Publishing Matters: The Latin American "Boom" and the Rules of Censorship

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Shortly after the approval of the printing and publishing law of 1966, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, Spain's Minister of Information, reportedly commented: "He dado orden de que los lápices rojos los dejen en el fondo del cajón" (Cisquella 19).[1] Fraga's pronouncement echoed not only the letter of the law—articles 1 and 50 allowed for freedom of publishing and article 3 eliminated official censorship—but also the government's claim that censorship no longer existed. Unfortunately, the red pencils continued to be placed at the very top of the desk drawers of many Spanish censors. These then anonymous "readers" (as they were officially called at the Ministry of Information) saw their censorial duties regulated but in no way eliminated by the new law's claim to recognize "el derecho a la libertad de expresión de ideas" (*Prensa e Imprenta* 79). Some subtle changes, however, began to appear in the censorship practices of the regime. If before the *apertura*, the political opening-up period of the 1960s, these "readers" worked for the coercive "Book Inspection Services," the new modernizing efforts of the regime "transferred them" to the apparently inoffensive "Department for Editorial Orientation," also known as the "Department for Bibliographical Orientation."

In contrast with these ingenious euphemisms, Fraga's openly censorious remarks before a group of editors revealed that more red pencils would soon be needed at the Ministry: "Ya tienen Ley de Prensa. Yo la he elaborado y yo voy a gobernar su cumplimiento. A mí, y no a ustedes, toca administrarla" (Cisquella 27). More precisely, Fraga administered the law to alter, but not to end, the censorship practices of the

regime, which the controversial article 2 of the law maintained. In the article, freedom of expression was circumscribed to include, among other things, respect for truth and morals, allegiance to the Principles of the National Movement, due respect for the Institutions of the State, and the preservation of privacy and personal and family honor (*Prensa e Imprenta* 80).[2]

Indeed, this list of limitations was a *carte blanche* for the government to continue its censorship practices. The regime obviously did not see it this way, or at least did not argue it that way. Francisco Abella Martín, chair of the commission in charge of examining the law before parliament, defended it for its comprehensive understanding of what the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights and the European Council saw as "valid limitations of expression," such as respect for the freedom of others, respect for moral order and for a society's welfare. Furthermore, Abella Martín hinted that the government pursued a self-imposed censorship on the part of editors and publishers: "El proyecto de Ley, ante el dilema censura o responsabilidad, opta por la Segunda" (*Prensa e Imprenta* 26-27). What this really meant is still a matter of debate among critics, editors and writers. While for Carlos Barral the new law brought the "rationalization of censorship" and "easier ways" to exchange ideas with the censorship authorities (*Almanaque* 12), for Manuel Abellán the law was "un montaje jurídico" (119), and for Neuschäffer the law was designed to "influence the very process of creation" (49). In my view, the new rules of censorship paved the way for the regime's strategical expansion of the book industry, which culminated with the approval of a significant piece of legislation in 1975, the Book Law.[3]

It is no coincidence that the debate leading to the approval of the 1966 and 1975 laws concurred with the successful incursion of José Donoso, Mario Vargas Llosa, Carlos Fuentes, Guillermo Cabrera Infante and other Latin American "Boom" writers in Spain's 1960s literary market. For the Franco regime, the publishing success of many of these writers was pivotal in its plans to take control of the Spanish-language book market. Furthermore, the new censorship practices of the *apertura* were crucial not only for the "Boom" writers and the renovation of the Spanish book industry, but most important for the development of Spain's transition into democracy.[4] Thus, the "softening" of the many restrictions on the printing and distribution of books fit the government's plan to keep the Latin American book markets for one of Spain's main exports, even if that allowed the publication of "Boom" writers who sided with the Cuban Revolution of 1959. In this essay, I use the double sense of the phrase "publishing matters" to summarize this apparent contradiction between censorship and book production. To this end, I read the new rules of censorship vis-à-vis the confidential government reports on the book industry and the editorial policies of Seix Barral (one of the leading publishing houses of the "Boom") as laid out in its 1969 *Catálogo General de Publicaciones*. Thus, I illustrate how censorship and book production work simultaneously in conflict and in complicity for the Franco regime, for Seix Barral and for the "Boom" writers.

For the regime, the promotion of Hispanic culture in the Americas became "the magic formula" that resolved the conflict created by the successful incursion of pro-democracy "Boom" writers in the book market the government sought to control.

In this sense, in a 1963 confidential report, the Spanish government framed the promotion of Hispanism as a necessary cultural endeavor that would generate important revenues for the regime:

> El libro es el principal vehículo para la presencia cultural de España en el mundo [...] también tiene el libro considerable importancia para una economía como la española, que ha de esforzarse continuamente para incrementar un comercio exportador todavía precario. (Informe sobre el comercio exterior del libro 3-5)

According to this report, the importance of the Latin American book market responded both to a cultural ambition, "books are the main vehicle for Spain's cultural presence," and to Spain's desire to become a modern economy through the massive exportation of books. Undoubtedly, for the Spanish government, publishing *does* matter, since in order to overcome the import/export deficit Spain faced at the time, the regime granted priority status to some industries (*industrias prioritarias*) under the new economic policies of the *apertura*. Such was the case of the tourist and the book industry, both supervised by Fraga's Ministry of Information. While it is true that Latin America became an economic target, one must not forget that Spain's international policies traditionally favored economic and cultural exchanges with Ibero-American countries. Equally important is the fact that the apertura failed to convince the European democracies of any substantial changes in the Franco regime.

Repeatedly, government officials interpreted Spain's "cultural presence" as part of a larger economic enterprise, which would result in a profitable venture in the Americas. As pointed out by a 1970 report from the National Book Institute (Instituto Nacional del Libro Español, INLE), "los pueblos de Hispanoamérica dentro de 30 años sumarán seiscientos millones de habitantes que sabrán leer y que serán consumidores de libros" (Conclusiones de la Primera Exposición Itinerante 15). According to this report, the Spanish publishing industry would have benefited from a market of 600 million readers in Latin America by the year 2000. Even though the report's prediction was off the mark and almost doubled the expectations of potential readers in today's market, it seems clear that some officials at the National Book Institute felt the need to beef up the numbers of "consumers of books" in order to justify the government's policies toward the expansion of the book industry in Latin America.[5] In their view, this was done under a historical call of duty to promote and to protect Hispanic cultural heritage worldwide. Reports such as this one illustrate how the government appraised books both in terms of their economic and symbolic value, and how the government's views often concurred with those of the editors:

> se han presentado [...] diversas peticiones del Instituto Nacional del Libro, Dirección General de Prensa, Gremio de Libreros [...] solicitando en las tarifas postales de impresos, rebajas, con objeto de favorecer—dicen—*la expansión y desarrollo del libro y, consecuentemente de la cultura*. (Nota-Informe sobre las tarifas 1, my emphasis)

Accordingly, books were seen as "cultural products," as merchandise for consumers in an expanding market and a bastion for cultural exchange.[6] Indeed, this

expansion was tied to the "honest" promotion of Hispanism in the Americas, which, interestingly, was based on censorship and book production. As noted in many censors' reports on the works of the "Boom" writers, language—that is, the preservation of what they defined as the Spanish language—became a determining factor in the approval or rejection of a literary work by the censors. For instance, the censors praised both Mario Vargas Llosa for his well-written novels and their display of high literary quality and Ernesto Sábato's *Sobre héroes y tumbas* for its mastery of the Spanish language: "una novela sensacional, marvillosamente escrita" (Expediente de *Sobre héroes*). In contrast, they scolded Manuel Puig for his "pobreza literaria" and the lack of an orderly syntax in *La traición de Rita Hayworth*: "llena de cosas heterogéneas todas amontonadas sin orden ni concierto" (Expediente de *La traición*).

Undoubtedly, the efforts to control the Latin American book market were not simply driven by a crusade to preserve the Spanish language, although this was a significant argument in the government's position. The Franco regime certainly feared that the success of established publishing houses in Mexico and Argentina (and the newly created *Casa de las Américas* in Cuba) could translate into a different linguistic and cultural approach (their versions, if you will, on the promotion of Hispanism). These potential competitors could inflict losses for the Spanish publishers in the book markets of Europe, Latin America and the U.S.:[7]

> Hemos de felicitarnos del interés creciente que manifiestan hacia nuestras publicaciones los países exteriores del área idiomática hispánica, singularmente en Estados Unidos y la Europa occidental […] EL PORVENIR DE LA EXPANSIÓN EDITORIAL ESPAÑOLA depende esencialmente de la situación de los mercados ibero-americanos, que es donde se encuentra amenazada precisamente. (Informe sobre el comercio 5)

Note that in the confidential report, "the future expansion of the Spanish book industry" appears in capital letters, to indicate the crucial importance of this industry for the regime's plans to modernize Spain's economy. This government-sponsored expansion toward Latin America was based on competition and production, on the one hand, and censorship on the other. To this end, the government reexamined the 1943 decree that established the rules and regulations for Spain's National Book Institute, which, in theory, was supposed to "vigilar e impulsar la diferencia del Libro Español en España y el mundo" and to promote "cuantas iniciativas tiendan a favorecer la producción, el comercio y la exportación del libro" (Decreto de 6 de abril).[8]

In order to enact such expansionary cultural and economic policies, some immediate changes were needed in the approval process for the printing and distribution of books. These changes were spelled out in the 1966 printing and publishing law. The law removed the *consulta obligatoria* imposed on all printed works in Spain up to 1966, which often required editors to delete sections and alter manuscripts, and substituted it for the *consulta voluntaria* and *depósito*. Torrealdai mentions that, under the compulsory submission, editors often faced a costly and lengthy approval process, since they were required to submit complete books or galley proofs and no deadlines were set for the government officials to respond (11). Indeed, this obsolete censorship approval process did not favor the expansionary plans of the regime for the book industry, given

that the costly production and time delays deterred the success of editors in the booming and fiercely competitive book market of the 1960s and 1970s.

Also, under the 1966 law, editors, in theory, did not have to seek the explicit authorization to print books, as they could "deposit" or "voluntarily submit" the complete text or galley proofs of the book for "final verification" by government officials. The voluntary submission was a safer path to gain approval from the censors, and the preferred option for editors such as Carlos Barral (*Almanaque* 12-13). Under the regulations for *depósito*, editors could surpass the submission of a work for review by depositing six copies of the printed book at the Ministry in order to receive the official clearance for distribution. By law, this process could not amount to "more than a day per each 50 pages or fraction thereof" (*Prensa e Imprenta* 14). However, this option was extremely risky, since the law also included the *secuestro* as a precautionary measure to avoid the circulation of undesirable printed material:

> el Ministerio Fiscal podrá ordenar el secuestro a disposición judicial del impreso o publicación delictivos donde quiere que éstos se hallaren, así como de sus moldes para evitar la difusión. (*Prensa e Imprenta* 64)

The *depósito*, on the other hand, did not generate a censor's report on the submitted work, since it either approved or denied the circulation of the work. It was an up-or-down approval process and as such it became an appropriate channel for editors to test the government's reaction for certain books, mostly from foreign publishers, they were considering for importation and for potential Spanish editions of such books. Likewise, it became a filtering device for the government to watch over trends in the Spanish-language publishing industry.

As a result, the law promoted both an implicit and explicit censorship that favored behind-the-scenes negotiations among censors, editors, and writers.[9] While the *consulta voluntaria* and the *depósito* were designed to expedite the distribution of books, the most significant change in the law was the redefinition of *silencio administrativo* (official silence), the legal formula used by many censors when they had some objections to the content of a work, but foresaw some benefits in authorizing its publication. By officially maintaining silence on a work, the authorities did not explicitly approve of it or endorse its moral content but simply remained silent about it and allowed its commercial distribution. From a legal standpoint, official silence has been regarded as a "fictional act" (Guillén 81) and as a "legal fiction" (García-Trevijano 67-68) since in the Spanish legal system, silence does not express a declaration of will and has no meaning other than the existence of a will to negotiate. This is particularly true if we take into account that during the Franco regime official silence had both negative and positive implications. While the legislation of 1956 saw official silence as a negative result of the petitioner's request, the printing and publishing law interpreted official silence in a positive fashion: "la respuesta aprobatoria o el silencio de la Administración eximirán de responsabilidad ante la misma por la difusión del impreso sometido a consulta" (*Prensa e Imprenta* 6).[10]

A closer reading of these legal terms—*consulta obligatoria*, *consulta voluntaria*, *depósito*, *secuestro*, *silencio*—explains how the new vocabulary of censorship responded to the interests of those involved in the

promotion of Latin American literature in the *apertura*. While the old rules of *consulta obligatoria* reinforced the concept of an entity of power that watched over any creative process and in effect censored such process before and after its completion, the *consulta voluntaria* claimed to reposition censorship as a practice only subsequent to the completion of any creative discourse.[11] This was the government's argument, and certainly Fraga's when he announced that the red pencils would be put away. However, this did not result in the disappearance of censorship under the *consulta voluntaria*. Rather, the law implied a shift of the censorial subject, according to the underlying principle that book production came first and approval for circulation *followed* censorship, and did not precede it as in the *consulta obligatoria*. Indeed, editors and government censors tacitly agreed that censorship did not have primacy over book production. Such re-positioning of censorship as a post-production practice was disclosed by the new legal terms *depósito* and *secuestro*.[12]

These new regulations favored competition in the book market among editors, writers, and publishing houses and sanctioned the government's plan to expand the Spanish book trade. Interestingly, the promotion of Latin American literature also fueled discussions in journals and intellectual circles and triggered a reexamination of the literary and cultural relations between Spain and Latin America. In *Foreigners in the Homeland*, Mario Santana argues that the Spanish publishing and literary scene of the 1960s is best summarized with the metaphor of the wheat and the chaff, which describes how the commercial success of the Boom in Spain and the sibling rivalries between Spanish and Latin American writers contradict as well as complement each other. Santana examines the reaction of some Spanish intellectuals who see the 1960s Latin American novel as "the foreign chaff" (*la cizaña extranjera*) in opposition to the Peninsular novelists who represent "the national wheat" (*la mies nacional*). The remarks coming from Spanish writers who seemed to be afraid of the so-called invading chaff in the Spanish literary market were abundant. For instance, Ángel María de Lera, the 1967 Planeta Prize winner, refused to acknowledge the notoriety gained by Latin Americans in Spain, since he claimed that "we don't believe any Colombian or Cuban is going to teach Spanish to Delibes [...]. Enough is enough" (131).[13] Interestingly, the censorious statements about the language used by Latin American writers replicated many of the comments made by censors in their evaluation of the "Boom" novels. While I agree with Santana's evaluation, I find it fruitful to contextualize his proposal within the parameters of censorship and book production that I have so far discussed. The remarks of Peninsular writers are not only censorious statements about language use and narrative techniques, but also a clear reflection on the government's efforts to redefine censorship in accordance with their aim to expand the Spanish book trade through market competition and promotion of Hispanism.

Furthermore, wheat and chaff can also symbolize profitable and non-profitable goods, which respectively, in turn, would comply with the government's entrepreneurial interest in what can or cannot be sold. Since there cannot be wheat without chaff or chaff without wheat, the Spanish literary market of the 1960s is polarized, on the one hand, by the rejection of this so-called chaff by some Spanish writers, and on the other, by the blessings of government

officials and editors, eager to expand the national wheat production via the Latin American market.

Seix Barral offered a more congenial response to this debate in its 1969 *Catálogo General de Publicaciones*. This unusual 200-page catalogue included a detailed account of Seix Barral's collections and editorial policies, as well as a section on future projects for the expansion of the publishing house. Indeed, the *Catálogo* reinforced not only the government's interest in expanding the book trade, but also the publishing house's interests, by presenting the "Boom" writers in three different collections as part of a market-based diversification and competition within Seix Barral: *Biblioteca Breve*, *Biblioteca Nueva Narrativa Hispánica*, and *Biblioteca Formentor*.[14] Such tactics were inspired, as Carlos Barral recalls in *Los años sin excusa*, by the scope of French literary journals and publishers—such as *NRF, Les Temps Modernes* and *Minuit*—to build up a list of international authors. Furthermore, Carlos Barral explains that this move was a two-step enterprise: first, "se trataba de construir una *backlist* con autores importantes muy recientes, o exóticos a los canales italo-franceses de los editores argentinos"; second, "imponer el contenido de esa etapa literaria a los mercados de lengua española" (*Los años* 139).[15]

But such promotional ploys, unfortunately, seemed too close to the government plans for the Latin American market. Thus, the contradiction that Seix Barral faced mirrored the government's own dilemma: How could an avant-garde publishing house (*editorial cultural*) massively promote the literary works of pro-democracy Latin American writers and yet not be an active participant in the Franco regime's postcolonial enterprise for the Spanish book trade? Confronted with an inverted version of the contradictions undergone by the government, Seix Barral also found a "magic formula" to answer this paradox and, in turn, responded to the debate among both "chaff" and "wheat" defenders. Seix Barral's *Catálogo* proposed an all-inclusive pan-Hispanic literature, not defined by geographical borders, but rather by the shared use of a common language and its many linguistic registers:

> En nuestra política de publicación de autores de lengua española tiene especial relieve nuestra voluntad de incorporación de los valores de la narrativa hispanoamericana a nuestra cultural nacional. […] Entendemos que es literatura castellana toda aquella que se escribe en las distintas formas del castellano actual; que la lengua literaria castellana moderna es un mosaico de lenguas equidistantes de la lengua del barroco, del mismo modo que la lengua castellana actual es un mosaico de dialectos equidistantes de la lengua y de los dialectos de la época de la conquista. (*Catálogo General de Publicaciones* 13)

Seix Barral's editorial policy incorporated "the values of Latin American narrative into our national culture" and thus re-positioned the value of the chaff as a constitutive and integral element of what I would call a "whole-wheat literature": one that incorporates the healthy components—the dietary fibers of the chaff—and one that pursues a heartier pan-Hispanism, if you will, free of chaff and full of bran.[16] Despite some references that would seem to come directly from government reports—"the language of the Baroque" and "the time of the conquest"—Seix Barral's editorial policy pushed for "a mosaic of equidistant languages" as

the driving force for the collections of the publishing house and by extension, of the Spanish publishing industry. Thus, unlike the government, Seix Barral saw Spain not as the origin or point of departure for the promotion of Hispanism, but as a link in the chain of nations that shared literary and cultural traditions.

From these publishing tensions between those who pursue, let's say, a more salubrious incorporation of the Latin American chaff and those who dare not add any bran to their national wheat, we learned that such competition and oppositional resistance in the Spanish literary market of the 1960s and 1970s functioned as a catalyst for market expansion and redefined old notions of canon formation and literary prestige that had dominated the Spanish literary market for decades.[17]

The case of Seix Barral's *Catálogo* is exemplary of how the government's plans and those of this avant-garde publishing house became entangled under the new rules of censorship. The *Catálogo*—which lists the works of major Latin American writers such as Alejo Carpentier, Guillermo Cabrera Infante, Carlos Fuentes, Mario Vargas Llosa, and José Donoso—was submitted to the Spanish censorship authorities in June of 1969 and, after a thorough review, was literally silenced by two censors who saw it as an instrument of leftist propaganda, given that the *Catálogo* "no reseña precios por lo que más que comercial es de propaganda" (Expediente del *Catálogo*). The first censor's reactions to the *Catálogo* reflected on this censorial practice when he argued that remaining silent was the most appropriate response to the political ideas of Carlos Barral: "conocidas las ideas políticas de Barral, no extraña que intente defenderlas con argumentos capciosos y que se arrogue la misión de liberar a España del aislamiento cultural en que la tiene el Régimen (?)" (Expediente del *Catálogo*).

Interestingly enough, the first censor finished the report with a question mark, indicating his disagreement with Seix Barral's ideology, but rather than censoring, he opted for the legal recourse of *silencio*: "Así se escribe la Historia. De todos modos, más vale dejarlo pasar" (Expediente del *Catálogo*). Indeed, "let it pass" should be read as "let them publish it," despite our reservations—a clear indication of the government's interest in promoting the collections of Seix Barral, thus favoring its expansion in the Latin American book market.

Certainly, the economic and legal changes I find in censors' reports in the 1960s are pretty much in line with the editorial policies of Seix Barral and its attempt to create a new (more international) reputation for its collections. These economic references are tied to the government's new international liberalism, which was driven by an overhaul of the economy that could not be curtailed solely by ideological stances. A cogent example is the second censor's reaction to the *Catálogo*'s pro-Cuba stance, which the censor found ineffective or harmless for Spain:

> en la página 158 y 160 clama por el socialismo liberador y aspira a la justicia social, modelo Cuba [...] por no aludir directamente a España estimo podría tolerarse. (Expediente del *Catálogo*)

I find that in the evaluation of the *Catálogo* and in the censors' reports on many Latin American novels, censorship and book production often serve as guidelines for explaining why the Latin American presence was so pervasive in the last decade of the

Franco regime. By using Latin America as a case for censorship and production, the Spanish book industry revisited the old notions of cultural and economic dominance in an effort to regain control of a competitive book market. Certainly, the interaction between government officials, editors and writers created a publishing narrative of paradoxes, in which Latin America becomes the protagonist, caught between Franco's economic liberalism and the pro-democracy intelligentsia of the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed, for the Boom writers, for Seix Barral and for the Spanish government, publishing *matters* in the literary market of the 1960s and 1970s.

Notes

[1] For my discussion of this law, Ley de Prensa e Imprenta, I follow *Prensa e Imprenta*, the annotated edition for legal scholars, which includes the complete law authored by Fraga, the documentation of its approval process, and the regulations that followed its implementation up to 1968. The 1966 law overturned the obsolete 1938 Ley de Prensa, issued by Franco during the Spanish Civil War. Upon his arrival at the Ministry of Information and Tourism in 1962, Fraga took charge of drafting the law and changing the rules of censorship at the Ministry. A 1964 draft of the law was given to the National Press Council and the National Book Institute for review, and it was finally introduced in the Franco-controlled parliament on August 13, 1965 (*Prensa e Imprenta* 44). [All translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated.]

[2] Article 2 would be not overturned until 1977, two years after Franco's death (Abellán 117).

[3] My research at Spain's National Archive (Archivo General de la Administración) concludes that a law originally called Ley del Libro was drafted as early as 1969, later revised in 1972 and 1973, and finally approved in 1975. This law (incidentally, still "on the books") encouraged the promotion, production and distribution of books, and provided a well designed structure to coordinate the government's efforts to continue the expansion of the Spanish book industry through subsidies and tax credits.

[4] The *apertura* unveiled Franco's interest in a series of economic and political reforms that would allow the regime to break down Spain's international isolation into the world scene. As Enrique Moradiellos reminds us, leading figures of the Franco regime in the 1960s such as Carrero Blanco and López Rodó designed a series of proposals to:

> promover el crecimiento de la economía como vector generador de prosperidad y el bienestar material de la población, con la esperanza de que dicha prosperidad y bienestar cimentaran la paz social, suplieran la falta de libre participación democrática y dieran legitimidad de ejercicio a un régimen autoritario pero también modernizador. (149)

[5] However, the statistics these officials had at hand were quite promising. Between 1959 and 1975, the publication of literary works in Spain tripled—from about 2,000 to over 6,000 new titles per year. Meanwhile, two of Spain's most significant competitors, Argentina and Mexico, saw in the same time period a significant drop in the numbers. A 50% reduction in Argentina—from 2,000 to 1,000 new titles—and a stagnant production of less than 800 new titles in Mexico (Santana 46-47). Likewise, Dravasa estimates that in 1969, 900 publishers were registered in Spain, and more than 82% of the books printed in Spain were headed for Latin America, mainly Argentina (18%), Mexico (13%), Venezuela (10%), and Chile (10%) (212-16). This data coincides with the Spanish government's own "bookkeeping":

> the revenues generated by these new titles were quite significant. In 1959 the total sales for Spanish book exports to Argentina, Chile, and Cuba amounted to roughly 557 million pesetas. By 1961, this amount had doubled, and in July 1962 it reached about 100 million pesetas a month (Datos de Exportación de Libros).

[6] I use the term "cultural products" to describe how government officials and editors understand the value of books, and the economic and symbolic capitals they generate. For Bourdieu, symbolic capital:

> is to be understood as economic or political capital that is disavowed, misrecognized and thereby recognized, hence legitimate, a 'credit,' which under certain conditions, and always in the long run, guarantees 'economic' profits. (75)

I would argue that "symbolic capital" is in no way disclaimed or repudiated by those involved in the promotion of Latin American literature in the 1960s and 1970s and is often considered more of an investment than a "credit":

> Es preciso que el libro español no se encarezca en América como consecuencia de los dilatados plazos de pago que hay que conceder a los importadores de aquellos países […] el libro es un artículo de consumo; pero el pago de compras de libros, [se halla] extraordinariamente diferido. (Créditos a la Exportación)

In this connection, Barbara H. Smith argues that value is radically contingent upon the dynamics of an economic system, and thus aesthetic values cannot be distinguished from any other values in the social realm, not even economic values (11-16; Guillory vii-xiv). This seems particularly true for the market competition of the *apertura*, since government officials, editors, literary critics, and even censors often questioned not only the value of the literary works, but the value of publishing the "Boom," which, in itself, is constantly defined in terms of economics (by the detractors of the marketing ploys of the "Boom") and of aesthetics (by the defenders of the Latin American *nueva novela*).

[7] Particularly worrying, in the eyes of the Spanish government, are the advances of the book industry in Argentina: "El libro argentino se afirma, pues, en su propio mercado y se lanza a la conquista de otros nuevos, fundamentalmente Sudamérica, pero también en España" (Informe sobre el comercio 5); and in Cuba:

> un peligro político-económico lo constituye el consorcio editor ruso-checo, que ha establecido su fase de operaciones en Cuba. Este peligro es realmente serio […] los libros de origen soviético se venden en Sudamérica a precios que calificaríamos de nominales: alrededor de un tercio del precio del libro español. (Informe sobre el comercio 10)

Likewise, a 1963 confidential report points out the Spanish government's preoccupation with the subvention programs of the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations, and how they will benefit Argentinean publishers (Planes de Estados Unidos 1-4).

[8] However, it is not until 1957 that the National Book Institute (INLE, Instituto Nacional del Libro Español) is transferred to the Ministry of Information in an effort to coordinate censorship and book production under one single administrative unit (Decreto de 28 de junio). The 1943 Decree granted supervision of the INLE to the Minister and Secretary of the FET and JONS (*Falange Española Tradicionalista* y *Juntas de Ofensivas Nacional Sindicalistas*, Franco's political party). Under the Ministry of Information, the INLE became very active, and as early as 1957, issued a step-by-step manual for Spanish editors, *Editores españoles: guía comercial*, which included specific information for the exportation of books to Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, the Philippines, and Mexico (369-75). In 1965, the INLE published another key manual for Spanish editors, *Recomendaciones para tener en cuenta en la Redacción de los Contratos de Edición*.

[9] Abellán claims that the new law:

> obligó a los editores a vigilar—pero, sobre todo, a expurgar—mucho más que antes los manuscritos, ya que en el caso […] [de haber] infringido de algún modo la ley, el editor era subsidiariamente cómplice del delito cometido. (118)

However, Carlos Barral argues that "existen más facilidades para el intercambio de ideas" with the

censorship authorities since, before the law, editors had no leg room to negotiate for the lack of standardized regulations (*Almanaque* 12).

[10] In their studies on the legal implications of *silencio administrativo negativo* and *silencio administrativo positivo* in the Spanish legal system, Guillén and García-Trevijano argue that the 1956 Ley Reguladora de la Jurisdicción included a three-month waiting period for the petitioner to appeal official silence, after which time the petition was deemed rejected. Their respective essays show that from 1958 on, the authorities began to clarify the legal implications of official silence in several procedural laws. The 1966 printing and publishing law, as quoted earlier, made official silence a positive outcome on a petitioner's request (García-Trevijano 96-107; Guillén 53-81).

[11] In this sense, Jansen proposes a distinction between "constituent or existential censorship"—"a feature of all enduring human communities" that cannot be fought or ever abolished—and "regulative censorship," that is, "a rule-embedded phenomenon" that may change through conventions and rules (8). I find that the substitution of *consulta obligatoria* for *consulta voluntaria* draws from both these concepts. Even though the government claimed that censorship proper (constituent censorship) did not exist, the new rules for approval of book distribution in the 1966 law clearly signaled that regulatory censorship did exist. For Robert C. Post, the Foucauldian concept of "productive censorship"—as constructing knowledge and social practices—is key to explain precisely regulatory practices of censorship such as *consulta obligatoria* and *consulta voluntaria* (2).

[12] Butler finds that the temporality of censorship—whether it precedes the text or it is, in some sense, responsible for its production—is defined by "foreclosure"—"a way of designating a primary form of repression [that] makes possible the formation of the subject" (255).

[13] These sibling rivalries between Peninsular and Latin American writers were not only a matter of linguistic dominance. As Santana points out, "idiomatic baroqueness," "inventiveness," and "multi-leveled constructions" were among the complaints launched by Jose María Gironella, who cried foul at the double standard used for the evaluation of Peninsular and Latin American writers:

> much of the praise given to Asturias, Carpentier, Cortázar, Vargas Llosa [...] refers to narrative elements that—if they were to be used by those of us writing in Spain—would surely bring us a string of insults. (133)

[14] These three collections launched Seix Barral's new international identity and offered a unique insight into how Latin American novels were first cataloged and promoted in Spain. In this sense, the *Biblioteca Breve* collection presented "una colección dedicada a la publicación de obras de vanguardia de las distintas literaturas modernas" the *Nueva Narrativa* collection provided "una visión general de todos los escritores españoles y latinoamericanos" and the *Formentor* offered "un panorama general de la narrativa contemporánea en las distintas literaturas" (*Catálogo General* 22).

[15] In addition, Carlos Barral designed another marketing tool for Seix Barral's best-known collection, *Biblioteca Breve*, which Pere Gimferrer disclosed to me in a personal interview: "el número 101 de la Biblioteca Breve, que significa el 1. Empieza por el 101 no por el 1. No existen números del 1 al 100."

[16] *The American Heritage Dictionary* defines bran as "the outer layers of the grain of cereals such as wheat, removed during the process of milling and used as a source of dietary fiber" and chaff as "finely cut straw or hay used as fodder" and also as "trivial or worthless matter."

[17] Interestingly, José Donoso in his *Historia personal* offered another set of food-related comparisons to explain the "Boom" phenomenon. He used the terms *gratin* and *heart of the lettuce* to describe the most important authors of "Boom" ("*gratin*" and "kernel" are used in the English translation):

> Si se acepta lo de las categorías, cuatro nombres componen, para el público, el *gratin* del famoso *boom*, el cogollito [...] Julio Cortázar, Carlos Fuentes, Gabriel García Márquez y Mario Vargas Llosa. (128)

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