

Making Red Books **The Popular Collections of the Mexican Left (1934–1940)**

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Article abstract

This article analyzes the mechanisms and methods that some Mexican leftist publishers used to build a market for their publications during the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934–1940). These publishers believed that the strategy of creating popular collections would allow them to acquire new readers, expand their catalogues, and professionalize the field of publishing. Following Roger Chartier, this paper reconstructs a part of Mexican publishing history that has seldom been addressed. I argue that the efforts of leftist publishers in this period explain the preponderance of Marxism in the Mexican publishing industry for most of the twentieth century.



MAKING RED BOOKS: The Popular Collections of the Mexican Left (1934–1940)

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ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the mechanisms and methods that some Mexican leftist publishers used to build a market for their publications during the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934–1940). These publishers believed that the strategy of creating popular collections would allow them to acquire new readers, expand their catalogues, and professionalize the field of publishing. Following Roger Chartier, this paper reconstructs a part of Mexican publishing history that has seldom been addressed. I argue that the efforts of leftist publishers in this period explain the preponderance of Marxism in the Mexican publishing industry for most of the twentieth century.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article propose une analyse des stratégies déployées par des maisons d'édition mexicaines de gauche, sous la présidence de Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-1940), afin de bâtir un marché pour leurs publications. Ces maisons comptaient développer un nouveau lectorat par la création de collections populaires et, ce faisant, enrichir leur catalogue, dans une optique de professionnalisation du champ de l'édition. Dans une démarche analogue à celle de Roger Chartier, nous nous intéressons à un pan de l'histoire de l'édition au Mexique peu exploré jusqu'ici. Nous soutenons que l'activité des éditeurs de gauche de l'époque permet de comprendre la place prépondérante du marxisme dans le monde de l'édition de ce pays durant une bonne partie du XX^e siècle.

Keywords

Cardenism, Publishing Houses, Collections, Mexican Left

Mots-clés

Lázaro Cárdenas, maisons d'édition, collections, gauche mexicaine

In 1935, the Mexican Ministry of Public Education (Secretaría de Educación Pública, in Spanish) launched the Biblioteca del Obrero y Campesino [Library of Workers and Farmers]. Its purpose was, among others, to occupy a space in the rapidly expanding left-wing book market. Its first volume was *Marx*, a biography of the German thinker, written by José Mancisidor. With this, it began to compete with the collections of Ediciones Frente Cultural (EFC), the publications of the Liga de Escritores y Artistas Revolucionarios (League of Revolutionary Writers and Artists, LEAR), the texts of the Universidad Obrera (Workers' University), Editorial Masas, and with many other small initiatives that had sprung up since the beginning of the Cárdenist era. This article analyzes how these numerous initiatives, which all sought to make space for themselves among the readings of Mexican leftist militants, activists, and sympathizers, were intertwined.

First, however, it is important to examine the relevance of recovering the history of popular collections, especially those from the first half of the twentieth century in Latin America. If we go by the general description of many of these collections, we can see that they were published sporadically, they were developed in unstable markets, and they usually resulted in a great commercial disappointment. What is more, by grouping texts in collections, the publishers only watered down the political and ideological projects of the originals. It is therefore a story of few successes and many failures. Nevertheless, although popular collections during this period represented somewhat marginal and quixotic efforts, their existence reflects the core of the editorial space and its political constitution—but this is only apparent if we consider the ways in which they go against the grain of mainstream publishing at the time. Thus, describing collections and retrieving catalogues is only the beginning of our task. To stop there merely satisfies the desires of collectors, without explaining the social and political forces that shaped the publishing industry at the time. Indeed, the recuperation of catalogues only corroborates what we already know: that the collections responded to the negotiated interests of the actors involved, that they always had ambiguities, and that the book order reflected a way of perceiving political processes.¹ Studies of other types of print objects have addressed this over and over again, especially in the analysis of *programmatic editorialism* associated with magazine and newspaper research.² On this level, in order to recognize what the promoters of these collections proposed, it would be sufficient to

compile the innumerable declarations of principle and observe how they were scarcely fulfilled.

However, a collection is far more than its catalogue. The history of popular collections is the history of a vision of how a group of publishers, politicians, and militants believed they could conquer the hearts and minds of hundreds of thousands, or even millions, of readers. Catalogues hardly tells us anything about those readers, however. We barely glimpse them behind the editorial decisions, although they are clearly present behind each publishing failure. But at the same time as the history of popular collections is a story of political ideas, it is a journey through the practices, the daily activities, and the conjunctural decisions of all those involved in the editorial processes. Perhaps this double appeal, both to the ideas and to the mechanisms that materialize them, is what often transforms the history of popular collections into an account told from a privileged viewpoint, of some processes related to the construction of a specific political and literary culture. And therein lies the importance of analyzing this type of print.

From a historiographic point of view, there are different ways to approach the subject. The books *The Culture of the Publisher's Series* and *La colección. Auge y consolidación de un objeto intelectual* have opened up a whole range of themes, problems, and methodological approaches.³ Here it is relevant to emphasize that both collections respond to the particular tensions that existed at the time of their emergence. They highlight, among other elements, the new versus the old, the commercial versus the altruistic, and the national versus the transnational. Interestingly, the texts emphasize the need to overcome the perspectives that consider these dyads as irreconcilable elements; on the contrary, they propose a roadmap that acknowledges how those elements that may seem incompatible can actually function in a complementary way. The edited collections are situated within a complex web of discourses, and balancing the importance of each of the components is a difficult task for historians to achieve. In the (somewhat grandiose) words of John Spiers, “The series is one geological accumulation of past lives and cultures.”⁴ One of the many functions they have had, in his opinion, was to represent dominant cultures, acting as gendarmes of the canon; at the same time, they have sustained ideas of social change, while constituting the discursive limits and deciding upon the categories of the debate. Mexican left-wing publishers understood this situation, at least in part, when they developed

and circulated popular collections. They recognized that a single book could not do as much as a complete collection, which emphasized the whole over the individual.⁵ Let us now see what other elements contributed to the idea of making popular collections during the Cárdenas administration.

“An Exceptional Moment”

In Mexico, when talking about the history of publishing during the twentieth century, it is usual to automatically recall the efforts made by José Vasconcelos and his group of collaborators in the early 1920s. This impulse seems to have been widely established by the middle of the following decade. Perhaps that is why the principal figures involved in leftist publications made explicit statements, trying to dissociate themselves from any Vasconcelian genealogy. Their position was affected by the shift to the political right of the former Secretary of Education, but also by the characteristics of the collections promoted under his mandate.⁶ These collections, which implied a high budget, were focused on classical literature, and were buying by middle-class readers. As Nicolás Pizarro Suárez pointed out in a programmatic text on the function of revolutionary writers in Mexico:

En todos los puestos de libros viejos de México, por unos cuantos centavos, pueden adquirirse las obras de la literatura clásica que, de 1921 en adelante, editó la Secretaría de Educación Pública. Estas ediciones costaron una enorme cantidad de dinero a la nación y evidentemente fueron destinadas a la pequeña burguesía.⁷

Pizarro Suárez does not reject the need to print texts representing the “cultural heritage of humanity.” This, in his opinion, was extremely important. Rather, his criticism points out that the Vasconcelian proposal was aimed at an elitist public; therefore, the poorest sectors were left without access to the most prominent thinkers. For this reason,

es necesario que todos los escritores no reaccionarios creen una nueva [literatura] que sea genuinamente popular, con una alta calidad artística; pero al lado de esta tarea, es también urgente la de hacer llegar a las verdaderas masas obreras y campesinas una cultura fundamentalmente elemental, que les permita empezar a leer y escribir.⁸

In broad terms, these two variables—the creation of a new literature and the need for a wider distribution—defined the popular collections established by the left. Although to this we must add something that Pizarro Suárez also noted: the critical need to support the efforts of the government, especially when both the clergy and big capitalists were attacking the socialist education that had been implemented by Cárdenas.⁹

However, the editors of the 1930s did not reject past collections wholesale. For example, the *Cvltvra* collection was seen as an important precedent.¹⁰ Although its later developments, especially some of the works of the publishing house that its owners founded, were linked to the Mexican right, and did not leave leftist militants satisfied. Nevertheless, it is interesting to look closely at some of the people linked to the *Cvltvra* project, because they were important within the editorial scene as a whole. Xavier Icaza, one of the promoters of *Cvltvra*, was involved in various editorial efforts of the left, including magazines and other projects founded to spread Marxism. At the same time, he maintained close ties with commercial publishing companies, such as *Botas* and *Patria*,¹¹ and he also developed projects with Manuel Gómez Morín and other representatives of right-wing sectors.¹² This type of insertion in the publishing world, eclectic and heterogeneous, was not unique, and responded to the precarious conditions Mexican publishers faced during this period. For that reason, we even find traditionally anti-communist sectors, such as the linotype union, working together with militants from the Mexican Communist Party (PCM, in Spanish), or printing their organs of communication.¹³ Only with the passing of the decade, the growth of this field of work, and the advent of the Second World War would political positions become insurmountable barriers to cooperation for those involved in the publishing industry. This is relevant for the popular collections of the left during Cardenism because they were clearly born of these eclectic processes and transversal dialogues, from which, very much in line with the popular front policy promoted by the Comintern, only openly fascist sectors were excluded. A certain dogmatism was beginning to arise, which in some cases could provoke confrontations, though in general it scarcely surpassed the limits of public debate among the participants of the publishing world.¹⁴

Despite this, the recovery of the editorial past by certain leftist sectors during Cardenism was still limited to the revolutionary period. Even the

active participation of Enrique Flores Magón did not lead them to make any efforts to retrieve previous publications.¹⁵ There is no mention of nineteenth-century socialist texts,¹⁶ or of what Buffington has considered one of the most important elements in the consolidation of the identity of Mexican workers during the Porfiriato: the cheap satirical press.¹⁷ The Graphic Workshops of the Nation (Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, in Spanish), meanwhile, an institution that dated back to the 1880s, reconstructed its own history to suggest that it actually emerged in the 1920s, at the beginning of post-revolutionary politics.

This sense of disconnection with the pre-revolutionary past accounts for the feeling among many publishers in the 1920s that they were embarking on a wholly new endeavour. The autobiography of Enrique Navarro Orejel, the owner of a bookstore bearing his name and one of the main leftist publishers during the 1930s, offers an illustrative example. According to data rigorously obtained by Jorge Fuentes Morúa, this publisher began his work in the middle of the first decade of the century.¹⁸ However, Navarro's own account claims that he only started to connect with the book market in the 1920s, skipping all his previous activity. In the case of his later company, Ediciones Frente Cultural (EFC), whose first titles were produced in 1934, Navarro muddled the past again, this time advertising the business as if it had been born in 1927. In this way, he positioned EFC as the oldest publisher dedicated to Marxist leftist themes. This was a common advertising strategy, and was clearly resembled other statements made by Navarro's colleagues around the same time.

Indeed, as Frédéric Palierne proposes, this kind of publisher's manifesto was a dominant model, and all those releasing leftist series in the 1920s explicitly used this rhetorical tool.¹⁹ Editorial México Nuevo even launched a brochure in which it explained its intentions, developed its work plan, and invited writers and artists to send their contributions. We do not know how or where this statement was distributed, but it is important to note that its launch reflects the initiative's intention to be rooted in the Mexican cultural mood of the time:

Desde hace muchos años se ha venido hablando del problema que en México constituye la imposibilidad práctica en que se encuentran los escritores y artistas para publicar sus obras. Se han hecho diversos intentos, provenientes así de la iniciativa privada como de la oficial,

*para terminar con esta grave situación. A la postre, dichos esfuerzos han fracasado y el escritor sigue en su precaria condición, privado de estímulo y expuesto, en el mejor de los casos, al abandono en manos de las contadas empresas mercantiles interesadas en la edición de libros.*²⁰

It was emphasized that the invitation was open to all writers and artists, except those promoting fascism, and that the initiative had sufficient resources. Some state entities had pledged their support, along with a promise not to intervene politically in the operations of the new company. Its signatories were the Technical Proletarian Council of the Graphic Workshops of the Nation, the League of Revolutionary Writers and Artists,²¹ and the Permanent Commission of the National Congress of Writers and Artists—that is, workers and independent groups linked to broad sectors on the Mexican left.²² To their statement they also added some context about the editorial climate at the time, emphasizing the deleterious effects of “fascist aggression” on the book industry:

*Creemos que el momento es excepcionalmente oportuno para el triunfo en nuestro país, de una empresa de esta índole, por el golpe mortal que la agresión fascista ha dado a la antes espléndida labor editorial española, que hasta hace poco proveía de libros a todos los países de habla castellana.*²³

These lines give us a sense of the scene in which the popular collections of the Mexican left began to emerge. A vacuum created by the Spanish Civil War,²⁴ state-driven educational processes that increased literacy and books availability, the crystallization of a demand for greater publishing venues for writers and workers in the field, new experiences that gave rise to book-length projects, incipient commercial strategies, and the need to foster heterogeneous and inclusive spaces, among other factors converged to strengthen those small efforts that aimed to conquer the minds and hearts of Mexican readers.

Batch, Library, Collection

One of the important forces behind the rise of popular leftist collections was the accelerated shift from publishers’ limited ability to supply individual books to their more powerful capacity to distribute full “libraries” or

“collections.” In August 1935, the Communist Party was internally confronted with the problem of dissemination. An editorial of *El Machete* pointed out that “*hasta ahora estos esfuerzos editoriales han sido poco enérgicos, poco orientados y dispersos.*”²⁵ At that time, some of the tentative early initiatives undertaken by individuals or groups sympathetic to communism could be considered “editorial sprouts.” Among these publishing houses were Editorial Gleba, Cimientos, Cuadernos de Pedagogía Proletaria, Ediciones de la LEAR, Ediciones Defensa Roja, Ediciones Espartaco, Editorial Dialéctica, Ediciones FER, Integrales, and Ediciones Frente Cultural. Most of them were only incipient enterprises encouraged by the beginning of the Cárdenist political regime. For example, Ediciones FER in 1935 had only one volume, while Ediciones de la LEAR had printed two texts, both with the collaboration and technical support of Librería Navarro.

However, by the middle of 1936, some of these initiatives were already beginning to offer “libraries.” The Library of Workers and Farmers, which I have already mentioned, reflects the interest of the Cárdenas government in this area, but other alternatives were quickly added, such as the Student’s Library of the Universidad Obrera, the Library of El Nacional (whose volumes had to be bound by the readers themselves), and the Teacher’s Library, among others. In the commercial circulation of these popular collections, the name most often chosen was “library.” This reveals that the books’ materiality was a key part of the advertising strategy for these publishers, and also indicates their belief in the need for libraries in the Mexican education system—a subject that was under general discussion at the time.²⁶

Perhaps one of the most interesting cases of this rapid transition during Cardenism from single volumes to full “libraries” was Ediciones Frente Cultural, which developed a whole theory for its publications. For example, they advertised brochures, which were no more than 64 pages and generally measured 20 cm x 14 cm, as if they were thick volumes that could be integrated in a family library or the library of a political organization (see Appendix 1). EFC director Enrique Navarro preferred to call the groupings of books in section A of the company’s catalogue (“Principles and Elements”) “batches” rather than “libraries”, however. This representation is interesting because it reveals, more than the reality of the publications, how the publishers imagined their own works, the importance they gave to

them, and their aspirations in the medium term. On one hand Navarro overvalued his brochures, portraying them as large books. And on the other hand, when the publisher offered a group of his booklets, contradictory he called it “batch”, which refers to a random and cheap bunch of publications.

If we follow their publicity throughout the Cárdenas era, we can see how EFC moves from listing their left-wing publications as “novelties,” to including small and isolated depictions of the books’ covers, to grouping the books in a “batch,” to then considering them a “library,” and finally to naming them a “collection.”²⁷ In fact, in several cases, EFC collections emerged as *a posteriori* denominations, rather than being designed as such from the beginning.²⁸ For example, “*Organizaciones, maestros, trabajadores ¡Todos! Pidan la biblioteca Ediciones Frente Cultural 1938. 27 obras con valor de \$15.00 por sólo \$12.00,*”²⁹ said an advertisement that appeared at the start of 1939. The grouping of the books did not respond to a thematic issue, but to the date of publication, and the main motivation was the commercial strategy.

The Daniel Collection, perhaps the publisher’s most widely recognized among leftist militants, emerged after the death of Daniel Navarro Orejel, co-founder of EFC and the company’s main link to communist and union militancy.³⁰ But contrary to the director’s own declarations, the books and pamphlets that comprise this collection were those that Daniel had edited before his death and not those that were launched with the money that he had willed for this purpose. The prologue to Karl Kautsky’s *Los orígenes de la religión* written by Navarro was abruptly interrupted:

*Hasta aquí, las líneas que nuestra administración encomendara a nuestro compañero DANIEL NAVARRO OREJEL (1897–1939) co-fundador y poderosa columna de esta empresa, en la que tuvo a su cargo el puesto responsable de gerente de distribución. La voz de nuestro compañero ha callado para siempre. Con su ejemplar vida de batallados años, tenaz y modesto, nos ha dejado todos sus ahorros destinados a la publicación de una serie especial de obras de carácter social, cuya edición está preparando ya esta misma Empresa.*³¹

Lenin’s book *La guerra y la humanidad* inaugurated this collection. But the also collection inspired a new way of working for the publishing house,

which now surveyed a broad group of people in order to discover which books they thought were best. The introduction of Lenin's text explains the details of this process:

*Dos jóvenes catedráticos universitarios, dos maestros de escuelas secundarias e internados indígenas, y tres estudiantes normalistas y preparatorianos; forman el grupo de personas al cual sometimos, para su examen, una colección de veintitantas obras sobre los más variados aspectos de la guerra.*³²

The idea was that the new initiative would take advantage of the political and social processes that Mexico was going through, but that it would also be useful for teachers and students, ensuring that it would have a safe market.

In order to clarify the positions of the selection committee, EFC decided to make public the criteria upon which books were eligible for the collection. First, all of the books had to include an analysis that would lead the reader to conclude that all wars are caused by the private ownership of the means of production. Second, they should all maintain that war would occur more and more frequently if the advance of monopoly capitalisms were permitted. And finally, the drafts had to focus on the inevitability of these confrontations due to the conflicts generated by capital. EFC articulated its objectives as follows:

*Servir a los pueblos de América, impulsar su cultura y organización, señalarles la senda de las grandes luchas sociales, como medida previa para alcanzar su verdadera independencia y completa libertad económica y social, —sin prejuicios ni sectarismos—son los propósitos y es la misión que se ha impuesto esta casa en su labor editorial.*³³

These international objectives were also behind another initiative that EFC launched in parallel to the Daniel Collection: the Nueva Cultura Collection. In this case the initial strategy was to group three or four brochures, which were already in circulation, into a book of more than 200 pages. This allowed them to gather works of a particular author, or on a special subject. However, the prices originally posted on the front and back covers confused buyers, who expected to receive the compilation for the price of a single

brochure. The publisher therefore had to explain repeatedly that this was just a mistake caused by the rush to launch the new books.

After this unsteady beginning, the new popular collection started to print its own texts, works selected specifically for this purpose, without resorting reprints or pastiches of brochures. Most of the new texts were around 300 pages long, and the series even included among its volumes the first version of *El Capital* published in Latin America.³⁴ These cheap editions sought to bring the Marxist classics closer to the popular sectors. Among them, in addition to Marx's seminal work, we find works by Pinkevich, Shirokov, Kautsky, and Plekhanov. Their advertising highlighted in particular the reach of the collection: "*Pídalos en todas las librerías del continente.*"³⁵

In sum, one thing is very clear: the existence of Librería Navarro was a principal factor in sustaining EFC throughout the decades of its existence. Between this collection and its affiliate, one could find practically all texts printed by by the Mexican left, and indeed a large portion of those printed in all of Latin America. They also shared translations with other initiatives, even if they were not necessarily part of the same political project.³⁶ This eclecticism allowed the consolidation of EFC, and it was an approach almost all publishers—across the political spectrum—eventually adopted.

Beyond Partisan Boundaries

One of the paradigmatic examples of this opening towards other political perspectives among publishers on the left was the publication of Aníbal Ponce's work, *Educación y lucha de clases*, by Editorial América in 1937. This text was written by Ponce in his home country, Argentina, during the Third Period, the name given by the Communist International to the stage when capitalism would finally fall. Also known as "class against class," during these years, 1928–1935, this interpretation implied restrictions for any ties of the parties with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois sectors, and also favoured the Bolshevization of militants, rejecting any intellectualism as social-democratic—or, as they denounced it, as social-fascist—residue.

Editorial América launched Ponce's book in a totally different context. The imminence of the Second World War had opened the International to accept any alliance of anti-fascist forces; in Mexico, for the communists

Cardenism began to represent the best opportunity to build a wide cooperation with this aim. Besides, discussions about socialist education program were an ideal field to produce these meetings, and many of militant communist teachers became the main promoters of Cárdenist policies. The concept of the Popular Front was spreading through all the interstices of the Mexican left.

Ponce's book became a bestseller. In less than a year three reprints were issued, and booksellers reported almost unanimously that it was the bestselling book in 1938.³⁷ However, if one looks closely at its pages, one finds a series of statements that were in fact deeply critical of what was taking place in Mexico. Ponce rejected the notion that any type of education coming from the state could be considered "socialist"; on the contrary, he argued that in the best of cases it could only strengthen the plans of the national bourgeoisie. According to Ponce, the inter-class alliance that was behind a teachers' state would only serve to disorient the true role of teachers in the revolution: to build proletarian education, avoiding the reformist path. Educators, students, and especially the education unions of the period made this book one of their favourite readings, even though it contradicted all their political practices. The flourishing of books dedicated to all these subjects was one of the variables that explained this publishing success. Actually, the local production (and distribution) of literature continued to be reduced in relation to the demand.

In any case, the production figures for popular books of the period, possibly inflated, are spectacular. Talleres Gráficos de la Nación claimed to have printed more than 12 million copies of their titles. Not only did EFC begin to distribute its collections throughout Latin America, but Editorial América did so as well, and with an outstanding appreciation by the militants:

Lo notable—resalta uno de sus lectores en Chile—es que la calidad de esa literatura era bastante elevada. El hecho de que haya llegado a mis manos cuando yo tenía entre quince y veinte años, me evitó tragarme toda una literatura del llamado «marxismo vulgar», la que antes y después de esos años ha constituido la fuente principal para entrar en contacto con esa ideología, y que más ha contribuido a deformar que a formar políticamente.³⁸

To achieve this quality of work, Editorial América partnered with Universidad Obrera, which allowed it to have access to originals printed by European academic institutions, and also to orient its collections toward the students of those institutions. For example, *Introducción a la sociología* was written by A. Cuvillier,³⁹ a professor at the Ecole Normale Supérieure in Paris, and translated by Rafael Llamosa, a professor at the Universidad Obrera and the Instituto de Preparación de Profesores de Secundaria. Likewise, *Método dialéctico y ciencias humanas: A la luz del marxismo* was translated from the French, one of the first work born of that country's communist movement that reflected the scope of Marxism, bringing together the main intellectuals of the party.⁴⁰ This collection of study texts for university students had particular characteristics so that they could be used for this purpose. Its content, text markers, design, images, and fonts aimed to help the student achieve a better understanding of the subject matter.

The Librería Ariel served a complementary function to Editorial América. The circulation of books through the store, which was owned by the director of the publishing company, helped guide the selection of new works to be published.⁴¹ We can find this triple articulation, *educational space—publisher—bookstore*, graphically in the Librería's publicity materials, (see Appendix 2), particularly in an advertisement that appeared in *Futuro*, a magazine linked to Vicente Lombardo Toledano, the Confederation of Workers of Mexico (CTM), and Universidad Obrera. This advertisement shows works from various currents of Marxism grouped together, including some classics of the aforementioned Third Period, and from the European and Latin American left. No Mexican work is advertised. However, the two that are framed were manufactured in Mexico, and as months went by, Editorial América's catalogue of "Current Revolutionary Books" would quickly grow, in large part due to the success of *Educación y lucha de clases*.

The competition among leftist publishers pushed different actors to offer a wide variety of reading materials, and in this regard, Librería Ariel and Editorial América seemed to be the experts.⁴² They sought to emphasize that their booklist covered all aspects of being a good militant. In other words, according to their catalogues, their works would appeal to someone who was familiar with the main approaches of revolutionary theory, especially—but not solely—the work of the movement's forefathers,⁴³ and

who also knew in detail what was happening with the Spanish Civil War and, finally, who wanted to learn about Latin American social issues. This positioning is evident in Librería Ariel's advertising, and also among other publishers, either through their own titles or through their dissemination of other companies' collections. Even the official publisher of the Mexican Communist Party presented its publications by emphasizing their educational and revolutionary appeal.

Editorial Popular was created in middle of 1937, with the goal of promoting cheap books and pamphlets for the proletariat. It quickly established its Popular Collection and its España Collection, and created Editorial Morelos for promoting literature, although this branch it privileged texts by exiles living in Mexico.⁴⁴ Editorial Popular's approach highlighted the need to maintain a balance among publications, in order to form well-rounded revolutionary militants. To this end, and especially through the League of Revolutionary Writers and Artists, it urged its specialists to create literary works that drew on international theories and treatises; only thus would communism take root among the Mexican workers and farmers.

In any case, the popular collection of this partisan enterprise did not forget that published materials, according to the Leninist proposal, were to be the scaffolding of of the Communist Party. For this reason, the company's published works focused on partisan activities and on explaining the political positions of their leaders. Even the distribution and sale of the texts played a part in strengthening the PCM. One of the most important aspects of publishers' efforts to launch popular collections to the market was their concept of who the consumers of their products would be, although in this case it was also relevant who their sellers would be. Two of the three promoters of Editorial Popular, the Venezuelan Salvador de la Plaza and the Mexican Frenchman Leon Bataille, proposed that the books should be distributed for free, since this would increase their accessibility to readers without resources.⁴⁵ However, the American Alexander Trachtenberg held a very different position—that what is free is worthless—and his stance ultimately prevailed:⁴⁶ the books were sold, though at a very low price. This ensured that those who obtained them were indeed committed to the cause, and at the same time provided extra income for the militants who would act as distributors.

At the same time as the publishers were working to strengthen their collections and libraries, they had to keep sight of the fact that their ideal reader was still being defined. There are no historiographical works for this period on how the reader was trained. But as Freja Cervantes has outlined for previous years, readers began gradually to turn away from serialized materials, brochures, and magazines and toward booklets and books instead, which required a different approach. This transformation was not straightforward and in no sense was it homogeneous. How accelerated was this process among leftist readers during Cárdenism? If we compare the pamphlets that were made in early 1934 with the books that were released in the early 1940s, we can see important differences. But a sharp line should not be drawn. It is enough to focus on some of the collections distributed by *El Machete* (see Appendix 3), an official publication of the PCM, to perceive the difficulty to trace a line of continuum between publications throughout the 1930s. In this case, the newspaper advertised to its readers “The most beautiful romance and adventure novels,” among which we find works of classic Spanish authors, as well as some Russian authors, but none from the canon of communist literature that had been growing since the revolution of 1917. In fact, the books on this list had been published as part of the Colección revista literaria, novelas y cuentos [Collection of Literary Magazines, Novels, and Short Stories] in Madrid by Editorial Dédalo, a commercial company with no links to communism. When a selection of these books were received in Mexico, the directors of *El Machete* were pleased to be able to distribute it. Their reasons for doing so were probably at least in part financial: as Luis Alberto Romero and Leandro Gutiérrez argue in their analysis of cheap books in Buenos Aires,⁴⁷ the Argentinian publishers would have been eager to distribute “romance and adventure” novels because they were very good sellers. Though monetary justification appears like the most probable explanation, the reasons behind the decision of selling these magazines, novels, and short stories, remain unknown.

Thus, the body of literature published and distributed by the Mexican left was shaped at least in part by objectives unrelated to their ideological principles. The publishers sought to engage with the political, cultural, and marketing perspectives that were involved in each collection and each editorial project, even if these were not particularly partisan. Literary critics, in their turn, denounced the inconsistencies and lack of coherence that inevitably characterized this approach. For example, although Pizarro Suárez

complimented the Biblioteca del Obrero y Campesino, in 1936 for the important work it had done in expanding its readership, he was nevertheless very critical of some of the volumes in the series: “*Es francamente malo y desorientador el de G. D. Cole, Lo que Marx quiso decir. Cuando este folleto apareció, extracto de un libro grande, ya su propio autor rectificaba sus antiguas concepciones equivocadas sobre el marxismo.*”⁴⁸ Debates around Marxism were growing increasingly nuanced, and as Suárez’s comments suggest, this was at least in part a result of the rise of popular collections.

Conclusions; or, “What Is Read in Mexico?”

In 1939, the communist newspaper *La Voz de México* conducted a survey among diverse actors in the publishing world. Its only question was “What is read in Mexico?” The answer that intellectuals, booksellers, and writers used to give was “pornography.” Most were adamant that during the 1920s, so-called pornography was the only thing Mexicans read. However, in the same way, those in the book trade recognized that by the end of the Cárdenist era, the nature of what people read had changed, at least a little. Socialist texts had gained ground, and Marxist books were among readers’ favourites. The popular collections undoubtedly contributed to this process of reconfiguring the taste of these particular consumers. But let us not exaggerate their effects. A few pages ago, I considered a possible explanation for the success of Aníbal Ponce’s *Educación y Lucha de Clase* in Cárdenas’s Mexico, despite its lack of context in that country. But it seems to me that another possibility is that the book was scarcely read, that its buyers barely skimmed it, and that in many cases people acquired it simply in order to be able to present themselves as part of a community of readers and supporters of this type of literature.⁴⁹ Although it is difficult to prove this hypothesis definitively, it has been true of other works, and the abundance of books from that time that are still unopened point strongly in this direction.⁵⁰ This case serves as a reminder that it is necessary to relativize the impact of these collections among Mexican readers.

Historiographic research has generally highlighted the importance of the relationship between the publisher in charge of the collection and the authors of the works that comprise it. This relationship was minimal in the cases reviewed here, which entailed primarily the publisher’s selection of certain works without regard to who held the rights, either to the originals

or to the translations. Perhaps ironically, although these Mexican publishers sought to inspire a revolution, they did not themselves possess any property. The lawsuit between Editorial América and B. Traven on the issue of *La rebelión de los colgados* offers a glimpse the tensions of this particular dynamic between authors and publishers, although in that case, the dispute occurred between the translator, Pedro Geoffroy Rivas, and the German writer of the book. On another occasion, the EFC claimed that they had been unable to find the Spanish owner of the publishing rights because of the Civil War in Spain. However, they offered to pay whatever was necessary if the author ever appeared.

Thus, the dispute over red hearts was part of a broader process of negotiating authorship, finding readers, and, finally, professionalizing the work of the publisher in Mexico. The conjunction of these developments resulted in collections that were unstable but rich, and whose limits were opened by creativity more than they were closed by the dogmatism that elsewhere defined the Latin American left.

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¹ Roger Chartier, *El orden de los libros. Lectores, autores, bibliotecas en Europa entre los siglos XIV y XVIII*, trans. Viviana Ackerman (Barcelona: Editorial Gedisa, 1994).

² Fernanda Beigel, *La epopeya de una generación y una revista: las redes editoriales de José Carlos Mariátegui en América Latina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 2006).

³ John Spiers, ed., *The Culture of the Publisher's Series, vol. 1: Authors, Publishers and the Shaping of Taste*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Christine Rivalan Guégo and Miriam Nicoli, *La colección. Auge y consolidación de un objeto intelectual (Europa/Américas, siglos XVIII–XXI)*,

trans. Jaime Velásquez (Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes – Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 2017).

⁴ Spiers, ed., *The Culture of the Publisher's Series*, 10.

⁵ Unfortunately, there are no archives for these Mexican left-wing publishers. This article therefore appeals to a wide range of printed material, including pamphlets, booklets, books, publicity, and sometimes mentions in government documents.

⁶ See Javier Garciadiego, “Vasconcelos y los libros,” in *Autores, editoriales, instituciones y libros. Estudios de historia intelectual* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2015): 121–58.

⁷ “In every old book stand in Mexico, for a few cents, you can buy the works of classical literature that, from 1921 on, were published by the Ministry of Public Education. These editions cost the nation an enormous amount of money and were obviously intended for the petite bourgeoisie.” [my translation] Nicolás Pizarro Suárez, “2 políticas en materia de publicaciones,” *Frente a Frente*, no. 5 (1936): 21.

⁸ “It is necessary that all non-reactionary writers create a new [literature] that is genuinely popular, with high artistic quality; but alongside this task, it is also urgent to bring to the real masses of workers and farmers a fundamentally elementary culture, which will allow them to begin to read and write.” [my translation] *Ibid.*

⁹ Pizarro Suárez highlights in particular the work of *Simiente*, a collection intended for younger students in rural schools. At that time, 1,080,000 copies had been distributed and 400,000 more had been printed. Each text cost seven cents, while textbooks from private publishers cost no less than 2.50 pesos. Pizarro Suárez, “2 políticas en materia de publicaciones,” 21.

¹⁰ Colección *Cvltvra* was founded in 1916 by Agustín Loera y Chávez and Julio Torri. It was considered the first attempt to publish modern literature in revolutionary Mexico. Freja I. Cervantes and Pedro Valero, *La Colección Cvltvra y los fundamentos de la edición mexicana moderna 1916–1923* (Mexico City: Juan Pablos Editor/ Secretaría de Cultura, 2016).

¹¹ Luis Mariano Herrera, “La producción de libros en México a través de cuatro editoriales (1933–1950)” (Master’s thesis, UNAM, 2014).

¹² Lorena Pérez Hernández, “Pasión por las letras. Editorial Polis: un proyecto de Manuel Gómez Morin, Antonio L. Rodríguez y Jesús Guisa y Azevedo (primera parte),” *Bien Común* 26, no. 286 (2019): 61–76.

¹³ Sebastián Rivera Mir, “Los trabajadores de los Talleres Gráficos de la Nación. De las tramas sindicales a la concentración estatal (1934–1940),” *Historia Mexicana*, no. 270 (2018): 611–56.

¹⁴ Sebastián Rivera Mir, “La difusión del marxismo en tiempos convulsos. Rodrigo García Treviño y Editorial América (1936–1940),” in *Prácticas editoriales y cultura impresa entre los intelectuales latinoamericanos en el siglo XX*, ed. Aimer Granados and Sebastián Rivera Mir (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Cuajimalpa – El Colegio Mexiquense, 2018): 71–97.

¹⁵ Although many studies only consider the Flores Magón brothers' pre-1910 publishing business, in fact Enrique was also active as a revolutionary. Claudio Lomnitz, *El regreso del camarada Ricardo Flores Magón*, trans. Jorge Aguilar Mora. (Mexico City: Ediciones Era, 2016).

¹⁶ For more information, see the work of Carlos Illades, *Las otras ideas: estudio sobre el primer socialismo en México, 1850–1935* (Mexico City: Ediciones Era – Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Cuajimalpa, 2008).

¹⁷ Robert M. Buffington, *A Sentimental Education for the Working Man: The Mexico City Penny Press, 1900–1910* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).

¹⁸ Jorge Fuentes Morúa, *José Revueltas. Una Biografía intelectual* (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana – Unidad Iztapalapa / Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2001).

¹⁹ Frédéric Palierne, “La declaración de intención, una identidad entre manifiesto y peritexto comercial: aproximación al discurso de intención en las colecciones literarias de la segunda mitad del siglo XX,” in *La colección. Auge y consolidación de un objeto intelectual (Europa/Américas, siglos XVIII–XXI)*, ed. Christine Rivalan Guég and Miriam Nicoli, trans. Jaime Velásquez (Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes – Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 2017): 29–67.

²⁰ “For many years we have known of the problem that in Mexico it is practically impossible for writers and artists to publish their works. Various attempts have been made, by both private and official initiatives, to put an end to this unfortunate situation. In the end, these efforts have failed and the writer continues in his precarious condition, deprived of stimulus and abandoned, in the best of cases, in the hands of the few commercial companies interested in publishing books.” [my translation] *Invitación a los escritores y artistas de México* (Mexico City: Editorial México Nuevo, 1936), 5.

²¹ For more about this organization, see the outstanding book by John Lear, *Picturing the Proletariat. Artists and Labor in Revolutionary Mexico, 1908–1940* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017).

²² From a different perspective, Sergio Ugalde has studied how different writers, newspapers, and institutions built up an antifascist printing network. See Sergio Ugalde, “La conformación de catálogos de los impresos antifascistas en México, vistos a través del periódico *El Popular* (1939–1945),” in *El orden de la cultura escrita. Estudios interdisciplinarios sobre inventarios, catálogos y colecciones*, eds. Marina Garone, Freja Cervantes, María José Ramos Hoyos, and Mercedes Salomón (México: Gedisa – Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana / Unidad Cuajimalpa, 2019, 263–90).

²³ “We believe that the moment is exceptionally opportune for the triumph in our country of an enterprise of this nature, due to the mortal blow that the fascist aggression has dealt to the previously splendid Spanish editorial work, which until recently provided books to all the Spanish-speaking countries.” [my translation] *Ibid.*, 8–9.

²⁴ The figures provided by Fernando Peñalosa are very enlightening. Imports from Spain went from 749,000 pesos in 1936 to 89,000 pesos in 1939—that is, in those three years they dropped almost 90 percent. In any case, we must take into account the penetration of Chilean and Argentinean books; the former are relevant because they were associated with

piracy, and the latter because they were distributed by the many left-wing publishers in Mexico. Fernando Peñalosa, *The Mexican Book Industry* (New York: The Scarecrow Press, 1957), 196.

²⁵ “So far, these editorial efforts have been lax, unfocused, and scattered.” [my translation] “Por la educación marxista de las masas. Las editoriales revolucionarias,” in *El Machete* (August 11, 1935): 3. See also Arnoldo Martínez Verdugo, *Partido Comunista Mexicano: trayectorias y perspectivas* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Popular, 1971), and Barry Carr, *La izquierda mexicana a través del siglo XX*, trans. Paloma Villegas (Mexico City: Ediciones Era, 1996).

²⁶ See Antolín Piña Soria, *El libro, el periódico y la biblioteca como elementos de cultura popular, en función del servicio social* (Mexico City: n.p., 1936).

²⁷ This progression was made possible by EFC’s commercial success in particular. According to Navarro words, he distributed more than one million copies in 1937.

²⁸ This situation might be seen as contradictory to the idea of the editorial manifesto. By contrast, the books tended to be grouped under certain labels depending on their situation.

²⁹ “Organizations, teachers, workers, everyone! Ask for the library Ediciones Frente Cultural 1938. 27 works of art worth \$15.00 for only \$12.00.” [my translation] Publicity in the back cover of Friedrich Engels, *Anti-Dühring. Filosofía–Economía Política–Socialismo*, trans. Wenceslao Roces (Mexico City: Ediciones Frente Cultural, 1939).

³⁰ Although these links cannot be confirmed, everything indicates that this collection was privileged within the editorial circuits of the Communist International, receiving as much money as texts and originals for its publicity. See Sebastián Rivera Mir, “Los primeros años de Ediciones Frente Cultural. De la teoría revolucionaria al éxito de ventas (1934–1939),” *Estudios de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea de México*, no. 51 (2016): 112–31.

³¹ “So far, the lines that our administration entrusted to our colleague DANIEL NAVARRO OREJEL (1897–1939) co-founder and powerful pillar of this company, in which he was responsible for the position of distribution manager. Our colleague’s voice has been silenced forever. After an exemplary life and many years of fight, tenacious and modest, he has left us his savings, destined to support the publication of a special series of works of social character, which is already being prepared by this same Company.” [my translation] Karl Kautsky, *El cristianismo. Orígenes y fundamentos*, trans. Diego Rosado de la Espada (Mexico City: Ediciones Frente Cultural, 1939), 7.

³² “Two young university professors, two teachers from secondary schools and indigenous boarding schools, and three graduated of the teacher-training college (*normalistas*) and high school students: they form the group of people to whom we submit, for examination, a collection of twenty-four works on the most varied aspects of the war.” [my translation] Vladimir Lenin, *La guerra y la humanidad. Para la liberación de los pueblos coloniales y semicoloniales* (Mexico City: Colección Daniel – Ediciones Frente Cultural, 1939), 5–6.

³³ “To serve the peoples of America, to promote their culture and organization, to point out to them the path of the great social struggles, as a measure to help them reach their true independence and complete economic and social freedom—without prejudice or

sectarianism—are the purposes and mission that this house has set itself in its editorial work.” [my translation] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³⁴ Horacio Tarcus, *La biblia del proletariado: Traductores y editores de El Capital* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Editores, 2018).

³⁵ “Ask for them in bookstores all over the continent.” [my translation] Lenin, *La guerra y la humanidad*, 191. A couple of years later, the confidential agents of the Ministry of the Interior confirmed the existence of this wide continental distribution network. See “Informe sobre Librería Navarro,” 1944, Box 752, Folder 64, Fondo Investigaciones políticas y sociales, Archivo General de la Nación de México, Mexico.

³⁶ Translating used to be one of the most important activities for Mexican publishing houses. In fact, this topic deserves a dedicated study of its own, with special attention to the translators and their practices. Nayelli Castro, Tania Hernández, and Danielle Zaslavsky, “Los traductores y los libros del México del siglo XX: una mirada retrospectiva y un balance pendiente,” in *El libro multiplicado. Prácticas editoriales y de lectura en el México del siglo XX*, eds. Kenya Bello and Marina Garone (México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana – Unidad Cuajimalpa, 2020) 270–313.

³⁷ Although these numbers have always been in doubt, the book would sell more than three thousand copies in 1938. “Qué se lee en México,” *La voz de México* (Oct. 9, 1938): 5–7. Years later, even Fernando Peñalosa pointed out that *Educación y Lucha de Clase* was the great social sciences bestseller in Mexico. However, he does not give any further information about what a *best seller* was in those years. Fernando Peñalosa, *The Mexican Book Industry* (New York: The Scarecrow Press, 1957).

³⁸ “What is remarkable, says one of its readers in Chile, is that the quality of that literature was quite high. The fact that it came into my hands when I was between fifteen and twenty years old prevented me from swallowing a whole literature of so-called ‘vulgar Marxism,’ which before and after those years has been the main source of contact [for Latin Americans] with that ideology, and which has contributed more to deforming than to forming politics.” [my translation] Clodomiro Almeyda, *Reencuentro con mi vida* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 1988), 43.

³⁹ Armand Cuvillier, *Introducción a la sociología*, trans. Rodrigo García Treviño (Mexico City: Editorial América, 1938).

⁴⁰ *Método dialéctico y ciencias humanas: A la luz del marxismo* (Mexico City: Editorial América, 1938). See Marie-Cécile Bouju, “Books for the Revolution: The Publishing Houses of the French Communist Party, 1920–1993,” *Script & Print* 36, no. 4 (2012): 230–42.

⁴¹ This bookstore had links with different artistic Mexican movements since 1920, and it was a landmark for left-wing visitors, artists, and militants. There is no specific research about it.

⁴² Even in the works of Editorial América, references were made to the fact that this or that complementary work was in the collection of the same publisher or could be acquired at the Librería. To publish literature, he created a parallel company, called Editorial Insignia.

⁴³ Fuentes Morúa points out that, during this period, people more commonly read Engels than Marx. Likewise, it was more common to read texts on politics rather than those that we could call doctrinaire. If we combine the various collections, including foreign publications, the catalogue available to a left-wing reader shows us that Engels's predominance tended to be more balanced with those of Marx than this statement suggests, and that political readings tended to be theoretical texts as opposed to doctrinal ones. See Jorge Fuentes Morúa, *José Revueltas. Una Biografía intelectual* (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana – Unidad Iztapalapa / Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2001).

⁴⁴ The impact of the Latin American exile on the Mexican publishing world during Cárdenism is still a topic that requires further research, but Salvadoreans, Chileans, Argentinians (like Ponce), and Venezuelans did work in this sector when they arrived in Mexico. See Sebastián Rivera Mir, *Edición y comunismo: Cultura impresa, educación militante y prácticas políticas (México, 1930–1940)* (Raleigh: Editorial A Contracorriente, Serie Historia y Ciencias Sociales, 2020).

⁴⁵ León Bataille, *Memorias de un forastero que pronto dejó de serlo (Mexico City: 1931–1946)* (Mexico City: El Día en Libros, 1987).

⁴⁶ This was due in part to the success that this model had had in the United States, which is relevant since in many aspects the collections are dialogues between successful processes abroad and their adaptations in the local environment. There are a multiplicity of examples in Christine Rivalan Guégo and Miriam Nicoli, *La colección. Auge y consolidación de un objeto intelectual (Europa/Américas, siglos XVIII–XXI)*, trans. Jaime Velásquez (Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes – Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 2017).

⁴⁷ Leandro Gutiérrez and Luis Alberto Romero, “Una empresa cultural: los libros baratos,” in *Sectores populares, cultura y política*, 47–69 (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Editores, 2007).

⁴⁸ Pizarro Suárez, “2 políticas en materia de publicaciones,” 21.

⁴⁹ See Sebastián Rivera Mir, “Aníbal Ponce en México. La difusión de sus propuestas educativas,” in *Historias entrelazadas: el intercambio académico en el siglo XX. México, Estados Unidos, América Latina*, ed. Sebastián Rivera Mir (Mexico City: El Colegio Mexiquense, 2020), 155–67.

⁵⁰ Martín Bergel, “Para una historia de la no-lectura en América Latina. Los usos de los objetos impresos en el APRA (1930–1945),” in *La desmesura revolucionaria. Cultura y política en los orígenes del APRA* (Lima: La Siniestra, 2019), 321–60.

APPENDIXES

Figure 1. Advertisement for Ediciones Frente Cultural (1936).

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- ¿QUÉ QUEREMOS EL COMUNISMO? 0.40
- PRE. LA EMANCIPACION DEL SOCIALISMO. 0.40
- 3.º CLASICO. 0.40
- MANIFIESTO COMUNISTA. 0.20
- SOCIALISMO Y SU DOCTRINA. 0.20
- GARROS MARX Y SU DOCTRINA. 0.20
- LENIN PARA STRALIN. 0.20
- B. C. DEL COMUNISMO CONTRA EL SOCIALISMO. 0.20
- LOS FUNDAMENTOS DEL LENINISMO. 0.20

Figure 2. Advertisement for Librería Ariel (1938).

LIBROS REVOLUCIONARIOS DE ACTUALIDAD

(Obras cuya lectura recomienda la Universidad Obrera de México)

<p>OBRAS DE MARX</p> <p>EL CAPITAL, Tomo I, completo, Edición Cent. \$ 12.50</p> <p>EL CAPITAL, Resumen de Deville. 1.00</p> <p>EL MANIFIESTO COMUNISTA. 0.20</p> <p>TRABAJO ASALARIADO Y CAPITAL. 0.40</p> <p>PRECIO, SALARIO Y BENEFICIO. 0.40</p> <p>LA GUERRA CIVIL EN FRANCIA. 0.75</p> <p>EL 18 BRUMARIO DE LUIS BONA-PARTE. 0.75</p> <p>OBRAS DE ENGELS</p> <p>EL ORIGEN DE LA FAMILIA, DE LA PROPIEDAD PRIVADA Y DEL ESTADO. 1.00</p> <p>L. FEUERBACH Y EL FIN DE LA FILOSOFIA CLASICA ALEMANA. 0.50</p> <p>EL SOCIALISMO MODERNO. 0.40</p> <p>LA GUERRA DE LOS CAMPESINOS EN ALEMANIA. 2.00</p> <p>OBRAS DE LENIN</p> <p>EL ESTADO Y LA REVOLUCION. 0.75</p> <p>EL IMPERIALISMO, ETAPA SUPERIOR DEL CAPITALISMO. 1.00</p> <p>EL EXTREMISMO, ENFERMEDAD INFANTIL DE COMUNISMO. 0.65</p> <p>LA CUESTION AGRARIA. 2.00</p> <p>¿QUÉ HACER?. 1.20</p> <p>MARX Y EL MARXISMO. 0.40</p> <p>EL SOCIALISMO Y LA GUERRA. 0.40</p> <p>LA COMUNA DE PARIS. 0.40</p> <p>CARTAS INTIMAS. 3.00</p> <p>OBRAS DE BUJARIN</p> <p>EL MATERIALISMO HISTORICO. 2.00</p> <p>A B C DEL COMUNISMO. 0.70</p>	<p>DOCTRINA SOCIALISTA GENERAL</p> <p>FILOSOFIA Y SOCIALISMO, Labriola. . . \$ 1.20</p> <p>FEUERBACH Y MARX, R. Mondolfo. . . . 1.20</p> <p>MARX Y LOS SINDICATOS, Losovski. . . . 1.20</p> <p>LAS CUESTIONES FUNDAMENTALES DEL MARXISMO, Plejanov. 0.80</p> <p>LA DOCTRINA MARXISTA, Max Beer. . . . 0.90</p> <p>EL CAMINO DEL PODER, Kautski. 1.00</p> <p>LA CONQUISTA DEL PODER, B. Mariannetti. 1.00</p> <p>SOBRE LA ESPAÑA ACTUAL</p> <p>ESPAÑA EN ARMAS, Jean Richard Bloch. . . 2.00</p> <p>DETRAS DE LAS BARRICADAS ESPAÑOLAS, J. Langdon-Davies. 1.75</p> <p>ESPAÑA EN CRISOL, B. Alvarez. 2.00</p> <p>RESURRECCION, (Impresiones de una conciencia libre sobre la heroica epopeya del pueblo español), Elías Castelnuevo. 0.60</p> <p>UN MES ENTRE LOS REBELDES, J. Allouche. 0.75</p> <p>PORTUGAL 1936, R. Fox. 0.50</p> <p>DURRUTI, F. Alaiz. 0.50</p> <p>LINA ODENA, Estivil. 0.50</p> <p>CARLITOS EL INTREPIDO, (Novela infantil), Bela Delasch. 0.75</p> <p>NOVELAS FAMOSAS SUDAMERICANAS</p> <p>LA VORAGINE, J. Eustaquio Rivera. 1.00</p> <p>EN LAS CALLES, Jorge Icaza. 0.90</p> <p>CACAO, (Novela de los trabajadores brasileños), Jorge Amado. 1.00</p> <p>AVANZADA, (Novela de luchas sociales), Jorge Newton. 1.00</p> <p>LA ANDANZA GRIS, (Viaje de un paria a través de América), Jorge Newton. . . . 1.20</p> <p>CAMARADA, (Novela de los trabajadores argentinos), H. Salvador. 1.00</p>
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Figure 3. Advertisement that appeared in *El Machete* (July 7, 1938).

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