

HISTORIA CRITICA

CALL FOR PAPERS

The transnational dimension of the "Chilean road to socialism"

Historia Crítica, a journal of the Faculty of Social Sciences at Universidad de los Andes (Bogotá, Colombia), announces a call for papers for its special issue “**The transnational dimension of the "Chilean road to socialism"**”, guest-edited by Eugenia Palieraki (Université Cergy-Pontoise, Francia), Marco Morra (Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”) and Rafael Pedemonte (Université de Poitiers, Francia). **Articles should be submitted between February 1 and April 10, 2023.**

Presentation

The critical cycle in Chile's history, stretching from the first days in power of the Unidad Popular (UP) in 1970 to its dismantling by the coup d'état of 11 September 1973, produced marked international interest. The possibility of building socialism through institutional channels, embodied by the Allende project, aroused the enthusiasm of various left-wing forces beyond the borders of the South American country. At the same time, the election result of 4 September 1970 activated the pre-existing transnational networks of the right and other centrist forces (such as Christian Democracy), which also coordinated nationally and transnationally to strengthen the opposition to Allende. Three years later, the tragic outcome of 11 September 1973 fuelled a series of reflections within the left and among Chilean exile communities. They discussed the graduality of change, the suitability of the traditional democratic framework to drive change, the necessity of recourse to revolutionary violence, the need to maintain the unity of the left (sometimes including radicals and Christian Democrats) to achieve transformative goals, the capacity of revolutionary art to produce them, and so on. Thus, the brief but transcendent Chilean experience of transition to a socialist model has a somewhat paradoxical effect: if the electoral victory of the UP helped at first to re-evaluate the previously hegemonic model of armed struggle as the privileged mechanism for "making" revolution, the arbitrariness of the coup in 1973 seemed to indicate—for many—that any effort to institutionally erect socialism would not be tolerated, calling into question the pertinence of the "democratic path."

These multiple extra-national perspectives have continued, to this day, through the continuous publication of scientific monographs - almost 50 years after the 1973 coup d'état - in Chile and abroad. As this dossier aims to reveal, both the UP government and the military's intervention in Chilean political life from 1973 onwards constituted political experiences that were not confined to Chilean territory. On the contrary, their circulation and reception acquired a transnational and global dimension, in which actors from practically every corner of the world took part. We will also see that culture emerged as a privileged vector in this process of transmission of ideas and imaginaries.

However, the accentuated transnational effect of the 1970-1973 cycle has not been translated into a solid body of studies on its actual impact on Latin American and European scenarios and even less on Africa and Asia. On the other hand, although the military coup of 1973 - with the dramatic images of the bombing of La Moneda that swept the world - has itself been the subject of valuable academic works and meetings, little is known about the transnational dimension of the political, social and cultural experience that took place in Chile during the years immediately preceding it. It is commonplace to say that the rise of the first Marxist president to win an election through democratic channels, Salvador Allende, had a strong global influence. However, we still lack sufficient empirical data to translate this assertion into detailed surveys, at the same time that the current state of the art has hidden relevant, if less spectacular, facets of the transnational echo of this experience: the way of dealing with relations between the State and indigenous communities; cybernetics; the role of national folklore, cinema, popular theater, etc. to sustain an ideological project; educational reforms, etc.

Without ignoring the fundamental advances of the works already published on the transnational dynamics of the turbulent years 1970-1973 in Chile, our proposal aims to overcome the limitations and deficiencies still existing through the elaboration of three thematic lines that we entitle as follows:

Line 1: The "Chilean road to socialism" in the face of other national projects and the global Cold War: crossed and compared histories

The objective is to insert the "Chilean road to socialism" into the broader framework of the continental and global search for social change, although not always socialist, through "national roads" of transformation. This change could be political (for example, "socialism with a human face") and socioeconomic (i.e., state control over national natural resources). Still, it always sought to couple the consolidation of national sovereignty with creating international bodies capable of articulating and promoting the different "national paths" of the "peripheral" nations. Under these firsts, we hope to have contributions that - through a comparative or connected history perspective - will stop thinking of the Chilean process of 1970-1973 as an exceptionality, a unique moment in national history and the Cold War. First, we are interested in gathering contributions that frame Salvador Allende's "unarmed path" in the hemispheric context that had recently seen the emergence of other leftist experiences, also far from the insurrectional scheme encouraged by Fidel Castro's regime since 1959. In Peru and Panama, for example, the "progressive" military leaders Juan Velasco Alvarado and Omar Torrijos led leftist projects with strongly anti-imperialist rhetoric that paved the way for significant transformations (agrarian reform, nationalizations, etc.). In those same years, José María Velasco Ibarra in Ecuador also followed a reformist path that seemed to have

more points of convergence than areas of divergence with the UP project. This hemispheric constellation was nourished and complicated by the circulation of numerous Latin American exiles who found refuge in Allende's Chile and devoted themselves, openly or clandestinely, to the maturation and strengthening of their political projects in a continental dimension (think of Jaime Wheelock, leader of one of the three tendencies of the Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front that came to power in 1979). At the same time, we encourage comparative perspectives or "cross-histories" beyond the Latin American space in a terrain relatively unexplored by the academic community: the scenario of the global left (from Eastern Europe or the so-called "Third World" or international organizations such as the United Nations or the Non-Aligned Movement). We seek to actively stimulate this intellectual effort since we believe that the multiplication of original and hitherto little-practiced methodological approaches should lead us to a new and better understanding of the real transnational impact of the 1970-1973 Chilean cycle.

Line of action 2: The ideological impact of the Chilean experience

Through this line, we wish to encourage contributions that question not only the impact of Allende's coming to power but also the reforms (political, socio-economic, cultural) promoted by the UP and the unprecedented experiences of political socialization and social organization of the years 1970-1973. On the one hand, there is no doubt that the "Chilean road to socialism" opened a horizon of expectations for a group of leftist forces, particularly in Western Europe (François Mitterrand traveled to Chile in 1971), who saw the peaceful transition to socialism exemplified by Chile as a scheme that was better suited to the reality of local scenarios. In this sense, the experience of the UP could also lead to a rethinking of the *foquista* tactics, stimulated since the early 1960s by the Cuban example, which did not seem to have yielded the expected results, as was spectacularly highlighted by the death of Ernesto Guevara in Bolivia in 1967. This dossier is not limited exclusively to left-wing sectors since the "pluralist socialism" of the UP also stimulated reflections on how the center or right-wing forces could react and think about their militant action in the face of what some considered as a new "communist threat." Simultaneously, we invite contributors to analyze not only the circulation of ideas and ideological debates but also the potential lessons from other less studied aspects of the national project of the "Chilean way to socialism," such as the highly controversial proposal to reform education through the Unified National School, the technological dimension of economic planning (illustrated by the Cybersyn project), the way to articulate the State-indigenous communities relationship, the role of women's organizations, etc.

Line 3: Cultural circulations: a privileged medium for the transnationalization of the Chilean process of 1970-1973

The "Chilean road to socialism" also unfolded a cultural project with broad global resonance. Prominent artists committed to Allende's government undertook incessant international tours (in the vein of Victor Jara). At the same time, the UP promoted a singular experience of the relationship between the State and Art, offering an alternative to the increasingly accentuated and criticized centralism of Castro's cultural policy. The latter suffered a considerable blow, in 1971, with the advent of the "Heberto Padilla's case," which seemed to augur a gloomy horizon for Cuban intellectuals. In that sense, many artists and writers, disappointed by the growing Sovietization of the Cuban Revolution, could see in Allende's Chile a fertile ground to renew their hopes. The cultural facet we wish to excavate in this dossier should lead us to analyze the human displacements and the formation of transnational networks of mediators, determinants in understanding the global representations and imaginaries of the Chilean process, about which much remains to be said.

We invite participants to submit unpublished contributions in English, Spanish or Portuguese. Manuscripts should be submitted in Word format for Windows and conform to the journal's guidelines: maximum length of 11,000 words, New Roman font, 12 points, single-spaced, letter size, with equal margins of 3 cm. The author's details are presented in a separate file. Footnotes and bibliography follow the adaptation of the Chicago Manual of Style.

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Non-compliance leads to automatic rejection of the manuscript.

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Material submitted to *Historia Crítica* cannot be simultaneously under review in another publication.