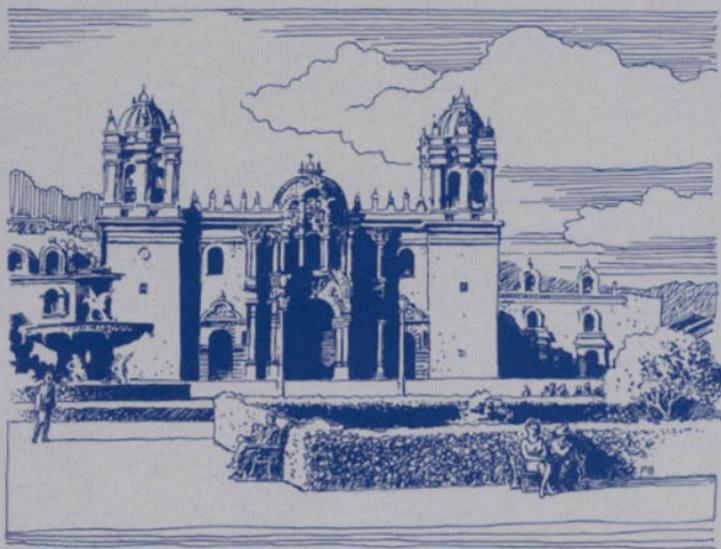


MARIATEGUI  
AND  
LATIN AMERICAN  
MARXIST THEORY

*MARC BECKER*



*Ohio University*  
Monographs in International Studies  
Latin America Series, No. 20

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MARXIST THEORY**

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by

Marc Becker

Ohio University Center for International Studies  
Monographs in International Studies

Latin American Series Number 20  
Athens, Ohio 1993

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The books in the Center for International Studies Monograph Series are  
printed on acid-free paper

This book is printed on recycled paper

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Becker, Marc.

*Mariátegui and Latin American Marxist theory* / by

Marc Becker .

p. cm. — (Monographs in international studies. Latin  
America series ; no. 20)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 0-89680-177-2 (paper)

1. Mariátegui, José Carlos, 1894-1930. 2.

Communism—Latin America. I. Title II. Series.

HX110.5.A8M372 1993

324.1'75'098—dc20

93-3211

CIP

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project was five years in the making and went through various manifestations. It evolved from a seminar paper during my first semester of graduate studies at the University of Kansas and pursued me during the course of my sojourn as a graduate student in Latin American history.

I have incurred unremittable debts to numerous people. My advisor, Elizabeth Kuznesof, provided especially useful comments and criticisms of my work. Her brilliantly perceptive and penetrating analysis dramatically improved my insights into Latin American history; her encouragement helped me to go forward with this study. Charles Stansifer read numerous drafts and gave me invaluable suggestions for revisions. He challenged many of my assumptions about Latin America and forced me to be more careful in the arguments which I present. Dwight Kiel and Benjamin Sax, who sat on my thesis committee, gave me critical insights into this material from their respective disciplines of political theory and European intellectual history. Surendra Bhana, Anton Rosenthal, Kimberly Welch, and Harry Vanden all gave me very helpful suggestions that significantly improved the overall quality of this book.

Other people also gave me helpful suggestions. First I must thank Tim Block for introducing me to the importance of José Carlos Mariátegui and his thought. Marcia Quirós, Lyn Bennett, Sherry Schirmer, and Manuela Knapp de Aguilar accompanied me through several graduate seminars and assisted me in the framing of the major questions in this essay. Thanks go to Cheryl Musch, who read virtually every word I wrote as a graduate student and who is the best proofreader I know. Shelley Miller did an outstanding job in her capacity as the Latin American librarian at the University of Kansas and traced many of my requests for more works on Mariátegui and Latin American Marxist theory. Interlibrary Loan Services provided the works that Shelley no longer could buy. The American Friends Service Committee made possible a trip to Cuba

during the summer of 1989. I used that opportunity to uncover many of the connections between Mariátegui and the Cuban revolution. An Oppenheimer Fellowship during the summer of 1990 and Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowships during the summers of 1990 and 1992 facilitated travel to Nicaragua, Ecuador, and Madison, Wisconsin, where I gathered more information on Mariátegui and his contributions to Latin American Marxist theory.

## INTRODUCTION

A persistent theme in twentieth-century Latin American history is the presence of radical political movements for social change. Scholars often have emphasized the dramatic breaks which a series of revolutionary upheavals in Mexico, Bolivia, Guatemala, Cuba, Chile, and Nicaragua made in the continuous development of Latin American history. Indeed, Fidel Castro's successful 1959 revolution in Cuba is widely considered to be a singularly significant event which influenced the course of this history. The European doctrine of Marxism, which became influential among Latin American intellectuals and others who were looking for a way to bring about radical social change throughout Latin America, played an important role in the unfolding of drastic changes. The United States has tended to depict any hint of Marxist influence in Latin America as part of the penetration of an alien ideology into the American hemisphere. Presidential administrations in the United States have considered leftist revolutionary governments in Cuba and Nicaragua to be merely pawns of the Soviet Union, part of a Moscow-based ploy aimed at world communist domination. Rather than recognizing the indigenous roots of these revolts, the United States searched for "Bolshevik" or "Soviet" influences in Latin American revolutionary movements, thereby casting them as part of a European-centered East-West cold war conflict. The response therefore was a strong (and sometimes paranoid) opposition to any winds of radical change in Latin America, and a long history of American interference in the internal affairs of various Latin American countries which had experienced revolutionary change.

Many scholars and political activists, however, have attacked as fundamentally misguided the perception that Latin American revolutionary change was the result of foreign ideological influences. E. Bradford Burns, professor of Latin American history at the University of California in Los Angeles, criticizes in his book *At War in Nicaragua: The Reagan Doctrine and the Politics of Nostalgia* the

"fixated vision" of the United States government which caused it to concentrate on a "communist threat" in Latin America. Burns argued that this perception did not take into account the economic and social conditions (such as underdevelopment, dependency, and poverty) which pushed people to agitate for radical changes.<sup>1</sup> Years of oligarchical, dictatorial, and military rule in Latin America led to the concentration of land, wealth, and power in the hands of an elite few. The masses have been subjected to exploitation, poverty, malnutrition, and starvation. Revolutionary changes in countries such as Nicaragua and Cuba, Burns argued, are a response to the reality of those countries' own historical situations and not part of an agenda for foreign communist domination.

On the other hand, orthodox Marxists traditionally have argued that true social revolutions could not occur in Latin America because these countries had not met the basic objective economic conditions necessary for a socialist revolution. These Marxists believed that history moved through a series of stages, and that capitalism was a necessary prerequisite for a society to move on to socialism. A highly developed capitalist economy would alienate the working class, which would then move to destroy capitalism and thus push history to the next higher stage of communism. Only the working class, through its experience with capitalist production, would develop the consciousness necessary to allow it to see the inherent contradictions in capitalism and the necessity for a socialist state. Such orthodox Marxists believed that because peasants were not involved in the process of capitalist production, they could not develop the universal class consciousness necessary to overthrow capitalism.

Although historically Latin America has looked to Europe for solutions to its problems, the objective Latin American reality (of large rural peasant populations and mostly unindustrialized societies) is very different from that of the industrialized European cities with their working-class proletariat for which Karl Marx wrote. Cuba and Nicaragua had underdeveloped, rural, peasant-based economies which lacked the large urban working class which was deemed necessary to make a socialist revolution possible. While the peasantry in these countries could revolt, they allegedly lacked the class consciousness necessary to participate in a communist revolution. In spite of this lack of the proper economic conditions, both Cuba and Nicaragua did experience successful socialist revolutions.

Furthermore, these revolutions had an ideological base and were not simply reactions to oppressive conditions. Many of the revolutionary leaders understood Marxist theory and used it to foment changes in their countries.

Although Latin America had been influenced strongly by Western philosophical traditions and political institutions, Marxist theory nonetheless developed in a unique way in Latin America. Often this theory emphasized that subjective factors and the political education and organization of the peasantry were more important than objective economic conditions. A school of Latin American Marxist theorists arose which believed that peasants could develop a revolutionary class consciousness. The theoretical contributions of these theorists must be considered in order to understand fully revolutionary change in Latin America. While they have borrowed ideas and learned from the examples of the European and North American traditions, Latin American Marxist thinkers developed their own unique theoretical orientations which grew out of their struggles for social justice. Although the United States sought to place blame for the Nicaraguan revolution on the Soviet Union, a senior Soviet official has commented that it "had no contacts with the Sandinistas when they started the revolution and it was not inspired" by the Soviet Union.<sup>2</sup> In order to understand the basis and development of Latin American revolutionary movements, one needs to look someplace other than Moscow. As Burns indicated, the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions developed from the context of each country's national reality. The ideological basis of these social revolutions must be understood within the context of Latin America's indigenous ideologies and thought.

José Carlos Mariátegui, a Peruvian political theorist from the 1920s, left an unmistakable and lasting legacy on the political, social, and intellectual landscape of his country. Many Peruvian scholars have used his thought as the basis for their analyses of Peruvian culture and identity, and his influence emerges in countless studies of Peru. In 1991 a Peruvian magazine surveyed Peruvian intellectuals, researchers, and artists and concluded that Mariátegui was the most studied and most read author in the country. His was "the most important analysis of the principal problems of the Peruvian reality" and over time "many of his points of view have not lost their force."<sup>3</sup> Peruvian historian Hugo Neira has argued that

Mariátegui's written work and thought meet all of the conditions of a classic, not only in Peru but throughout Latin America.<sup>4</sup>

Mariátegui's contributions to Peru did not remain on a purely theoretical or philosophical level; he also entered politics. Mariátegui founded the Peruvian Communist Party (he called it a socialist party) in 1928 just two years before his death. Since then numerous parties on the fractionalized left, from the centrist Izquierda Unida (United Left) coalition to the Maoist Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) guerrilla group, have invoked his name for one reason or another. In 1984 three leftist parties formed the Partido Unificado Mariateguista (Unified Mariateguista Party) with a statement of intent to build on national traditions in order to form an open, unified, and creative Marxist socialist force in Peru which followed the model that Mariátegui presented in the 1920s. The party believed that Mariátegui's ideology formed the strongest base for the struggle for peace and against imperialist aggression not only in Peru but throughout Latin America.<sup>5</sup> Alfonso Barrantes, the leader of the Izquierda Unida coalition, also emphasized the importance of studying Mariátegui's thought in tandem with that of other classical and modern Marxist theorists.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, Abimael Guzmán, the founder and leader of the Sendero Luminoso guerrilla group, based his ideological statements on Mariátegui's analysis that Peruvian society was simultaneously neo-feudal and neo-colonial. In 1970 Guzmán accused the mainline communist party of "intending to destroy the great party which Mariátegui founded" and announced his intent to continue forward "*por el sendero luminoso de José Carlos Mariátegui*" (in the shining path of José Carlos Mariátegui).<sup>7</sup> He formed a group called *Por el Sendero Luminoso de José Carlos Mariátegui*, later changed to *Partido Comunista del Perú—Sendero Luminoso*, and finally shortened in common parlance to simply *Sendero Luminoso*. The group was based in the city of Ayacucho and at the University of Huamanga and established a trade union, a student union, and a popular university, all with Mariátegui's name, before actively launching guerrilla warfare against the Peruvian state in 1980.<sup>8</sup>

Mariátegui, therefore, made a major contribution to Peruvian political theory. Political activists from the Peruvian Left have spoken of a "Marxism-Mariateguism" in their country and argued that "Mariateguism is the way to be a Marxist-Leninist in Peru."<sup>9</sup> Mariátegui interacted dynamically with European thought in order

to develop new methods to analyze the problems of non-Western societies and developed what became known as National Marxism. He implemented a new theoretical framework which diverged from the doctrinaire ideology of the communist parties which attempted to apply a mechanical interpretation of Marxist strategy to a national reality. He broke from a rigid, orthodox interpretation of Marxism in order to develop a creative Marxist analysis which was oriented toward the specific historical reality of Peru of the 1920s. Mariátegui did not believe that Marxism was a complete philosophy. He favored a nonsectarian "open" Marxism and believed "that Marxist thought should be revisable, undogmatic, and adaptable to new situations."<sup>10</sup> Rather than relying on objective economic factors to foment a revolutionary situation, Mariátegui examined subjective elements such as the need for the political education and organization of the working-class proletariat, a strategy which he believed could move a society to revolutionary action. He downplayed the passive economic determinism found in orthodox Marxism and followed a dynamic "voluntaristic conception of Marxism [which] did not allow him to wait for the economic conditions to force the peasants to act."<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, he asserted that nationalism could be a revolutionary force for positive social change. Nationalism in Europe was a conservative, imperialist, reactionary, and antisocialist force, but in Latin America "nationalism is revolutionary and, therefore, it results in socialism."<sup>12</sup> In addition, unlike orthodox Marxists who believed that peasants formed a reactionary class, Mariátegui looked to the peasant and indigenous masses rather than an industrialized urban working class to lead a nationalistic social revolution which he believed would sweep across Latin America.

Mariátegui's influence has not been limited to Peru. His interpretation of Peruvian history and its problems had a profound effect on subsequent social movements and the emergence of an indigenous revolutionary Marxist theory in Latin America. He is widely regarded as being the first truly creative and original Latin American Marxist thinker. Leftists from throughout Latin America commonly acknowledge that they "did not learn Marxism from European theories, but from José Carlos Mariátegui."<sup>13</sup> Mariátegui's name continues to be invoked in political struggles across Latin America. In 1985 Peruvian writer and journalist Ricardo Luna Vegas wrote that he was sure "that if Mariátegui was

still living today he would be on the side of the Cuban revolution and not on that of its bad-intentioned critics."<sup>14</sup> The implications of Mariátegui's thought have resulted in an ongoing revolutionary praxis that is far removed from Marxism's nineteenth-century European roots and the mechanical Marxism of the Communist International of the 1920s and 1930s. In order to understand fully subsequent revolutionary changes in Latin America, it is necessary to examine Mariátegui's contributions to this revolutionary ideology.

Even though Mariátegui's thought has retained central importance to ideological struggles in Latin America, in the United States few people are aware of his contributions. When Mariátegui died in 1930, his funeral turned into one of the largest processions of workers ever seen in the streets of Lima, but in the United States his death was hardly noticed. Waldo Frank, a United States writer and a close friend of Mariátegui, wrote in the leftist United States weekly *The Nation* that Mariátegui's death plunged "the intelligentsia of all of Hispano-America into sorrow; and nothing could be more eloquent of the cultural separation between the two halves of the new world than the fact that to most of us these words convey no meaning."<sup>15</sup> It is this continued ignorance of Latin American political and ideological traditions which has led to a misplaced concern over an alien "communist threat" in the Western hemisphere. In order to understand the direction, nature, and significance of recent revolutionary changes in Latin America, it is important to begin with an analysis of Mariátegui's contributions to revolutionary Marxist theory in the region.

This study begins with an overview of the intellectual milieu out of which Mariátegui's thought emerged. It reviews the essential elements of Mariátegui's thought and the important influences on his intellectual development. This forms a framework for understanding the ways in which Mariátegui's thought influenced the indigenous nature of revolutionary movements in Latin America. Subsequent chapters survey the contacts which Mariátegui maintained with revolutionaries throughout Latin America. In particular, the third and fourth chapters demonstrate the relationships which Mariátegui developed with his contemporaries in Cuba and Nicaragua in the 1920s, and his influence on the indigenous nature of subsequent revolutionary changes in those countries. Numerous letters and articles from the 1920s demonstrate that Mariátegui maintained contact with Julio Antonio Mella, the founder of the

Cuban Communist Party, and Augusto César Sandino, a nationalist leader who fought to free Nicaragua from a United States Marine occupation. The content of these writings reveals the extent to which Mariátegui influenced revolutionaries throughout Latin America including his contemporaries and their successors in Cuba and Nicaragua.

The influence of Mariátegui's leadership in the University Reform Movement on Mella's thoughts and actions in Cuba is one example of the Peruvian's inspiration emanating throughout Latin America. Mariátegui's contact with Sandino in Nicaragua is another example of the extent of this influence. Mariátegui's emphasis on the role of the peasantry in the Latin American revolution influenced Sandino's strategy of mobilizing peasant support to his cause in the Nicaraguan mountains. Both Mella's and Sandino's actions, in turn, influenced Fidel Castro's 26th of July Movement which overthrew the Fulgencio Batista dictatorship in Cuba in 1959. Castro and Ernesto "Che" Guevara studied the model of political organization which Sandino had used in Nicaragua. From Sandino, they learned that peasants could develop a revolutionary consciousness. They employed this method in Cuba to develop a peasant base for their revolutionary movement. In addition, they were influenced by the Mariateguian tradition which had been growing in Cuba since Mella's contact with Mariátegui in the 1920s. The victory of this guerrilla force vindicated Mariátegui's and Sandino's break from the doctrinaire position of the Stalinized Communist International.

Not only has the Cuban revolution indirectly inherited the intellectual influence of Mariátegui through Mella and Sandino, but its leading Marxist theorists also have acknowledged their direct debt to Mariátegui's approach to revolutionary theory. The Cuban revolution employed subjective aspects of Mariátegui's Marxism to raise the political consciousness of the Cuban people, and Guevara expanded on these ideas through his discussion of the new socialist person. Cuban political theorists have contributed to the development of a Marxist theory which is specifically applicable to the concrete social, economic, and political reality of Latin America. The Cuban revolution led leftists in other Latin American countries to reconsider the value of Marxism and to reevaluate the importance of Mariátegui in constructing an indigenous Latin American revolutionary theory.

The Cuban revolution also influenced a new generation of Sandinista revolutionaries in the 1960s and 1970s, thereby helping to pass a Mariateguian-inspired tradition on to Nicaragua. A sense of historical identity deeply influenced the Sandinista revolutionaries. They drew on the lessons of the Cuban revolution and on the example of Sandino's struggle against the United States Marines. Although the Sandinistas began their organizational efforts as a nationalistic movement, their ideology had broad, international implications. They drew on the tradition of a unique Latin American revolutionary theory which Mariátegui and others had previously articulated. Víctor Tirado López, one of the nine commandants of the Frente Sandinista para la Liberación Nacional (FSLN), wrote, "we began with Sandino's thought, but we have never forgotten the thought of Marx, Lenin, Che Guevara, Zapata, or any other revolutionary who had something to offer."<sup>16</sup> In a pattern reminiscent of Mariátegui's strategy, "the genius of FSLN ideology has been its consistent practical application of Sandino's thought and Marxist concepts and methodology to the Nicaraguan reality."<sup>17</sup> It is this blend of nationalism with Marxist theory that gave the Sandinista movement its intellectual vigor and practical applicability. The success of the Sandinista revolution in 1979 demonstrated the strength of applying Mariátegui's open and non-dogmatic Marxist theory to a specific national situation.

As in Cuba, orthodox Marxist theory indicated that the objective conditions for a social revolution in Nicaragua did not exist. However, the Nicaraguan experience proved to expand in the Latin American mind the possibilities for a nationalistic-based insurrection. In both Cuba and Nicaragua elements of Mariátegui's subjective Marxist theory have been combined with the reality of a revolutionary situation in order to create new revolutionary understandings which challenge the assumptions of a rigid, deterministic Marxism. Donald C. Hodges, professor of Latin American philosophy at Florida State University, wrote in his analysis of the Nicaraguan revolution that, "the unique contribution of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions was not only to adapt Marxism to the peculiar conditions of each country, but also to remold it as part of an indigenous movement independent of the local Communist parties."<sup>18</sup> In both Nicaragua and Cuba, a flexible, voluntarist Marxism willing to adapt its strategy to present historic conditions triumphed where the rigid, deterministic Marxism

of communist parties allied with the Communist International could not. Mariátegui set a historical precedent and gave an ideological framework which legitimizes this approach to revolutionary theory. Both the Cuban and Sandinista revolutions, therefore, joined a historical tradition in Latin America of social revolution which Mariátegui strongly influenced. The actions of these revolutions continue to influence the development of indigenous forms of revolutionary theory in Latin America. Mariátegui was a predecessor of these Latin Americans who sought to define their own identity and determine their own future. This study traces his intellectual contribution to these revolutionary movements which developed in a unique manner in Latin America.

Three links demonstrate Mariátegui's influence on subsequent social movements. First is the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutionaries' direct and acknowledged use of Mariateguian ideas. Cuban revolutionary leaders have been especially aware of Mariátegui's contributions to Marxist thought and have incorporated his analysis into their political theories and actions, particularly in regard to their anti-imperialism and active internationalism. In addition to this direct influence, however, are two indirect and sometimes more significant links which demonstrate Mariátegui's importance for later revolutionary developments. One of these links is the inherited tradition which has been passed down through the contacts Mariátegui maintained with Mella, Sandino, and others. As these revolutionaries incorporated elements of Mariátegui's thought into their own ideological orientations they passed Mariátegui's ideas on, perhaps inadvertently, to following generations of revolutionaries. Lastly, common influences on both Mariátegui and later revolutionaries help explain Mariátegui's presence in expressions of revolutionary theory throughout Latin America. A good example of the nature of this influence is the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, who also influenced the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions. Mariátegui met Gramsci in Italy, read his writings, and was familiar with his thought forty years before Gramsci's writings became widely available outside Italy and before many Latin American leftists knew of his existence.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, Mariátegui may be largely responsible for the introduction of Gramsci's ideas into Latin America.

Likewise, Mexico represented an important commonality and point of contact between Mariátegui and Sandino in Nicaragua and Mella in Cuba, and its revolution exercised a common influence on

all three leaders. Mariátegui lectured on the Mexican revolution at the González Prada Popular University in Lima and during the 1920s he wrote numerous articles on various aspects of Mexican politics and culture for the Peruvian periodicals *Variedades* and *Mundial*. His writings reflect the significance that *indigenismo* had for the Mexican revolution, and a large part of the non-Peruvian scholarship on Mariátegui has come out of Mexico. An example of this interest is the edited collection of ten of Mariátegui's essays on Mexico in *La Revolución Mexicana ante el pensamiento de José Carlos Mariátegui*, which the Mexican state of Tabasco published in 1980 as a tribute to Mariátegui on the fiftieth anniversary of his death. Sandino was radicalized in the oil fields of Tampico, and later turned to the Mexican government for help with his struggle in Nicaragua. Mella fled to Mexico when he was expelled from Cuba, and it was there that he was assassinated in 1929. More recently, Mexico, although its revolutionary ardor has substantially faded internally, still identified with and supported the independent courses of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions. Mexico formed an important link in the early emergence of revolutionary theory in Latin America, and it continues to be a significant contributor to the development of contemporary expressions of Marxist theory in the region. From these interconnections emerges a picture of a parallel development of revolutionary ideas and concepts not only in Peru, Cuba, and Nicaragua, but throughout Latin America. These parallels can be attributed partially to a common historical and cultural tradition in Latin America which causes ideas to resonate similarly in different countries, but Mariátegui's early articulation of these ideas is also a critical influence which cannot be ignored.<sup>20</sup>

Mariátegui published only two books during his lifetime (*La escena contemporánea* and *7 ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana*). Most of his writings took the form of articles for popular Peruvian periodicals such as *Mundial*, *Variedades*, *El Tiempo*, and his own vanguard journal *Amauta*. During the 1950s and 1960s, Mariátegui's widow and his four children collected most of his written work into a twenty-volume *Popular Edition of the Complete Works of José Carlos Mariátegui*. This collection, which includes not only Mariátegui's original works but also four volumes of biographies and essays about Mariátegui's life, ideas, and influence in Latin America, is printed in an inexpensive paperback format intended for mass distribution. Biblioteca Amauta, an editorial

house in Lima which Mariátegui founded in the 1920s, released the first ten volumes in this series in 1959, significantly coinciding with the triumph of the Cuban revolution. The second ten volumes were gradually released over the next ten years.

Essential to gaining a full understanding of Mariátegui's political thought is the thirteenth volume in this series, *Ideología y política*. This volume provides ready access to Mariátegui's more doctrinaire editorials, theses, manifestos, and documents from the founding of the Peruvian Socialist Party and the Marxist-oriented trade union federation Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú (CGTP). Unfortunately, only one of the twenty volumes (*Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*, his most popular work) has been translated into English. In 1984 Editorial Amauta released a two-volume compilation of Mariátegui's correspondence edited by the Italian Mariateguian scholar Antonio Melis. For the first time, scholars have ready access to the letters which demonstrate the many contacts that Mariátegui maintained with leftists throughout Latin America including those in Cuba and Nicaragua.<sup>21</sup>

Scholars throughout Latin America and around the world have produced a surprisingly broad array of works on various aspects of Mariátegui's thought. In 1963 Peruvian historian Guillermo Rouillón compiled an extensive bibliography of 3,462 items which either Mariátegui had written or others had written about his work.<sup>22</sup> Others have noted the omissions and errors in Rouillón's important work, and in 1978 Harry E. Vanden, professor of political science at the University of South Florida, wrote a very helpful bibliographical essay which surveyed significant developments in Mariateguian scholarship since 1963.<sup>23</sup> The appearance in 1989 of the *Anuario Mariateguiano*, a journal dedicated to examining the life and thought of the Peruvian Marxist, testifies to an ongoing and unabated interest in Mariátegui. The first volume of this journal included a list of 271 editions of Mariátegui's books and writings (including translations into ten languages), and stated the intent to publish in future volumes an exhaustive bibliography of works on Mariátegui.<sup>24</sup> In addition, the editors noted plans to create an institute to further the study of Mariátegui's thought.<sup>25</sup>

There is a very limited pool of North American scholarship on Mariátegui, but it has grown along with the virtual explosion in the past ten years of interest in Mariateguian studies. In the 1960s, intellectual historians William Rex Crawford and Harold Eugene

Davis began to consider the implications of Mariátegui's thought for Latin American history. Although their treatments are brief and not always accurate (both refer to Mariátegui's European exile as a reward for his journalistic efforts in favor of the Augusto Leguía dictatorship, which definitely was not the case), they introduced the significance of Mariátegui for Latin America to other North American scholars. John Baines's *Revolution in Peru: Mariátegui and the Myth* was the first book published in English on Mariátegui. Its release in 1972 provoked much criticism from other Mariateguian scholars for its inaccuracies and shortcomings. Fortunately, English language scholarship since then has far surpassed this early attempt. In 1979 Jesús Chavarría published his doctoral dissertation, *José Carlos Mariátegui and the Rise of Modern Peru, 1890-1930*, which correctly places Mariátegui's political thought in its Peruvian context. Harry Vanden presents an extensive analysis of Mariátegui's ideology and written works in his book *National Marxism in Latin America: José Carlos Mariátegui's Thought and Politics*, published in 1986. Thomas Angotti offers a good quick introduction to subjective forms of Mariátegui's Marxist theory in his article "The Contributions of José Carlos Mariátegui to Revolutionary Theory," published the same year in *Latin American Perspectives*. Ramon Antonio Romero Cantarero forwards an analysis of Mariátegui's new Marxist thought similar to that of Vanden and Angotti in his 1990 dissertation "The New Marxism of José Carlos Mariátegui."

Scholars have demonstrated both the Peruvian and European influences on Mariátegui. Two collections of essays which are particularly revealing in this regard are Robert Paris, et al., *El marxismo latinoamericano de Mariátegui*, and José Aricó, ed., *Mariátegui y los orígenes del marxismo latinoamericano*. Both books include essays from the Mariateguian scholars Robert Paris, Antonio Melis, and Jorge del Prado, and analyze Mariátegui's relations with the Aprista movement, populism, the Peruvian Communist Party, and the influence which European intellectuals such as Georges Sorel had on his thought. Argentine Marxist José Aricó has done an outstanding job in charting the successive evolution of the various interpretations of Mariátegui's thought from *Aprismo* to populism and finally Marxist-Leninism.<sup>26</sup> Sheldon Liss's *Marxist Thought in Latin America* placed the significance of Mariátegui's intellectual contributions in its broader Latin American context. Manuel Caballero's *Latin America and the Comintern, 1919-1943*, and

Rodolfo Cerdas Cruz's *La hoz y el machete: La Internacional Comunista, América Latina y la revolución en Centro América* both help explain the difficulties facing leftists who wished to break out of the stringent grasp which the Communist International placed on Latin America in the 1920s, and the role Mariátegui played in this process.

In spite of the growing attention to Mariátegui's influence on Latin American Marxist theory, there have been few studies on his influence on the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions. The Peruvian poet Winston Orrillo published several useful interviews in which Cuban governmental officials reflected on Mariátegui's importance for the Cuban revolution. These interviews were preliminary research for his forthcoming book *Mariátegui y la revolución cubana*<sup>27</sup> and helped form the basis for *Martí, Mariátegui: literatura, inteligencia y revolución en América Latina*, a book which compares Mariátegui's intellectual contributions with those of the Cuban independence hero José Martí. Cuban scholar Erasmo Dumperre surveys Mariátegui's influence in Cuba in his paper "Mariátegui, Cuba y la lucha contra el imperialismo" which he presented at a 1984 conference on Mariátegui which the Peruvian Communist Party sponsored in Lima. Sheldon Liss's *Roots of Revolution: Radical Thought in Cuba* and C. Fred Judson's *Cuba and the Revolutionary Myth* briefly allude to Mariátegui's influence in Cuba. More useful are Mercedes Santos Moray's direct comparisons of Mariátegui to Cuban communist leaders Julio Antonio Mella and Juan Marinello in Mella et al., *Marxistas de América*.

Even fewer studies have been done on Mariátegui's influence on the Sandinista revolution. Narciso Bassols Batalla dedicated the last several pages of his *Marx y Mariátegui* to the connections between Mariátegui and Sandino, the forerunner of the present Sandinista movement.<sup>28</sup> Donald Hodges in his significant work *Intellectual Foundations of the Nicaraguan Revolution* outlined the influence of Mariátegui (together with Georges Sorel and Antonio Gramsci) on the development of a flexible, open, and voluntarist Marxism in Sandinista ideology.<sup>29</sup> Sheldon Liss refers briefly to Mariátegui in his *Radical Thought in Central America*, and Harry Vanden, in his various articles and books, and Thomas Angotti in his article "The Contributions of José Carlos Mariátegui to Revolutionary Theory" also provide several important insights into Mariátegui's influence on the Sandinistas. Elements of Mariátegui's

thought have entered the ideology of the Sandinista revolution via liberation theology. Fundamental to an understanding of this influence are Gustavo Gutiérrez's writings, especially *A Theology of Liberation* and *The Power of the Poor in History*. For an interesting article along these lines, see Michael Candelaria's "José Carlos Mariátegui: Forgotten Forerunner of Liberation Theology." A fuller analysis of Mariátegui's role in the development of Sandinista ideology in Nicaragua would give a deeper and more complete understanding of present developments in Latin American revolutionary theory.

The success of the Sandinista revolution was a very significant development for Latin American revolutionary theory in the 1980s. The Sandinista's strategy of developing a nationalist movement, along with their ability to mobilize the peasant masses and their attitude toward religious forces, had an impact on other leftist forces fighting throughout Latin America. The United States government and policymakers sought to frame this in largely military terms, but in doing so they missed the Sandinistas' most fundamental influence. The Sandinistas exported their revolution, not through military armaments but through the powerful and influential ideological example of the independent course of their experiment in socialism. In contributing to the development of revolutionary theory, the Sandinistas focused attention on the role which Mariátegui played in the formation of an indigenous Latin American Marxist theory. The Sandinista movement confirmed the strength of Mariátegui's approach to revolutionary theory. In both Nicaragua and Cuba, revolutionaries who forwarded a flexible, voluntarist Marxism and were willing to adapt their strategy to their present historic conditions triumphed where proponents of the rigid, deterministic Marxism of communist parties allied with the Communist International could not. In many ways, Mariátegui set a historical precedent and gave an ideological framework which legitimized this approach to revolutionary theory. In the 1980s *sandinismo* caused revolutionaries throughout Latin America to reflect on the historical significance of Mariátegui's writings. "With the victory of Sandinismo in Nicaragua," one scholar has noted, "Mariateguismo now promises to be the symbol of the largest and most unified revolutionary Left in South America during the 1980s."<sup>30</sup>

Recent changes in the world political order have presented a challenge to Marxist theorists everywhere. But even with the

electoral defeat of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and the end of socialist governments elsewhere, the relevance of Mariátegui's thought to Latin American revolutionary Marxist theory remains as strong as ever. While the United States revels in the victory of capitalism over socialism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, underdevelopment, dependency, and poverty continue to demonstrate that capitalism has been an objective and absolute failure in Latin America in the twentieth century. More than sixty years after his death, Latin American countries still face many of the same problems which Mariátegui discussed in the 1920s. His analysis of the Latin American reality (its indigenous background, its large peasant masses, the role of the Catholic church, the struggle against imperialism and foreign domination) still resonates true in many Latin American countries. A thorough study of his influence on the development of Marxist theory not only demonstrates the indigenous roots of movements for social change in Latin America, it also illustrates the continued relevance of his thought as leftists struggle to come to terms with the problems of the 1990s.

## NOTES

1. Burns, *At War in Nicaragua*, 7.
2. Quoted in Blasier, *Giant's Rival*, 227.
3. *Cuánto* 3/32 (September 1991), cited in *Anuario Mariateguiano* 3 (1991): 155.
4. Neira, "El pensamiento de José Carlos Mariátegui," 59.
5. Rojas Samanez, *Partidos políticos en el Perú*, 286.
6. *Ibid.*, 252.
7. *Ibid.*, 347, 349.
8. For a good, brief critique of the relationship between Mariátegui and Sendero's ideology, see Poole and Renique, "New Chroniclers of Peru," 170-71, 177.

9. Roncagliolo, "Gramsci, marxista y nacional," 119.
10. Liss, *Marxist Thought*, 129-30.
11. Vanden, *National Marxism*, 68.
12. Mariátegui, "Indigenismo y socialismo," in *Ideología y política*, 221.
13. Manuel González Calzada quoting Enrique Ramírez y Ramírez in his essay "México en el pensamiento de José Carlos Mariátegui," in Mariátegui, *La Revolución Mexicana*, 21.
14. Luna Vegas, *Historia y trascendencia*, 51.
15. Frank, "Great American," 704. The depth of Mariátegui's influence on Frank is evident in that Frank dedicated his book *America Hispana* to Mariátegui, and used Mariátegui as an example of the "New American" which he saw emerging out of Latin America (166-77). Mariátegui wrote similarly on Frank. See his essay "Waldo Frank" in *El alma matinal*, 181-95.
16. Tirado López, *El pensamiento político*, 6.
17. Vanden, "Ideology of the Insurrection," 58-59.
18. Hodges, *Intellectual Foundations*, 193.
19. Vanden, *National Marxism*, 3.
20. In his book *Ten Keys to Latin America*, Frank Tannenbaum points to a "similar character structure" (5) in terms of land, people, race, religion, education, etc., which could be used to explain Mariátegui's universal appeal in Latin America.
21. For a critique of the errors and omissions which could have been avoided in this work that Mariátegui's widow and children had been planning to publish since 1959, see Luna

Vegas, *Historia y trascendencia*, 18. The editors (which include Melis) of the newly founded *Anuario Mariateguiano* are publishing more of Mariátegui's correspondence as it is uncovered. This will not only correct some of the deficiencies in Melis's edited volume, but it will also shed more light on Mariátegui's connections with intellectuals and revolutionaries around the globe.

22. Rouillón, *Bio-bibliografía de José Carlos Mariátegui*.
23. Vanden, "Mariátegui: Marxismo, Comunismo."
24. *Anuario Mariateguiano* 1 (1989): 193. Due to the immense size of this undertaking, it was not possible for the editors to publish this exhaustive bibliography in the subsequent two volumes of the *Anuario Mariateguiano*. In each issue, however, they have published a rather complete listing of recent works related to Mariátegui. These bibliographies, in addition to essays, articles, primary documents, notes, and book reviews, make the *Anuario Mariateguiano* a critical resource for the continued study of the Peruvian's thought.
25. "Nota editorial," *Anuario Mariateguiano* 3 (1991): 7.
26. Aricó, *Mariátegui y los orígenes del marxismo latinoamericano*. Also see Neira's article "El pensamiento de José Carlos Mariátegui" for an examination of various interpretations of Mariátegui's thought.
27. Orrillo mentions his intent to write such a book in his 1977 article "Primeras huellas," 178, and in his 1989 book *Martí, Mariátegui*, 226. Considering that his book on Martí and Mariátegui took twelve years to publish, *Mariátegui y la revolución cubana* may still see the light of day.
28. Pp. 268-71.
29. Pp. 179-84.
30. Angotti, "Contributions of José Carlos Mariátegui," 33.

## MARXISM AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN LATIN AMERICA

Karl Marx, writing in eighteenth-century Europe, envisioned that a social revolution would first develop among the working classes in the highly industrialized economies of Germany or England. Ironically, his thought gained a much larger following in countries which are peripheral to the capitalist mode of production. Socialist revolutions triumphed in countries with underdeveloped, precapitalist, or peasant-based economies, first in Russia and later in China, Cuba, and other Third World countries. Even though Marx wrote about colonialism and the Asiatic mode of production, Latin America remained on the periphery of his world view, a region which simply was removed from his central interests.<sup>1</sup> When Marx or Friedrich Engels did mention Latin America, their remarks often appeared less than favorable toward the region. Commenting on the United States 1846 invasion of Mexico, Engels said that "we have witnessed the conquest of Mexico, and we are happy about it." In what would seem to be an apologetic position for an emerging United States imperialism, Engels maintained that "It is in the interests of its own development that henceforth Mexico should be placed under the tutelage of the United States."<sup>2</sup> Similarly, in an article on Simón Bolívar, Marx stated that "like most of his countrymen, he [Bolívar] was averse to any prolonged exertion."<sup>3</sup> Hence, there emerges an apparent irony: Marx, retaining a fundamentally Euro-centric perspective, remained largely ignorant of the distinctive reality in an area of the world where his thought would become very popular. How can this attraction to his thought in the Third World be explained?

Traditionally, Marx's comments on Bolívar have been taken to symbolize his attitudes of racist disdain for, and cultural superiority over, the people of Latin America. Furthermore, it would seem

incongruous that Latin Americans would be drawn toward the thought of a person who had made such despairingly negative remarks about a person of the stature of Bolívar, who is almost universally regarded in that culture as *El Libertador* and an embodiment of the Latin American identity. In his work *Marx y América Latina*, José Aricó, author of numerous studies on Latin American socialist movements and former editor for the Mexican publishing house Pasado y Presente, which is dedicated to the study of Marxist thought, asserted that although Marx had access to a variety of sources that contained positive comments about Bolívar, Marx assumed an anti-Bolivarian position as a political statement against authoritarian, dictatorial, and antidemocratic forms of government. "By no means," Aricó argued, "could Marx accept the legitimacy of a political system based on an omnipresent dictator."<sup>4</sup> Aricó's observation that Marx's thought had to be reinterpreted and modified in order to be applied successfully to the Latin American situation is an important factor in gaining an understanding of how Marxism has developed in Latin America.<sup>5</sup> Far from having a negative view of Latin America, Aricó presents a powerful view of a Marx calling for a humanistic and democratic form of socialism far removed from the Stalinistic-style of government which later characterized communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Marxism, as historian Luis Aguilar observed, "reached Latin America late and sporadically."<sup>6</sup> It came "not as a mature and practical doctrine," Sheldon Liss added, "but in piecemeal fashion as an ideology absorbed slowly by young workers and intellectuals."<sup>7</sup> It is ironic that from these humble beginnings Marxism became a powerful and influential ideology in Latin America. This development did not occur in an intellectual, social, or political vacuum. There were many forces at work which helped define the character of this Marxist ideology.

### **Communist International**

Many people have looked only to Moscow to understand the presence of Marxist revolutionaries in Latin America. This was particularly evident in studies from the 1950s written at the height of the Cold War. Robert Alexander, in his 1957 study *Communism in Latin America*, points to the blind loyalty of communist parties to

the Soviet Union as the basis for revolutionary sentiments in Latin America. He argues that "there could be no greater mistake than to believe that the Communists of Latin America are somehow 'different,' that because they are Latin American, they do not share the characteristics of Communists in other parts of the world." He concluded that "the Latin American Communists have never been without direction from the Communist International."<sup>8</sup> Rollie Poppino pursued this line of thought further in his 1964 study *International Communism in Latin America*. He echoed Alexander with the statement that "the Latin American Communist parties have never been free agents. From the beginning they have served willingly as regional branches of the international Communist movement directed from the Soviet Union."<sup>9</sup> He denied that there were any indigenous roots for Marxist action in Latin America. The Soviet state dictated "inspiration, ideology, and guidance" to the Latin American communist parties, and they never "sought to draw upon Latin America's heritage of indigenous 'communitic' societies or seriously to identify [themselves] with the surviving communal practices of Aztecs, Mayas, or Incas."<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, citing the example of the recently victorious Cuban revolution, it was only the moral, material, and military assistance of the Soviet Union that lent communists the confidence to act.<sup>11</sup>

Even in the 1980s scholars such as Cole Blasier, although they have done much work to shed light on the complexity of international relations in Latin America, have continued to lend legitimacy to the view that revolutionary movements in Latin America were a product of Soviet penetration into the hemisphere. Even though Blasier recognized that throughout the twentieth century pro-Soviet communist parties in Latin America have remained marginal to both mainstream politics and other revolutionary movements, he still stressed their presence as an alleged Soviet influence in the region. Although Blasier was forced to acknowledge the "independent origins, national causes, and particular objectives" of certain revolutionary movements and that the Soviet Union did not play a significant role in the successful 1979 Nicaraguan insurrection, he still condemned what he saw as the spreading Soviet economic and military presence in Latin America in the 1980s.<sup>12</sup> To be sure, there was a Soviet influence on Latin American communist parties. Often times hard-line orthodox communist parties aligned with the Communist International did become pawns

of the Soviet Union. The importance of this influence, however, has been exaggerated greatly and has been used to cover up more significant indigenous expressions of revolutionary Marxist theory. In order to understand correctly Soviet influence on these developments, it must be placed in a proper historical setting.

Blasier and many others who have dealt with these issues have framed the issues in largely military and geopolitical terms. In doing so, Blasier missed entirely *ideological* influences, a factor which is central to understanding whether socialist countries such as Cuba and Nicaragua were pawns of the Soviet Union or independent actors pursuing their own historical destiny. Other works such as Nicola Miller's *Soviet Relations with Latin America*, however, have hesitated to see Soviet actions in Latin America in these purely military and geopolitical terms. Miller argues that due to long distances and more pressing political and military issues closer to home, Soviet interest in Latin America was at best marginal. Accordingly, she gives much more emphasis to the role of Latin Americans in fomenting social revolutions in the region. Common among revolutionary groups in Latin America was the belief that the Soviet Union and national pro-Moscow communist parties "lacked either the will or the capacity to engage in armed struggle."<sup>13</sup> Miller directly attacked Blasier's argument that the Soviet Union attempted to infiltrate and subvert Latin American governments in order to foment Soviet-style revolutions in the region as leading "to a seriously distorted picture of Soviet-Latin American relations."<sup>14</sup> Soviet interest in Latin America was less a political or military concern than it was a function of their attempts to establish trade relations with Latin American and penetrate the region economically.

Furthermore, Miller points to the irrelevance of a Soviet-style Marxism in Latin America. Often it was writers, artists, and poets such as Diego Rivera, Pablo Neruda, and Rubén Martínez Villena who were responsible for the dissemination of Marxist ideas throughout Latin America. This form of Marxism was interested in the cultural and subjective aspects of revolutionary theory rather than the dogmatism which came to characterize Soviet communism. Hence, Miller found the emergence of a unique form of Marxist thought in Latin America which was quite different from its Soviet counterparts. Any Soviet influence, furthermore, often was detrimental to the establishment of a revolutionary movement. History

ultimately has shown that the most successful movements in Latin America retained their ideological independence from the Soviet Union. It is not such outside factors which explain the presence and persistent appeal of Marxist theory in Latin America, but developments within Latin America itself. The nature and evolution of this indigenous ideology, therefore, must be understood within the historical context which would engender such a unique theoretical response.

The first Latin American Marxists were not particularly profound or creative in their understanding and application of Marxist thought, but they did help introduce socialism into Latin America. Marxism made its initial and strongest impact in Latin America in Argentina, a country where southern European immigrants and exiles from the Paris Commune formed a section of the First International in 1872. These radicals helped introduce doctrines such as anarchism, trade unionism, and socialism into Latin America. The Argentine Juan Bautista Justo (1865-1928) was one of the first Latin American socialists to emerge from this tradition. In 1895 he translated Marx's *Das Kapital* into its first Spanish edition and was one of the first people to introduce elements of Marxist thought into Latin America. Justo had moved from an adherence to Herbert Spencer's Positivism closer to a Marxist position, but his socialism remained more that of a reformist European parliamentary social democrat than that of a revolutionary Marxist. As a reformer, he helped establish the non-Marxist Partido Socialista Argentino in 1895.<sup>15</sup>

Socialists in other Latin American countries shared Justo's philosophy. In neighboring Chile, socialists formed a political party in 1887. Labor leader Luis Emilio Recabarren (1876-1924) worked tirelessly to develop a viable Marxist party in that country. Like Justo, Recabarren worked within the confines of the parliamentary system and served as a socialist in the Chilean national congress. Likewise, Cuban independence hero José Martí's (1853-1895) philosophy is indicative of the attitude of many Latin American revolutionaries toward Marxist thought in the late nineteenth century. Although the present Cuban government views Martí as a forerunner of their socialist revolution, he was not a Marxist. Martí organized the Cuban Revolutionary Party in 1892 to free Cuba from Spain, end racial inequality, and implement economic and agrarian reforms. Martí did favor social reforms, but he did not subscribe to

scientific socialism or a Marxist view of history. Martí worked with Carlos Baliño (1848-1926), the first notable Cuban Marxist, but, like most Latin American Marxists of his time, Baliño did not present a particularly profound or creative Marxism.<sup>16</sup>

At the time of the Russian Revolution in October of 1917, most Latin American Marxists remained distant and isolated from the political turmoil in Europe. The success of the Russian Revolution, however, was a catalyst which triggered an increased level of revolutionary organization throughout Latin America and soon ended its isolation from Europe. Many Marxists from around the world became enamored with the Russian Revolution and looked to the Bolsheviks in Moscow for leadership. These revolutionaries first established Marxist-oriented communist parties in Argentina (1918) and Mexico (1919), quickly followed by Chile, Brazil, Bolivia, and Uruguay. Similar parties later emerged in Cuba (1925) and Peru (1928) and in virtually every other Latin American country.<sup>17</sup>

After the triumph of the Russian Revolution, the Bolshevik leaders formed the Third or Communist International in the hopes of organizing the various communist parties into a worldwide communist revolution. Unlike the First and Second Internationals, which were federations of different national groups and political parties, the Third International was designed to be a single, centrally organized party radiating out from its base in Moscow with the aim of world revolution.<sup>18</sup> From its founding in Moscow in March 1919 to its demise in 1943 during World War II, the Communist International (or Comintern) focused its efforts on political developments in Europe and Asia. Latin America and Africa remained on the periphery of the organization's activities. Examining the history and function of the Communist International, however, is useful in giving a historical framework and understanding the development of revolutionary theory in Latin America.

The Communist International met annually for the first four years of its existence, but with Vladimir Lenin's death in 1923 and Josef Stalin's ascension to power in the Soviet Union, the Communist International met only three times over a twenty-year period and took on a more authoritarian flavor. The changing role of Latin America in the international communist arena is evident through the changing position of Latin America and its delegates in the Communist International congresses. No Latin Americans attended the First Congress of the Communist International, and only three

delegates from the Mexican Communist Party made it to the Second Congress in 1920. Argentina sent a single delegate the following year for the Third Congress, and Brazil and Uruguay joined Mexico and Argentina for the Fourth Congress. Initially, Moscow and the Communist International's preoccupation with events in Europe allowed the new communist parties in Latin America to evolve in autonomous and unfettered directions. This disregard for Latin America had its beneficial aspects, as it allowed revolutionaries there to develop their own indigenous paths to communism. When the Communist International began to discuss Third World issues, it was in the context of anticolonialism in Asia, but even these issues were subsumed by the Soviet Union's strategic interests. It was not until the Sixth Congress in 1928 that the Communist International "discovered" Latin America and began to express an active interest in the region. During the same year the Soviet Union also reestablished trade relations with several Latin American countries (especially Argentina) in an effort to strengthen the Soviet economy.<sup>19</sup> This was the high point of Latin American activity for the Communist International. Delegates representing nine countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela) attended the Sixth Congress; the communist parties of Cuba and Peru were invited but could not come.<sup>20</sup>

When in 1928 Latin America became a serious topic of debate for the Communist International, it was not because they saw Latin America as a place where a Leninist or Socialist revolution would triumph. Rather, it was because anti-imperialistic sentiment in the region could be exploited effectively as a means to curtail expanding United States power which would become a threat against the Soviet Union.<sup>21</sup> This is perhaps best illustrated by the unsuccessful attempts to co-opt General Augusto César Sandino's nationalistic crusade against the United States military occupation of Nicaragua in 1927. This heightened interest in Latin America led the Communist International to establish a South American Secretariat in Buenos Aires in 1928.

In June of 1929 the Communist International held its first and only significant meeting of its Latin American sections in Buenos Aires, bringing together thirty-seven delegates from fifteen different countries. This was the only time the Communist International held a broad and open discussion of Latin American issues, most specifically concentrating on issues of race, the anti-imperialist struggle,

and the position of Latin America in the international arena.<sup>22</sup> In his book *Latin America and the Comintern, 1919-1943*, Manuel Caballero argues that this was one of few times that there was direct contact among the various Latin American parties. The Communist International attempted to limit "horizontal" connections among the various Latin American sections in favor of a vertical relationship with Moscow with the result of limited communication among the sections.<sup>23</sup> Although he accurately describes the organizational structure of the Communist International, in reality there were many more contacts between revolutionary leaders than what Caballero indicates and what might be expected in an era with a technologically limited communications infrastructure. Letters which Antonio Melis included in his edited volume *José Carlos Mariátegui: Correspondencia* testify to a flourishing international network of contacts which Mariátegui maintained throughout Latin America. This demonstrates not only Mariátegui's internationalism, but also the existence of a thriving internationalism which was not dependent upon the Communist International.

Along with the Communist International's increased interest in Latin America came a Bolshevik attempt to bring independent communist parties in Latin America under the political and organizational control of one central communist party in Moscow. The shift in the focus of the Communist International to that of "socialism in one country" not only drained socialism of its international character, but it also had a detrimental effect on the independent and creative nature of many Third World revolutionary struggles. The efforts of Mariátegui in Peru, Luis Emilio Recabarren in Chile, and Julio Antonio Mella in Cuba to build an independent Marxist movement in Latin America became displaced after their deaths in the 1920s and 1930s by the Stalinistic tactics of Victorio Codovilla in Argentina, Luis Carlos Prestes in Brazil, and Vicente Lombardo Toledano of Mexico. These efforts to subjugate the various national communist parties to the foreign and domestic interests of Moscow increased with the onset of Stalinization in the Soviet Union.

Stalinism was characterized chiefly by bureaucratic authoritarianism; it also entailed the centralizing of power in the upper echelons of the administrative apparatus, the emergence of a cult of personality, and the lack of economic democracy. Moscow's tight control resulted in a rigid and centralized leadership and the

development of communist parties which were both radicalized and marginalized from mainstream society, errors that the Seventh Congress sought to correct with the emergence of the Popular Front strategy in 1935. As Ronaldo Munck has observed, this Stalinist leadership "developed economic and political interests distinct from those of the proletariat" and were primarily characterized by "their unswerving devotion to the powerful Soviet bureaucracy, to which they were linked by innumerable material and political ties."<sup>24</sup> This increased interest on the part of the Soviet Union in Latin America and the subjugation of national parties to central bureaucratic control destroyed an incipient independent communist movement. "Given ten or twenty years of relative freedom," Víctor Alba, a Latin American labor historian wrote, "a school of truly Latin American revolutionary thinkers might have developed."<sup>25</sup> Manuel Caballero has observed that "perhaps nowhere better than in Latin America did the Comintern show all the contradictions and finally, the lack of viability and efficiency of a world organization with a structure too rigid, too centralized and too vertical."<sup>26</sup> Similarly, Nicola Miller echoed her sentiment that "the Communist International failed to turn any political situation to its advantage . . . largely because of the rigidity of its model and its lack of interest in the actual conditions of Latin America."<sup>27</sup>

The first attempted communist-inspired insurrection in Latin America came not from a country such as Mexico or Argentina, which had a large Communist International presence, but from the small and seemingly insignificant Central American country of El Salvador. In 1932, the Salvadoran communist leader Agustín Farabundo Martí set up local soviets and developed a socialist program that quickly evolved into a large peasant uprising which the Salvadoran military rapidly and brutally suppressed, killing thirty thousand people. Although the Salvadoran communists were well aware of the international dimensions of their struggle, they operated with no apparent support of the Communist International. In fact, the pro-Moscow communist parties in Argentina and Mexico were very critical of the Salvadoran efforts, and international support which Sandino enjoyed in Nicaragua and which the Salvadorans expected never materialized.<sup>28</sup> The Salvadoran uprising was further indication that the roots of revolt in Latin America do not lie in the Soviet Union. Under Stalin's leadership the Communist International's strict and heavy-handed policies had

the unfortunate effect of destroying any creative or innovative efforts to develop an original and flexible Marxism in Latin America.

Several factors characterized the nature of the Communist International's influence in Latin America. Especially revealing was the Communist International's organizational conceptualization and administration of its Latin American interests. Not only did the Latin American communist parties play a marginal role in the organization, the Soviet leaders also appeared to have a very limited understanding of the current crucial issues and political dynamics in Latin America. Until the establishment of the South American Secretariat in Buenos Aires in 1928, the Communist International placed Latin America under the care of the Latin Secretariat which dealt with France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal. Language, not social or political realities, formed the rationale for this administrative structuring.<sup>29</sup> Later, apparently for geographic reasons, many Latin American communist parties came under the tutelage of Earl Browder and the Communist Party of the USA. This inability on the part of the Communist International to understand that the emerging Marxist tradition in Latin America differed fundamentally from its counterparts in Europe and the United States characterized not only their appraisal of the Latin American reality but also the attitudes of many other observers.

Foreigners dominated many of the early Communist International efforts in Latin America, including holding positions of leadership in the South American Secretariat and in many of the early Latin American communist parties. Although the Mexican Communist Party attracted influential intellectuals and artists including Diego Rivera and David Siqueiros, many of its initial leaders were foreigners. In fact, none of the three Mexican Communist Party delegates to the Second Congress of the Communist International were Mexican. As late as the Fifth Congress in 1924 the only delegate who was a native Latin American was a Brazilian.<sup>30</sup> This pattern was even stronger in Argentina where Italian immigrant Victorio Codovilla led the South American Secretariat and later emerged as the secretary general of the Argentine Communist Party. Overall, Latin America never had a large representation in the Communist International, and often its few representatives were actually Europeans or other non-Latin Americans.

The Communist International, therefore, played an active role in the formation of communist party politics in Latin America. But to assign to Moscow or the Communist International the responsibility for revolutionary movements in Latin America requires a large and unjustifiable jump in logic. With its theoretical assumptions which grew out of a European situation, and because of its conservative impulse to defend the interests of the Soviet state, the Communist International was hardly in a position to foment revolutionary change on the continent. Ironically, the most radical changes came from places which broke with the dogmatic assumptions which emanated out of Moscow. There has been a natural tendency not only in the Communist International but also among scholars to focus attention on the communist parties in the large Latin American countries. The Argentine and Mexican communist parties retained their central importance to the Communist International's organizational structure, but other parties, such as those in Chile and Cuba, grew out of leftist traditions in those countries, had a more solid mass base of support, and therefore were organizationally more effective and successful. The Chilean Left has a longer and deeper history than most of its counterparts in Latin America, and the rise of its leftist-oriented labor movement early in the twentieth century was an unusual development. An in-depth examination of the factors which led to the growth and evolution of a working-class consciousness in this country helps frame the issues which led to developments in Marxist revolutionary theory in other parts of Latin America.

### **The Chilean Road to Socialism**

Historically, Latin America has been held on the periphery of an international capitalist economic system. As in most other Latin American countries, Chile developed an export-oriented economy which, by the latter part of the nineteenth century, had become highly dependent on the export of a single product, nitrate, to European markets. Chile became a classic example of an economy highly dependent on foreign capital and the export of one product which funded the development of the Chilean state and filled the pockets of the wealthy elite, but left the vast majority of Chileans economically impoverished, politically powerless, and subject to exploitation and repression. The nitrate industry dramatically

enlarged the size of the working class in Chile and along with its larger size came a proliferation of militant actions to improve their working, living, and social conditions. Increasingly, these workers identified themselves as having class interests distinct from those who owned the mines, controlled the infrastructure, and benefitted financially from foreign trade. The workers became actors in a class struggle that eventually moved beyond issues of pay and working conditions, to ones that dealt with ownership and modes of production. This was the setting for the emergence and growth of a working-class consciousness in Chile, especially among the workers in the northern nitrate fields and on the docks at Valparaiso.

During the first several decades of the twentieth century there was an increase in the level of leftist political and labor organizational activity in Chile. Chilean journalist Luis Emilio Recabarren, traditionally seen as the founder and chief ideologist of the Socialist and Communist parties, was a major influence in organizing both the Communist Party and labor unions, and in fomenting a class consciousness among the nitrate miners. He founded and edited numerous working-class newspapers in the nitrate fields, undoubtedly his greatest impact on the developing working-class consciousness. With working-class support, he was first elected to Congress in 1906 as a delegate for the Democratic Party. The Conservative Party which controlled Congress, however, refused to seat him because of his revolutionary views. "It is not tolerable," one deputy remarked, "that the ideas of social dissolution sustained by Mr. Recabarren be represented in the Chamber."<sup>31</sup> In 1912 Recabarren formed the Socialist Workers Party (POS), a left-wing break-off from the Democratic Party. The POS party platform included planks which detailed its opposition to World War I, its favor for the nationalization of private property and the confiscation of church wealth, and its attempts to construct a labor movement. Recabarren ran for president in 1920, but the government persecuted him and imprisoned him, thereby preventing him from extending his appeal beyond the northern nitrate regions. He was, however, elected to Congress in 1921 as a delegate of the Socialist Labor and Communist parties.

Class struggle was a central issue in Recabarren's thought. He sought to unite the working class into a revolutionary force to overthrow the bourgeoisie, and much of his writing had the intent of helping "orient the thought of the proletariat which must struggle

for its emancipation."<sup>32</sup> He argued that socialism was much more than the redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor, but also included changes in mentality that would "abolish the imaginary rights of private property." This would result in justice and moral perfection.<sup>33</sup> The nature of this class consciousness which developed in Chile is rather unique in Latin American history. It was largely an indigenous development; Chile did not experience the large influx of European immigrants who brought radical syndicalist ideas to Argentina. In 1914, 60 percent of Argentina's urban working class was foreign-born, whereas in Chile the figure was less than 4 percent.<sup>34</sup> In Chile, Latin American actors such as Recabarren took a leading role in fomenting a working-class consciousness. In a speech presented to the Chilean Congress in 1921 to counter attacks that blamed working-class agitation on foreign agents, Recabarren argued that the Chilean working class was itself capable of fomenting revolutionary action, and that such action had its roots in Chilean history. He proceeded to demonstrate that such actions predated the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia by fifteen or twenty years. He concluded that it was rather "the capitalist regime itself which had developed revolutionary thoughts in the workers."<sup>35</sup> Historian Brian Loveman has remarked that "Although the Communist party dated only from 1922 and the Socialist party from the early 1930s, an indigenous Marxist movement linked to international Marxism had struggled for at least half a century" in Chile.<sup>36</sup>

The working-class movement in Chile not only grew out of indigenous roots, but it also had a strong internationalistic flavor. In an attempt to divide the working class and keep wages low, employers (along with the government) imported foreign workers to the northern nitrate fields. In 1885, 40 percent of the workers were of foreign extraction—largely from Bolivia and Peru.<sup>37</sup> The employers played on the workers' cultural differences and political animosities from the War of the Pacific to keep them from uniting into a significant labor force. Recabarren and other socialists, however, pointed to the international scope of the workers' struggle and tried to get workers to attack the capitalists rather than each other. The foreign workers tended to be the most exploited and appear to have participated freely in labor strikes. The "Argentineans, Bolivians, and Peruvians," a Chilean worker later stated in his autobiography, "were exactly like compatriots for us,

with equal rights and duties."<sup>38</sup> In the end, the capitalists' attempt to depress wages through the introduction of foreign workers back-fired—these workers only joined the ranks of the exploited Chilean workers in agitating for social changes.

Through Recabarren's urging, the POS joined the Communist International in 1922 and transformed itself into the Chilean Communist Party (PCC). Although the Chilean Communist Party commanded one of the largest and most powerful left-wing movements in Latin America, the Communist International never acknowledged its significance. Instead, the Communist International gave more attention to the much smaller and marginalized parties in Argentina and Mexico, thereby revealing its strategic economic interests which were not necessarily in line with the Latin American political reality. In 1923, Recabarren travelled to the Soviet Union for the Fourth Congress of the Communist International. He was impressed by the successes of the Russian Revolution, but concluded that "the Chilean proletariat only needs more discipline and a little more political and economic organization in order to find the capacity to realize the social revolution that will expropriate the entire exploitative capitalist system."<sup>39</sup>

Recabarren's life came to a tragic end in 1924. Faced with a military coup and frustrated with the infighting in the Communist Party and with its impotence in the face of the military dictatorship, he committed suicide. He remained, however, a critical figure in the evolution of working-class organizations and consciousness in Latin America. He inspired a rising class consciousness that led workers first to agitate for better working and living conditions, and then to see themselves as a class with interests that differed from those of their employers. Workers organized themselves into labor movements and political parties that developed into a significant leftist force in Chilean society. Whereas Mariátegui left a permanent imprint on revolutionary Marxist theory, Recabarren "excelled at turning theory into practice" and his legacy lives on in the Chilean working-class consciousness.<sup>40</sup> These two historical figures played parallel roles in the development of a working-class consciousness in their respective countries, and together have formed a basis for the creation of indigenous forms of socialism that has influenced subsequent revolutionaries throughout Latin America.

Throughout the 1920s the Communist Party remained the dominant leftist force in Chilean politics, but its leaders brought it

increasingly in line with the strict dictates of the Communist International. This led to a left-wing Socialist Party break-off in 1932, a move which was inspired by the independent direction that Mariátegui had taken the Socialist Party in Peru.<sup>41</sup> During the 1950s and 1960s, the Chilean Left developed one of the most non-doctrinaire ideological positions in Latin America. Not only did it emerge out of a mass party tradition which predated the 1917 Russian Revolution, but it also applied lessons it learned from the Cuban revolution and other world events in a unique and innovative manner. In what became known as the "Chilean Road to Socialism," leftist groups formed the Unidad Popular (Popular Unity) coalition, which gained political power in 1970 through the democratic election of a Marxist, Salvador Allende Gossens, to the presidency of Chile. The Unidad Popular's economic program advocated replacing Chile's capitalistic and export-oriented economy with one which was centralized and democratically controlled. In office, Allende implemented far-reaching reforms in order to benefit the working and lower classes. Central to his plans was the nationalization of natural resources, especially the copper mines, which had become the focal point of the Chilean export economy after the decline of nitrate production.<sup>42</sup> Although the Chilean revolution collapsed in a violent coup in 1973, it opened up the theoretical possibility for a peaceful and democratic path to power. Based on its deeply seated democratic traditions, the culmination of Chilean socialism was a political and social expression which was truly indigenous to Chile's national reality.

### **Afro-Marxism**

The development of an indigenous road to socialism has not been an undertaking unique to Latin America. In Africa in the 1960s and 1970s, "Afro-Marxist" governments gained power in countries such as Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia. Afro-Marxism is simply the attempt "to adapt the principles of scientific socialism to African conditions." Not only has such a modification of Marxist principles for a specific context become common around the world, it also left open the "possibility that Afro-Marxists could make an original contribution to political thought, if not to politics."<sup>43</sup> Afro-Marxism increased the viability of applying Marxism to Third World situations, and demonstrated a break from

ideological guidance emanating from the Soviet Union. As in the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions, the ideology of Afro-Marxist governments "was not imported from abroad, but it is instead a product of internal processes that are unique to certain African states." Because "the objective conditions found in Africa are different from those that characterized Russia in 1917" Marxist theory had "to be adapted to the specific conditions of specific Third World countries."<sup>44</sup>

In South Africa, the South African Communist Party (SACP) also developed a form of Marxist theory that was appropriate for and indigenous to the South African national context. The SACP grew out of a historical situation similar to that which socialists faced in Latin America in the 1920s. Socialists founded the Communist Party of South Africa in 1921 and allied themselves with the Communist International in the belief that the Bolshevik revolution represented the purest expression of the aspirations of the working class.<sup>45</sup> As in other parts of the world, the Communist International imposed their views on South Africa with little consideration for the specifics of South African history. Under the "scientifically correct and therefore more or less infallible" dictates of the Communist International, the SACP became one of the most rigid and Stalinistic communist parties in the world.<sup>46</sup> Under the dictate of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, the SACP began to pursue the Black Republic Thesis in 1929 which argued for "an independent native South African republic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic, with full, equal rights for all races, black, coloured and white." This position was "a strategic orientation adapted to the concrete conditions of the South African class struggle," but at the same time the Communist International continued "to impose its line in an increasingly Stalinist manner" with the result of mass expulsions and the eventual decline of the SACP.<sup>47</sup> This hard-line position characterized the nature of the SACP for the next fifty years of its existence.

With the breakup of the Eastern Bloc and the Soviet Union, the SACP began to demonstrate an incredible adaptability to the newly emerging and possibly post-Marxist world political and ideological environment. The SACP surfaced in 1990 after operating illegally for thirty years in the underground as a banned entity to a South Africa where diplomacy and political debate had become more important than armed struggle. Confronted with a changing

national reality, the SACP repudiated its Stalinist past and admitted "that socialism in the Soviet Union was deformed from the 1920s by the stifling of democracy, setting a thoroughly tyrannical precedent for communists everywhere."<sup>48</sup> The SACP refused to define a model which it would emulate in its drive to create socialism in that country, but instead strove for a national democratic revolution which was constructed within its own cultural context. As a result the SACP pursued a social program which was increasingly "in a conceptual and theoretical contradiction to the model of revolution generated by classical marxism," as members of the party called for a laying to rest of the "revered classics."<sup>49</sup> In place of orthodox Marxism, party leaders began to construct new theoretical approaches. "Marxism, like any science, is not a monolithic and closed dogma simply waiting application," revisionist party theoretician and SACP Central Committee member Jeremy Cronin wrote in 1991. "It is a body of theory, yes, but one which needs constantly to be tried out in practice, developed and revised."<sup>50</sup>

As the SACP entered the 1990s it moved away from the concept of a "dictatorship of the proletariat" and began to criticize revolutionary ideologies which relied exclusively on a small revolutionary vanguard to act at a time dictated by objective political and economic conditions. In Cronin's words, that ideological perspective embodies "a narrow, statist and bureaucratic conception of working class power." Cronin envisioned a much broader struggle for popular hegemony and empowerment that would lead to a transformation of society. In South Africa, Cronin argued, the socialist revolution would be a *process* (as opposed to a singular spontaneous event) of raising the level of people's political consciousness, which would lead to the gaining of popular power. It would not be enough to gain power simply through either electoral means or by violently seizing the governmental apparatus. Rather than pursuing a dogmatic fundamentalism or passively waiting for the "revolutionary moment," the SACP emphasized the importance of popular mass struggles, popular power, and popular hegemony in creating the conditions in which a socialist revolution (in whatever national form it takes) could triumph.<sup>51</sup>

Former SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo presented similar concerns in a pamphlet "Has Socialism Failed?" which triggered extensive discussions on the emerging nature of Marxist theory in South Africa. The failure of the rigid application of communism in

Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union had discredited socialist theory, but Marxism itself was not at fault. Slovo argued that the crisis in socialism was a result of "a mechanical and out-of-context invocation of Marxist dogma" rather than any inherent weaknesses in Marxist theory.<sup>52</sup> Because socialism strives for an egalitarian society, it is an inherently democratic philosophy, Slovo continued, and this democratic philosophy is violated fundamentally when a dictatorship of the proletariat becomes a repressive state apparatus (as it did under Stalin) rather than a transitional phase to communism. "The way forward," Slovo concluded, "is through thorough-going democratic socialism" grounded in democratic persuasion rather than authoritarian power.<sup>53</sup>

At its eighth party congress in December of 1991, the SACP reaffirmed its commitment to Marxist-Leninism, described its party as "the political vanguard of the working class," triumphed its belief in socialism, and declared "that socialism is *inherently* democratic."<sup>54</sup> This was not a reactionary move of a party defiantly holding on to a dated and dying philosophy, but rather an indication of its position of strength and ability to adapt its Marxism in a way which was applicable to the current state of the South African struggle. The rationale for this position echoes that of the Peruvian Socialist Party some sixty years earlier when Mariátegui also argued for the necessity of a vanguard party which would form a "political force that assumes the task of orienting and directing the proletariat in the struggle for the fulfillment of their class ideals."<sup>55</sup> Mariátegui, as did the SACP, distinguished between a dictatorship of the proletariat which could become repressive, and a vanguard party which was charged with raising the political consciousness of the masses.

The congress expressed its internationalistic character through a resolution in support of the revolutionary process underway in Cuba and pointed to the Cuban revolution as a positive model to study and possibly emulate as they struggle to develop a South African road to socialism. The SACP pledged to mount an educational campaign to raise political and material consciousness about Cuba and issued a call to urge other countries to trade with Cuba. Cuba had long supported the ANC and similar mass-based, anti-colonial revolutionary movements in Angola and other African countries, and through these pronouncements the SACP wished to reciprocate these acts of international solidarity.<sup>56</sup> The SACP has

expressed its continued intent to work at raising the political consciousness of the South African people for socialism. Organizing against the backdrop of the institutionalized inequality of a capitalistic apartheid South Africa, the SACP presented a vision of a socialistic South Africa blessed with material and social equality. Unlike East European communist parties which were experiencing a period of severe decline, the SACP appeared to enjoy a period of unprecedented growth which further indicated that the roots of Marxist thought in South Africa do not lie in Moscow or some other equally foreign and external place but rather within their national reality.

### **Eurocommunism**

These Third World communist movements which retained their independence from Moscow and the Communist International had their counterparts in Europe in the form of Eurocommunism. Eurocommunism, or "European Communism," presented "the idea that communism can be adapted to a European pattern, rather than that it has to follow the Soviet model."<sup>57</sup> Eurocommunism was "an autonomous strategic conception, in the process of formation, born of the experience of those concerned and of concrete reality."<sup>58</sup> Eurocommunism as an independent national road to socialism emerged as a dominant ideology among European communist parties in the 1970s. Eurocommunist parties were strongest in France, Italy, and Spain; Santiago Carrillo and Enrico Berlinguer, the leaders of the Spanish and Italian Communist parties, were the two dominant leaders of the movement. The Italian Communist Party gained a strong electoral following and in the mid-1970s it appeared that they would gain power in that country, but the first Eurocommunist party to join a government was in 1981 when the French Communist Party joined the left-wing Mitterrand government. Sometimes Eurocommunism has been referred to as a third road independent from either Western-type capitalism or Soviet-style communism, but in an important work outlining the role of the state in a Eurocommunist critique of society, Spanish communist leader Carrillo argued that "if we were to set out to enumerate the different roads being followed in the world revolutionary process, there would be many more than three."<sup>59</sup>

Each individual party would have to develop and pursue its own indigenous road to socialism. Rather than attempting to emulate or recreate the Russian Revolution in Western Europe, Eurocommunist leaders looked to their own histories and cultural traditions as the foundation on which to construct a socialist revolution. Carrillo was not afraid to attack the basic tenets of Leninism in working out a Spanish-style communism; he argued that Lenin openly revised Marx's theses and Lenin's Soviet successors have also done the same thing. The Eurocommunist parties were attracted more to the democratic experiments in "communism with a human face" in Hungary and Czechoslovakia than Stalin's rigid Marxist ideology. They rejected the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and argued for a deeper and more sophisticated understanding of the innate relationship between socialism and a working people's democracy. Instead of an authoritarian leadership style, the Eurocommunist parties affirmed the democratic process and "democratic political liberties and human rights which are historic achievements of human progress that cannot be surrendered."<sup>60</sup> Ultimately, the goal of Eurocommunism was to break out of a dogmatic, sectarian, and dated form of Marxism in order to create a new, original, and living revolutionary process.

One of the strongest European communist parties was the Partito Comunista Italiano, the Italian Communist Party (PCI). The PCI originated as a left-wing break-off of the Italian Socialist Party in 1921. The following year it was outlawed along with all other political parties with Benito Mussolini's rise to power. For the next two decades it remained underground, a secret and illegal party, until it resurfaced during World War II in the fight against fascism. After the war it emerged as one of Italy's largest and strongest parties. The party's leaders believed that each country's communist party should find the best "road to socialism" for its own particular situation. This road would vary from country to country, but the PCI saw no need to have a violent revolution in Italy and were satisfied to come to power peacefully and gradually. Like leftist parties in Chile, the PCI worked within the existing political system, supporting a constitutional democracy and political pluralism which respected individual rights. The fall of Allende's government in 1973 confirmed for the PCI that a small vanguard party could not hold power in Italy, and that the way toward a socialist revolution

was through building popular support and a political consciousness among the Italian people.

In the context of the Cold War and high anticommunist sentiment in Western Europe, the PCI strove to maintain its distance and independence from the Soviet Union. Instead of submitting to dictates from Moscow, the PCI insisted on pursuing a path to communism which was suited to Italian culture. The PCI denounced Stalin for his human rights abuses and refused to join the Soviets in their denunciation of Joseph Tito's independent course of action in Yugoslavia. With the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the PCI became convinced that an autonomous form of communism could flourish only outside of the Soviet Union's sphere of influence. The PCI further distanced itself from Moscow by condemning the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, supporting Poland's independent Solidarity Union, and attempting to restore normal relations with China. The PCI persisted in its own independent road to communism in Italy, regardless of what actions other communist parties or governments might take.

### **Antonio Gramsci**

Antonio Gramsci, the brilliant intellectual founder of the PCI and one of Italy's most original Marxist thinkers, gave an intellectual underpinning to many of the PCI's innovative doctrines and formed a basis for the later emergence of Eurocommunism. Gramsci joined the Italian Socialist Party in 1913 and helped found the socialist weekly newspaper *L'Ordine Nuovo* in 1919 and the PCI in 1921. Influenced by the role of workers' soviets in the Russian Revolution, Gramsci helped organize the Turin Factory Councils Movement which agitated for democratic control of the factories as the first step toward the revolutionary transformation of Italy. Gramsci worked with the Communist International in Moscow and Vienna from 1922 to 1924. In 1924 he became head of the Communist Party in Italy and was elected to the Italian Parliament. As a result of his opposition to the rise of a fascist dictatorship in Italy, Mussolini imprisoned Gramsci in 1926 where he remained until shortly before his death in 1937. Ironically, as one scholar has observed, Gramsci "escaped the perils of Stalinization because he spent those years in one of Mussolini's jails."<sup>61</sup> While in prison and under rather adverse and difficult conditions, Gramsci wrote extensively on

Marxist theory and its application in Italy. It was not until the 1960s, however, that Gramsci's significant writings were available outside of Italy. With the appearance of *The Prison Notebooks* (first published in English in 1971) Gramsci finally gained international renown as a leading and significant Marxist intellectual.

Gramsci's ideological positions grew out of his Italian cultural context; he was particularly influenced by the idealism of Italian philosopher Benedetto Croce. Gramsci rejected a strict mechanical materialist determinism in favor of a view of Marxism that emphasized its historical and cultural aspects. This led Gramsci to a dynamic and dialectical view of a "philosophy of praxis" which grew out of a Hegelian idealism and sought to unify theory and practice, thought and action. This philosophy of praxis was a critical theory that challenged the mechanical aspects of nineteenth-century Marxism. He was interested in the contradictions inherent in "the relationship between human will (superstructure) and economic structure."<sup>62</sup> Gramsci warned against an ideology that becomes a "dogmatic system of eternal and absolute truth."<sup>63</sup> He rejected a mechanical determinism which argued that the breakdown of capitalist society and the transition to socialism was an inevitable process subject to identifiable natural laws. Rather, he believed that it would only be through human action that historical changes occurred. He was one of the first Marxists to emphasize the role of human consciousness in shaping revolutionary change. Gramsci was, Carl Boggs noted, "a *creative* Marxist who never failed to seize upon the active, political, or 'voluntarist' side of theory in contrast to the fatalistic reliance upon objective forces and scientific 'laws' of capitalist development that had been central to the Marxist tradition."<sup>64</sup> He stressed the importance of maintaining a dynamic and flexible system of thought that could be adapted to new situations. In a milieu that had not yet come under the domination of a rigid Stalinism emanating from Moscow, the Italian concentrated on cultural and spiritual aspects of Marxist theory. The result was an open, nondoctrinaire Marxism that, as David McLellan observed, "rehabilitated the subjective, creative side of Marxist thought" and emphasized "the importance of ideological struggle in the process of socialist transformation."<sup>65</sup>

Not only on a theoretical level, but also on a political and practical level, Gramsci believed in the importance of adapting Marxist revolutionary theory to the concrete Italian cultural and

political context. Gramsci pursued an active internationalism and studied other countries' revolutionary experiences, but he rejected any attempt (as with the Stalinized Communist International) to export or impose a revolutionary model from one country or situation on to another. Gramsci strove to develop an Italian Marxism with a truly national character "that spoke to the customs, needs, and aspirations of the Italian people."<sup>66</sup> Revolutionary strategies that worked in Eastern Europe would not necessarily work in Western Europe, because the nature of the state was different. Gramsci was drawn to the Bolsheviks for their bold actions in making history in 1917, but he rejected their use of a highly centralized revolutionary vanguard. Instead, he favored the development of a mass-based party rooted in popular and democratic structures. Gramsci proposed that in Italy first the people and their culture should be won over to communism, and then the government could be taken over. This method of coming to power is the reverse of what Vladimir Lenin, who first seized the government and then used it to change the state, propagated with the Russian Revolution.

Gramsci developed the idea of cultural hegemony to explain why a socialist revolution had not triumphed in the industrialized Western European societies as Marx had predicted. The absence of a proletarian revolutionary consciousness was not due, Gramsci argued, to the lack of proper objective or economic conditions. Rather, the dominant culture, according to Gramsci, had retained its control over people's lives not through coercive state apparatuses but through the manipulation of cultural and ideological institutions. A revolutionary movement, therefore, could not succeed simply by seizing political control; it must also design a new proletarian cultural "counterhegemonic" structure to replace the existing one. The party must work at raising the political consciousness of the masses and transforming them from passive subjects to actors who take a proactive role in the process of social transformation. This was a *process* of politicization which would take time. When the party had thereby created a proper historical situation for social transformation, it must then be unified and ready to act boldly, as the Bolsheviks did in Russia in 1917. This formed the basis of Gramsci's conception of the state, which influenced his strategy for transforming it. Gramsci believed that in Italy the PCI would need to unite the urban and rural poor into a mass-based revolutionary party which would then gain victory.<sup>67</sup>

Gramsci believed that intellectuals played a crucial role in constructing the proper conditions in which a revolutionary movement would flourish. These intellectuals would not come from the traditional elite classes, but would emerge out of the working classes and use that experience as a basis for developing a mass political consciousness. Part of his philosophy of praxis was the importance of maintaining contact between the intellectuals and the masses. Party leadership should not remain removed and distant from the masses, but should emerge organically and democratically out of them. "Intellectual *élites* separated from the masses" could never make profound and lasting social changes, Gramsci wrote, but "intellectuals who are conscious of being linked organically to a national-popular struggle" would elucidate the nature of the dominant culture's hegemonic control and help raise the political consciousness of the masses.<sup>68</sup> This forms the basis for Gramsci's emphasis on subjective factors (consciousness) rather than objective factors (economic relations) in leading toward a socialist revolution.

Gramsci believed that this cultural transformation could not be accomplished through a dictatorship of the proletariat with no system of accountability. Rather, Gramsci favored a structure of a nonbureaucratic democratic centralism built on popular participation that protected individual freedoms of thought, press, and association. Furthermore, these subjective ideas must be molded to fit particular historical and cultural conditions. Without a voluntary acceptance and organic adaptation, the social revolution would be bound to fail. The result is National Marxism, a strategic critique that has characterized the development of the PCI and has won considerable acceptance among leftist leaders in Latin America. Whereas the Communist International presented the antithesis of what the Third World needed in order to win a social revolution, the central tenets of Gramsci's thought have been critical to the success of social revolutions throughout the region.<sup>69</sup>

Gramsci represented a nonauthoritarian, democratic form of Marxist thought that has become very influential in many parts of the world. In the United States in the 1960s many New Left or neo-Marxist intellectuals and political activists were also drawn toward this style of thought. Michael Harrington, former leader of the Democratic Socialists of America, emerged from this Gramscian tradition to present one of the most creative and innovative critiques of North American society. In his book *The Twilight of Capitalism*,

Harrington analyzed the crisis of western capitalism from a Marxist perspective far removed from the mechanistic interpretations associated with Stalinism. Harrington's thought was characterized by a lack of rigid dogmatism and the advancement of a humane and democratic form of Marxism. He emphasized the spiritual and cultural aspects of Marxist theory as he uncovered what he called "the new Karl Marx," who presented theories which were "infinitely more supple" and "more open and vital" than what Moscow had propagated.<sup>70</sup> Harrington pushed for an egalitarian, democratic, and nonelitist political system with a social transformation rooted not in economic determinism but in the voluntarism of human action. He followed the lead of Gramsci, whose "writings were never vulgar and mechanistic," in rejecting a positivistic or deterministic Marx in favor of a subjective, creative, and revolutionary form of democratic socialism.<sup>71</sup> This replacement of a stale Marxism with a living and dynamic Marx, Harrington believed, would carry societal critiques forward into the twenty-first century.

As in Europe and North America, Gramsci left a lasting legacy for leftists in Latin America. In the 1960s and 1970s, his ideas "exploded with the force of a volcano" across Latin America.<sup>72</sup> In Latin America during the 1960s Gramsci's works were for the first time translated from the Italian into other languages.<sup>73</sup> In his book *La cola del diablo: Itinerario de Gramsci en América Latina*, José Aricó examines the diffusion of Gramsci's influence in Latin America from the 1950s through the 1980s. Aricó writes largely from his experiences in Argentina and Mexico, but Gramsci's importance can also be seen in other countries such as Cuba and Peru. This influence is particularly evident in the Nicaraguan revolution which brought the Sandinistas to power in 1979. In his work on the intellectual roots of the Sandinista revolution, Donald Hodges points specifically to Gramsci as a critical inspiration for the creation of the Sandinistas' innovative Marxist theories. Because of his emphasis on voluntarist and subjective factors such as the importance of ideology in moving the masses to revolutionary action, the Sandinistas saw Gramsci "as the single most important Marxist theoretician since Lenin."<sup>74</sup> Sandinista intellectual Ricardo Morales Avilés was particularly responsible for bringing Gramsci's concept of political hegemony to Nicaragua. Because of Gramsci's influence, the Sandinistas went beyond a political or social revolution to attempt a cultural revolution which would engender

the creation of a socialist "new man."<sup>75</sup> In Nicaragua, the creation of a revolutionary myth influenced by Gramsci and others took the form of a close alliance between the Sandinistas and liberation theology proponents in struggling for a revolutionary transformation of society.

For the most part, Peruvians were isolated from the radical European philosophical currents which influenced Argentina, Cuba, and other Latin American countries in the nineteenth century. Manuel González Prada (1848-1918), an early Peruvian intellectual, was an important exception to this pattern of isolation. González Prada sought to fuse nationalism with *indigenismo* (a movement which championed the value of indigenous society) as he argued that Peru's indigenous heritage and population must be incorporated into the national culture. Although González Prada rejected historical materialism and Marxist socialism in favor of anarchism, Marx's writings from the 1870s nevertheless influenced his thought. His radical nationalism and *indigenismo* created a milieu which allowed for the later emergence of a fully developed Peruvian Marxism.<sup>76</sup>

Mariátegui was one of the premier and most well-renowned Latin American Marxists to emerge out of this historical situation. He was the first Peruvian to develop a serious and systematic Marxist analysis of the problems of Latin American society and to bring a revolutionary understanding of Marxism to Latin America. Mariátegui directly challenged many of the dogmatic assumptions of the Communist International which emanated from Moscow. He wanted to develop an "Indo-American" socialism rooted in Latin America's own historical reality. Before Mariátegui, Robert Paris has noted, Latin Americans viewed socialism and Marxism as purely European doctrines.<sup>77</sup> But Mariátegui argued that "although socialism, like capitalism, was born in Europe, it is not specifically or particularly a European doctrine. It is a world movement."<sup>78</sup> He is known, therefore, for his "Latin Americanization" and "spiritualization" of Marxism in which he forwarded a voluntaristic interpretation of Marxist theory that "exalted passion as a revolutionary force."<sup>79</sup> His ability to incorporate and adapt European Marxist doctrines into a critique of Latin American society influenced a generation of Marxists struggling to change those societies, and his thoughts still continue to have relevance today.

Mariátegui's influence can be felt throughout Latin America. In addition to countless books, four volumes in Mariátegui's *Complete Works* series contain articles not only from his fellow Peruvians but also from Latin American, North American, and European writers. Collections of essays such as these demonstrate the scope of Mariátegui's international appeal. They confirm that people not only throughout Latin America but also in Europe and elsewhere were conversant with his thought and influenced by it. An example of his influence can be found in the neighboring Andean country of Ecuador where Marxist scholar Oswaldo Albornoz has recently commented that Mariátegui was "of utmost importance for the political and intellectual development of socialist thought in Ecuador." His works were "an important vehicle for the propagation of Marxist doctrine. More than anything, they are invaluable lessons that teach us how to apply Marxism to the Ecuadorian reality."<sup>80</sup> Mariátegui's literary works arrived early in Ecuador. In 1916, ten years before he matured as a leading Marxist intellectual, Ecuadorians were reading his poetry and articles. Later an elaborate network was set up in Ecuador to distribute his vanguard journal *Amauta* in addition to his working-class newspaper *Labor* and various other books he published. Many of Mariátegui's insights into his Peruvian reality also proved to be relevant in Ecuador. This was especially true for his indigenist ideology since Ecuador, like Peru, had a large indigenous population. Although Mariátegui only spent a week in Guayaquil during his return from Europe in 1923, Albornoz stated that Mariátegui was no stranger in Ecuador and furthermore that his thought was indispensable for understanding the Ecuadorian reality.<sup>81</sup>

In addition to this strong appeal of his thought in Ecuador, Mariátegui's writings have been similarly well-received throughout Latin America. Although he did not travel extensively in Latin America, he developed a widespread intellectual presence on the continent. This happened not only in countries with large indigenous populations, but also in other countries which have a historical and cultural reality somewhat different than what is found in Peru. In order to understand this broad appeal of Mariátegui's thought, it is instructive to consider the histories of the introduction of his thought into two Latin American countries which have experienced successful socialist revolutions: Cuba and Nicaragua. These histories help underline the commonality of experience throughout

Latin America that informed Mariátegui's Marxist theory. But before proceeding to examine those specific national histories, one must first understand the uniqueness of Mariátegui's Latin American Marxist thought.

**JOSE CARLOS MARIATEGUI**  
**(1894-1930)**

Mariátegui was born in the small southern Peruvian coastal town of Moquegua on 14 July 1894, and grew up on the outskirts of Lima. He was the sixth child of a poor mestiza woman, María Amalia LaChira, who had lost her first three children shortly after childbirth. This experience led her to be deeply religious, and her earnest Catholicism strongly influenced the young Mariátegui.<sup>1</sup> Mariátegui's father was Francisco Javier Mariátegui, a grandson of the liberal Independence Era hero of the same name. This hero, who was heavily influenced by the ideals of the French Revolution, was excommunicated from the Catholic church for his active anticlericalism and his involvement with the Freemasons.<sup>2</sup> Mariátegui's father, in an apparent attempt to avoid the hardship of identification with a liberal family in the conservative Peruvian milieu, hid his true identity from his wife.<sup>3</sup> Shortly after Mariátegui's birth, however, she discovered that her husband "was the contaminated grandson of a man condemned by the Church for apostasy and masonry."<sup>4</sup> LaChira separated herself from her husband and sought to shelter her children from his liberal influence.

Mariátegui's upbringing was not like that of many of the intellectuals of his period. He did not enjoy the stimulation of an upper-class education; rather, Mariátegui was a weak and sickly child who struggled against many disadvantages. From an early age he had developed a tubercular condition, and when he was eight years old he hurt his left leg, which crippled him for life.<sup>5</sup> Because of a lack of financial resources and the need to support his family, he acquired only an eighth grade education. At the age of fifteen Mariátegui began work at *La Prensa*, a Peruvian newspaper, which introduced him to the field of journalism. He demonstrated a good

deal of talent for journalism, and he quickly moved from the position of copyboy to writing and editing positions. Throughout his life, Mariátegui used his journalism skills as both a financial livelihood and a vehicle for expressing his political views. By the age of sixteen Mariátegui's writings began to show a socialist orientation.<sup>6</sup> Together with his friend César Falcón, Mariátegui launched two short-lived papers, *Nuestra Epoca* and *La Razón*. Although these papers took a prolabor stance, they did not espouse the revolutionary Marxism found in Mariátegui's later writings.<sup>7</sup> Mariátegui's vocal support for the revolutionary demands of workers and students, however, ran him afoul of the Peruvian dictator Augusto B. Leguía, who in October 1919 exiled Mariátegui and Falcón to Europe as Peruvian "information agents." Mariátegui's time in Europe strongly affected the development and maturation of his thought, and solidified his socialist tendencies. Mariátegui later looked back on his early life as a journalist as his "Stone Age" in contrast to the time of his later writings in the 1920s when he had matured as a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary thinker.

Before his exile to Europe in 1919, Mariátegui had become politically aware of the need for socialism and had begun to study Marxism, but it was not until he was in Europe that he clearly entered the Marxist tradition.<sup>8</sup> He studied in France and Italy, where he found opportunities to meet with many European socialists. In France he met Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, and other members of the revolutionary *Clarté* group, from whom he felt the "intense social revolutionary emotion of the new multitudes."<sup>9</sup> Mariátegui spent three years in Italy, where he met important figures of Italian thought, such as Benedetto Croce, Giovanni Papini, Marinetti, Gobetti, Prezzolini.<sup>10</sup> Although Mariátegui matured as a Marxist-Leninist thinker later in his life, much of his thought originated from his experiences in Italy. This was a period of much diversity in the international communist movement; "Marxist thinking had not yet come to be dominated by a strict, historical materialist interpretation which was defined through the Soviet Union."<sup>11</sup> The founding of the Italian Communist Party in 1921 left a deep impression on Mariátegui. Later he acknowledged that "until then Marxism had been for me a rather confused, boring, cold theory," but the leadership of the Communist Party in Italy impressed upon him the revolutionary potential of a voluntarist approach to Marxism.<sup>12</sup> Italy was Mariátegui's "major political

apprenticeship"; it was there where he began to identify with the "extreme Marxist left" and the Third International.<sup>13</sup>

Upon his return to Peru in 1923, Mariátegui stated that he was "a convinced and declared Marxist."<sup>14</sup> Drawing on the experiences and insights which he had gained in Europe, he gave a series of lectures called "History of the World Crisis" at the newly formed González Prada Popular University in Lima. Although he touched on parts of Latin America, Mariátegui emphasized a working-class critique of recent events in Europe in these lectures and demonstrated his broad comprehension of major political themes in post-war Europe. These lectures were later compiled as volume eight of his *Complete Works*.<sup>15</sup> He was a popular lecturer, but despite student requests the public University of San Marcos refused to give him a professorship because he lacked a formal academic education. Ironically, he was an intellectual at odds with the intellectual world. Later in his life he referred to his "extra-university, if not anti-university, character,"<sup>16</sup> and admitted that he was "far removed from the academic techniques of the university."<sup>17</sup> Although he lacked a formal education, he had a creative and brilliant mind. He loved to read and was, for the most part, self-educated.<sup>18</sup> In keeping with his national Marxist framework, Mariátegui believed that economic and social imbalances were fundamental to understanding the problems of the educational system in Peru. "To teach a man to read and write is not to educate him," Mariátegui wrote.<sup>19</sup> He criticized the Spanish, French, and North American domination of Peru's educational system and noted that as in the United States and Europe, the public education system in Latin America served and defended the interests of a social and economic elite class.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, the educational system must come under popular control so that it would respond to the needs of the people. Only socialism, Mariátegui wrote, could create a democratic and egalitarian educational system that would give to all members of society the instruction which they deserved and would lead to the development of the country.<sup>21</sup> He looked to the emerging trade schools and the González Prada Popular University as models to develop a class consciousness among the masses. As the elite classes used the educational system to serve their interests, Mariátegui believed that it was important to develop a democratic and socialistic educational system that would serve the broader interests of society.

In 1924 Mariátegui lost his right leg and spent the rest of his life confined to a wheelchair. In spite of his failing health, Mariátegui increased the intensity of his efforts to organize a social revolution in Peru. In 1926 he founded *Amauta*, a journal which he intended to be a vanguard voice for an intellectual and spiritual movement to create a new Peru. It would examine developments not only in the realm of politics but also philosophy, art, literature, and science with a clear political agenda. Mariátegui announced that *Amauta* would analyze "Peru's problems from a doctrinaire and scientific point of view" within a world context.<sup>22</sup> *Amauta* (which means "wise teacher" in the Quechua language) reached a wide audience not only in Peru but throughout Latin America.<sup>23</sup> The selection of this name, which the Peruvian indigenous painter José Sabogal suggested, was indicative of Mariátegui's nationalistic spirit, his indigenous roots, and his ideas of a vanguard leadership.<sup>24</sup> Because of its cost and "essentially highbrow nature," *Amauta* did not find an audience among the Peruvian working class. As a result, in 1928 Mariátegui launched a less doctrinaire and more informative biweekly periodical called *Labor* as an extension of *Amauta*.<sup>25</sup> *Labor*, which sought to inform, educate, and politicize the working class, survived less than a year before the Leguía dictatorship shut it down. Although an official explanation was never released for its closure, it was seen as a threat to Leguía's "increasingly unpopular and insecure regime."<sup>26</sup> *Amauta* continued publishing until shortly after Mariátegui's death in 1930.

Mariátegui also presented his political views in the form of articles which he wrote for various Peruvian periodicals. In addition, he published two books during his lifetime, *La escena contemporánea* in 1925 and *7 ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana* in 1928. The first book, *The Contemporary Scene*, is a compilation of various articles which he originally penned for the popular Peruvian magazines *Varietades* and *Mundial*. In these essays he explores the current world political scene, including the rise of fascism, democracy, socialism, and antisemitism. His second book, translated into English in 1971 as *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* and now widely available around the world in eight languages, was a critically acclaimed success for its original and creative insights into the Latin American reality. In this book he presents a brilliant analysis of Peruvian, and by extension Latin American, problems from a Marxist point of view. The book includes seven essays on

topics such as economic development, the indigenous population, land distribution, the education system, religion, and literature. Today many Marxist intellectuals throughout Latin America still consider it to be the fundamental work on Latin American Marxism. Mariátegui intended both works to be a socialist criticism of the problems and history of Peru and to assist in the creation of Peruvian socialism.<sup>27</sup>

Neither of the two books which Mariátegui published, however, dealt specifically with political theory, nor were they intended to be doctrinaire treatises. In the introduction to his *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*, Mariátegui noted plans for another book on the political and ideological evolution of Peru.<sup>28</sup> This book, which was to be entitled *Defensa del marxismo, polémica revolucionaria*, was apparently lost during shipment to Spain where Mariátegui's longtime friend and comrade César Falcón had planned to publish it.<sup>29</sup> An incomplete edition of this work was released in Chile in 1934, and in 1959 Biblioteca Amauta published a closer approximation of the original essays as part of Mariátegui's *Complete Works* series. Of all of his work, Mariátegui presents the most doctrinaire interpretation of Marxism in *Defensa del marxismo*. Together with *Ideología y política*, the thirteenth volume in the *Complete Works* series which contains Mariátegui's editorials, theses, manifestos, and various other political documents, these are the best sources for understanding his political thought and activity, along with his interpretation of the political and ideological evolution of Peru. During his lifetime, Mariátegui had assembled and intended to publish several other books (including *El alma matinal y otras estaciones del hombre de hoy* and *La novela y la vida*), but none of them appeared until the 1950s.<sup>30</sup> These books, like the rest of his writings, deal with not only political themes but also literary and cultural aspects of the realities of Peruvian life and the world around him. Gathered together in the twenty-volume *Complete Works* series, Mariátegui's writings demonstrate his intellectual stature, vigor, and significance in formulating innovative and revolutionary Marxist positions for Latin America.

Mariátegui's revolutionary activities did not remain only on a theoretical level. In addition to discussing educational reform, Mariátegui made numerous other demands which indicated the nature of the socialism he wished to construct in Peru. He proposed labor and social reforms which would establish a social

security system, end the hated *enganche* (debt peonage) system, implement an eight-hour work day, increase salaries, and impose a minimum wage.<sup>31</sup> Mariátegui had a broad view of the unified class struggle he wished to organize in Peru. The working-class periodical *Labor* represented "the interests and the aspirations of the entire productive class: workers in industry and transportation, agricultural workers, miners, indigenous communities, teachers, employees." There was even a role for intellectuals and students in the struggle.<sup>32</sup>

In order to agitate for these changes, he founded the Peruvian Socialist Party (PSP) in 1928 and served as its first secretary-general. This party, which was affiliated with the Third International and was to be directed by a "secret cell of seven," was formed as the vanguard of the proletariat, the political force which would assume the task of its orientation and direction in the struggle for the realization of its classist ideas.<sup>33</sup> In 1929 the Peruvian Socialist Party launched the Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú (CGTP), a Marxist-oriented trade union federation, as an effort of the party to organize the working class.<sup>34</sup> Both the CGTP and the PSP were involved in an active internationalism, and participated in Communist International-sponsored meetings. In addition, Mariátegui organized communist cells all over Peru.<sup>35</sup>

The exact extent and complete nature of Mariátegui's organizational activities are not entirely clear, but his activities were enough of a threat to the security of the Peruvian state that twice the Leguía dictatorship arrested and imprisoned Mariátegui, although he was never convicted of any crime. The first arrest came in 1924 for his alleged subversive activity at the González Prada Popular University. There was an immediate and strong international reaction against his arrest, and he was soon released. The Leguía dictatorship arrested Mariátegui for a second time in 1927 and charged him with involvement in a communist plot. He was detained for only six days at a military hospital, but he continued to be a victim of police harassment and surveillance. In September of 1929, Mariátegui's working-class periodical *Labor* was shut down, and in November of the same year the police raided his house and "kidnapped" him and his family for three days. Mariátegui rejected the validity of the charges and claimed that they were politically motivated. "Naturally, they speak of a communist conspiracy," Mariátegui wrote to a friend. Mariátegui had published articles in

both *Amauta* and *Labor* which were critical of the exploitative labor practices and the lack of safety measures at Cerro de Pasco, a United States-owned copper mine, and the Peruvian government feared that Mariátegui was "defending and inciting the workers to resistance." His support for the miners' organizational struggles and ensuing strike action alarmed the North American corporation and the Peruvian government, which did not want to alienate powerful foreign economic interests.<sup>36</sup>

### **Mariátegui's National Marxist Theory**

Mariátegui did not elaborate on his conception of an ideal state structure, nor did he expound on the tactics necessary to establish such a state. Although he sought to organize a legal political party, he was critical of European socialists who engaged in parliamentary politics. He cautioned against attempts to grab power militarily, but he was willing also to use violence to achieve his aims should the need arise. In polemical arguments with Peruvian Aprista leader Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre, Mariátegui contended that the orthodox Marxist assumption that a bourgeois democratic revolution had to precede a socialist revolution was invalid in Latin America. Rather than building an alliance between workers and the national bourgeoisie, Mariátegui believed that a revolutionary vanguard would lead a unified working class, peasant, and indigenous proletariat toward a socialist revolution. To this end, he formed the Peruvian Socialist Party as a Leninist vanguard party, but he did not expect these organizational efforts to bear immediate results. It would take time for the peasant and working classes to gain power. The Peruvian emphasized that the revolution must emerge from the efforts of the masses as a democratic (though not necessarily electoral) process. A vanguard leadership which was distant and aloof from the proletariat would inevitably fail. Mariátegui saw the inherent danger in dogmatically applying strategies to a national situation, and he believed that specific tactics would have to be adapted to a changing cultural context. This fluid application of political strategies to the reality of the Peruvian political situation is a witness to his ability to work freely and openly with his Marxist ideas.

Mariátegui freely employed a Marxist materialism, which depicted history as moving through a series of stages: from a

communal or tribal society through feudalism and capitalism on the way to a communist society. Mariátegui understood that Peruvian society had its roots in the ancient communism of the Inca empire. The Spanish conquest of the sixteenth century introduced a feudal order into Peru. After independence from Spain in the nineteenth century, northern European economic inroads along the coast introduced capitalism into the country. Mariátegui did not believe, however, that Peru had been completely integrated into a capitalistic system. Rather, Mariátegui concluded, Peru had evolved into a very backward situation with the simultaneous existence of three different economies. Remnants of the Inca communal economy still existed in the Andes, while feudalistic remains from the colonial era persisted in the land-holding patterns, and a bourgeois economy was growing along the coast. Peru's economy continued to be underdeveloped and export oriented with an unhealthy dependency on the international capitalist market. Mariátegui looked for a solution to move Peruvian society to Marx's fourth, and final, stage of communism. To do this, Mariátegui believed that Peru needed to break its dependency on foreign capital, orient production toward the internal development of the country, and incorporate the isolated indigenous population into Peru's national culture.

While Mariátegui began with a Marxist class analysis of Peruvian society, his genius can be found in his ability to work out the implications of this for his own reality. He emphasized a nationalist, anti-imperialist, agrarian-based revolution. Mariátegui insisted that a revolutionary movement's actions be rooted in "the concrete circumstances of a country."<sup>37</sup> Marxism was not "a body of principles which can be rigidly applied the same way in all historical climates and all social latitudes." Rather, Mariátegui argued, "Marxism, in each country, for each people, works and acts on the situation, on the milieu, without overlooking any of its realities."<sup>38</sup> Mariátegui blended his European experiences and his knowledge of European philosophers such as Antonio Gramsci and Georges Sorel with his Peruvian reality in order to create what has become known as a national Marxism. He drew on European Marxist voluntarists who emphasized the role of human actors in moving society and combined their views with elements of Peruvian indigenismo thought in order to create a new and flexible Marxist methodology for Latin America. His Marxism was not nationalistic in the sense of a narrow, patriotic, parochial, or isolated world view.

Indeed, Mariátegui was an active internationalist who expressed solidarity with revolutionaries throughout Latin America. He developed theoretical methods that were directly suitable and applicable to the specific Peruvian situation in which he lived and, by extension, to Latin America in general. Thus, he began a new strand of political thought which has had implications for subsequent social movements throughout Latin America.

A central issue in Mariátegui's thought is the interplay between objective and subjective factors. Marx's early writings, which reflected the need for a blend of these two elements, were unknown until the 1930s, and Marx's immediate successors tended to emphasize the economic determinism in his thought.<sup>39</sup> These orthodox Marxists believed that specific objective conditions (an advanced, industrialized capitalist state with a large, proletarianized working class) needed to be achieved before a socialist revolution could occur. Mariátegui rejected the deterministic historical materialist view that these objective conditions alone could create a revolutionary class consciousness which would lead to socialism. He considered these deterministic interpretations of Marx's thought to be a product of the mechanistic mentality of the nineteenth century which was incompatible with the modern world. "Marxism," Mariátegui wrote in an essay on Marxist determinism, "where it has shown itself to be revolutionary—that is to say wherever it has been Marxist—has never observed a passive, rigid determinism."<sup>40</sup>

Mariátegui understood that the objective conditions of the Peruvian peasant and indigenous masses, which made up the bulk of the Peruvian population, were not the same as those of the nineteenth-century European industrialized working class. He recognized that the Peruvian peasants' impoverished and exploited situation was not enough for them to develop a class consciousness. Mariátegui sought to blend his understanding of their objective economic condition with subjective factors which would heighten their class and racial awareness. Rather than simply relying on (nonexistent) economic factors to move the masses to revolutionary action, Mariátegui emphasized the power of Marxist education and political organization to "spark the revolutionary consciousness that would accelerate the socialist revolution, and thus help to compensate for the underdeveloped nature of the nation."<sup>41</sup> Mariátegui believed that Marx understood that the spiritual and intellectual preparation of the proletariat was a necessary precondition for a

social revolution.<sup>42</sup> The result was a "dialectic interrelation between objective and subjective conditions" which stressed "the importance of voluntaristic human action."<sup>43</sup>

The most well-known proponent of this nationalistic approach to Marxism was Lenin, who adapted Marxist teaching to what he understood to be the historical reality in Russia. Lenin provided Mariátegui with a historical precedent for a creative and flexible adaptation of Marxism to a specific national reality which relied on subjective rather than objective conditions to foment a social revolution. "We do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable," Lenin wrote. "On the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists *must* develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life."<sup>44</sup> It was not enough to wait for the proper, objective economic conditions to move a society into revolution; rather, he warned of the dangers of reliance on such a mechanistic approach. In the organization of a revolutionary vanguard for the Bolshevik revolution, Lenin stressed the importance of the consciousness and initiative on the part of the revolutionary leaders.<sup>45</sup>

Like Lenin in Russia, Mariátegui recognized that Peru in the 1920s had little in common with the situation in nineteenth-century industrialized Europe which Marx addressed. Mariátegui admired Lenin's methods and he claimed that Lenin was "unquestionably the most energetic and profound restorer of Marxist thought" of his era. Furthermore, he considered the Russian Revolution to be the dominant occurrence of contemporary socialism.<sup>46</sup> Mariátegui's Leninist orientation is seen most clearly in the founding principles of the Peruvian Socialist Party which he drafted in October of 1928. "The praxis of Marxist socialism in this period," Mariátegui wrote, "is that of Marxist-Leninism. Marxist-Leninism is the revolutionary method for the age of imperialism," and he adopted it as his "method of struggle."<sup>47</sup> In one of Mariátegui's more doctrinaire statements, he claimed that the Socialist Party would adapt its praxis to the concrete circumstances of the country, but it still would be subordinate to the rhythm of world history.<sup>48</sup> For Mariátegui, Marxist-Leninism provided the framework for analysis and revolutionary action, but it had to be adapted to the specific conditions of particular countries.<sup>49</sup>

The Italian Marxist Gramsci was also an important influence on Mariátegui's understanding of a creative, nondeterministic Marxism. Although they were born on different continents, there is a certain parallel between the lives of Gramsci and Mariátegui. Gramsci was three years older than Mariátegui, but both died at a relatively young age. Both grew up in single-parent households, both had to begin working at a young age, both suffered from tuberculosis and lived sickly lives, both married foreigners (Gramsci married a Russian and Mariátegui an Italian), and both were journalists who became deeply involved in politics and made significant contributions to Marxist thought.<sup>50</sup> Mariátegui died long before Gramsci's collection of writings were widely published or before his thought became popular outside of Italy, but Mariátegui, along with his comrade Falcón, heard and probably met Gramsci at the 1921 Congress of Livorno at which leftists formed the Italian Communist Party.<sup>51</sup> Mariátegui read Gramsci's communist paper *L'Ordine Nuovo* and later patterned his journal *Amauta* after Gramsci's ideas. Mariátegui considered Gramsci to be one of the most notable intellectuals of the Italian Communist Party and would refer to him in articles on contemporary Italian politics.<sup>52</sup>

More important than the parallels between Gramsci's and Mariátegui's lives, however, are the similarities between their thought and philosophy. Both wrote on similar topics, such as the negative impact of Taylorism and Fordism on society.<sup>53</sup> Both thinkers were intellectuals who were not completely comfortable with the intellectual world. Gramsci, as was true of Mariátegui, believed that his "entire intellectual formation was of a polemical nature," and it was impossible for him to think "disinterestedly" or to study for the sake of studying.<sup>54</sup> Mariátegui believed that Gramsci and the group *Ordine Nuovo* presented ideas which were a significant contribution to an understanding of the myth of the new generation.<sup>55</sup> "A knowledge of Gramsci," Rafael Roncagliolo wrote in an article on the Italian, "will always provide a more complete understanding of Mariátegui."<sup>56</sup> In particular, Roncagliolo emphasized the parallels in the Italian's and Peruvian's thought on the role of nationalism and the bourgeoisie in their particular national settings. Robert Paris has pursued these commonalities between the two thinkers further than any other scholar. He demonstrated that Mariátegui's rejection of a pessimistic determinism in favor of a voluntary activism had its roots in

Gramsci's philosophy. In addition, he showed how both of their nondogmatic political philosophies had common intellectual roots in the thought of Sorel, Croce, and Piero Gobetti.<sup>57</sup> César Lévano has also argued that these parallels in thought were not a strange coincidence, but the natural result of two brilliant and creative thinkers attempting to apply class doctrines to fundamentally agrarian cultures.<sup>58</sup>

The various scholars who have commented on these parallels between Gramsci and Mariátegui have both accredited Mariátegui with introducing the Italian's thought into Latin America and have considered Mariátegui to be Latin America's first Gramscist. Although Mariátegui was an important conduit in introducing Gramsci's thought into Latin America and many of Gramsci's ideas strongly influenced Mariátegui's own understanding of indigenous forms of Marxism in Latin America, the influences between the two men's thought is more complex than that. José Aricó, while acknowledging Gramsci's influence on Mariátegui, argued that more significantly the widespread distribution of Gramsci's works in the 1960s, especially the *Prison Notebooks*, created conditions which led to the rediscovery of Mariátegui's thought in Latin America.<sup>59</sup> Long after both thinkers were dead, their writings continued to influence interpretations of each other's thought.

Both Gramsci and Mariátegui followed a dynamic, voluntarist line of Marxist thought which stressed the role of human actors in history. Changing the economic base was not enough to move a society toward a social revolution; it was necessary to engage in the political education of the proletariat which would lead to a class struggle. Gramsci rejected the strong current of dialectical materialism in orthodox Marxism in favor of concentrating on the importance of cultural factors in contributing to historical change.<sup>60</sup> He developed a nonmechanical, voluntaristic philosophy which "rehabilitated the subjective, creative side of Marxist thought."<sup>61</sup> Rather than economic factors, Gramsci looked to ideology as a driving force in history. He saw Marxism as a philosophy of praxis (a combination of theory and practice) that concentrated on philosophy and political theory but yet was concerned with spiritual and cultural problems. Gramsci's "emphasis on intellectual and cultural influences rather than on purely economic ones" influenced Mariátegui's attitude on the relationships among art, literature, culture, and revolutionary political action.<sup>62</sup> For both Gramsci and

Mariátegui, the study of culture interested them more than a dry economic analysis of the world.<sup>63</sup> Marx, Mariátegui later wrote, had "initiated this type of man of action and thought" which employed a cultural analysis.<sup>64</sup> Mariátegui believed that Gramsci's philosophy of praxis was solidly within the revolutionary tradition Marx originated. Gramsci sought to develop a historical analysis that unified objective and subjective factors with the goal of understanding "the political means necessary to overthrow . . . the socio-economic relations of capitalist society."<sup>65</sup> This formulation influenced Mariátegui's view "that good revolutionary praxis be based on the careful application of Marxism to the concrete reality of different nations rather than general directives [of the Communist International] that might have little to do with local conditions."<sup>66</sup> Robert Paris has noted that one of the main questions Marxists in Latin America and elsewhere had to face was "what is the 'proletariat' in a country without a proletariat?"<sup>67</sup> In Italy, Gramsci responded by including Italian peasants as part of a revolutionary movement, a consideration which may have led Mariátegui to do likewise in his native Peru.<sup>68</sup> In addition, Gramsci's emphasis on worker consciousness and the Ordine Nuovo and Turin Factory Council movement in Italy had a certain effect on the organizational structure of Mariátegui's trade union federation CGTP. Both Gramsci and Mariátegui struggled to construct an independent Marxism rooted in their own historical realities.

The Peruvian Marxist writer Alberto Flores Galindo has observed that Mariátegui shared a common intellectual environment with Gramsci, and that Georges Sorel was one of the most important common influences on their thought.<sup>69</sup> Sorel was an early twentieth-century French philosopher whose 1906 book *Reflections on Violence* rejected reform movements and triumphed the potential of revolutionary syndicalism. Sorel wrote of a mythical general strike which would empower and mobilize the working-class proletariat to engage in class warfare that would destroy capitalism. Sorel was less interested in constructing a coherent and consistent ideological structure than in working at the political mobilization of the masses, and the result was therefore one of the most serious and original critiques of Marxism.

Gramsci used Sorel's idea of a revolutionary myth as the basis for his examination of a Machiavellian "Modern Prince" which could break society out of the hegemonic control of the elite

capitalist classes. He called Sorel an "inventor" in the field of historical research who "does not place at the service of his aspiring disciples a method that can be applied mechanically, always and by everyone, and result in intelligent discoveries."<sup>70</sup> True revolutionaries would analyze their own historical realities and develop strategies appropriate to their own situations. Together with Croce, the Italian idealist philosopher, Sorel rejected economic and historical deterministic interpretations of Marxism. Both Sorel and Croce disagreed with socialists who saw science as a "mill into which problems are poured and from which solutions come out."<sup>71</sup> Both were hesitant to accept the view that social science could solve societal problems. Sorel, however, went beyond Croce's voluntarism to consider the sentimental and nonrational aspects of Marxist thought. Intellectual historian Henry Stuart Hughes has observed that in the Europe of his time, Sorel "alone saw a positive value for human understanding in an entanglement of 'objective' and emotional elements."<sup>72</sup> For Mariátegui, Sorel represented a return to the dynamic and revolutionary conception of Marx.<sup>73</sup> Mariátegui scholar José Aricó has argued that Mariátegui's time in Italy was crucial to the formation of his antieconomic and antidogmatic Marxism. "Mariátegui read Marx through the filter of Italian historicism," Aricó argued, and the result is the strong influence of Croce's, Sorel's, and Gramsci's idealism in his thought.<sup>74</sup>

Sorel criticized rationalism and positivism but was fascinated by the energy, faith, and moral strength that had been provided by religious conviction for movements in history. He looked at Catholics who "have never been discouraged even in the hardest trials," because these trials "must finally end in the victory of Catholicism."<sup>75</sup> Sorel quoted church historian Ernest Renan who said, "people died for *opinions*, not for *certitudes*, because they believe and not because they know."<sup>76</sup> People, Sorel observed, "who are participating in a great social movement always picture their coming action as a battle in which their cause is certain to triumph."<sup>77</sup> Similarly, Sorel pointed to the necessity of a revolutionary myth to fight the effects of cynicism and rationalism. "As long as there are no myths accepted by the masses," Sorel wrote, "one may go on talking of revolts indefinitely, without ever provoking any revolutionary movement."<sup>78</sup> A revolutionary consciousness has both rational and nonrational components. The rational component arises from a careful, concrete analysis of a

particular historical situation which demonstrates the need for a social revolution. But the nonrational can provide a much more powerful motivation for revolutionary actions and can be more crucial to the success of a social revolution. The nonrational involves faith that a social revolution is not only possible, but also desirable, necessary, and imminent. According to C. Fred Judson, a Cuban scholar, it involves "emotional identification with the cause of social revolution, and a belief that social regeneration will be made possible by insurrection and revolution."<sup>79</sup>

Sorel influenced Mariátegui's view of the role of the unconscious and the nonrational in human behavior.<sup>80</sup> In his effort to move society toward a social revolution, Mariátegui focused "on the role of human consciousness as a reflection of history and as a crucial force in shaping history."<sup>81</sup> He emphasized subjective factors, the intellectual and emotional forces which have a leading role in the making of revolutions.<sup>82</sup> Mariátegui believed that a cold, conceptual analysis was not enough to bring about a revolution. "More than an idea, the revolution is a sentiment," Mariátegui wrote in *La escena contemporánea*. "More than a concept, it is a passion."<sup>83</sup> Like Sorel, Mariátegui believed that a social revolution could not be left to the forces of history; there was a need for the spiritual and intellectual preparation of the proletariat.<sup>84</sup> He criticized his contemporary bourgeois civilization for its skepticism and for its lack of a myth, of a faith, of a hope. The bourgeoisie were trapped by a rationalism which "has had the effective paradox of leading humanity to the disconsolate conviction that Reason can show it no path. Rationalism has served only to discredit Reason." Furthermore, Mariátegui stated, "Reason has eradicated from the soul of bourgeois civilization any residue of its ancient myths." As a result, the bourgeoisie relied on reason and science, neither of which could satisfy people's deepest needs. "Reason and Science," Mariátegui wrote, "have corroded and dissolved the prestige of the ancient religions."<sup>85</sup>

Unlike the bourgeoisie, The proletariat has a myth: the social revolution.<sup>86</sup> Mariátegui argued that people are metaphysical animals who are moved to action by the spiritual and ethical dimensions of a myth. "Without a myth," Mariátegui argued, "the existence of man does not have any historical meaning." Mariátegui concluded that only the myth possesses the precious virtue of filling the profound "I."<sup>87</sup> Therefore, Mariátegui began to turn away

from a scientific socialism in favor of a more subjective cultural interpretation of Marxism. "The strength of revolutionaries is not in their science," Mariátegui wrote, "it is in their faith, in their passion, in their will. It is a religious, mystical, spiritual force. It is the force of the Myth. The revolutionary emotion is a religious emotion."<sup>88</sup> The result, one scholar observed, was that "the revolutionary Marxists were united in the pursuit of the common goal—socialism—and they now possessed the messianic fervor of the early Christian Church."<sup>89</sup> Mariátegui's socialism must be understood in the context of Andean utopianism and millenarian movements which have driven many revolts in the region, but he was not interested in an abstract or unreal messianic millennium which will never arrive.<sup>90</sup> The emotions which Tupac Amaru and other struggles invoked appealed to him, but these emotions must lead to concrete action. Like Sorel, Mariátegui was concerned not only with the utopian dream but also with the redeeming quality of a class struggle. They believed in the power of an illusionary final struggle to transform humanity. This gave the Marxist class struggle a dimension and a faith normally not found in Marxism. For Mariátegui, the irony was that "the same [Marxist] philosophy that teaches us the need for a myth and faith, is generally incapable of understanding the faith and the myth of the new times."<sup>91</sup>

This subjective approach to Marxist theory has significant importance for the organizational efforts for a social revolution. For Sorel, "the real question was to understand what actually moved men to become actors in the great events of history."<sup>92</sup> Proceeding from a classical Marxist approach, Sorel used class conflict to foment a general strike which would engender "in the proletariat the noblest, deepest, and most moving sentiments that they possess."<sup>93</sup> Sorel stressed action; the myths are not descriptions of things, but expressions of a determination to act.<sup>94</sup> Likewise, Mariátegui did not believe that the proletariat should wait passively for the proper objective conditions under which to act. Rather, he analyzed his historical situation in order to develop an appropriate plan to educate and organize the masses into a revolutionary movement and to create a revolutionary situation. "The proletariat is not a spectator," Mariátegui declared, "but an actor."<sup>95</sup> Both Sorel and Mariátegui broke away from a Marxist determinism in order to restore myth to Marxism.<sup>96</sup>

Mariátegui thus joined European Marxist revisionists of his era in a shift of the central emphasis of Marxism from economics to the moral and cultural aspects of life in society.<sup>97</sup> He repudiated "the stale, economistic interpretations of Marx that reduced the struggle for socialism to a series of economic struggles for higher wages and better working conditions."<sup>98</sup> Mariátegui concurred with French socialist Henri Barbusse's criticism of those Marxists who "tend to transform economic or historical materialism into pure and simple materialism, and who consider 'dogmatic objectivism' as a machine whose wheels move outside of all personal influence."<sup>99</sup> Mariátegui emphasized the role of human actors in moving society toward revolutionary changes. He argued that although this voluntary character of Marxism is not always understood by its critics, it is not less evident than its deterministic aspects. "Every word, every act of Marxism," Mariátegui concluded, "has an accent of faith, of voluntarism, of heroic and creative conviction; it would be absurd to look for its drive in a mediocre and passive deterministic sentiment."<sup>100</sup>

As noted earlier, Mariátegui was never content to leave his beliefs solely on the level of abstractions. He was personally and immediately involved in many of the pressing issues of his day. Many of these issues were not unique to Peru in the 1920s, and his thoughts on indigenismo, the peasantry, religion, and internationalism continue to have relevance and importance throughout Latin America. Through an examination of his thoughts on these subjects, it becomes evident that Mariátegui has performed a crucial role in the development of revolutionary theory in Latin America in the twentieth century.

### **Indigenismo and the Peasantry**

Mariátegui was part of the Peruvian indigenismo movement of the 1920s and 1930s which extolled the virtues of the ancient Inca civilization and sought to integrate its descendants into Peruvian life. He idealized the socialist attributes of the Inca empire and stressed that the Incas, who lived in material comfort with abundant food, were happy and content with their lives.<sup>101</sup> Their material gains had been destroyed by the Spanish conquest, and the feudal legacy of Spanish colonialism meant the ongoing exploitation of the indigenous masses. Mariátegui analyzed their alienation from a

Marxist economic point of view. "The problem of the Indian is rooted in the land tenure system of our economy," he argued, and this feudalistic system would have to be changed to result in any lasting change.<sup>102</sup> He pointed to the highly developed and harmonious communistic system of the Incas as a model for a new societal order. The result would not be a simple dogmatic copy of European socialism, but an "indo-american socialism" which would grow out of the Peruvian culture and language.<sup>103</sup> The significance of the indigenismo movement spread far beyond Mariátegui's native Peru as it became a vital part of the Bolivian, Guatemalan, and Mexican revolutions, as well as an integral part of Peru's national ethos.<sup>104</sup>

Peru did not have a large working class, but Mariátegui believed in the revolutionary potential of the indigenous and peasant masses. The rural communities could complement and even replace the historic role which Marxism traditionally gave to the urban working class. Mariátegui stressed the importance of a unified worker-peasant alliance and he addressed declarations of the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers (the CGTP) "to the workers and peasants of the nation so that they would respond to their historic class calling."<sup>105</sup> Agrarian concerns were a common topic of Mariátegui's writings, and he dedicated a section in both *Amauta* and in the working-class periodical *Labor* to the issues facing agricultural workers in Peru. Significantly, he entitled the section in *Labor* "El Ayllu" after the rural communities which had formed the base for Andean social structure for thousands of years and as a homage to Peru's native agrarianism.<sup>106</sup> Mariátegui believed that the fate of the peasantry and indigenous masses was intertwined and often emphasized the common concerns of both groups. The themes he advanced in these columns were an elaboration on the agrarian themes he had introduced in the book *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*. Mariátegui believed that the issues which he raised in the column were relevant not only for poor and exploited peasants and sharecroppers, but also for the indigenous communities and others victimized by Peru's landholding system. Ultimately the peasant and indigenous masses, which comprised 80 percent of the Peruvian population, had a major role to play in any solution to Peru's problems.

Mariátegui presented a paper to the first Latin American Communist Conference held in Buenos Aires in 1929 which contradicted the Communist International's position of calling for the

formation of an independent indigenous republic in South America. The Communist International's leadership envisioned carving a separate state of the Quechua and Aymara people out of the Andean Highlands. Their underestimation of the level of state formation which had already taken place in Latin America, together with the misapplication of the "National Question" as formulated in Europe and the Soviet Union to the region led to this policy which Mariátegui rejected as irrelevant and unworkable in Latin America. Although the establishment of such autonomous republics might work elsewhere, he believed that in Peru such a policy was the result of not understanding the socioeconomic situation of the indigenous masses. Not only would European solutions not work in Latin America, but even the question of race was not the same in all Latin American countries and therefore new solutions would have to be worked out for different places within Latin America.<sup>107</sup>

Fundamental to this polemic with the Communist International is whether class or race determined the impoverished condition of the indigenous population. Mariátegui definitely saw the problem as one of class. The establishment of an autonomous state would not lead "to a dictatorship of the Indian proletariat, much less to the formation of an Indian state without classes as some have argued, but rather to the establishment of an bourgeois Indian state with all of the internal and external contradictions of any bourgeois state."<sup>108</sup> Such a move would not solve anything. It was not because of their race but because of their feudal economic situation that the indigenous people were oppressed. "The problem of the indigenous," Mariátegui wrote, placing the problem in very concrete material terms, "is a problem of land."<sup>109</sup> Only a class-based revolutionary movement could lead to their liberation and the end of exploitation. Mariátegui believed that once the indigenous population was introduced to a revolutionary consciousness, it would be unequalled in its struggle for socialism.<sup>110</sup>

Mariátegui pursued these issues further in his essay "The Problem of the Indian" published in his best-known book, *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*. He wrote that "socialism has taught us how to present the problem of the Indian in new terms. We have ceased to consider it abstractly as an ethnic or moral problem and we now recognize it concretely as a social, economic,

and political problem."<sup>111</sup> Mariátegui criticized various strategies that others had employed to improve the status of the indigenous people, including humanitarian campaigns, administrative policies, legal reforms, ethnic crossing with whites, moral appeals to conscience, religious conversions, and education.<sup>112</sup> He concluded that the solution to indigenous impoverishment could not be found in individual actions nor in the actions of outsiders who intervened on their behalf looking for way to redeem a "backwards" race. Rather, their problems were rooted in the nature of the land tenure system, and only through fundamental economic change and land reform would social change take place.

Mariátegui envisioned the establishment of an "Indo-American" socialism in Peru which would be based on the ancient communal values of the Inca empire. He believed that if the *ayllus*, the ancient communal social structure which formed the base of the Inca empire and which still existed in the Andes, were to be integrated into the national economy, they would form a natural base for a modern Peruvian socialism.<sup>113</sup> Furthermore, Mariátegui believed that the basis for Peruvian socialism needed to be an agrarian policy which emphasized a nationalization of the land oriented toward the concrete needs and conditions of the country's economy.<sup>114</sup> He considered Article 27 of the 1917 Mexican Constitution (which subjected land usage to national needs) to be a model for the agrarian reform he wished to see implemented in Peru. The Peruvian believed that in order to break out of the monocultural export economy which had turned Peru into a neocolony for a world capitalist market, socialism needed to break up the large neofeudal estates which still existed in Peru. He looked to the existing *ayllus* as a solution to this problem. Through a combination of socialism and indigenous communal land values, land (and power) could be given to the masses.

Marxism has traditionally viewed the peasants as a conservative and reactionary class which was incapable of leading a social revolution. In "The Communist Manifesto," Marx maintained that the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The peasants are "not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history."<sup>115</sup> Under Stalin, the Communist International urged Latin American communist parties to organize an urban proletariat and to downplay the role of the peasantry. In Buenos Aires, the Communist Interna-

tional censored Mariátegui for several of his "unorthodox" tenets, including his belief in the revolutionary potential of the indigenous and peasant masses of Peru. Peru in the 1920s (and much of present-day Latin America, for that matter) did not have a large industrialized working class, and Peru's economy was not a thoroughly capitalistic one. It would appear that Peru did not meet the basic objective economic conditions as laid out by Marx in order to progress on to the socialist stage of history. Mariátegui, however, believed that the Peruvian peasants, much like Marx's European industrialized working class, had experienced alienation from the ruling classes and were ready to throw off their oppressors. Mariátegui claimed that the hope of the Indian was absolutely revolutionary, and that the idea of the socialist revolution would move them to action.<sup>116</sup> He called on the Indian and peasant masses to respond to their important class role in history and to help organize a social revolution in Peru.<sup>117</sup> Mariátegui believed that in Latin America the peasants could move history directly from a peasant-based feudal economy to a socialist one.

Mariátegui was not alone in this belief, and history has demonstrated the revolutionary capabilities of peasants. Eric Wolf in his book *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* has examined how peasants have led societies to revolutionary change in Mexico, Russia, China, North Vietnam, Algeria, and Cuba.<sup>118</sup> In Latin America, successful revolutionary movements in both Nicaragua and Cuba have relied on the support of the peasants. Mariátegui's contribution to these movements was an interpretation of Marxism which incorporated peasants into the revolutionary struggle. He was part of a tradition that adapted the thoughts of Marx to the historical reality of a particular national situation. History has shown this flexible approach to be more likely to result in a revolutionary situation than one which rigidly adheres to the writings of Marx. Other revolutionaries also have engaged in such nondogmatic critiques of Marxist theory. In China, Mao Tse-Tung criticized a mechanistic materialism and other dogmatic approaches to Marxist theory, arguing instead that the revolutionary potential of Marxism grew out of a concrete analysis of specific historical conditions. Likewise, the African Marxist leader Amílcar Cabral once said that "we base our struggle on the concrete realities of our country . . . the liberation struggle has to be developed according to the specific conditions of each country."<sup>119</sup>

## Religion

Mariátegui's fresh application of Gramsci's and Sorel's voluntaristic and subjective ideas to Latin America also resulted in a new understanding of the role of religion in the revolutionary struggle. Unlike Marx, Mariátegui lived in a milieu in which the Catholic church still retained much of its economic and social power. This perhaps led him to write that "the revolutionary critic no longer disputes with religion and the church the services that they have rendered to humanity or their place in history."<sup>120</sup> Mariátegui saw religion as an inherent component of human society, and he "never considered a rejection of religion a necessary prerequisite for engaging in the social struggle."<sup>121</sup> He acknowledged the positive contributions that religion could make to a social revolution and he applauded the positive efforts of the Jesuits to improve the lot of the indigenous population.<sup>122</sup> Mariátegui did criticize priests who used religion to oppress the indigenous population,<sup>123</sup> but for the most part he considered the anticlericalism which had been prevalent among liberal reformers throughout Latin America during the nineteenth century to be "a liberal bourgeois pastime."<sup>124</sup> Mariátegui criticized these reformers, especially the great nineteenth-century Peruvian philosopher Manuel González Prada, for their antireligious attitudes and attempts to uproot religion without offering men a new ideal in its place.<sup>125</sup> "González Prada preached the passing of all religious beliefs without realizing that he himself was the bearer of a faith," Mariátegui wrote in his book *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*. Mariátegui argued for a new and broader definition of religion, for a revolution was always religious and communism is essentially religious.<sup>126</sup> This new religious expression was part of a revolutionary myth, and Mariátegui quoted Sorel, who wrote of an analogy "between religion and the revolutionary Socialism which aims at the apprenticeship, preparation, and even reconstruction of the individual."<sup>127</sup> Both Sorel and Mariátegui looked forward to a social revolution which would occupy people's conscience just as fully as the old religious myths.<sup>128</sup> In Marxism, Mariátegui found a faith which was not that of an other-worldly Catholicism, but one that was directly applicable to the present needs of the people.<sup>129</sup> Like Catholics who had found a source of strength in their religious

beliefs, the proletariat would be empowered by the myth of the revolution.<sup>130</sup>

Unlike many other Marxists, who rejected religion as the opiate of the people, Mariátegui never saw the need to distance himself from the religious beliefs that he had received from his mother. Scholars have presented several interpretations to explain this. Some see it as an action of respect for his devoutly Catholic mother, or as an attempt to remain at peace with his own conscience.<sup>131</sup> John Baines, in his political biography of Mariátegui, contended that Mariátegui's religious outlook was influenced by Miguel Unamuno's existential concept of an "agonic soul." Baines maintained that "Mariátegui's Marxism was not a formula for political action. It was a personal, religious-like code of ethics that enabled him to endure physical pain and psychological anguish."<sup>132</sup> Mariátegui's extensive political activities, however, clearly repudiate Baines's depiction of Mariátegui's Marxism as a form of escapist religion. His political theories did acquire a religious flavor, but in the sense of present-day liberation theology in which religion becomes a vehicle for political change. Indeed, one author has concluded that such a "synthesis of Marxism and Christianity . . . comes closer to reflecting the sentiments of many Latin Americans than the orthodox doctrines of either group."<sup>133</sup> Ultimately, Mariátegui's views on religion influenced the direction of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua, which freely welcomed Catholic priests and other religious actors into its struggle.

## **Internationalism**

Although Mariátegui stressed the importance of rooting a revolutionary struggle in national conditions, he did not ignore the significance of the international dimensions of the struggle. His writings and the journals which he published are a testimony to the constant contact which he had with international movements. Not only did he take an active interest in such varied issues as the direction of the Mexican revolution, the cause of workers in Bolivia's tin mines, and Sandino's guerrilla struggle against the United States Marines in Nicaragua, he also maintained contacts with revolutionaries and intellectuals in China, France, and the United States.<sup>134</sup> In 1929 he was elected, together with Sandino and the Mexican muralist Diego Rivera, to the General Council of

the International Anti-imperialist League. He was charged with organizing a section of this league in Peru, but he died before completing this task.<sup>135</sup> Mariátegui further expressed his anti-imperialist sentiments and concern with the semicolonial status of the Latin American republics in his thesis "Punto de vista anti-imperialista," which he wrote for the 1929 Latin American Communist Conference in Buenos Aires. He ended the thesis with the stirring statement that "we are anti-imperialists because we are Marxists, because we are revolutionaries . . . because in the struggle against foreign imperialism we fulfill our duty with the revolutionary masses of Europe."<sup>136</sup>

A lengthy catalog of progressive and vanguardist journals and newspapers in *Labor* further testifies to Mariátegui's contact with and firsthand knowledge of other leftists from around the world. This list includes Henri Barbusse's *Monde* from Paris, *The Nation* and *The New Republic* from New York, Joaquín García Monge's *Repertorio Americano* from Costa Rica, *Social* and *Revista de Avance* from Cuba, the American Anti-Imperialist League's *El Libertador* from Mexico, among many others.<sup>137</sup> An advertisement in the final issue of *Amauta* indicates that not only was his journal distributed in Peru and throughout Latin America (including Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Ecuador, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Cuba) but also in New York, Paris, Spain, and Melbourne.<sup>138</sup> On the second anniversary of the execution of the two famed anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in Boston, Mariátegui ran a special issue of *Labor* with sketches of their faces gracing the top of the first page. Ricardo Martínez de la Torre introduced this issue to the readers of *Labor* with the statement that the Peruvian proletariat was willing to intensify its international relations with the proletariat of the other American countries.<sup>139</sup> Mariátegui was clearly cognizant of the international dimensions of the class struggle which he sought to organize in Peru in the 1920s.

Mariátegui's relations with the international communist movement provide a good example of the application of his nonmechanical, nondeterministic approach to revolutionary theory. Mariátegui supported the Third International's call for support for the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and the fomentation of an international revolutionary working-class movement. Mariátegui's intellectual independence, however, did create a break with the

Communist International at the 1929 Latin American Communist Conference. The Communist International had ordered Mariátegui to form a communist party in Peru, but instead he had formed a socialist party. This was not a repudiation of the ideology of the Communist International but a decision in line with the Peruvian Socialist Party's statement that it would adapt its praxis to the concrete circumstances of the country.<sup>140</sup> Labor historian Victor Alba has used Mariátegui's original and creative approach to Latin American problems as an example of the direction that Marxist theory could have taken in Latin America had the Communist International not come to dominate it.<sup>141</sup> "Whether our party was called socialist or communist," Eudocio Ravines reported in his book *The Yenan Way*, it "would not alter in any way the character of the movement, nor change its doctrine or its program." Rather, the decision was made on the pragmatic basis that a party which carried the socialist label could be a legal one and would experience less police persecution than an illegal communist party.<sup>142</sup> Julio Portocarrero, Mariátegui's spokesperson at the Buenos Aires conference, clearly stated that the Peruvian Socialist Party was entirely committed to the ideology of the Communist International, and that it desired that the workers' movement in Peru carry the imprint of the Communist International.<sup>143</sup> The conference censured Mariátegui for his positions, but nevertheless the leaders of the Communist International admired Mariátegui. Gregory Zinoviev, the president of the Communist International, reportedly said, "Mariátegui has a brilliant mind; he is a true creator . . . he doesn't copy, he doesn't parrot what the Europeans say. What he creates is his own."<sup>144</sup>

Although the political party and labor confederation which he had helped to launch flourished, Mariátegui's health floundered. He had plans to move to Argentina in search of a better climate, both for his health and his political work, when he died on April 16, 1930. Ravines was named the secretary-general of the Peruvian Socialist Party shortly before Mariátegui's death. He had come to Peru from Moscow as an agent of the Communist International to help form a communist party in Peru and to bring it in line with Stalinist thought in the Soviet Union.<sup>145</sup> After Mariátegui's death, Ravines changed both the name and the direction of the Peruvian Socialist Party. He sought to eliminate Mariátegui's thought from the party and to terminate the Peruvians' independent direction

from the Third International.<sup>146</sup> Under Ravines's guidance, the newly formed Peruvian Communist Party (PCP) argued that a revolutionary situation existed in Peru, and it pushed for an insurrection. The result was disastrous, as Mariátegui's carefully constructed movement was quickly destroyed by official state repression. The military government banned the trade union federation CGTP and the PCP. While the PCP continued to exist underground as a clandestine organization, the CGTP was effectively destroyed.<sup>147</sup> After his death, the movement which Mariátegui had founded lost its vitality and its revolutionary potential. The destruction of this movement demonstrates both the failure of Stalinism to adapt its praxis to the Latin American political situation and the strength of Mariátegui's independent approach to Marxist theory in Latin America. Significantly, Ricardo Martínez de la Torre, a close associate and protégé of Mariátegui, left the Peruvian Communist Party because of philosophical differences with the direction that Moscow wanted to take the party.

Elements of Mariátegui's thought and his influence can be seen throughout Latin America. He is widely considered to be the first and most creative Latin American Marxist thinker, and activists from numerous countries' communist parties have noted the influence of *Amauta* and *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* on their intellectual development. Waldo Frank reported that from Cuba to Argentina the intellectual community revered Mariátegui as a "maestro," and that they read him, loved him, and followed him.<sup>148</sup> Mariátegui has had a significant impact on indigenismo, and this influence can be seen in the direction taken by the Mexican revolution, the MNR (Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario) government in Bolivia, and the revolutionary Jacobo Arbenz government in Guatemala.<sup>149</sup> Furthermore, his subjective approach to Marxism had an impact on guerrilla fighters such as Camilo Torres in Colombia and the FMLN (Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional) in El Salvador.

Two historical turning points in the study and interpretation of *mariateguismo* stand out. The first came in 1959 when Fidel Castro led a revolution which overthrew the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista in Cuba. In the 1950s, communist parties in Latin America had lost much of their vitality and revolutionary potential. The success of the Cuban revolution sparked a renewed interest in Marxism and the possibility of a socialist revolution throughout

Latin America. Part of this movement included a turning away from the stale, old communist vanguard and a search for new and creative interpretations of Marxism. A result was a new level of interest and research into the more subjective writings and ideas of thinkers such as Gramsci and Mariátegui. For example, Sheldon Liss in his work *Marxist Thought in Latin America* noted that after the Cuban revolution a generation of Venezuelan scholars showed an increased interest in Marxist thought and considered Mariátegui to be the father of Marxist thought in Latin America.<sup>150</sup>

The second significant historical occurrence for the study of mariateguismo came twenty years later in Nicaragua with the triumph of the Sandinista revolution. The Sandinistas not only used the heroic example of General Sandino standing up to the United States Marines who were militarily occupying his country in the 1920s, they also drew their intellectual strength from the history of an indigenous Latin American revolutionary theory. The roots of this tradition go back through the Cuban revolution and Sandino's struggle, to revolutionary thinkers from the 1920s such as Mariátegui. The Sandinistas found inspiration for their voluntarist, non-Stalinist interpretation and application of socialist theory in Mariátegui's thought. This tradition was not a transplant from Europe or the Soviet Union, but developed uniquely in Latin America to address issues and concerns that were purely Latin American. Thus, Marxist theory in Latin America developed in a way which broke radically with orthodox interpretations of Marx. *Sandinismo*, the fusion of nationalism and Marxist class analysis in Nicaragua, had an impact on this trend, most notably in the use of religion and the understanding of subjective factors in fomenting a revolutionary consciousness. Many of these themes found their first expression in Latin America in the writings of Mariátegui and were initially put into practice by Sandino in Nicaragua.

Mariátegui believed that the Latin American revolution would be a step toward a world socialist revolution. He used the adjectives "anti-imperialist," "agrarian," and "nationalist" to describe the nature of the revolutionary change he envisioned.<sup>151</sup> Significantly, these are the central tenets of revolutionary changes which have occurred in Latin America. Mariátegui stressed an activist approach to revolutionary theory; he foreshadowed Fidel Castro's claim that "the duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution . . . it is not for revolutionaries to sit in the doorways of their houses waiting

for the corpse of imperialism to pass by."<sup>152</sup> Mariátegui's legacy of a creative, flexible approach to Marxism has been handed down to subsequent revolutionary movements in Latin America. Mariátegui articulated a theoretical framework which gives meaning to the ideological issues that have driven two Sandinista uprisings in Nicaragua and the Cuban revolution. The success of these popular movements has demonstrated the strength of Mariátegui's approach to revolutionary struggle and the need to develop theoretical frameworks appropriate to local conditions. The struggles in Cuba and Nicaragua have added new dimensions to this understanding of an indigenous Latin American revolutionary Marxist theory.

## CUBA

In 1959 Castro led a small band of guerrillas to power in Cuba. These Cuban revolutionaries drew on a deep tradition of political radicalism in their country. Through an examination of this history, together with a study of political philosophers such as Mariátegui, the Cubans began to understand the potential for revolutionary change in their country even though the objective economic conditions as outlined by orthodox Marxism for a socialist revolution did not exist. Initially, the Cuban Communist Party denounced Castro's guerrilla army as "adventuresome" and encouraged Castro to wait for the proper economic conditions before acting. The success of the Cuban revolution, however, clearly demonstrated the strength of a developing indigenous Latin American revolutionary theory.

In the 1960s, Mariátegui's writings found fertile ground in Cuba. In an article originally published in 1967, Melis stated that in recent years Mariátegui's thought had been met with a renewed interest. Especially in Cuba where his thought had become particularly relevant to their political struggle, there was an increasingly intense discussion of Mariátegui's intellectual contributions to revolutionary theory in Latin America. His influence in Cuba, however, originated in the 1920s. Mariátegui was a true internationalist who not only discussed themes with international significance, he also published articles in vanguardist journals such as *Repertorio Americano* in Costa Rica and *Social* and *Revista de Avance* in Cuba. Through his written works, "Mariátegui spread an intense political and ideological activity, not only within the geographic limits of his native Peru but . . . throughout the entire continent. [He] enriched the revolutionary experience of our Latin American and Caribbean people." Mariátegui's Marxist journal *Amauta* "circulated in Cuba . . . and exerted a positive influence on the thought of [Cuban revolutionary leaders] Rubén Martínez Villena, Juan Marinello,

Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, Raúl Roa, and others" with whom he maintained contact.<sup>1</sup> Historically, therefore, Mariátegui played an important role in the Cuban understanding of a flexible approach to Marxist theory, and numerous Cuban writers have stressed Mariátegui's influence on the development of revolutionary thought in their country. The fruit of his influence was the first social revolution in America, the Cuban revolution.

### **Julio Antonio Mella**

The first traces of Mariátegui's influence in Cuba are evident in the thought and action of Julio Antonio Mella, the founder of the Cuban Communist Party. Mella was a student leader at the University of Havana in the 1920s and first came into contact with Mariátegui through reading his writings on the University Reform Movement, a student movement organized to gain a greater voice in university affairs. Mariátegui wrote that the student movement signaled the birth of a new generation of Latin Americans and that the desire for reform has identical characteristics in all Latin American universities.<sup>2</sup> This movement was triggered initially in 1918 in Córdoba, Argentina, by the success of the Mexican and Russian revolutions. It demanded autonomy for the university, the use of experimental and scientific methods of instruction, and an end to the practice of granting professors lifetime tenure. From its base in Argentina, the movement quickly spread throughout Latin America and became especially strong in Peru and Cuba. Both Mariátegui and Mella understood that the University Reform Movement was inseparably linked to national independence and movements for radical social and political change in their countries, and both rose to positions of leadership in the movement. They worked with student movements to create alliances with the working class and encourage new ideas rather than to inculcate those of the prevailing system.<sup>3</sup> In Peru, the University Reform Movement led to the establishment of the González Prada Popular University in 1921. This popular university was intended to link the student and working-class movements and to provide educational programs and social services to workers. When Mariátegui returned to Peru from Europe in 1923, he gave a series of lectures at this university, assumed the editorship of the university's journal *Claridad*, and wrote articles in defense of university reform.<sup>4</sup> In 1923 in Cuba,

Mella was instrumental in the formation of the José Martí Popular University, an effort which was patterned after the González Prada Popular University in Lima.<sup>5</sup>

The first documented contact between Mella and Mariátegui came in 1924 when Mariátegui was imprisoned for his alleged subversive activities at the González Prada Popular University in Lima. Mella, in the name of the José Martí Popular University in Havana, sent an open letter to the Peruvian government to protest the unjust treatment of Mariátegui, an influential Peruvian intellectual who was sent to prison for committing only the crime of thinking freely.<sup>6</sup> This was the first expression of international Latin American solidarity to come from this newly formed popular university.<sup>7</sup> Mariátegui's and Mella's common concerns went far beyond educational issues and the University Reform Movement. As Erasmo Dompierre has demonstrated, both also were involved actively in anti-imperialist struggles and in actions of international solidarity. In addition, both were interested in the role of nationalist sentiments and the peasantry in forming a revolutionary movement.<sup>8</sup>

In 1925, together with the Cuban communist Carlos Baliño, Mella founded the Cuban Communist Party and established the Cuban section of the Anti-Imperialist League of the Americas, an organization with which both Mariátegui and Sandino were affiliated. Mella advocated an active Pan-Americanist internationalism, and his activities with the Anti-Imperialist League included his opposition to the Peruvian dictator Augusto B. Leguía.<sup>9</sup> In his letter denouncing Leguía's imprisonment of Mariátegui, Mella contended that it was irrelevant that this matter appeared to be an issue of internal order in Peru. "In spite of the ridiculous borders," Mella wrote, "the transformed men of the continent will form a great nation. For this reason, an assault on one in Peru is an assault on all of Humanity."<sup>10</sup>

In 1927 the dictatorship of Gerardo Machado closed down the José Martí Popular University because of its anti-imperialist stance and attacks on the United States. Mella was forced to flee to Mexico where he became deeply involved in the Mexican Communist Party. He worked as the secretary-general of the Anti-Imperialist League in Mexico, and together with Diego Rivera he edited the League's newspaper *El Libertador*. From his position in the Anti-Imperialist League, Mella called on people throughout Latin America to oppose United States imperialism in Nicaragua

and to support Sandino's struggle against the United States Marines.<sup>11</sup> Mella also worked with Rivera on the anti-interventionist Hands-Off Nicaragua Committee which collected medical aid for Sandino and agitated for Nicaraguan independence and respect for Latin American sovereignty.<sup>12</sup> At one of these meetings in June of 1928, Mella stated that Sandino's guerrilla army was the "precursor of the revolutionary movement in all of Latin America against *yanqui* imperialism" as he called on workers everywhere to support the Nicaraguans in their struggle.<sup>13</sup>

On 10 January 1929, agents of the Cuban dictator Machado killed Mella. In Peru revolutionaries felt as if they had lost one of their own comrades. Mariátegui lamented Mella's assassination with emotional notes in both *Amauta* and *Labor*. In an obituary in *Amauta*, Mariátegui saluted with emotion the memory of the valiant comrade who was one of the true revolutionaries to come out of the ranks of the University Reform Movement.<sup>14</sup> In *Labor*, Mariátegui wrote that "the Latin American proletariat will always remember his name as one of its greatest combatants, the university youth [will remember him] as one of its most heroic leaders."<sup>15</sup> In a special May Day issue of *Labor*, Mella's portrait graced the front page along with a caption that said his life was a valiant tribute to the socialist revolution.<sup>16</sup>

After the Cuban revolution, the new government would stress the parallels between Mariátegui and Mella. Mella and Mariátegui helped found two of the first communist parties in Latin America, and both used their journalistic talents to fight for socialism and to educate workers on the nature of the class struggle. There was a great similarity of revolutionary thought and action between the two great pioneers of the struggle for the unity of the workers and people who defend common ideas and interests, the revolutionary government wrote in an essay on Mariátegui's influence on the Cuban revolution.<sup>17</sup> In her edited collection of Latin American Marxist writings, the Cuban journalist Mercedes Santos Moray emphasized similar parallels. "In this volume," Santos Moray wrote in the introduction, "we want to integrate the texts of Mella and Mariátegui." Both Mella and Mariátegui led their generation in Marxist-Leninist theory in Latin America and understood the imperative necessity for a substantive social transformation in education and cultural identity.<sup>18</sup> Santos Moray commended Mariátegui for his acute observations, his profound concepts, and

the quality of his expression, and called Mariátegui the master of his generation of Marxist-Leninist theorists noting that his writings influenced people across the entire continent of Latin America. Santos Moray also used the writings of Mariátegui and Mella to demonstrate the parallels between their thoughts on Pan-Americanism as a tool of United States imperialism versus its use as an expression of indigenous Latin American culture.<sup>19</sup> Mella stressed the need for Cubans to develop their own cultural identity in order to be free from exploitation. Liss has pointed out that because Cuba's indigenous population had been completely wiped out by the Spanish conquest, it was more difficult for Cubans to appeal to their indigenous past for revolutionary inspiration as Mariátegui had done in Peru. Mella was part of a movement that instead drew on Cuba's Spanish, African, and Chinese roots in order to develop its own sense of cultural identity.<sup>20</sup> Mella employed José Martí's anti-imperialist thought to bridge the gap between Cuban nationalism and internationalism.<sup>21</sup>

Like Mariátegui, Mella opposed Haya de la Torre's Aprista movement. In 1928, Mella wrote an article entitled "¿Qué es el ARPA?" in which he criticized APRA for being a populist and reformist movement which opposed class struggle and the construction of a socialist society. This article was reprinted in 1930 in the final two issues of *Amauta*.<sup>22</sup> Although this publication date followed the deaths of both Mella and Mariátegui, Mariátegui probably received the article from Mella, and Ricardo Martínez de la Torre (the new editor of *Amauta*) was most likely following through with Mariátegui's plans to publish it.<sup>23</sup> In "¿Qué es el ARPA?" Mella analyzed the 1928 presidential election in Nicaragua in much the same way as Mariátegui had done. Both the Liberal candidate Moncada and the Conservative Díaz were traitors, Mella argued, and only Sandino represented the interests of Nicaraguan sovereignty. "Those who do not support Sandino," Mella concluded, "are traitors to the interests of the oppressed classes in the continent."<sup>24</sup>

## Grupo Minorista

Mella, however, was not the only Cuban who Mariátegui influenced. Mella represents only the beginning of an extensive literary and intellectual relationship between Mariátegui and the Cuban

revolutionaries. Especially after Mella's exile from Cuba, the most important contacts which Mariátegui maintained in Cuba were with the Grupo Minorista, or Minority Group. This group, which flourished during the decade of the 1920s, was a collection of writers, artists and journalists who believed that an intellectual minority could create a revolutionary climate for social and political change in Cuba.<sup>25</sup> The Grupo Minorista emerged in 1923 as a vanguard movement with a political-social program and aspirations to renovate the arts in Cuba. Its actions ratified Mariátegui's analysis for the Cuban context.<sup>26</sup> Juan Marinello and Rubén Martínez Villena were two early socialist leaders in Cuba who were important founding members of the Grupo Minorista. Both Marinello and Martínez Villena, classmates at the University of Havana, worked with Mella on a variety of political projects including the University Reform Movement, the founding of the Cuban Communist Party, and the Anti-Imperialist League of the Americas. Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista assassinated Martínez Villena in 1934, but the latter's poetic vision of a socialist and anti-imperialist Cuba inspired later generations of revolutionaries, and he is seen as an important precursor of the Cuban revolution.

It was Mariátegui's contacts with Marinello, however, that left the most important and lasting legacy of the Peruvian's influence in Cuba. While Mella's major contribution to Cuban revolutionary theory was his introduction of a Marxist class analysis into Cuba, Marinello approached Marxism in a much more creative and innovative fashion. Like Mariátegui, Marinello had learned from Lenin the importance of flexibility and the ability to fit ideas to new situations.<sup>27</sup> Although Mariátegui and Marinello never had an opportunity to meet personally, through their exchange of letters they identified "their mutual concerns for the destiny of our America."<sup>28</sup> This correspondence gave Marinello an impression of Mariátegui's intense personality. Marinello became an avid reader of Mariátegui's works. "Mariátegui was without doubt," Marinello later claimed, "the most complete Marxist thinker to come out of Latin America." Mariátegui's creativity and the depth of his comprehensive and penetrating thoughts impressed Marinello, especially given his short life and the epoch in which he lived. "Mariátegui should be read," Marinello concluded, "by the youth throughout America."<sup>29</sup> After Mariátegui's death in 1930, Marinello continued to discuss the significance of Mariátegui's life

and writings. Marinello paid tribute to Mariátegui's memory in homages at the University of Santiago in Chile in 1939 and to the Peruvian Communist Party in 1946.<sup>30</sup> Marinello's writings attest to Mariátegui's ongoing influence in Cuba and throughout Latin America. At the Chilean conference, Marinello said that he was a student of Mariátegui's works and that he was loyal to Mariátegui's vision.<sup>31</sup>

The Cuban socialists regarded Mariátegui's ideas highly and incorporated numerous elements of his ideology into their own revolutionary struggles. Like Mariátegui, Marinello understood that the continued exploitation of Latin America's indigenous population was not due to their race. The problem was fundamentally one of imperialism and cheap labor; at the base it was a socioeconomic problem rooted in skewed land distribution patterns. To improve the lot of the indigenous population there would need to be an agrarian reform program.<sup>32</sup> This contention that Latin America's problems were rooted in economic and not racial relations became very influential in Cuba.<sup>33</sup> Mariátegui's greatest influence on the Grupo Minorista, however, was in the realm of literature and art. In her book on the Grupo Minorista, author Ana Cairo makes repeated references to Mariátegui's writings collected in *El artista y la época* and the influence that these writings had on the views and political beliefs of the Cuban *vanguardistas*.<sup>34</sup>

These exchanges between Mariátegui and the Cuban vanguardist movement can be seen especially in the relations between *Amauta* and periodicals such as *Social* and *Revista de Avance* which emerged out of the Grupo Minorista. Mariátegui's first contact with the group came in 1924 when Oliverio Girondo, an Argentine poet, wrote to Mariátegui from Mexico to introduce him to its principal actors. Girondo made special mention of Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, a historian, Martiano scholar, and literary director of the avant-garde journal *Social*. According to Girondo, *Social* was the only journal in Cuba at the time which published any interesting material.<sup>35</sup> C. W. Massaguer founded this journal in 1916, and its articles emphasized developments in literary movements, art, ideas, styles, and sports. Although its content was not overtly political, it did provide an important literary outlet for the Grupo Minorista.

The arrival in Cuba in 1925 of Mariátegui's first book, *La escena contemporánea*, represented the beginning of a long and

important exchange of written ideas between Mariátegui and the revolutionary leaders in Cuba. This book had an immediate impact on the intellectual landscape of the youth at the University of Havana, and the Grupo Minorista passed it among themselves in order to study Mariátegui's ideas.<sup>36</sup> According to Marinello, it was a new stage in the development of Latin American thought, and the Cubans sensed the lasting significance of Mariátegui's writings.<sup>37</sup> Roig de Leuchsenring was one of the first Cubans to receive a copy of this book, and he reprinted Mariátegui's article on the French writer Anatole France in *Social*. In his editorial introduction to this article, Roig de Leuchsenring noted that Mariátegui's book presented a clear and important analysis of the problems of their era.<sup>38</sup> The following year when Mariátegui began to publish *Amauta*, he sent Roig de Leuchsenring a sample issue and asked for an exchange between the Cuban and Peruvian vanguardist writers. To facilitate this exchange, Mariátegui sent along a manuscript to be published in *Social*.<sup>39</sup> Mariátegui's writings especially influenced Martínez Villena. Martínez Villena received a copy of *La escena contemporánea* from Roig de Leuchsenring and it "gave him a vivid and coherent view of the ensnarled world situation."<sup>40</sup> When the first issue of *Amauta* arrived in Cuba in 1926, Martínez Villena "leafed through it with feverish joy"; it was a journal which "challenged the leftist intellectual and political movements of our America." Its message was heard all over Latin America.<sup>41</sup> Martínez Villena used Mariátegui's *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* to support and to validate his own work and as a base for a specific analysis of the problems of his own country.<sup>42</sup>

Marinello, along with Grupo Minorista members Alejo Carpentier, Martí Casanovas, Francisco Ichaso, and Jorge Mañach, founded the journal *Revista de Avance* in 1927. This journal, which was more overtly political than *Social*, was both an avant-garde literary journal and a leftist vanguard journal. It was modeled after *Amauta* and called for political "movement, change, advance . . . and an absolute independence" for Cuba.<sup>43</sup> *Revista de Avance* provided a forum for the introduction of new ideas into Cuba, including historical and dialectical materialism, scientific socialism, and a sense of national identity.<sup>44</sup> *Revista de Avance* was actively involved in literary exchanges with Mariátegui. Shortly before he died, Mariátegui sent Marinello two essays and promised soon to send another one for publication.<sup>45</sup> *Revista de Avance* helped distribute

*Amauta* in Cuba and gave Cubans access to works by Peruvian authors. A bookstore named Minerva (the same name as Mariátegui's press, which published his books) ran advertisements in the journal for Mariátegui's *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* in addition to Luis E. Valcarcel's *Tempestad en los Andes* and Martínez de la Torre's *El movimiento obrero en 1919*, among other works.<sup>46</sup> One revolutionary leader from the 1920s later remembered that Mariátegui had sent fifteen copies of *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* to be sold through *Revista de Avance* in Cuba.<sup>47</sup> Mariátegui's books and *Amauta* were readily available in Cuba, and political radicals in that country were well versed in his thought.

In 1927 the Leguía dictatorship closed the journal *Amauta*, once again imprisoned Mariátegui for his supposed involvement in a "communist plot," and deported two of his coworkers to Cuba. The Grupo Minorista quickly responded with a cablegram to Leguía calling for the release of Mariátegui. Both *Social* and *Revista de Avance* printed statements which denounced Leguía's action. In a note entitled "Mariátegui, *Amauta*," Marinello sent his emphatic protest against those acts of the Peruvian dictator and a message of sympathy to the Lima journal and its valorous inspirer.<sup>48</sup> In reaction to this act of solidarity with the Peruvians, the Cuban government imprisoned several members of the Grupo Minorista, also on charges of a supposed involvement in a communist plot.<sup>49</sup> Governmental repression, however, could not destroy the organizational efforts of the Cubans and Peruvians. In a letter dated October of 1927 to Roig de Leuchsenring, Mariátegui thanked the Grupo Minorista for their efforts on his behalf to help gain his freedom. He announced his determination to proceed with the publication of *Amauta* and asked Roig de Leuchsenring to handle the distribution of this journal in Havana.<sup>50</sup> In December of 1927, *Amauta* resumed publication, and Mariátegui noted in the editorial "Segundo acto" that the journal had been "defended by the best spirits of Hispano-America" and thanked the Grupo Minorista for its support.<sup>51</sup> Mariátegui continued to send articles to *Social* on both literary topics and political questions. In August of 1927, *Social* printed Mariátegui's review of Henri Barbusse's book *Les Enchainements*.<sup>52</sup> Barbusse was an early influence on Mariátegui's understanding of a nondeterministic Marxism which stressed the subjective elements of a revolutionary faith and individual free will.

The Cubans looked to Mariátegui as an interpreter of European socialist thought for Latin American reality. Roig de Leuchsenring reviewed Mariátegui's *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* in *Social* and printed an excerpt from one of Mariátegui's essays on indigenismo in Peruvian literature. Mariátegui thanked Roig de Leuchsenring "for the kind words with which you have greeted in *Social* the appearance of my *7 Essays*," and sent him an article on Charlie Chaplin which Mariátegui planned to publish in *El alma matinal*.<sup>53</sup>

In 1928 Mariátegui entered into a brief polemic with *Revista de Avance* over the meaning of revolution and decadence in Spanish vanguard literature. Mariátegui had printed the poem "Oda al Bidet" by E. Giménez Caballero in *Amauta* and followed it with editorial comments which denounced the poem as "decadent frivolity" and as an example of the "dehumanization of art."<sup>54</sup> Apparently Mariátegui had reprinted this poem from the February 1928 issue of *Revista de Avance*, and the editors of this journal took Mariátegui's comments as an attack on their political views.<sup>55</sup> Mariátegui responded that no such attack was intended, and that he owed *Revista de Avance* the most cordial gratitude for its protest against the suspension of *Amauta* in 1927. "It is a journal definitely written into our affections," Mariátegui wrote.<sup>56</sup>

Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, one of the leading Marxist theorists in Cuba, also has attributed the beginning of his intellectual and political development to Mariátegui. Rodríguez first came in contact with Mariátegui's thought through Marinello's article "El Amauta José Carlos Mariátegui" in *Revista de Avance*. This led him to read Mariátegui's *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* and the 1934 Chilean edition of *Defensa del Marxismo*. Rodríguez said that the later was "a very badly presented edition, but it gave us the opportunity to become acquainted with other of Mariátegui's essays." Rodríguez was especially attracted to Mariátegui's open Marxism. "We tried to apply some of the forms of thought Mariátegui used to analyze his Peruvian reality to our country," Rodríguez said.<sup>57</sup> From Mariátegui he learned the necessity of combining theory and action into a revolutionary praxis which was directly applicable to his own historical situation. Rodríguez's thoughts helped bridge the gap between the generation of Castro and Guevara with earlier radical movements and introduced the value of Mariátegui's earlier teachings to the later Cuban revolu-

tionaries. He stressed the need for Cuba to follow a flexible, nondogmatic road to socialism. Like Mariátegui, his pursuit of an independent Marxism occasionally led him into conflict with the party line which emanated from Moscow.<sup>58</sup> "There is no doubt that Mariátegui influenced our entire generation," Rodríguez concluded.<sup>59</sup>

Raúl Roa was another Cuban who pointed to Mariátegui's writings as an important influence on the development of his revolutionary consciousness. Roa worked with the Cuban Communist Party with Mella and Marinello, and after the triumph of the revolution he worked in the foreign ministry of the new government. Roa shared Mariátegui's anti-imperialist politics and concern for Latin America's indigenous population. In addition, Roa learned from Mariátegui the role of the intellectual in the revolutionary process.<sup>60</sup> Roa, like Rodríguez, was an independent Marxist thinker in the tradition of Mariátegui who believed that revolutionary theory must take into account Cuba's historical situation. Like Mariátegui in the face of the Communist International in the 1920s, Roa sought to implement an ideology in Cuba independent of the Soviet Union. He criticized Soviet bureaucracy, its invasion of Hungary in 1956, and its rigid interpretations of Marxism. The Cuban revolutionary process would have to be adapted creatively to its own historic situation and not simply be a copy of the French, Mexican, or Russian revolutions.<sup>61</sup> Roa attested to the impact which Mariátegui's ideas had on Cuba. *Amauta* inspired "fruitful discussions within the Popular University and the Anti-Imperialist League," Roa said.<sup>62</sup> He reported that revolutionaries in the 1920s would take Mariátegui's works with them to prison where they would study his thought. In particular, Mariátegui's *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* showed them the way which they wanted to go in Cuba: that is, to apply the dialectic materialism with the concrete study of the reality of the people.<sup>63</sup> There was no other Marxist writer, Roa emphasized, who had such a vast influence in Latin America. According to Roa, Mariátegui was the first Latin American Marxist ideologue whose thought had broad, international implications. The death of this "brilliant Marxist ideologue and exceptional writer [was] a hard blow for the Latin American revolution."<sup>64</sup> Mariátegui helped Cuba discover its historic destiny. "The action, thought and writing of Mariátegui," Roa wrote, "left a deep impression on the Cuban

revolutionary intellectuals, artists and progressives of the era." He compared Mariátegui's impact on Cuban revolutionary thought to that of Mella and Martínez.<sup>65</sup> Marinello added that these leaders gave a new Marxist interpretation to the anti-imperialist struggle which led to the overthrow of imperialism in Cuba and the opening of a popular and national liberation movement. "The Cuban Revolution is the beginning of the Latin American revolution," Marinello wrote, and these early Marxist writers formed the basis of this struggle. Mariátegui, together with Mella, Aníbal Ponce, and Martínez Villena, presented a new and profound interpretation of the reality which they sought to transform.<sup>66</sup>

Although José Antonio Foncueva is not as well known as several of his contemporaries, he is a good example of the influence Mariátegui had on the youth of Cuba. Already at the age of fifteen, Foncueva was working with Mella in the Anti-Imperialist League of the Americas and the Cuban Communist Party. The next year he founded and edited the student revolutionary journal *El Estudiante*. Foncueva attempted to set up an exchange of ideas with Mariátegui, whom he considered to be his ideological mentor. "In Cuba," Foncueva wrote, "we love *Amauta* as if it were our own." He asked for an exchange between his journal *El Estudiante* and *Amauta*, and offered to help distribute *Amauta* in Cuba. Referring to Mariátegui's arrest and the closure of *Amauta* in 1927, Foncueva proudly pointed out that "*El Estudiante* was the first journal in Cuba to protest the arbitrary actions of the *civilismo* against the group of *Amauta*."<sup>67</sup> In his writings, Foncueva borrowed Mariátegui's ideas on art, indigenismo, and the Mexican revolution.<sup>68</sup> In addition, Foncueva applauded Mariátegui's original and intelligent ideas on the political, economic, and social problems of Peru in the historical state in which they lived.<sup>69</sup> In 1928 Foncueva sent Mariátegui an essay for publication in *Amauta* in which he analyzed José Martí's social thought and the significance of this ideology for his era.<sup>70</sup> Unfortunately, many of their letters were apparently intercepted by either the Peruvian or the Cuban police. The copies of *Amauta* sent to Foncueva were returned to Peru because of a circular from the Cuban secretary of communications ordering that the circulation of all revolutionary publications be prevented. To avoid such complications, Foncueva requested that the journal be sent to a different address without any markings of *Amauta* on the wrapper.<sup>71</sup> Foncueva died of tuberculosis at the age of twenty, ironically just a

few days after his mentor Mariátegui had died. In Cuba, the two deaths were linked in left-wing and literary journals. Both were seen as fighters for the oppressed and for a free and emancipated America, as Bolívar and Martí had dreamed.<sup>72</sup> Roig de Leuchsenring's journal *Social* called Foncueva's article in *Amauta* the most beautiful essay written on Martí.<sup>73</sup>

Although *Revista de Avance* was the most significant and long-lived Cuban vanguardist publication (it was published for four years from 1927 to 1930), Mariátegui also maintained contact with various other vanguardist journals and writers who emerged from the Grupo Minorista. One such contact was with the Cuban writer and journalist José Antonio Fernández de Castro. Fernández de Castro edited the Sunday literary supplement of the Cuban daily newspaper *Diario de la Marina*, and he used this outlet as an avenue to advance the ideas and literary views of the Grupo Minorista. In 1928, Mariátegui published one of Fernández de Castro's articles on the Mexican revolution in *Amauta*.<sup>74</sup> Tristán Marof, who had sent this article to *Amauta*, wrote an essay on Mariátegui for Fernández de Castro to publish in the literary supplement of *Diario de la Marina*.<sup>75</sup> Mariátegui's intellectual presence in Cuba is also evidenced in the articles which appeared in *América Libre*, an anti-imperialist journal which emerged out of the José Martí Popular University, and in *Atuei*, an Aprista journal modeled after the first incarnation of *Amauta* before Mariátegui broke with Haya de la Torre's multiclassist political views.<sup>76</sup> Further evidence of Mariátegui's close contact with Minorista developments in Cuba is the timely note in *Amauta* of the appearance in 1930 of the short-lived vanguardist journal *Revista de la Habana*.<sup>77</sup> When Mariátegui died shortly thereafter, Fernández de Castro wrote a short article on his life for this journal. Fernández de Castro called Mariátegui one of the most prestigious writers in all of Latin America and noted that his death was a loss for all of America.<sup>78</sup>

In addition to Fernández de Castro's note in *Revista de la Habana*, editorials in both *Social* and *Revista de Avance* give evidence that the Cubans mourned Mariátegui's death as if he were one of their own. *Social* declared that Mariátegui was "a teacher and a guide who showed to the intellectuals the vanguard stance which they, as men and citizens, are obligated to take."<sup>79</sup> *Revista de Avance* dedicated its June 1930 issue to Mariátegui's memory; in it the editors reflected on the importance of Mariátegui for Cuba

and Latin America. In an article entitled "El Amauta José Carlos Mariátegui," Marinello praised Mariátegui's profound understanding of the world, of art, and of politics. Marinello stated that Mariátegui's book *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* had a continent-wide significance for its analysis of economics and the indigenous population. Mariátegui defended the historic destiny of Cuba as much as he did for Peru; Mariátegui was an "Amauta" for all of America.<sup>80</sup> Others commented on the significance of Mariátegui's political example and the literary style of his two published books.

In addition to these thinkers, Mariátegui's writings also influenced other Cuban literary figures during the first half of the twentieth century. Mariátegui also carried on other literary exchanges with Cubans. The Cuban author Carlos Montenegro's collection of stories *El renuevo y otros cuentos* was reviewed twice in *Amauta*.<sup>81</sup> The Peruvian writer Luis Alberto Sánchez discussed Mariátegui's written works in an article on Peruvian literature in the Cuban journal *Revista de Avance*.<sup>82</sup> These and other encounters between Peruvian and Cuban intellectuals are evidence of the high level of interest which Cubans took in Mariátegui's thought. This interest was sustained even after his death. In 1936 Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado, who served as the president of Cuba from 1959 to 1975, wrote an essay for the Cuban journal *Polémica* on the rising significance of Mariátegui's thought in Cuba. "We must continue to live following his example," Dorticós Torrado wrote. "We will announce the dawning of a new America with his message"<sup>83</sup> In the 1940s the Cuban journal *Dialéctica* carried on a polemic between the Russian author V. M. Miroshovski and Mariátegui's comrades in the Peruvian Communist Party Jorge del Prado and Moisés Arroyo Posadas over whether Mariátegui was a populist or a true Marxist-Leninist. Miroshovski denounced Mariátegui as a populist similar to "erroneous" thinkers in Russia before the revolution, whereas the Peruvians defended him as a path-breaking Marxist-Leninist thinker whose ideas had significant implications for Latin American Marxist theory.<sup>84</sup> More important than the specifics of this debate, however, was the continued presence which the Peruvian thinker held in the Cuban intellectual landscape. Although in the 1920s Mariátegui had held a more visible role in the political debates in Cuba, and later in the 1960s there was once again a

resurgence in interest in his intellectual contributions, his thought never entirely disappeared from the Cuban political consciousness.

## **Cuban Revolution**

Juan Marinello is considered to be one of the major figures of Latin American Marxist thought, comparable to Mariátegui, Mella, and the Argentine Aníbal Ponce.<sup>85</sup> Unlike these thinkers and other revolutionaries in Latin America such as General Sandino in Nicaragua, Marinello had the good fortune to live to see the realization of his dreams in the triumph of the Cuban revolution. Following the United Front strategy of the Communist International of the 1930s and 1940s, the Cuban Communist Party had openly collaborated with the Batista regime. It maintained that the objective economic conditions were not right for an armed struggle, denounced Castro's guerrilla army as "adventuresome," and criticized its lack of ideological underpinnings. Likewise, Castro's 26th of July Movement distrusted the Communist Party, and it was not until several years after the triumph of the revolution that the new Cuban government began to assume the structure of the communist party. In Cuba, the Marxist practice of theory leading to action was reversed; it was not until 1961 that Castro declared himself to be a Marxist-Leninist and began to analyze the island's historical situation from that point of view. Invigorated by Lenin's approach in Russia and Mariátegui's in Peru, Fidel Castro revitalized Marxist theory for Cuba.

More than anyone else Marinello helped reconcile the differences between the communist old guard and the New Left in Cuba and helped bridge the gap between the generation of Mella and Mariátegui and that of Castro and Guevara. "The Cuban revolution is the beginning of the Latin American Revolution," Marinello wrote in 1971. He declared that the Cuban revolution was the realization of the aspirations of José Martí, Mariátegui, Ponce, Martínez Villena, and Mella. These revolutionaries had believed that the overthrow of imperialism would open the way for a popular and national liberation.<sup>86</sup> Marinello took an active part in this societal transformation. In 1962 he was appointed rector of the University of Havana and sought to implement the university reforms for which he and Mella had so diligently worked in the 1920s. Until his death in 1977, he held a variety of political posts

in the new Cuban socialist government including ambassador to UNESCO and member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party.<sup>87</sup>

The Cuban revolution which Marinello foreshadowed and supported was truly a Latin American product. It was not an export from Moscow, evidenced by the fact that the pro-Moscow Communist Party did not join the revolution until several years after the 1959 guerrilla insurrection.<sup>88</sup> This has led Spanish philosopher Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez to question what kind of Marxism it was that emerged as the theoretical driving force behind the Cuban revolution. The Marxism, he wrote, "that the Cuban Revolution encountered was a *different* Marxism that is difficult to fit into existing molds."<sup>89</sup> The Marxism that emerged in Cuba must be understood in the context of Cuban history, in the revolutionary nationalism of Cuban independence hero José Martí, and in the unique Latin American trends in Marxist theory. Sánchez Vázquez insisted, as have many others, that Mariátegui's thought, especially his views on a subjective and voluntarist Marxism, is critical for understanding these developments. As Mariátegui's intellectual contributions had a strong influence on Marinello and an earlier generation of Cuban revolutionaries, his thought was also important to the development and evolution of the Cuban revolution in the 1960s and on later revolutionary movements in Latin America.

## **Fidel Castro**

Castro, the leader of the guerrilla 26th of July Movement which toppled the pro-United States Batista dictatorship in Cuba in 1959, is better known for his organizing skills and charismatic leadership than his political theory or his strength as a Marxist-Leninist thinker. Castro had studied and learned the military strategy which he carried out in his guerrilla warfare in the Sierra Maestra Mountains from Sandino's fight in Nicaragua. Like Sandino, Castro relied on a strategy of flexible organization which could adapt to changing conditions. Both guerrilla leaders relied on a sympathetic peasant base to support their fight.<sup>90</sup> At the University of Havana in the 1940s, the writings of Marx and Mella influenced Castro's thinking, but his political activities in the 1950s were those of a revolutionary nationalist and not a Marxist.<sup>91</sup> Castro's justification for his assault on the Moncada army barracks

on 26 July 1953 shows the native roots of the Cuban revolution. In his courtroom defense *History Will Absolve Me*, Castro referred frequently to Cuban independence hero Martí. Although Martí's social and political program of national reform is evident in this speech, Castro's ideology also shows the influence of other thinkers. Castro had read Mariátegui, among others, while in prison from 1953 to 1955.<sup>92</sup> Consistent with Mariátegui's thought, Castro approached Cuba's problems in a nondoctrinaire manner with a flexible attitude on how to foment a revolutionary consciousness in that country. Not only was Castro an anti-imperialist revolutionary nationalist in the tradition of Martí, but like Mariátegui he stressed the revolutionary potential of the peasantry and affirmed the value of African and other indigenous cultural expressions. When the new Cuban Communist Party was formed in 1965, Castro emphasized that it would be built on Cuban ideas and methods. The result was a conglomeration of native, European, and Latin American socialist and anti-imperialist thought.<sup>93</sup> This is reflected in the fact that although Cuba developed close economic ties with the Soviet Union, it refused to resubmit political control of its communist party to foreign ideology. In spite of parallel interests with Moscow, Cuba maintained an independent foreign policy as demonstrated by its Operation Carlota in Angola. According to French Marxist K. S. Karol, it is this model of "making revolutions regardless of—indeed often in direct opposition to—the theories and organizational panaceas of Moscow" that led to a great deal of interest in the Cuban revolution.<sup>94</sup>

The success of Castro's 26th of July Movement challenged the assumptions of orthodox Marxism and gave hope and inspiration to a new generation of revolutionaries. Régis Debray, a French Marxist philosopher who was imprisoned in Bolivia for his support of Ernesto "Che" Guevara's guerrilla force, was very critical of the revolutionary potential of the Communist International. In his book *Revolution in the Revolution?*, Debray criticized "those who want mechanically to apply formulas to the Latin American reality."<sup>95</sup> The Soviet and Chinese models for revolutionary change would not work in Latin America; rather, "the Latin American revolutionary war possesses highly special and profoundly distinct conditions of development, which can only be discovered through a particular experience."<sup>96</sup> Unlike Mariátegui, most Marxist leaders and theoreticians imported prefabricated strategies and concepts from

Europe.<sup>97</sup> The lesson of the Cuban revolution which Debray believed needed to be learned by all of Latin America is that a revolutionary movement must first reflect on its own national history and reality. Such a movement must draw on "its own tradition of national independence struggles," Debray said. "Fidel read Martí before reading Lenin" and likewise a Peruvian will have read Mariátegui before other Marxist works.<sup>98</sup>

### **Ernesto "Che" Guevara**

Ernesto "Che" Guevara, an Argentine doctor who fought with Castro in the Sierra Maestra mountains of Cuba, formed much of the ideology and strategy of the Cuban revolution. In the early 1950s Guevara left his native Argentina to travel throughout Latin America, an experience which enlightened him to the poverty and exploitation of the majority of the Latin American people. These travels led him to Peru where he came into contact with Mariátegui's ideas and political associates. In Peru Guevara stayed in the house of Hugo Pesce, who had been a close associate, personal friend, and ideological companion of Mariátegui.<sup>99</sup> Both Pesce and Guevara were medical doctors and political activists. Guevara worked with Pesce in a leprosarium, and the two doctors spent many hours discussing the social and political reality of Latin America. Pesce had been a member of the secret communist cell that directed the Peruvian Socialist Party which Mariátegui had organized in 1928. In June of 1929 Pesce headed the Peruvian delegation which Mariátegui sent to the First Latin American Communist Conference in Buenos Aires. Together with Mariátegui, Pesce coauthored the essay "El problema de las razas en la América Latina," which Pesce presented at this conference. Undoubtedly Mariátegui and his writings were a topic of conversation for the two men. Later Guevara noted the great influence that these talks with Pesce had on his political thoughts and social views of Latin American reality.<sup>100</sup>

In 1953 Guevara left Peru for Guatemala, where he lived until the overthrow of the revolutionary government of Jacobo Arbenz in 1954. On his way to Guatemala, Guevara passed through Costa Rica where he met veterans of Sandino's struggle against the United States Marines. Guevara was impressed by their stories of Sandino, and the inspirational quality of Sandino's leadership and his

guerrilla tactics.<sup>101</sup> In Guatemala Guevara fell under the political tutelage of Hilda Gadea, who was in political exile from her native Peru for her militant activities with the Aprista Party. Although Mariátegui and the Aprista leader Víctor Haya de la Torre had had a falling out in 1928 over the issue of a multiclass party, Gadea had worked with the left wing of this party because she believed that it was the only avenue for revolutionary change in Peru.<sup>102</sup> Gadea had studied Mariátegui's works, and she discussed them with Guevara in the course of their many political and intellectual discussions. Gadea later wrote that they not only talked about Mariátegui's *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*, but also his *El alma matinal*, which had just been released in Peru in 1950. Apparently both Gadea and Guevara had read these works, which indicates Guevara's familiarity with Mariátegui's thought.<sup>103</sup>

It was in Guatemala where many of Guevara's political philosophies were formulated. The clearest lesson which Guevara drew from the overthrow of the Guatemala revolution was the need to integrate the peasant and indigenous masses (in addition to the workers) into an armed revolutionary struggle. The United States-backed coup in 1954 also turned Guevara into a dedicated fighter against United States imperialism in Latin America. Obviously, these are not new themes or discoveries for Latin American revolutionary movements. Twenty-five years earlier in Peru Mariátegui had advanced the idea of an indigenous, anti-imperialist struggle, and Sandino had carried out such a struggle in Nicaragua.<sup>104</sup> Perhaps Mariátegui's greatest contribution to the Guatemalan revolution was his affirmation of the indigenous people's culture and values. Like Peru with its highland Incas, about 65 percent of Guatemala's population were direct descendants of the ancient Maya civilization and since the Spanish conquest had been alienated from the mainstream of that country's life. Mariátegui's writings on indigenismo influenced the leaders of the Guatemalan revolution, who strove to end years of economic exploitation of the indigenous and peasant masses by large landholders such as the United Fruit Company. Guevara also came under the influence of Mariátegui's indigenismo. In Peru he had visited the Inca ruins at Machu Picchu, and he understood the misery and exploitation of the Inca descendants.<sup>105</sup> In Guatemala, Guevara saw the beauty and strength of the ancient Maya culture and he sought (without

success) a job as a medical doctor in the Petén region where the Maya civilization had established several population centers.

The writings of Mariátegui helped provide Guevara with the intellectual setting which allowed him to break from orthodox Marxism's Eurocentric assumptions. Guevara probably had read, in addition to the *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* and *El alma matinal*, the 1934 Chilean edition of Mariátegui's *Defensa del marxismo*.<sup>106</sup> In this book more than in any other, Mariátegui presented his views on an open, voluntaristic, nondeterministic Marxism. He defended Lenin's dynamic application of a flexible Marxism against the revisionist attacks of Henri de Man and emphasized the possibilities of the creative potential of a Gramscist voluntary Marxism.<sup>107</sup> Guevara's thought also shows the influence of Mariátegui's writings on ethics and humanism. In 1967, while Guevara was fighting in Bolivia, Mariátegui's essay "Ética y socialismo" in *Defensa del marxismo* was reprinted in *Tricontinental* in Cuba.<sup>108</sup>

Guevara, like Mariátegui, embraced an open, voluntarist Marxism based on a rural, peasant-based movement rather than the urban, working-class movement found in orthodox Marxism. Guevara built on the implications of Mariátegui's creative efforts to apply Marxism to an analysis of Latin American conditions and echoed Mariátegui's contention that the proletariat is not a spectator, but an actor.<sup>109</sup> Guevara was open to new adaptations of Marxist thought to specific historical circumstances; like Lenin with the 1917 Russian Revolution, Guevara sought to creatively apply Marxism to the Cuban situation. Following the lead of Sandino, Guevara based his revolutionary struggle in the peasant masses of the Cuban countryside rather than with the urban proletariat which Marx had argued would lead the socialist revolution. Guevara criticized orthodox Marxists "who maintain dogmatically that the struggle of the masses is centered in city movements, entirely forgetting the immense participation of the country people in the life of all the underdeveloped parts of America."<sup>110</sup> He argued that the revolutionary insurrection would start in the countryside and spread to the cities.

Guevara's most significant contribution to revolutionary theory in Latin America is his *foco* theory of guerrilla warfare. This theory challenged the traditional Marxist-Leninist doctrine of waiting for the proper objective conditions for a revolutionary struggle. The

peasants understood the objective conditions of hunger, poverty, and oppression which led to a social revolution, and Guevara argued that it was through fighting that the peasants (and others) would gain a theoretical knowledge of the class struggle. This was a daring challenge to the assumptions of Marx, who believed that action without the proper theoretical framework would risk the development of a crude communism. Guevara believed that the triumph of the Cuban revolution demonstrated that it was not necessary to wait for proper objective conditions under which to act. Rather, a small insurrectionary guerrilla force could create the conditions for a revolution. He criticized those "who sit down to wait until in some mechanical way all necessary objective and subjective conditions are given without working to accelerate them."<sup>111</sup> Régis Debray was a strong proponent of Guevara's foco strategy. The Cuban revolution, Debray argued, reversed the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of a vanguard party creating an insurrectionary foco. Rather, the guerrilla force created the political party. Indeed, the Cuban guerrillas succeeded because they received their primary inspirations from Martí, and only later considered the writings of Marx, Lenin, Mao, and Giap.<sup>112</sup> This ended, according to Debray, a divorce of several decades' duration between Marxist theory and revolutionary practice.<sup>113</sup>

Guevara's foco theory had been discredited in Latin America; where it has been implemented it has failed miserably. In Peru in 1965 Hector Bejar's insurrectionary foco met defeat and two years later Guevara himself was killed while attempting to follow this strategy in Bolivia. Many people have criticized Guevara for overemphasizing the role of armed struggle in a revolutionary movement and have pointed out that while a relatively small guerrilla force overthrew Batista in Cuba, this came only after years of leftist political agitations and rising worker expectations.<sup>114</sup> As a question of military strategy, Mariátegui would have concurred with this analysis. Mariátegui was ready to accept violence as part of the revolutionary struggle,<sup>115</sup> but he cautioned against the possible negative reactions to the use of violence without first constructing popular mass support for a revolutionary movement.<sup>116</sup> Mariátegui was not a military strategist, however, and does not address the question of Guevara's emphasis of subjective over objective conditions.

One of Mariátegui's most significant contributions to Latin American revolutionary theory is his introduction of Gramsci's and Sorel's subjective voluntarism to the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions of the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1960s Gramsci's writings were studied in Cuba alongside those of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. In the 1970s Gramsci's explanation and legitimization of revolutionary action through ideological or nonrational appeals, sentiments, and beliefs provided a similar influence to revolutionaries in Nicaragua.<sup>117</sup> Mariátegui was familiar with Gramsci's thought long before it had become popular in leftist circles in Latin America, and he helped transmit his ideas to the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions. It is this emphasis on subjective factors in fomenting revolutionary action which has made Mariátegui's thought so popular among Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutionaries, who consider him to be the most original Marxist thinker in Latin America.<sup>118</sup> His thoughts on "the redemptive power of the myth of social revolution . . . foreshadowed Fidel Castro's call in the 1950s for the youth of Cuba to lead the revolt against Batista and redeem the heritage of Cuba's past heroes and struggles."<sup>119</sup> Castro challenged the role of objective economic conditions in moving a society toward a social revolution. A dogmatic Marxism had not been capable of inspiring revolutionary action; Castro's success in Cuba vindicated a subjective Marxist approach. "The duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution," Castro said. "It is known that the revolution will triumph in America and throughout the world, but it is not for revolutionaries to sit in the doorways of their houses waiting for the corpse of imperialism to pass by."<sup>120</sup> At a press conference in 1988, Castro noted that in the Cuban revolution the subjective factors had a larger influence on its outcome than the objective ones.<sup>121</sup> Castro reversed the traditional Marxist concept of theory leading to action. Although he said it was impossible for anyone traveling the road of revolution not to arrive at Marxism, Castro contended that "many times practice comes first and then theory."<sup>122</sup> In doing this, he shifted the emphasis from principles of scientific socialism to revolutionary feeling and attitude.<sup>123</sup> Castro moved away from a petrified, decayed, and stagnant version of Marxism to a nonrational force which could move a society to a social revolution.<sup>124</sup>

Guevara further expanded on Mariátegui's ideas of the subjective factor in mobilizing a social revolution. "Let me say, with the

risk of appearing ridiculous," Guevara said in an often-repeated quote, "that the true revolutionary is guided by strong feelings of love. It is impossible to think of an authentic revolutionary without this quality." Furthermore, revolutionaries must struggle every day so that their love of living humanity is transformed into concrete deeds, into acts that will serve as an example, as a mobilizing factor.<sup>125</sup> Mariátegui anticipated Guevara's views on the role of emotion in the revolutionary struggle and the ability of art and creative endeavors to move the masses to social and political action. Mariátegui also influenced Guevara's ideas on the use of moral, rather than material, incentives, and his ideas on the new Socialist Man. He foreshadowed Guevara's attempt to create people with a new role in the new society. This line of thought can be seen in the journal *Amauta*, which Mariátegui founded to unite the "new men" of Peru into a movement which would create a new Peruvian society and culture.<sup>126</sup> In addition, Mariátegui dedicated *La escena contemporánea* to the moral development of "the new men . . . of indo-Iberian America,"<sup>127</sup> and in *El alma matinal* Mariátegui wrote of a "new man," a "morning man," who would emerge from the dying bourgeois civilization.<sup>128</sup> According to Donald Hodges, Mariátegui's book *El alma matinal* was the principal intellectual source and progenitor of Guevara's new Marxism.<sup>129</sup>

Like many Latin American leftists, Guevara had an anticlerical bias which viewed the Catholic church as impeding economic development and political change in Latin America. Hilda Gadea, reflecting Mariátegui's view that in Latin America religion could not so easily be dismissed because of the large influence of Catholicism on society, influenced Guevara's ideas on religion. While the hierarchy of the Church may be reactionary, this did not necessarily mean that the Catholic masses lacked revolutionary potential. Rather, the radical example of Christ could be used to organize for political change.<sup>130</sup> These views foreshadowed those of the liberation theology movement which rose in Latin America after the triumph of the Cuban revolution. The spiritual element in Guevara's subjective Marxism together with his views on the new socialist person were a strong influence on the political development of people such as the revolutionary priest Camilo Torres who joined leftist guerrillas in Colombia in 1966.

A subjective or nonrational approach to Marxism also affected Castro's attitude toward religion. "In general," he has claimed,

"you can say that the relations with the Church in our country are normal, because our revolution had never been inspired in an antireligious spirit."<sup>131</sup> In his interview on religion with the Brazilian liberation theologian Frei Betto, Castro said that there were ten thousand times more coincidences between Christianity and communism than between Christianity and capitalism, and he found the fairer, more human, more moral values of early Christianity appealing.<sup>132</sup> In addition he noted the participation of priests and religious students in the triumph of the Cuban revolution.<sup>133</sup> (This influence is also seen in the fact that Frank País, a Baptist seminarian from Santiago de Cuba who was killed in 1957 while working with Castro's 26th of July Movement, is a great hero and martyr for both the revolutionary government and the Protestant churches.)

In 1975 the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party published a pamphlet on Mariátegui which noted that one of his great merits was his creative application of Marxist-Leninism to the Peruvian reality. The Cubans admired his ability to unify the indigenous peasant masses and urban working class into a popular struggle that would carry forward the democratic, antifeudal, anti-oligarchical and anti-imperialist revolution.<sup>134</sup> They noted the parallels between Mariátegui and Guevara. These "two great men of the American continent" not only shared the same birthday (June 14), but they both also "dedicated their thoughts, their actions, and even their lives to the most intransigent revolutionary cause against colonialism, imperialism, and international neocolonialism. Both constitute the most elegant expression of the tradition of struggle for the complete independence of our continent."<sup>135</sup>

### **Mariátegui's works published in Cuba**

After the Cuban revolution, Guevara was instrumental in having Mariátegui's works republished in Cuba. In 1960, the year of the First Festival of Political Thought, the Editora Popular de Cuba y del Caribe in Havana published a selection of the most notable essays of Mariátegui under the title *El problema de la tierra y otros ensayos*. The editors described Mariátegui as one of the highest and noblest precursors of revolutionary thought in Peru and Latin America. Through his written work, Mariátegui had contributed "to the political formation of men who, in the future,

would carry out an historic role in America."<sup>136</sup> The thirteen essays which comprise this volume are indicative not only of the ideology of Guevara and the direction that he and others wanted to take the Cuban revolution, but also of their awareness of the thought and importance of Mariátegui for their revolution. Ten of the essays are taken from the first stage of ten volumes of Mariátegui's *Complete Works* which were published in 1959. An additional essay was taken from volume twelve, *Temas de nuestra América*, which had just been published in 1960. Biblioteca Amauta in Lima did not publish the two remaining essays in book form until 1969 when volume thirteen of Mariátegui's *Complete Works* series, *Ideología y política*, appeared. Apparently the editors of the Cuban volume pulled these essays from their original publication in Mariátegui's journal *Amauta*. Therefore, this selection of articles demonstrates that not only were the volumes of Mariátegui's *Complete Works* arriving in Cuba as they were released in Lima, but also that the Cuban editors had access to the original journal *Amauta*. Their familiarity with the journal and Mariátegui's Marxist ideology is further evidenced by their use of two of Mariátegui's more doctrinaire pieces from *Amauta* ("Mensaje al congreso obrero" and "Aniversario y balance") almost ten years before they were given wider exposure in *Ideología y política*.

For this first Cuban volume of Mariátegui's writings, the editors chose themes which were significant both to Mariátegui and to the Cuban revolution. In the essay "El problema de la tierra," which was originally published in Mariátegui's *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*, Mariátegui interprets the pattern of concentration of large land holdings in the hands of a small elite as a socioeconomic and political problem and not a technical-agricultural problem for agronomists.<sup>137</sup> Mariátegui criticized the liberal, individualistic approach of breaking up large land holdings into small properties. This strategy "is neither utopian, nor heretical, nor revolutionary, nor Bolshevik, nor avantgarde," Mariátegui claimed, "but orthodox, constitutional, democratic, capitalistic, and bourgeois." For Mariátegui, the moment for attempting the liberal individualist method in Peru had already passed.<sup>138</sup> This system of land ownership resulted in a dependent export economy which inhibited internal development and resulted in an impoverished populace.<sup>139</sup> Mariátegui's writings on agrarian reform must have appeared especially relevant and insightful in the early 1960s to the

Cubans, who were trying to break their continued dependence on the sugar economy and to raise the standard of living of their workers. The continued relevance in Cuba of Mariátegui's ideas on land-holding patterns is further demonstrated by the publication in Cuba in 1983 of an essay by the Peruvian writer Jaime Concha on Mariátegui and the latifundia.<sup>140</sup>

The other essays in *El problema de la tierra y otros ensayos* deal largely with Mariátegui's views on Pan-Latin Americanism and North American imperialism. The essays demonstrate both Mariátegui's and the Cuban revolution's concern with defining their own cultural identities free from outside interference. In the essay "¿Existe un pensamiento Hispano-Americano?" Mariátegui wrote, "Europe has lost the right and capacity to influence spiritually and intellectually our Young America."<sup>141</sup> He envisioned a new America which would break free from the decaying European capitalistic civilization and construct a new social and political order. Mariátegui emphasized the necessity to draw on Latin America's own indigenous culture to form a new Latin American identity. Neither Mariátegui nor the leaders of the Cuban revolution wanted to break free of Spanish and British domination only to be resubmitted to the economic control of the United States. Mariátegui's essays "El destino de norteamérica" and "Yanquilandia y el socialismo" reflect Cuba's growing concern with the threat of United States imperialism in Latin America.<sup>142</sup>

Various other editions of Mariátegui's writings have also appeared in Cuba since the 1959 revolution. The cultural publishing house Casa de las Américas in Havana has taken the lead in this endeavor, publishing three separate editions of *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*. The first edition was released in 1963, three years after the release of the first collection of Mariátegui's writings and two years after Castro declared the Marxist-Leninist nature of the Cuban revolution. In the prologue to this edition, Francisco Baeza summarized Mariátegui's life and commented on the historic significance of this work. Not only did it interpret Peruvian reality, but it gave a Marxist analysis of the reality of America. This prologue gives an indication of the inspiration the Cubans drew from Mariátegui in their attempt to apply a creative and dynamic form of Marxist theory to their specific revolutionary situation. "This is not the work of a cold and indifferent researcher," Baeza wrote. "It is of a man that lives, feels, and

suffers intensively for the problems of America and looks with fervor for solutions to them."<sup>143</sup> The thirty-five years since the initial publication of *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* had not diminished its significance, but rather clearly demonstrated the continued value of his work. Baeza considered Mariátegui to be, together with Mella and the Argentine Aníbal Ponce, a noble teacher of Cuban youth.<sup>144</sup>

The prologue to the next two Cuban editions of *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*, which were published in 1969 and 1973, indicate the changing direction of the Cuban revolution. The 1969 edition reflects the strong internationalism of Guevara, who had been killed two years earlier while trying to spark a revolution in Bolivia. In his prologue to this edition, Baeza found support in Mariátegui's writings for Cuba's condemnation of yanqui imperialism, and he saw this book as playing an active role in the ongoing process of revolutionary change in Latin America. "Mariátegui's essays have not lost their validity with the passing of the years," Baeza wrote. "For the entire length and width of our continent his writings are used to wrest rights from the oppressors by means of the armed struggle. The vanguard of this struggle, the guerrillas in Peru and throughout Latin America, all of these revolutionaries, see in Mariátegui a noble precursor."<sup>145</sup>

The tone of Baeza's prologue in the third (and final) edition of *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (published in 1973) is changed significantly from that of 1969. Following a turn away from Cuban support for revolutionary armed struggle throughout Latin America, Baeza softened the revolutionary fervor of his prologue. Instead, Baeza presented a more distant and scholarly analysis of the essays and omitted the reference to the armed struggle of Latin American guerrillas. Perhaps it was because of the influence of the strong friendship between Cuba and Salvador Allende, the Marxist president of Chile who had come to power through democratic means in 1970, that now the vanguard would fight the oppressor "in all spheres with all available weapons," and not with only military ones.<sup>146</sup>

The Cuban editorial house Casa de las Américas followed (and in many cases led) the worldwide explosion of interest in the 1970s in the political implications of Mariátegui's thought. Already in 1968 the journal *Casa de las Américas* printed a translation of the Italian Marxist Antonio Melis's popular and widely read article

"Mariátegui: primer marxista de América." In the same year, this editorial house released Colombian Francisco Posada's *Los orígenes del pensamiento marxista en latinoamérica*, an analysis of the ideology and political thought of Mariátegui. Both of these works emphasize Mariátegui's leading role in the formation of Marxist theory in Latin America, with a particular emphasis on the European origins of his thought. Whereas Melis gives a sympathetic view toward Mariátegui's innovative attitudes toward Marxist theory, Posada presents a much more critical analysis of Mariátegui's subjective and spontaneous Marxism. While portraying Mariátegui as an important precursor of Marxist thought in Latin America, Posada considers Mariátegui to have an undue affinity for the idealism of Sorel and Croce, influences which prevented Mariátegui from formulating a fully developed and mature form of Marxist thought. The result, according to Posada, was a voluntarist interpretation of Marxist theory which led Mariátegui to an erroneous critique of the alleged mediocre and passive deterministic aspects of Marxism.<sup>147</sup> Although these two works represent two divergent and opposing views on Mariátegui's Marxism, they do demonstrate the intensity of scholarly debate over the nature of the Peruvian's thought and the depth of Cuba's involvement in this discussion. Since 1968, Casa de las Américas has published no fewer than eleven articles and three books dealing directly with some aspect of Mariátegui's life and thought.<sup>148</sup>

Of significant interest among Casa de las Américas' publications is the massive two-volume *José Carlos Mariátegui: Obras*, published in 1982, which contains significant sections of the sixteen volumes of Mariátegui's *Complete Works* series. Apparently this is the largest collection of Mariátegui's written works published outside of his native Peru and attests to the level of scholarly interest in Mariátegui's thought in Cuba. Enrique de la Osa contributed a sixty-five page preface to this collection in which he surveyed Mariátegui's life and work. De la Osa emphasized the parallels and connections between Mariátegui and Cuba. Mariátegui, like Cuban independence hero José Martí, who also died at a young age, lived "riding on a lightning bolt."<sup>149</sup> De la Osa also noted that many of Mariátegui's Peruvian comrades had spent time in Cuba. Exiles such as Peruvian Aprista militant Esteban Pavletich, who had collaborated with Mariátegui on *Amauta*, and the Peruvian poet Magda Portal, who Mariátegui had called one of the best poets of

the continent, both contributed to literary developments in Cuba and cemented political relationships between the two countries. In 1928 the Cuban dictator Machado imprisoned many of the Peruvian exiles whom he had accused of being communists. De la Osa also noted that the Cuban authors José Antonio Fernández de Castro and José A. Foncueva had their writings published in *Amauta*. The Cubans were conscious not only of the ongoing significance of Mariátegui's writings for their country but also of Mariátegui's historical connections to Cuba and his ideological contributions to the development of Marxist theory in that country.<sup>150</sup>

Two other important collections of Mariátegui's works published in Cuba are *Ensayos literarios* and *Marxistas de América* (by Mella et al.), both of which the Cuban journalist Mercedes Santos Moray edited and the Editorial Arte y Literatura published. The first collection was published in 1980 as a commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Mariátegui's death. It sought to present a Marxist-Leninist analysis of Mariátegui's views on aesthetics, theory, and literary criticism in order to show the influence he had on the formation of Cuban culture. The twenty-two essays in this collection are reprinted from Mariátegui's *Complete Works* series and had never before been published in Cuba. Santos Moray intentionally selected these essays to give Cuban readers a flavor of the literary stature "of this exemplary communist intellectual" who had penetrated Cuban culture with a compelling Marxist-Leninist analysis of the Latin American people.<sup>151</sup> "The fantasy, the creative imagination, the recreation of the same reality, as our Alejo Carpentier would say many years later," Santos Moray wrote in the prologue, "are emphasized by José Carlos Mariátegui as aesthetic values."<sup>152</sup> Furthermore, Santos Moray compared Mariátegui's and Martí's efforts to respond to the problems of their realities and their attempts to construct a new world. Like Martí, Mariátegui hoped for a new humanity and new world.<sup>153</sup> Mariátegui united with Mella, Marinello, and Villena to form a "plan of ideological battle that permitted the formation of new revolutionary generations" that led to the victory of the Cuban revolution.<sup>154</sup>

This political theme is further expanded in the second book organized by Santos Moray, *Marxistas de América*, published in 1985. This book collects written work by four early Latin American Marxists (Mella, Mariátegui, Ponce, and Marinello) and analyzes their influence which produced important successes which would

radically transform the sense and objectives of the political, economic, and social struggle in Latin America.<sup>155</sup> A main objective of this volume was "to integrate the texts of Mella and Mariátegui, two of the founders of the first communist parties of our America, two political directors of continental stature who saw the urgent need to use words to create political action."<sup>156</sup> Four of the twenty-four essays by Mariátegui chosen for this volume had been published twenty-five years earlier in Cuba in *El problema de la tierra y otros ensayos*. Overall this collection shows a broader perception and a more scholarly analysis of Mariátegui's work than earlier Cuban publications, but more significantly it portrays the continued significance of Mariátegui's thought for Cuba today.

In order to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of Mariátegui's death in 1980, Casa de las Américas announced a "Special Prize José Carlos Mariátegui" for a work that addressed the theme of Marxism, national culture, and popular movements in Latin America.<sup>157</sup> In a special ceremony dedicated to Mariátegui's significance for Latin America, Casa de las Américas awarded this prize to the Hungarian historian Adam Anderle for his research on Peruvian political movements between the two world wars.<sup>158</sup> In 1985 Casa de las Américas published Anderle's book, which gives special attention to the role of Mariátegui in the labor movement in Peru. Further evidence of Casa de las Américas' continued interest in Mariátegui thought is a note which appeared in 1990 announcing the launching of *Anuario Mariáteguiano*. This new journal was the continuation of a living classic which had never been distant from Latin America's contemporary scene and it would contribute not only to the enriching of Peru's national culture but also Marxist and revolutionary thought in general.<sup>159</sup>

Casa de las Américas also has published various other books and articles on the literary aspects of Mariátegui's work. In 1967 Yercó Moretic won an award from Casa de las Américas for his work on Mariátegui's conceptions of realism. In 1972 the journal *Casa de las Américas* published both an excerpt from his book *José Carlos Mariátegui. Su vida e ideario. Su concepción del realismo* and a critique of his approach.<sup>160</sup> In 1971 Casa de las Américas published a special issue of its journal on the theme of the relationship between culture and revolution in Latin America. As a point of departure, the journal printed Martí's essay "Nuestra América," Mariátegui's "El artista y la época" and "Arte,

revolución y decadencia," and an essay on Mella.<sup>161</sup> These essays were followed by a series of articles which considered the role of literature and culture in the development of a revolutionary consciousness. The inclusion of Mariátegui on par with the leader of Cuban independence and the founder of the Cuban Communist Party is indicative of the importance which the Cubans place on Mariátegui for the intellectual development of their revolutionary identity. In 1987 Mariátegui's family donated thirty-eight of Mariátegui's works to the Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, the Cuban national library in Havana. Upon receiving this gift, Julio Le Riverend, the director of the national library, stated that "Mariátegui is not for the past. His thought lives on."<sup>162</sup> The Cuban revolution was a synthesis of Martí's revolutionary nationalist thought and a scientific Marxism. Mariátegui's intellectual contributions are critical in understanding this unique Latin American development. Mariátegui has, continues, and will continue, to influence the development of Marxist ideology in the Cuban context.

Winston Orrillo has pursued extensively these parallels between Martí and Mariátegui. In his book *Martí, Mariátegui: literatura, inteligencia y revolución en América Latina*, Orrillo draws comprehensive comparisons between the thought and literary output of the Cuban *Apóstol* and Peruvian *Amauta*. He calls the two national heroes true brothers, and states that "Martí, without being a Marxist, saw . . . the connections between literature, economics, politics, history, and sociology" which Mariátegui later developed.<sup>163</sup> Indeed, throughout the book Orrillo examines the common themes of education, idealism, Pan-Americanist internationalism, indigenism, and socialism which these two leaders constructed as a base for later intellectual and political developments. For both it is impossible to separate their artistic and creative expressions from their political views, but rather their political action (praxis) aimed at social transformation emerged out of their literary and intellectual activities. Martí's statement that the only way to be a poet in an oppressed nation is to be a soldier is equally indicative of Martí's views as it is of Mariátegui's as well as those of later Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutionaries. "Literature and revolution," Orrillo argued, "are concepts that Martí and Mariátegui linked and correlated in a dialectical manner."<sup>164</sup>

Mariátegui never met Martí (Mariátegui was less than a year old when Martí was killed in the Cuban War of Independence at

Dos Ríos) and had limited contact with Martí's writings. Orrillo, therefore, did not analyze any direct intellectual influences between the two. Rather, Orrillo looked for commonalities in the Latin American experience which formed a basis for both intellectuals' thought. The result, Orrillo concluded, was that the Peruvian articulated an amazing continuity with the revolutionary thought of Martí. Although Orrillo understood that Martí was not a Marxist, he argued that there was a direct path from Martí's revolutionary nationalism to Mariátegui's Marxism-Leninism. Mariátegui was the dialectic continuation of the revolutionary thought and action of Martí.<sup>165</sup> Orrillo noted that in Cuba there were many political leaders, writers, and others including Mella, Rodríguez, Martínez Villena, Roa, and Marinello who were both Martianos and Mariateguistas. It was through people such as these that "the route which Martí opened and Mariátegui subscribed to was fertilized and brilliantly magnified in the Cuban Revolution, which summarized and synthesized the legacy of the Apostle and the doctrine of the Amauta."<sup>166</sup> The Cuban revolution was solidly in the tradition which the Apostle and Amauta had laid out years earlier.

In addition to the publications from Casa de las Américas, seven articles were published on Mariátegui in the popular Cuban magazine *Bohemia* during the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>167</sup> "One has to speak about José Carlos Mariátegui," one of the articles began, "as if he were a companion who is presently with us." Mariátegui, this article continued, had perhaps the most brilliant Marxist-Leninist mind of his time in Latin America. The force of his revolutionary thought and action could only be compared to that of Mella.<sup>168</sup> In 1980 *Bohemia* printed two of Mariátegui's essays in which he worked out the subjective aspects of his Marxist theory. In the first essay, "La unidad de la América Indo-Española," Mariátegui asserted that spiritual and emotional forces, not intellectual forces, would unify a Latin American revolutionary movement.<sup>169</sup> Likewise, in the second essay, "Henri Barbusse," Mariátegui contended that the revolutionary struggle was not only for material gain but also for beauty, art, thought, and spirit.<sup>170</sup>

In addition to the articles in *Casa de las Américas* and *Bohemia*, innumerable articles have been published on the Peruvian Marxist in *Verde Olivo*, *Granma*, and other Cuban magazines and newspapers. Although most of these articles do little more than give a basic biographic sketch of Mariátegui's life, together they point

out Mariátegui's contribution to Latin American Marxist theory and his connections with political developments in Cuba. "The example and work of Mariátegui has constituted," Erasmo Dumpierre observed, "a permanent source of inspiration and revolutionary stimulation in Cuba, the first country in América that has realized his grand dreams."<sup>171</sup> Mariátegui's thought is so significant that intellectuals and editors find him to be an important enough topic to keep him continually in front of the Cuban public eye fifty years after his death.

The success of the 26th of July Movement in Cuba became a model for revolutionary guerrilla movements throughout Latin America. Many of these revolutionaries were moving away from the rigid, doctrinaire positions of the Communist International to a more open, dynamic, and revolutionary Marxism. The Cuban revolution became a conduit which transferred, refined, and legitimized the revolutionary ideals, examples, and theories of Martí, Sandino, Mariátegui, and other early revolutionary heroes to the realities of Latin America in the 1960s. Nicaraguans, as did many people in other Latin American countries, felt the influence of the Cuban revolution. As a result of the revolution, a new generation of Sandinistas arose who began to reinterpret Sandino's original struggle in light of historic and ideological developments following his death.<sup>172</sup> As in Cuba, where revolutionaries drew their inspiration from both their national history as well as international ideological trends, the Sandinista struggle was also not only rooted in Nicaraguan conditions, it was the product of events across Latin America.

## NICARAGUA

On 19 July 1979, a group of guerrillas entered Managua, Nicaragua, after having overthrown the Somoza family dynasty which had held power in that country for nearly half a century. Anastasio Somoza Debayle, who had risen to power in 1967 after the deaths of his father and brother, had become so greedy and brutal in his quest for more power and wealth that even some of his own supporters turned against him and joined in the popular movement which ousted him from power. Although there were calls for *somocismo sin Somoza* (the continuance of a conservative, elitist government but without the extreme excesses of the Somoza dictatorship), the guerrillas who entered the National Palace envisioned a program of broad social reform. Thus, the Frente Sandinista para la Liberación Nacional (FSLN) came to power and marked the triumph of the second successful socialist revolution in Latin America.

From an orthodox Marxist perspective, Nicaragua was a highly unlikely candidate to experience such a social revolution. Nicaragua was a poor, backward country without a strong working-class base on which to build a proletarian revolution. It had not developed the objective economic conditions necessary to foment a revolutionary situation. Other countries seemed to be more likely candidates for a social revolution. Chile (which had elected a Marxist president in 1970) had a long history of working-class militancy. Mexico also had a strong tradition of leftist labor unions. Although Cuba was a largely rural society, it too had a long tradition of communist and labor party organization which contributed to the success of its revolution. In addition, the nature of the work in the sugar cane fields had a proletarianizing effect on the workers.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, for eighteen years the Sandinistas (as the members of the FSLN were known) carried on their efforts at political organization among the peasant and urban masses of

Nicaragua. The Sandinistas broke from the orthodox Marxist emphasis on the urban proletariat as the leader of the revolutionary struggle and rejected the notion that the peasants were a reactionary class which could not be relied on for the development of a revolutionary movement. As with Castro and the Cuban revolutionaries in the 1950s, political practice and strategy were more advanced than theory in Nicaragua.<sup>2</sup> The historically unusual and unique nature of the Nicaraguan revolution which spurned the economistic view that social and political consciousness is ultimately determined or revealed by one's relations to the means of production sparked the interest of both scholars and political activists alike.<sup>3</sup> In order to understand how the Sandinistas fomented a revolutionary consciousness in an economically underdeveloped society, it is necessary to understand the unique development of Marxist theory in Latin America. The success of the Cuban revolution strongly influenced the Sandinistas. They learned from Ernesto "Che" Guevara that a revolutionary consciousness could be created in Nicaragua's peasant population. The Sandinistas also looked back to the heroic struggle of General Sandino against the United States Marines as an example and inspiration for their revolutionary struggle. Mariátegui also played a role in the success of the Sandinista revolution. Like the FSLN, Harry Vanden has observed, Mariátegui also emphasized the importance of ideologically prepared organizers going into the highland villages to accelerate the process of the politicization and enlightenment of the peasantry.<sup>4</sup> Under Nicaraguan conditions, as well as in most countries of Latin America, a leading Sandinista ideologist wrote, the center of action of the revolutionary war has to be the countryside.<sup>5</sup> Mariátegui helped define the theoretical possibilities for a Marxist revolution where the traditional objective conditions for such a revolution did not exist.

### **Augusto César Sandino**

Sandino was born in 1895 out of wedlock to a poor Indian agricultural day laborer and a moderately wealthy landholder in the small town of Niquinohomo, Nicaragua. He spent his childhood working as a field hand with his mother. When he was older he gained employment as a mechanic at various plantations and haciendas. In 1920 Sandino fled Nicaragua in order to avoid

prosecution for charges stemming from a fight with another man. He worked in Honduras and Guatemala for several years and in 1923 he began working in the oil fields of Tampico, Mexico, where he was caught up in the revolutionary fervor of the Mexican revolution. Radicalized by the worker struggles in the oil fields and dismayed at United States intervention in Nicaragua, Sandino returned to his homeland in 1926 to fight with the liberal cause against foreign domination. Initially he joined the Liberal army which was fighting to overthrow the Conservative government, but after the Liberals surrendered in 1927 Sandino kept on fighting a guerrilla-style warfare in the Nicaraguan mountains against the United States occupation troops. In 1933, after the United States troops left Nicaragua, Sandino entered into peace talks with the newly elected government. Despite the fact that he laid down his arms, the National Guard (which the United States had created) ambushed and killed General Sandino in February 1934.

Sandino began his guerrilla campaign as a patriotic and nationalistic struggle to free his country from United States occupation and to defend his nation's dignity. Before he would give up his struggle, more than a battalion of marines would have died.<sup>6</sup> Even today many consider Sandino's commitment solely to be the removal of the marines, but his fight was not devoid of ideology. He declared that his Army for the Defense of Nicaraguan National Sovereignty also fought for freedom and justice for those who were weak and oppressed. Although Sandino never identified himself as a Marxist revolutionary, he was clearly influenced by the militant worker struggles in the oil fields of Tampico. Sandino sought to maintain a broad front which united many different political elements in his struggle in Nicaragua, but he was drawn toward the social analysis articulated by the leftists in his group who proposed a socialist policy of agrarian reform and a redistribution of wealth. In 1929 Sandino wrote to a supporter in Guatemala that he must have complete confidence that this is the direction Sandino would take.<sup>7</sup> Although he had a clear agenda for a social revolution, Sandino had learned through his experiences in Nicaragua and from the Liberal Party in Mexico that to launch a successful revolution, one must avoid anarchist and communist labels and be careful to keep one's deepest political convictions to oneself and to stress the patriotic motives of a struggle.<sup>8</sup>

Influenced by the Mexican revolution, Sandino rooted his struggle for a social revolution in the peasant population of Nicaragua. He organized peasant land cooperatives in the Segovia region of Nicaragua and used these as a model for the changes he envisioned in Nicaragua. Sandino defined Nicaragua's national consciousness in terms of the indigenous and mestizo masses, and their struggle against Spanish colonization. This effort to look toward their distant indigenous past to rediscover their nation's historic identity led to the ability to transcend the narrow Hispanicism that had continually constrained national politics, thought, and literature.<sup>9</sup> Sandino identified himself with this indigenous struggle; he proclaimed that he was proud to be of Indian parentage.<sup>10</sup>

Although Sandino rooted his anti-imperialist struggle in the rural, lower class of northern Nicaragua, he expressed an internationalist vision of a revolutionary nationalism that was linked to other revolutionary movements throughout the world.<sup>11</sup> In a letter to the Spanish socialist author Luís Araquistáin which Mariátegui published in *Amauta*, Sandino wrote that although at the present time his struggle was nationalistic it would develop into an international struggle against colonial and neocolonial imperialism.<sup>12</sup> In 1931 Sandino declared that he took great pleasure in declaring that the army was waiting for the coming world conflagration to begin so that it might develop its humanitarian plan in favor of the world proletariat.<sup>13</sup> His connections with an international revolutionary movement extended not only to Peru and Mariátegui, but throughout Latin America and Europe.

Sandino's struggle was an embodiment of Sorel's idea of a revolutionary myth. Sandino combined the thoughts of Mexican anarchist Ricardo Flores Magón and Argentine spiritist Joaquín Trincado into an "anarcho-Spiritism,"<sup>14</sup> and became convinced that his struggle had a cosmic significance and that he stood on the threshold of a new era in which the world would be transformed by love and good works.<sup>15</sup> Sandino set forth his struggle in the apocalyptic terms of a clash between justice and injustice in a final struggle for the moral and spiritual redemption of Nicaragua as part of a coming world proletarian revolution.<sup>16</sup> He injected the troops in his Army for the Defense of National Sovereignty with a religious drive to achieve their aims of a social revolution in Nicaragua. In his "Light and Truth Manifesto," which was read to his soldiers,

Sandino spoke of a final judgment which would eradicate injustice from the earth, break the chains of the oppressed, and usher in a reign of perfection, love, and divine justice.<sup>17</sup>

There are clear parallels between the lives and the nature of the struggles of Mariátegui and Sandino. Both were from the lower classes of society, and neither enjoyed the advantages of a formal academic education. Their hopes and aspirations for a social revolution were rooted in the indigenous and mestizo rural peasant populations of their respective countries. Although for different reasons, both Mariátegui and Sandino spent time in exile from their native lands. This time in exile helped form their political beliefs and actions and determined the directions their lives would take.

The Mexican revolution was an important influence on intellectuals and leftists in Latin America; it especially influenced prevailing ideas in regard to agrarian reform and the revolutionary potential of peasants. The influence of the radical tradition of the revolution can be seen in the thought of both Sandino and Mariátegui. Sandino was swayed by the material published by the Ministry of Public Education under José Vasconcelos.<sup>18</sup> Sandino's approach to the mobilization of the peasant and indigenous masses of Nicaragua reflects Vasconcelos's thoughts on indigenismo and the affirmation of their culture and values. Mariátegui's writings show a similar influence. In his essay on land distribution in *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*, Mariátegui quoted Vasconcelos's concerns for the rights of the indigenous population in Latin American landholding patterns.<sup>19</sup> The example of the participation of peasants in the Mexican revolution convinced Mariátegui that the peasantry could develop a revolutionary consciousness. In adapting Marxism to the Latin America context, Mariátegui assigned to the peasantry the historic role of leading a society in a social revolution, a role which Marx had originally given to the industrialized working class in Europe. Mariátegui wrote several articles on the Mexican revolution; it was a recurrent theme in *Amauta* and *Labor*. He lectured on the subject at the González Prada Popular University in Lima. He emphasized the importance of the economic, social, and agrarian aspects of the revolution, and he believed that the revolution was the beginning of the social transformation of Latin America.<sup>20</sup>

The painter and muralist Rivera was a vivid embodiment of the connections among the thinkers from Peru, Nicaragua, and

Cuba. In addition to his use of art to express his support for indigenous, peasant, and socialist struggles, Rivera also was politically active in the Mexican Communist Party and the Anti-Imperialist League of the Americas. Together with the exiled Cuban communist leader Mella, he helped edit their respective periodicals, *El Machete* and *El Libertador*. Rivera also worked with the Hands-Off Nicaragua Committee which supported Sandino's struggle in Nicaragua. From Peru, Mariátegui maintained contact with Rivera and sent greetings to him through the Peruvian exile Esteban Pavletich.<sup>21</sup> Mariátegui considered Rivera to be a good example of the New American art,<sup>22</sup> and his art work graced the pages and covers of both *Amauta* and *Labor*. In the December 1926 issue of *Amauta*, Mariátegui printed a chronology of Rivera's life together with prints and drawings of his work.<sup>23</sup> The following month Mariátegui printed more of Rivera's art work and an interview with Rivera which Pavletich had written.<sup>24</sup> In an article published in the popular Peruvian periodical *Varietades*, Mariátegui called Rivera one of the best artists in the Americas. Mariátegui praised Rivera for not hiding his art work in museums or selling it to the highest bidder but for displaying it publicly as murals in the Mexican Ministry of Public Education. Rivera's art work expressed the myths and symbols of the social revolution of the Mexican indigenous culture that was more agriculturally than urban based. Rivera's art work, Mariátegui concluded, was not a description but a creation.<sup>25</sup>

Mariátegui also actively used his journalistic outlets to criticize United States policy in Nicaragua. In an article in *Varietades*, Mariátegui denounced the American marine's invasion and reoccupation of Nicaragua in January 1927. He saw the occupation as part of a history of United States armed intervention in the domestic successes of Nicaragua with the notorious goals and praxis of a policy of expansion. Mariátegui recounted the history of the United States overthrow of José Santos Zelaya, who had opposed American economic penetration of Nicaragua. The United States imposed on Nicaragua, against the will of the people, the presidency of Adolfo Díaz, who Mariátegui called an unconditional servant of yanqui capitalism.<sup>26</sup> Mariátegui also used *Amauta* to call for an end to the American occupation of Nicaragua and for a preservation of that country's sovereignty. Mariátegui published a message from the Peruvian students in Paris and the French writer Romain Rolland,

who protested the American invasion and cautioned that United States aggression could mean an end to freedom in Nicaragua.<sup>27</sup> In April of 1927 Manuel Ugarte also contributed a manifesto against the reintroduction of United States troops into Nicaragua.<sup>28</sup> In the May 1927 issue of *Amauta*, Jorge Basadre analyzed the relationship of dependency between the United States and Central America. Basadre recounted the Americans' heavy-handed tactics in Nicaragua, beginning with the overthrow of Zelaya in 1909 and including its refusal to abide by the Central American Court of Justice's decision against the Chamorro-Bryan treaty which gave the United States transisthmian canal and military base rights in Nicaragua. Nicaragua's neighbors argued that this treaty encroached on their territorial sovereignty.<sup>29</sup> M. Castro y Morales, in an article on United States constitutional and international law, referred to Nicaragua as a neo-colony of the United States, and denounced the Chamorro-Bryan treaty as illegal and a violation of Central American sovereignty.<sup>30</sup>

In June of 1927 the Leguía dictatorship closed *Amauta* and detained Mariátegui on charges of leading a communist conspiracy to overthrow the Peruvian government. The United States embassy, which was concerned about Mariátegui's continual forceful denunciations of yanqui imperialism in Latin America and his strong opposition to the marine's invasion of Nicaragua, placed pressure on Leguía to stop publication of *Amauta* and to imprison its editors. The June issue of *Amauta*, which had been dedicated to renouncing yanqui imperialism in Latin America, had led Leguía to fabricate the idea of a communist plot to "legalize" Mariátegui's arrest and the closure of *Amauta*. From the San Bartolomé military hospital where he was held for six days, Mariátegui admitted that he was a convinced and confessed Marxist but he denied any involvement in a "gazette-like subversion plot."<sup>31</sup> Mariátegui was obviously seen as an influential voice in Latin American politics and thus a threat to the hegemony of the Leguía regime.

Meanwhile, in Nicaragua the liberal General José María Moncada had quit his fight against the United States Marines in order to participate in the November 1928 presidential elections. Sandino, however, refused to surrender and continued his struggle against the American occupation. Sandino's struggle became for Mariátegui an especially important cause, one which Mariátegui energetically supported. When *Amauta* reopened in December

1927, Mariátegui continued his attacks on American policy in Nicaragua. Mariátegui published a statement from the Latin American Union, a student group based in Buenos Aires, which called the United States invasion the most hated intervention in the history of North American expansion.<sup>32</sup> This group requested that a delegation comprised of Alfredo Palacios, José Vasconcelos, and Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre go to Nicaragua to report on the situation in that country. Tristán Marof, a Bolivian writer and close collaborator with Mariátegui on *Amauta*, contributed an article which argued that Sandino carried on the struggle begun by Simón Bolívar to liberate Latin America from foreign economic, political, and military domination.<sup>33</sup>

In an article on the November 1928 presidential elections in the United States and Nicaragua (which significantly, Mariátegui noted, occurred at almost the same time), Mariátegui lamented the acquiescence of the Liberal Party to United States interests. The Conservatives had become tainted in Nicaraguan public opinion as a pawn of the United States, and the United States supported General Moncada as the liberal candidate for president as a ploy to undercut the popular support that Sandino's troops enjoyed. "The only path of active resistance to *yanqui* domination is the heroic path of Sandino," Mariátegui declared.<sup>34</sup> Manuel Ugarte, writing for Latin American students in Paris, echoed similar concerns in a manifesto printed in *Amauta*. The case of Nicaragua could not be solved by electoral means, Ugarte maintained. He believed that the Liberals and Conservatives formed a bloc which accepted foreign domination and that Sandino alone raised the banner of the heroic struggle for a Latin America free from Anglo-Saxon imperialism.<sup>35</sup>

Sandino used *Amauta* to send messages from his base at El Chipoton to the workers and intellectuals of Latin America. In one such message in 1928, Sandino reaffirmed his "unalterable faith in the triumph of our arms that in defending the liberty of one people of our America they defend the liberty of the continent."<sup>36</sup> Mariátegui also published a message from Henri Barbusse and the proletariat and revolutionary intellectuals of France and Europe in support of the cause of Sandino. "Sandino," Barbusse wrote, "represents an unforgettable historical role for his shining example and his generous sacrifices."<sup>37</sup> Mariátegui stressed the social and political aspects of Sandino's struggle, and fought against the perception of him as a bandit and a vulgar highway robber.<sup>38</sup>

Mariátegui continued to stress Sandino's importance to Latin America's anti-imperialist struggle, and in an article on Venezuela's revolutionary movement noted that Gustavo Machado, the secretary-general of Venezuela's Revolutionary Party, had previously been one of Sandino's representatives in Mexico.<sup>39</sup>

As Ricardo Luna Vegas has observed, of the many contacts which Mariátegui maintained throughout Latin America, his relationship with Sandino in Nicaragua was the most important one in Central America.<sup>40</sup> Mariátegui, however, was not the only Peruvian who supported Sandino's struggle. Esteban Pavletich was a Peruvian who fought with Sandino and eventually became one of his advisors. Pavletich initially served as Sandino's contact with Haya de la Torre's APRA party, but he later left it and became a member of Mariátegui's Peruvian Socialist Party. In a letter to Mariátegui in 1928 Pavletich mentioned that he had seen a message from Sandino in *Amauta*.<sup>41</sup> In fact, it is possible that Pavletich may have been the person responsible for putting Sandino and Mariátegui in contact with each other. Mariátegui later suggested to Pavletich that he write a book on Sandino. "In reality the theme of Sandino has lost something," Mariátegui wrote to Pavletich. "But this is the reason such a book should be published as soon as possible."<sup>42</sup> Although Pavletich never wrote this book, he did write about Sandino's struggle for the pages of the Costa Rican journal *Repertorio Americano*. The struggle for Nicaragua's freedom was the struggle for the freedom of all of Latin America, Pavletich wrote in 1928.<sup>43</sup> Foreshadowing Guevara's talk of a new man and reflecting Mariátegui's discussion of subjective factors in a revolution, Pavletich said that Sandino was the leader of a new generation of Latin Americans. "Sandino, who has much of Trotsky and something of [St. Francis of] Assisi, is capable of leading the new men . . . to liberty and victory."<sup>44</sup> Like Tristán Marof, Pavletich saw Sandino as a modern-day Bolívar who would unite the struggles of all Latin American countries and lead them to a victory against United States imperialism.

Another Peruvian associate of Mariátegui who wrote on Sandino was Mariátegui's longtime comrade César Falcón. In an interview in Mexico in 1930, Falcón described Sandino's style of leadership as very expressive and fiery, saying all that he feels.<sup>45</sup> Falcón wrote that Sandino fought not only for the freedom of

Nicaragua, but also for the freedom of all Hispanic peoples. Sandino was the first ray of Nicaraguan political resurrection.<sup>46</sup>

As demonstrated by Mariátegui and other leftists, Sandino gained a good deal of support for his struggle throughout Latin America. In the March 1928 issue of *Amauta*, the Uruguayan poet Blanca Luz Brum called for the formation of an army to go to Nicaragua and join Sandino in his struggle against the marines;<sup>47</sup> many revolutionaries from all over Latin America did join Sandino in his fight against imperialism.<sup>48</sup> The following month Ricardo Martínez de la Torre wrote a poem in celebration of Sandino's struggle. "We are with Sandino," Martínez de la Torre wrote, "because he has put his arm and his spirit in defense of those who are weak."<sup>49</sup> In Cuba the revolutionary Grupo Minorista also supported Sandino's struggle against the American marines. United States aggression in Nicaragua was not seen as an isolated event but one which affected all of Latin America and required actions of solidarity from all of America. The José Martí Popular University in Havana supported Sandino's fight as the first popular Latin American insurrection against imperialist domination.<sup>50</sup>

Like Mariátegui, Sandino encountered difficulties not only with the governments of his own country and that of the United States, but he was also censored by the Communist International. Sandino had common goals with the communists; he wanted to abolish exploitation and the capitalist system through a worldwide proletarian revolution. He cooperated with the communists but he disagreed with their more doctrinaire Marxist strategy and he refused to take orders from them.<sup>51</sup> Sandino's clearest break with the Communist International came over the role of his personal secretary, the Salvadoran communist leader Agustín Farabundo Martí, in his general staff. "I had to expel him," Sandino later reported, because Martí "had wanted to entangle me in the intrigues of the communists. Actually, I never disagreed with him ideologically."<sup>52</sup> They separated full of sadness and in the best of harmony, Sandino said later, as two brothers who loved but could not understand each other.<sup>53</sup> Like Mariátegui, Sandino wanted to follow an independent line and could not submit to Martí's rigid adherence to the Communist International's directives. The price Sandino paid for his independence was the loss of assistance from the Communist International and the Mexican Communist Party. Furthermore, when Sandino laid down his arms in 1933, the

Communist International accused him of capitulation and passing over to the side of the counterrevolutionary government of Sacasa.<sup>54</sup>

This insistence on an indigenous route to socialism was transferred from Mariátegui and Sandino to the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions. Sandino's struggle in Nicaragua was both a military and political one. Militarily he carried on a campaign of guerrilla warfare that relied on ambushes and hit-and-run tactics carried out by small bands of soldiers. Politically, Sandino organized among the local peasant population and soon won their support. He relied on them for information, and many of them joined his struggle on a part-time basis. In Cuba, Castro used this strategy to gain victory in the first successful Sandinista-style revolution in Latin America. The Cuban revolution demonstrated the viability of both Sandino's and Mariátegui's approach to a subjective and voluntaristic revolutionary theory and passed this legacy on to a second generation of Sandinistas in Nicaragua in the 1960s. It is significant that both the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions were not led by deterministic Moscow-directed communist parties, but by a noncommunist Marxist Left. Orthodox communist parties denounced these guerrilla movements as adventuresome, and maintained that the objective conditions were not right for a social revolution in Latin America. The Nicaraguan Socialist Party, founded in 1944 and allied with the Communist International, was no exception. It regarded Sandino as a petty-bourgeois nationalist without a coherent political or economic program and maintained that the objective economic conditions did not exist for a revolutionary class struggle in Nicaragua. But it was out of these conditions that the second successful socialist revolution in Latin America emerged.<sup>55</sup>

### **Frente Sandinista para la Liberación Nacional**

Except for Sandino's struggle against the United States Marines in the 1920s and 1930s, Nicaragua remained largely isolated from the labor and political organizational efforts which revolutionaries carried on in much of the rest of Latin America. Leftists did not organize the first communist party in Nicaragua until 1944, almost twenty years later than their counterparts in Cuba and Peru. As in Peru, the party called itself a socialist party—the Partido Socialista Nicaragüense, or PSN. It had an urban proletariat as its

base and was formed during World War II under the influence of Earl Browder, the secretary-general of the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA). With Germany threatening the very existence of the Soviet Union, *browderism* argued that the historic antagonism and contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the working class had disappeared. Members of each country's communist party should unite behind its government and join the war effort to defeat the rise of fascism in Europe. In Nicaragua, the PSN followed the same strategy and for several years it worked openly with the Somoza regime. This strategy also benefited the Somoza dictatorship, which had temporarily adopted a populist stance in order to undercut the strength of leftist labor leaders. In 1948, with the onset of the Cold War, Anastasio Somoza García outlawed the PSN, imprisoned or exiled its members, or drove them underground. Like other Latin American communist parties of this era, the PSN followed the rigid ideology and United Front strategy of the Stalinized Communist International. It was dogmatic, sectarian, and ill-equipped to creatively fuse Marxism with the national reality of Nicaragua.<sup>56</sup> As in Cuba, this party became ineffective in its opposition to a brutal and oppressive dictatorship. The PSN believed that due to the underdeveloped precapitalist economy, the Nicaraguan masses lacked the potential to develop a revolutionary consciousness. Thus, Nicaragua supposedly did not meet the proper objective conditions which orthodox Marxists deemed necessary to carry forward a revolutionary class struggle.<sup>57</sup>

The success of Castro's guerrillas in Cuba in 1959 convinced several members of the PSN that they could foment a revolutionary consciousness among the Nicaraguan people. Having lost patience with the conservatism and passivity of the PSN, Carlos Fonseca Amador, Tomás Borge Martínez, Silvio Mayorga, and Noel Guerrero formed the Frente Sandinista para la Liberación Nacional (FSLN) in 1961 as a guerrilla movement with the vision of toppling the Somoza dynasty and replacing it with a socialist government. These early Sandinistas condemned the PSN for its policies of class collaboration, supporting the bourgeoisie, and being an accomplice to American imperialism during World War II.<sup>58</sup> The PSN, for its part, denounced the FSLN's efforts as utopian and premature adventurism, much as the Communist Party had done to the 26th of July Movement in Cuba. The PSN opted to wait for the proper

economic conditions for a revolution as it continued slowly to organize the proletariat into a working-class movement.<sup>59</sup>

The 1969 "Historic Program of the FSLN," in which the FSLN outlined its revolutionary aims, is representative of the Sandinista ideology which emerged from this situation. In this document the FSLN called itself the vanguard of a worker-peasant alliance in a patriotic anti-imperialist and antioligarchic struggle.<sup>60</sup> The Sandinista Front declared its commitment to an agrarian reform which would benefit the peasant masses. In addition, the Sandinistas declared their strong support for international solidarity. They would actively support the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against the new and old colonialism and against the common enemy: Yankee imperialism.<sup>61</sup> The FSLN leaders, many of whom were Marxist-Leninists and former members of the Nicaraguan communist party, combined anti-imperialist nationalist sentiment with the idea of an international Marxist class struggle. They were not fighting for an abstract social or Marxist revolution, however, but one firmly grounded in their own historical reality and experience.

In 1975 and 1976 the FSLN broke into three factions or tendencies. The Proletarios followed an orthodox Marxist line which stressed the formation of an urban, working-class vanguard party to lead a class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Jaime Wheelock Román, an intellectual who had studied Marxist economics in Chile during the socialist Salvador Allende government of the early 1970s, headed this proletarian wing of the FSLN. Wheelock rejected the Mariateguian and Guevarian-style voluntarism which had earlier characterized the FSLN's ideology. A second tendency, the Guerra Popular Prolongada (GPP) or Prolonged People's War, emphasized a Maoist strategy of concentrating military forces in the countryside rather than in the city. Tomás Borge, one of the original founders of the FSLN, led this tendency. The third tendency, known simply as the Terceristas, favored a more flexible and innovative approach. The Terceristas combined elements of the Proletarios' class consciousness and struggle with the GPP's military strategy. They argued that the subjective conditions existed in Nicaragua for a popular insurrection. They brought non-Marxist elements such as the Social Democrats and radical Christians into a unified Sandinista-led struggle against the Somoza dictatorship. In 1978 Castro successfully urged the

reunification of these three tendencies, but it was the pragmatic flexibility and ideological plurality of the Terceristas which galvanized Sandinista leadership over a popular insurrection and defined the unique nationalistic direction of the Nicaraguan revolution. Tercerista Daniel Ortega Saavedra emerged as the leader of the Sandinistas during their ten years in power. Although this Tercerista-led Sandinista government deviated significantly from orthodox Marxist theory, the Sandinistas energetically followed the Mariateguian-inspired tradition of analyzing their own historical situation in order to develop strategies appropriate to their reality. Thus the Sandinista example not only demonstrated the strength of a unified anti-imperialist struggle, but also the possibilities for a nondeterministic approach to Marxist theory.

### **Carlos Fonseca Amador**

Carlos Fonseca Amador was the one person who was largely responsible for shaping the ideology of the new Sandinista movement which emerged in the 1960s. Fonseca brought to the FSLN a Marxist-Leninist analysis of Nicaraguan society that he had learned from the PSN. Fonseca, however, used this analysis to challenge the assumptions of the old line communist party. Fonseca emphasized the importance of a creative and flexible approach to revolutionary theory, and stressed that a strategy must be specifically adapted to the concrete circumstances of a country rather than dictated by people in distant Moscow. The models for guerrilla warfare which "Che" Guevara worked out in Cuba strongly influenced Fonseca. He also studied other international struggles and philosophies from around the world, but ultimately believed that the FSLN must root its struggle in Nicaragua's own reality. To this end, Fonseca resurrected the image of General Sandino as a national hero and promoted the social and political aspects of Sandino's thought. Together, Guevara and Sandino influenced Fonseca's creative intellectual development and, by extension, the formation of the FSLN's militantly nationalistic ideology. Fonseca's emphasis on the political education of the peasantry along with his flexible approach to revolutionary theory and his ability to learn from his mistakes led to a situation in which the Sandinistas ultimately triumphed in their social revolution.

Fonseca began his career as a political activist while a student in the 1950s at the Matagalpan high school in northern Nicaragua. Together with his classmate Tomás Borge, Fonseca formed a student activist group that established contacts with a local labor union. Fonseca earned a reputation as an outstanding student and an avid reader. Through his studies and during a brief tenure as a librarian in Managua, he came in contact with a wide variety of European and Latin American writers who influenced the development of his Marxism. Fonseca graduated at the top of his high school class in 1955 after writing a thesis on Marx's thought entitled *El capital y el trabajo* (Capital and Work). Not only was Fonseca the FSLN's leading intellectual, he also stressed the importance of popular education. Fonseca's mandate "and also teach them to read" became the slogan of the 1980 literacy crusade which characterized the early years of the revolution. Education was not to remain the sole dominion of the elite classes, but it was to be a tool to empower the peasant and working-class masses of Nicaragua.

Although Fonseca traced his political activities back to his early years in school, like Guevara he claimed that the revolutionary situation in Guatemala in the early 1950s awoke his revolutionary consciousness. The overthrow of the leftist Jacobo Arbenz government in Guatemala in 1954 led Fonseca to believe that the struggle in Nicaragua was not only to overthrow a ruling clique, but to overthrow an entire system.<sup>62</sup> After graduating from high school, Fonseca and Borge studied law at the National Autonomous University in León where their political activism quickly became more important than their studies. Both joined the Partido Socialista Nicaragüense (PSN) in 1955 and together organized a communist party cell and a Marxist study group at the university. The members of this study group became increasingly more militant in their belief that they could create a socialist revolution in Nicaragua. The PSN, they believed, was too orthodox, dogmatic, and unrevolutionary in its policies to lead this revolutionary struggle. Influenced by the success of the Cuban revolution, Fonseca left the party in 1959 and joined a guerrilla group which invaded Nicaragua with the intent to overthrow the Somoza dynasty. This was one of several guerrilla operations which the triumph of the Cuban revolution triggered in Nicaragua, and these movements foreshadowed the formation of the FSLN in 1961.

In the development of the ideology of the Sandinista movement, Fonseca referred repeatedly to both Sandino's and Guevara's thought. In an interview in 1970 Fonseca stated that in the revolutionary struggle they were guided by the most advanced principles, by Marxist ideology, by the commandant Guevara, and by Sandino.<sup>63</sup> Fonseca was the first Marxist in Nicaragua to look to Sandino as a forebearer of the socialist revolution and to use him as a model for the development of a nationally based insurrection. Although the Nicaraguan Socialist Party criticized Sandino for his alleged lack of a proper class analysis of Nicaraguan society, Fonseca looked to him as a symbol of his struggle much like Castro had used Martí to gain support for the 26th of July Movement in Cuba. In the 1950s Fonseca collected Sandino's writings into an anthology entitled *Ideario político del General Sandino* in which he stressed Sandino's thoughts on imperialism, internationalism, social change, and moral integrity.<sup>64</sup> Although the founders of the FSLN learned their Marxism from the PSN, they turned to Sandino's writings in an effort to root their Marxism in a nationally based tradition.<sup>65</sup> Fonseca also acknowledged his intellectual debt to Guevara and the Cuban revolution. He wrote that it was with the success of the Cuban revolution in 1959 that Marxism arrived to the rebel Nicaraguan spirit.<sup>66</sup> Guevara was directly involved with the formation of the FSLN; he helped train and arm the Nicaraguan guerrillas and at one point he considered joining the Sandinistas' struggle in Nicaragua.<sup>67</sup> Guevara's foco theory defined the Nicaraguans' military strategy during the first phase of guerrilla operations from 1962 to 1967.<sup>68</sup> Together with Sandino, Guevara helped define the new Marxism which Fonseca applied in Nicaragua.

Sandino and Guevara were the two most obvious and overt influences on Fonseca, but there are also other important influences which help explain his intellectual development. Various scholars have pointed to the influence which the Italian philosopher Gramsci had on Sandinista ideology. Gramsci's works were being translated into Spanish in the 1960s and 1970s just as the Sandinistas were developing their revolutionary ideologies. According to Donald Hodges, Gramsci's Marxism appealed to Nicaraguan revolutionaries because of its strong voluntarist and activist bent and because of its justification for the FSLN's emphasis on the subjective conditions of revolution. These factors led the Nicaraguans to honor Gramsci as the single most important Marxist theoretician since Lenin.<sup>69</sup>

Economist Doug Brown pointed to the socialist democratic (rather than authoritarian) hegemonic nature of the Nicaraguan revolution as evidence of Gramsci's presence in Nicaragua. Brown noted that Gramsci created an opening in Marxism in which both religion and nationalism could be injected.<sup>70</sup> Also central to understanding Fonseca's place in the evolution of a Latin American revolutionary theory, however, was Mariátegui. Although a generation separated the two thinkers, and Mariátegui had already been dead for six years when Fonseca was born, their ideas demonstrate an important continuity in Latin American Marxist thought. Harry Vanden has written that Fonseca, like Mariátegui, believed that Marxism-Leninism should provide the basis for national analysis and ideology, but that national conditions would shape form and precise content.<sup>71</sup> This influence was carried to Fonseca in a variety of ways. Mariátegui supported Sandino's anti-imperialist struggle in the 1920s, and Sandino therefore presented a bridge between Peru and Nicaragua for Mariátegui's ideas on nationalism, agrarian reform, and the importance of the political organizing and raising the level of political consciousness of the peasantry. Similarly, Guevara introduced elements of Mariátegui's thought that had been incorporated into the Cuban revolution to the Nicaraguans. "What Guevara incorporated from Mariátegui in developing his new Marxism," Donald Hodges has observed, "also rubbed off on Fonseca and the FSLN."<sup>72</sup>

Because of Fonseca's interest in Marxism and the fact that he was an avid reader who was conversant with the writings of a broad range of Latin American intellectuals, it would logically seem that at some point he would have encountered Mariátegui's ideas. In his Marxist study group in León in the 1950s Fonseca had read Argentine author Gregorio Selser's two-volume work on Sandino in which Selser noted Mariátegui's support for Sandino's cause.<sup>73</sup> Contacts such as this demonstrate Fonseca's knowledge of Mariátegui, but there is no evidence that Fonseca had read Mariátegui's works, and he does not make direct mention of the Peruvian Marxist in his writings. At first, this would appear to be a curious omission not only because of Mariátegui's stature among Latin American Marxists, but also because of Fonseca's intellectual pursuits and because of the contacts between Mariátegui and Central America in the 1920s. In addition to his contact with Sandino, Mariátegui also exchanged information and ideas with

Froylán Turcios's vanguard journal *Ariel* in Honduras and Joaquín García Monge's journal *Repertorio Americano* in Costa Rica, both supporters of Sandino's struggle. It would seem that remnants of these contacts would have survived the twenty-five year period between Sandino and Fonseca.

There are several explanations for the apparent lack of continuity of Mariátegui's intellectual presence in Nicaragua. One possible explanation pertains to the fact that although Mariátegui was a strong internationalist with many contacts throughout Latin America, he had fallen into disfavor with the international communist movement. Moscow's official line in the 1950s denounced Mariátegui as a populist who lacked a proper Marxist-Leninist analysis,<sup>74</sup> and it was only later that he was returned to a position of respect in official communist doctrine. Given the strong pro-Moscow orientation of the PSN, Mariátegui's ideas would not have received a warm reception in Nicaragua in the 1950s. After the triumph of the Nicaraguan revolution, Nicaraguan poet Julio Valle-Castillo explained the delayed entrance of Mariátegui's ideas into Nicaragua. "With the arrival of the Cold War," Valle-Castillo noted, "the discussion about Mariátegui [in Latin America] was violently repressed." But with the triumph of the Cuban revolution, throughout the continent the knowledge of Mariátegui became a necessity for the revolutionary movement. He was revered as one of the most original thinkers the continent has known, and accredited with the introduction of Marxist reflection into Latin America.<sup>75</sup>

In addition, Nicaragua, unlike Cuba, did not have a strong continuous tradition of leftist political and labor organizing which would have transmitted Mariátegui's ideas to Fonseca's generation. Until the 1970s and 1980s Nicaragua remained isolated from international leftist intellectual currents. The early contact that socialists in countries such as Argentina, Chile, Mexico, and Cuba had with Marx and Marxist ideas would logically have made them susceptible to Mariátegui's influence, but Marxism came late and in distorted forms to Nicaragua. Fonseca said that before the Cuban revolution of 1959, Nicaragua remained ideologically on the level of a cave, a prison into which Marxist ideas did not penetrate.<sup>76</sup> "Che" Guevara said that Latin America was a forgotten continent, and Fonseca added that Nicaragua was the most forgotten of the forgotten ones. Nicaragua was so isolated that Moscow ignored the

PSN, and the leaders of the PSN were therefore ignorant of many of the disputes which tore apart the international communist movement. It is doubtful that the leaders of the PSN would have encountered Mariátegui's ideas, and Fonseca claimed that not even the leader of the PSN was familiar with the content of the *Communist Manifesto*.<sup>77</sup> Later Borge wrote that in the 1950s no more than half a dozen copies of Juan B. Justo's Spanish translation of Marx's *Das Kapital* existed in Nicaragua. The 1918 Córdoba University Reform Movement did not exert a strong influence in Nicaragua until the 1950s, and the country was not represented at the first conference of Latin American communist parties in Buenos Aires in 1929. "Marxism was not known even in its dogmatic version," Borge wrote. Not only did Nicaragua lack someone with the organizing brilliance of Luis Emilio Recabarren of Chile, the insightfulness of Mariátegui, or the political activity of Mella, but the leaders of the PSN were also intoxicated by backwardness and a mechanical Marxism.<sup>78</sup> This early history of Nicaraguan Marxism was a sad one, Borge stated, and in reality one of the characteristics of the Nicaraguan revolution was that Marxism did not have a history in the country.<sup>79</sup>

Finally, although several of Mariátegui's books were in print in the 1950s and the first stage of his *Complete Works* series was released in 1959, they were not widely distributed until the 1970s and Fonseca would have had difficulty locating them in Nicaragua. No significant part of Mariátegui's writings was published in Nicaragua until 1985 when the Editorial Nueva Nicaragua, in conjunction with the Cuban Editorial Arte y Literatura, published Mercedes Santos Moray's edited volume *Marxistas de América*, of which an entire section is devoted to Mariátegui's writings. Considering the political isolation and the presence of a conservative dictatorship in Nicaragua in the 1950s, more surprising than the lack of references to Mariátegui's thought are the connections that Fonseca did manage to make with international Marxist thinkers. It is possible that Fonseca came to his conclusions independent of any direct influence from Mariátegui. It is also clear, however, that Sandino and the Cuban revolutionaries (such as Guevara and Castro) who had read Mariátegui's works and had assimilated his ideas into their struggles influenced Fonseca. Furthermore, Borge has argued that Fonseca was no stranger to the works of Mariátegui nor world revolutionary experience. Fonseca

was Nicaragua's first and most lucid Marxist who not only studied revolutionary theory, but also knew how to apply it to Nicaragua's concrete reality.<sup>80</sup> Fonseca's thought not only reflects many of the concerns which Mariátegui originally had raised, but it is also a logical extension and application of Mariátegui's ideology.

Unlike the rather indirect influences of Guevara and others on Fonseca's Marxism, other Nicaraguans (such as economist Orlando Núñez) have acknowledged that Mariátegui's writings and example influenced succeeding generations of Marxists in Peru and Latin America.<sup>81</sup> Significantly, the writings and pronouncements of Fonseca's friend and comrade Tomás Borge do show a direct, overt, and conscious Mariateguian influence. Borge, the only surviving founder of the FSLN, acknowledges Mariátegui's influence on him and makes numerous references to the Peruvian thinker in his writings. Borge and FSLN commandant Henry Ruiz lived in Peru for several months under the populist military regime of General Juan Velasco Alvarado. Before his departure for Peru, Fonseca told Borge that while in Peru he should establish contact with Pavletich, Sandino's former advisor, and study Mariátegui's writings. These contacts with Pavletich were not lost, and Pavletich continued to organize support in Peru for the FSLN. In 1970 when the Costa Rican National Guard imprisoned Fonseca, Rufo Marín, and Humberto Ortega, Pavletich, together with Roque Dalton in El Salvador and Jean Paul Sartre in France, organized an international campaign of solidarity for their release.<sup>82</sup> Pavletich's continued support for the Sandinistas is evident in an article which he wrote for the Cuban journal *Casa de las Américas* shortly after the triumph of the 1979 revolution. In the article, Pavletich denounced the history of United States imperialism and military intervention in Nicaragua and championed the victory of the Sandinista uprising.<sup>83</sup> In an interview in 1982, Borge spoke of his fondness for the Peruvian people and the influence that they had on him. The people he met in Peru and continued to maintain contact with, including Pavletich and the liberation theologian Gustavo Gutiérrez, undoubtedly introduced him to the significance of Mariátegui's thought.<sup>84</sup> Inevitably, Borge brought this influence back to Fonseca in Nicaragua. Peruvian journalist and writer Ricardo Luna Vegas wrote that in the 1980s Borge, along with other leaders of the Sandinista government, frequently invoked the name and revolutionary ideas of Mariátegui along with those of Sandino.<sup>85</sup> Through these

contacts with Borge, Pavletich, and others, Mariátegui had an influence on the development of Fonseca's thought.

The homage which the prorevolutionary Nicaraguan newspaper *El Nuevo Diario* paid to Mariátegui in 1980 on the fiftieth anniversary of his death is evidence of Mariátegui's continued significance for the Nicaraguan revolution. In a front-page article in the cultural supplement *Nuevo Amanecer Cultural*, the editor Julio Valle-Castillo traced the influence and interpretations of Mariátegui's thought in Latin America from the 1930s through the 1970s. He noted the importance of Mariátegui's political and labor organizational efforts as part of the anti-imperialist struggle. Valle-Castillo concluded that the history of the reception of Mariátegui justly proved that far from decreasing, his work had increased in importance in Latin America. In an effort to "present several of the facets of his work and his personality," this supplement included a biography of Mariátegui by the Argentine Raúl Larra, an analysis of the significance of his written work by the Italian Antonio Melis, and an article by the North American scholar Harry Vanden showing the Marxist influence on Mariátegui's thought. This was to be followed in subsequent months with excerpts on Sandino from Mariátegui's journal *Amauta*.<sup>86</sup>

Valle-Castillo first encountered Mariátegui's writings while studying at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México in Mexico City in the 1970s. Since then he has been instrumental in introducing Mariátegui's ideas into Nicaragua. He noted that intellectuals such as former Nicaraguan vice-president Sergio Ramírez and FSLN commandants Jaime Wheelock Román and Tomás Borge have taken an active interest in Mariátegui's thought, but for most Nicaraguans the process of encountering Mariátegui's ideas is more natural and organic. For many people, Mariátegui was a basic sense; people knew his thought without knowing it, Valle-Castillo said. Mariátegui dealt with the fundamental problems of Latin America: questions of indigenism, national struggles, and anti-imperialism. For the Latin American mind, Mariátegui's analysis has become a natural way of approaching these problems.<sup>87</sup>

### **National Marxism**

Mariátegui's subtle influence on the Nicaraguan revolution is evident in the Sandinistas' view of a flexible and nondogmatic

Marxism. In a speech in Mexico in 1981 Borge declared that the Sandinista revolution was not a copy of another country's experiences. He alluded to Mariátegui's statements in the editorial "Aniversario y balance" in *Amauta* to claim that "It is our revolution, a heroic creation and not a copy, which fulfills the prophecy of Mariátegui."<sup>88</sup> Borge stressed the need for a flexible approach to the application of Marxist doctrines in Nicaragua. "We are, essentially," he added, "antidogmatic because we are realists."<sup>89</sup> Mariátegui's ideas are also reflected in the Sandinistas' view of history. Mariátegui wrote that true revolutionaries never proceed as if history began with them.<sup>90</sup> Likewise, the Sandinistas rooted their struggle in Nicaragua's rich tradition of rebellion against Spanish, British, and United States domination; but, Fonseca argued, these struggles lacked the revolutionary consciousness necessary for progressive revolutionary change. The Nicaraguans have traditionally been a rebel people, but not a revolutionary people, Fonseca wrote.<sup>91</sup> He struggled to foment a revolutionary consciousness in the Nicaraguan people, which led him to apply creatively and flexibly his revolutionary Marxism to the Nicaraguan situation.

This application of a flexible and organic Marxism to a national situation is called national Marxism and is a form of Marxism which characterized both Mariátegui's and the Sandinistas' ideologies. Ricardo Morales Avilés, a university professor from León who was a member of the FSLN National Directorate before being killed in combat in 1973 and who helped to define Sandinista ideology during the 1970s, wrote that Nicaraguans must study their history and their reality as Marxists, and study Marxism as Nicaraguans.<sup>92</sup> Fonseca also emphasized that their struggle had to be rooted in their own country and culture and adapted to Nicaraguan conditions. "We don't only base ourselves on the experiences of other Latin American guerrilla movements," Fonseca asserted.<sup>93</sup> It is this adaptation of Marxism to Nicaraguan conditions which strongly characterized the Sandinista struggle and is perhaps one of the clearest manifestations of an application of this aspect of Mariátegui's ideology to a Latin American situation. In Europe, nationalism, especially as manifested in Nazi Germany, had a fundamentally reactionary character. When Sandino used nationalism and national identity tools to fight against foreign imperialism and for social change, members of the Communist

International (even in Latin America) condemned him as a heretic and an agent of imperialism.<sup>94</sup> But as Mariátegui argued in the 1920s, and as the Cubans and Nicaraguans demonstrated through their revolutionary processes, this concept and understanding of nationalism could not be mechanically imported into Latin America.

This element of national Marxism is an important consideration in understanding the absence of numerous overt references to Mariátegui in Sandinista writings. As in Cuba where the revolutionaries first pointed to national heroes such as Martí before discussing international figures, Fonseca and the FSLN looked for their roots in Sandino's example before acknowledging their intellectual debt to foreign influences. It is not so much that the Nicaraguans wished to reject or isolate themselves from international intellectual currents, as it is the characteristic nature of the Latin American revolution that they would rather first look for the indigenous roots of their struggle in their own country. Ironically, the absence of an overwhelming number of references to Mariátegui and other international Marxist figures in favor of a concentration on Sandino and other national heroes is a strong indication of the presence and influence of Mariátegui in the Nicaraguan revolution.

### **Nationalism and Internationalism**

Although the Sandinistas wrapped their struggle in patriotic and nationalistic language, the international dimensions of the Sandinista struggle cannot be ignored and it is important to consider the interplay of nationalism and internationalism in the Nicaraguan revolution. Like Sandino, the Sandinistas had a broad international vision of an anti-imperialist war to implement social change on an international scale. Borge once defined Sandinista ideology (sandinismo) as the thought of Fonseca and Sandino, applied together with worldwide revolutionary experience and the concrete realities of Nicaragua.<sup>95</sup> In an essay on Fonseca's political thought, Víctor Tirado López, one of the nine commandants on the FSLN's National Directorate, also stressed the international character of Sandinista ideology. Tirado López noted that although Fonseca's revolutionary ideology developed in the Nicaraguan national context, it was greatly enhanced by the wealth of experience of the international revolutionary movement. Like Mariátegui, however, Fonseca clearly understood that international revolutionary

doctrines are useless if they are not combined with national revolutionary thought and politics.<sup>96</sup> His ideology did not form in isolation from the broader picture of revolutionary struggles not only in Latin America but throughout the Third World.

After the triumph of the Nicaraguan revolution, the United States government was concerned that the Sandinistas would attempt to export their revolution as the Cubans had done twenty years earlier. The FSLN felt a moral obligation to assist other revolutionary movements, especially that of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front in neighboring El Salvador, but this remained largely in the realm of political and moral solidarity. Borge stated that revolutions were the result of each people's effort; they could be exported.<sup>97</sup> Likewise, the Salvadoran guerrillas also attacked the belief that revolutions could be exported; revolutions would always grow out of local conditions and events and were not the result of Soviet-Cuban interference.<sup>98</sup> Borge stressed that the most important role of the FSLN would be to carry forward the Sandinista revolution as an example to other guerrilla groups that victory was possible. As the example of the Cuban revolution had stimulated guerrilla warfare in Nicaragua, the Sandinistas would demonstrate to others how alliances in the revolution could be created, maintained, and expanded.<sup>99</sup> After the triumph of the Sandinista revolution, Alejandro Bendaña, Nicaragua's ambassador to the United Nations, stated that as Sandino and his successors believed that the Nicaraguan struggle was part of a single worldwide struggle for freedom, the Sandinistas also recognized the importance of international support for Nicaraguan liberation.<sup>100</sup> Although the Sandinistas had a clear international vision, they realized that this vision must be rooted in national conditions. This reflects Mariátegui's concern fifty years earlier that the Peruvian Socialist Party would have the character of an international socialist revolutionary movement, but yet retain its base in the concrete reality of that country.<sup>101</sup>

Anti-imperialism is another common theme which runs in both the Sandinistas' and Mariátegui's thought. Carlos Vilas, an Argentine lawyer who worked with the Sandinistas in the Ministry of Planning, drew on Mariátegui's ideas in order to resolve questions on the nature of Nicaragua's national sovereignty. Vilas noted that Mariátegui had differentiated between an anti-imperialism that has class exploitation and oppression as its central

focus and one which is constituted on the basis of national oppression.<sup>102</sup> He quoted from Mariátegui's thesis "Punto de vista anti-imperialista" that the bourgeois could be drawn to an anti-imperialist position for reasons of expansion and capitalist growth and not for reasons of social justice and socialist doctrine.<sup>103</sup> Vilas emphasized that for Nicaragua the class struggle was more essential, more basic, than the struggle against United States imperialism. He quoted Mariátegui's statement that although anti-imperialism could be used to mobilize people in a struggle for national liberation, it does not annul the antagonism between classes, nor does it eliminate their different class interests.<sup>104</sup> Mariátegui continued that only a socialist revolution could oppose the advance of imperialism with a real, definitive barrier.<sup>105</sup>

### Indigenismo

In addition to writing on anti-imperialism and class struggle in the Nicaraguan context, Vilas has also written a book about Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast and the issues which the indigenous population raised for Nicaragua.<sup>106</sup> Indigenismo was a central tenet of Mariátegui's thought and became an important part of revolutionary governments in Latin American countries with large surviving native populations such as in the aftermath of the Mexican revolution, Jacobo Arbenz's government in Guatemala in the 1950s, and General Juan Velasco Alvarado's revolutionary ruling Junta in Peru from 1968 to 1975. In the previous chapter we have examined how this issue reflected itself in the Cuban revolution in a country where the native population had been completely annihilated four hundred years earlier during the Spanish conquest. It might surprise some that this issue also was important to Sandinista ideology, especially since those opposed to the revolutionary government have roundly criticized the Sandinistas for their policies toward the Miskito, Sumu, and Rama Indians on the Atlantic Coast. Hodges, in his outstanding work *Intellectual Foundations of the Nicaraguan Revolution*, totally ignores this aspect of Sandinista ideology. Many of those who do bridge this topic do so in a manner that is highly critical of the Sandinistas, emphasizing the actions of those who joined paramilitary organizations allied with the counter-revolutionary forces which sought to overthrow the Sandinista government. Many of these treatments, however, ignore the complex

historical realities which led to the Sandinistas' misguided efforts to incorporate the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua into the rest of the country. Rather than emphasizing the naïve idealism and resulting human rights abuses which resulted from this policy, it is instructive to reflect on why the Sandinistas sought to break from Somoza's policy of ignoring the Atlantic Coast with the determination to bring the benefits of the revolution to the coast and to incorporate it into mainstream Nicaraguan life.

Although Nicaragua was not home to the highly developed indigenous civilizations which the Spanish encountered in Mexico and Peru, it did have a sizable native population at the time of the Spanish conquest. The Spanish conquest of Nicaragua began in 1523 from both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Although the Spaniards quickly established a foothold on the Pacific Coast, they never controlled the Atlantic Coast, and indigenous rebellions in the interior long repelled Spanish advances into their territory. In 1612 the Spanish began a serious effort to conquer the interior of Nicaragua, an effort which finally succeeded 150 years later, not through military power but through the religious zeal of Franciscan missionaries. The conquest of Nicaragua was not an easy one. In 1743, over two hundred years after the beginning of the Spanish conquest of Nicaragua, a Spanish military official named Luis Díes Navarro counted fourteen indigenous revolts against Spanish rule. He claimed that the Pantasmas, Lencas, Bocayes, Cuge, Tomayes, Nanaicas, and other indigenous ethnic groups which lived in central and northern Nicaragua were "the most disloyal subjects of his Spanish Majesty."<sup>107</sup> Even after the Spanish subjugation, the indigenous population continued to agitate for political reforms. In 1817, in an act which marked one of the first labor protests in Nicaragua, an indigenous delegation walked from northern Nicaragua to the colonial center of power in Guatemala to lodge a complaint with the Spanish officials over the low salaries and bad working conditions which they suffered. Even after the end of Spanish rule, the indigenous people continued to revolt against the foreign rule which the Spanish-speaking Nicaraguan leaders represented. In 1856, Matagalpan Indians played a significant role in the fight against the filibuster William Walker, and in 1881 they carried on a seven-month uprising against the Nicaraguan government.<sup>108</sup> Although by the twentieth century the Spanish had subjugated the Matagalpans and incorporated them into the dominant Hispanic

culture, the Miskitos, Sumus, and Ramas on the Atlantic Coast still retained their separate cultural and ethnic identities. Their history was one of alienation from the Spanish-speaking Pacific Coast, and they viewed the revolutionary Sandinista government not as a change from the long history of Spanish imperialism and cultural domination that stretched back to the sixteenth-century conquistadors, but merely as another chapter in a lengthy and continuous history.

Although most Sandinistas were Spanish-speaking mestizos from Nicaragua's Pacific Coast, it is important to recognize that they regarded their struggle as a continuation of that which the indigenous people had begun in the sixteenth century against colonial oppression. Rather than treating the indigenous population as dirty, backward savages, which is still common in much of Latin America, both Sandino and the Sandinistas saw indigenous struggles as related to their own. Tomás Borge, president of the Autonomy Commission, which sought to resolve the political status of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, noted in a speech in 1985 that Sandino had worked with and relied on the help and aid of the Miskitos and Sumus as he fought in the Departments of Segovia and Zelaya Norte.<sup>109</sup> Neill Macaulay relates the story of Adolfo Cockburn, a well-regarded Miskito leader with a large following along the Coco River on the Honduran-Nicaraguan border. In 1930 he was commissioned as a general in Sandino's army, and the following year the United States Marines captured and executed him.<sup>110</sup> In these and in other ways, Sandino and the indigenous population of Nicaragua integrated their struggles.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the Sandinistas enjoyed a high degree of support within the Indian neighborhoods of Monimbó in Masaya and Subtiava in León. The Sandinistas drew on their actions and those of Indians in Matagalpa and elsewhere as part of a long history of resistance to colonial domination. During years of political organizing in the Nicaraguan mountains the Sandinistas came in daily contact not only with mestizo peasants, but also members of the Miskito, Sumu, and Rama ethnic groups. Unlike the purely strategic alliances which the Contras later built with these groups, the Sandinistas sought to merge the two struggles. Numerous Sandinista intellectuals have expounded on this theme of the importance of the indigenous struggles. While in exile in the early 1970s, Jaime Wheelock Román wrote a treatise entitled

"Indigenous roots of the anti-colonial struggle in Nicaragua" in which he criticized the majority of historians for identifying with Spanish colonialists and ignoring the history of indigenous resistance. Although Wheelock as leader of the proletarian wing of the FSLN rejected the Marxist voluntarism which characterized Mariátegui's thought, he did identify with Mariátegui's views on indigenismo. "The roots of the anti-colonial indigenous struggle run deep," Wheelock wrote in this work, which is clearly sympathetic with the plight of the indigenous people.<sup>111</sup> Tomás Borge in *La paciente impaciencia*, his autobiographical history of the Sandinista revolution, refers to his native region of Matagalpa as being that of an Indian people. He links the early indigenous and the later Sandinista struggles both symbolically and concretely. The early indigenous guerrillas marched into battle with their faces and bodies painted red and black, significantly the same colors that Sandino and later the FSLN chose to represent their struggle.<sup>112</sup>

In the 1969 "Historic Program of the FSLN," the Sandinistas gave an early articulation of their plans for the Atlantic Coast and the importance which they placed on the region. They condemned the neglect and exploitation which the Atlantic Coast suffered and vowed to wipe out the odious discrimination to which the indigenous Miskitos, Sumus, Zambos, and Blacks of this region were subjected.<sup>113</sup> When the Sandinistas came to power in 1979 they sought to put these ideals into practice. Many of the inhabitants of the Atlantic Coast, however, saw this as nothing more than another Spanish invasion into their lives. They had not experienced the intense repression of the Somoza dynasty, but rather appreciated the independence which resulted from Somoza's neglect of the Atlantic Coast. When the Sandinistas came with their ideals of bringing the benefits of their revolution to the indigenous peoples, cultural and linguistic differences led to human rights abuses and many of the people whom they sought to help instead took up arms against the revolution. To their credit, the Sandinistas listened to the people from the coast and together they formed an Autonomy Commission which devised a plan of autonomy that would preserve the language and cultural expression of the indigenous population. "The historical enmities of the indigenous peoples and Atlantic Coast communities," the Autonomy Commission declared, "through the affirmation of its popular and anti-imperialistic character formed part of the struggle of the Popular Sandinista Revolution."<sup>114</sup>

Placed in its proper historical setting, the process of autonomy was not a whim of the coastal people nor a paternalistic gift from the Sandinistas but an exercise in self-determination and an affirmation of a country's ethnic and racial diversity.

The Nicaraguan Autonomy Commission declared Nicaragua to be a multiethnic country, a major step in breaking from the traditional Pacific Coast/Spanish-speaking orientation of Nicaragua and recognizing the cultural and ethnic diversity of the country.<sup>115</sup> Few other countries have made such expressions, and the desire for the government to recognize the multiethnic component of a country has become a common element of indigenous struggles throughout the hemisphere. Not only do the Sandinistas' actions reflect Mariátegui's influence on their ideology, their policies have also inspired historical developments in other countries. Although the indigenous population comprises only about 5 percent of the Nicaraguan population, the Sandinistas' actions set an example which had profound ramifications for liberation struggles throughout Latin America, including countries such as Guatemala and Peru where the indigenous people comprise more than half of the population.<sup>116</sup>

This theme of indigenismo was also reflected in the thought of Ernesto Cardenal, the minister of culture in the revolutionary Nicaraguan government. He believed that it was his revolutionary duty to help preserve the indigenous people's language and culture from "cultural ethnocide."<sup>117</sup> John Beverley and Marc Zimmerman have observed that "like Mariátegui in his articulation of the Inca *ayllu* as a prototype of communist society indigenous to America, Cardenal came to posit the classic Mayan cities as peaceful, classless societies whose values more or less coincided with the Christian utopia he was seeking to propagate in Solentiname."<sup>118</sup> Cardenal saw a link between cultural and political oppression, and stressed the necessity to affirm a native identity in order to liberate the people fully. He believed that part of the revolutionary process was to engender an appreciation for Nicaragua's own indigenous culture and to use that culture to raise people's revolutionary consciousness. Indigenismo was also central to the cultural journal *Nicaráuac* which Cardenal's Ministry of Culture began publishing less than a year after the triumph of the 1979 revolution. In an editorial introducing the first issue of this journal, Cardenal explained the significance of the name. "We want to give this cultural journal of the New

Nicaragua the precolumbian name that was, perhaps, the first name of our land," Cardenal wrote. After exploring the possible linguistic roots of the word *Nicarúac* in the Nahuatl and Arawak languages and explaining how the Spanish conquistador Gil González Dávila understood it as "Nicaragua," Cardenal stated that with this "ancient name we want to reinvigorate the formidable Sandinista Revolution with our most vital and ancient indigenous and American roots."<sup>119</sup>

Although the Nicaraguans probably did not consciously pattern their journal after the cultural journal *Amauta* which Mariátegui published in Peru in the 1920s, Cardenal's editorial introducing *Nicarúac* reflects three themes that Mariátegui presented in his editorial in the first edition of *Amauta*. The first and most obvious common theme is the affirmation of the country's indigenous roots and the use of an indigenous word which has historical national significance as a title for the journal. Similar to Cardenal's comments introducing *Nicarúac*, Mariátegui, in his editorial introducing the new Peruvian journal, wrote that the choice of his title demonstrated "our adherence to the Race" and to the spirit of the ancient Inca Empire.<sup>120</sup> The two other strong parallels between *Amauta* and *Nicarúac* concern the themes of Pan-Americanism and the "new man." Cardenal did not envision his journal to be just for Nicaragua but for all of Latin America. "The cause of Nicaragua is the cause of all of Our America,"<sup>121</sup> Cardenal wrote, exhibiting the strong internationalist character which has been an important part of the Latin American revolution beginning with Bolívar and carried on through the thoughts and actions of Martí, Mariátegui, and the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions. A final common theme relates to the concept of the new man, one possible translation of the word "Nicarúac" from the Arawak word *Nec arahuac*, or *Hombres Valientes*—Valiant Men. For Cardenal, a valiant man was a new man who was part of the historical process of constructing a new society in Nicaragua.<sup>122</sup> As we have already seen in the previous chapter, although internationalism was an important part of the Cuban revolution and talk of a socialist new man is generally associated with Che Guevara, these concepts have roots in Mariátegui's thought. In his editorial in *Amauta*, Mariátegui proclaimed the importance of Peru in a worldwide socialist movement and that his journal would "unite the new men of Peru, first with

the other people of America and then with all of the people of the world."<sup>123</sup>

### **Revolutionary Myth**

In addition to the presentation of a nationalistic, anti-imperialistic, peasant-based revolution which valued the contributions of the indigenous population to the popular struggle, the Sandinistas also confirmed Mariátegui's belief in the value of an open, non-deterministic, subjective Marxism. Sheldon Liss has written that Fonseca believed that in order "to mobilize the masses for revolution . . . both scientifically oriented theory as well as nonrational beliefs that relate to human emotions are needed, an idea he picked up from the writings of Mariátegui."<sup>124</sup> Nicaragua is a land of poets, a situation which helped emphasize the subjective and emotional aspects of the revolutionary struggle in Latin America. During the Nicaraguan insurrection in the 1970s, poetry or sermons from radical priests frequently proved more inspirational than obscure Marxist tracts that had little to do with local conditions or supposed directives from Moscow.<sup>125</sup> Burbach and Núñez have acknowledged this influence in saying that it was no exaggeration to say that poets and novelists in Latin America have played a much more important role than social scientists in raising the political consciousness of the masses against authoritarian regimes and imperialism.<sup>126</sup> Poetry not only helped to form Nicaragua's national identity; the Sandinistas also used it in practical ways such as to instruct the population in the art of making armaments. An appeal to the nonrational as well as the rational can be seen in the thought of several of the leaders of the FSLN. Tomás Borge has said that the Sandinista insurrection was not only a function of bullets, but also was fought with guitars and poems.<sup>127</sup>

The roots of using poetry and culture as a tool for raising political consciousness, though, predates the Sandinistas. As early as the nineteenth century Rubén Darío's writing had a strong political component. In the 1920s, at the same time that Mariátegui and the Vanguardist movement flourished in Peru, a similar phenomenon swept Nicaragua. In *La paciente impaciencia*, Borge places Mariátegui in the context of what he calls "The Generation of 27," a group of revolutionary vanguardistas from the 1920s that included the Córdoba University Reform Movement, Sandino,

Mariátegui, and the Nicaraguan poet José Coronel Urtecho.<sup>128</sup> Coronel and the Vanguardist movement swung from lending support to Sandino's nationalistic campaign in the 1920s to supporting the Somoza dictatorship in the 1930s, but later Coronel denounced the abuses of the Somoza dictatorship and became a Sandinista partisan. He became an intellectual leader and revolutionary poet similar in status to Cardenal, Borge, and Sandinista vice-president Sergio Ramírez in creating and defining the Nicaraguan national identity. Borge once said, as he quoted from Mariátegui's *La escena contemporánea*, "our fight is not only for bread but also for beauty."<sup>129</sup> Borge stressed that human liberation and the creation of a new society were the main goals of the Sandinista revolution. In a continuation of Mariátegui's and Guevara's thoughts on the New Socialist Man, Borge argued that the reconstruction of man was, in his opinion, the most important part of national reconstruction.<sup>130</sup> Fonseca also pointed to the importance of a revolutionary's duty to struggle for humanity. Hodges has written that Fonseca agreed with Mariátegui's analysis that people need more than theory to move them to action, that revolutionaries must appeal to nonrational as well as rational motives, to the will to believe and to basic human sentiments.<sup>131</sup> Fonseca's strategy led to the formation of a higher level of political consciousness in a new generation of Nicaraguan revolutionaries.<sup>132</sup>

Fred Judson, who has written on the influence of a revolutionary myth on the Cuban revolution, also pursued this discussion in the Nicaraguan case. Placing his argument in the context of writings by Sorel, Gramsci, and Mariátegui on subjective Marxism and revolutionary myths, Judson states that in Nicaragua revolutionary consciousness was supplemented by faith, the conviction that not only is revolution necessary, but possible and imminent.<sup>133</sup> As did Fonseca, Judson argued that political education was necessary in order to establish a revolutionary morale in Nicaragua. Furthermore, the dialectic symbolism of life and death results in martyrs who live in the works of the revolution.<sup>134</sup> The resulting Nicaraguan revolutionary myth of sandinismo was based in the political culture as well as the ideological and political struggles.<sup>135</sup> In these and other ways, Judson demonstrates how the subjective elements of a revolutionary morale (or revolutionary myth) becomes a very concrete objective factor in determining the direction of a revolutionary process.

Perhaps the most vivid embodiment of the Sandinista-style subjective Marxism came in the realm of religion. Marx believed that religion was the opium of the people and that it prevented people from realizing their full human potential. "The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of men, is a demand for their real happiness," Marx stated.<sup>136</sup> For Marx, socialism, not religion, was the positive expression of human self-consciousness.<sup>137</sup> Subsequent Marxist revolutions and revolutionaries, including those in Russia, China, and Cuba, largely followed this interpretation of religion. In Cuba, the Communist Party believed that in a communist society the need for organized religion would eventually disappear.<sup>138</sup> It reflected Marx's belief that communism begins where atheism begins.<sup>139</sup> The result in Cuba was a polarized situation with strained relations between the government on one side and the Catholic and Protestant churches on the other.

The Sandinistas, however, took a radically different stance toward religion and conducted one of the first leftist revolutions to accept openly the role and contribution of religious workers to the process of social change. Sandinista ideology broke decisively with Marxism's claim that religion was a form of alienation and a false consciousness. The Sandinistas acknowledged that religion historically had served as a mechanism for spreading false consciousness among people and as a theoretical basis for political domination, but they believed that now religion could also be used to heighten people's revolutionary consciousness.<sup>140</sup> Several factors account for the different attitudes toward religion in Nicaragua and Cuba. The Catholic church in Cuba was not the strong institution that it was in Nicaragua. It did not reach much beyond the urban middle class and was thus divorced from the reality of the majority of the Cuban population. With notable exceptions such as Frank País, who was a Protestant, few combatants in Castro's 26th of July Movement were religious. Nicaragua, on the other hand, had a strong Catholic tradition and many devout believers joined the FSLN in the campaign to overthrow the Somoza dictatorship. In addition, radical shifts in the theology of the Catholic church in the 1960s due to the Second Vatican Council, liberation theology, and the rise of a political and revolutionary Popular Church created a situation which allowed for a greater involvement of religious actors in the political process in Nicaragua than had occurred with their counterparts in Cuba in the 1950s. At the 1968 Latin American Bishops conference

at Medellín, Colombia, the Catholic bishops declared their preferential option for the poor. Traditionally, the Catholic church had been an ally of the wealthy elite; now progressive elements of the Church were calling for religious participation in leftist social movements. Many revolutionaries, in addition, began to deemphasize Marx's views on religion in favor of an acceptance of the positive contributions of religious actors to the revolutionary process. The success of the Sandinista revolution represented another large step in the closing of this gap between Marxist revolutionary theory and religious activism, and has permanently realigned Marxist-Christian relations in Latin America.<sup>141</sup>

This interplay between religion and Marxist theory is one of the chief characteristics of the Nicaraguan revolution, and it is in this issue that Mariátegui's influence on Sandinista ideology once again becomes apparent. "To a degree unprecedented in any other revolutionary movement in Latin America," the FSLN said in an official communiqué on religion, "Christians have played an integral part in our revolutionary history."<sup>142</sup> Initially there was mutual suspicion between the Christians and the Sandinistas, but largely through the initiative and efforts of Catholic priests and Christian base communities, the struggles of the two groups were combined into one unified fight against Somoza. During the insurrection, elements of Nicaragua's progressive Popular Church worked openly with the Sandinista movement, and the Sandinistas willingly accepted their contribution toward the building of a new society in Nicaragua. The crucial importance of their actions led Tomás Borge to conclude that a leftist revolution could not succeed in Central America without the militant participation of Christians.<sup>143</sup> María Haydee Terán, Carlos Fonseca's wife, noted that although Fonseca was an atheist and spoke often about communism, he never asked her to abandon the Christian faith. For him, and also for her, there was no contradiction between the two ways of thinking. Her statement recalls Mariátegui's contention that the revolutionary critic no longer disputes with religion and the church the services they have rendered to humanity.<sup>144</sup> "Through their interpretation of faith," the Sandinista communiqué on religion concluded, "many FSLN members and fighters were motivated to join the revolutionary struggle."<sup>145</sup>

Mariátegui's influence was also transmitted to Nicaragua through the example of priests who joined guerrilla armies which

fought for a social revolution. Camilo Torres, who was killed while fighting with the communist-led National Liberation Army (ELN) in Colombia, proclaimed that he took off his cassock to be more truly a priest, and that the duty of every Catholic was to be a revolutionary, the duty of every revolutionary to make the revolution.<sup>146</sup> Reflecting Guevara's influence, Torres wrote that he believed that he had given himself to the revolution out of love for his fellow man.<sup>147</sup> Mariátegui's emphasis on the importance of a revolutionary myth or faith in bringing a social revolution to realization influenced, through Guevara, Torres's views. In turn, Torres inspired Catholics in Nicaragua to join the struggle for a social revolution. Gaspar García Laviana was one such priest who was influenced by Torres's example and joined the FSLN. The Sandinistas consider García, who was killed while fighting within the FSLN guerrilla ranks, to represent "the highest synthesis of Christian vocation and revolutionary consciousness."<sup>148</sup> García wrote that his faith and Catholicism obliged him to take an active part in the FSLN's revolutionary process because the liberation of an oppressed people was an integral part of the total redemption of Christ.<sup>149</sup>

García was not alone; other radical priests, influenced by radical trends in Catholic theology, began to organize social action based on a Marxist-influenced analysis of society. One such priest, Father Uriel Molina, organized Christian Base Communities, which mobilized grass roots support in poor neighborhoods in Nicaragua in favor of the FSLN guerrillas.<sup>150</sup> Other priests such as Ernesto Cardenal, Fernando Cardenal, and Miguel D'Escoto also joined forces with the FSLN and later took positions in the Sandinista government after the triumph of the 1979 revolution.<sup>151</sup> Trappist Father Ernesto Cardenal emerged from a religious community at Solentiname in Lake Nicaragua in the 1960s to lead the religious opposition to the Somoza dictatorship. His theological reflections led him to an increased awareness of the economic injustices in Nicaragua and the need for political action to change that reality. A trip to Cuba in 1970 led Cardenal to believe that there was no contradiction between Marxism and Christianity.<sup>152</sup> He became an avowed Marxist revolutionary and presented the most articulate fusion of Catholic theology and the theory of Marxist class struggle in Nicaragua. Cardenal considered primitive Christian communalism to be a precursor of Marxism, and he believed that Christianity

expressed in religious terms the same class struggle that Marx expressed in scientific terms. This struggle extended itself to a struggle between the reactionary Christianity of the Somoza dictatorship and the revolutionary Christianity of the proletariat and the Popular Church. The goal of this struggle was the establishment of the biblical Kingdom of Heaven on earth, which would be a society without exploitation of man by man, without domination of any kind, which would be the complete fraternity of perfect love among people.<sup>153</sup> Catholics were not the only ones who joined forces with the FSLN; a growing radicalism among small Protestant sects also contributed to the development of the revolutionary process in Nicaragua.<sup>154</sup> In total, religious actors took a larger role in Nicaragua's revolutionary struggle than ever before. Rather than being a reactionary force, the Sandinistas saw that a religious faith could aid in the fomentation of a revolutionary consciousness and in the development of a new society. Together, these religious actors helped bring to the FSLN the dimensions of a revolutionary faith and consciousness which Mariátegui had drawn from Sorel and other sources and had introduced to Latin America in the 1920s.

Liberation theology is the fullest articulation of the Christian theology which Mariátegui influenced and which the Sandinistas carried forward in their revolutionary struggle. Liberation theology, a movement which employed Marxist analytical tools to reflect critically on societal problems, represented a historic turning point in the attitude of the Catholic church toward popular movements for social justice. Traditional Christian theology, which emerged from the articulations of the elite classes, endeavored to dictate orders to the lower classes. Liberation theologians sought to reverse that relationship, to give hope to the aspirations of an oppressed people and to lead people to realize that they must take a conscious responsibility for their own destiny. Rather than presenting an escapist religion, liberation theology led to empowerment and change. An important element of liberation theology is the concept of praxis. Praxis is the combination of theory and practice in a revolutionary situation; liberation theology's praxis often leads far away from the domain of religion and theology into the realm of politics, economics, and history. Liberation theologians are not afraid to use tools of social analysis in order to understand their historical situation, and this analysis forms the basis for their theological reflections.

Mariátegui foreshadowed liberation theologians' attempts to use religion as a device to foment a revolutionary consciousness in the masses. Vanden has pointed to Mariátegui's contribution to the Latin American intellectual base on which liberation theology was developed, and Eugenio Chang-Rodríguez has noted that Mariátegui anticipated several of the fundamental points that liberation theology later would maintain.<sup>155</sup> In order to understand the nature of this influence, it is important to consider the importance that Gustavo Gutiérrez, a Peruvian theologian, gave in articulating the major aspects of liberation theology. Gutiérrez and Mariátegui never met (Mariátegui died when Gutiérrez was two years old) but Gutiérrez attended the university in Lima with Mariátegui's son and had extended contact with Mariátegui's ideas. Gutiérrez later taught a class on Mariátegui's thought for several years in the university and he was clearly conversant with the historiographic material on Mariátegui.<sup>156</sup> In an interview in 1980, Gutiérrez noted the significance that the originality of Mariátegui's thought had for creating a new Peruvian society. Social change, Gutiérrez believed, could come from the oppressed and exploited lower classes. Unlike many other intellectuals who were part of the elite classes, Mariátegui was one of few people to combine popular class political action and reflective thought into a revolutionary praxis. Furthermore, Mariátegui's writings were not sterile relics of the 1920s, Gutiérrez noted. Many of the points which Mariátegui forwarded were still relevant to the current situation.<sup>157</sup>

Virtually all scholars conversant in Peruvian intellectual history who have written on Gutiérrez's thought have noted the central importance of Mariátegui's ideas on his intellectual development. One theologian has noted three main themes from Mariátegui's writings that became central to Gutiérrez's thought: the search for an indigenous socialism, the option for class struggle over interclassism, and the unity of theory and praxis.<sup>158</sup> References to Mariátegui's thought and writing are scattered throughout Gutiérrez's works. In his 1971 book *A Theology of Liberation*, the first book to articulate the central tenets of liberation theology, Gutiérrez acknowledged Mariátegui's contribution to an indigenous socialism for Latin America. Gutiérrez considered socialism to be the most fruitful and far-reaching approach for Latin American liberation. He quoted Mariátegui's nondeterministic statements that Marxism was not a body of principles which could be applied rigidly

the same way in all historical climates and all social latitudes, but that socialism must be a heroic creation, adapted to a specific historical situation.<sup>159</sup> Class struggle was also a central tenet of Gutiérrez's theology, and he allied himself with Mariátegui in the ideological battle against Haya de la Torre's interclassist APRA politics.<sup>160</sup> Gutiérrez also employed Mariátegui's method of reflecting critically on a concrete situation and then using that reflection to develop appropriate and indigenous solutions for the problems of one's society. To reach such a historical praxis, Gutiérrez quoted Mariátegui's statement that "the ability to think history and the ability to make it or create it become one."<sup>161</sup> Gutiérrez emphasized that solutions must be adapted to specific historical situations. "Because of very different situations the analyses of one social formation cannot be unqualifiedly transposed to other situations," he wrote in *A Theology of Liberation*.<sup>162</sup> Gutiérrez strove to build a different society, freer and more human. In the process, however, he wished to avoid a mechanical transfer of an approach foreign to our historical and social coordinates.<sup>163</sup>

The most significant aspect of Mariátegui's thought that is reflected in liberation theology is his characterization of the mythical elements of spirituality and social change. As a theologian, Gutiérrez looked for the role of the Christian in a liberation struggle. To answer this question, he looked toward Mariátegui's thoughts on the role of the religious factor in the life and history of the people of Peru.<sup>164</sup> Not only did Gutiérrez concur with Mariátegui's discovery of the poor as historical subjects who could move history, he also saw the poor as the embodiment of the myth creating a new national spirit.<sup>165</sup> Mariátegui stressed the importance of Sorel's revolutionary myth in the fomentation of a revolutionary consciousness. "The strength of revolutionaries is not in their science," Mariátegui wrote in 1925, "it is in their faith."<sup>166</sup> "As Sorel predicted," Mariátegui concluded in an essay on religion, "the historical experience of recent years has proven that present revolutionary and social myths can occupy man's conscience just as fully as the old religious myths."<sup>167</sup> Like liberation theologians, Mariátegui saw Marxism less as a finished metaphysical explanation of reality than as a tool for interpreting and changing that reality.<sup>168</sup> Mariátegui justified the blending of Marxist ideologies and Christian theology into a subjective understanding of revolution.

The tenets of liberation theology left an unmistakable impression on Nicaragua and the Sandinista ideology, and Gustavo Gutiérrez, through his example and visits, had a strong influence in that country.<sup>169</sup> Liberation theology, therefore, became a clear and direct conduit of Mariátegui's influence on the Nicaraguan revolution. Liberation theology had a profound impact on the Sandinistas' open attitude toward religion, and it helped make them less antagonistic toward religion than their counterparts in Cuba. Unlike in Cuba, there was no contradiction in Nicaragua between religious involvement and active membership in the ruling party. The influx into Cuba of Sandinista party militants who had fused religion and politics led the Cuban government also to be more open to the idea of the involvement of religious actors in the construction of a new society. This stimulated them to reorient their thinking and party policy toward religion. As Sandino influenced the Cuban revolution, the present generation of Sandinistas has also influenced the ideology of the Cuban government, and in this manner elements of Mariátegui's thought have once again informed the Cuban revolution.

Religion is only one aspect of the nature of the Sandinistas' National Marxism. Although the Cuban revolution influenced Sandinista ideology, the Sandinista revolution evolved in a direction independent of Cuba. This is in part a rejection of an orthodox Marxist approach to socialism and is also an affirmation of Mariátegui's praxis that a revolutionary movement must consider the concrete historical situation in which it operates and orient its actions accordingly. "Just as the Sandinistas found Sandino, so young intellectuals and radicals throughout the continent are rediscovering Mariátegui," Vanden wrote. "He is considered by many to be the intellectual precursor of Latin America's second revolution."<sup>170</sup> Mariátegui continues to play a central role in the evolution of Latin American revolutionary theory.

## THE LEGACY OF MARIÁTEGUI

Over the past sixty years, Mariátegui has influenced revolutionary theory in a variety of ways throughout Latin America. He inspired his contemporaries to develop new and compelling analyses of their national reality. He helped adapt Marxist theory to countries without a high level of capitalistic development. Mariátegui argued for the revolutionary potential of the peasantry, an important factor in largely rural Latin American societies. Mariátegui's contributions to revolutionary theory also include his thoughts on the "open" and nondogmatic application of Marxism to a national situation. Not only have his theories influenced revolutionaries and social movements throughout Latin America, Mariátegui also played a role in the development of liberation theology in Latin America, which has brought the importance of a revolutionary myth to popular social movements.

For a period of time in the 1980s, sandinismo became a symbol of the Latin American socialist struggle. For many leftists throughout Latin America, the triumph of the Sandinista revolution was an inspiration. It had been twenty long years since the triumph of the Cuban revolution, and there had been many defeats of guerrilla armies in Peru, Bolivia, Guatemala, and other Latin American countries. The Nicaraguan revolution demonstrated that a nationally based leftist insurrection could defeat an entrenched right-wing dictatorship. Furthermore, the Sandinistas triumphed in a situation which did not meet Marxism's economic criterion for a social revolution. The Sandinistas demonstrated that subjective factors could be substituted for objective ones, and that a revolutionary consciousness could be fomented in an underdeveloped society. As Thomas Angotti has noted, this development led many revolutionary leftists to reflect on the historical significance of Mariátegui's writings.<sup>1</sup> In 1982 Vanden concluded that the ideology

of the Nicaraguan revolution was at once the recuperation of a long history of national struggle and the specific Nicaraguan manifestation of the new wave of revolution that was sweeping the Third World.<sup>2</sup> "Indeed," Vanden speculated, "perhaps Mariátegui's long awaited generation is now emerging in Central America."<sup>3</sup> Many leftists expected that the Sandinista movement would be the model for the future, the vanguard of a revolutionary movement which would institute national Marxist governments throughout Latin America.

In the minds of many people, world events during the later part of the 1980s and early 1990s have obliterated almost completely this possibility for a socialist Latin American revolution. Many people on the political Right enthusiastically greeted the overthrow of communist governments in Eastern Europe, the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, and hoped that it would be only a matter of time before a similar fate befell the revolutionary Cuban government. Without the Soviet Union, many expected that revolutionary Marxism would fade away and soon be a dead ideology. These views, however, naively perceive Third World Marxist movements as having emanated from Moscow. Many in the Latin American Left have rejected authoritarian forms of government and do not see changing one dictatorship for another as an overall improvement. Increasingly there are calls for a democratic revolution based on a pluralist, rather than one-party, state model which guarantees freedoms of speech, press, organization, conscience, and religion. The crisis of Stalinism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union altered the correlation of forces in the East-West conflict, but it left intact a North-South conflict that historically has left the Third World in a marginalized and underdeveloped position. Revolutionary movements in Latin America were the result of internal conditions and not the product of the Cold War. Many Third World Marxists viewed with dismay the breakup of the Soviet Union, not because of the loss of its leadership, but because of fears of United States imperialism. "We feel that this is going to lead to a unipolar world, where the United States is going to lead in the world," one Indian communist leader said. "For all Third World countries a unipolar world doesn't augur well."<sup>4</sup> Many people in the Third World had come to rely on the Soviet Union's military power to help check the United States' imperialist expansion, and these people feared facing

United States economic and political power without the protection of the Soviet Union as a bulwark against their enemies.

Although the industrial and technical advances in the Soviet Union in the 1950s created a shining model which appealed to many in the Third World, by the 1980s the burdensome and inefficient centralized bureaucratic Soviet state was not an example that many wished to emulate. A common view which emerged among leftists was that the Soviet model for building socialism was a failed model, and its implementation in Eastern Europe was doomed to failure. Revolutionary Marxism, this line of thinking argues, must develop from a specific historical context and cannot be transplanted from one society to another. In an article in *NACLA's Report on the Americas*, Argentine Marxist Carlos Vilas declared that "if we admit that state socialism in the Soviet bloc was not the only, nor the best version of socialism, the Soviet collapse seems not so relevant to Latin America, from either an economic or a political perspective."<sup>5</sup> In an important article in the journal *Monthly Review*, Vilas further articulated such a critique of Eastern Europe in which over-centralized, bureaucratic authoritarian regimes created an explosive social, economic, and political situation. Although the rejection of socialism in Eastern Europe challenged the theoretical possibilities for socialism in the Third World, Vilas argued that the need for indigenous forms of socialist theory were stronger than ever. Without socialism, Third World countries would not experience capitalist development, but capitalist peripheralization. Socialism, Vilas concluded, was therefore the only possible alternative for Third World countries that are looking not just for economic development, but for real and effective democracy as well.<sup>6</sup>

After the fall of hard-line regimes in Eastern Europe, United States president George Bush denounced Castro as the last surviving Stalinist leader and pushed for his ouster. Bush's statements indicated that he, along with many others, did not understand that the political tradition from which Castro emerged did not have its roots in the Soviet Union, but in the Latin American reality. Cuba had maintained close economic ties with the Soviet Union, but this did not mean that Castro was a pawn or proxy of the Soviet Union in the Caribbean. Rather, Cuba was an ally which sought to establish relations on an equal footing with the Soviet Union. Cuba carefully refrained from publicly criticizing political decisions or changes in the Soviet Union, and this was a

reciprocal understanding that for more than thirty years characterized the relations between Cuba and the Soviet Union.<sup>7</sup> A good example of this relationship was Operation Carlota, the military campaign in which Cuba came to the support of the leftist Angolan government in the 1970s and 1980s. In order to achieve their objectives, Cuba needed the Soviet's military hardware while the Soviet Union needed the Cuban troops who were familiar with the operation of the hardware. Thus, their roles in Angola tended to complement each other, and mutual respect characterized their relations. Rather than a Soviet war by proxy, the Cuban involvement in Angola is better understood as a war by Marxist allies who had different interests which sometimes converged.<sup>8</sup>

Although the Cubans did not search for opportunities to diverge from the Soviet Union, neither were they afraid to express their independence from their ally. In the wake of Mikhail Gorbachev's *perestroika* and economic reforms in the Soviet Union, *Granma*, the official paper of the Cuban Communist Party, stated that "whatever happens in the Soviet Union, we will not move away from the path we have chosen." It declared that the Cubans would press onward with their national, anti-imperialist revolution toward the most just, most humane, and most rational society known to man: the socialist society. The editorial continued with that affirmation that with the lessons derived from the concrete experiences of the Cuban revolution, Cuba would continue with its independent, Cuban, socialist line.<sup>9</sup> "To those who argue that Cuba should be crushed, humiliated and destroyed because there are no longer a Soviet Union nor a European socialist community," Castro added, "we say that our revolution is and always will be as Cuban as the palm trees, that we didn't ask anybody permission to carry out the revolution, and that the revolution exists and will keep on existing because of the sovereign will of our people."<sup>10</sup> Although the loss of Soviet aid was a blow to the Cuban economy, United States predictions that the future of Cuban communism hinged on the Soviet Union were greatly exaggerated. This analysis did not take into account the nature of an indigenous Latin American Marxist theory. Despite rhetoric from the United States government, Cuba was not a Stalinist regime, and the Cuban people were more politically conscious than are their counterparts in Eastern Europe. Factors indigenous to the Americas were at work in the development of socialism in Cuba, and as Cuban socialism was a

response to specific historic realities, so too must the future of that country be understood in that context. Those who find the collapse of the Cuban government inevitable do not understand that Cuban Marxism cannot be equated with Eastern European Marxism. Even though Cuba had to a large extent become economically and militarily dependent on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, to assume that political developments in Europe would radically alter the ideological makeup of the Cuban revolution is to fall into a colonialistic and Eurocentric mentality which denies to Latin Americans the right to be their own historical persons.

The United States government has held similar misconceptions of radical change in other Latin American countries. During the course of the eleven years of the FSLN in power in Nicaragua, the United States government was afraid that the Sandinistas would pursue a Cuban path to socialism. There were many people who greeted the electoral defeat of the Sandinista Front in the February 1990 Nicaraguan elections as an end to the Sandinista revolution and socialist experimentation in that country. These views, however, are a narrow and overly simplified perception of the nature of revolutionary change in Latin America. Although there are similarities between Cuba and Nicaragua, the two countries have their own unique national identities and histories. Revolutionaries in the two countries have their own individual objective and subjective realities with which they need to struggle. In Nicaragua, a decade of United States-sponsored Contra terror and related economic warfare not only derailed many of the socialist aspects of the revolution, but also challenged the basis of Sandinista ideology itself. Economic hardships proved to be more crucial for determining the electoral outcome than did the revolutionary fervor and idealism of the Sandinistas. Rather than subjective factors fomenting a political consciousness, economic factors seemed to pull Nicaraguan society away from its revolutionary idealism, apparently demonstrating a lack of a revolutionary consciousness in that country.

Had the Sandinistas' subjective Marxism failed to institute lasting revolutionary change in Nicaragua? The Sandinistas did not institutionalize their revolution to the extent that the Cubans had done, and, unlike Castro with his declaration in April 1961, the Sandinista leadership never declared the Nicaraguan revolution to be of a Marxist-Leninist nature. Developments in Nicaragua are perhaps a caution against a purely subjective interpretation of a

revolutionary process. Economic factors continue to play a large role in the evolution of social and political events and cannot be ignored. The fact that the Sandinistas suffered an electoral defeat does not necessarily mean, however, that the subjective revolutionary factors which helped bring them to power are no longer at work. The period after the electoral loss was one in which the Sandinistas struggled to develop fresh and innovative analyses with which to critique the new and emerging social order. The defeat of the Sandinista government was also a caution that a revolutionary movement could not be a purely (or even chiefly) centralized, statist affair. The lasting revolutionary changes in Nicaragua have been those which popular mass-based organizations have launched. The revolutionary process is not, as Gramsci said some sixty years earlier, simply a matter of gaining control of a government, but rather a question of transforming the political consciousness of the people. Rather than subverting the value of Mariátegui's writings and ideas, the Sandinistas' ongoing process of applying a new analysis to a different historical reality is an important contribution to the development of a Latin American revolutionary theory.

Historical events in Latin America beyond the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions are further evidence of the unique and indigenous roots of socialism in the western hemisphere. In Chile, revolutionaries espoused many of the same goals of anti-imperialism, agrarian reform, and economic nationalization which the Nicaraguans and Cubans had raised, but their methodology was truly Chilean. In 1970, for the first time in history, a Marxist government took power in a country through democratic means. Allende's victory came in a country with a long and solid democratic tradition. Unlike the Cuban and Nicaraguan guerrillas who used violence and extralegal methods to gain power, Allende's leftist *Unidad Popular* coalition worked entirely within the existing legal and constitutional structures. The socialist victory in Chile had its roots in that culture, and it was not a foreign import from Cuba or the Soviet Union. Although Allende and Castro were close friends and allies, revolutionary changes in Chile were not a Cuban export. At the end of a three-week visit to Chile in 1971, Castro noted that although Cuba had the first socialist revolution in Latin America, it had won its revolution through traditional means—violence. Chile, on the other hand, had proceeded with its revolution in an unusual and unique way which aroused the curiosity, interest, understanding,

solidarity, and moral support of the Cubans.<sup>11</sup> "We are treading a new path," Allende proclaimed shortly after his victory. "Our task is to define and to put into practice, as the Chilean road to socialism, a new model of the State."<sup>12</sup> The Chilean road to socialism ended three years later with an American-backed military coup, and since then both activists and academics have argued the value and lessons of the Chilean experiment. Regardless of what these might be, an overriding theme is that the Chilean road to socialism had its roots in its own national reality and was part of the construction of indigenous forms of Marxist thought in Latin America.

This search for an indigenous road to socialism in the 1990s has not been an undertaking unique to Latin America. In the context of a worldwide crisis of socialism, the South African Communist Party (SACP) also searched for the development of nondogmatic socialist solutions within its own national context. Not only was it willing to study openly and learn from the failure of socialism in other parts of the world, but it was also able to adapt international Marxist theory to its own situation. The SACP's refusal to be tied to a dogmatic ideology has allowed it to remain strong in a world that appeared to be moving away from Marxism. As the debate within the party on the nature of its socialist future continued, the SACP presented a powerful and insightful model which could provide important lessons for those struggling for revolutionary change in Latin America. The call for a flexible and nondogmatic revolutionary theory not only echoed Mariátegui's and other Latin American pronouncements in breaking away from the rigid demands of the Communist International in the 1920s, it also demonstrated that the SACP remained on the cutting edge of redefining Marxist theory for the 1990s.

The continued strength of Third World leftist groups demonstrates that they draw on roots quite different from those in Eastern Europe. It is not just a coincidence that in El Salvador in November 1989, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) launched a major guerrilla offensive at the same time that the Berlin Wall fell in Germany and hard-line Stalinist regimes were crumbling across Eastern Europe. In spite of the collapse of communism in Europe, and the disorientation of much of the traditional Left elsewhere, one analyst has written, the FMLN not only retained its vitality as one of the strongest organizations of the revolutionary

Left in Latin America, but has forged for itself a central role in Salvadoran society.<sup>13</sup> The FMLN's staying power cannot be attributed solely to its military strategy, for when the conditions were right it was willing to enter into peace negotiations with the Salvadoran government. Central to this phenomenon was the FMLN's willingness to discard mechanistic thinking and to adapt its political strategy to changing national circumstances. In an article in the journal *Foreign Policy*, Commander Joaquín Villalobos of the FMLN National Directorate and a leading FMLN theoretician emphasized this point. "Revolutions reflect the concrete reality in which they develop," Villalobos wrote. "Accordingly, each revolutionary process must develop its own concepts and models."<sup>14</sup> Villalobos maintained that it was not even possible that there could have been a mechanical transfer of the Bolshevik revolution or Eastern Europe socialist regimes to El Salvador. Furthermore, "It would be politically absurd to link the Soviet Union to all emerging revolutions by some form of ideological umbilical cord," he argued.<sup>15</sup> Villalobos did not deny the influence of Marxism in the FMLN, but he guarded against any dogmatic application of ideological tenets to a specific situation. In what may very well be a reference to Mariátegui's influence on the Salvadoran revolution, Villalobos noted that the struggle against dogmatism within Latin American revolutionary thought predates *perestroika*.<sup>16</sup> Shafik Handal, general secretary of the Salvadoran Communist party and a member of the FMLN High Command, has echoed Villalobos statements. In an interview with Marta Harnecker, Handal commented on the model Cuba presented in adapting Marxism to a national situation. "The originality of the Cuban revolution was one of the main factors that account for its enormous appeal and mass influence in Latin America and the Third World as a whole," Handal said. "We follow with the utmost interest the extraordinarily complex effort that is being undertaken in Cuba in an original and creative fashion, where they are trying to find their own solutions to problems which are very different from those of the socialist countries in Eastern Europe and the USSR."<sup>17</sup> The FMLN remained one of Latin America's strongest leftist insurgency groups not because of any alleged covert military support from Cuba or the Soviet Union and Eastern bloc countries, but because of its willingness to shed orthodoxy and adapt its strategies to new national and international realities.<sup>18</sup>

Not only do Handal's and Villalobos's comments on a non-dogmatic, national Marxism reflect Mariátegui's influence in El Salvador, so do their comments on agrarian reform and liberation theology. The support which the FMLN enjoyed among the Salvadoran peasantry demonstrates that, like Mariátegui, the Salvadoran guerrillas understood that in Latin America the revolutionary Left has to go beyond the urban working class in order to cultivate a high level of revolutionary consciousness in the population. Villalobos stressed the need for both economic and social democracy that would break the oligarchy's economic hegemony in the country and implement a peasant-oriented agrarian reform. Reform of the land tenure system in El Salvador (as in Peru and throughout Latin America) remains central to achieving social change. Villalobos also emphasized the contributions of Christians to the Salvadoran revolution, and the role which martyred archbishop Oscar Romero played in awakening the revolutionary spirit of the Salvadoran people.<sup>19</sup> Villalobos went on to say that "The history of Eastern Europe made it crystal clear that absolute power is an error and that people do not live by bread alone."<sup>20</sup> Villalobos's statement clearly echoes those concerns which Mariátegui raised in the 1920s. His declaration that "people do not live by bread alone" parallels Mariátegui's proclamation (which Tomás Borge, the Sandinista revolutionary, also repeated) that "for poor people the revolution will be the conquest not only of bread, but also beauty, of art, of thought, and of all the pleasures of the spirit."<sup>21</sup>

In his study *Marxism, Socialism, and Democracy in Latin America*, Richard Harris outlines a radical democratic project that would avoid rigid dogmatism and sectarian divisions in order to revitalize the Latin American Left. He argues for the continued relevance of Marxist theory in Latin America. Because there is no universal model or general theory of transition to socialism in Latin America, leftists must undertake a nondogmatic critical application of Marxism to the specifics of their own society. Pursing the philosophy that socialism is inherently democratic, Harris's model employs a Gramscian critique of the ideological and cultural, as well as political and economic, dimensions of the revolutionary struggle. He contrasts a participatory model of democracy with a representational one, and contends that the Sandinistas lost power in Nicaragua because "they discarded the opportunity to establish a

radical democratic political system, based upon bottom-up forms of self-government and self-management that would have given the workers and peasants not only direct control over the revolutionary process but ownership and management of the means of production."<sup>22</sup> A revolutionary struggle for political democracy must not lose sight of the more important struggle for economic and social democracy. It is not sufficient, however, to transform the material conditions of underdevelopment; the subjective conditions also must be transformed, and in their place must be developed a new revolutionary culture and a new revolutionary social consciousness.<sup>23</sup>

Marxism may yet prove to be resilient against current geopolitical changes in the world scene. More than demonstrating the inherent weakness of Marxist theory, recent world events illustrate the inevitable shortcomings of applying a hundred-year-old political analysis to a contemporary situation. Although Marxism as a dogmatic guide to a historical situation has been discredited, those who are willing to work openly and fluidly with Marxist thought have survived. In a treatise on revolutionary theory in Nicaragua, Roger Burbach and Orlando Núñez called the Sandinista experiment in the 1980s a political beacon for others throughout the Americas and the rest of the world to discard old ideas and concepts which were no longer adequate and to seize the initiative in the Americas.<sup>24</sup> Before his death in 1990, Peruvian Marxist historian Alberto Flores Galindo wrote that although socialism had been dealt a blow in other countries, in Latin America it still had a future if leftists were capable of rethinking it, and of imagining new scenarios. Flores Galindo appealed for a creative and innovative application of Marxism in Latin America. "Socialism is not just one path," he continued. "The doors to socialism are not permanently closed; we just have to find new ways to open them."<sup>25</sup> There is not a single road to socialism, and what worked in one country may not necessarily work in a different place, culture, or time. Similarly, in an interview shortly before his death in 1991, Mariátegui scholar José Aricó called for an open debate among the leftists and said that it was time to rethink everything.<sup>26</sup>

Even with drastic changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and the shakeup in Marxist ideologies, Mariátegui's thought has remained relevant to revolutionary movements in Latin America. In an article on perestroika in the Mexican newspaper *El Día Latinoamericano*, Vanden asserts that by following in Mariátegui's

tradition Marxists can avoid the abuses and shortcomings of a dogmatic Stalinism.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, the editors of *Anuario Mariáteguiano* maintained that in the face of these changes Mariátegui's thought retained its value and that the study of his work was still important for the establishment of a modern socialism.<sup>28</sup>

Although in Latin America there are commonalities which are the result of a history of colonialism and economic underdevelopment, and the familiar themes of anti-imperialism, peasant-based revolutionary movements, and subjective forms of Marxist theory surface in divergent situations, there are many specifics which remain for each individual revolutionary movement to work out in its own concrete historical situation. The challenge facing Latin American Marxists, therefore, is to adapt the writings of Marx and Lenin and other revolutionaries to the conditions of the 1990s. Statements from various leftist revolutionary movements around the world parallel Mariátegui's demand that Indo-American socialism be a heroic creation born out of "our own reality and in our own language," and not simply be the result of developments in Europe and elsewhere.<sup>29</sup> The revival of Marxist thought may not come from Europe, where its intellectual origins lie, but rather from groups in the Third World who are willing to work openly and flexibly with Marxist doctrines. Revolutionary groups who follow a Mariáteguian-inspired brand of subjective Marxism could still raise the banner of revolutionary passion throughout Latin America. As in Nicaragua and Cuba, this struggle must grow out of a study of local conditions. Groups who are able to do this remain as a witness to the revolutionary potential that remains for a Latin American brand of Marxist theory which Mariátegui first articulated in Peru in the 1920s.

## NOTES

### Chapter 1

1. Luis Aguilar argues in his book *Marxism in Latin America* that "Marx and Engels paid very little direct attention to Latin America," 3. Aricó counters Aguilar's commonly held perception with the argument that "today we have evidence in the texts of Marx and Engels that direct or indirect references to Latin America are more abundant than what was previously believed." Aricó, *Marx y América Latina*, 44.
2. Cited in Aguilar, *Marxism in Latin America*, 100-101.
3. Ibid., 98.
4. Aricó, *Marx y América Latina*, 128.
5. Ibid., 59.
6. Aguilar, *Marxism in Latin America*, 4.
7. Liss, *Marxist Thought*, 31.
8. Alexander, *Communism in Latin America*, 32.
9. Poppino, *International Communism in Latin America*, 151.
10. Ibid., 55.
11. Ibid., 21.
12. Blasier, *Giant's Rival*, 134, 140, 151. To his credit, Blasier did note that it was a common and serious misperception

among United States politicians that the Soviet Union caused or exported social revolutions to Latin America (177).

13. Miller, *Soviet Relations with Latin America*, 13.
14. *Ibid.*, 23.
15. Liss, *Marxist Thought*, 43.
16. Liss, *Roots of Revolution*, 74.
17. Liss, *Marxist Thought*, 34.
18. Caballero, *Latin America and the Comintern*, 7.
19. Rapoport, "Argentina and the Soviet Union," 240-41.
20. Caballero, *Latin America and the Comintern*, 39.
21. *Ibid.*, 24.
22. *Ibid.*, 57.
23. *Ibid.*, 53.
24. Munck, *Revolutionary Trends in Latin America*, 13-14.
25. Alba, *Politics and the Labor Movement*, 120.
26. Caballero, *Latin America and the Comintern*, 43.
27. Miller, *Soviet Relations with Latin America*, 41.
28. Cerdas Cruz, *La hoz y el machete*, 255-305. For an in-depth examination of this uprising, see Anderson, *Matanza*, and Dalton, *Miguel Marmol*.
29. Caballero, *Latin America and the Comintern*, 26-27.
30. *Ibid.*, 47-48, 39.

31. Loveman, *Chile*, 217.
32. Recabarren, *Obras Escogidas*, 58.
33. Jobet, *Luis Emilio Recabarren*, 38.
34. Loveman, *Chile*, 223.
35. Recabarren, *Obras Escogidas*, 23, 55.
36. Loveman, *Chile*, 304.
37. *Ibid.*, 233.
38. Lafertte, *Vida de un Comunista*, 57.
39. Recabarren, *Obras Escogidas*, 102.
40. Liss, *Marxist Thought*, 75.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
42. "Economic Development Program of the Popular Unity," in Johnson, *Chilean Road to Socialism*, 131. Spanish communist leader Santiago Carrillo, however, has faulted the strongly statist and centralized nature of the Chilean revolution for its eventual collapse. He argued that "the State apparatus continued to be an instrument of capitalist rule which *overturned the whole process*, abolished the democratic constitution and established a savage military dictatorship." Carrillo, *Eurocommunism and the State*, 13. Emphasis his.
43. Keller and Rothchild, *Afro-Marxist Regimes*, 7.
44. *Ibid.*, 4, 5-6.
45. The name was changed from the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) to the South African Communist Party (SACP) in 1953 when militants reestablished the party in the

South African underground after it had been banned in 1950.

46. Ellis and Sechaba, *Comrades against Apartheid*, 19.
47. *Red Flag in South Africa*, 16, 18, 21.
48. Ellis and Sechaba, *Comrades against Apartheid*, 206.
49. Steinberg, "Leninist Fantasies and SACP Illusions," 29, 31.
50. Cronin, "Is the SACP Travelling in the Right Direction?" 26. Over the past several years, the leftist South African journal *Work in Progress* has been an excellent venue to trace the ideological changes which are transforming the SACP.
51. *Ibid.*, 28.
52. Slovo, "Has Socialism Failed?" 55.
53. *Ibid.*, 63.
54. Pillay, "Having Its Cake and Eating It," 20.
55. Mariátegui, "Principios programáticos del Partido Socialist," in *Ideología y política*, 162.
56. Further evidence of the South African Left's interest in and affinity for the Cuban revolution is apparent in the essays, news articles, and book reviews (especially those from Cronin) which are regularly published on the subject in *Work in Progress*.
57. Narkiewicz, *Eurocommunism 1968-1986*, vii. For a good discussion of the historical and theoretical significance of Eurocommunism from a variety of critical Left perspectives, see the essays collected in Boggs and Plotke, *Politics of Eurocommunism*.
58. Carrillo, *Eurocommunism and the State*, 103.

59. Ibid., 9.
60. Ibid., 12.
61. Harrington, *Twilight of Capitalism*, 345.
62. Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 403.
63. Ibid., 407.
64. Boggs, *Gramsci's Marxism*, 16.
65. McLellan, *Marxism after Marx*, 175.
66. Boggs, *Gramsci's Marxism*, 19.
67. Gorman, "Gramsci, Antonio," in Gorman, *Biographical Dictionary of Neo-Marxism*, 178.
68. Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 204.
69. While acknowledging the importance of Gramsci's ideology, in his study of peasant intellectuals in Tanzania Steven Feierman rejects the possibility for democracy in a centralized party and argues that the Tanzanian peasants did not need the leadership of the working class or of a communist party in order to recognize their historical situation. See Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals*, 18-21. Feierman's rejection of a rigid centralism is an important theme in neo-Marxist thought (including Eurocommunism), but it must also be remembered that, as with Marxism in general, Gramsci's thought cannot be transferred rigidly from one national situation to another.
70. Harrington, *Twilight of Capitalism*, 12.
71. Ibid., 347. Similarly, Michael Albert and Robin Hahnel have critiqued an orthodox Marxism which is mechanical, lacking in a revolutionary spirit, and in general "a mental straight jacket impeding socialist revolution." See Albert and

- Hahnel, *UnOrthodox Marxism*, 6.
72. Aricó, *La cola del diablo*, 12.
  73. *Ibid.*, 20.
  74. Hodges, *Intellectual Foundations*, 179.
  75. *Ibid.*, 183.
  76. Chavarría, *José Carlos Mariátegui*, 27-33.
  77. Paris, *La formación ideológica*, 12.
  78. Mariátegui, "Aniversario y balance," *Amauta* 3/17 (September 1928): 2.
  79. Sánchez Vázquez, "El marxismo en la América Latina," 8.
  80. Albornoz, "Mariátegui en el Ecuador," 43, 51.
  81. *Ibid.*, 53.

## Chapter 2

1. Rouillón, *La creación heroica*, vol. 1, 32. Rouillón's two-volume work is the standard biography of Mariátegui.
2. *Ibid.*, 20.
3. *Ibid.*, 28.
4. *Ibid.*, 41.
5. *Ibid.*, 45, 48.
6. Mariátegui, "Del Autor," in *Ideología y política*, 17.
7. Vanden, *National Marxism*, 118.

8. Rouillón, *La creación heroica*, vol. 1, 205, 227.
9. Bazán, *Mariátegui y su tiempo*, 56.
10. Núñez, *La experiencia europea*, 20.
11. Vanden, *National Marxism*, 13.
12. Bazán, *Mariátegui y su tiempo*, 64.
13. *Ibid.*, 66.
14. Mariátegui, "The Problem of Land," in *Seven Interpretive Essays*, 42. Much of the early scholarship on Mariátegui did not emphasize his Marxism. Harry Vanden in *Mariátegui* demonstrated conclusively that Mariátegui had access to classic works of Marxism, that he employed Marxist concepts, and that he was intentional in his adaptation of Marxism to his Peruvian reality.
15. Mariátegui, *Historia de la crisis mundial*. In an interesting new study, Ramon Antonio Romero Cantarero surveys Mariátegui's written works to argue for a shift in his theoretical focus. During 1923 and 1924 (following his return to Peru and during the time that he gave this series of lectures) fifty-four of sixty works concerned international issues. During the years 1924 to 1928 (ending with his best known work, *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*) he penned about seventy essays on Peru's national problems. In a third and final period (1928 until his death in 1930), Mariátegui focused on the intellectual and practical foundation for a revolutionary movement in Peru. See Romero Cantarero, "New Marxism of José Carlos Mariátegui," 131.
16. Letter from José Carlos Mariátegui to Samuel Glusberg, 10 January 1928, in Mariátegui's *José Carlos Mariátegui: Correspondencia* (hereafter, *Correspondencia*), vol. 2, 332.
17. Mariátegui, "Author's Note," in *Seven Interpretive Essays*, xxxvi.

18. Bazán, *Mariátegui y su tiempo*, 15.
19. Mariátegui, "Public Education," in *Seven Interpretive Essays*, 122.
20. Mariátegui, "La enseñanza y la economía," in *Temas de educación*, 39, and "Enseñanza única y enseñanza de clase," *ibid.*, 54.
21. Mariátegui, "Principios programáticos del Partido Socialist," in *Ideología y política*, 161.
22. "Presentación de *Amauta*," *Amauta* 1/1 (September 1926): 1.
23. Wise, "Mariátegui's *Amauta* (1926-1930)," 288.
24. Reedy, "Cohesive Influence of José Carlos Mariátegui," 143.
25. Wise, "*Labor*," 118-19.
26. *Ibid.*, 125.
27. Mariátegui, "Author's Note," in *Seven Interpretive Essays*, xxxvi.
28. *Ibid.*, xxxv.
29. The issue of Mariátegui's lost book has triggered a fair amount of controversy among his followers. Ricardo Martínez de la Torre, in his *Apuntes para una interpretación marxista*, vol. 2, 404, introduced the idea that Falcón had lost the book. In an appendix to his book *El hombre en su acción* (197-224), Jorge Falcón presents a lengthy defense in favor of the innocence of his brother. As Ricardo Luna Vegas argues in a epilogue on Mariátegui's posthumous works in *José Carlos Mariátegui* (103), it is highly unlikely that Mariátegui would have sent the originals of such an important work to Spain without keeping a copy for himself. Ricardo Melgar Bao argues in his essay "La Tercera Internacional y Mariátegui" (47-78) that the Communist

International played a role in the book's disappearance. An advertisement which appeared in issue 31 of *Amauta* shortly after Mariátegui died indicated that Editorial Historia Nueva in Madrid was publishing a book entitled *Ideología y política en el Perú* which was to be the continuation of *7 ensayos* (*Amauta* 4/31 [June-July 1930], inside back cover); unfortunately, Biblioteca Amauta did not reproduce any of these advertisements in the much more widely available 1974-1976 facsimile edition of *Amauta*. In any case, Biblioteca Amauta considers the work in question permanently lost and published the essays in *Ideología y política* as a substitution (see Mariátegui, *Ideología y política*, 7-8).

30. *Amauta* 4/31 (June-July 1930), inside back cover. Also see Luna Vegas's discussion in *Jose Carlos Mariátegui*, 95-98.
31. Mariátegui, "Principios programáticos del Partido Socialista," in *Ideología y política*, 162-64.
32. "Labor continúa," *Labor* 1/9 (18 August 1929): 1, also reprinted in *Ideología y política*, 255-56.
33. Mariátegui, "Principios programáticos del Partido Socialista," in *Ideología y política*, 162.
34. In addition to the primary source documentation on Mariátegui's labor union activities in Martínez de la Torre's *Apuntes para una interpretación marxista* (especially chapter six, "Con la C.G.T.P. de José Carlos Mariátegui" in volume 1, and volume 3, "La Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú"), see Falcón, *Mariátegui: Arquitecto Sindical*, and Kapsoli, *Mariátegui y los congresos obreros*.
35. Vanden, *National Marxism*, 72.
36. Letter from José Carlos Mariátegui to César Alfredo Miro Quesada in Mariátegui, *Correspondencia*, vol. 2, 677. Also see Wise, "Labor," 122-23, and Flores Galindo, *Los mineros de la Cerro de Pasco*, 53-57. Flores Galindo's book gives a good overview of the history of labor struggles at this mine.

37. Mariátegui, "Principios programáticos del Partido Socialist," in *Ideología y política*, 159.
38. Mariátegui, "Mensaje al Congreso Obrero," in *Ideología y política*, 112.
39. See, for example, Marx, "Private Property and Communism," in *Early Writings*, 162.
40. Mariátegui, "El determinismo marxista," in *Defensa del marxismo*, 65, 67.
41. Vanden, *National Marxism*, 78.
42. Mariátegui, "El determinismo marxista," in *Defensa del marxismo*, 67.
43. Vanden, *National Marxism*, 77.
44. Lenin, "Our Programme," in *Selected Works*, 34.
45. Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?* 61.
46. Mariátegui, "Henri de Man y la 'crisis' del Marxismo," in *Defensa del marxismo*, 21-22.
47. Mariátegui, "Principios programáticos del Partido Socialista," in *Ideología y política*, 160.
48. *Ibid.*, 159.
49. Vanden, *National Marxism*, 89. For a fuller analysis of the Leninist influence on Mariátegui, see Choy et al., *Lenin y Mariátegui*.
50. Núñez, *La experiencia europea*, 27.
51. Quijano, *Introducción a Mariátegui*, 43. The nature of the relationship between Gramsci and Mariátegui is a point of contention among Gramscian and Mariátegui scholars.

Antonio Melis in his essay "Mariátegui, el primer marxista de América" (in Aricó, *Mariátegui y los orígenes del marxismo latinoamericano*, 205) argues that Mariátegui had personal contact with Gramsci and other Italian thinkers of the 1920s, an assertion that he probably takes from Mariátegui's statements in his article "La influencia de Italia en la cultura hispano-americana" in *El alma matinal*, 156. Mariátegui's widow, Anna Chiappe de Mariátegui, also asserted that the two men knew each other (Vanden, *National Marxism*, 14). Robert Paris, on the other hand, argues in *La formación ideológica* that his archival research and oral interviews do not support any significant or sustained contact between the Peruvian and the Italian (85-86). Gramscian scholar Francis Guibal contends that Gramsci did not have a direct influence on Mariátegui, but that there were "numerous and significant *coincidences*" between the thought of the two men (emphasis his). The study of these parallels, however, remains valid and useful for gaining a better understanding of the "philosophy of praxis" in Latin America. See Guibal's appendix, "Mariátegui, ¿un Gramsci peruano?" in his *Gramsci: filosofía, política, cultura*, 339. Also see the chapter "Gramsci y Mariátegui" in Guibal and Ibañez, *Mariátegui hoy*, 133-45.

52. Mariátegui, "La prensa italiana," in *Cartas de Italia*, 123. Also see Mariátegui's references to Gramsci in "La política socialista en Italia," in *La escena contemporánea*, 141, and "La economía y Piero Gobetti," *El alma matinal*, 139.
53. See Gramsci, "Americanism and Fordism," in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 279-318, and Mariátegui, "El caso y teoría de Ford," in *Defensa del marxismo*, 151-54.
54. Antonio Gramsci, "Letter to Tatiana," 15 December 1930, in *Letters from Prison*, 193.
55. Mariátegui, "El mito de la nueva generación," in *Defensa del marxismo*, 94.
56. Roncagliolo, "Gramsci, marxista y nacional," 120.

57. See Paris's book *La formación ideológica* and his articles "El marxismo de Mariátegui," in Aricó, *Mariátegui y los orígenes del marxismo latinoamericano*, 119-44, and "Mariátegui y Gramsci," 31-54, for a comprehensive analysis of the parallels between the two men's thought. Also see Vanden, *National Marxism*, 13-14, 87-91.
58. César Lévano, "Mariátegui: la voz del Perú integral," in Romero and César Lévano, *Regionalismo y centralismo*, 66.
59. Aricó, *La cola del diablo*, 123.
60. Joll, *Antonio Gramsci*, 18. For an analysis of Gramsci's influence on Mariátegui's critique of the orthodox Marxism of the Communist International, see Fernández Díaz, "Gramsci y Mariátegui," 135-44.
61. McLellan, *Marxism after Marx*, 175.
62. Joll, *Antonio Gramsci*, 16.
63. Guibal, *Gramsci*, 17.
64. Mariátegui, "La filosofía moderna y el marxismo," in *Defensa del marxismo*, 44.
65. McLellan, *Marxism after Marx*, 184. See Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 465. Francis Guibal also identifies Gramsci's philosophy of praxis as fundamental to understanding the development of Marxist thought in Latin America. See Guibal, *Gramsci*, 332.
66. Vanden, *National Marxism*, 90.
67. Paris, "Mariátegui y Gramsci," 38.
68. Vanden, *National Marxism*, 14.
69. Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca*, 267. Melis, on the other hand, citing Mariátegui's article "La influencia de Italia en

la cultura hispano-americana" in *El alma matinal*, assigns to Croce the primary responsibility for the similarities between Gramsci and Mariátegui. See Melis, "Mariátegui, primer marxista de América," 208.

70. Antonio Gramsci quoted in Cammett, *Antonio Gramsci*, 254, n. 7. Also see Gramsci's comments on Sorel in his essay "The Modern Prince" in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 125-30.
71. Sorel, "La necessita e il fatalismo nel marxismo," in *Saggi di critica del marxismo* (Milan, 1903), 92, quoted in Hughes, *Consciousness and Society*, 93.
72. Hughes, *Consciousness and Society*, 94.
73. Mariátegui, "Henri de Man y la 'crisis' del Marxismo," in *Defensa del marxismo*, 20-21.
74. José Aricó, "Introducción," in *Mariátegui y los orígenes del marxismo latinoamericano*, xv.
75. Sorel, *Reflections on Violence*, 42.
76. *Ibid.*, 45.
77. *Ibid.*, 41-42.
78. *Ibid.*, 49.
79. Judson, *Cuba and the Revolutionary Myth*, 2.
80. *Ibid.*, 8.
81. Angotti, "Contributions of José Carlos Mariátegui," 38.
82. Judson, *Cuba and the Revolutionary Myth*, 2.
83. Mariátegui, "El grupo 'Clarté,'" in *La escena contemporánea*, 155.

84. Mariátegui, "El determinismo marxista," in *Defensa del marxismo*, 68.
85. Mariátegui, "El hombre y el mito," in *El alma matinal*, 23.
86. Ibid., 27.
87. Ibid., 24, 23.
88. Ibid., 27.
89. Baines, *Revolution in Peru*, 113.
90. Mariátegui, "La lucha final," in *El alma matinal*, 30. In general, see Flores Galindo's treatment of this theme in *Buscando un Inca*, especially the sixth chapter, "El horizonte utópico."
91. Mariátegui, "El hombre y el mito," in *El alma matinal*, 28.
92. Hughes, *Consciousness and Society*, 96.
93. Sorel, *Reflections on Violence*, 127.
94. Ibid., 50.
95. Mariátegui, "1a Conferencia, la crisis mundial y el proletariado peruano," in *Historia de la crisis mundial*, 15-16.
96. Judson, *Cuba and the Revolutionary Myth*, 9.
97. Hughes, *Consciousness and Society*, 96.
98. Angotti, "Contributions of José Carlos Mariátegui," 54.
99. Barbusse, "El presente y el porvenir," *Amauta* 2/8 (April 27): 10.
100. Mariátegui, "El determinismo marxista," in *Defensa del marxismo*, 69.

101. Mariátegui, "Outline of the Economic Evolution," in *Seven Interpretive Essays*, 3.
102. Mariátegui, "The Problem of the Indian," in *Seven Interpretive Essays*, 22.
103. Mariátegui, "Aniversario y Balance," *Amauta* 3/17 (September 1928): 3.
104. Liss, *Marxist Thought*, 137. Elements of the indigenismo movement, which was often made up of an elite and presumptuous class of mestizo intellectuals far removed from the realities of the indigenous population, have been rejected and discredited by the indigenous people themselves. See, for example, Gnerre and Bottasso, "Del indigenismo." A Marxist critique of similar theoretical issues is presented in Díaz-Polanco, "Indigenismo, Populism, and Marxism." American Indian Movement (AIM) activist Ward Churchill has worked to bridge the gap between Marxist and indigenous visions for social justice. His statement "that a uniquely *American* radical vision is a transcendent requirement to effecting positive social change . . . imports, in and of themselves, without critique and careful adaptation, can only worsen an already intolerable situation" parallels Mariátegui's views on indigenismo over half a century earlier. See Ward Churchill, "Introduction: Journeying Toward A Debate," in *Marxism and Native Americans*, ed. Ward Churchill (Boston, Mass.: South End Press, 1983), 10.
105. "Manifiesto de la 'Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú' a la clase trabajadora del país," in *Ideología y política*, 139.
106. "El Ayllu," *Labor* 1/9 (18 August 1929), 6.
107. Mariátegui, "El problema de las razas en la América latina," *Ideología y política*, 32. Also see Angotti, "Contributions of José Carlos Mariátegui," 50, and Chavarría, *José Carlos Mariátegui*, 160-61.

108. Mariátegui, "El problema de las razas en la América latina," in *Ideología y política*, 81.
109. *Ibid.*, 42.
110. *Ibid.*, 84-85. Although the terms of debate on this "National Question" have revolved around the question of whether the indigenous peoples were exploited because of their race or class, it apparently never occurred to Mariátegui or the Communist International to inquire of the indigenous people whether or not they wished to have an autonomous state. Recent indigenous movements in the Andes, together with their historic divergence from some of the strategies and agendas of Marxist activists, suggests that if asked they may have wished to have one.
111. Mariátegui, "The Problem of the Indian," in *Seven Interpretive Essays*, 29.
112. Mariátegui wrote that "to expect that the Indian will be emancipated through a steady crossing of the aboriginal race with white immigrants is an antisociological naiveté that could only occur to the primitive mentality of an importer of merino sheep" (*ibid.*, 25).
113. Mariátegui, "The Problem of Land," in *Seven Interpretive Essays*, 59.
114. Mariátegui, "Principios de política agraria nacional," in *Peruanicemos al Perú*, 149.
115. Marx, "The Communist Manifesto," in *Karl Marx, Selected Writings*, 229. For an excellent analysis of the relationship among Marx, Marxism, and the peasantry in Latin America see Vanden, "Marxism and the Peasantry."
116. Mariátegui, "The Problem of the Indian," in *Seven Interpretive Essays*, 29.

117. Mariátegui, "Manifiesto de la 'Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú' a la clase trabajadora del país," in *Ideología y política*, 139.
118. Wolf, *Peasant Wars*.
119. Vanden, *National Marxism*, 91, 107. For specific quotes from Mao Tse-Tung and Amílcar Cabral see Mao Tse-Tung, "On Contradiction," in *Mao Tse-Tung*, 224, and Cabral, *Return to the Source*, 77.
120. Mariátegui, "The Religious Factor," in *Seven Interpretive Essays*, 124.
121. Klaiber, *Religion and Revolution in Peru*, 98.
122. Mariátegui, "Outline of the Economic Evolution," in *Seven Interpretive Essays*, 5; cf. Sorel, *Reflections on Violence*, 7.
123. Mariátegui, "Política colonial burguesa e imperialista frente a las razas," in *Ideología y política*, 57-58.
124. Mariátegui, "The Religious Factor," in *Seven Interpretive Essays*, 151.
125. Klaiber, *Religion and Revolution*, 106.
126. Mariátegui, "Literature on Trial," in *Seven Interpretive Essays*, 212.
127. Mariátegui, "El hombre y el mito," in *El alma matinal*, 28; cf. Sorel, *Reflections on Violence*, 35.
128. Mariátegui, "The Religious Factor," in *Seven Interpretive Essays*, 152.
129. Wiese, *José Carlos Mariátegui*, 16.
130. Klaiber, *Religion and Revolution*, 98.

131. Chang-Rodríguez, *La literatura política*, 15.
132. Baines, *Revolution in Peru*, 112-13.
133. Schutte, "Nietzsche, Mariátegui, and Socialism," 79.
134. Many of these international contacts are documented through the letters collected in Melis's edited volumes *José Carlos Mariátegui: Correspondencia*. Ricardo Luna Vegas surveys Mariátegui's correspondence with people in twenty-four different countries through eighteen essays originally published in the Peruvian newspaper *Diario La República* in 1984 on the ninetieth anniversary of Mariátegui's birth and reprinted as Chapter 3 of *Historia y trascendencia*.
135. Dumpierre, "Mariátegui, Cuba y la lucha contra el imperialismo," 228.
136. Mariátegui, "Punto de vista anti-imperialista," in *Ideología y política*, 95.
137. "Guía del Lector: Elenco de revistas y periodicos," *Labor* 1/2 (24 November 1928): 4-5. Altogether, the list contains forty-two items from France, Germany, Spain, and the United States, in addition to nine Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Mexico, Peru, and Uruguay). Mariátegui also reprinted the list in the following issue of *Labor*; see *Labor* 1/3 (8 December 1928): 6.
138. *Amauta* 4/32 (August-September 1930), inside front cover.
139. Ricardo Martínez de la Torre, "2o. aniversario de Sacco y Vanzetti," *Labor* 1/9 (18 August 1929): 1. The coverage of the Sacco and Vanzetti case included a two-part study of the case by Harvard University professor Felix Frankfurter. See Felix Frankfurter, "El Proceso de Sacco y Vanzetti," *Labor* 1/9 (18 August 1929): 2, and *Labor* 1/10 (7 September 1929): 4-5.

140. Mariátegui, "Principios programáticos del Partido Socialista," in *Ideología y política*, 159.
141. Alba, *Politics and the Labor Movement*, 121.
142. Ravines, *Yenan Way*, 75.
143. Martínez de la Torre, *Apuntes para una interpretación marxista*, vol. 2, 423.
144. Ravines, *Yenan Way*, 70. See Flores Galindo's essay "La polémica con la Komintern" in his book *La agonía de Mariátegui*, 19-146, for an extended discussion of Mariátegui's relations with the Communist International.
145. Ravines, *Yenan Way*, 60-61.
146. Quijano, *Introducción a Mariátegui*, 110.
147. Reid, *Peru: Paths to Poverty*, 32.
148. Frank, "Great American," 704.
149. Liss, *Marxist Thought*, 137.
150. *Ibid.*, 162.
151. Mariátegui, "Aniversario y balance," *Amauta* 3/17 (September 1928): 2.
152. Castro, "The Duty of a Revolutionary is to Make the Revolution," in *Fidel Castro Speaks*, 115.

### Chapter 3

1. Dumpierre, "Mariátegui: luz de América," 86.
2. Mariátegui, "Public Education," in *Seven Interpretive Essays*, 91.

3. Liss, *Marxist Thought*, 244; Fabio Grobart, "Prólogo," in Julio Antonio Mella, *Escritos Revolucionarios*, 18. Many of Mariátegui's writings on this topic are collected in volume 14 of his Complete Works series, *Temas de educación*. Martínez de la Torre discusses the University Reform Movement in chapter six of *Apuntes para una interpretación marxista* (see especially 258-64 for his comments on Mariátegui), and Edgard Montiel presents a synthesis of Mariátegui's involvement in the movement in *Mariátegui Universidad*. For a good overview of the University Reform Movement in general, see Manuel Agustín Aguirre, *Universidad y movimientos estudiantiles*, 169-252.
4. Chavarría, *José Carlos Mariátegui*, 72.
5. Orrillo, "Primeras huellas," 179.
6. Mella, "Carta al representante del Perú," in *Documentos y artículos*, 99.
7. Roa, *El fuego de la semilla*, 117.
8. Dumpierre, "Mariátegui, Cuba y la lucha contra el imperialismo," 216-21.
9. Liss, *Roots of Revolution*, 88.
10. Mella, "Carta," in *Documentos y artículos*, 99.
11. Mella, "Declaración de la Liga Antimperialista de las Américas," in *Documentos y artículos*, 262-63; Instituto de Historia del Movimiento Comunista y de la Revolución Socialista de Cuba, "Prólogo," *ibid.*, 8.
12. Mella, *Julio Antonio Mella*, 157. Also see chapter 7, "Mella con Sandino," 155-67.
13. *Ibid.*, 164.

14. "Necrología: Julio Antonio Mella," *Amauta*, 3/20 (January 1929), 96.
15. "El asesinato de Julio Antonio Mella," *Labor* 1/5 (15 January 1929), 8.
16. *Labor* 1/8 (1 May 1929): 1.
17. Departamento de Orientación Revolucionaria del Comité Central del Partido Comunista de Cuba, *José Carlos Mariátegui*, 25, 29.
18. Santos Moray, "Nota de presentación," in Mella et al., *Marxistas de América*, 6.
19. Mella, "La cruz del sur," in Mella et al., *Marxistas de América*, 20-21; cf. Mariátegui, "El ibero-americanismo y pan-americanismo," *ibid.*, 119-22.
20. Liss, *Roots of Revolution*, xiv-xv.
21. Mella, "Glosas al pensamiento de José Martí," in *Documentos y artículos*, 267-74.
22. Mella, "La lucha revolucionaria contra el imperialismo. ¿Qué es el ARPA?" *Amauta* 4/31 (June-July 1930): 41-49; and Mella, "¿Qué es el ARPA?" *Amauta* 4/32 (August-September 1930): 24-37. As part of his polemic, Mella refers to APRA as the American Revolutionary Popular Alliance (ARPA) instead of the more common American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA).
23. Orrillo, "Primeras huellas," 179.
24. Mella, "¿Qué es el ARPA?" *Amauta* 4/32 (August-September 1930), 32.
25. Liss, *Roots of Revolution*, 65.
26. Cairo, *El Grupo Minorista*, 116.

27. Liss, *Roots of Revolution*, 102.
28. Santos Moray, "Nota de presentación," in Mella et al., *Marxistas de América*, 10.
29. Castellanos, "Conversación a los 75," 6.
30. See the numerous references to Marinello's writings on Mariátegui on these and other occasions in Rouillón, *Bio-bibliografía de José Carlos Mariátegui*, and in Antuña and García-Carranza, *Bibliografía de Juan Marinello*.
31. Marinello, "El gran Amauta del Perú," in Nieto, *Mariátegui, poema*, 13.
32. Manuel Galich, "Comentario y glosa al codice Juan Marinello: Guatemala nuestra," in Pérez and Simón, *Recopilación*, 558-59.
33. Cairo, *El Grupo Minorista*, 97.
34. *Ibid.*, 112-14, 144, 154. See Unruh, "Mariátegui's Aesthetic Thought," for an analysis of Mariátegui's significance as a literary critic and his relationship to the international vanguardist movement.
35. Letter from Oliverio Gironde to José Carlos Mariátegui on 3 October 1924 in Mariátegui, *Correspondencia*, vol. 1, 57.
36. Orrillo, "Raúl Roa," 4-5.
37. "La palabra para alimentar la hoguera," in Pérez and Simón, *Recopilación*, 53.
38. See Mariátegui, "La escena contemporánea: la revisión de la obra de Anatole France," *Social* 11/4 (April 1926): 16-17; reprinted from Mariátegui, *La escena contemporánea*, 169-73.

39. Letter from José Carlos Mariátegui to Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring on 24 October 1926 in Mariátegui, *Correspondencia*, vol. 1, 183.
40. Roa, *El fuego de la semilla*, 173; Orrillo, "Raúl Roa," 5.
41. Roa, *El fuego de la semilla*, 177.
42. Santos Moray, "Nota de presentation," in Mella et al., *Marxistas de América*, 7.
43. Los Cinco, "Al levar el ancla," *Revista de Avance* (Havana) 1/1 (15 March 1927): 1.
44. Liss, *Roots of Revolution*, 68.
45. Letter from Mariátegui to Juan Marinello on 16 March 1930 in Mariátegui, *Correspondencia*, vol. 2, 745. Apparently Mariátegui died before he had a chance to send the mentioned essay.
46. Another example of these exchanges is the advertisements for *Revista de Avance* in *Amauta* listing, by name, the current editors (Francisco Ichazo, Felix Lizazo, Jorge Mañach, Juan Marinello). See *Amauta* 4/32 (August-September 1930), inside front cover. In a 1929 letter to *Revista de Avance* editor Jorge Mañach, Mariátegui states that he wanted to standardize and expand these literary exchanges (letter from José Carlos Mariátegui to Jorge Mañach on 28 September 1929 in *Anuario Mariateguiano* 3 [1991]: 24).
47. Orrillo, "Raúl Roa," 5.
48. Juan Marinello, "Mariátegui, *Amauta*," *Revista de Avance* (Havana) 1/8 (30 June 1927): 181-82.
49. Roig de Leuchsenring, "Notas del director literario," *Social* 12/8 (August 1928): 6.

50. Letter from Mariátegui to Roig de Leuchsenring on 10 October 1927 in Mariátegui, *Correspondencia*, vol. 1, 306. Roig de Leuchsenring agreed to represent *Amauta* in Cuba.
51. Mariátegui, "Segundo acto," *Amauta* 2/10 (December 1927): 1.
52. Mariátegui, "Les Enchainements' de Barbusse," *Social* 12/8 (August 1927): 11, 78-79; reprinted from Mariátegui, *La escena contemporánea*, 158-64.
53. Letter from Mariátegui in "Notas del director literario," *Social* 14/12 (December 1929): 6 (also printed as letter from Mariátegui to Roig de Leuchsenring on 30 June 1929 in Mariátegui, *Correspondencia*, vol. 2, 599). Also see Mariátegui, "Indología' de José Vasconcelos," *Social* 13/1 (January 1928): 10, 62, 66, later published in Mariátegui, *Temas de nuestra América*, 78-84. The article, "esquema de una explicación de Chaplin," was published in *Social* 14/12 (December 1929): 11, 69, 82, 88, and later published in *El alma matinal*, 67-74.
54. E. Giménez Caballero, "Elogio al Bidet," with a "Nota polémica," *Amauta* 3/15 (May-June 1928): 40.
55. "Discrepancias," *Revista de Avance* (Havana) 3/25 (15 August 1928): 203-4; E. Giménez Caballero's poem "Oda al Bidet" was originally published in *Revista de Avance* 3/19 (15 February 1928): 46.
56. "Notas: '1928' y la 'Oda al bidet,'" *Amauta* 3/17 (September 1928): 91. See also the letter from José A. Foncueva to Mariátegui in Mariátegui, *Correspondencia*, vol. 2, 439.
57. Orrillo, "Carlos Rafael Rodríguez," 16-17.
58. Liss, *Roots of Revolution*, 148-49.
59. Orrillo, "Carlos Rafael Rodríguez," 17.

60. Liss, *Roots of Revolution*, 125.
61. *Ibid.*, 130-31.
62. Roa, *El fuego de la semilla*, 179.
63. Raúl Roa quoted in Orrillo, "Raúl Roa," 5.
64. Roa, *El fuego de la semilla*, 177, 418.
65. *Ibid.*, 179; also see Orrillo, "Raúl Roa," 6.
66. Marinello, "Literatura y revolución," 43-44.
67. Letter from Foncueva to Mariátegui in January 1928 in Mariátegui, *Correspondencia*, vol. 2, 345.
68. Foncueva, *Escritos*, 179-80, 237-38, 192-93.
69. *Ibid.*, 238.
70. Foncueva, "Novísimo retrato de José Martí," *Amauta* 3/14 (April 1928): 22-24.
71. Letter from Foncueva to Mariátegui on 20 September 1928 in Mariátegui, *Correspondencia*, vol. 2, 438. Mariátegui later stated that perhaps as many as half of his letters were "lost." See letter from Mariátegui to Jorge Mañach on 28 September 1929 in *Anuario Mariateguiano* 3 (1991): 24.
72. Antonio Soto, "Aspectos habaneros. Mariátegui y Foncueva," *El Comercio* (Cienfuegos, Cuba) 28/4 (3 July 1930); reprinted in Foncueva, *Escritos*, 285.
73. Nicolas Gamolin, "Apuntos sobre Foncueva," *Social* (Havana) 15/7 (July 1930): 43; reprinted in Foncueva, *Escritos*, 288.
74. Fernández de Castro, "Canto dionisiaco sobre la tumba de un amigo," *Amauta* 3/15 (May-June 1928): 31-32.

75. Letter from Marof to Mariátegui on 6 August 1928 in Mariátegui, *Correspondencia*, vol. 2, 408. See also the letter from Tristán Marof to Mariátegui on 22 April 1928 in *ibid.*, 374. In the letter of 3 October 1924 in which Oliverio Girondo introduced Mariátegui to the members of the Cuban Grupo Minorista, Girondo mentioned Fernández de Castro and attached an article to the letter which Fernández de Castro and Felix Lizaso had written on modern poetry; see *ibid.*, vol. 1, 57.
76. Cairo, *El Grupo Minorista*, 136, 147.
77. Mariátegui, "Crónica de Revistas: Revista de la Habana," *Amauta* 4/29 (February-March 1930): 104.
78. Fernández de Castro, "La muerte de José Carlos Mariátegui: duelo de América," *Revista de la Habana* 2/2 (May 1930): 219-20.
79. (Untitled), *Social* 15/6 (June 1930): 11.
80. Marinello, "El Amauta José Carlos Mariátegui," *Revista de Avance* 5/47 (15 June 1930): 168-72; later reprinted in Bazán, *Mariátegui y su tiempo*, 199-201.
81. Magda Portal, "Crónica de Libros," *Amauta* 3/23 (May 1929): 100-102; Xavier Abril, "Mosaico contemporaneo," *Amauta* 3/26 (September-October 1929): 28-29.
82. Luis Alberto Sánchez, "Literatura-Perú-1929," *Revista de Avance* (Havana) 5/42 (15 January 1930): 24-27.
83. Dorticós Torrado, "Contorno y significación de José Carlos Mariátegui," *Polémica* (Cienfuegos, Cuba) (1 August 1936): 14-15, cited in Dumpierre, "Mariátegui, Cuba y la lucha contra el imperialismo," 229.
84. This debate is preserved in Aricó, *Mariátegui y los orígenes del marxismo latinoamericano*, 55-115. More recent Soviet writings have tended to be much more sympathetic towards

Mariátegui's thought. For example, Yuri Zubritski called Mariátegui the heir of his country's democratic-revolutionary traditions who arrived at a Marxist-Leninist interpretation of Peruvian reality. See Zubritski, "*Amauta: el 80 aniversario*," 117.

85. Santos Moray, "Nota de presentación" in Mella et al., *Marxistas de América*, 5.
86. Marinello, "Literatura y revolución," 43-44. Liss notes that Carlos Rafael Rodríguez was also a liaison between the Cuban Communist Party and Castro's guerrillas in the mountains in the 1950s. See Liss, *Roots of Revolution*, 146.
87. Cairo, *El Grupo Minorista*, 222.
88. K. S. Karol relates the history of the Cuban Communist Party before the revolution, which he considers to be a failure "as the direct result of unquestioning adherence to the Soviet brand of Marxism-Leninism . . . which blinded the PSP to the specific conditions and the real potentialities of a semicolonial country such as Cuba, and which on the wider plane is still responsible for the notorious impotence of the Communists in the Third World." Karol, *Guerrillas in Power* 156. See esp. chapter 2, "The Communists and the Revolution."
89. Sánchez Vázquez, "El marxismo en la América Latina," 11.
90. For more on what Castro gained from Sandino, see Macauley, *Sandino Affair*, 163-66.
91. Liss, *Roots of Revolution*, 171.
92. *Ibid.*, 173.
93. *Ibid.*, 180, 181.
94. Karol, *Guerrillas in Power*, 156.

95. Debray, *Revolution in the Revolution?* 98.
96. Ibid., 21.
97. Debray, *Strategy for Revolution*, 128.
98. Ibid., 80.
99. Vanden, *Mariátegui*, 9-10.
100. Alberto Tauro, "Prólogo," in Pesce, *El factor religioso*, xl.
101. Macauley, *Sandino Affair*, 262.
102. Gadea, *Ernesto*, 32, 49.
103. Ibid., 5.
104. Gadea noted that the Guatemalans commemorated the twentieth anniversary of Sandino's assassination, *ibid.*, 27.
105. Ibid., 33.
106. Liss, *Roots of Revolution*, 157.
107. See Mariátegui, "Henri de Man y la 'crisis' del marxismo," in *Defensa del marxismo*, 19-23, and "El determinismo marxista," in *Defensa del marxismo*, 65-69.
108. Mariátegui, "Ethics and Socialism by José Carlos Mariátegui," *Tricontinental* 3 (1967): 20-27; cf. Mariátegui, "Ética y socialismo," in *Defensa del marxismo*, 55-63.
109. Mariátegui, "1a conferencia," *Historia de la crisis mundial*, 15-16.
110. Guevara, "Guerrilla Warfare," in his *Guerrilla Warfare*, 48.
111. Ibid.

112. Debray, *Revolution in the Revolution?* 20.
113. Ibid., 107.
114. See, for example, the critique of the Trotskyite Hugo Blanco, *Land or Death*, 62-64.
115. Letter from Mariátegui to Samuel Glusberg on 30 April 1927 in Mariátegui, *Correspondencia*, vol. 1, 273.
116. See Chavarría, *José Carlos Mariátegui*, 74.
117. Hodges, *Intellectual Foundations*, 182.
118. Ibid., 179.
119. Judson, *Cuba and the Revolutionary Myth*, 13.
120. Castro, "The Duty of a Revolutionary is to Make the Revolution," in *Fidel Castro Speaks*, 115.
121. Castro, *Una América Latina más unida*, 26.
122. Castro, "Economic Problems confronting Cuba and the Underdeveloped World," in *Fidel Castro Speaks*, 145.
123. Hodges, *Intellectual Foundations*, 175.
124. Ibid., 178. For an expanded, though somewhat antagonistic, examination of the use of subjective factors in forming a revolutionary political consciousness in Cuba, see Medin, *Cuba: The Shaping of Revolutionary Consciousness*.
125. Guevara, "Man and Socialism in Cuba," in *Venceremos!* 398.
126. "Presentación de *Amauta*," *Amauta* 1/1 (September 1926): 1.
127. Mariátegui, *La escena contemporánea*, 12.
128. Mariátegui, "El alma matinal," in *El alma matinal*, 14.

129. Hodges, *Intellectual Foundations*, 179.
130. Gadea, *Ernesto*, 51-52.
131. Castro, *Una América Latina más unida*, 13.
132. Betto, *Fidel and Religion*, 17.
133. *Ibid.*, 18-19.
134. Departamento de Orientación del CC del PCC, *José Carlos Mariátegui*, 14.
135. *Ibid.*, 11.
136. Mariátegui, *El problema de la tierra*, back cover.
137. Mariátegui, "El problema de la tierra," *ibid.*; quoted from Mariátegui, "The Problem of the Land," in *Seven Interpretive Essays*, 32.
138. *Ibid.*, 33.
139. *Ibid.*, 70-74.
140. Concha, "Mariátegui y su crítica del latifundio," 15-27.
141. Mariátegui, "¿Existe un pensamiento Hispano-Americano?" in *El problema de la tierra*; quoted from Mariátegui, "¿Existe un pensamiento Hispano-Americano?" in *Temas de nuestra américa*, 23.
142. Mariátegui, "El destino de norteamérica," in *El problema de la tierra*; and "Yanquilandia y el socialismo," *ibid.* Both essays are in Mariátegui, *Defensa del marxismo*, 145-50 and 155-59.
143. Baeza, "Nota preliminar," in Mariátegui, *7 ensayos de interpretación* (Havana, 1963), xi.

144. Ibid., xii.
145. Baeza, "Nota preliminar," in Mariátegui, *7 ensayos de interpretación* (Havana, 1969), xiii.
146. Baeza, "Prólogo," in Mariátegui, *7 ensayos de interpretación* (Havana, 1973), xvii.
147. Posada Zarate, *Los orígenes*, 24.
148. The books are Anderle, *Los movimientos políticos* (discussed below); Gargurevich Regal, *La razón del joven Mariátegui*; Mariátegui, *José Carlos Mariátegui: Obras* (discussed below). The articles are Butazzoni, "Sobre Mariátegui y la literatura"; Castro H., "El proceso de la cultura latinoamericana"; Concha, "Mariátegui y su crítica del latifundio"; Dessau, "Literatura y sociedad"; Luna Vegas, "A los cuarentinueve años"; Luna Vegas, "Genaro Carnero Checa"; Marinello, "Literatura y revolución"; Melis, "Mariátegui: primer marxista de América"; Moretic, "Proceso del realismo en Mariátegui"; Orrillo, "Primeras huellas"; Valdes-Dapena, "El Mariátegui de Yerko Moretic." This list does not include, of course, countless other works which employ Mariátegui's Marxist analysis but without making him or his ideas the central focus of study.
149. "Montado en un relámpago." Enrique de la Osa, "Prólogo," in Mariátegui's *José Carlos Mariátegui: Obras*, 26. Winston Orrillo uses the same metaphor for the two thinkers in *Martí, Mariátegui*, 29.
150. See de la Osa's comments on 31, 34, and 57.
151. Santos Moray, "Prólogo," in Mariátegui, *Ensayos literarios*, 8.
152. Ibid., 18.
153. Ibid., 9.
154. Ibid., 10.

155. Santos Moray, "Nota de presentación," in Mella et al., *Marxistas de América*, 5.
156. *Ibid.*, 6.
157. "Declaración para la convocatoria del Premio Extraordinario José Carlos Mariátegui," *Casa de las Américas* 19/113 (March-April, 1979): 159.
158. "Últimas actividades de la Casa de las Américas," *Casa de las Américas* 21/125 (March-April, 1981): 189, 190.
159. "Continuidad del Amauta," *Casa de las Américas* 30/180 (May-June 1990): 157.
160. See Moretic and Valdes-Dapena; Moretic, *José Carlos Mariátegui*.
161. See *Casa de las Américas* 12/68 (September-October 1971): 6-39. The literary aspects of Mariátegui's thought are also dealt with by Guillermo Castro, Dessau, and Butazzoni.
162. Riverend, "Es bueno, es indispensable," 203.
163. Orrillo, *Martí, Mariátegui*, 217.
164. *Ibid.*, 237-38. In the conclusion to his book, Orrillo gives seventeen specific coincidences in the literary and political thought of Martí and Mariátegui.
165. *Ibid.*, 215. Orrillo points to Foncueva's article "Novísimo retrato de José Martí" which Mariátegui published in *Amauta* as one of Mariátegui's few direct contacts with Martí's thought.
166. *Ibid.*, 213.
167. The *Bohemia* articles are Crespo Giron, "José Carlos Mariátegui;" Dumpierre, "Mariátegui: luz de América"; "Mariátegui, el Amauta," *Bohemia* 72/15 (11 April 1980): 84-

88; Orrillo, "Raúl Roa;" Juan Sánchez, "Mariátegui, un peleador de ahora"; Santos Moray, "José Carlos Mariátegui, el Amauta"; Santos Moray, "Mariátegui en los albores de las letras soviéticas."

168. Sánchez, "Mariátegui, un peleador de ahora," 66.
169. Mariátegui, "La unidad de la América Indo-Española," *Bohemia* 72/15 (11 April 1980): 85-86; also in Mariátegui, *Temas de nuestra América*, 13-17.
170. Mariátegui, "Henri Barbusse," *Bohemia* 72/15 (11 April 1980): 88; also in Mariátegui, *La escena contemporánea*, p. 158.
171. Dumpierre, "Mariátegui, Cuba y la lucha contra el imperialismo," 231.
172. Vanden, "Ideology of the Insurrection," 49.

#### Chapter 4

1. Mintz argues this line of thought in his article, "Rural Proletariat," 291-325.
2. Burbach and Núñez, *Fire in the Americas*, 5.
3. Brown, "Sandinismo," 39.
4. Vanden, "Marxism and the Peasantry in Latin America," 93.
5. Carlos Fonseca Amador, "Nicaragua: Zero Hour," in Borge Martínez, *Sandinistas Speak*, 39.
6. Sandino, "Manifiesto," in Sandino, *El pensamiento vivo*, vol. 1, 119.
7. Letter from Sandino to Gustavo Alemán Bolaños on 9 September 1929 in Sandino, *El pensamiento vivo*, vol. 1, 389.

8. Hodges, *Intellectual Foundations*, 85, 10.
9. Vanden, "Ideology of the Insurrection," 42.
10. Sandino, "Manifiesto," *El pensamiento vivo*, 117.
11. Vanden, "Ideology of the Insurrection," 45.
12. Sandino, "Mensajes: Sandino y la libertad de los pueblos," *Amauta* 4/20 (January 1929): 95.
13. Letter from Sandino to Gustavo Alemán Bolaños on 9 August 1931 in Sandino, *El pensamiento vivo*, vol. 2, 189.
14. Hodges, *Intellectual Foundations*, 15.
15. *Ibid.*, 39.
16. *Ibid.*, 142.
17. Sandino, "Manifiesto Luz y Verdad," *El pensamiento vivo*, vol. 2, 159-60.
18. Hodges, *Intellectual Foundations*, 26.
19. Mariátegui, "The Problem of Land," in *Seven Interpretive Essays*, 50.
20. "La revolución mexicana—conferencia de José Carlos Mariátegui," in Mariátegui, *Historia de la crisis mundial*, 167. For an analysis of Mariátegui's thought on the Mexican revolution, see Paoli Bilio, "Mariátegui, interprete de la revolución mexicana," Bassols Batalla's comments in *Marx y Mariátegui*, 259-68, and Falcón, *Mariátegui: Arquitecto Sindical*. Falcón's work emerged from an article which he originally wrote for the conference "Mariátegui y la revolución latinoamericana," which the Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa held in Mexico City in 1980.

21. Letter from Mariátegui to Pavletich on 25 September 1929 in Mariátegui, *Correspondencia*, vol. 2, 636.
22. Letter from Mariátegui to Samuel Glusberg on 9 February 1930 in Mariátegui, *Correspondencia*, vol. 2, 726.
23. "Diego Rivera: Biografía sumaria," *Amauta* 1/4 (December 1926): 5-8.
24. Esteban Pavletich, "Diego Rivera: El artista de una clase," *Amauta* 2/5 (January 1927): 5-9.
25. Mariátegui, "Itinerario de Diego Rivera," *El artista y la época*, Obras Completas, vol. 6, 97. The article originally appeared in *Variedades* (Lima), 18 February 1928.
26. Mariátegui, "El imperialismo yanqui en Nicaragua," in *Temas de nuestra América*, 145. The article originally appeared in *Variedades*, 22 January 1927.
27. See Romain Rolland, "Mensaje de Romain Rolland," *Amauta* 2/6 (February 1927): 4.
28. Manuel Ugarte, "Manifiesto de Manuel Ugarte a la juventud latino-americana," *Amauta* 2/8 (April 1927): 37-39.
29. Jorge Basadre, "Mientras ellos se extienden," *Amauta* 2/9 (May 1927): 9.
30. M. Castro Morales, "Estados Unidos en la historia del Derecho," *Amauta* 2/9 (May 1927): 32.
31. Martínez de la Torre, *Apuntes para una interpretación marxista*, vol. 2, 273-74.
32. "La union latino-americana," *Amauta* 2/11 (January 1928): 36.
33. Tristán Maroff [sic], "Spartacus y Sandino," *Amauta* 3/14 (April 1928): 26.

34. Mariátegui, "Las elecciones en Estados Unidos y Nicaragua," in *Temas de nuestra América*, 149. Originally the article appeared in *Varietades* (10 November 1928).
35. Manuel Ugarte, "Manifiesto de Manuel Ugarte y los estudiantes latinoamericanos de Paris," *Amauta* 3/16 (July 1928): 34.
36. Augusto César Sandino, "Mensaje de Sandino," *Amauta* 3/16 (July 1928): 1; also see letter from Sandino to Mariátegui on 20 May 1928 in Mariátegui, *Correspondencia*, vol. 2, 380.
37. Henri Barbusse, "Mensaje," *Amauta* 3/19 (November-December 1928): 92-93.
38. Luis A. Rodrigo called Sandino *un vulgar salteador de caminos* in a letter to Mariátegui on 15 April 1929 in Mariátegui, *Correspondencia*, vol. 2, 540.
39. Mariátegui, "El movimiento revolucionario venezolano," in *Temas de nuestra América*, 158.
40. Luna Vegas, *Historia y trascendencia*, 89.
41. Letter from Pavletich to Mariátegui on 15 July 1928 in Mariátegui, *Correspondencia*, vol. 2, 397; Pavletich referred to Sandino's message in the issue of *Amauta* that had just been published in July of 1928.
42. Letter from Mariátegui to Pavletich on 25 September 1929 in Mariátegui, *Correspondencia*, vol. 2, 635.
43. Pavletich, "La causa de la libertad de Nicaragua es la causa de la libertad de América," quoted in Instituto de Estudio del Sandinismo, *El Sandinismo: documentos básicos*, 189.
44. Letter from Pavletich to Joaquín García Monge on 8 June 1928 in *Repertorio Americano* (San José, Costa Rica) 17/2 (14 July 1928): 19. (Also in *ibid.*, 190.)

45. Selser, *Sandino*, 120.
46. Falcón quoted in Instituto de Estudio del Sandinismo, *El Sandinismo: documento, básicos*, 229.
47. Blanca Luz Brum, "Nicaragua," *Amauta* 3/13 (March 1928): 18; cf. her comments in a letter to Mariátegui on 1 February 1928 in Mariátegui, *Correspondencia*, vol. 2, 347.
48. Hodges, *Intellectual Foundations*, 135.
49. Ricardo Martínez de la Torre, "Aviso Luminoso," *Amauta* 3/14 (April 1928): 7.
50. Roa, *El fuego de la semilla*, 182, 187.
51. Hodges, *Intellectual Foundations*, 94.
52. Román, *Maldito país*, 137.
53. Sandino quoted by Carlos Fonseca Amador, "Síntesis de algunos problemas actuales," in Fonseca Amador, *Obras*: Tomo 1, 185.
54. "The Situation of the Latin American Communist Parties on the Eve of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern," in Aguilar, *Marxism in Latin America*, 153. Cerdas Cruz gives an excellent examination of the relationship between Sandino and the Communist International in his book, *La hoz y el machete*, 181-253.
55. Vanden, "Ideology of the Insurrection," 49; Hodges, *Intellectual Foundations*, 17.
56. Vanden, "Ideology of the Insurrection," 48-49.
57. Booth, *End and the Beginning*, 115. In an important new study which challenges these traditional perceptions of the PSN, Jeffrey Gould argues that a strong, leftist rural labor

movement emerged from the confines of the PSN in Chinandega in the 1940s. See Gould, *To Lead as Equals*.

58. Mattarollo, "Civilizar a la burguesia," 6.
59. Ibid.
60. FSLN, "The Historic Program of the FSLN," in Borge Martínez et al., *Sandinistas Speak*, 13.
61. Ibid., 21.
62. Fonseca Amador, "Entrevista, 1970," in *Obras*: Tomo 1, 289.
63. Ibid., 301.
64. Fonseca Amador, "Ideario político del General Sandino," in *Obras*: Tomo 2, 169-99.
65. Hodges, *Intellectual Foundations*, 187.
66. Fonseca Amador, "Viva Sandino," in *Obras*: Tomo 2, 85.
67. Blandón, *Entre Sandino y Fonseca Amador*, 109. Guevara never joined the FSLN.
68. Hodges, *Intellectual Foundations*, 168-69.
69. Ibid., 183, 179.
70. Brown, "Sandinismo," 56.
71. Vanden, "Fonseca Amador, Carlos," in Gorman, *Biographical Dictionary of Marxism*, 110.
72. Hodges, *Intellectual Foundations*, 179.
73. Borge Martínez, *Carlos*, 22; cf. Selser, *Sandino*, 139.

74. See V. M. Miroshchinski, "El 'populismo' en el Perú. Papel de Mariátegui en la historia del pensamiento social latinoamericano," in Aricó, *Mariátegui y los orígenes del marxismo latinoamericano*, 55-70.
75. Valle-Castillo, "José Carlos Mariátegui (1895-1930)," 1.
76. Fonseca Amador, "Viva Sandino," in *Obras*: Tomo 2, 85.
77. Fonseca Amador, "Notas sobre la montaña y algunos otros temas," in *Obras*: Tomo 2, 200.
78. Borge Martínez, *La paciente impaciencia*, 86-87.
79. Mattarollo, "Civilizar a la burguesía," 6.
80. Ibid.
81. Burbach and Núñez, *Fire in the Americas*, 22.
82. Instituto de Estudio del Sandinismo, *Carlos: el eslabon vital*, 31.
83. Pavletich, "Perspectivas de la Revolución Nicaragüense," 94-96.
84. Borge Martínez, "Large Scale Aggression," 119.
85. Luna Vegas, *Historia y transcendencia*, 90. In a continuation of Mariátegui's solidarity with Nicaragua, Luna Vegas stated that in the 1980s, "in the face of a new and serious North American aggression against Sandinista Nicaragua, the Peruvian followers of Mariátegui express our fraternal solidarity without reserve" for the new generation of Sandinistas.
86. Valle-Castillo, "José Carlos Mariátegui (1895-1930)," 1. Unfortunately, the *Nuevo Amanecer Cultural* never carried through on its intent to publish Sandino's communiques.

87. Interview with Valle-Castillo, Managua, Nicaragua, 18 June 1990. José Antonio Fernández Salvatecci, a Peruvian military official who fought with the Sandinista guerrillas before their 1979 triumph, without mentioning Mariátegui points to many of these theoretical factors which originated with Mariátegui as strengths which led to the success of the Sandinista revolution. Fernández Salvatecci, "Teorización de la practica revolucionaria nicaragüense," in *Militar en el Perú*, 157-62.
88. Borge Martínez, *Los primeros pasos*, 280; cf. Mariátegui's editorial "Aniversario y balance" in *Amauta*: "we certainly do not want socialism in America to be a copy. It has to be a heroic creation." *Amauta* 3/17 (September 1928): 3.
89. Borge Martínez, *Los primeros pasos*, 9.
90. Mariátegui, "Heterodoxia de la tradición," *Peruanicemos al Perú*, 162.
91. Fonseca, "Nicaragua: Zero Hour," 29.
92. Morales Avilés, *Obras*, 82.
93. Fonseca, "Nicaragua: Zero Hour," 37.
94. Mattarollo, "Civilizar a la burguesia," 6.
95. Borge Martínez, "Large Scale Aggression," 119.
96. Tirado, *El pensamiento Politico de Carlos Fonseca Amador*, 4-6.
97. Borge Martínez, quoted in Christian, *Nicaragua*, 170.
98. "The idea that revolution will be exported to others is also absolutely false," Joaquín Villalobos, "A Democratic Revolution for El Salvador," *Foreign Policy* 74 (Spring 1989): 115.
99. Borge Martínez, quoted in Christian, *Nicaragua*, 170.

100. Bendaña, "Foreign Policy of the Nicaraguan Revolution," 321.
101. Mariátegui, "Principios programáticos," in *Ideología y política*, 159.
102. Vilas, *Sandinista Revolution*, 29.
103. Ibid., 26; cf. Mariátegui, "Punto de vista anti-imperialista," in *Ideología y política*, 89.
104. Vilas, *Perfiles de la revolución sandinista*, 73; cf. Mariátegui, "Punto de vista anti-imperialista," in *Ideología y política*, 90.
105. Mariátegui, "Punto de vista anti-imperialista," in *Ideología y política*, 91.
106. Vilas, *State, Class & Ethnicity in Nicaragua*. This book is a good introduction to the issues raised on the following pages.
107. *Jinotega, 94 aniversario*, 15.
108. For an excellent survey of the history of indigenous resistance to the Spanish conquest in Nicaragua, see Wheelock Román, *Raíces indígenas*.
109. Tomás Borge Martínez, "Discurso del Comandante de la Revolución Tomás Borge M., Ministro del Interior, en la clausura del Seminario de la Comisión Nacional de Autonomía," in *Autonomía*, 72-73.
110. Macaulay, *Sandino Affair*, 189, 210.
111. Wheelock Román, *Raíces indígenas*, 1, 117.
112. Borge Martínez, *La paciente impaciencia*, 32-33.
113. FSLN, "The Historic Program of the FSLN," in Borge et al., *Sandinistas Speak*, 19.

114. Comisión de Autonomía, "Principios y Políticas para el Ejercicio de los Derechos de Autonomía de los Pueblos Indígenas y Comunidades de la Coast Atlántica de Nicaragua," in *Autonomía* 46.
115. Ibid., 48.
116. Bourgois, "Problematic of Nicaragua's Indigenous Minorities," 304.
117. Cardenal, "Toward a New Democracy of Culture," 347.
118. Beverley and Zimmerman, *Literature and Politics*, 68.
119. Cardenal, "El Valiente Nombre Nuevo," 6.
120. "Presentación de *Amauta*," *Amauta* 1/1 (September 1926): 1.
121. Cardenal, "El Valiente Nombre Nuevo," 7.
122. Ibid., 6-7.
123. "Presentación de *Amauta*," *Amauta* 1/1 (September 1926): 1.
124. Liss, *Radical Thought*, 186.
125. Vanden, *National Marxism*, 1.
126. Burbach and Núñez, *Fire in the Americas*, 100.
127. Borge Martínez, quoted in White, *Culture & Politics in Nicaragua*, 5. The theme of using popular culture as an expression of revolutionary aspirations in Nicaragua is also treated in Beverley and Zimmerman, *Literature and Politics*.
128. Borge Martínez, *La paciente impaciencia*, 362.
129. Borge Martínez, *Los primeros pasos*, 151. In his essay "Henri Barbusse" in *La escena contemporánea* (158), Mariátegui wrote that "For poor people the revolution will be the

conquest *not only of bread, but also beauty*, of art, of thought, and of all the pleasures of the spirit" (emphasis mine).

130. Borge Martínez, *Los primeros pasos*, 199.
131. Hodges, *Intellectual Foundations*, 188-89.
132. Tirado López, *El pensamiento de Carlos Fonseca Amador*, 10.
133. Fred Judson, "Sandinista Revolutionary Morale," 20.
134. *Ibid.*, 31.
135. *Ibid.*, 22.
136. Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right: Introduction," in *Early Writings*, 44.
137. Marx, "Third Manuscript," *ibid.*, 167.
138. Kirk, *Between God and the Party*, xviii.
139. Marx, "Third Manuscript," in *Early Writings*, 156.
140. National Directorate of the FSLN, "The Role of Religion in the New Nicaragua," in Borge et al., *Sandinistas Speak*, 107.
141. Lancaster, *Thanks to God and the Revolution*, 164. The role of religious workers as a subjective factor in religious movements in Central America is placed in a broader historical context in Phillip Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion: Christians in Central American Revolutions* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1984).
142. National Directorate of the FSLN, "The Role of Religion in the New Nicaragua," in Borge et al., *Sandinistas Speak*, 107.
143. Mattarollo, "Civilizar a la burguesia," 6.

144. Borge Martínez, *La paciente impaciencia*, 279; Mariátegui, "The Religious Factor," in *Seven Interpretive Essays*, 124.
145. National Directorate of the FSLN, "The Role of Religion in the New Nicaragua," in Borge et al., *Sandinistas Speak*, 105.
146. Torres, *Revolutionary Priest*, xiii.
147. *Ibid.*, 368.
148. National Directorate of the FSLN, "The Role of Religion in the New Nicaragua," in Borge et al., *Sandinistas Speak*, 106.
149. "El Evangelio en la revolución," 7.
150. Dodson and Montgomery, "Churches in the Nicaraguan Revolution," 166.
151. See Cabestrero, *Ministers of God* and Cabestrero, *Revolutionaries for the Gospel* for interviews with Catholic priests who worked with the revolutionary Sandinista government.
152. See Cardenal, *In Cuba*.
153. Cardenal, quoted in Hodges, *Intellectual Foundations*, 285.
154. See the discussion of these sects in Dodson and Montgomery, "Churches in the Nicaraguan Revolution," 166-68.
155. Vanden, *National Marxism*, 20; Chang-Rodríguez, *Poética e ideología*, 84.
156. See Gutiérrez's discussion of secondary works on Mariátegui in Gutiérrez, *Theology of Liberation*, 98.
157. Peirano, "Entrevista con Gustavo Gutiérrez," 116.
158. Candelaria, "José Carlos Mariátegui," 886.

159. Gutiérrez, *Theology of Liberation*, 90; Gutiérrez quotes from Mariátegui, "Aniversario y balance," in *Ideología y política*, 249, and "Mensaje al Congreso Obrero," in *Ideología y política*, 112. Also see Gutiérrez, *Power of the Poor*, 189.
160. Gutiérrez, *Power of the Poor*, 217.
161. Gutiérrez, *Theology of Liberation*, 18, quoted from Mariátegui, "Heterodoxia de la tradición," in *Peruanicemos al Perú*, 164.
162. Gutiérrez, *Theology of Liberation*, 284.
163. *Ibid.*, ix.
164. Gutiérrez, *Power of the Poor*, 97. See Mariátegui's essay "The Religious Factor," in *Seven Interpretive Essays*, 124-52. Gutiérrez also mentioned this influence in his interview with Luis Peirano in Peirano's "Entrevista con Gustavo Gutiérrez," 115.
165. Judd, "Gustavo Gutiérrez," 69.
166. Mariátegui, "El hombre y el mito," in *El alma matinal*, 27.
167. Mariátegui, "The Religious Factor," in *Seven Interpretive Essays*, 152.
168. Klaiber, *Religion and Revolution in Peru*, 107-8.
169. See, for example, Jerez, "Gustavo Gutiérrez," 59-64.
170. Vanden, *National Marxism*, 2.

## Chapter 5

1. Angotti, "Contributions of José Carlos Mariátegui," 33.
2. Vanden, "Ideology of the Insurrection," 58.

3. Vanden, "Marxism and the Peasantry in Latin America," 95.
4. Gargan, "India's Communists Reel in Soviet Upheaval," 8A.
5. Vilas, "What Future for Socialism?" 14-15.
6. Vilas, "Is Socialism Still an Alternative for the Third World?" 108.
7. "Nuestro deber más sagrado," 1.
8. Durch, "Cuban Military," 71-72.
9. "Nuestro deber más sagrado," 1.
10. Castro, "Only Those Who Resist Will Win."
11. Castro, "Fidel Castro on Chilean Fascism and Revolution," in Johnson, *Chilean Road to Socialism*, 341.
12. Allende, "First Message to the Congress by President Allende," in Debray, *Chilean Revolution*, 174-75.
13. Robinson, "Transition in El Salvador."
14. Villalobos, "Democratic Revolution," 103.
15. Ibid., 118, 113.
16. Ibid., 113.
17. Shafik Handal, "Cuba, El Salvador and the *Perestroika*."
18. For a solid assessment of the FMLN's adaptive "new thinking" of the late 1980s, which allowed them to rise above sectarian beliefs and mechanical thinking in order to build what is today the strongest revolutionary movement in the hemisphere (15), see Miles and Ostertag, "FMLN: New Thinking."

19. Villalobos, "Democratic Revolution," 120.
20. Quoted in Robinson, "Transition in El Salvador."
21. Mariátegui, "Henri Barbusse," in *Escena contemporánea*, 158. Also see Borge Mariátegui, *Los primeros pasos*, 151.
22. Harris, *Marxism, Socialism, and Democracy*, 201-2.
23. *Ibid.*, 177-78.
24. Burbach and Núñez, *Fire in the Americas*, 1.
25. Flores Galindo, "Peru: A Self-critical Farewell," 9-10.
26. Aricó, "Rethink Everything," 21-23.
27. Vanden, "José Carlos Mariátegui y la perestroika," 22.
28. "Nota editorial," *Anuario Mariateguiano* 2 (1991): 7.
29. Mariátegui, "Aniversario y balance," *Amauta* 3/17 (September 1928): 3.

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