FROM THE CHILEAN LABORATORY TO WORLD-COMMUNICATION

ARMAND MATTELART'S INTELLECTUAL JOURNEY

Mariano Zarowsky

Foreword by Peter Simonson

Translated by
William Quinn & Peter Simonson

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Foreword to the English Translation

Peter Simonson

Armand Mattelart has produced one of the most important bodies of work on communication over the last half century. Yet, somehow, he is poorly known in the English-speaking world and only selectively read beyond it. How that gap came to be is itself a worthy question, but my main aim here is to introduce this translation of Mariano Zarowsky's outstanding study of Mattelart for Anglophone readers. The book not only illuminates the intellectual trajectory of a remarkable global figure, but it also gives us the resources to belatedly incorporate him into our current thinking and practice.

Over more than fifty years and almost that many books, writing in three languages and often in collaboration with his wife Michèle (b. 1941), the Belgian-born Mattelart (b. 1936) consistently did work that is at once original, rigorous, and politically engaged. His thinking, like the subjects he researched, evolved over time, but they cut across critical theory and the international political economy, culture, policy, and history of communication. Beyond his books, his contributions took the form of articles, reports for governments and non-governmental organizations, major editorial projects, and an experimental documentary film. Beginning in the late 1960s, working in the hotbed that was Chile in that era, he developed a distinctive kind of non-doctrinaire Marxism deeply attuned to class struggle and the specificities of culture and history. The Marxian dimension became less explicit in the 1980s and '90s, as he creatively drew upon Foucauldian genealogy and world-systems theory, but his commitment to a multi-faceted

critical analysis of communication as a pathway to a more humane and just world persisted. He was probably the most international of the major communication theorists and certainly the most committed to traversing the lines separating Global North and South. This reflected the realities of his own journey—from the Belgium of his youth and doctoral studies in France, to Chile and the democratically elected socialist regime of Salvador Allende, exile to France after the US-backed coup, research missions in the post-revolutionary states of Mozambique and Nicaragua, and intellectual networks that spanned the globe. He was a singular figure.

For more than a decade now, Zarowsky, an Argentinian scholar, has published some of the best work done anywhere on the intellectual history of communication and communication studies. His monograph, originally published in Spanish in 2013, is valuable not just for its historical and interpretive road map of Mattelart's career, but also for its methodological approach, one that blends intellectual history with a materialist sociology of culture. Zarowsky carefully reconstructs Mattelart's production and its dynamic relation to the contexts, sensibilities, and debates that shaped it. In so doing, he offers us an uncommonly rich education about Mattelart, but also a window into the political history of the transnational intellectual left and its engagements with the problem of communication since the 1960s.

The overwhelming majority of work published in English on the history of communication studies has centered on the United States, with Canadian media theory, British cultural studies, and German critical theory rounding out the major loci in the Anglophone version of the field's collective memory.[1] Zarowsky's story effectively decenters all that. It arises from within the horizons of Latin American communication studies, a sprawling and vibrant intellectual formation that, for multiple reasons, has been marginalized if not totally ignored by the Global North. "Los Mattelart," as Armand and Michèle are often called,[2] are widely recognized as founding figures in the Latin American field, and their work is read and taught across the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking worlds. At the same time, as Zarowsky shows in

[1] There are other significant intellectual formations at (or beyond) the margins of Anglophone collective memory, perhaps most notably the group gathered around the Centre d'études de communications de masse (CECMAS), formed at the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris in 1960. (See Stefanie Averbeck, "Comparative History of Communication Studies: France and Germany," *Open Communication Journal* 2 [2008]).

[2] The Spanish, "los Mattelart," aptly carries both a singular and plural sense, pointing to how Armand and Michèle have operated both as individuals and a singular unit of intellectual production. It is a moniker that has been used in Latin American writings about them since at least the mid-1980s.

one of the book's key interventions within Latin America, there is a highly selective memory of him there.[3] Zarowsky offers a story with multiple centers but grounded especially in Mattelart's deeply formative years in Chile (1962–1973). France is the other main locus, but he also emphasizes the transnational exchanges of people, ideas, and texts that moved between France and the Southern Cone of Latin America and shaped thinking about communication. If we take it seriously, his account will reorient the way most of us in the North have understood how the media became a politically charged object of study and what it has meant to be what Zarowsky elsewhere calls a "communication intellectual."[4] It will also allow us to add, retroactively, a powerful guide and interlocutor, Armand Mattelart, to our current studies. The book speaks for itself, but in this Foreword to the English edition, I try to frame the project for readers who may know little of the contexts and international significance of Mattelart's work and of Zarowsky's study of it—and to contribute to the case to bring los Mattelart more prominently into Anglophone thinking about communication.

An "Intellectual Itinerary"

The original, Spanish subtitle for this book is "un itinerario intelectual de Armand Mattelart"—literally, an intellectual itinerary. The phrase sounded a bit strange in English, so the translation variously uses the more familiar *journey* or *trajectory* (though *path*, *route*, *road*, or *course* also recommended themselves). At the same time, *intellectual itinerary* signals what Zarowsky is doing here, methodologically and substantively. An *itinerary* suggests movement across different places in space and time. Zarowsky delivers by showing us how Mattelart's thought unfolds, from the 1960s to the early 2000s, in different historical moments, cultural-political matrices, and social networks and organizations. His version of the sociology of culture draws its bearings from Raymond Williams and, to a lesser extent, Pierre Bourdieu to materially link intellectual production to social location and praxis. At the same time, reconstructing an *intellectual* itinerary, Zarowsky never loses sight of ideas. He unpacks their meanings as they took shape in texts, edito-

[3] For a recent bibliometric study of Armand Mattelart's influence in Latin America, see Raúl Fuentes Navarro in a special issue devoted to the Mattelarts: "Leer la biblioteca mattelartiana," *MATRIZes* 14, no. 3 (2020).

[4] Mariano Zarowsky, "Communication Studies in Argentina in the 1960s and '70s: Specialized Knowledge and Intellectual Intervention Between the Local and the Global," *History of Media Studies* 1 (2021).

rial undertakings, and theoretically guided political interventions, as well as their interpretations and uses by others. Zarowsky is an expert guide through Mattelart's writings, which can be difficult, and the intellectual debates they responded to. The project is also anchored to the present. As he tells us in the book's eloquent "Final Words," by reconstructing the conditions of Mattelart's production, so different from our own, we might "question our own intellectual praxis" and reveal something important about the present.

The itinerary begins with Mattelart's years in Chile, which in 1970 (eight years after he arrived) became the first country in the world to democratically elect a Marxist government. I'll say more about "the Chilean laboratory" in a moment, but, in the contexts of Cold War ideological battles and modernization initiatives, the country attracted major international attention even before Allende became president. It drew in scores of scholars and other knowledge workers from abroad, including exiles fleeing Latin American military dictatorships. Zarowsky situates Mattelart within that context and what he calls "the political, social and cultural laboratory known as the *democratic road to socialism*." In so doing, he re-establishes the historicity of Mattelart's most famous book, published with Ariel Dorfman in 1972: *Para leer al Pato Donald: Comunicación de masa y colonialismo* (published in English as *How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic*). The book quickly became a bestseller across Latin America, going through more than twenty editions, and it was eventually translated into fifteen languages. It is now considered a classic in the study of cultural imperialism, though it was intended more as an effort at what we might call popular media literacy than scholarship more narrowly. Its fame has sometimes overshadowed everything else Mattelart did, and it is common to find people who know nothing of him but *Donald Duck*, which he wrote near the beginning of his career.[5] Zarowsky gives the book its historical due, but he concentrates on the rest of Mattelart's remarkable career.

[5] For a brief, recent account in English, see Dan Piepenbring, "The Book That Exposed the Cynical Politics of Donald Duck," *The New Yorker*, June 3, 2019. For the history of translations of the work, see Alejandro Cárdenas López, "Los flujos globales de 'Para leer al Pato Donald' y la censura de Disney," *Chasqui: Revista Latinoamericana de Comunicación* 154 (December 2023). For a recent work that extends Zarowsky's historical contextualization of the book within socialist Chile, see Daniel Badenes and Alfredo Afonso, "Para leer 'Para leer al Pato Donald,'" *Tram[p]as de la Comunicación y la Cultura*, no. 86 (December 2021). For profiles of Dorfman, see Naomi Lindstrom, "Ariel Dorfman: The Trajectory of a Transnational Jewish Intellectual," *Contemporary Jewry* 41 (2021); and, emphasizing his literary output, Sophia A. McClennan, "Ariel Dorfman," *Review of Contemporary Fiction* 20, no. 3 (2000).

Given their work for the Allende government and status as Marxist intellectuals, the Mattelarts were forced into exile after the US-supported 1973 coup that installed Augusto Pinochet's military dictatorship. Zarowsky's story thus shifts to France. Mattelart wouldn't secure a permanent university job for a decade, and even then, it was in a provincial university (Université Rennes 2), outside the intellectual center of Paris, where he wouldn't get a position until 1997 (Université de Paris 8). In the interim, he took temporary university jobs, worked on an experimental documentary about Chile (*La Spirale*), served as an editor, public writer, and expert consultant for the United Nations and for new socialist states in the Global South and in France after the socialists came into power in 1981. Zarowsky guides us through leftist intellectual and political debates of the 1970s and '80s, where Mattelart's connection to the democratic socialist experiment in Chile provided domestic and international cachet that allowed him to bring his blend of critical-theoretical acumen and practical policy experience to bear both domestically and internationally. We are offered a window into a type of communication research supported by governments and non-governmental organizations, embedded in leftist and progressive politics traversing national and regional borders, and alive until the neoliberal revolution of the 1980s and '90s. In the academic realm, Zarowksy's reconstruction also gives us a glimpse of the relatively late institutionalization of communication research in France in the 1980s, where Mattelart played a role that was at once central and marginalized.

In the last two substantive chapters of the book, Zarowsky shifts from a historically organized intellectual itinerary to a more conceptually oriented "cognitive map," centered on two broad problematics that shaped Mattelart's work: *class analysis and the political economy of communication* in the first half of his career, *world-communication* in the second. The transition occurs in the mid-1980s, in the contexts of the transformed political horizons in France and Mattelart finally landing a permanent faculty position. The first of these chapters offers a valuable discussion of different approaches to the political economy of communication and how Mattelart's position was distinctive. Zarowsky sketches the views of figures well-known in the Anglophone world (including Herbert Schiller, Dallas Smythe, Graham Murdoch, and Raymond Williams) and others who are not (Bernard Miège and, briefly, Ramón Zallo). Since Mattelart has, in the last twenty-five years at least, rarely received more than passing attention in English-language political economy,

situating him in that field is itself an important intervention.[6] Zarowsky also draws out how Armand and Michèle together formulated a powerful analysis that engaged deeply with Marx's original writings, situated the cultural industries within the dynamics of class struggle, and emphasized the need to understand how they contributed to broader transformations of the state and the transnational political order. Theirs was an approach that also cut across the battlelines drawn between cultural studies and political economy in the US and UK. It is a distinctive and valuable perspective worth re-engaging in our current moment of global political crisis and transnational media industries.

After the mid-1980s, the Mattelarts incorporated Foucauldian genealogy and the world-systems theories of Immanuel Wallerstein and Fernand Braudel into their work. Zarowsky shows how they and others in France turned critical attention to the burgeoning discourse of "communication" circulating around new technologies and the nascent neoliberal order. This would open toward broad genealogical studies of "the invention of communication" since the 1600s and its entanglements with empire and war, along with more circumscribed accounts of the related history of media theory in the twentieth century. This body of work drew together histories of concepts, cultural images, networks, industries, technologies, practices, and apparatuses. Holding it together was the overarching concept of *world-communication*, which allowed them to show how social processes and representations of communication developed historically within a capitalist world-economy and systems of power—something that applied as much to communication theory as to media industries and strategies of empire. Both technologies and ideas of communication, the argument went, fed processes of internationalization that the capitalist world-economy needed in order to develop. Long attuned to international patterns of domination, ideology, and networks, the world-communication concept put the Mattelarts at the forefront of a global turn in communication studies.[7]

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[6] For representative examples from North American scholars, see two chapters in John Nerone, ed., *Media History and the Foundations of Media Studies* (Blackwell, 2013): Vincent Mosco, "The Two Marxes: Bridging the Political Economy/Technology and Culture Divide," which gives credit to Mattelart as "the most prominent" figure in a stream of political economic research that foregrounds class struggle (66); and Robert W. McChesney, "The Political Economy of Communication: An Idiosyncratic Presentation of an Emerging Subfield," which makes no mention of Mattelart.

[7] Whereas earlier books by Mattelart that appeared in English were published by small, often leftist presses, larger publishers offered translations of this later work in the 1980s and '90s, including several by the University of Minnesota Press. None included prefatory accounts to situate the books in the contexts of their original production in France or

"The Chilean Laboratory" in International Perspective

Though the Mattelarts' thinking continued to develop, their time in Chile during the 1960s and early '70s left a lasting mark. Most people outside the region don't know about the global geopolitical and intellectual significance of that time and place—one part of which was the pioneering studies done of media, communication, and culture. When Armand stepped off the ship from Europe in September of 1962, he entered a zone of growing international focus, where communication would become an object of analysis, contention, and social action.[8] The Cuban Revolution of 1959 had major international repercussions, particularly in the contexts of the Cold War. Its significance for Chile and the region "cannot be overestimated," write two observers: It energized the left in the region and brought a change in US geopolitical policy, which shifted (for a time) from military intervention in Latin America to "a policy of openness and democratic reforms, mainly aimed to hinder the revolutionary impulses boosted by the Cuban example." It was also an era of "deep economic, political and sociocultural transformations" in Chile, which gave new salience to the social sciences as a way of understanding and directing change.[9] In these contexts, Santiago became, in Fernanda Beigel's words, "one of the main platforms of the international cooperation system," with "a concentration of academic capital" of several kinds.[10]

The Mattelarts were part of a remarkable moment in Chile that incubated multiple strands of thought that would significantly shape thinking in communication and the social sciences—and well beyond. International figures made major contributions, both exiled leftist intellectuals who resettled there after the military coups in Brazil (1964) and Argentina (1966) and others who were educated outside the country. Santiago in the 1960s was the site where

with reference to Mattelart's trajectory of thought, and some included titles that occluded their underlying intellectual framework (e.g., *La mondialisation de communication* became *Networking the World*). For Mattelart's critical take on the English editions, see Costas M. Constantinou, "Communications/Excommunications: An Interview with Armand Mattelart," *Review of International Studies* 34 (2008), 29–30.

[8] One of the few historical studies of communication research in Chile published in English is the very fine account by political scientist Matt Davies, *International Political Economy and Mass Communication in Chile: National Intellectuals and Transnational Hegemony* (Palgrave Macmillan, 1999).

[9] Juan Jesús Morales Martín and Justino Gómez de Benito, *History of Sociology in Chile: Trajectories, Discontinuities, and Projections* (Springer Nature, 2022), 33; Davies, "Scientific Mass Communications Study: 1958–67," chap. 2 in *International Political Economy.*

[10] Fernanda Beigel, "Origins of the Dependency Theory: Trajectories, Actors, and Institutions," in *Dependency Theories in Latin America: An Intellectual Reconstruction, ed. André Magnelli, Felipe Maia, and Paulo Henrique Martins* (Routledge, 2024), 18.

a cluster of scholars developed dependency theory, the widely influential neo-Marxist framework for understanding the underdevelopment of Latin America and the Global South as part of the system of world capitalism and its systematic exploitation of countries on the "periphery" by those in the core. It received its classic formulation in *Dependencia y desarrollo en América Latina* (*Dependency and Development in Latin America* [1969]), by the sociologists Fernando Enrique Cardoso (an exiled Brazilian who was later president of the country) and the Chilean Enzo Faletto.[11] A young Manuel Castells, Spanish-born and Paris-educated, spent parts of several years in Santiago between 1968 and 1972. In the Marxist phase of his life, he worked with Cardoso and Faletto, which he credits with "decisively shap[ing]" his theory and research on globalization.[12]

Santiago also drew in Brazilian liberationist thinkers. The educator-philosopher Paulo Freire lived there in exile from 1964 to 1969, where he worked for a time in the same research institute as Mattelart. He wrote several books in that context, including the *Education as the Practice of Freedom*, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, and between them, *¿Extensión o comunicación?* (*Extension or Communication?*), which offered a sharp critique of the dominant transmission-of-expertise model of rural development in favor of a dialogic, communicative alternative.[13] Meanwhile, his fellow Brazilian, the sociologically trained theologian Hugo Assmann, who would collaborate with Mattelart in founding the journal *Comunicación y Cultura*, wrote some of the early texts in Latin American liberation theology while exiled in Santiago between 1971 and 1973.[14] Like the dependency theorists, they were connected to broader, New Left political networks in the region whose actions would reverberate globally.[15]

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[11] Beigel, "Origins of the Dependency Theory."

[12] Castells worked as a visiting professor and scholar at both the University of Chile and Pontifical Catholic University (Manuel Castells, "A Sociology of Power: My Intellectual Journey," *Annual Review of Sociology* 42 (2019), 17).

[13] John D. Holst, "Paulo Freire in Chile, 1964–1969: *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in its Sociopolitical Economic Context," *Harvard Educational Review* 76, no. 2 (2006); Fabian Cabaluz and Beatriz Areyuna-Ibarra, "La ruta de Paulo Freire en Chile (1964–1969): Alfabetización popular e influencias del marxismo heterodoxo," *Revista Colombiana de Educación* 80 (2020), 302–304.

[14] Assmann's *Teología desde la praxis de liberación: Ensayo teológico desde la América dependiente* was published in 1973, one of the classic works of liberation theology whose subtitle reveals its debt to dependency theory and Marxism, erased in its English-language edition, *Practical Theology of Liberation*.

[15] Aldo Marchesi, "Southern Cone Cities as Political Laboratories of the Global Sixties: Montevideo (1962–1968); Santiago de Chile (1969–1973); Buenos Aires (1973–1976)," *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* 28, no. 2 (2017); Tanya Harmer,

Meanwhile, in very different ideological circles, Pontifical Catholic University, where Mattelart worked for a time, housed a group of University of Chicago–trained Chilean economists who had studied with Milton Friedman. Known as "the Chicago boys," they were the architects of Chilean neoliberalism, which Pinochet's government embraced after the 1973 coup. This was its own kind of "Chilean laboratory," which provided a testing ground for the neoliberal policies adopted by the Thatcher and Reagan governments in Great Britain and the United States. [16]

Amidst this effervescence, we can find three intellectual formations with distinct understandings of communication operating in Chile in the 1960s. Each would find a broader place in the field of communication studies in Latin America and beyond. Each implied different geopolitical commitments, and each was advanced by a mix of Chilean and foreign figures. The best established was US-style functionalist sociology and mass communication research, articulated to a paradigm of modernization through expertise and the dissemination of information, which began coming together in the 1940s. The second was a Catholic understanding of "social communication," a newer concept forged in the contexts of Vatican II (1962–1965) and the Church's reform efforts. In subsequent years, it would take root across Latin American higher education and communication research as well as the pastoral activity of the Church. [17] And the third, which intermixed with the leftist versions of the Catholic project and defined itself against US social science, was a Marxian critical framework articulated to grassroots, participatory, and socialist efforts in popular empowerment and a critique of the capitalism and imperialism emanating from the North. Its account of media would begin to take shape during a student strike at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile in May of 1967.

Mattelart came to Chile as part of the sociological wing of the Catholic community. This was his entry into the interdisciplinary, transnational, and progressive-left sensibilities that would define his communication research. He had grown up Catholic in Belgium and took his doctorate in law from

"Toward a Global History of the Unidad Popular," *Radical Americas* 6, no. 1 (2021).

[16] Alexander D. Barder, "American Hegemony Comes Home: The Chilean Laboratory and the Neoliberalization of the United States," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 38, no. 2 (2013); Johanna Bockman, "Democratic Socialism in Chile and Peru: Revisiting 'the Chicago Boys' as the Origin of Neoliberalism," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 61, no. 3 (2019).

[17] For a valuable collection of primary documents and interpretations of Catholic thinking about communication in Latin America, see Benito Spoletini, *Comunicación e Iglesia Latinoamericana* (Ediciones Paulinas, 1985).

the Catholic University of Louvain before moving on for advanced training at the French Institute for Demographic Studies in Paris. Demography was for him a way to address problems of social inequality, and he studied with Catholic humanists who rejected economistic models of development. [18] Funded by a Rockefeller Foundation grant, he accepted a three-year position as a professor of demography in the School of Sociology at Pontifical Catholic University of Chile in Santiago. It was headed by the Belgian Jesuit sociologist and priest Roger Vekemans, an intellectual and institutional impresario who spoke some ten languages and had an extensive network of connections in Europe and the United States. Vekemans had moved to Chile in 1958, part of a wave of Catholic social scientists, laymen and priests, who came from Europe (especially Belgium, France, and the Netherlands) between 1958 and 1962. The majority were "militant Catholics" committed to working on development-related projects that might benefit the poor. [19] The Europeans joined a Chilean Catholic community whose left wing would appropriate Marxist thinking and liberation theology and provide strong support for Allende's socialist government (1970–1973). [20]

Arriving two months after Mattelart at Catholic University's School of Sociology was Charles R. Wright, the UCLA functionalist sociologist who at the time was, in Mattelart's retrospective account, "lord and master of the problem of mass communications media." [21] He was one of many US sociologists brought into Chilean universities with support from the US government, private foundations (especially Rockefeller and Ford, which set up a Santiago office in 1963), or, as in Wright's case, international organizations with significant US influence (the Organization of American States). [22] In Mattelart's telling, Wright (who had studied at Columbia with

[18] For the best account of Mattelart's early, Catholic trajectory and personal recollections of his time in Chile, see his long interview in Fernanda Beigel, *Misión Santiago: El mundo académico jesuita y los inicios de la cooperación internacional católica* (LOM Ediciones, 2011).

[19] Beigel, Misión Santiago, 136. On Vekemans, see Alexis Cortés, "Clodomiro Almeyda and Roger Vekemans: The Tension Between Autonomy and Political Commitment in the Institutionalization of Chilean Sociology, 1957–1973," *Current Sociology* 69, no. 6 (2021).

[20] Marcos Fernández Labbé, "'A Christianity for Times of Revolution': Context of the Political-Intellectual Reception and Controversy over Liberation Theology in the Chilean Path to Socialism, 1970–1973," *International Journal of Latin American Religions* 6 (2022); Denisa Jashari, "The Chilean Christians for Socialism Movement: Liberationist, Third Worldist, and Utopian," *Latin American Research Review* 59 (2024).

[21] Quoted in Arturo Torrecilla, "Cultural Imperialism, Mass Media and Class Struggle: An Interview with Armand Mattelart," trans. Mary C. Axtmann, *The Insurgent Sociologist* 9, no. 4 (1980), 72.

[22] Charles W. Wright, oral history interview by Jefferson Pooley, 19 July 2016, Communication Scholars Oral History Project, Annenberg School for Communication Library

Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton) had come to found a department of sociology of communication and establish a chair in it, but his presence alone was a sign of the influence of US social science in Chile at the time.[23] So-called scientific sociology was then less than a decade old in the country, planted by Eduardo Hamuy, another Chilean who had also studied at Columbia and conducted the first scientific public opinion polls in Chile.[24]

Wright may have been the first US mass communication researcher Mattelart had met, but there were others in Santiago, connected with President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress, the economic, development, and modernization program launched in the wake of the Cuban Revolution.[25] They were part of what Mattelart described as the reality of the US modernization theory he was confronted with, advanced by the sociologists and demographers who aided in the development of communication strategies for birth control and other development projects, and whose work was translated into Spanish and distributed free of charge by the United States Information Service (USIS).[26] In 1961, UNESCO organized a twelve-day Meeting of Experts on the Development of Information Media in Latin America that issued a call for building up scientific (read: US-style) research in mass communication, with Stanford University's Wilbur Schramm a featured participant.[27] Meanwhile,

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Archives, University of Pennsylvania: 46–47; Beigel, Misión Santiago, 136.

[23] As he recounted in his oral history interview with Pooley, Wright spoke no Spanish but taught classes in English to the sociology students (46–47). A Spanish translation of his book, *Mass Communication: A Sociological Perspective*, would be published in Buenos Aires in 1963 (Charles R. Wright, *Comunicación de masas: Una perspectiva sociológica*, trans. Raquel Ferrario and Ricardo E. Malfé [Editorial Paidós, 1963]).

[24] Morales Martín and Gómez de Benito, *History of Sociology in Chile*, 17, 27–28; Edmundo F. Fuenzalida, "The Reception of 'Scientific Sociology' in Chile," *Latin American Research Review* 18, no. 2 (1983).

[25] Stephen G. Rabe, "Alliance for Progress," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*, published March 3, 2016; accessed May 28, 2025; Michael E. Latham, *Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and "Nation Building" in the Kennedy Era* (University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

[26] Armand Mattelart, introduction to *Communication and Class Struggle 1: Capitalism, Imperialism*, ed. Armand Mattelart and Seth Siegelaub (International General, 1979). Another form of US influence came via the export of television programming to Chile. Television arrived late and only began to develop when Chile hosted the World Cup in 1962. After that, imported programming, much of it from the US, supplemented the limited amount of programming produced in the country. This was part of the experiential context for thinking about media and cultural dependency in Chile.

[27] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, report of the Meeting of Experts on Development of Information Media in Latin America, Santiago, Chile, February 1–3, 1961, UNESCO Archives, Paris.

Stanford and other US universities were beginning to train Latin American graduate students in behaviorist communication research.[28]

Mattelart would be instrumental in forging a third model of communication inquiry, embedded in a more radical politics that took its intellectual bearings from a mix of Latin American leftist thought, Western European Marxism, and French and Argentinian semiology. It energetically separated itself from behaviorist functionalism but intermixed with leftist Catholic thought. This is the story Zarowsky vividly tells in chapter 2, illuminating the factors that shaped Mattelart's work and left lasting dispositions for him. It's worth mentioning a few details about this intellectual formation and its genesis, however, to draw out its global significance in the history of communication and media studies.

First, the original catalyst for critical studies of communication and culture in Chile were student strikes at Pontifical Catholic University in May of 1967, during the presidency of Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei.[29] This was a year before the seismic protests of 1968 in Paris and around the world. As Zarowsky details, it led to a study of news coverage of the unrest by Armand and Michèle Mattelart and their Argentinian colleague Mabel Piccini (1942–2015). Their analysis opened with a broadside against US functionalist communication research before turning to a groundbreaking study of the liberal press in Chile that blended ideological critique, the political economy of media ownership, and critical scrutiny of the transnational dependency of Chilean media in relation to US ideology and culture industries.[30] Their investigation took place within a newly created research institute, the Center for the Study of National Reality (CEREN in its Spanish acronym), which would be the institutional location for a form of media studies with that blend of analysis. In this and other ways, the Chilean laboratory was ahead of the Global North.

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[28] For this and more on US entanglements with Latin American communication research, see Peter Simonson, Jefferson Pooley, and David Park, "The History of Communication Studies Across the Americas: A View from the United States," *MATRIZes* 17, no. 3 (2023).

[29] As Mattelart himself has noted, there were precedents in Venezuela for critical and cultural communication studies in the region, led by Antonio Pasquali at the Universidad Central de Venezuela (UCV) (Mattelart, introduction to *Communication and Class Struggle 1*, 32). On Pasquali and UCV in the 1950s and '60s, see Emiliano Sanchez Narvarte, "Antonio Pasquali, un itinerario intelectual transnacional: Comunicación, cultura y política (1958–1989)" (PhD diss., Universidad Nacional de La Plata, 2019).

[30] Originally published as a special issue of Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional 3, and then as a stand-alone book: Armand Mattelart, Mabel Piccini, and Michèle Mattelart, *Los medios de comunicación de masas: La ideología de la prensa liberal* [*The Media of Mass Communication: The Ideology of the Liberal Press*] (Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional, 1970).

Compare, for instance, British cultural studies as developed through the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS). Established in 1964, the CCCS was part of the British New Left, which expanded traditional definitions of the political, invested in culture as a key site of social reproduction and change, and sought "a new conception of socialism and a radically new analysis of the social relations, dynamics and culture of post-war capitalism."[31] The New Left's Communist wing was also committed to renewed thinking free from both the economistic orthodoxies of Marxist thought and the legacies of Stalinism and state socialism as it had developed in the Soviet Union. It was only in the early 1970s, however, when the CCCS directorship passed from Richard Hoggart to Stuart Hall, that the CCCS turned seriously to social theory and Marxism—facilitated by 1971 English translations of Althusser and Gramsci.[32] The Mattelart group was several years ahead of the work that the CCCS would be doing.[33]

The Santiago-based research collective was part of a broader formation in the Southern Cone that in the 1960s had been investigating similar problematics as the British New Left.[34] At one of its leading edges was a group of Argentinians associated with *Pasado y Presente,* an important, consciously Gramscian journal founded in 1963 and devoted to problems of culture and ideology.[35] Like other Latin American Marxists, they benefit-

[31] Stuart Hall, "Life and Times of the First New Left," *New Left Review* 61 (January/February 2010). For an extended historical account, see Dennis Dworkin, *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left, and the Origins of Cultural Studies* (Duke University Press, 1997).

[32] Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, trans. Ben Brewster (New Left Books, 1971); Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. and trans. by Quinton Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (International Publishers, 1971). On the history of English translations and receptions of Gramsci, see Geoff Eley, "Reading Gramsci in English: Observations on the Reception of Antonio Gramsci in the English-Speaking World 1957–82," *European History Quarterly* 14 (1984); and David Forgacs, "Gramsci and Marxism in Britain," *New Left Review* 176 (August 1989). On the uptake of Gramsci in British cultural studies, see chapter 2 in Marco Briziarelli and Susana Martínez Guillem, *Reviving Gramsci: Crisis, Communication, and Change* (Routledge, 2016).

[33] A point also made in probably the most penetrating historical-cum-theoretical accounts of Mattelart's work in Chile that has been published in English: Timothy Brennan and Ewart Skinner, "Communication and Cultural Theory: Armand Mattelart in Chile," *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics* 10 (1990).

[34] On the Latin American left in the 1960s, see Jeffrey L. Gould, "Solidarity Under Siege: The Latin American Left, 1968," *American Historical Review* 114, no. 2 (2009); Eric Zolov, introduction to "Latin America in the Global Sixties," special issue, *The Americas* 70, no. 3 (2010); Harmer, "Toward a Global History of the Unidad Popular"; and Marchesi, "Southern Cone Cities as Political Laboratories."

[35] Subtitled *Revista Trimestral de Ideología y Cultura* [*Quarterly Journal of Ideology and Culture*], the journal took its name from a quote by Gramsci which it included at the start

ted from a series of Spanish translations of Gramsci in the 1950s and early '60s, including the first publication in any language beyond Italian of *The Prison Notebooks,* in 1950.[36] That journal, and, after 1968, Mattelart's group in Santiago, read and incorporated many of the same texts that the CCCS group would bring into their work in the early 1970s: French structuralism, semiology, and other Continental social theory. After Mattelart traveled to Paris in 1968 and brought dozens of books back with him, CEREN's media research group decisively turned toward Marxism.

Beyond being on the front end of incorporating cultural Marxism into media studies, the CEREN group also led the way in prominently including women researchers in their work. While women had played a prominent if undervalued role in the making of classic media sociology at Columbia University in the 1940s, and there were important individual figures in other national contexts, it was only in the 1970s that they began to carve out a significant space in the field, fueled by the international women's movement.[37] We can see the fundamental contributions made to critical media research in Chile by Michèle Mattelart and Mabel Piccini as the dawning of this Second Wave feminist age. Like a comparative study of the international New Left and the ways it undergirded a heterogeneous array of critical and cultural studies of the media, the roles of women in the Chilean laboratory deserves an extended study. This is not a focus of Zarowsky's

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of its inaugural issue. That issue and a partial archive of the journal is available online at https://americalee.cedinci.org/portfolio-items/pasado-y-presente/. It included essays by Eliseo Verón and Héctor Schmucler that can be retroactively read as concerned with the nexus of communication and culture before that problematic was fully conceptualized. On the journal and "the Argentinian Gramscians," see Raúl Burgos, *Los gramscianos argentinos: Cultura y política en la experiencia de Pasado y Presente* (Siglo XXI, 2004).

[36] Burgos, *Los gramscianos argentinos*, 31–62. See also Burgos, "The Ups and Downs of an Uncomfortable Legacy: The Complicated Dialogue Between Gramsci and the Latin American Left," trans. Victoria J. Furio, *Latin American Perspectives* 42, no. 5 (2014).

[37] There is a rapidly growing body of work on the international history of women in communication research. For a start, with ample bibliographic references in each, see the research output by the FEMICOM project at the Universidad de Murcia in Spain (https://www.femicom.es/en/articles/), which includes the superb dissertation on women at Columbia University by Esperanza Herrero Andreu ("Aportaciones e influencia de mujeres investigadoras en las teorías de la comunicación: Una aproximación a la Escuela de Columbia [1935–1955]"); Elena D. Hristova, Aimee-Marie Dorsten, and Carol A. Stabile, *The Ghost Reader: Recovering Women's Contributions to Media Studies* (Goldsmiths Press, 2024); and, for Latin America, Yamila Heram and Santiago Gándara, P*ioneras en los estudios latinoamericanos de la comunicación* (Teseo Press, 2021); along with the various *Mujeres de la comunicación* volumes published by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (https://fescomunica.fes.de/mujeres-de-la-comunicacion.html).

book, but he offers pieces of the story that have been filled out by recent feminist historiographical work.[38]

From the time they married in 1963, Armand and Michèle worked in tandem, sometimes formally through co-publication, at other times as the closest of interlocutors, a fact reflected in their colleagues' tendency to call them "los Mattelart." Their formal co-authorship began with a study of rural Chilean women and images of them in US-backed development programs, which was the first of several notable studies of women, communication, and culture that Michèle would conduct.[39] Among much else, she would also coordinate a roundtable on Propaganda and Mass Communication with the influential Marxist sociologist Marta Harnecker at an international conference on women in Santiago in 1972.[40] Beginning with the pioneering critical study of Chilean media after the student protests of 1967, the Mattelarts were joined by the Argentinian Mabel Piccini, who along with her husband, the historian Sempat Assadurian, were among the Argentinian Gramscians from the city of Córdoba connected to *Pasado y Presente.* They would connect the Mattelarts to the journal and the community.[41] Both Michèle Mattelart

[38] Yamila Heram and Santiago Gándara, "Pionera: Los aportes de Michèle Mattelart al campo comunicacional," *MATRIZes* 14, no. 3 (2020); Ana Carolina Escosteguy, "Michèle Mattelart and the Open Veins of Communication and Gender in Latin America," *MATRIZes* 14, no. 3 (2020); Michèle Mattelart, interview with Leonarda García-Jiménez, October 2020.

[39] Michèle Mattelart and Armand Mattelart, *La mujer chilena en una nueva sociedad: Un estudio exploratorio acerca de la situación e imagen de la mujer en Chile* (Editorial del Pacífico, 1968); see also Michèle Mattelart's *Women, Media and Crisis: Femininity and Disorder* (Comedia, 1986), which builds from her experience studying women and media in Chile. For Michèle's memories of Chilean women's movements and research about women and media, see her "Chile: The Feminine Side of the Coup or When Bourgeois Women Take to the Streets," *NACLA's Latin America and Empire Report* 9, no. 6 (1975); "Mujeres y medios: Memorias de un pensamiento crítico," in *Crítica feminista y comunicación*, ed. M.J. Sánchez Leyva and A. Reigada Olaizola (Comunicación Social, 2007); and "Género, comunicación e investigación desarrollada por mujeres," *Revista de la Asociación Española de Investigación de la Comunicación* 1, no. 2 (2014). For discussions of her work on women and communication, see Heram and Gándara, "Pionera"; and Escosteguy, "Michèle Mattelart."

[40] In October of 1972, the Second Latin American Conference on Women (Segundo Seminario Latinoamericano de Mujeres), sponsored by the International Democratic Federation of Women, took place in Santiago and included the roundtable on propaganda and mass communication (Hebe Ortega, "El proceso chileno: algunas observaciones sobre la participación de la mujer," *Revista de Psicología* 6 [1973]). Harnecker (1937–2019), who had studied with Louis Althusser in Paris, would become "one of the most influential Marxist theorists in the Latin American left," and her book *The Basic Concepts of Historical Materialism* (originally published in Spanish in 1969) "had far-reaching impact" (Jorge G. Castañeda, "Marta Harnecker and the Death of the Latin American Hard Left," *New York Times*, June 25, 2019).

[41] Mariano Zarowsky, "Entre Paris y Santiago de Chile: Circulación de ideas y redes intelectuales en la recepción de Armand Mattelart de la semiología y la problemática ide-

and Piccini were powerful intellects on their own, and one could make the case that it was their contributions to the collaborations with Armand that launched the critical media studies of the Chilean laboratory and served as a catalyst for what he would do afterwards. Though the fuller story has yet to be told, in Santiago there was a place for women in media research and for studies of women in the media that wouldn't open in the US or Europe for several more years.[42]

In sum, there is an argument for adding Santiago to the list of places that populate the historical imaginary of media and communication theory in the Anglophone world. Along with Chicago in the first decades of the twentieth century, Frankfurt and New York City in the 1930s and '40s, Toronto in the 1950s and '60s, and Birmingham in the 1970s and '80s, we could add Santiago, ca. 1967–1973.[43] This would be a step toward a more global map of the geographical sites of interaction and intellectual labor that have been particularly productive in the transnational intellectual history of the field.

"The Popular International of Communication"

Among those who visited the Chilean socialist laboratory were the trailblazing North American political economists of communication Herbert Schiller and Dallas Smythe, who traveled to Santiago de Chile in July of 1971, less than a year after Allende's election.[44] Their visit opened a third axis of in-

ológica," *Question* 1 (2008). On Piccini, see Yamila Heram and Santiago Gándara, "Visibilidad y reconocimiento a las mujeres pioneras del campo comunicacional latinoamericano: Un análisis de la trayectoria de Mabel Piccini," *Revista Mediterráneo de Comunicación* 12, no. 2 (2021); and Malvina Rodríguez, Carla Avandaño, and Paula Navarro, "Mabel Piccini: Recorriendo las redes de la tejedora invisible; Una reconstrucción de la vida y la trayectoria de la intelectual Cordobesa," in *Mujeres de la comunicación: Argentina*, ed. Alejandra García Vargas, Nancy Díaz Larrañaga, and Larisa Kejval (Friedrich Ebert, 2022).

[42] This work took place in a complex sociopolitical context for women in Chile. On the one hand, some Chilean women became militant left-wing feminists during the 1960s, and the Allende government made efforts to advance women's rights, proposing a Ministry of the Woman. On the other, there was a strong, conservative women's movement organized in opposition to his socialist government. On the former, see Gina Inostroza Retamal, "Sujetividades rebeldes: Las trayectorias militantes de mujeres y conciencia feminista en Concepción y Santiago 1960–1980," *Revista de Historia* 2, no. 29 (2022); on the latter, Lisa Baldez, *Why Women Protest: Women's Movements in Chile* (Cambridge University Press, 2002); and Michèle Mattelart, *Women, Media and Crisis*.

[43] If it were more central in the Anglophone world, one would add Paris in the 1960s, organized by the Centre d'études de communications de masse (CECMAS), begun by Georges Friedmann, Edgar Morin, and Roland Barthes.

[44] Herbert Schiller and Dallas Smythe, "Chile: An End to Cultural Colonialism," International Observer 9 (1972); Andrew Williams, "The Herbert Schiller Papers and a Glimpse of Salvador Allende's Chile," Annenberg School for Communication Library Archives Blog,

tellectual and interpersonal exchange for the development of the Mattelart group's critical media research, supplementing the internal networks within Latin America and the connections with France that had largely defined it.[45] Mattelart would later say that the trip would "strengthen his ties" with the critical scholars from the North, whose work paralleled what the Mattelart group was already doing in their study of the Chilean liberal press.[46] Schiller and Smythe arranged an invitation for Mattelart to attend a conference on Communications Technology and Social Policy organized by George Gerbner at the Annenberg School for Communication in Philadelphia in 1972, which strengthened his connection with US-based scholars. Schiller and Smythe would bring Mattelart into the circles of the International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR), where they organized a new Political Economy section, while Gerbner would invite Mattelart to contribute to the field-defining "Ferment in the Field" issue of the *Journal of Communication,* published in 1983.

Zarowsky offers the concept of "a popular international of communication" to capture these kinds of politically engaged leftist networks of scholars, activists, governments, and international organizations that were highly active from the late 1960s until the neoliberal revolution of the 1980s. It is a valuable, historically specific framework made possible by Zarowsky's careful attention to the social connections among Marxist and other progressive scholars in the era and their meaningful agency in shaping national and international policy through writing, editing, pedagogy, and direct intervention. Most famously, it advanced the movement for a New World Information and Communication Order.[47] As Zarowsky shows, Mattelart was a significant node in this popular international who did particularly important work in facilitating points of contact between the Global North and South—as well as within each of those world regions. Chile and France would be the main geopolitical loci of his intellectual production (with sig-

January 29, 2025.

[45] One could add their relation to US functionalist social science, embodied for a time in Chile by Charles R. Wright, which stood in as the dominant paradigm against which the critical Marxians defined their own work.

[46] Interview with Fernanda Beigel in *Misión Santiago*, 190.

[47] Vanessa Freije, "The 'Emancipation of Media': Latin American Advocacy for a New International Information Order in the 1970s," *Journal of Global History* 14, no. 2 (2019); Jonas Brendebach, "Contested Sovereignties: The Case of the 'New World Information and Communication Order' at UNESCO in the 1970s," in *Cultural Sovereignty Beyond the Modern State: Space, Objects, and Media*, ed. Gregor Feindt, Bernhard Gissibl, and Johannes Paulmann (De Gruyter, 2021).

nificant forays into post-revolutionary Mozambique [1978] and Nicaragua [1985]), but his efforts extended far beyond. He had a unique and highly important international profile, which Zarowsky reconstructs.

One important vehicle for this work across Latin America was the journal *Comunicación y Cultura*, whose publication (from 1973 to 1985) reflects another significant episode in the global history of communication studies largely unknown outside Latin America. The names that appear in the journal could serve as a rough guide to a swath of the popular international that cut across Latin America and was linked, often through Mattelart, to France and regions beyond. *Comunicación y Cultura* was a product of the transnational intellectual community of the Southern Cone in the early 1970s. The idea came out of a meeting organized by Mario Kaplún, a Jewish-born Argentinian convert to Catholicism exiled in Uruguay, who collaborated with Jesuit efforts at *comunicación social* through television, education, and research.[48] Kaplún brought together Mattelart and the other two founding editors of the journal. One was Héctor Schmucler, a former Communist Party militant who turned in more heterodox directions with the 1963 founding of *Pasado y Presente,* studied semiology with Roland Barthes in Paris, directed the Mass Communication series for the Argentinian editorial house Siglo XXI in the 1970s, and wrote many essays on media, culture, and technology.[49] (He also wrote the preface for the original edition of Zarowsky's book). The other was Hugo Assmann, the Brazilian liberation theologist, then exiled in Chile, who had an interest in communication as emancipatory "emotive-utopic" socialist praxis.[50] The mix of Marxists and Jesuits reflects the entwined intellectual and political communities of the era while also signaling two lines of development of communication studies in Latin America. The

[48] Florencia Soria, "The Christian Communicator: The Intellectual Trajectory of Mario Kaplún from the Fifties to the Seventies," paper presented to the History of Media Studies Working Group, Consortium for the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine (virtual), March 19, 2025.

[49] Mariano Zarowsky, "Héctor Schmucler: Izquierdas, vanguardias, comunicación," in *Pensadoras de la comunicación argentina*, ed. Guillermo Mastrini, María Graciela Rodríguez, and Mariano Zarowsky (Ediciones UNGS, 2020); Héctor Schmucler, *Memoria de la comunicación* (Biblos, 1997).

[50] Hugo Assmann, "Las necesidades emotivo-utopicas de las masas y la comunicación masiva" [The emotive-utopic needs of the masses and mass communication], in *Comunicación y Cambio Social*, ed. Peter Shenkel and Marco Ordoñez, 2nd ed. (Editora Andina, 1981). The text was originally presented at the important 1972 Costa Rica meeting that played a significant role in the institutionalization of Latin American communication studies: *El papel sociopolítico de los medios de comunicación para la sociedad de cambio in América Latina* [*The Sociopolitical Role of Communication Media for Social Change in Latin America*]. Little seems to have been written about Assmann's contributions to communication studies.

journal was a self-consciously Gramscian initiative whose first issue reflected these currents. It would be "an organ for linking and expression of diverse experiences that are gestating in Latin America in the field of mass communication . . . [particularly] those that favor the processes of the total liberation of our dependent societies." [51] The journal's publication home followed the trail of exiles from the Southern Cone: from Santiago for the first volume in 1973, to Buenos Aires after the Chilean coup, and then to Mexico City from 1978 to 1985, when Schmucler was part of the wave of Argentinian intellectuals who emigrated there. [52] Mattelart would co-edit from his own exile in France.

Another notable locus for the popular international that Zarowsky discusses is the International Mass Media Research Center (IMMRC) and its book publishing arm, International General. Housed on the outskirts of Paris, it was the creation of Seth Siegelaub, an American polymath who had been an important figure in the New York City art scene of the 1960s. He moved to Paris in 1972 and turned his attention to communication and culture, fed by French activists and left intellectuals. Siegelaub founded the IMMRC the following year, which he described as "an independent political research institute . . . [whose] purpose is to document Marxist studies concerning all aspects of communication, past and present, and contribute to the development of Marxist communication theory and practice in political and ideological struggle." Its library housed tens of thousands of books, magazines, and pamphlets devoted to Marxist and progressive causes, "coming from more than 50 countries, and engaged in exchanges with organizations and communication researchers around the world." [53] Between 1972 and 1986, IMMRC published an annual bibliography, "Marxism and the Mass Media," each with some five hundred entries. It was part of what Siegelaub

[51] Editor's introduction to *Comunicación y Cultura* 1 (1973), 3, quoted in Daniel Badenes, "Tramas de la comunicación crítica en América Latina: Orígenes y contextos de *Comunicación y Cultura*," in *Redes intelectuales y redes textuales: Formas y prácticas de la sociabilidad letrada*, ed. Liliana Weinberg (Centro de Investigaciones sobre América Latina, 2021), 523. On *Comunicación y Cultura*, see also Victor Lenarduzzi, *Revista "Comunicación y Cultura": Itinerarios, ideas, y pasiones* (Eudeba, 1998).

[52] Mariano Zarowsky, "Del exilio a los nuevos paradigmas: Los intelectuales argentinos de la comunicación en México (de Controversia a *Comunicación y Cultura*)," *Comunicación y Cultura* 24, no. 6 (2015).

[53] "What is IMMRC?" in *Communication and Class Struggle 1: Capitalism, Imperialism*, ed. Armand Mattelart and Seth Siegelaub (International General, 1979), 446. See also Sarah Martinetti, "Seth Siegelaub," trans. Boris Kremer (2012); and Götz Langkau, "Unpacking Seth's Library: The International Mass Media Research Center at the International Institute of Social History," in *Catalogue Seth Siegelaub, Beyond Conceptual Art*, 12 December–17 April 2016 (Stedelijk Museum, 2015).

in 1980 called a "continuing effort to develop Marxist communication and cultural theory and left cultural studies."[54]

Zarowsky documents Siegelaub's collaboration with Mattelart, which began when International General published the first English translation of *How to Read Donald Duck*, a project mainstream publishers avoided for fear of legal action from the Disney Corporation. Mattelart extended the IMMRC's focus into Latin America and led their effort on the extraordinary two-volume anthology, *Communication and Class Struggle*, edited with Siegelaub and one of Mattelart's relatively few books originally published in English. With long introductions to each volume written by Mattelart and selections of writings by everyone from Marx, Gramsci, and Frantz Fanon to contemporary communication researchers, it was a nearly nine-hundred-page anthology of Marxist writings on communication theory and practice from the rise of capitalism to the contemporary "popular and working-class struggle for the realization of a liberated society."[55]

While *Communication and Class Struggle* has been cited (often in passing) by critical and Marxian communication scholars from the Global North, there is a notable gap between the ambition of the project and its apparent uptake. It is of a piece with Mattelart's broader marginalization in the English-language iterations of the field, including areas where there is clear intellectual resonance with his work. Cultural studies is an example. Though Mattelart co-authored a book introducing British cultural studies to a French audience, the gesture was generally not reciprocated.[56] For all its spaciousness, cultural studies as it grew out from Birmingham developed a closed, self-referential sense of itself, with a history that ran from Williams, Hoggart, and E.P. Thompson through the CCCS and those who explicitly traced their lineages to it. There was almost never room to include Mattelart or the Chilean laboratory, or even to engage it with any real seriousness.[57] This was true even for that work that had been translated or published in

[54] Quoted in Eleanor S. Block, "Reference Sources in Journalism and Mass Communication," *RSR: Reference Services Review* 12, no. 4 (1984), 57.

[55] Seth Siegelaub, preface to *Communication and Class Struggle 1*, 19.

[56] Armand Mattelart and Érik Neveu, *Introduction aux Cultural Studies* (Éditions la Découverte, 2003). Exceptions to the non-engagement of Mattelart within cultural studies include Nicholas Garnham, John Fiske, and David Morley—whose former student Nick Couldry wrote a knowing review of Mattelart's 2003 book, *The Information Society: An Introduction* (*Media, Culture & Society* 27, no. 3 [2005]).

[57] This is less true of genealogies of Latin American cultural studies, some of which make room for Mattelart. See for instance Mónica Szurmuk and Silvio Waisbord, "The Intellectual Impasse of Cultural Studies of the Media in Latin America: How to Move Forward," *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* 8, no. 1 (2011).

English and so was readily available. Moreover, what James Carey called, in 1995, "the interminable conflict between political economy and cultural studies" was, in the English language scholarship, framed through Anglo-North American thought.[58] Mattelart's thinking in many ways cut across the divide, which both reveals the provinciality of the conflict and suggests that there was an established way out of it that had arisen in the contexts of Latin America's New Left and concrete political work within the Chilean socialist process. The fact that North American and British scholars didn't seize on that fact points to geopolitical asymmetries in the popular international of communication—what Mattelart called, in a different context, the "complicity with the law of unequal exchange" of researchers from the US and Europe.[59]

[58] James Carey, "Abolishing the Old Spirit World," C*ritical Studies in Mass Communication* 12, no. 1 (1995), 82. Carey's comment was itself part of a colloquy that illustrated that conflict, organized by Oscar Gandy in *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 12, no. 1 (1995). It arose from what Gandy called "an emotionally charged exchange" that took place at the International Communication Association convention in Washington, D.C., in 1993 and opened with a polemical statement by Nicholas Garnham, "whose call for a historical perspective on mass communication research had literally defined the scholastic approach to political economy within the field," in Gandy's words (60). Lawrence Grossberg weighed in, equally polemically, with a defense of cultural studies and insistence on its historical separation from political economy. Carey weighed in from the horizons of his pragmatist and Geertzian version of cultural studies and, drawing heavily from Williams, argued for the necessity of focusing on "the complex interplay between a technology and the entire political, economic, and cultural infrastructure built up in relation to the articulation of a way of life" (84). Rounding it out, Graham Murdoch made a case for disregarding the lines of demarcation in the name of constructing a more complete account of contemporary culture and mobilizing them "in the service of revitalizing democracy" (94). The question of political practice and the early connections of Cultural Studies to the New Left and working-class movements cut across the exchange. It is striking how much the Mattelart group in Chile was already doing these things while attending to ideology and cultural representations, local and transnational media industries, audience interpretations, ideologies, and class struggle while directly participating in a broader, national political movement. Garnham knew and appreciated this fact, as evidenced by the excellent 1984 short introduction he wrote to the English edition of one of the Mattelarts' books (Nicholas Garnham, introduction to *International Image Markets: In Search of an Alternative Perspective*, by Armand Mattelart, Xavier Delcourt, and Michèle Mattelart [Comedia Publishing Group, 1984]).

[59] Mattelart, "Introduction," *Communication and Class Struggle 1*, 34. Ironically, mainstream US communication scientists seemed more committed to facilitating dialogue with Latin American critical scholarship in the 1980s and '90s. Many knew Latin Americans through development work in the South or US graduate programs, and some read Spanish. (See Simonson, Pooley, and Park, "History Across the Americas," 203.)

Mattelart Today

By guiding us historically through Armand Mattelart's career, Zarowsky also makes both Armand and Michèle newly available for our rediscovery. To be sure, Armand is the focus of the study, but as Héctor Schmucler wrote in his original, poetic preface to the book, "the recurrent presence of Michèle, his wife, represents a kind of parable of Armand's thinking, in which the subjectivity of the everyday does not diminish but rather amplifies the richness of his intellectual production." It would be more fitting to say *their* intellectual production, for surely the everyday, over more than sixty years together, has enhanced if not birthed much of their enormous corpus of work. That abundance is probably one reason they haven't entered the weft of our thinking about communication more fully. That, along with the fact that they don't fit neatly into a single national or regional tradition or school of thought and kept developing in new directions.

Zarowsky's book has the effect of motivating one to dive into this body of work—or it certainly had that effect on me. Both the early political economy and cultural imperialism writings and the later turn to world-communication would reward our readings today. For me, the writings that run from the Chilean period through the *Communication and Class Struggle* project have a particular draw, representing a different kind of Marxian project than those more familiar to us in the North—be it cultural studies as infused by post-structuralism, textualism, and the centering of discourse; economistic varieties of political economy less attuned to class struggle, cultural praxis, or transnational industries and networks of power; or critical scholarship that emphasized critique, without opening toward a positive vision of a more just, humane social order.

Drawing synthetically from both the early and later periods of writing, the Mattelarts point us toward an overarching theoretical perspective that attends to the historical and cultural specificities of texts and communicative practices and their place in larger political and global totalities shaped by class and other power-laden social relations, and situated within the capitalist world order and dynamics of war and empire that have advanced it. While any particular study of communication is necessarily constrained in scope, what we might call the theoretical imaginary that emerges from their work calls us, if nothing else, to engage in thought experiments that cast specific objects of study into the flows of much larger social, political, and historical processes.

Theoretically, they offer an abundance of specific concepts that can function as critical heuristics. One is *mode of production of communication*, which Zarowsky discusses in chapter 6.[60] It directs our attention to the material activities through which all types of communication are produced, foregrounding issues of labor, while encompassing techniques, instruments, and social relations embedded in the process. While it comes out of the Marxian tradition and finds its most comfortable home there, it also has broader applicability. It could easily be extended in the directions of ecological or new materialist and actor–network theory directions, orienting us to the environmental costs of our modes of communication and the assemblages of activities and things that make them possible. Something similar could be done to productively (re-)engage numerous other Mattelartian concepts.

Beyond its theoretical richness, the Mattelarts' corpus offers an invaluable critical historical record of communication systems, industries, and practices from the era of socialist revolution and full-throated left progressive hope through the first decades of the neoliberal global regime that supplanted it. Their studies of then-contemporary dynamics of national and transnational media cultures can open toward a reading strategy that recognizes their texts as critical-documentary resources for a history of our own present.[61] This in turn can lead one into their world-communication genealogies, which punctuated their transition from communication research as an active component of concrete, socialist/emancipatory political struggles to a

[60] For one version of Mattelart's account of the concept, see his introduction to *Communication and Class Struggle* 1, 36–41.

[61] To chronologically highlight just a few texts that are available in English, this sort of reading might begin with *Mass Media, Ideologies and the Revolutionary Movement* ([1974] 1980), which charts the battle over social communication and culture in socialist Chile and includes penetrating theoretical sections on communication as a fetish; and a pair of essays from the mid-1970s on transnational cultural imperialism, published by the Peace Research Institute of Finland's University of Tampere ("Modern Communication Technologies and New Facets of Cultural Imperialism" [1973]; and "Cultural Imperialism in the Multinationals' Age" [1976]). Other texts with similar critical-documentary functions include selections from both volumes of *Communication and Class Struggle* (1979, 1983); a report he wrote for a United Nations entity on the sociocultural impact of multinational corporations, *Transnationals and the Third World: The Struggle for Culture* (1983); another report, for the French Ministry of Culture, documenting imbalances in global flows of culture and exploring the possibility of developing an alternate "Latin audiovisual space" across France, Spain, Italy, and Latin America that could counter US hegemony, *International Image Markets: In Search of an Alternative Perspective* ([1983] 1984); and a study of the political, economic, and cultural dimensions of the international advertising industry, *Advertising International: The Privatization of Public Space* ([1989] 1991). There is much more, including work in his genealogical world-communication trilogy, but this line of research collectively offers a recent history of the transnational present regarding both US cultural imperialism and political struggles to resist and develop alternatives.

different register of inquiry, where history took center stage, accounting for the realities of communication that came to dominance. As Zarowsky notes, this era also coincided with Armand finally securing permanent university professorships in France, which may explain why these genealogical projects don't give much space to the history of communication and communication theory in Latin America. Instead, they re-center the North Atlantic, reflecting realities of the French field. At the same time, they are stunningly wide-ranging and provide a model for situating the ideas and fields of communication within a grander geopolitical history of empire, capitalism, and war. The next task would be to follow the methodological and substantive lead of the books and make Latin America and other regions of the Global South active players in the story too.

It would be wrong to say that the Mattelarts abandoned the political struggle they had joined in Chile in the 1960s, but it took different form as time passed. The revolutionary edge was gone, the socialist dreams disappointed, yet the genealogical turn to world-communication also functioned as a social critique of the present that made space for alternative forms of thought, practice, and policy. That all remains available for us to think with.

But there is another, more dispositional dimension of this later work which I believe speaks to our moment. At the end of *Networking the World* ([1996] 2000), Mattelart points to the dual threats posed by "exclusivist nationalisms" and "free-market globalism." They have come on the world scene at precisely the moment that the liberal ideology of progress and "the great emancipatory utopias" are in crisis. That crisis continues into our own day, joined by a third kind of threat, the rise of global populisms. In that earlier moment, Mattelart felt called to end his book by quoting Edgar Morin: "Our hope must abandon salvation. That is why I prefer to speak of tragic hope" (123). As he later elaborated, "Without utopia, there is no hope of another possible world, namely a fairer world that is based on solidarity. This hope is tragic because it is lucid. Breaking off the thought of salvation means leaving one's innocence and cultivating another type of hope."[62] Having lived through the military coup in Chile, the socialist government's failure in France, neoliberal intensifications of global capitalism, and much more, Mattelart was more than familiar with social distress and the loss of innocence. Tragic hope, backed by utopia, was what he turned to. Perhaps we should as well.

[62] Mattelart, interview with Constantinou, 36.

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