rhetoric on Cuba was ambivalent. The 1960 resolution on Cuba, for example, placed more emphasis on the fall of Batista than the repression that accompanied the rise of Castro. In December of that year, the CCF decided to adopt a critical, but not completely disparaging, view of the situation in Cuba. The fifteen people present had their transportation costs paid by the CCF on Hunt's orders; the total cost was $12,500. Their declaration was cautious:

> El Congreso por la Libertad de la Cultura, al raiz del triunfo de la revolución contra Batista expresó su anhelo de que "el pueblo cubano estableciera el imperio de la ley y diera cima a la creacion de una sociedad libre y democratica," y deploró que, al año y medio de aquella victoria, este anhelo no se viera satisfecho aun.[33]

This stance—neither a total anti-Communist manifesto nor a voice of support for the Revolution—did not help the CCF gain friends in Latin America. Observing the growing

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33 Declaration on December 16, 1960. IACF Papers. Series II, Box 208.

support for leftist radicalism in the early 1960s in Latin America, Gorkin sarcastically joked that the only way to make inroads among Latin American writers would be to "constantly denounce the US and sing the praises of Sartre and Pablo Neruda."[34]

By 1964, however, the CCF's situation in Latin America had become a catastrophe in the eyes of Hunt, Mercier Vega, and Josselson. In their view, Arciniegas had turned *Cuadernos* into a mafia of patrician liberals from Colombia. Mercier Vega wrote to Hunt that *Cuadernos* was perceived as a journal for Latin American diplomats in Paris. The CCF, meanwhile, had been disbanded in Cuba under pressure from the government there and readership was falling in Argentina, one of its main markets. Hunt and Mercier Vega decided to suspend publication of the magazine for a brief time while they looked for a more internationally-oriented editor in touch with the latest innovations in Latin American writing. Hunt appears to be the first CCF authority to have considered Monegal: he fit the necessary criteria of being trilingual (English, Spanish, and French), knowledgeable about the subject, and not a "tercerista" (the "third way" political position of *Marcha*) or a Marxist.

Monegal, as I noted in Chapter One, was already a polemical figure in his native Uruguay by the time he agreed to edit *Mundo Nuevo* in 1965. During his tenure at the Uruguayan weekly *Marcha*, he developed a legendary feud with an up-and-coming Marxist literary critic named Angel Rama. The conflict was both personal and political; Rama argued for a socially conscious view of literary production and endorsed a politically engaged, anti-imperialist paradigm of revolutionary pan-Latin Americanism

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[34] Stonor Saunders, 347-348.

affiliated with writers like David Viñas and Mario Benedetti. Monegal, on the other hand, was a self-proclaimed Anglophile, a major promoter of Borges, and an avid reader of *Sur*. On a trip to Latin America, Mercier Vega and Keith Botsford—an American CCF member who understood Spanish and the political situation in Latin America—decided on Monegal as the editor of the new magazine and made arrangements for Monegal to move to Paris. Botsford had toured many of the CCF's national chapters in Latin America earlier in the decade and had overseen a disastrous visit by Robert Lowell to Brazil and Argentina, where the U.S. poet reportedly mounted an equestrian statue in front of the Casa Rosada in Buenos Aires and declared himself "Caesar of Argentina."[35]

The possibility of Marxist infiltration beyond Cuba had finally motivated the CCF to step up its efforts in the region and liberalize its doctrinaire anti-Communism. Even though the CCF's national chapters throughout Latin America would be disbanded in 1966, the CCF's budget for Latin America as a whole increased dramatically until the *New York Times*'s exposé in April 1966, at which point the Ford Foundation stepped in with an emergency grant.

The amount of money the CCF spent trying to improve the situation in Latin America speaks for itself: in 1963, the CCF allocated $245,472 for Latin America; in 1964, the figure was $262,854, and by 1965 it was $369,318. Mercier Vega, the Spanish exile living in France who was the CCF's coordinator for Latin American affairs, told a CCF meeting in Lima in 1965 that *Mundo Nuevo* was the CCF's last, best hope on the continent. The magazine would be part of a broader strategy in Latin America that

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[35] Stonor Saunders, 348.

consisted of disbanding national chapters in Mexico, Argentina, and elsewhere, and scrapping references to the Congress for Cultural Freedom altogether. The CCF in Latin America would operate under the auspices of the Instituto Latinoamericano de Relaciones Internacionales (ILARI), which would be legally independent of the Congress, but remain a CCF organization for all practical—and financial—purposes. The acronym ILARI embodied the reform-minded, developmentalist attitude the Congress hoped for; the acronym ILARI sounded like a legitimate institute for social sciences free from all ideological bias. Nevertheless, it was, as Monegal would tell another CCF official, Pierre Emmanuel, in a letter dated July 2, 1967, a complete "fiction" that obscured the true financial relationship between *Mundo Nuevo* and the Congress.

Mercier Vega told the inaugural meeting of ILARI that the organization's first order of business was, "[t]he establishment of a Spanish language monthly magazine of cultural and topical interest for circulation throughout Latin America."[36] Mercier Vega also informed the audience that "Emir Rodríguez Monegal, Uruguayan critic and editor of the new magazine, plans to model it on *Encounter* and to direct its appeal to the university audience, to the younger generation of Latin American intellectuals, and the educated layman."[37] The CCF had infused ILARI and *Mundo Nuevo* with money but hoped that, by following the model of *Encounter*, it could develop financial independence.

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[36] Memo from Organizational Conference of ILARI in Lima, November 29-December 3, 1965, IACF Papers.

[37] Ibid.

Mercier Vega, a veteran of the Spanish Civil War, was not the only person in the CCF to realize the importance of making a connection with the youth of Latin America. Even Adlai Stevenson, the United States's ambassador to the United Nations at the time, had observed that the CCF in Latin America had become stuck in a time capsule, still fighting the fight of Republican Spain against the fascist Franco. Coleman writes that Stevenson met with Josselson and the composer Nicolas Nabokov in Geneva in 1961, shortly after the Bay of Pigs debacle, which had humiliated the CIA. Coleman claims that

> Stevenson's view was that the magazine *Cuadernos* relied too much on the "great Hispanic humanists" (the Madariagas, the Romeros, and the Reyeses) and that younger writers had to be found to develop contemporary themes. It was at this meeting that Josselson suggested the non-Communist Left theme of *Fidelismo sin Fidel*. *Fidelismo* had brought a new sense of urgency to the Congress for Cultural Freedom. In 1961 the Secretariat changed *Cuadernos* from a bimonthly to a monthly, and in 1962 it assigned Keith Botsford to Rio de Janeiro and Luis Mercier Vega to Montevideo in the hope of redirecting and revitalizing Congress activities in Latin America.[38]

Despite the increase in funds for Latin American operations in the CCF's budget, the Congress realized that, in order to achieve success in the region, it would have to keep a low profile. In 1964, rumors had begun to circulate globally that the CCF's money came from the CIA, which would link the organization directly to the U.S. government. The *New York Times* had reported that a Congressional investigation on the tax-exempt status

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38 Coleman, 193-194.

of non-profits led by Texas Representative Wright Patman had revealed that eight prominent non-profits were little more than "mail-drops" for CIA money. The names of these non-profits, which came to be known as the "Patman Eight," were printed in CCF literature as supporters of the Congress's activities, including the 1962 pamphlet in Spanish that denounced all totalitarian regimes and Soviet intervention in Hungary in 1956. Furthermore, some of these non-profits—including the J. M. Kaplan Fund, the Hoblitzelle Foundation, and the Gotham Fund—were directly involved in training and supporting liberal, democratic politicians in Latin America, most notably the ex-president of Costa Rica, José Figueres. Later, these rumors would be confirmed by a series of articles in the *New York Times* and *Ramparts* in 1967 detailing the "triple pass" between the CIA, non-profit organizations, and the Congress. Most damning of all was Braden's *Saturday Evening Post* article, "Why I'm Glad the CIA Is Immoral," which claimed—falsely—that the CIA had an agent working as an editor of a Congress magazine.

Even before the rumors about CIA involvement in the CCF turned out to be true, anti-United States sentiment in Latin America was on the rise, especially after the botched invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs in 1961 by CIA-backed exiles, and Project Camelot in Chile. The Congress, as Hunt and Josselson noted, would have to be very careful to not appear as a CIA front in Latin America. Thus, the decision was taken by CCF members in Latin America to disband and reorganize under the banner of an independent non-governmental organization. This was an unusual step for the Congress. While the CCF directly funded literary magazines such as *Encounter* in Britain, *Preuves* in France, and *Tempo Presente* in Italy, Josselson and company distanced themselves

from extant Congress for Cultural Freedom groups in Latin America by setting up ILARI as a proxy organization with independent legal status in Switzerland.

Monegal, for his part, claimed in media outlets like *Agence France Presse* and in the first issue of *Mundo Nuevo* that the sole benefactor of his magazine was the Ford Foundation, even though his private letters show that he knew this claim was false. In fact, the Ford Foundation's intervention into the magazine's affairs eventually cost Monegal his job in 1968 over a dispute about the magazine's location. (Monegal refused to go along with the Ford's proposal that the magazine move to Buenos Aires). Private letters from Monegal to Congress officials collected in the archive of the International Association for Cultural Freedom demonstrate that the Uruguayan editor propagated the myth of Ford Foundation funding in order to counter attacks in *Marcha* and *Casa de las Américas* that his magazine was a CIA ploy.

ILARI, while funded by the Congress, was to appear to Latin Americans as a politically untainted group of intellectuals and writers concerned with Latin American problems. CCF representatives agreed with Hunt, Mercier Vega and Botsford that creating distance between the Congress's European headquarters and its Latin American operations was a good idea. The CCF agreed to appoint Monegal to head up a new "magazine of ideas" aimed at Latin America. After much discussion, the group decided to call the magazine *Mundo Nuevo*, at the suggestion of the most prominent Spanish-speaking member in the Congress, the Spanish diplomat and Oxford don Salvador de Madariaga. ("Our dear don Salvador," as Botsford often called him). Madariaga was no friend of the Cuban Revolution, but Monegal accepted the Spanish diplomat's influence with pride. Monegal, for his part, was aware of the CCF's controversial history in Latin

America and agreed to accept the job under two conditions: one, that he have complete autonomy in terms of content, and two, that he be based in Paris.

Central to the magazine's ethos was the idea of the "independent intellectual," the writer who could see beyond the petty political struggles of nationalism. As Rodríguez Monegal wrote in the first edition,

> El propósito de *Mundo Nuevo* es insertar la cultura latinoamericana en contexto que sea a la vez internacional y actual, que permita escuchar las voces casi inaudibles o dispersas de todo un continente y que establezca un diálogo que sobrepasa las conocidas limitaciones de nacionalismos, partidos politicos (nacionales e internacionales), capillas más o menos literarias y artísticas.[39]

This "presentación" was filled with subtle digs at his previous colleagues at *Marcha*, who were obviously the target of his statement about the limitations imposed by nationalisms. Eluding the ideological foundation of his own magazine, Monegal claimed that *Mundo Nuevo*, unlike other Latin American publications, would be a space of dialogue and innovation:

> *Mundo Nuevo* no se sometará a las reglas de un juego anacrónico que ha pretendido reducir toda la cultura latinoamericana a la oposición de bandos inconciliables y que ha impedido la fecunda circulación de ideas y puntos de vista contrarios. *Mundo Nuevo* establecerá sus propias reglas de juego, basadas el en respeto por la opinión ajena y la fundamentación razonada de la propia; en la investigación concreta y con datos fehacientes de la realidad latinoamericana,

[39] Emir Rodríguez Monegal, "Presentación." *Mundo Nuevo* 1 (July, 1966), 4.

> tema aún inédito; en la adhesión apasionada a todo lo que es realmente creador en América Latina.[40]

Many Latin American literary magazines—as we have seen in Chapter One—were either overtly political, or were closely associated with a political circle. *Casa de las Américas*, *Sur*, and *Marcha* could never have claimed to be independent and open to contradictory positions. With Monegal's "Presentación," however, *Mundo Nuevo* was trying to position itself as outside Cold War divisions and open to dialogue with all sides.

The magazine's feature piece in issue Number One, an interview with Fuentes called "La situación del escritor en América Latina," reflected this innovative, independent posture. In the interview, Fuentes says that Latin American writers should abandon political and aesthetic orthodoxies and look for fresh material in the explosion of mass culture.[41] Writers should embrace "camp" culture, rather than the tired tropes of regionalism or folklore. The informal, back-and-forth banter of the interview allows Monegal to fashion himself into a worldly intellectual and an esthete, an image that he defended in his interactions with CCF officials. Fuentes, on the other hand, drops the latest names from U.S. pop culture and tries to position himself as a cosmopolitan intellectual as at home among the Mexican intelligentsia as he with pop art. Indeed, when Monegal asks Fuentes about his latest "happening"—a photo shoot in his apartment, Fuentes responds,

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40 Rodríguez Monegal, 4.

41 Carlos Fuentes, "La situación del escritor en América Latina," *Mundo Nuevo* 1 (July, 1966), 4-21.

> Mira, creo que después de una historia tan convulsa como la nuestra, hay una especie de miedo a todo el fondo subyacente del país, a ese fondo expresionista, violento y barroco que es, insisto, nuestro verdadero enchufe con un mundo que se ha vuelto violento, expresionista, y barroco y cuyas correspondencias actualmente son el *pop art* y el *camp*; son Günter Grass y Norman Mailer, y Andy Warhol y Susan Sontag, y Joan Baez y Bob Dylan, ¿verdad? Para mí éste es el mundo que cuenta, el mundo que me interesa realmente.[42]

There was nothing essentially anti-Communist about Warhol, Sontag, and Dylan, of course. At a time when Cuban intellectuals were calling for a boycott of contemporary U.S. culture, however, Fuentes's emphasis on the latest and hippest happenings in the United States could be interpreted as a shot across the bow of the Cuban "committed" literature. On the subject of Cuban cultural politics, however, *Mundo Nuevo* showed its loyalties to the CCF's mission in Latin America. Along with the interview with Fuentes, issue one also featured an essay by the Hungarian writer François Fejtö—a Congress member—that exposed Cuba's flagging economy and persecution of homosexuals for the first time. "Notas sobre Cuba" never adopts a stridently anti-Communist tone, but does highlight the contradictions of a revolution which preaches democracy yet consolidates political power and clamps down on free expression. From the Cuban perspective, however, *Mundo Nuevo* was little more than a tool of the CIA, which sought to undermine the Revolution at every turn. While there may have been some element of truth in the Cubans' accusations, *Mundo Nuevo* and the neutral-sounding ILARI had

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[42] Fuentes, 8.

mollified the CCF's anti-Communist rhetoric. They had reinvented the CCF in Latin America to fit with the modernist (in the literary and economic senses) developmentalist attitude of the liberal Alliance for Progress.

This was an improvement on the anti-Communism of Gorkin, but there were still problems. As Jean Franco notes in *The Decline and Fall of the Lettered City* (2002), *Mundo Nuevo* was inattentive to international movements that embraced Third World causes. As the Cold War expanded outside Europe, indigenous revolutionary movements in the developing world also started to challenge U.S. hegemony in Vietnam, Cuba, and elsewhere. Third World insurrections posed a different sort of threat than Stalin in Eastern Europe, and required a different cultural response. The CCF and U.S. anti-Communists were forced to confront the growing popularity of national liberation movements and the influence of "black power" in places like Cuba. *Casa de las Américas*, the Cuban magazine discussed in Chapter One, dedicated an issue to the "Africa en América" (August 1966), which celebrated people like Malcolm X and Frantz Fanon, while *Mundo Nuevo* published translations of U.S. writers like Mary McCarthy and Saul Bellow.

Monegal succeeded in winning over some the CCF's antagonists—including Fuentes and Neruda—while at *Mundo Nuevo*. Shortly before Monegal started the magazine, Fuentes was experiencing a change of heart in his views of the Cuban Revolution and U.S. foreign policy. In 1964, Fuentes was a successful young writer with two critically acclaimed novels under his belt: *La región más transparente* (1958) and *La muerte de Artemio Cruz* (1962). He also enjoyed a positive reception in the United States and was invited by Richard N. Goodwin, the U.S. assistant secretary of state for inter-

American affairs, to take part in a debate on the Alliance for Progress program in 1962. Although the young Mexican was initially denied a visa for entry into the United States, possibly because he was a vocal opponent of U.S. foreign policy, Fuentes proved to be just the sort of intellectual figure the CCF wanted to publish in *Mundo Nuevo*. He was a cosmopolitan diplomat with impeccable intellectual credentials in the United States and Latin America who had demonstrated that he was capable of breaking with the Cubans over the issue of cultural freedom. A memo from the American writer and Secretary of State worker Darwin Flakoll to Mercier Vega, titled "Conversations with Fuentes" and dated October 25, 1965, shows that the CCF was intensely interested in Fuentes's evolving political attitudes. In the letter, Flakoll says that he has spent a good deal of time talking to Fuentes, assessing his change in thinking. Flakoll writes that Fuentes, unlike many other revolutionary writers, did not reject Monegal as a potential editor for the new journal. As previously mentioned, Fuentes and Paz were two of Mexico's most prominent intellectual figures and had been opposed to *Cuadernos* since its founding in the early 1950s. Flakoll states that Fuentes had just finished a novel and had changed his mind about Cuba. Fuentes was disillusioned. Flakoll wrote that

> [Fuentes's] political attitude could perhaps best be described as a mixture of Camus' outlined in *The Rebel* and Julien Benda's 'Le Trahison des Clercs.' He no longer believes in the efficacy of organized political action to bring about the New Jerusalem. Politics are a necessary means of oranizing political affairs, but

> entanglement in political pursuits is an *espejismo*—a mirage. Every political orthodoxy must create its opposing heresy.[43]

To what extent were Flakoll at the State Department and Hunt at the CIA interested in Fuentes as a figure who could help the United States neutralize the Latin American left? The question is impossible to answer in any definitive way. In their memos and letters, both men seem genuinely interested in dialogue with Fuentes and in ending the U.S. government's draconian practice of shutting out all writers who had even the vaguest of associations with Communism. On the other hand, though, it seems that Fuentes—like Monegal—was naïve about the political ends of promoting Latin American writing.

Fuentes was a key figure in the intellectual life of *Mundo Nuevo*: in addition to being the subject of the Monegal interview in the first issue, he published sections of his appropriately-named novel *Cambio de piel* in the magazine in 1967. Fuentes also proved to be one of *Mundo Nuevo*'s most forceful voices of opposition to Cuban cultural policies, which presumably pleased Hunt and Josselson. When a group of Cuban writers wrote a letter protesting Pablo Neruda's visit to the United States in 1966 for a PEN Club conference on Latin American literature, Fuentes defended Neruda and the PEN Club in the media. The Cubans' letter, "Carta abierta a Pablo Neruda," reproduced in *Marcha* on August 5, 1966, argued that Neruda should not visit the United States, since any visit would represent an implicit endorsement of U.S. foreign policy; Neruda, they claimed,

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43 Darwin Flakoll to Mercier Vega and Hunt, memo dated October 25, 1965, IACF Papers.

was being manipulated by the CIA.[44] The letter exemplifies a Cold War rhetoric of "us" versus "them," and calls for Neruda join "nuestro lado" in the fight:

> Algunos de nosotros compartimos contigo los años hermosos y ásperos de España; otros, aprendimos en tus páginas cómo la mejor poesía puede servir a las mejores causas. Todos admiramos tu obra grande, orgullo de nuestra América. Necesitamos saberte inequívocamente a nuestro lado en esta larga batalla que no concluirá sino con la liberación definitiva, con lo que nuestro Che Guevara llamó "la victoria siempre."[45]

Hunt must have delighted in the turn of events surrounding Neruda's first visit to the United States. Only two years earlier, the CIA agent and CCF member had helped publish a pamphlet by CCF activist René Tavernier called "Le cas Neruda" (1964), which made much of the poet's political commitments to Communism, including his "Ode to Stalin." Hunt led a behind-the-scenes campaign against Neruda's presumed candidacy for the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1964.[46] Now, Neruda was being attacked by Cuban

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44 The first publication of the letter appeared in *Granma*, the official newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party on July 31, 1966. It was signed by dozens of writers, including Alejo Carpentier, Nicolás Guillén, Juan Marinello Félix Pita Rodríguez, Roberto Fernández Retamar, Lisandro Otero, and Edmundo Desnoes, among others.

45 Emir Rodríguez Monegal, "El P.E.N. Club contra la guerra fría," *Mundo Nuevo* 5 (November, 1966), 88.

46 Stonor Saunders, 350-351.

Marxists for dialoguing with U.S. writers, and the Cubans—not the Americans—were perceived as impinging on the poet's artistic freedom.

Fuentes attended the PEN Congress with Monegal and wrote an account of the event for *Life en español* (August 1, 1966), in which he argued that traditional Cold War animosities had been "buried" by the unprecedented dialogue between writers of diverse ideological backgrounds at the New York Congress. Monegal took a slightly less sanguine view of the conference in the fifth issue of *Mundo Nuevo,* in which he narrated the events in a breezy, detached tone more characteristic of a *New Yorker* "Talk of the Town" article than serious literary criticism. Monegal also cited Fuentes's *Life* article with approval. The editor quoted fragments of Fuentes's piece and highlighted their collective view that the writers at the conference had managed to supersede the political divisions of the past. The very title of Monegal's article—"El P.E.N. Club contra la guerra fría"—shows how anti-Communism had evolved into liberal cosmopolitanism. The PEN Club was not against Cuba or even Fidel Castro; it was against the Cold War itself. Writers in the liberal cosmopolitan mode were above the fray of left- and right-wing nationalisms. The section that Monegal reproduced from Fuentes's *Life en español* article in *Mundo Nuevo* is worth quoting at length, because it exemplifies *Mundo Nuevo*'s neutralist, cosmopolitan attitude, which the CCF hoped would be able to vanquish the Cold War divisions. Fuentes writes that

> Hace 20 años, un novelista latinoamericano de izquierda hubiese aprovechado la ocasión [of the PEN Club Congress in New York] para montar un ataque contra los EE.UU. Y un novelista norteamericano, aun con—o a causa de—sus

> credenciales liberales, no habría dejado asar la oportunidad de depositar un óbolo anticomunista.[47]

Fuentes continues, citing Monegal's intervention in the Congress with approval:

> El crítico uruguayo Emir Rodríguez Monegal observó que estábamos diciendo el último adiós al difunto senador McCarthy. *Cabría ir más lejos y afirmar que el XXXIV Congreso Internacional del P.E.N. Club será recordado como el entierro de la guerra fría en la literatura*. [my emphasis] Allí triunfó la convicción práctica de que el aislamiento y la incomunicación culturales no sirven sino a la tirantez internacional, de la que son inservibles reliquias.

Fuentes may have been guilty of hubris; the idea that a group of writers could "bury" the Cold War was a little too much even for Monegal. Still, Fuentes had risked his reputation by siding against the Cubans on the issue of Neruda's appearance in New York. Now, Fuentes, a one-time contributor to *Casa de las Américas*, was siding with a group of writers known for their anti-Communist tendencies. Although Fuentes probably never suspected it, he was carrying out Hunt, Josselson, and Mercier Vega's post-*Cuadernos* mission of creating a viable voice for the non-Communist left in Latin America. Fuentes cultivated strong ties to the New York literary establishment and, as we will see in Chapter Three, was tireless in promoting Latin American literature in the U.S. marketplace.

Amazingly, Fuentes—unlike Cabrera Infante, Monegal, and others—never burned bridges with official Cuban literary culture. Fuentes was one of the few authors who

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47 Quoted in Monegal, "El P.E.N Club," 89-90.

could publish in both *Mundo Nuevo* and *Casa de las Américas*. In fact, *Casa* published a fragment of the novel *Cambio de piel* one year after *Mundo Nuevo* had published a chapter.

This was quite an accomplishment on Fuentes's part. *Cambio de piel* is, at times, unreadable. The novel lacks the cohesion and force of earlier works by Fuentes. Furthermore, there are long stretches of the novel in which the author seems content to drop names and ideas with little control over his content. One could argue that *Cambio de piel* is playful pastiche, but, unlike other Boom texts that evince postmodern characteristics, Fuentes seems primarily concerned with impressing the reader with his vast array of cultural knowledge and his repertoire of Mexican slang. In one section, the narrator mentions *Lolita*, the Bay of Pigs, and the assassination of Trotsky in one sentence:

> Tu paisa Whitman con el optimismo de Un Nuevo Mundo democrático e igualitario (We Shall Overcome and the wall come tumblin' down [sic] y el mero vampírico Rimbaud con la divinidad de la palabra. Mira a dónde fuimos a parar. Candy y Lolita, la tortura y el horno crematorio, los procesos de Moscú y el asesinato de Trotsky, Bahía de Cochinos y los perros policía contra los negros de Montgomery, use y consume y luzca bella, mi Pep'sicoatl.[48]

Nothing stops this bilingual logorrhea from spinning out of control for six pages. Incredibly, *Casa de las Américas*, which denounced *Mundo Nuevo* as a subtle tool of the CIA in virtually every issue from 1966 to 1971, chose to reproduce even more of this

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48 Fuentes, "Cambio de piel," 15.

novel—even after the Cuban magazine had been "scooped" by its archrival! Regardless of what one thinks of Fuentes as a thinker and writer, the *Cambio de piel* episode in *Mundo Nuevo* and *Casa* proved that he was incredibly adept at marketing literature and creating a community of readers. It also shows that *Casa* was more susceptible to the marketing phenomenon of the Boom than it let on.

Despite *Mundo Nuevo*'s successes in the cultural battles of the late 1960s, Monegal—unlike Mercier Vega or Gorkin—proved unwilling to make compromises with his or the magazine's image in order to save face for the Congress for Cultural Freedom. When the *New York Times* exposed the links between the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the CIA, the Ford Foundation agreed to pick up the tab (nearly $200,000) for the magazine's operating budget. Unlike Monegal's previous boss, however, the Ford Foundation insisted that *Mundo Nuevo* relocate to a city in Latin America, preferably Buenos Aires. The Ford Foundation was also apparently not satisfied with the magazine's small circulation numbers and its fondness for experimental or neo-baroque literature. Mercier Vega echoed these concerns in an internal memo to the CCF: "*Mundo Nuevo* est devenu une revue littéraire reservée à une très faible minorité. Cette situation exige une nouvelle politique administrative."[49]

Monegal, refusing to move, quit as editor in early 1968. Despite the turmoil and controversy surrounding the editorial change, the magazine managed to publish an extraordinary range of poems, essays, short stories, and criticism in only two years.

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[49] Mercier Vega, memo to Shepard Stone and Pierre Emmanuel, October 18, 1967, IACF Papers.

Monegal always claimed that *Mundo Nuevo* was "una revista de diálogo," and, with the notable exception of the subject of Cuba, the magazine did espouse a wide range of aesthetic and political sensibilities.

Chart: Selected Expenditures for the Congress for Cultural Freedom in 1966:[50]

Encounter and Encounter Books……..$30,000

Asian Institute of International Relations……...$100,000

Preuves [CCF magazine in French]……..$80,000

Der Monat [CCF magazine in German]……...$60,000

Hiwar [CCF magazine in Arabic]…….$30,000

Latin American Institute for International Relations [ILARI]……$260,000

Mundo Nuevo……....$80,000

50 See Coleman, 275-76.

Conclusion

Although Latin America is rarely covered in scholarly work about the CCF, the organization invested an extraordinary amount of time and money in the region in the mid to late 1960s in an effort to make an impact in the "most dangerous area in the world."[51] The CCF managed to rally important figures in intellectual spheres in Europe against Communist repression in the Eastern bloc, but its many national chapters in Latin America failed to make any lasting impact on the continent's culture or politics during the 1950s. The Congress was forced to reorganize itself and even disband its national chapters, while also seeking to recast its strident anti-Communism in a more leftist-sounding rhetoric. The result was that the Congress's second Latin American-orientated magazine, *Mundo Nuevo*, actually contradicted some of the United States's foreign policy agenda in its pages, while also working to counter the advances of the Cuban Revolution. While U.S. funding of the arts though the CCF was surreptitious, its political goals were often obscure and contradictory—especially in Latin America. Writing about a similar event in Cold War history, Deborah Cohn points out in "A Tale of Two Translation Projects" (2006) that U.S. philanthropic organizations like the Rockefeller Foundation funded Latin American cultural activities in the United States "even though the image of the region presented in the works, and the politics of the authors themselves, often

51 See Rabe.

deviated from (and, on occasion, rejected) official U.S. cold war ideology."[52] In effect, the United States had few options for opening a cultural front in the Cold War in Latin America that would resemble its efforts Europe. As Jorge Castañeda points out in *Utopia Unarmed* (1994), rejection of U.S. policies became an article of faith among the Latin American left during the second half of the twentieth century. There were few—if any—sympathizers of the U.S. government among the cultural intelligentsia in Latin America after the overthrow of the Arbenz regime in Guatemala in 1954. Even among the liberal elite in Argentina—sustained by Victoria Ocampo—there was little enthusiasm for U.S.-style anti-Communism. (Ocampo, like her liberal compatriots in the United States, feared McCarthyism.) Among younger writers in Latin America—writers who would come to form the core of the Boom—initial support for the Cuban Revolution was universal. Given this context, U.S. cultural intervention in Latin America could not afford to take a Manichean view of the situation; to be successful in combating the influence of the Cuban Revolution, any initiative (through the CCF or other non-profits) would have to reconcile itself with the left in some fashion.

Considering the CCF's many enemies on the right and left, it is no wonder that Josselson, Hunt, and Mercier Vega—the Congress functionaries most involved in the organization's efforts in Latin America—were displeased with its activities in Latin America and sought to overhaul the organization with a new magazine. Although

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52 Deborah Cohn, "A Tale of Two Translation Programs: Politics, the Market, and Rockefeller Funding for Latin American Literature in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s," *Latin American Research Review,* 41.2 (June, 2006), 143.

Josselson and company were successful in guiding the CCF's Latin American activities towards a more strident anti-Castro position, they were never interested in having Latin American writers become spokespeople for all aspects of U.S. foreign policy. This meant that *Mundo Nuevo* was able to articulate a non-Communist Left position that managed to sway the opinions of important figures like Fuentes and Neruda in battles against Cuba in debates about artistic freedom.

This paradoxical nature of U.S. cultural policy in Latin America during the Cold War has been a fount for conspiracy theories about the CIA's role in literary publishing, most of which posit a behind-the-scenes collusion between U.S. spies and Latin American editors like Monegal. During the Cold War, leftist intellectuals attacked CCF-sponsored magazines like *Mundo Nuevo* and *Cuadernos* as surrogates for U.S. ideology no matter how much distance they tried to put between themselves and U.S. foreign policy. Meanwhile, Monegal, like many other editors attached to CCF-funded publications, attempted to hide the facts of the financial and intellectual ties between anti-Communist ideologues (some of whom were indeed CIA agents) and its literary production. Indeed, *Mundo Nuevo*'s attitude vis à vis the CCF constituted one of its main differences with its predecessor, *Cuadernos*: whereas *Cuadernos* publicly embraced and defended its intellectual and financial links to the CCF, *Mundo Nuevo* tried to separate itself from the anti-Communist organization.

It is perhaps no wonder that the heated climate of the post-Cuban Revolution *Kulturkampf* made a fair, even-handed assessment of the political intervention of *Mundo Nuevo* impossible. Its promoters advertised the magazine as an "independent journal" publishing the newest and most innovative writing from Latin America, while its

detractors saw it as Trojan horse hiding an imperialist agenda that would co-opt all progressive political movements. In reality, *Mundo Nuevo* moderated ideological anti-Communism enough to open a dialogue that would not have been possible with *Cuadernos*; in this sense, the magazine was a success for the Congress and the promotion of Latin American literature more generally. Nevertheless, this dialogue did not happen organically: it was, as the magazine's detractors argued, part of a political weapon that dare not speak its name.

Chapter Three:

The Politics of Literary Prestige: Promoting the Latin American "Boom" in the Pages of *Mundo Nuevo*

The history of the Boom… is written in the pages of Mundo Nuevo.
-José Donoso

One could argue that it was in José Donoso's best interest to overestimate the impact of *Mundo Nuevo* on the Boom. After all, he contributed short stories and Emir Rodríguez Monegal published fragments of his experimental novel, *El obsceno pájaro de la noche* (1970) in the magazine when he was having a difficult time finding a publisher for it. Still, critics of Latin American literary magazines have backed up Donoso's

assertion in the epigraph.[1] Likewise, *Mundo Nuevo*'s Cuban rival, *Casa de las Américas*, constantly reported on Monegal's journal, if only to accuse of it of hypocrisy and bourgeois aestheticism, or to sign open letters boycotting the magazine's activities. Indeed, *Mundo Nuevo* played such a controversial and important role in the Boom during the 1960s that most studies of the magazine fall into political polemics themselves and ignore the conflicting and disparate influences in the magazine.

This chapter addresses the magazine's role in promoting Latin American writing during the period known as the "Boom,"[2] in which the region's literature began to transcend national borders and receive the international recognition and readership that turned it into "world literature."[3] As noted in earlier chapters, the Boom in Latin

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1 A short list of critical studies that, in part, attribute some of the success to the Boom include John L. King, *Sur*; Jean Franco, *Decline and Fall of the Lettered City*; María Mudrovcic, *Mundo Nuevo: Cultura e guerra fría*.

2 Because the Boom has become a recognized, and rather specific, period of literary production, I will use the upper-case "B" without quotation marks from here on.

3 "Weltliteratur," or "world literature," was first introduced by Goethe in 1827 as a way to describe the phenomenon in which the German writer's works circulated with literature in other languages on a world stage. Goethe, perhaps naïvely, saw *Weltliteratur* as a natural consequence of "human progress." Despite centuries of criticism, the concept has remained an important—if much debated—touchstone of comparative inquiry. See John Pizer, "Goethe's 'World Literature' Paradigm and Contemporary Cultural Globalization." *Comparative Literature* 52, 3 (Summer, 2000), 215.

American fiction from the early 1960s to the early 1970s has been notoriously difficult to define. To some critics, this time period represents the full flowering of literary modernity in Latin America, a period in which Joycean Modernism belatedly appeared in Latin American novel writing. For writers like Monegal and Mario Vargas Llosa, the defining elements of the Boom are to be found in the text itself, especially the revolutionary aesthetics and narrative structure of the era's novels; commercial success (especially the worldwide bestseller *Cien años de soledad*) is but a "historical accident."[4] To others, such as the Chilean critic Hernán Vidal, the period was a capitalist marketing phenomenon that represented an extension of liberal ideology.[5] An essential feature of this critique is the claim that the authors who were the most commercially successful—Vargas Llosa, Gabriel García Márquez, Carlos Fuentes, and Julio Cortázar—are given pride of place over more experimental writers, such as José Lezama Lima, or more overtly leftist political writers like David Viñas. Both schools of thought, however, take a disparaging view of the commercial success of Boom literature, since, as José Donoso explains in *The Boom in Spanish-American Literature: A Personal History*, "what is commercial always carries connotations of impurity."[6] In this chapter, I hope to avoid

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4 Angel Rama, *La novela latinoamericana, 1920-1980* (Bogotá: Procultura, 1982).

5 Hernán Vidal, *Literatura hispanoamericana e ideología liberal: surgimiento y crisis: una problemática sobre la dependencia en torno a la narrativa del Boom* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Hispamérica, 1976).

6 José Donoso, *The Boom in Spanish-American Literature: A Personal History* (New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, 1977), 34.

evaluative judgments about the commercial success of the Boom in order to properly gauge *Mundo Nuevo*'s role in reshaping the politics of Latin American literature during the Cold War.

The Boom has always had political and social connotations. Monegal has written that he first heard the term in the pages of the Argentine magazine *Primera Plana* during the late 1960s, when talk of the "new Latin American narrative" was still circulating in intellectual circles.[7] At that time, the word "boom" had already become a widely-used Anglicism in Spanish, usually employed in conjunction with economics. (Viñas, however, preferred to call the period the "búm," a more phonetically correct, if somewhat disparaging, spelling.) Ironically, use of the term to describe modern Latin American writing did not become widespread until the early 1970s, when the Boom itself had lost its energy. In fact, by 1971, the Boom had effectively become a "post-Boom." By this date, *Mundo Nuevo* had become a largely ignored journal of liberal social scientists published in Buenos Aires. Furthermore, the controversy surrounding the "self-confession" of the political crimes of Cuban poet Heberto Padilla during the same year split Boom writers into two irreconcilable camps and killed much of the creative energy that had propelled it into "international literary space." Lastly, by the early 1970s there was much talk in Latin American literary circles of a "return to storytelling," which

7 Emir Rodríguez Monegal, *El boom de la novela latinoamericana* (Caracas: Editorial Tiempo Nuevo, 1972).

implied a refocusing on narrative-driven novels rather experimentation with time, voice, and language.[8]

In this chapter, I argue that while individual writers had little in common with one another with respect to narrative structure, politics, and aesthetic taste, Monegal was able to market and promote them as a generation that could be held up by the same artistic criteria as European or U.S. writers. In my discussion of the Boom, I will draw on the work and terminology of Pierre Bourdieu and Pascale Casanova, especially in developing the notion of a "field" of literature and differentiating between economic capital—the literal "boom"—and cultural capital, the symbolic "Boom" in prestige of Latin American writing. This chapter will look closely at how individual texts reflected Monegal's distinct vision of the Boom and the correlation between that vision and the political goals of the CCF, which selected Monegal as editor and funded the magazine until the Ford Foundation took over in 1968. Scholars and writers who tend to characterize the Boom in largely formal terms underline narrative innovation, avant-garde aesthetics, and expansive plots as defining characteristics of what has been called "la novela totalizadora."[9] What makes the Boom distinct from other avant-garde movements in

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8 Naomi Lindstrom, *Twentieth-Century Spanish American Fiction* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 196.

9 While these formal characteristics are certainly present in the fiction of the time, they had existed to varying degrees in other genres of Latin American writing before 1963, the date of publication of Julio Cortázar's novel *Rayuela*, often considered the first major work of the Boom. One finds vanguardist aesthetics in the poetry of Pablo Neruda and

Latin America, however, is its unprecedented success as a publishing phenomenon and its international prestige, which made it a valuable political tool in the cultural Cold War.

While late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Hispanic *modernismo*, especially in the writers of Rubén Darío, had enjoyed years of critical recognition in France and Spain, *modernismo* lacked the commercial success that the Boom achieved in less than a decade. Readership for Latin American literature grew exponentially during the period as publishers like the Spanish editorial house Seix Barral found new markets for novels, and translators like Gregory Rabassa, Margaret Sayers Peden, and Suzanne Jill Levine made the works available to a U.S. audience. Meanwhile, writers associated with the pre-Boom era of Latin American writing started accumulating international prestige: the Argentine Jorge Luis Borges shared the International Publishers' Prize—also known as the Prix Formentor—with Samuel Beckett in 1961, while the Guatemalan Miguel Angel Asturias was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1967. In Spain, Vargas Llosa became the first Spanish-American writer to win the prestigious Premio Biblioteca Breve prize in 1962 for *La ciudad y los perros*, which has been widely interpreted as one of the catalyzing events of the Boom. Angel Rama, in his survey of the twentieth-century Latin American novel, *La novela en America Latina: Panoramas 1920-1980*, demonstrates that

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César Vallejo, as well as some 1940s and 1950s. Miguel Angel Asturias's novels *El Señor Presidente* (1946) and *Hombres de maíz* (1949), for example, predate the formal innovations of Boom-era authors by two decades. Brushwood discusses these formal features in *The Spanish American Novel: A Twentieth-Century Survey* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975).

editions of Julio Cortázar's short story collections and his novel *Rayuela* grew tremendously during the 1960s. Only a few thousand copies were printed of Cortázar's first collections, but print runs exploded after *Rayuela* into the tens of thousands by 1966.[10]

Rama states that during the Boom years, magazines also played a fundamental role in carving out a space for literary production among an increasingly urban and professionally educated populace. Magazines, Rama states, "fueron instrumento capital de la modernización y de la jerarquización de la actividad literaria: substituyendo[…] publicaciones especializadas destinadas sólo al restricto público culto."[11] The first Spanish editions of *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *L'Express*, according to Rama, allowed literary figures like Fuentes to circulate essays and criticism on a mass scale, even though literature played a subordinate role to topics in current affairs, sports, and film. Meanwhile, smaller magazines like *Primera Plana* in Argentina, *Bohemia* in Cuba, and *Siempre!* in Mexico published excerpts from new Latin American writing, expanding the audience for Latin American literature beyond the cultural elites, who read journals like *Sur* and *Orígenes*, to a burgeoning middle class. It should be noted that, while *Primera Plana* and *Siempre!* did much to disseminate literary non-fiction during the period, they were also confined to national boundaries. Paradoxically, it would be smaller-scale magazines like *Casa de las Américas* and *Mundo Nuevo* that would make the Boom a Latin American—as opposed to a Mexican or Argentine—phenomenon. While *Mundo*

10 Rama, 240.

11 Ibid.

Nuevo never attracted a wide readership (it averaged around 5,000 copies per month) it was a primary vehicle for Boom literature and was considered, along with *Casa de las Américas* in Cuba, to be the most important outlet for the "new Latin American narrative," as literature produced in the second half of the twentieth century was often called.[12] Despite its short history and limited readership, *Mundo Nuevo* must be considered as one of the—if not the—most important factors in the rise and fall of the Boom.

Donoso, for his part, claims that the magazine was also the embodiment of a new negative image of Latin American writers as a "Mafia[…,] a pool of uprooted writers who lived olympically in foreign countries and who used *Mundo Nuevo* to share their formulas for success."[13] This was an image that Marxist writers in Uruguay and Cuba exploited until the magazine moved from its cosmopolitan perch in Paris to Buenos Aires in 1968. Antagonists like Viñas, Rama, and Roberto Fernández Retamar used *Mundo Nuevo*'s self-styled cosmopolitanism against the magazine, claiming that it was a liberal subterfuge, disconnected from the "underdeveloped" reality of Latin America. In this sense, the divide between *Mundo Nuevo* and *Casa de las Américas* often rehashed old polemics from the first half of the twentieth century. In Argentina, for example, there was a well-known split between the liberal cosmopolitan writers gathered around *Sur* and working-class realist writers known metonymically for their gritty Buenos Aires

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12 John King cites *Casa* and *Mundo Nuevo* as the two most important and influential magazines in the 1960s, when *Sur* had lost much of its relevance.

13 Donoso, 103-04.

neighborhood, Boedo. There were similar conflicts in Brazil, Mexico, and elsewhere, but the class-based antagonisms were contained, by and large, by national boundaries.

Despite attacks from the populist left, however, Donoso claims that *Mundo Nuevo* was, in large part, responsible for the Boom:

> During the years it was directed with talent and discrimination by Emir Rodríguez Monegal, this magazine exercised a decisive role in defining a generation[…]. *Mundo Nuevo* was the voice of the Latin American literature of its time[…]. For better or worse, and with all the risk that my statement implies, I am convinced that the history of the Boom, at the moment in which it was most united, is written in the pages of *Mundo Nuevo* up to the moment Emir Rodríguez Monegal abandoned its directorship [1968].[14]

Donoso should not be taken completely at his word: as the Chilean himself admits, he never shared his colleagues' enthusiasm for the Cuban Revolution and so never benefited from its contribution to the heady atmosphere of the Boom years.[15] Much like Borges, Donoso stayed on the sidelines of many of the political debates that fueled interest in Latin American writing and drove the polemics of the 1960s and early 1970s. Like Fuentes, Donoso also developed connections to the U.S. literary establishment as an

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14 Donoso, 104.

15 Worldwide fascination with the social, political, and cultural experiment that was the Cuban Revolution is widely cited a major factor for the expanding interest among cultural elites in Latin American literature. See Van Gosse, *Where the Boys Are: Cuba, Cold War America and the Making of a New Left* (London: Verso, 1993).

undergraduate writer for a Princeton literary magazine, and later as a professor at the University of Iowa Writers' Workshop, the most prestigious writers' program in the nation. The modest, chatty tone of Donoso's memoir also downplays his own role in the Boom. He credits Fuentes with helping Latin American writers transcend their own provincialisms, while it was Donoso, who, as a student at Princeton, established an important link to the U.S. academy.

According to Lucille Kerr, Donoso had published some short stories in English in a Princeton literary journal as an undergraduate. After he returned to Chile, the university hounded for unpaid tuition bills and Donoso's financial debt continued well into the 1960s. In a unique arrangement with the Princeton library, Donoso donated his personal papers to the university as a cancellation of his debt.[16] Many other Latin American writers later followed suit, selling their papers to Princeton after Donoso's initial "gift." While Donoso's memoir should be viewed in a critical light, then, it is still clear that he wielded a good deal of influence among his generation. Despite his lack of political commitment, he still landed a short story in *Casa de las Américas* and conserved the goodwill of writers of all political backgrounds. Still, Donoso completely cast his lot with Monegal, even after news of CIA funds surfaced in April 1967 in the *New York Times*. Although *Mundo Nuevo* was four times[17] removed from the CIA, the connection was

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16 This information comes from a talk by Lucille Kerr called "Corresponding Archives," given at the MLA Convention in Philadelphia, December 30, 2006.

17 As detailed in Chapter Two, the CIA deposited money into non-profit foundations like the Fairfield Foundation, which provided the majority of funds for the Congress for

enough to taint the magazine's image, as we have seen in Chapter Two. Still, the fallout from the CIA allegations severely damaged the magazine's credibility among many of the Boom writers. Even though—as I have shown in earlier chapters—the CIA agents responsible for funding the CCF had little in common with the agents responsible for toppling democratically elected governments, any association with the U.S. government proved poisonous to Latin American writers' reputations.[18]

Cultural Freedom. The CCF then distributed the money to ILARI, an umbrella organization for "cultural freedom" activities in Latin America. ILARI was cited as the sponsoring organization for *Mundo Nuevo*. This "quadruple pass" was enough to insulate Monegal from charges that he took marching orders from the CIA, although there is inconclusive evidence that he knew where the money came from and why his magazine was started in the first place. Information based on Keith Botsford, e-mail message to the author, January 31, 2007.

18 After they were forced to resign from the CCF, the CIA agents Michael Josselson and John Hunt bemoaned the rise of conservatism in the United States in the early 1970s. Hunt wrote to Josselson in 1970 that Nixon was "frightening." Once again, Hunt saw himself caught between the Cold Warriors at home and Marxist anti-Americans abroad: "The Cold War rhetoric, the military abstractions, the echoes of Agnew, not to mention the reminder of McCarthy and Checkers and all the rest—it added up to something deeply frightening." Michael Josselson Papers, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin, Box 19, Folder 2, May 1, 1970.

García Márquez, among others, wrote to Monegal in the wake of the publication of the *New York Times* article, telling him he had been "cuckolded" and would never contribute to the magazine again. García Márquez had previously been courted by Monegal as a sort of roving correspondent who would receive a monthly salary of $400. Monegal clearly recognized the Colombian's talent and potential, even though, at the time, he was less well known than Fuentes, Cortázar, or Vargas Llosa. García Márquez appeared to be seriously considering the offer—he was extremely poor at the time—until two things happened, almost simultaneously, as luck would have it: one, *Cien años de soledad* was published to immediate international critical acclaim, and two, Spanish translations of the *New York Times* articles on the CIA started appearing in *Marcha* and elsewhere in Latin America. When Monegal wrote to García Márquez asking if would accept his offer in 1967, he received a reply that is both scathing and humorous in its rejection of Monegal and his magazine. It is worth quoting at length, because it captures the spirit of the reaction of many members of the leftist Latin American intelligentsia to the *Mundo Nuevo*-CCF-CIA triangle:

> Créame que no tengo prejuicios insuperables contra los espías de la vida real. Cuando usted me invitó a colaborar en *Mundo Nuevo*, muchos amigos con menos sentido de humor político que yo, me previnieron acerca de la sospecha universal de que el CCF tuviera ciertos vinculos extraconyugales con la Agencia Central de Inteligencia de los Estados Unidos.[19] No me preocupó el que esas sospechas

19 García Márquez appears to reference an attempted "boycott" of the magazine in Cuba before it ever appeared. The boycott was headed up by Retamar, a former colleague of

fueran fundadas, porque creo y seguiré creyendo que cuando se escribe para una revista es uno quien influye en ella, y no al contrario, y porque de todos modos se sabía que el CCF era substantialmente financiado por la Fundacion Ford, y nunca he creído que haya incompatibidades muy notables entre los fines de este organismo y los de la CIA.[20] Al margen de todo, no dejaba de tener una cierta gracia el hecho de que parte del presupuesto del espionaje norteamericano se utilizara para divulgar la obra de este escritor, a quien no se le permite entrar a los Estados Unidos como un homenaje a su peligrosidad política[…].[21] En síntesis, yo creía que en esta ineffable historia de espionaje todos sabíamos honrademente cuál era el juego que estábamos jugando. Pero que ahora resulte que el CCF no

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Monegal's, who had carried on extensive correspondence with him about literary magazines.

20 Monegal insisted in public until his death that the Ford Foundation was the only sponsor of his magazine. His correspondence with CCF officials—from the accountant to the executive secretary—however, demonstrates that he knew the Ford Foundation would eventually pick up the funding. "Il faudra convertir cette fiction en réalité," he wrote to Pierre Emmanuel of the CCF in Paris, as noted in Chapter Two.

21 The State Department had denied García Márquez, like many Latin American writers, a visa to enter the country on account of his leftist politics. The CIA, on the other hand, had long realized the usefulness of cultivating ties with the so-called "non-communist left," a topic I explored in Chapter Three, and that Keith Botsford explained to me in an e-mail dated January 31, 2007.

> sabía cual era el suyo, es algo que escandalosamente sobrepasa los límites del humorismo, e invade los terrenos resbaladizos e imprevisibles de la literatura fantástica. En estas condiciones, señor Director, no me sorprendería que usted fuera el primero en entender que no vuelva colaborar en *Mundo Nuevo*, mientras esa revista mentenga caulquier vínculo con un organismo que nos ha colocado a usted y a mi, y a tantos amigos, en esta abrumadora situacion de cornudos.[22]

Other writers—including Monegal himself—expressed public indignation about the CIA link, but continued to support the magazine, which, after all, had proven to be a stable and well-paying outlet for modern Latin American writing.[23] Publicly, Fuentes, Monegal, and others disavowed the CIA connection, but privately, other contributors noted for their anticommunist views—especially Cabrera Infante—did not seem troubled by the origin

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[22] Gabriel García Márquez to Emir Rodríguez Monegal, May 24, 1967, Emir Rodríguez Monegal Papers, Princeton University. Box 7, Folder 12.

[23] See "La CIA y los intelectuales," *Mundo Nuevo* no. 14 (July 1967), 11-20. In this issue, Monegal published many documents relating to the connection between the CIA and the CCF in an effort to clear the air and seem—as always—above the fray of Cold War politics. An introduction to the issue proclaimed:

> Ante este hecho [the clear connection between the CIA and the CCF], *Mundo Nuevo* expresa la más enérgica condenación. Porque no se trata sólo de que la CIA haya engañado a tanto escritor independiente: se trata, sobre todo, que ha engañado a quienes habían demostrado su independencia frente al fascismo y al stalinismo en horas en que parecía casi imposible atreverse a decir una palabra.

of their paychecks. García Márquez, however, was not as indignant as some contributors, perhaps because he was no longer in financial straights that would require him to continue publishing in *Mundo Nuevo* for $400 a month. As *Cien años de soledad* became the quintessential Boom best-seller, García Márquez could afford to put distance between himself and Monegal. Indeed, it is rarely noted by critics that the first two chapters of the Colombian's masterpiece first appeared in a CIA-sponsored journal.

Donoso, meanwhile, continued to count on the editor's support in publishing his experimental, sprawling, and at times non-linear novel *El obsceno pájaro de la noche* when he had trouble finding a publisher. In his memoir, he cites the influence of another writer increasingly at odds with the Cubans in the late 1960s: Carlos Fuentes. Donoso claims that it was Fuentes who connected him with a U.S. literary agent, Carl D. Brandt. Both Fuentes and Donoso were part of a handful of writers—including Severo Sarduy, Augusto Roa Bastos, and García Márquez—who were published multiple times in *Mundo Nuevo* from 1966 to 1968. Nevertheless, the fact that it was in Donoso's best interest to portray *Mundo Nuevo* as the definitive vehicle for Boom literature, while also completely eliding the question of CCF and CIA influence, does not entirely discredit his statement. Donoso's account of the 1960s has proven factually correct and the magazine's impressive track record of publishing high-quality writing attests to his claim that the Boom's history is largely "written in the pages" of *Mundo Nuevo*.

Before they appeared as novels, several key Boom texts appeared in serial form in *Mundo Nuevo* during the years 1966 and 1967, including Carlos Fuentes's *Cambio de piel*, Gabriel García Márquez's *Cien años de soledad*, Guillermo Cabrera Infante's *Tres tristes tigres*, as well as Donoso's *Obsceno pájaro*. In terms of literary style, these works

have little in common. García Márquez's novel is a magical realist fable of multiple generations of the Buendía family based in the mythical town of Macondo. The town can be interpreted as an archetype for Caribbean Latin America: it suffers generations of civil wars and is exploited by a corporation of banana-hungry North Americans before being wiped off the map in a storm.

Although *Cien años* employs a broad narrative scope and jumps in time, it is not self-consciously difficult like Fuentes's *Cambio de piel*, which is replete with pop culture references and earnest philosophical reflections on Mexican and Latin American identity. Cabrera Infante's *Tres tristes tigres*, on the other hand, can be read—according to its author—as one extended joke. There is little in the way of plot and much in the way of sarcasm, bilingual punning, and multiple allusions to Cuban popular music and Hollywood, Cabrera Infante's pet subjects. Such a diverse range of literary production was an extraordinary feat and did much to call attention to "the new Latin American narrative." Still, Latin American literature only constituted roughly half of a typical issue of the magazine. *Mundo Nuevo* also included a great many sketches from literary congresses, "happenings"—artists' gatherings that usually involved some improvisational theatricality—and cultural news from abroad, covered in a section called "Sextante" (Compass). There were also calls for solidarity with jailed writers, including Yuli Daniel and Andrei Sinyavsky, two Soviets who were convicted in a show trial and sentenced to hard labor in a Gulag in 1966.[24]

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24 *Mundo Nuevo* 1 (July 1966).

Furthermore, as a member of what CIA agent and Congress for Cultural Freedom Executive Secretary Michael Josselson called the "grande famille" of CCF magazines, *Mundo Nuevo* could reprint, in Spanish, works from *Encounter*, *Preuves*, and other CCF-affiliated publications. This meant that Fuentes and Donoso would share space with older, accomplished writers of international stature like Ignacio Silone, Arthur Miller, and Saul Bellow, as well as avant-garde writers like William Burroughs, Juan Goytisolo, and Samuel Beckett. Indeed, by advertising these names in a minimalist, sans-serif font on the cover of each edition, *Mundo Nuevo* seemed to be announcing itself as the late-1960s response to Goethe's early nineteenth-century call for *Weltliteratur*. Despite this impressive body of work, *Mundo Nuevo*'s impact on the Boom remains a matter of some controversy, since the magazine never overcame the political baggage of being financed by the CCF, which, as we have seen in previous chapters, was directed by CIA agents with CIA funds. This controversy has obscured a dispassionate analysis of how the magazine impacted the cultural politics of the Boom.

Even if a truly international *Weltliteratur* was not possible due to the exigencies of the Cold War, *Mundo Nuevo* did serve as a vehicle for taking Latin American literature into what Casanova calls "international literary space."[25] Not only did the magazine place Latin American authors in the same pages as other members of the international avant-garde and give Latin America equal billing with the developed world, the magazine also

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[25] Pascale Casanova, "Literature as a World," *New Left Review* 31 (January-February 2005).

reflected a liberal, cosmopolitan attitude toward the most pressing political issues of the day, especially those regarding the repression of cultural freedom in Communist countries. Because Monegal realized from the outset that avoidance of political issues would be impossible in a magazine about Latin American writing, he tried to take the radical edge off the revolutionary, dependency-theory mentality of the late 1960s. Central to this attitude was Monegal's repeated insistence that writers act as "independent intellectuals" and reject both right- and left-wing orthodoxies.[26] This meant opposing a few actions taken by the U.S.government—the invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965 and the War in Vietnam[27]—while also siding with the CCF's anti-Communism regarding dissident writers and upholding individual artistic freedom in general. Like its intellectual antecedent, *Sur*, it also held fast to anti-Peronism in Argentina and anti-Francoism in Spain.

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[26] See *Mundo Nuevo* 1 (July, 1966) and *Mundo Nuevo* 14 (August, 1967). The August, 1967, issue contained an entire dossier on the CIA connection, titled "La CIA y los intelectuales." Monegal seemed to believe that airing the entire affair in the pages of his magazine would be seen as a sign that the agency did not control the content of *Mundo Nuevo*.

[27] See "El P.E.N. Club contra la guerra fría," *Mundo Nuevo* 5 (November 1966), 85-90, and "Situación del escritor en América Latina," *Mundo Nuevo* 1 (July 1966), 5-21. Both these articles oppose the Vietnam War and the invasion of the Dominican Republic while maintaining an aloof attitude about the writer's role in bringing about direct social action.

Mundo Nuevo's liberal cosmopolitanism shaped the cultural politics of the Boom by moving some of its authors away from a "committed" model of literature, which was, in turn, exemplified by official cultural institutions of the Cuban Revolution, including Casa de las Américas. *Mundo Nuevo* attempted to shift the field of Latin American writing away from a paradigm of the writer as a political and aesthetic revolutionary to a model of the "independent intellectual" who could transcend Cold War politics. It is important to note that emphasizing the cosmopolitan independent intellectual was not the same as depoliticizing Latin American writing, an inescapably politicized field of cultural production. Rather than sterilize political struggle in its pages, *Mundo Nuevo* tried to show how cosmopolitan writers could create an alternate path of dialogue that could end what it saw as petty political strife. This seemingly apolitical effort—to foster dialogue between writers of different political and aesthetic situations in different areas of the world—led to *Mundo Nuevo*'s involvement in some of the most important battles of the cultural Cold War in Latin America.

Theoretical Framework and Definitions: The Boom as World Literature and Latin America in "International Literary Space"

The nation-state has traditionally occupied a privileged place in literary studies. Even in disciplines that foreground language over nation, the field is subdivided to

account for specialization in a specific country's literature. Thus, English Departments are typically divided into "British" and "American" subfields, while Spanish Departments are occupied by "Mexicanists," "Peninsularists," and so forth. Courses are often organized around the literature of a particular nation at a particular time. The problem with conceptualizing the Boom as part of what Casanova calls "international literary space" is that one must elide important differences between the national literatures of Argentina, Peru, Guatemala, and so on. Obviously, there are tremendous differences between Argentina—a country with a substantial publishing infrastructure and literate population—and Nicaragua—a country with few publishing houses and literary magazines, if, albeit, a strong poetic tradition. Indeed, as Donoso notes in his memoir of the Boom, the very concept of "Spanish American" or "Latin American" literature was rarely used before the Boom. Before the 1950s, Donoso writes,

> In each country, no one knew what was being written in other Latin American countries, especially because it was so difficult to publish a first novel or a first collection of short stories or to get them recognized. All the publishing houses were more or less poor and, in the larger countries, prejudiced in favor of foreign literature[…]. [T]o have them print more than a couple thousand copies[…] was impossible.[28]

The example of Nicaragua, nevertheless, is instructive since the country produced Rubén Darío, the most accomplished and anthologized poet of Hispanic *modernismo*. How did Darío, a poet from a provincial city in a provincial country, become a stand-in for *modernismo* itself? Casanova answers this very question by asserting that Darío, as a

Latin American traveler in Paris in the late nineteenth century, "re-expropriated" the domination of literary capital of the world at that time. "[Darío] then carried out an astonishing operation, which can only be called an expropriation of literary capital: he imported, into Spanish poetry itself, the very procedures, themes, vocabulary and forms lofted by the French symbolists," writes Casanova.[29] Thus, Darío entered "international literary space," which Casanova claims is a fairly "autonomous field" with its own struggles for prestige and cultural capital. "International literary space," like Goethe's *Weltliteratur*, acknowledges that texts and authors circulate with relative autonomy to a country's political boundaries, but also recognizes the naïveté of Goethe's formulation. For Casanova, "international literary space,"—unlike *Weltliteratur* —is fraught with struggles for cultural and social capital; it is a world of "symbolic violence" and "domination," key terms in the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, whose work has done much to explicate the class-based value systems of literature and the arts.

Mundo Nuevo, like Darío, entered this space by planting itself in Paris but asserting the modernity of Latin American literature for all of Europe and the United States to see. For Casanova, the violent realm of "international literary space" has little to do with economic or political realities. Although her framework downplays the real-world political struggles that are often behind the funding and operation of a magazine such as *Mundo Nuevo*—as well as its antagonists in Cuba—her terms can help us conceptualize a way of transcending national and linguistic borders in literary studies.

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[28] Donoso, 21-22.

[29] Casanova, 88.

Casanova's study of the literary field can help us understand how *Mundo Nuevo* was able to accumulate enough symbolic capital for Latin American literature to be rewarded with literary prestige on an international level:

> The hypothesis of a world space, functioning through a structure of domination that is, to some extent, independent of political, economic, linguistic and social forms, clearly owes a great deal to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the "field" and, more precisely, of the "literary field." But the latter has so far been envisaged within a national framework, limited by the borders, historical traditions and capital accumulation processes of a specific nation-state. I found in Fernand Braudel's work, and his "world-economy" in particular, the idea and the possibility of extending the analysis of these mechanisms onto the international plane.[30]

As Rama and others have shown, the Boom was not a fully "autonomous" phenomenon, but a manifestation of an expansion of a liberal economic system in Latin America. Nevertheless, Casanova's work can help us understand why a magazine with a small circulation played such a large role in expanding Latin American literature.

30 Casanova, 80.

The PEN Club vs. La Revolución: Liberal Cosmopolitanism, Dependency Theory, and the Political Construction of the Boom

In 1965, a year before the first edition of *Mundo Nuevo*, Keith Botsford, a British-born, Spanish-speaking writer and intellectual active in the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the PEN Club, sent a letter to Monegal. In it, Botsford asked Monegal if he would attend an International PEN meeting in Bled, Yugoslavia, later that year. Monegal had come to the attention of the Congress for Cultural Freedom through his work in *Marcha*, where he engaged in a public feud with Marxist *terceristas*—part of the emerging New Left—which included editors like Rama. Luis Mercier Vega and Botsford were eying Monegal as a possible candidate to start the CCF's new Latin American magazine, which would replace the much-maligned *Cuadernos*, an anti-Communist journal mainly read by Spanish émigrés.[31] First, however, the CCF—including Botsford and John Hunt (who would later turn out to be one of the two CIA agents in the CCF)—

31 A very frank letter from Botsford to the American sociologist and anti-Communist Daniel Bell details just how poorly *Cuadernos* was perceived in Latin America. Botsford wrote: "Arcienagas [the last editor of the magazine] was a fink. That much was clear. His magazine would do nothing in Latin America. That much was also clear. No one read it. That much was clear. It was a pile of shit, that was clear. I am sure John [Hunt] agreed—so John is let out." Despite all this—and the CIA involvement—Botsford agreed with the CCF's goals and wanted to "win the Cold War." Keith Botsford to Daniel Bell. [undated] Emir Rodríguez Monegal Papers, Princeton University. Box 2, Folder 23.

wanted Monegal to travel to Yugoslavia as a delegate for PEN Uruguay—an entity that Monegal had never heard of—and cast a vote for the president of the International PEN Club.[32] There were two candidates: Miguel Angel Asturias, a Guatemalan novelist living in Paris, and Arthur Miller, a U.S. playwright who had created a stir in the 1950s by defying Sen. Joseph McCarthy's Communist witch hunts.

Asturias would have seemed like the favorite for a Latin American critic like Monegal, who was particularly concerned about the lack of international recognition for Spanish-speaking writers. By 1965, Asturias had published a number of experimental novels such as *El Señor Presidente* (1946) and *Hombres de maíz* (1949) that had pushed the boundaries of Latin American regionalism beyond its social-realist limitations and had foregrounded Modernist formal innovations like stream-of-consciousness narration. Two years later, as previously noted, Asturias would receive the most visible and high-profile literary award on the planet, the Nobel Prize for Literature. In terms of ideology, both Miller and Asturias belonged to the left; both had paid a real price for their convictions, Miller for his confrontation with McCarthy and Asturias for his sympathies with the deposed government of Jacobo Arbenz. Miller, unlike Asturias, however, was no revolutionary.

For CCF figures like Botsford and Hunt, it was imperative that Asturias not be elected president of the PEN Club, which had been (and continues to be) an organization dedicated to the idea of absolute cultural freedom. The PEN Club, however, did not have

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32 Emir Rodríguez Monegal to Keith Botsford. [undated] Emir Rodríguez Monegal Papers, Princeton University. Box 2, Folder 23.

as vexed a reputation among the Left as the CCF. Anti-Communists, then, saw the PEN Club as an opportunity to take some shots at well-known communist writers like Neruda. "1965 was the year of the great Bled conference, with Don Pablo Neruda sitting next to Ignazio Silone, at which I managed to help place Arthur Miller as President," Botsford wrote.[33] In a letter to Monegal, Botsford wrote that Asturias was an "exquisita sordidez" and that Monegal should vote for Miller if he wanted the CCF to foot the bill. Furthermore, Botsford wrote, "John Mander[34] sniffed something out and sent a memo to hqs. saying that obviously you were ideally suited for this and that,"[35] a clear allusion to Monegal's potential editorship at *Mundo Nuevo*. "Headquarters," was, of course, the leadership of the Congress for Cultural Freedom in Paris, which was desperate to find a new audience in Latin America. In the meantime, though, Monegal agreed to travel to Yugoslavia and cast a vote that would register as much *against* Asturias as *for* Miller. Monegal shared the CCF's negative opinion of the Guatemalan; he would later write that Asturias—who had done so much to recast Latin American fiction as "magic realism"—

33 Keith Botsford, e-mail to author, January 31, 2007.

34 Mander was a British writer who had written about Latin American affairs for the CCF's premier magazine, *Encounter*.

35 Keith Botsford to Emir Rodríguez Monegal. [undated] Emir Rodríguez Monegal Papers, Princeton University. Box 2, Folder 23.

employed a "slow, rhetorical tone" and "belongs to that generation which believes literature to be something sacred."[36]

It is easy to see why Monegal would be a safe bet to vote against Asturias, despite the former's unabashed role as a promoter of Latin American literature as *Weltliteratur*. Unlike Monegal—a cosmopolitan more at home in Paris than his native Uruguay—Asturias viewed literature as a didactic tool to represent oppression and suffering in the world, especially what he viewed as neo-imperialism by the United States in Latin America. Despite the fact that Asturias was himself a cosmopolitan intellectual who even served as Guatemala's ambassador to France for a time, he viewed himself—and his fellow Latin American writers—as "men of the people," grounded in the social and political realities of the oppressed. As Asturias told Rita Guibert in 1973,

> Our Latin American literature has always been a committed, a responsible literature[...]. [T]he great works of our countries have been written in response to a vital need, a need of the people, and therefore almost all our literature is committed. Only as an exception do some of our writers isolate themselves and become uninterested in what is happening around them; such writers are concerned with psychological or egocentric subjects and the problems of a personality out of contact with surrounding reality[…]. To believe that we Latin Americans are going to teach Europeans to reflect, to philosophize, to write egocentric or psychological novels, to believe that we are already a mature

36 Rita Guibert. *Seven Voices: Seven Latin American Writers Talk to Rita Guibert* (New York: Knopf, 1973), xii.

enough society to produce a Proust or a Goethe—that would be daydreaming and self-deception.[37]

If elected president of International PEN in 1965, Asturias surely would have had ample space to promote his view that Latin America was too underdeveloped to "teach" Europeans about "psychological" fiction. He would surely promote the idea that literature would have to be "responsible" and "committed" to social action, something that *Casa de las Américas*, which frequently published the speeches of Fidel Castro along with the latest poetry and fiction, would approve of. Asturias, like many of the Cuban writers active in government-sponsored cultural institutions, saw Latin America's relationship to the United States and Europe as troubled by economic underdevelopment and neo-colonialism.[38] Retamar put it succinctly in a letter to Monegal reprinted in *Marcha*: "Because it is financed by the United States, [the CCF]'s only mission is the defense of U.S. imperial interests, not the defense of 'cultural freedom.'"[39] This fact overshadowed any aesthetic affinities between Latin American writers and "First World" writers. Because Latin American literature was also subjected to the logic of underdevelopment, writers were to use whatever power they had to bring attention to this inequality and foster solidarity among other oppressed peoples in Asia and Africa.

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37 Guibert, 151.

38 See Vidal's *Literatura hispanoamericana e ideología liberal.*

39 Roberto Fernández Retamar, "Los Dichos y los Hechos: Cartas Vistas," *Marcha* 1295 (11 March1966), 29.

Indeed, Asturias's model of politically engaged literature was by no means limited to his immediate circle. Due in large part to the success of the Cuban Revolution and the emergence of Marxist "dependency theory," many Latin American writers and critics sympathized with Asturias's views during the Boom. Vidal, for example, famously criticized the Boom as a symptom of a liberal bourgeois attitude that saw literature as a "denationalized" commodity.[40] For Vidal, Boom writers—especially Fuentes—embraced the marketing successes of Boom novels because they seemed to presage a liberal utopia: an economic system in which modernity and middle class status are available to everyone, regardless of nationality. Fuentes and other presumably leftist writers were, for Vidal, liberals in disguise. In this sense, Vidal sees the Boom as a "reaffirmation" of liberal romanticism. He writes:

> Se trata, por lo tanto, de una forma literaria que refleja y responde a la nueva fase de dependencia latinoamericana bajo la hegemonía económica de los conglomerados multinacionales, en especial aquellos con base en los Estados Unidos. Por ello, el término narrativa del *boom* es de gran utilidad para designar este movimiento, ya que apunta a sus raíces sociales. La aparición de sus obras más representativas coincide en su auge e impacto con la orientación consumista de las economías hispanoamericas más avanzadas, desde mediados de la década de 1950 hasta fines de los sesenta.

The Boom is a middle-class phenomenon that reinforces the values and economic demands of the marketplace:

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40 Vidal, 67.

> El libro producido en América y España, convertido en mercancía de distribución y consumo masivo, [es] sometido a sistemas de propaganda, promoción y comercialización similares a los del cine, la televisión, la ropa de moda y los aparatos de uso casero[…]. No es un azar que algunas de las figuras más claramente asociadas con esta narrativa—Carlos Fuentes, Juan Rulfo, Julio Cortázar, Juan Carlos Onetti, José Donoso, Mario Vargas Llosa—provengan de los países hispanoamericanos que alcanzaron una mayor modernización dependentista durante este período.[41]

One could dispute Vidal's claim that Boom writers come from Spanish American countries that have achieved the greatest degrees of economic development. Gabriel García Márquez, probably the most high-profile of the Boom writers, comes from Colombia, a country not nearly as economically developed in the global economy as Argentina or Mexico. Regardless of the truth or falsity of Vidal's claims, his critique represents a powerful rebuttal to the cosmopolitan project of Monegal, *Mundo Nuevo*, and the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Like Asturias, Vidal foregrounds the economic and political inequality between, one the one hand, Europe and the United States, and Latin America on the other hand. Social consciousness was also at the forefront of Cuban cultural production, as we shall see later.

For Monegal and Botsford, however, there was another model for the Latin American Boom that would foreground its formal innovations and its hyper-modern artistic sensibilities. Although Monegal never sought to "depoliticize" literature—as

41 Vidal, 66-67.

some of *Mundo Nuevo*'s detractors would claim—he did try to integrate Latin American literature into the field of world literature, so that the Modernist experiments of a Julio Cortázar or a Carlos Fuentes would be read on the same level as a Günter Grass or an Alain Robbe-Grillet. In this model—best expressed by the term "liberal cosmopolitanism"—literature would be neither a sacrosanct canon of dead Europeans nor a "responsible, committed" movement that exposed oppression by imperialists and *petits-bourgeois*. In their model, the Boom would represent the emergence of Latin American Modernism, a Modernism as intellectually sophisticated and self-conscious as Proust's or Faulkner's. When Monegal wrote an article in the CCF journal *Encounter* before he became editor of *Mundo Nuevo*, claiming that the second half of the twentieth century would witness a flowering of the Latin American novel equivalent to what happened in Russia and the United States in the nineteenth century, Guillermo Cabrera Infante wrote Monegal to express his sympathies. "Estoy de acuerdo con su apreciación de que esta segunda mitad del siglo vera surgir la novela de America de habla española con la fuerza con que surgió la novela rusa y americana,"[42] Cabrera Infante wrote from London, where he was privately venting his frustrations with the Castro government to Monegal.

Cabrera Infante was an early supporter of the Cuban Revolution and director of the wildly experimental literary supplement to *Revolución* newspaper, *Lunes de Revolución*. He corresponded with Monegal frequently, often to complain about the political threats from the Cuban regime he had turned his back on. When Monegal started

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42 Emir Rodríguez Monegal, undated letter to Guillermo Cabrera Infante. Princeton Library. Emir Rodríguez Monegal Papers. Box 4, folder 3.

editing *Mundo Nuevo*, Cabrera Infante saw an opportunity to regain a position at a prestigious literary magazine and earn a steady income, something he sorely needed in London. “Estoy realment mal economicamente,” Cabrera Infante told Monegal in April, 1967.[43] In 1966, Cabrera Infante was still working on *Tres Tristes Tigres*, purportedly revising its contents in light of his disillusionment with the Cuban Revolution. Carlos Barral, the famous editor from Barcelona had agreed to publish the novel,[44] and Monegal worked out a deal with Barral to publish individual chapters in *Mundo Nuevo*. The fact that Barral—a book publisher in Spain—and Monegal—a magazine editor in Paris—were able to work together seamlessly in publishing such a monumental work was quite an accomplishment. Their relationship also underscores the importance of European networks in making the Boom happen. Although Cabrera Infante is generally considered among the “second tier” of Boom authors because he never enjoyed the overwhelming critical or commercial success of the five core Boom writers, he was a subject of intense interest among the upper echelons of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, including the devoted anti-Communist and co-editor of *Encounter*, Melvin Lasky. Cabrera Infante told Monegal that he had been interviewed by Lasky, and a version of the discussion would

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43 Monegal letter to Cabrera Infante.

44 The publishing history of *Tres Tristes Tigres* is complicated, to say the least. Cabrera Infante wrote much of the book before his self-imposed exile in Belgium, when his view of the Revolution was more sympathetic than it was after the period under discussion here. The book was to be titled *Vista del amanecer en el trópico*, which became the title of a later, more restrained historical novel.

run in *Encounter* in March. “Contaria con pelos y señales el problema cultural de Cuba,” Cabrera Infante wrote.[45]

Cabrera Infante was ready to formally break with the Cuban regime, but Monegal urged him not to do so. By 1967, the Cuban writer had taken preliminary steps toward signaling his discontent: he had pulled a story out of a British anthology of Cuban fiction when he learned that the editor would write that all the contributors were loyal to the Castro government. “Este repudio mio es mi primer acto público en contra declarada al gobierno de Máximo Bully,” Cabrera Infante wrote, using a stinging epithet for Castro.[46] Although *Mundo Nuevo* had been conceived by CCF leaders—especially the CIA agents Michael Josselson and John Hunt—as a way to create an alternative cultural voice to the Cuban Revolution in Latin America, the editor, Monegal, was not eager to have an outright dissident as one of his premier contributors. The Cuban Revolution was still a touchstone for international intellectuals who hoped for a non-Soviet version of socialism for the underdeveloped world. Monegal told Cabrera Infante that, although he sympathized with the latter’s increasingly pessimistic view of the situation in Cuba, it would not be prudent to appear hostile toward the Revolution. Indeed, Monegal’s reply to Cabrera Infante is a diplomatic entreaty for caution with respect to Cuba:

> Es muy importante que una revista como *Mundo Nuevo* esté por encima, no sólo de las críticas malintencionadas de nuestros enemigos sino también de los bien intencionadas de gente que todavía se resiste a creer que las cosas en Cuba andan

45 Monegal letter to Cabrera Infante, undated.

46 Monegal letter to Cabrera Infante, undated.

> tan mal como andan. Hay que darles tiempo a que lo vayan descrubriendo y en esa labor nosotros tenemos que ser sumamente cautelosos.[47]

It is reasonable to conclude from the exchange that Monegal saw Cabrera Infante as a key element in *Mundo Nuevo*'s project to shift the Boom's political allegiances away from the Cuban Revolution with its model of the committed, responsible writer. Monegal's exchanges with Botsford and Cabrera Infante make it clear that the Uruguayan viewed the Cuban regime as totalitarian and nationalistic, even when he expressed a positive view of it in public. This dual nature of Monegal's opinion of Cuba is evident in a famous interview with Carlos Fuentes, "Situación del escritor en América Latina."[48] The correspondence between Monegal and Cabrera Infante also shows that Monegal knew that to express these political beliefs outright would be suicide for his magazine. For this reason—not because *Mundo Nuevo* was "committed to dialogue," as he often claimed in the magazine—Monegal published pieces that reflected an ambivalent attitude toward Cuba.[49] Only after 1971, when the Padilla Case came to international media attention, would Latin American writers begin to explicitly break ranks with Cuba.[50]

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47 Ibid.

48 Emir Rodríguez Monegal, interview with Carlos Fuentes, "Situación del escritor en América Latina," *Mundo Nuevo* 1 (July 1966).

49 Chapter Four, "Mundo Nuevo and the Cuban Revolution," will deal more specifically with the relationship between the magazine and Cuba.

50 Many writers, including Cortázar, refused to criticize the government for its handling of Padilla.

The struggle over how best to deal with Cuba while promoting a liberal, cosmopolitan view of the Boom was only one of *Mundo Nuevo*'s dilemmas in its first two heady years. The other main struggle was with a cultural nationalism that defended literature as an autochthonous expression of a nation's identity. This cultural nationalism found a political voice on the right in Peronism as well as on the left in Castroism. As already noted, the liberalism of the CCF had already led to the feud with Miguel Angel Asturias before *Mundo Nuevo* even began publishing. Literary movements in early to mid-twentieth-century Latin America like *regionalismo* and *criollismo* had provided rhetorical power for a defense of the nation. For José Donoso (one of the five core writers of the Boom), the regionalist trend in Latin American fiction was oppressive for his generation. Chile, in particular, had a strong realist tradition that Donoso found oppressive. In fact, Donoso asserts that the Boom's defining characteristic is its rejection of realist, provincial fiction from Latin America and Spain and its simultaneous embrace of European and U.S. Modernism. In Donoso's memoir—perhaps the single most revealing document about the relationships between writers, publishers, literary agents, and editors during the Boom years—he voices his generation's frustrations with cultural nationalism. Donoso rails against the regionalist tradition embodied by *criollismo*, a term often, but not exclusively, used in conjunction with Chilean fiction:

> With their entomologist's magnifying glasses, the *criollistas* were cataloguing the flora and proverbs which were unmistakably ours. A novel was considered good if it loyally reproduced these autochthonous worlds, all that which specifically

> makes us different—which separates us—from other areas and other countries of the continent, a type of foolproof, chauvinistic machismo.[51]

Mundo Nuevo would provide exactly the kind of antidote to the "local color" Donoso found so repugnant. As Monegal explained it, the name of the magazine came from a desire to break free from the region's literary traditions while also referencing the "New World." It was, in other words, a New World for the New World. Donoso's *Historia personal* echoes *Mundo Nuevo*'s editorial mission statement—the "Presentación" discussed in Chapter One. That is, Donoso wanted to transcend the ideological battles and nationalistic literary traditions that had hampered the development of an innovative Latin American literature. But while *Mundo Nuevo*, like its founder, tried to be diplomatic about the project to recast the Boom as a liberal cosmopolitan movement by accepting "dialógo" and the "fecunda circulación de ideas y puntos de vista contrarios,"[52] Donoso expressed his distaste for the overt political content of much Latin American writing:

> Along with the *criollistas,* social realism also attempted to raise isolating barriers: the novel of protest, preoccupied with national concerns, with the "important social problems" which urgently needed to be solved, imposing a lasting and deceptive criterion: in addition to being unmistakably ours, as the *criollistas* wanted, the novel should be, above all else, "important[...] serious," an instrument which would be directly useful to social progress. Any attitude which might be

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51 Donoso, 33.

52 "Presentación." *Mundo Nuevo.*

> accused of leaving the bad taste of something that might be labeled "Aestheticism" was anathema. Formal experimentation was prohibited.[53]

This was a view shared by Carlos Fuentes in his interview with Monegal in the first edition of *Mundo Nuevo*, "La situación del escritor en América Latina," in which Fuentes drops names of prominent Hollywood figures and then-voguish thinkers like Marshall McLuhan. Indeed, one of the few common characteristics of the core Boom writers was their dim view of the preceding generation of writers from their home countries.[54] In the years before the Boom—especially the 1930s and 1940s—writers like the Ecuadorian Jorge Icaza used stripped-down prose and one-dimensional characters to portray exploitation of the indigenous people of the Andes by the local ruling class and North American capitalists. As Donoso notes, these writers sought to reconstruct national conflicts within the world of the novel and rejected narrative innovation as "europeizante."

Conclusion

Because the core writers of the Boom—García Márquez, Cortázar, Fuentes, Donoso, and Vargas Llosa—managed to transcend regional boundaries and occupy

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53 Donoso, 33.

54 There were notable exceptions. Borges was embraced from early on, and María Luisa Bombal was also cited as an example of non-realist, cosmopolitan writing.

canonical places in "international literary space," scholars have devoted their critical energies to analyzing these writers' use of language and innovation in narrative structure. Traces of Faulkner, Kafka, and Borges have been analyzed in novels, and narratologists have laid bare the complicated structures that underpin Boom novels. Critics who have paid serious attention to the political and commercial apparatus of the Boom, on the other hand, have tended to dismiss the period as a corrupting influence of liberal capitalism. Remarkably few critics have focused on these writers' relationships to the social and historical milieu from which they emerged in a value-neutral way.[55] As Casanova points out, scholarly focus on the networks of patronage and prestige in literary studies need not imply that formal aspects of writing do not matter. This sort of work, rather, helps us put into perspective which sort of formal qualities are valued, who constructs this value, and to what political ends literature can be deployed. This is an area that writers, who have a vested interest in protecting the integrity and mystery of their craft, have themselves been

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55 Exceptions—and inspirations for this current project—include Deborah Cohn, "A Tale of Two Translation Programs: Politics, the Market, and Rockefeller Funding for Latin American Literature in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s," Latin American Research Review 41.2 (2006) 139-164 and Alejandro Herrero-Olaizola, "Consuming Aesthetics: Seix Barral and José Donoso in the Field of Latin American Literary Production," MLN 115.2 (2000) 323-339.

reluctant to discuss. It is up to the literary historian, therefore, to excavate the creation of literary prestige.

Chapter Four:

From Inside to Outside the Revolution: *Mundo Nuevo* and the Congress for Cultural Freedom's Response to the Cuban Cultural Policy

I was sitting in Mike's Place, Fidel
Waiting for someone else
To act like a good liberal…

--Lawrence Ferlinghetti

A complete account of the role of the Congress for Cultural Freedom and *Mundo Nuevo* in the development of a pan-Latin American literary culture during the Cold War is impossible without understanding the magazine's vexed relationship to what was, perhaps, the single most important event in twentieth-century Latin American history: the

Cuban Revolution. It is hard to underestimate the influence of the Cuban Revolution on the cultural politics of Latin America: Herbert Matthews, the *New York Times* reporter who followed Fidel Castro's trek through the Sierra Maestra and then into Havana, wrote that "[o]n January 1, 1959, when Fidel Castro triumphed, began a new era in Latin America."[1] For the generation of writers coming to maturity during the late 1950s, the Revolution was a catalyzing event. In the words of Deborah Cohn:

> The Revolution was viewed by many as inspiration for achieving self-determination for Spanish America, and it enjoyed the support of many of the region's intellectuals, as well as numerous others internationally, during its first decade… [S]upport of the Cuban Revolution provided ideological coherence to the Boom through the late 1960s, and the literary movement was itself viewed as indicative of the autonomy of the region's literature and the end of literary colonialism. [2]

Not only did the Revolution give "ideological coherence" to the Boom, it also created an institutional framework of government-controlled book and magazine publishers, a prestigious literary prize, a writers' union, and a film institute. Together, these institutions fostered a particular brand of brand of cultural production that cultivated solidarity against U.S. "neo-imperialism" and promoted the development of a Third World

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[2] Deborah Cohn, "Retracing *The Lost Steps*," 81.

consciousness.[3] Almost immediately after the July 26 Movement's triumph, writers, artists, and intellectuals began to achieve prominent positions in the Revolution. At least initially, though, a wide variety of opinions about the future of the island existed among Cuba's intelligentsia. After approximately two years of experimentation and dialogue, a period in which writers and cliques battled each other for distinction and status, the Consejo Nacional de la Cultura was created 1962, consolidating organizations on the "inside" of the Revolution and marginalizing groups on the "outside."

It is not hard to see the appeal of the Revolution among writers and intellectuals. Although parts of Cuba were economically developed (Havana was particularly prosperous) intellectual life suffered during the Batista years (1953-1959). In its early days, the Revolution fostered the right atmosphere for a cultural renaissance. In the years leading up the Revolution, the University of Havana had been shut down and censorship of the press was widespread. The magazine *Bohemia*, one of the most prominent and widely respected in Latin America, admitted in 1958 that it withheld articles that might incur the wrath of government censors.[4] Suddenly, on January 1, 1959, intellectuals like the historian and novelist Jorge Mañach had crucial roles to play in forming the cultural

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3 As mentioned in earlier chapters, dependency theory—the idea that a minority of wealthy nations created wealth by exploiting the natural resources of the majority of underdeveloped nations—was a key element in the creation of the a pan-Latin American consciousness. The materialist outlook of dependency theory did much to displace the "spiritualist" version of Pan-Americanism promoted by Frank, Rodó, and others.

4 See "The Reluctant Democrat," *Time* (February 3, 1958).

foundations for a movement that, in Matthews's words, represented something "new, exciting, dangerous, and infectious in the Western Hemisphere."[5] Indeed, with the possible exception of the Mexican Revolution in 1910, the Cuban Revolution was the first twentieth-century Latin American revolution to reverberate across the world and affect cultural and literary production throughout the Americas. With the founding of the cultural clearinghouse Casa de las Américas in 1959, Cuba began to play a pivotal role in creating a Latin American literary consciousness, bringing writers and critics to the island and publishing a magazine that, as its title indicates, fostered the idea of a hemisphere-wide literary culture.[6] The first issue (1960) of Casa's eponymous magazine was unabashed in its transnational, utopian aspirations:

> Esta revista cree, tal vez ingenuamente, en la existencia de una concepción de la vida hispanoamericana. Esta revista es una esperanza, incierta y riesgosa, de la posibilidad de cambiar la realidad. Porque si existe América no es la que encontramos cada día, deshecha y superficial, sino la que en política ha demostrado que la Utopia puede hacerse real y que por tanto la Revolución no es

5 Wright, xiii.

6 As noted in Chapter Three, the Boom of the early 1960s helped galvanize the notion that Latin America has a shared literary tradition and facilitated the commerce of books and authors across national boundaries. See José Donoso, *The Boom in Spanish American Literature: A Personal History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).

> una falacia. Es una razón ante la cual podemos aceptar morir sin dramatismos pero conscientemente.[7]

From the beginning, *Casa* would overtly politicize literature, making political struggle part and parcel of the revolutionary project, thus breaking with previous Cuban literary magazines such as *Orígenes* (1944-1956). *Casa* published a sophisticated literary *oeuvre*—early issues included works by Julio Cortázar and Mario Vargas Llosa—but also published political tracts and speeches by Castro and Che Guevara. The magazine devoted space in early issues to Marxist political theory from French writers like Louis Althusser and Régis Debray. A central preoccupation among *Casa*'s editors seems to be the proper role of the intellectual in a revolution such as Cuba's, especially since it was taken as an article of faith that revolutions were manifestations of the voice of "the people," and not a cosmopolitan elite.

Despite the Marxist ideological bent, the Cuban government did not move to institutionalize Marxism in its literary culture until the early 1960s, after the closure of *Lunes de Revolución* and the founding of UNEAC (Unión nacional de escritores y artistas de Cuba). It was at this time that Cuba began nationalizing its publishing houses and abolishing authors' royalties (*derechos de autor*), while its literary magazines began to dedicate ever more space to political critiques of the United States and its initiatives in Latin America (especially the Alliance for Progress). It was during this time that the government funded literary magazines that took a pro-government line while censoring

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7 "Como haremos," *Casa de las Américas* 1 (June-July 1960).

others—most notably, the aforementioned literary supplement to *Revolución* newspaper, *Lunes de Revolución*.

Most importantly for the story of *Mundo Nuevo*, the Castro regime forced the Cuban Committee of the Congress for Cultural Freedom to effectively shut down during this period of consolidation.[8] The CCF's journal until 1965, *Cuadernos*, was decidedly anti-Castro and anti-Communist. Unlike its English-language counterpart, *Encounter*, it did not publish a diverse enough array of opinions to be considered anything other than a manifesto for anti-Communist screeds.[9] Even with a change of editors in 1963—when Germán Arcienagas replaced Julián Gorkin—*Cuadernos* was doomed to fail in Cuba.

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8 As explained in previous chapters, the CCF was a Paris-based organization whose ostensible mission was to protect individual freedoms for artists and intellectuals. Until 1967, the majority of its funds came from the CIA via non-profit fronts. In 1968, the Ford Foundation took over the bulk of funding, while the CCF reorganized itself into the "International Association for Cultural Freedom." In Latin America, the organization was rebaptized ILARI—a Spanish acronym for the Institute for Latin American Relations, which survived until 1971.

9 As mentioned in Chapter Three, Keith Botsford spoke for many younger members of the CCF when he wrote to the U.S. sociologist Daniel Bell about *Cuadernos*: "Arcienagas was a fink. That much was clear. His magazine would do nothing in Latin America. That much was also clear. No one read it. That much was clear. It was a pile of shit, that was clear." Keith Botsford to Daniel Bell, May 26, 1967, Emir Rodríguez Monegal Papers, Princeton University, box 2, folder 23.

The famous historian Mañach, who was probably the best-known Cuban writer attached to the CCF, was opposed not only by the Castro regime, but also by the *Lunes* avant-garde circle headed by Guillermo Cabrera Infante, another group that would soon find itself marginalized by the government. CCF Executive Secretary and CIA agent Michael Josselson, along with the Congress's point man on Latin America, Luis Mercier Vega, understood that *Cuadernos* and the CCF had a bad reputation in Cuba. The only option, they decided in 1964, was to scrap the magazine altogether and find a new editor attuned to the revolution in Latin American literature (if not the revolution in Latin American politics) of the time. Their idea was to capitalize on the spirit of the Revolution while opposing its leadership, a concept embodied in what Josselson called "Fidelismo sin Fidel."[10] The terminology may have been Josselson's, but the ideas behind the phrase had their origins in a vast initiative designed during the John F. Kennedy administration—the Alliance for Progress. The Alliance would be the Latin American equivalent of the Marshall Plan: U.S. investments would help create a socially progressive, democratic revolution in Latin America in place of Communist revolution.[11]

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[10] Peter Coleman, *The Liberal Conspiracy: The Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Struggle for the Mind of Postwar Europe* (New York: Free Press, 1989).

[11] See Stephen G. Rabe, *The Most Dangerous Area in the World: John F. Kennedy Confronts Communist Revolution in Latin America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999). Rabe argues that the ideals of the Revolution were constantly undercut by the administration's reflexive—and militant—anti-Communism, which never allowed social democracy to truly take root.

The changes in the CCF's view of Latin America and its decision to publish *Mundo Nuevo* only occurred after the Castro regime itself took a decidedly Marxist-Leninist turn in April 1961, when Castro proclaimed the "socialist character" of the Revolution days before the botched Bay of Pigs Invasion.[12] During the first two years of the Revolution (1959-1960)—often referred to as the "Honeymoon Period"[13]—liberals in the CCF believed that Castro would usher in the kind of intellectual and cultural climate that had been sorely lacking during the Batista regime. Thus, there was widespread support for the Revolution, even among the most ideologically rigid anti-Communists like Julián Gorkin. Avant-garde writers like Cabrera Infante, meanwhile, used their newfound freedoms to promote and disseminate cutting-edge writing and filmmaking in the country until 1961, when they, too, were forced to conform to the needs of the cultural establishment.

Given the widespread enthusiasm for what Herbert Matthews called the "new era in Latin America," why did the relationship between the CCF and the Revolutionary government sour so quickly? Why did *Mundo Nuevo*, the CCF's last, best hope to liberalize anti-Communism and create dialogue with Cuban writers, ultimately backfire by creating more tension between liberal groups and the Cuban cultural establishment? I argue here that neither the CCF nor *Mundo Nuevo* was able to shake off its links to CIA; the more they denied a specific political agenda, the more they opened themselves up to

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[12] See Wright, *Latin America in the Era of the Cuban Revolution*.

[13] See Seymour Menton, *Prose Fiction of the Cuban Revolution* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975).

charges of hypocrisy. Despite these charges, however, *Mundo Nuevo* did set a stage for the first significant break with Cuban cultural policy in 1971, during the Padilla affair. By publishing exiled Cuban writers and calling attention to the increasingly repressive atmosphere on the island, *Mundo Nuevo* created doubts about the Revolution's ability to speak for the collective will of the people. *Mundo Nuevo* continued to carry the anti-Communist banner of "individual cultural freedom" while *Casa* attempted to subsume the individual into the collective. Even when *Mundo Nuevo* tried to distance itself from U.S. foreign policy by publishing writers critical of the United States, Cuban institutions—primarily *Casa de las Américas*—staged effective campaigns to tarnish its reputation.

Setting the Stage for Dissent: *Lunes de Revolución* versus the Revolution

Tension between "committed" and "avant-garde" writers and intellectuals in Cuba did not surface until 1960, when Castro started consolidating power and nationalizing industries. 1960 is widely considered the last year of the Honeymoon, but even then different interpretations of the Revolution were starting to create public divisions between liberals such as Mañach, Pedro Vicente Aja, Mario Llerena and radicals close to Castro, especially Che Guevara and culture ministers Haydée Santamaria and Edith Garía Buchaca.

Llerena, once Castro's de facto U.S. ambassador, resigned from the July 26 Movement and started to criticize the government's turn toward Communism shortly after Castro's triumph in Havana.[14] Virtually no one in the CCF argued that the Revolution had been a mistake; the divisions concerned the direction of the Revolution and how much dissent should be tolerated, given the clear attempts by the United States to oust the government. Llerena had believed the Revolution would turn Cuba into a liberal democracy, its diplomatic links to the United States still firmly intact. Radicals in the PSP—the Cuban Communist Party—and Castro himself began to view the United States as the Revolution's principal antagonist after Castro toured the United States in 1959 and was rebuffed by President Eisenhower.[15]

Until 1961, however, there was little censorship of political views in literature or journalism. The turning point was the crackdown on *Lunes de Revolución* which, in turn, provoked Fidel Castro's famous "palabras a los intelectuales" in June of the same year. This speech made it clear that cultural production should support the Revolution. "Dentro de la Revolución, todo; en contra de la Revolución, nada," was Castro's famous conclusion to days of discussion in the Biblioteca Nacional.[16] Hardliners believed that

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14 Anthony DePalma, "Mario Llerena, 93, Dies; Castro Ally, Then Critic," *New York Times* (April 12, 2006), 7.

15 See Rabe, *The Most Dangerous Area in the World.*

16 Fidel Castro, *Palabras a los intelectuales* (La Habana: Ediciones del Consejo Nacional de Cultura, 1961), 11.

liberals and “bourgeois” socialists were trying to create internal divisions. If these views were allowed to continue unchecked, a counter-revolution might occur.[17] Castro’s words, of course, have been interpreted in many ways. Some have insisted that the speech to the intellectuals was not an attempt to suppress dissent but a “polysemic” invitation to open up the discourse of the Revolution.[18] Viewed in a historical context, however, it is clear

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17 William Luis, “Exhuming Lunes de Revolution,” *CR: The New Centennial Review* 2:2 (Summer 2002), 276, underscores the divisions at the June meetings:

> Alfredo Guevara [head of ICAIC] accused *Revolución* and *Lunes de Revolución* of being enemies of the Soviet Union, and of dividing the Revolution from within. Franqui reminded the accusers that the intent of the newspaper and supplement was to combat imperialism[…]. The writers of *Lunes* had worked for the Revolution, but the historical climate had changed and Castro needed the Soviets in order to fight U.S. imperialism and remain in power. The political and cultural concepts promoted by the *Lunes* staff became incompatible with those advanced by the ORI, which sought to control cultural production. *Lunes* was closed because of an alleged shortage of paper.

18 See Desidero Navarro, “In Medias Res Publicas: On Intellectuals and Social Criticism in the Cuban Public Sphere” *boundary 2* 29.3 (2002), 188. Navarro attempts to justify Castro’s rhetoric:

> Taken out of context and in the hands of circumstantial hermeneutists and exegetes, this versicle, part of a speech known since as "Palabras a los intelectuales" [Words to the intellectuals], proved to be extraordinarily polysemic,

that the "Words to the Intellectuals" speech was intended to squelch views that might undermine the turn toward the Soviet Union as Cuba's principal patron.

In any case, the influence of *Lunes de Revolución* on the direction of Cuban cultural politics was decisive. After the magazine was publicly censored, there was little room for interpretation of the supposedly ambiguous speech. If the statement "within the Revolution, everything; outside the Revolution, nothing," begged the question of who, exactly, would define what was inside and what was outside, the *Lunes* affair answered this ambiguity; Fidel Castro personally ordered the closure of the magazine and saw to it that cultural production would not subvert the revolutionary project. Although the closure of *Lunes* did not have the international repercussions outside Cuba that the Padilla Affair[19] would some ten years later, it did produce a chilling effecting on the island's cultural production. As mentioned in Chapter Two, *Lunes* had achieved a wide

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which allowed it to become the guiding principle for the successive periods and tendencies in struggle.

19 The Padilla Affair refers to the "autoconfesión" of the poet's political crimes against the Revolution in 1971. Publicity from the episode led to a widespread condemnation of censorship of cultural freedom on the island by intellectuals throughout the world, including Mario Vargas Llosa, who had been a staunch supporter the regime. As a result, Casa went on the counterattack, printing a response to Vargas Llosa by Santamaría and the entire "confession" of Padilla, in which he attacked his wife, among other people, as "counterrevolutionaries."

circulation—around 200,000 copies per issue—as well as a considerable amount of cultural capital during its short lifetime.

Like *Mundo Nuevo*, *Lunes* insisted that it was not the "bourgeois" organ of liberalism that its detractors, especially Culture Minister Haydée Santamaría, insisted it was. Indeed, *Lunes* evinced a radical aesthetics and a radical politics. As Luis notes,

> In a relatively short period, *Lunes* became the major literary phenomenon of the Cuban Revolution with all the complexities accompanying that status. The writers' awareness that *Lunes* had the official backing of *Revolución* and [Carlos] Franqui [editor of the newspaper *Revolución*], and that they were at the forefront of culture in Cuba, made *Lunes* a controversial magazine in the context of shifting revolutionary politics. Many of *Lunes*'s writers became entrenched in their positions and would soon discover that the magazine was swimming against the changing tide.[20]

Part of that changing tide was the Revolution's increasingly dim view of capitalistic popular culture, which, in Cuba, had a decadent aspect that had long attracted foreign tourists. Aspects of pre-1959 Havana—nightclubs, jazz, gambling, and erotic dancing—were becoming officially taboo at the same time that *Lunes'*s editor, Guillermo Cabrera Infante, was starting to employ these very same elements of Cuban culture in short stories and television and film scripts. These elements of popular culture—as opposed to folklore, which the Revolution embraced—were part of a capitalist order the Cuban Communist Party (Partido Socialista Popular, or PSP) and Castro were trying to

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[20] Luis, 262.

dismantle; portraying them in an a positive or even ambiguous manner could be considered counter-revolutionary.

From 1960 to 1961, tension mounted between government-sponsored institutions like ICAIC (the Cuban Film Institute) and the remaining liberals and avant-garde writers on the island. The breaking point came with a short documentary film called *P.M.* that *Lunes* broadcast on its weekly television program on Channel 4. Most of the material on the *Lunes* television program could be described as "high culture": there were performances of Chekhov plays, classical music recitals, and some avant-garde jazz. *P.M.*, however, was a virtually unmediated, direct view of Afro-Cuban nightlife, abounding in drunkenness and eroticism. The film was directed by Cabrera Infante's younger brother, Sabá Cabrera Infante, who had become influenced by French New Wave cinema and wanted to break away from ICAIC's neo-realist dogma. Although the content of *P.M*. caused some controversy among the neo-realist-influenced filmmakers and critics in Cuba, the main conflict between *P.M.* and the government stemmed from an internal power struggle. As William Luis notes, the circle of writers and critics around *Lunes* wanted to push the boundaries further than the official filmmakers' union, ICAIC, would allow.[21] ICAIC endorsed Italian-style neo-realism while the Cabrera Infante brothers favored more radical experimentation.

Another principal difference between the cultural ethos of *Lunes* and the politically committed ideology of government-sponsored cultural institutions was the

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21 ICAIC [Instituto Cubano del Arte e Industria Cinematográficos] was formed in 1959 as part of the effort to institutionalize Cuban culture as part of the Revolution.

idea that individual artistic freedom should play a part in the Revolution. Like *Mundo Nuevo*, *Lunes* did not shy away from politics. Both magazines staked out political positions that, to the outside observer unfamiliar with the subtle culture wars inside Cuba, would seem left of center, perhaps even Marxist. For *Mundo Nuevo,* this meant publishing an entire dossier on "La guerra de Vietnam y los intelectuales."[22] *Lunes*, meanwhile, had shown its interest in political struggle by dedicating an entire issue to the Bay of Pigs Invasion and publishing first-hand accounts of the war by Cuban soldiers rather than the normal intellectual and artistic fare. Neither magazine can be accused of depoliticizing culture. Both magazines differed from "committed" literature, however, in that they refused to see themselves as proxies for a collective voice or explicitly endorse a position on any given issue. *Mundo Nuevo* would clarify the position of the "independent intellectual" later as its contributors and editors pondered the intensely high stakes of cultural production during the Cold War.

Responding to the Revolution: the CCF and *Cuadernos* until *Mundo Nuevo*

The censorship of *Lunes* and the departure of its editor, Guillermo Cabrera Infante, made it clear that the political and intellectual climate had definitively changed

22 "La guerra de Vietnam y los intelectuales," *Mundo Nuevo* 2 (August 1966), 75-94.

after Castro's announcement of the "socialist character" of the Revolution. The Bay of Pigs Invasion had proven that the Revolution had real enemies among the CIA and the burgeoning community of Cuban dissidents in Miami. Rumors of various CIA-hatched plans to overthrow the government backed by organized crime (one such plan, designed to provoke a U.S. invasion, was later declassified as "Plan Mongoose") circulated on the island. As censorship increased and the Castro regime turned to the Soviet Union for support, the CCF decided to take drastic measures in countering the Marxist-Leninist turn. Josselson called CCF representatives from all over the Spanish-speaking world to Paris to denounce the betrayal of the Revolution. Meanwhile, the Cuban Revolution was instilling a sense of urgency for social and political reforms, giving rise to the term *fidelismo*. For the Congress for Cultural Freedom, *fidelismo*—the desire for sweeping social justice and education reforms—was not a problem per se. The Congress, especially its Cuban Committee, which consisted of many of Castro's allies in the Partido Ortodoxo, had embraced the overthrow of the corrupt dictator Fulgencio Batista.

Even Josselson realized the power of *fidelismo* on the Latin American intelligentsia. At the time of the Revolution, there was much talk of a "twilight of the tyrants,"[23] and the eventual triumph of democracy in Latin America. In Argentina, Perón had been ousted only four years earlier and the only dictators remaining in the region held power in smaller, less influential countries like Haiti and Paraguay. Following the Bay of Pigs, however, this period of optimism for political reform coincided with a cultural sentiment of anti-Americanism, something that was naturally troubling for the

23 Wright, 40.

CCF. If *fidelismo* signified an urgency for political change, Fidel himself turned against the United States after a cool reception by government officials there in 1960. He had been a sensation among young, left-leaning intellectuals in the United States, who were eager to transcend the tired polemics about Communists, "fellow travelers," and the Popular Front. The CCF, which remained steadfast in its condemnation of Communism, was beginning to seem hopelessly outdated not only in Latin America, but in the United States as well.[24]

This negative view of Gorkin and the CCF was widespread in Latin America even before the Cuban Revolution. In 1958, Gorkin traveled to Lima to deliver a lecture and was assaulted by students armed with tomatoes and eggs. In a letter to Josselson, Gorkin confided that he might have been "lynched" had it not been for the intervention of an unnamed, but well-known, poet on his behalf. Gorkin did not intend to let the episode go unnoticed in *Cuadernos*: "Upon my return to Paris, I plan to publish a brochure about this whole affair which will prove most annoying to Neruda and the communists," he wrote.[25] If the CIA had hoped that the CCF would counter Marxist cultural activities without taking direct orders, anti-Communists like Gorkin were more than willing to do their part. Many of them had lived through Stalin-supported aggressions, first in Spain during the

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24 See Coleman, *The Liberal Conspiracty*, 10. Coleman sees the early 1960s as a "period of contraction" for the CCF, precisely because the New Left scorned the Congress's dualities between Good (the United States) and Bad (Communism).

25 Julián Gorkin, memo to Michael Josselson, April 1958, IACF Collection, Series II, Box 131, Folder 3.

Civil War and then in exile in Mexico. Some of this group—including Mañach, Llerena, and Mariano Picón Salas—initially welcomed Castro's arrival in Havana. Mañach, in fact, had drafted Castro's famous speech "La historia me absolverá" during the Cuban leader's trial following his botched attack on the Moncada Barracks in 1953. Indeed, the Cuban CCF Committee had suffered under the Batista regime and hoped that Castro would instigate the sort of liberal democratic reforms they had dreamed of. Censorship in the years leading up to the Cuban Revolution had become so severe that the Cuban Committee had officially dissolved and Llerena had left for the United States.

When Gorkin assessed the Latin American reaction in 1958 to the seemingly inevitable triumph of the Revolution, he concluded that intellectual support was definitively on the side of Castro:

> Acabo de regresar de una larga jira [sic] por los paises suramericanos y he podido comprobar que existe en todos esos paises una reacción decidida contra la sangriente dictadura que impera su país. La opinión está indiscutiblemente al lado de las oposiciones, y para ella constituye hoy una bandera Fidel Castro.[26]

Gorkin's position was more anti-Batista than pro-Castro, but his friends associated with the CCF in Cuba stood to benefit from Castro's triumph. Key figures in the CCF obtained posts in the revolutionary government. Castro designated Llerena as his representative in the United States. Raúl Roa became the government's Minister of Foreign Relations, in addition to his role as the Vice President of the Cuban Committee for Cultural Freedom.

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26 Gorkin to Llerena, June 17, 1958, IACF Papers.

Since then, Roa adapted to the radicalization of Cuban politics, becoming a political survivor; to the date of this writing, he continues to work in the Cuban government. Roa was one of if not the only Cuban CCF member aligned with Castro who did not later fall out with the leader.

During the December, 1960, gathering among CCF intellectuals in Paris, Llerena, Picón-Salas, Gorkin, Salvador Madariaga, and others declared that while they sympathized with the Revolution, Castro had become a "tyrant." This was enough to effectively end whatever remained of the Honeymoon between Cuban liberal intellectuals and the Revolutionary government. Over the next five years, it would become clear to Josselson and John Hunt (the other CIA plant in the CCF) that *Cuadernos* and the CCF in general were ineffective in combating "fidelismo."

It was not for lack of effort. The CCF increased *Cuadernos*'s budget in 1961 and started publishing on a monthly, rather than a quarterly, basis. Josselson urged Gorkin to become even more radical in taking on Castro:

> Je trouve que *Cuadernos* pour ces sujets là [agarian reform, structural reform] devrait devenir <u>plus radicale</u> tout en combattant le castrisme et le communisme. Il faudra absolument que nous fassions appel à de jeunes economistes de l'Amérique latine.[27]

Although the CCF devoted more energy to combating the socialist turn in Cuba on economic and social terms, it was failing to impress the young writers in Latin America who were becoming known outside national borders. As noted earlier, this was the

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27 Michael Josselson to Julián Gorkin, August 14, 1961. IACF Papers.

beginning stage of the Boom, in which novelists like Carlos Fuentes were starting to gain unprecedented international recognition.

Jorge Luis Borges, who was known to be sympathetic to the CCF's ideals, had just been awarded the Prix Formentor (The International Publishers' Prize). The CCF cultivated Borges's image by inviting him to London, Oxford, and Paris to give talks. There were obvious political affinities between Borges and the CCF, but no one, it seemed, admired the Argentine for his political opinions. It was his encyclopedic imagination, quick wit, and language play that dazzled writers and critics. If a magazine could capitalize on these qualities—rather than parsing political ideologies between Trotskyites, anarchists, and social democrats—the CCF might make an impression in the Latin American world of arts and letters. Indeed, in the years between 1961 and 1965, the CCF began to rethink its political anti-Communism by promoting literature as a non-partisan form of expression.

In 1965, Emir Rodríguez Monegal started to publicize the Congress for Cultural Freedom's new magazine for Latin American writing, *Mundo Nuevo*. He wrote to friends and colleagues in Argentina, Uruguay, Mexico, and Cuba, informing them about the magazine and asking for contributions. At the time, the CCF and Monegal had hopes that the new magazine, primarily dedicated to publishing the "new Latin American narrative," would overcome the hostilities between the anti-Communist CCF leadership and intellectuals within—or sympathetic to—the Cuban Revolution. For young leftist intellectuals like Angel Rama, Gorkin and *Cuadernos* were agents of U.S. imperialism. Even Fuentes—who would become one of *Mundo Nuevo*'s celebrity contributors—refused to write for or even read the CCF's original Spanish-language magazine.

Monegal made it clear from early on, however, that the new magazine would emphasize quality, not ideology. He would publish good writing, regardless of the political position of the writer. When he announced to *Agence France Presse* that he would step down as editor in July 1968, he reiterated his belief that *Mundo Nuevo* had been a non-partisan forum. The announcement contains one of Monegal's typical rhetorical flourishes—he equates "McCarthyists" in the United States with "neo-Stalinists" in the Soviet Bloc:

> Por tratarse de una revista cultural, el criterio de *Mundo Nuevo* para juzgar a los autores que en ella colaboran no es el de esgrimir motes políticos, tan interesantes para los maccarthistas de Estados Unidos como para los neostalinistas del bloque opuesto. *Mundo Nuevo* ha publicado colaboraciones de escritores como Pablo Neruda o Jean-Paul Sartre, como Carlos Fuentes o Nicanor Parra, como K. S. Karol o Juan Goytisolo, cuyos vínculos políticos han sido festejados y/o denunciados por extremistas de ambos grupos rivales. Pero también se han publicado en la revista colaboraciones de escritores de otras tendencias, o de ninguna. Incluso en un número (el 18, diciembre 1967) se publicaron sendas entrevistas a Borges y a Leopoldo Marechal que en época de Perón militaban en distintos y opuestos grupos. *Mundo Nuevo* fue una revista de diálogo y no una revista de capilla o comité político.[28]

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[28] The interview with *Agence France Presse* was reprinted as "A propósito de '*Mundo Nuevo*'" in *Mundo Nuevo* 25 (July 1968), 93-94.

For him, *Mundo Nuevo* was simply a vehicle for *belles lettres*; for his patrons in the CCF, however, Cuba would continue to be an area of intense interest. In Cuba, meanwhile, news of another CCF-sponsored magazine was met with derision. Promoting Latin American literature from Paris under the auspices of an anti-Communist organization was definitely "outside the Revolution." However noble Monegal's intentions to promote "dialogue," it remains unclear from the interview whether he did not fully grasp the political connotations of his magazine or was simply being disingenuous.

The Cuban Revolution in the Pages of *Mundo Nuevo*

Mundo Nuevo represented a rupture from *Cuadernos* by including leftist writers who were completely sympathetic to the Cuban Revolution while also publishing fiction by writers who had fallen from favor in Cuba. Furthermore, *Mundo Nuevo* eschewed anti-Communism for unpredictable although strident political positions: it published articles critical of the Cuban Revolution's social policies—"Notas sobre Cuba"—while simultaneously publishing articles critical of U.S. interventions in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. By taking this "middle road" between revolutionary fervor and U.S. foreign policy, *Mundo Nuevo* promised to end the cultural dimensions of the Cold War. This was a position favored by liberal U.S. intellectuals in the CCF like Keith Botsford and by its two CIA agents, Josselson and Hunt. The magazine helped open up a critical

position on the left towards Cuba at a time when to criticize the Revolution signified reactionary politics. Only later, during the Padilla Affair, would notable intellectuals on the left publicly break with the Cuban government over its direction of "art as revolution." By that time, however, *Mundo Nuevo* itself was fading into obscurity and losing all relevance as a vital magazine of new Latin American writing.

It has been widely acknowledged the *Mundo Nuevo* functioned as both a rival and an interlocutor for the magazine *Casa de las Américas*.[29] Indeed, there are many convergences between the two cultural journals. Both were literary magazines that published a wide variety of contemporary literature and commentary on social and political issues. *Mundo Nuevo* and *Casa* were both based in cosmopolitan cities—Paris and Havana, respectively—and had ambitions to influence cultural production throughout the Spanish-speaking world. Both magazines had the backing of governments that themselves had an interest in literary culture to fit their own foreign policy agendas. The two magazines often published and reviewed the same authors, fighting one another for contributions from major figures of the Boom. They also published over the same time period: *Casa* began publication in 1960 and has continued publishing on a monthly basis

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29 See Susan F. Frenk, "Two Cultural Journals of the 1960s: *Casa de las Américas* and *Mundo Nuevo*." Bulletin of Latin American Research, Vol. 3, No.2 (1984), 83-93; John L. King, *Sur: A Study of the Argentine Literary Journal and its Role in the Development of a Culture, 1931-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1986); and Jean Franco, *Decline and Fall of the Lettered City: Latin America in the Cold War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

until the present day, while *Mundo Nuevo* started publishing in 1966 and ceased publishing in 1971, important dates in the Boom.

Despite the many convergences and similarities, the two magazines established a very public feud even before *Mundo Nuevo* began publishing. The origin of the feud betrays the fact that the magazines had more in common than their editors would ever have admitted publicly. In the early 1960s, as the Casa de las Américas prize was gaining prestige in Latin America, a young Cuban editor and poet, Roberto Fernández Retamar, approached Monegal—who was out of a job at the time—and asked the Uruguayan whether he would consider joining the committee for the Cuban cultural clearinghouse's prize. From all appearances, the two writers enjoyed an amicable relationship. Indeed, Monegal wrote to Retamar with pride in 1965 that he had been named the new editor of the Congress for Cultural Freedom's journal in Latin America.

Monegal was either incredibly naïve or ignorant in his correspondence with Retamar. The CCF, as we have seen, had a poisonous reputation among left-wing intellectual circles in Latin America; long before the *New York Times* revelations linking the CCF to the CIA were published, leftist writers suspected the CCF to be a tool of the U.S.government. Nevertheless, Monegal's enthusiasm about creating a magazine for the "independent intellectual" in Latin America is evident in his first letter to Retamar in 1965. The new magazine, he says, will be linked to the CCF "pero no dependiente de él."[30] In the letter, Monegal also says that he is willing to travel to Cuba and serve on the

30 Emir Rodríguez Monegal to Roberto Fernández Retamar, 1965, ERM Papers, Princeton University, Box 7, Folder 6.

jury for the next Casa prize. Furthermore, Monegal says that he hopes that the Cuban magazine will "collaborate" with *Mundo Nuevo* in promoting Latin American literature. The tone and substance of Monegal's letter implies that he had not yet been branded as a counter-revolutionary by the Cubans and that Retamar, who was surely aware of the Uruguayan's liberal and Anglophile tendencies, did not hold Monegal's politics to be so reactionary as to be untouchable in Cuba.

Retamar's response to Monegal's entreaty, however, was sharp. Retamar claimed (wrongly) that the CCF was funded by the U.S.State Department; furthermore, he argued (correctly) that the CCF was an organization that had an already long history of opposing the Cuban Revolution. Retamar's first loyalty was to the Revolution, not to "intellectual freedom." Indeed, Retamar saw Monegal's belief that he was linked to, but not dependent upon, the CCF as naïve:

> [S]i crees de veras que la sutil distinción semántica de estar "vinculado con el Congreso por la Libertad de la Cultura pero no dependiente de él," te permitirá "toda libertad de elección y orientación" en el nuevo *Cuadernos* que preparas, me temo, Emir, que has sido sorprendido en tu buena fe, de la que no tengo por qué dudar.[31]

Retamar's argument that *Mundo Nuevo* was a Trojan horse for U.S. imperialism would be echoed in much of the scholarship about the magazine, which often overlooks the contradictory and conflicting interests of the people funding, editing, and writing the

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31 This exchange was republished in numerous magazines, including *Marcha* and *Siempre*. See *Siempre, La Cultura en México* 212 (March 9, 1966), 13.

magazine. In short, while the CCF and CIA might have been primarily interested in the magazine's ability to counter Cuban cultural activities, Monegal had little interest in Cold War politics. Many of the contributors, such as Gabriel García Márquez, saw the magazine as a vehicle for a wider readership—and, of course, a paycheck.

Monegal's response to Retamar demonstrates, in explicit terms, what would become the magazine's peculiar political orientation: a liberal cosmopolitanism that would oppose both Soviet totalitarianism and U.S. intervention abroad. The entire letter is worth considering at length because it evinces not only a sharp ideological division between two significant promoters of Latin American literature, but also a lack of self-awareness on Monegal's part :

> Muchas gracias por tu carta, amistosa y franca. Aunque no te pedía consejo, me alegro que me lo des. Eso sí: lamento que tanto tú como tus compañeros de la Casa de las Américas hayan tomado ya decisión en lo que se refiere a no colaborar en mi revista. Comprendo que no sea nada fácil, en una posición militante como la de ustedes, aceptar posiciones como la mía. Pero creo que tus conclusiones sobre la nueva revista se basan en presupuestos que no son exactos. En primer lugar, el Congreso por la Libertad de la cultura no es un organismo dependiente del Departamento de Estado, ni apoya sistemáticamente la política, exterior o interior, de los Estados Unidos. Cuando la intervención en Santo Domingo, el Congreso se manifestó públicamente contra el Departamento de Estado.[32]

32 Ibid.

As Monegal wrote this letter, Josselson, Hunt, and others in the U.S. government were looking for ways to co-opt the "non-Communist left." That Monegal was selected precisely because he fit that description does not figure into his reply. One can only conclude that Monegal was unaware of this strategy because, as evidence of his political independence, he cites intellectual figures who had become infamous in Cuban circles for being "outside the Revolution":

> Don Salvador de Madariaga [one of the founding members of the CCF] publicó una carta abierta en el *New York Times* en la que protestaba contra la intervención; Luis Mercier, que era entonces el encargado de asuntos latinoamericanos, escribió un artículo en contra de la misma; y hasta el fallecido *Cuadernos* publicó un folleto de Theodore Draper [a historian who had published some negative commentary on Cuba] que contiene algunas de las más virulentas críticas de la intervención que yo haya leído jamás. Creo que tú estás en posesión de estos antecedentes. Me pregunto si ésa puede ser la conducta de un organismo que dependa del Departamento de Estado.[33]

This denunciation of the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic was also condemned by some officials in the State Department. The invasion occurred when it appeared likely that rebels would reinstall deposed president Juan Bosch (himself a *Mundo Nuevo* contributor) after a military coup. During the Kennedy Administration, Bosch was seen as the type of liberal social democrat who could bring about positive change in Latin America, but still keep the region safe from Communist influence. He fit the Alliance for

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33 Ibid.

Progress mold of a good leader.[34] It was only during the Johnson Administration, when the Alliance started to revert back to strong-armed tactics associated with anti-Communism, that Bosch was seen as unacceptable. Monegal, however, seemed ignorant of these subtleties:

> En segundo lugar, tú crees que el Instituto Latinoamericano que auspiciará mi revista es un órgano oficial del Congreso. Esto tampoco es cierto. Aunque el Congreso colaborará en la fundación del Instituto, no tendrá sino una intervención secundaria en él. La experiencia de *Cuadernos* y de algunos centros latinoamericanos ha servido precisamente para comprender los beneficios de modificar la política latinoamericana del Congreso. No olvides que los tiempos han cambiado y que hay gente nueva en el Congreso. La política anticomunista de hace algunos años—que no sólo era repudiada por los comunistas—ya no tiene razón de ser.
>
> En tercer lugar, y esto ya es estrictamente personal, si he aceptado dirigir esta revista es porque se me ha garantizado libertad de acción. La dirigiré en tanto conserve esa libertad. Mis condiciones son muy claras y explícitas en este sentido. Precisamente porque quiero tener libertad de acción es que he buscado reunir en mi revista a todos los intelectuales latinoamericanos o extranjeros que tengan algo valioso que decir, sin exclusiones de tipo maccarthista, ya sea del maccarthismo yankee, de tan horrible recuerdo, o del maccarthismo avant la lettre que practicó

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34 The shifting nature of the Alliance for Progress is spelled out in Rabe, *The Most Dangerous Area in the World*.

> con tanta ferocidad Stalin en sus buenos tiempos y siguen practicando sus secuaces. Mi invitación a ti y a los escritores cubanos no tiene otro sentido ni esconde ninguna intención ulterior. Creer que el Departamento de Estado me autorizaría a invitarlos a ustedes, es creer en cuentos de hadas.
>
> En el terreno personal, te agradezco las palabras amistosas que contiene tu carta. Yo no renuncio a la idea de que mi revista esté abierta a ustedes. Este propósito quedará documentado en los números de la misma. En cuanto a mi viaje a Cuba; creo que tendré que postergarlo por ahora. El trabajo de organizar la revista en París ha resultado mayor de lo que esperaba. La circunstancia de estar sobre el filo del nuevo año ha contribuido bastante al caos. Creo que hacia marzo estaré en condiciones de viajar. Espero entonces hablar personalmente contigo para contarte con más detalle mis proyectos y reiterarte mi simpatía y estima.[35]

Monegal did not take the attacks on his magazine personally. In his reply to Retamar, he reiterates his desire to serve on the Casa de las Américas jury and talk to Retamar personally. What Monegal did not seem to understand, though, was that the very idea of a magazine that could function as a voice for "independent intellectuals" had been repudiated at the highest levels of the Cuban government when *Lunes de Revolución* was shut down in 1961. From the Cuban perspective, truly revolutionary cultural production could not serve two masters; indeed, it could not entertain serious intellectual arguments

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35 Emir Rodríguez Monegal to Roberto Fernández Retamar, December 29, 1965. ERM Papers, Princeton University, Box 7, folder 6.

against the Cuban Revolution. In order to criticize the Revolution, one need to be "inside" it, first and foremost. The Congress had publically denounced Castro as tyrant in two separate meetings in Paris and Lima. No matter how independent and politically left-leaning *Mundo Nuevo* was, it would always be on the "outside" of the Revolution.

The conflict between literature as individual expression and literature as revolution was not just personal; it was the main ideological difference between *Mundo Nuevo* and *Casa* as well. Even though the magazines published the same authors—including some of the leading lights of the Boom, Carlos Fuentes, Gabriel García Márquez, and Mario Vargas Llosa—the Cubans saw the individual as subservient to the "pueblo." If the polemic had started before the magazine had ever been published, the first issue only fueled the fire. This issue included a long article about the situation in Cuba by a Hungarian anti-Communist, François Fejtö, "Notas sobre Cuba." In contrast to the strident anti-Communism found in other CCF publications—including *Cuadernos*—Fejtö's article did not rush to conclusions about the Revolution.

Because the article became a touchstone in the magazine's position vis à vis Cuba, it is worth considering its scope and main arguments in detail. The article begins by considering the impact of Che Guevara's disappearance on the Revolution.[36] Fejtö considers the different rumors and hypotheses about Guevara's situation. The "pequeño-burgueses" in Havana and Mexico, he reports, believe that he may have been assassinated by Castro, who took a more cautious approach to "armed struggle" than Guevara. Fejtö

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36 In late 1965, Guevara dropped out of public sight. There were many speculations about where he was and why he had disappeared. He was killed in Bolivia in 1967.

dismisses this notion, calling the caricature of Fidel as a "tirano sangriento, un gángster sin escrúpulos" an image that only exists among the exiles in Miami.[37] It is worth noting that this is exactly the kind of description Gorkin or Arciniegas would have used in *Cuadernos* to depict Castro; *Mundo Nuevo* makes it clear in the first issue that it will not fall into the clichés of anti-Communism. Indeed, the Cuban exile community in Miami comes in for harsher criticism than the regime in Havana.

A critique of leftist populism soon emerges in "Notas sobre Cuba," however. Guevara and Castro, Fejtö claims, are not concerned with social and economic reform, but rather with their spiritual connection to the masses. For readers of *Mundo Nuevo*—an interpretive community that would be wary of "mass culture" much like *Sur*'s readers—populism was a bête noire. For Fejtö, the Cuban leaders represent an idealism that has ended up ruining the economy and cultivating demagoguery. Fejtö sums up Guevara's anti-capitalist idealism thus:

> Para nostoros, dice [Guevara], el problema no es la cantidad de carne o la posibilidad de irse tranquilamente a la playa o de comprar bonitas cosas de importación (todo esto es propio de la mentalidad filistea), sino "vivir plenamente" y estar dispuesto al sacrificio.[38]

Fejtö's criticism is subtle, but clear: the Cuban Revolution has become dominated not by the drive for social and economic justice, but by millenarian, apocalyptic rhetoric that can only end in massive bloodshed.

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37 François Fejtö, "Notas sobre Cuba," *Mundo Nuevo* 1 (July 1966), 51.

38 Fejtö, 52.

Fejtö's critique is supposedly carried out in "un espíritu de amistad."[39] He tries to make it clear that he is not anti-Cuba ("¿Cómo no querer a los cubanos, que a mi juicio es el pueblo más amable del mundo?"[40]). The friendly tone, however, betrays some serious criticisms of many of the Revolution's "achievements." Even the movement to wipe out illiteracy in 1961—an effort applauded throughout the world—has a negative side; Fejtö points out that, for months, high schools were closed. Still, Fejtö's article is based on first-hand experience in Cuba, where he interviewed some of the major intellectual figures of the day: Alejo Carpentier, Virgilio Piñera, and Retamar. Fejtö notes that Cuban cultural production has been regulated since 1962 by the "Instituto Nacional de Cultura," [sic] an organization he probably confused with the Consejo Nacional de Cultura. This institute, did, indeed, have a monopoly on book, magazine, and film production, yet, as Fejtö notes ironically, no one in Cuba complains of censorship. " 'El problema no existe,'" Carpentier tells Fejtö.[41] Readers of *Mundo Nuevo* would have known that this was not the case: by 1966, the case of the documentary film *P.M*. and *Lunes de Revolución* were widely known in Latin America, although rarely discussed outside the Spanish-speaking world.

Fejtö surveys the landscape and concludes that most young writers are happy with the Revolution: "Así, pues, en apariencia no existen problemas." For most of the article, there is little editorializing about the government's control of culture. In the conclusion,

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39 Ibid.

40 Fejtö, 53.

41 Fejtö, 58.

though, Fejtö claims that the silence about censorship betrays a reality of repression. Here, we see *Mundo Nuevo*'s intervention into the cultural politics of the Revolution:

> Igual que los hombres de la Granja del Pueblo o de la cooperativa de pescadores que guardaron muy bien de hablarme de sus dificultades reales, los hombres de cultura evitaban toda alusión a los estragos de la censura, a la desaparición del "Teatro Estudio," a la persecución de los homosexuales, al burocratismo que domina en al televisión y en el ICAIC[…]. Como máximo, se quejan del sometimiento de la prensa diaria, que es tan monótana como la de los demás países comunistas.[42]

If Fejtö's article on Cuba dealt with the Revolution's social and economic problems head-on, other articles in the first issues of *Mundo Nuevo* alluded to other dilemmas that were ignored in *Casa de las Américas*. César Fernández Moreno's article on the Argentine essayist Ezequiel Martínez Estrada in the second issue criticized Martínez Estrada's self-exile to Cuba and his decision to "hacer política."[43] For Fernández Moreno, Martínez Estrada's decision to "submit" himself to Cuban politics and praise the words of Fidel Castro was analogous to Leopoldo Lugones's turn to fascism; in both cases, talented writers had sacrificed their sacred cultural independence to work for a political cause—a move that went against *Mundo Nuevo*'s declared sympathy for cosmopolitan intellectualism.

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42 Fejtö, 59.

43 César Fernández Moreno, "Argentina frente a Martínez Estrada." *Mundo Nuevo* 2, (August 1966), 39.

In the December 1966 issue, in an article describing the panorama of Latin America cinema, Alsina Thevenet condemns the increasing "aislamiento" of Cuban cinema, which, at the dawn of the Revolution, seemed so promising.[44] Thevenet concludes—without mentioning the *P.M.* incident—that Cuban cinema has become little more than "propaganda" since the creation of ICAIC in 1959.[45] In reality, Cuban cinema was still thriving, especially because of the contributions of Tomás Gutiérrez Alea. Like much of the best cultural production that came of out Cuba during the 1960s, Gutiérrez Alea's films (especially "La Muerte de un burócrata" [1966] and "Memorias del subdesarrollo" [1968]) were overtly political, but non-dogmatic and certainly not socialist realist. These films could be critical of some aspects of the Revolution while also lampooning the bourgeois values of many of the characters.[46]

Mundo Nuevo's enemies were not solely confined to the pro-Cuban left. In September 1966, only a few months after the first issue of *Mundo Nuevo* appeared in

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44 H. Alsina Thevenet, "Un panorama de crisis." *Mundo Nuevo* 6 (December 1966).

45 Thevenet, 81.

46 In "Memorias del subdesarrollo," the protagonist, Sergio, criticizes the government for seizing private property and blames the lack of goods in stores on the Revolution. These criticisms led many U.S. film critics to interpret "Memorias" as denouncement of the government when, in fact, Gutiérrez Alea insisted that the primary object of criticism was Sergio's bourgeois values and consumer mentality. These two views of the film are another good example of how interpretive communities create different meanings for the same text.

Paris, the magazine found itself under attack from right-wing nationalists as well as Cuban intellectuals. The magazine's political battles against the right, however, are an almost entirely overlooked aspect of the journal's history. The most important conflict between *Mundo Nuevo* and nationalist ideology occurred after the magazine began publishing works by Oscar Lewis, whose "Culture of Poverty" first appeared in 1959. Lewis was attacked in Mexico for supposedly emphasizing negative values among the Mexican working class, especially in *The Children of Sanchez*, which was banned by the Mexican government. Lewis, a cosmopolitan liberal who tried to write ethnographies with the same prose style and narrative structure as a novelist, contributed many articles to *Mundo Nuevo*, even as he was decried in Mexico. Lewis found support from Carlos Fuentes, Elena Poniatowska, and other Mexican intellectuals but was accussed of being an agent of the U.S. government by the hard right and hard left. Other attacks from the right came from Brazil and Argentina, where military dictatorships found *Mundo Nuevo* to be dangerous; copies of the magazine were seized by customs agents in Argentina during the Onganía regime.

In November, 1966, Monegal reported on a PEN Club meeting in New York. As noted in Chapter Three, the editor had been introduced to the PEN Club only a year earlier, when Botsford and Hunt encouraged him to travel to Yugoslavia and vote against Asturias as President. Now, Monegal had to mediate between two ideological extremes in his attempt to promote cosmopolitan liberalism. He, along with many U.S. writers, had fought to obtain a visa for Pablo Neruda, who was considered—like many Latin American writers of the time—a "Communist threat" to the country and was denied a visa. Finally, Neruda was granted a visa throught the State Department and went, along

with Carlos Fuentes and others, to New York. This was a moment of triumph for *Mundo Nuevo*. Monegal published many documents relating to the conference and repeated Fuentes's claim that, during the reunion, the writers had managed to effectively end the Cold War as it related to literature. Although "El P.E.N. Club contra la guerra fría" was written by Monegal, it contained long quotes from Fuentes, such as this assessment of the contemporary intellectual climate after his meetings with Arthur Miller and Neruda:

> El crítico uruguayo Emir Rodríguez Monegal observó que estábamos diciendo el último adiós al difunto senador McCarthy. Cabría ir más lejos y afirmar que el XXXIV Congreso Internacional del P.E.N. Club será recordado como *el entierro de la guerra fría en la literatura*. [my emphasis] Allí triunfó la convicción práctica de que el aislamiento y la incomunicación culturales no sirven sino a la tirantez internacional, de la que son inservibles reliquias.[47]

If the rhetorical strategy here was to "bury the Cold War" among writers by dismissing the Cuban protest of Neruda's visit, it also consisted in differentiating between official politics and cultural production. While *Casa de las Américas* constantly blasted U.S. imperialism in its pages, *Mundo Nuevo* tried to balance leftist politics and sympathy toward U.S. culture, if not its foreign policy. When news of "Project Camelot"—a CIA-hatched plan to infiltrate Chilean social science—surfaced in the press, *Mundo Nuevo*

47 Emir Rodríguez Monegal, "El P.E.N. Club contra la guerra fría," *Mundo Nuevo* 5 (November 1966), 85-90.

criticized the plan itself, as well as the "extrema izquierda" that tried to manipulate the plan for a political advantage.[48]

By 1968, the magazine had an established rhetoric of *fidelismo*, in the sense that every issue contained attacks on the U.S. blockade of Cuba and U.S. military interventionism abroad, counterbalanced by a wide range of literary contributions from young, anti-establishment Latin American writers. On the other hand, *Mundo Nuevo* seemed more confident than ever in its condemnation of Castro's cultural policies. In March, 1968, Monegal published a long article about the Cuban Revolution by Juan Bosch, the former president of the Dominican Republic and occasional novelist. The title of Bosch's article—"Un manifiesto anticomunista"—represents a break from past coverage of the Cuban Revolution. As noted in Chapter Three, correspondence between Guillermo Cabrera Infante and Monegal makes it clear that the latter, while sympathetic toward anti-Castro intellectuals, wanted to proceed very cautiously on the subject of Cuba. When Cabrera Infante pushed him to denounce Castro, whom he called "Máximo Bully," Monegal urged patience, but did agree to publish much of the "counterrevolutionary" subject matter of *Tres tristes tigres* in 1967—parts that had been left out of the original version, originally titled *Vista del amanecer en el trópico*, which was to be published by Seix Barral in 1964. Now, in 1968, with the Ford Foundation taking over the magazine's funding, Monegal was more willing to confront Cuba head-on.

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48 See Robert A. Nisbet, "El Plan Camelot: una autopsia," *Mundo Nuevo* 9 (March 1967).

Bosch's article begins by contradicting one of the grand utopian dreams of the Revolution: that the Cuban Revolution would export itself to other nations in Latin America and start a continent-wide socialist transformation. Bosch—like many of the liberals in the CCF in Cuba who fell out with Castro after the Honeymoon—makes it clear that, while the Revolution was itself a noble cause, it was betrayed by Castro:

> La revolución cubana, en todos sus aspectos, no se podrá reproducir nunca en América. En Cuba, la Revolución empezó como un movimiento que se proponía establecer un gobierno reformista, democrático y popular. Se declara sólo después de haber alcanzado el poder.[49]

Bosch ends the article by comparing Castro's hybrid of Communism and nationalism to Stalin's repressive tactics.

In the last issue edited by Monegal (July 1968), Cabrera Infante finally had room for a complete repudiation of his former self. The caution that Monegal had urged in earlier issues is thrown to the wind as Cabrera Infante denounces *Vista del amanecer en el trópico* as "political opportunism."[50] The earlier version of the book celebrated the triumph of Castro's rebels, but the new version evinced a more cynical outlook toward the new government, as he told Monegal in an interview:

> *Vista del amanecer en el trópico* es un libro que moralmente repudio. Es decir, cuando lo reformé, cuando regresé de Cuba y lo leí de nuevo, de veras lo leí de

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49 Juan Bosch, "Un manifiesto anticomunista," *Mundo Nuevo* 21 (March 1966), 42.

50 Guillermo Cabrera Infante, "Las Fuentes de la narración," *Mundo Nuevo* 25 (July, 1968), 50.

> nuevo y lo vi esencialmente como un libro politícamente oportunista. Es decir, que había una serie de relaciones entre el escritor y la realidad que estaba enfocada en términos políticos que era falsa, porque ya no pensaba como cuando fue escrito *Así en la paz*. Mi pensamiento político había variado sensiblemente hasta el extremo de que no tenía ya un pensamiento político con respecto a la literatura. Es decir, mi posición frente a la literatura se había convertido en una posición total y absolutamente estética. Yo considero a la literatura a partir de entonces como un fenómeno primeramente y ultimamente literario.[51]

In essence, Cabrera Infante endorsed "literature for literature's sake"—an apolitical stance that Monegal never adhered to. Aesthetics, not politics, was the only criterion with which to evaluate good writing for the new Cabrera Infanter. This was not a view that *Mundo Nuevo* practiced; as we have seen, political theory and social reportage were important elements of each issue's table of contents. Still, it was a shot across the bow of "committed literature." And it was a point of view that rankled *Casa de las Américas*.

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51 Cabrera Infante, 50.

Mundo Nuevo in the Pages of *Casa de las Américas*

If Monegal truly hoped that *Mundo Nuevo* would open up dialogue between his brand of cosmopolitan liberalism and intellectual life in Cuba, he must have been sorely disappointed. In addition to the pointed letters he received from Roberto Fernández Retamar—reproduced throughout Latin America—there were constant attacks on his magazine and the CCF in the pages of *Casa de las Américas*. Hunt, Josselson, and the CCF leadership may have intended for *Mundo Nuevo* to evince a "Fidelismo sin Fidel," but, on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, hostility to the CCF only increased when the Cubans found out about the anti-Communist group's new magazine.

The first reference to *Mundo Nuevo* in *Casa* occurs in the magazine's January and February 1966 edition in an article titled "Requiem para *Cuadernos* y una prevención." The unsigned editorial celebrates the death of the magazine, which it viewed as an agent of "Maccarthyismo [sic]."[52] The editorial denounces the pro-U.S. attitude of the defunct journal's editor, Germán Arciniegas, and the "façade" of democratic reform the United States promoted under the Alliance for Progress. Lastly, it calls attention to the CCF's plans to create another magazine in Paris, but directed at Latin America:

> [U]na revista similar sería dirigida por el crítico uruguayo Emir Rodríguez Monegal. También estará "vinculada" al Congreso de la Libertad de la Cultura. Atención: "vinculada," nadie habló todavía de que la empresa está subvencionada.

52 "Requiem para *Cuadernos* y una prevención," *Casa de las Américas* (January/February, 1966), 142.

> Los cambios de nuestro tiempo y en nuestra América, exigen también cambios semánticos. Hay que hilar más fino, si se quiere penetrar en las capas de la intelectualidad americana cada vez más incorporada a la verdad, para la desgracia de los Arciniegas.[53]

The editorial may have simplified some of the truly idealistic expectations of the Alliance, but it was correct in speculating that *Mundo Nuevo* would try harder than *Cuadernos* to "penetrate" Latin American "intellectualism."

In an issue commemorating the eighth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution in *Casa*, Ambrosio Fornet condemned *Mundo Nuevo* as propaganda from the "State Department" or the CIA. Fornet denounced not only the explicit anti-Communism of Fejtö and H.A. Murena, he also found the aestheticism of Severo Sarduy and Fuentes "apolitical." For Fornet, *Mundo Nuevo* was nothing less than an aggressive "defamation" of the Cuban Revolution:

> A *Mundo Nuevo*, no le gustan revoluciones de ningún tipo—se nota incluso en el diseño de la revista, tan convencional como lo era el de *Cuadernos*—pero mucho menos las revoluciones profundas e intransigentes como la nuestra. En su primer número—una impaciencia que sabrán apreciar sus patrocinadores—*Mundo Nuevo* publica un extenso artículo del senor François Fejtö, bien conocido dentro y fuera de Hungría por su fariseísmo y su incurable nostalgia del pasado. No valdría la pena referirse a esa "Notas sobre Cuba": son un resumen de todo el veneno que difunden por el mundo las agencias cablegráficas yanquis mezclado con los

53 "Requiem," 142-3.

> propios prejuicios del autor. Pero en ellas hay algo sintomático: de la misma manera que Severo Sarduy describe un edificio de La Habana basándose en los cuadros de Vassarely y Dubuffet, o Fuentes habla de una Munich y una Praga, "completamente sacadas de libros y películas," Fejtö describe la Cuba revolucionaria basándose no lo que vio, sino en una imagen que ya traía incrustada en su viejo cerebro reaccionario. [54]

Fornet's article amonts to propaganda: he calls Fejtö a "gusano" and insists that, contrary to the author's claims, there is no illiteracy or racial prejudice in Cuba. If Monegal had hoped for dialogue, articles like Fornet's and Retamar's made it clear that *Casa* would take a relentless stand against any literary magazine they perceieved as outside the Revolution, even when that magazine happened to coincide with *Casa* in matters of literary taste and political opinion. Both magazines may have appreciated Julio Cortázar and condemned U.S. military intervention abroad, but both magazines proved to be irrevocably caught up in the cultural Cold War.

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[54] Ambrosio Fornet, "New World en español," *Casa de las Américas* 40 (January-February, 1967), 112.

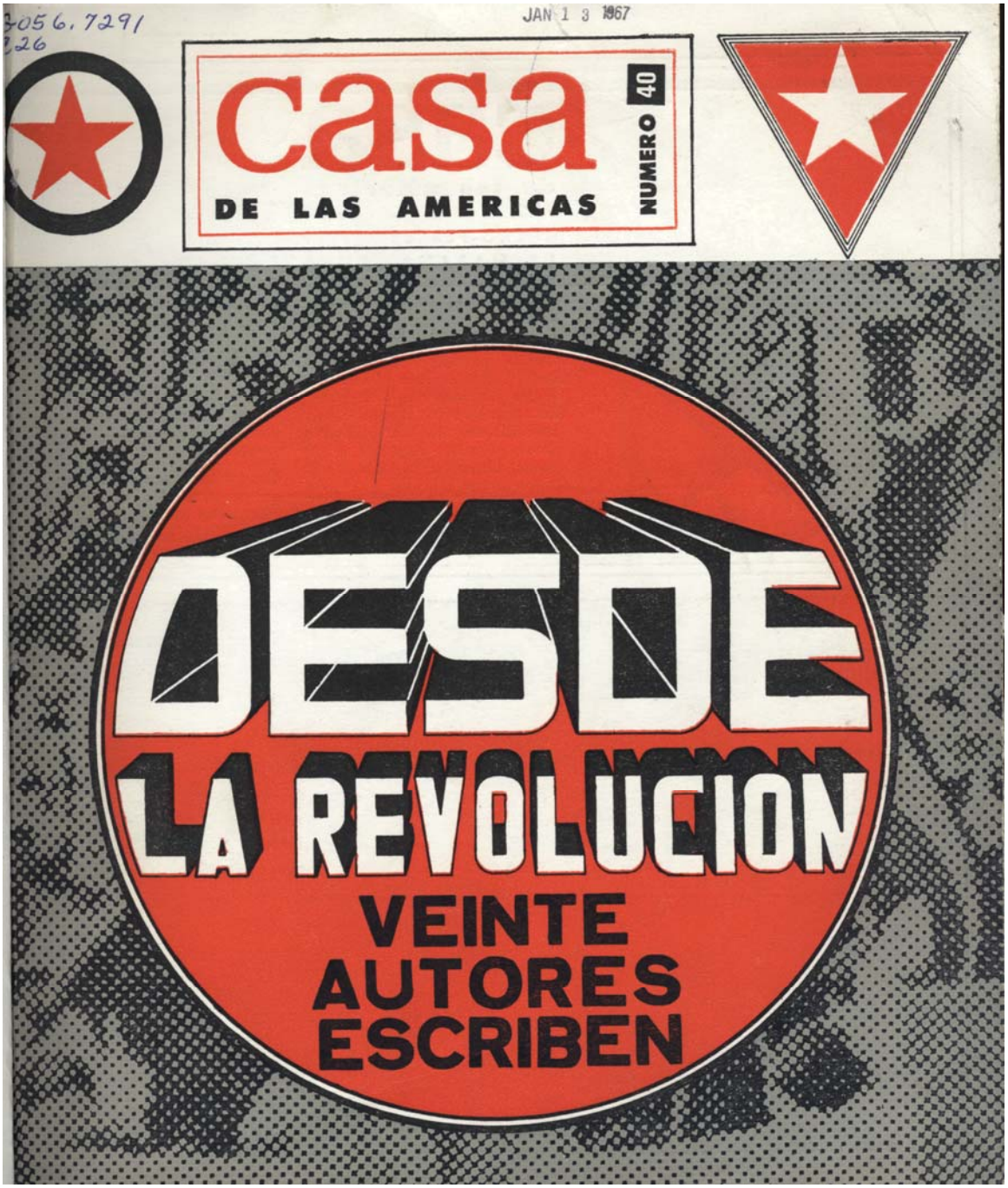

Illustration 10: By the late 1960s, *Casa de las Américas* had been radicalized; its contributors were fully committed to defending the Revolution.

casa
de las américas
AÑO VII No. 40
ENERO-FEBRERO 1967
LA HABANA, CUBA

Director:
Roberto Fernández Retamar.

Comité de colaboración: Emmanuel Carballo, Julio Cortázar, Roque Dalton, René Depestre, Edmundo Desnoes, Ambrosio Fornet, Manuel Galich, Lisandro Otero, Graziella Pogolotti, Angel Rama, Mario Vargas Llosa, David Viñas, Jorge Zalamea.

Diseño y emplane: Umberto Peña.
Redacción: G y Tercera, Vedado, La Habana, Cuba.

Venta y suscripción:
Ejemplar $0.40
Suscripción anual en Cuba $2.40
Suscripción anual en el extranjero: correo ordinario, 3 dólares canadienses; por vía aérea, 8 dólares canadienses.

Cada trabajo expresa la opinión de su autor. No se devuelven manuscritos no solicitados.

Empresa Consolidada de Artes Gráficas. Fábrica 274-06, La Habana, Cuba.

Illustration 11: The January-February issue of *Casa de las Américas* contained a pull-out pamphlet denouncing ILARI and *Mundo Nuevo*.

For *Casa de las Américas*, any U.S.-sponsored effort to promote Latin American literature constituted a provocation. Retamar, a poet who had once lived in New York and declared himself outside of politics, was now in charge of countering a cultural offensive in Latin American letters by his former friend, Monegal. What neither Retamar nor Monegal seemed to realize was that both editors' central concern—the publication of compelling Latin American writing—was jeopardized by intense political feuding that was often less about ideas and more about personally jealousy.

It is no coincidence that the most productive years of the Boom came to an end with the almost simultaneous demise of *Mundo Nuevo* in Buenos Aires and the self-confession of Heberto Padilla. Both events demonstrated to the world that the flowering of Latin American literature was irrevocably bound up in Cold War politics. On the one hand, the Ford Foundation killed *Mundo Nuevo* by taking it away from Monegal and turning it into a U.S.-style social science journal. On the other hand, the Cubans turned Padilla's confession into a Soviet-style show trial for the world to see. By this time, Che Guevara was dead, *Mundo Nuevo* was irrelevant, and a dark shadow was cast of the cultural laboratory that was the Cuban Revolution. The Boom was over.

Conclusion: *Mundo Nuevo* and the Failure of Liberalism in the 1960s.

What effect did *Mundo Nuevo* have on the cultural politics of its time? The answer depends on how one views the mission of the magazine. For the CCF executive committee and the CIA agents who scrapped *Cuadernos* and invented *Mundo Nuevo*, it was undoubtedly a success. In 1971, Heberto Padilla published a self-confession of his "crime" of writing "bourgeois poetry" in *Casa de las Américas*, saying he had betrayed the Revolution by defending Cabrera Infante, "a CIA agent."[1] The claims were absurd. It was widely suspected that Padilla's confession was forced. Had Monegal still been in control of the magazine, he surely would have publicized the episode and called for

1 See Menton, 146.

dialogue and cultural freedom. In the early 1970s, however, the political tensions over cultural production in Latin America had cooled somewhat. For one thing, the initial enthusiasm for the Cuban Revolution had subsided: it was no longer, as Herbert Matthews had stated, "a new era in Latin America."

It was no longer a new era in Latin American literature either: the great works of the Boom had been written and its major figures were toning down their experimentation while returning to more conventional narratives. Some critics, such as Linda Hutcheon, have equated this era with postmodernism and pointed to the cultural climate of "exhaustion."[2] Perhaps. The "non-Communist left," which the CIA had courted throughout the Cold War, rebuked Padilla's confession and the blatant attempt by the Cuban government to force a political line on writers. International intellectuals as

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2 Hutcheon views Boom fiction as postmodern because it takes an "ironic" approach to history and politics. It is not committed but rather "parodic":

> [A]ll of these art works (that others too have called postmodernist) share one characteristic: they are all resolutely historical and inescapably political precisely because they are parodic. I want to argue that postmodernism is a fundamentally contradictory enterprise: its art forms (and its theory) use and abuse, install and then subvert convention in parodic ways, self-consciously pointing both to their own inherent paradoxes and provisionality and, of course, to their critical or ironic re-reading of the art of the past.

Linda Hutcheon, "The Politics of Postmodernism: Parody and History**,**" *Cultural Critique* 5 (Winter, 1986), 180.

diverse as Susan Sontag, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Octavio Paz signed an open letter expressing solidarity with the Revolution itself but decrying its "police-state" tactics.[3] It was the sort of rupture the CCF and CIA had been trying to bring about since 1960, when Latin American intellectuals gathered in Paris under Josselson's auspices and denounced Castro as a tyrant. In other words, if *Mundo Nuevo*'s success was measured by its ability to put pressure on the institutionalization of Marxist cultural politics in Cuba and drive a wedge between the militant left and the cosmopolitan left, then it was an unqualified success. The Cuban Revolution would never regain the cultural prestige it had after the Bay of Pigs.

Still, viewed as a node within a framework of two separate interpretive communities, then the record for *Mundo Nuevo* is mixed. If we are to view the production of literature as the interplay between texts, authors, and readers, then we must broaden our view of the magazine's audience. *Mundo Nuevo* was not soley directed at left-leaning writers in Latin America, but to a world that saw Latin American literature as regionalist local color, undeserving of a place at the table with the great innovators of twentieth-century literature: Proust, Joyce, Faulkner, Eliot, etc. Whatever the political objectives of his benefactors, Monegal believed his magazine had a larger mission: to insert Latin America into what Pascale Casanova calls "international literary space." For Casanova, this is a largely autonomous field of power struggles for cultural capital. It is different from Goethe's concept of *Weltliteratur* in that writers, critics, and editors are constantly engaged in a battle (Casanova calls it "symbolic violence") against one another. *Mundo*

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[3] Menton, 145.

Nuevo did symbolic violence to the prestige of Cuba in the cultural field (whether it deserved it or not is another question entirely) by decrying its treatment of outré writers and homosexuals.

I have argued that *Mundo Nuevo* should be read as a node in two frameworks: the framework of the Cultural Cold War and the framework of twentieth-century Latin American literature. Unlike Hunt and Josselson (who were concerned solely with the first framework), Emir Rodríguez Monegal viewed *Mundo Nuevo* as—first and foremost—a vehicle for turning Latin American literature into World Literature, as noted in Chapter Three. As evinced in his correspondence with Keith Botsford and Cabrera Infante, Monegal also had a dim view of the Cuban Revolution and "engaged literature" more generally. On the other hand, he certainly did not measure *Mundo Nuevo*'s success by its ability to cast stones at his former friends, especially *Casa de las Américas*'s editor, Roberto Fernández Retamar.

The first issue of *Mundo Nuevo* announced its mission to create non-partisan dialogue among all sectors of Latin American society and promote the best writing on the continent for an international publication. This was a noble goal in an era of military dictatorships and leftist guerillas. Monegal was quite successful in this endeavor: each issue contained short stories and fragments of novels that would be canonical in the Boom; the magazine contained Spanish translations of hallmark essays like "Against Interpretation" by Sontag and "The Culture of Poverty" by Oscar Lewis.

Mundo Nuevo was not, however, a forum for "dialogue" despite the noble intentions of its editor. Rather than burying the Cold War—as Carlos Fuentes and Monegal hoped—it revived and intensified the war's cultural front. The substantiation of

CIA involvement in the CCF only confirmed rumors that the United States had widespread ambitions to destabilize Cuba—even after the Bay of Pigs disaster. In the end, though, *Mundo Nuevo* did contribute to breaking the hegemony of influence of the Cuban Revolution over the cosmopolitan left. At a time when the rhetoric of "political solidarity" trumped "individual cultural freedom," *Mundo Nuevo* demonstrated that it was better to be outside the Revolution than to be trampled under its feet.

Above and beyond the debates about the magazine's role in the Cold War, however, is the philosophical question of agency. As I mentioned in the Introduction, critical theorists such as Althusser and Lacan have dismantled Enlightenment suppositions about individual autonomy. For better or worse, since the 1960s, we have been living with the legacy of post-Enlightenment thought. Lacan calls Descartes' "cogito, ergo sum" proof a "mirage" of individual subjectivity.[4] For Lacan, we never have full control over our beliefs or the language we speak. Similarly, for Althusser, we never have a full grasp of our political beliefs. Ideology is spoken through us, rather than by us. The idea that we, are, in fact "independent intellectuals"—is no longer tenable.

At the risk of over-generalizing, I believe we can say that Althusser and Lacan—as well as virtually all thinkers associated with post-structuralism or deconstruction—share in common a presupposition that subjects never fully possess agency, that our values and beliefs are products of ideologies rather than our own cognition. The ascendancy of post-Englightenment thought during the last part of the twentieth century

[4] Jacques Lacan. "The Mirror-Phase as Formative of the Function of the I" *New Left Review* 51 (September-October, 1968), 71.

makes *Mundo Nuevo*'s claim to be a magazine of independent cosmopolitan intellectuals seem quaint—perhaps even reactionary. Proof of CIA involvement not solely in the funding of the magazine, but in guiding its general direction, seems to solidify the claim that full autonomy is never possible. Like the Cold War-era CIA agents who realized that the best kind of propaganda is that which makes people believe that they are acting of their own accord, we know that even our most cherished works of art are imbued with a politics. A politics of what, we do not always know. Perhaps the best we can hope for is enough self-awareness to keep questioning.

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