The material for these notes, which covers the literature upto 1990, was gathered while preparing an article on the subject for *The Cambridge History of Latin America*. A talk on the socialist and communist movements in Latin America during this period, based on the above article, was given at the Instituto de Historia in September 1992.


The polemic between Mariategui and the Comintern was the first of many debates between orthodoxy and "heresy" in the world of Latin American communism. For the debate see Alberto Flores Galindo, La agonía de Mariategui; la polémica con la Komintern, (Lima 1980); Carlos Franco, Del marxismo eurocéntrico al marxismo latinoamericano, (Lima 1981); Harry Vanden, "Mariategui, Marxismo, Comunismo and other bibliographical notes", Latin American Research Review, Vol 14. N° 3, 1979; and by the same author, National Marxism in Latin America: José Carlos Mariategui’s Thought and Politics, (Boulder, Colorado 1986); Ricardo Martínez de la Torre, Apuntes para una interpretación marxista de la historia social del Perú, (Lima 1946); and Mariategui’s best known book, Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality, (Texas 1971).

Discussions of the importance of Marxism as an ideology in Latin America are rather few and disappointing. There are exceptions, however, notably in the writing of José Arico: see Marx y América Latina, (Lima 1980); and “El marxismo en América Latina” in Fernando Calderón ed., Socialismo, autoritarismo y democracia, (Lima 1989). Another acute observer is Tomás Moulian, Democracia y socialismo en Chile, (Santiago 1983). An excellent and detailed exposition of Marxist ideas on underdevelopment is Gabriel Palma, “Dependency: a Formal Theory of Underdevelopment or a Methodology for the Analysis of Concrete Situations of Underdevelopment” World development, Vol 6 N° 7/8, 1978. Sheldon Liss, Marxist Thought in Latin America, (California 1984) is detailed but rather uncritical. A useful anthology is in Michael Lowy ed., El marxismo en América Latina de 1909 a nuestros días, (México 1982). Although not directly concerned with marxism, there is interesting discussion in Jean Franco, The Modern Culture of Latin America: Society and the Artist, (London 1967), and in her book on the Peruvian poet, César Vallejo: the Dialectics of Poetry and Silence, (Cambridge). Gerald Martin, Journeys Through the Labyrinth: Latin American Fiction in the Twentieth Century, (London 1989) amongst its many other qualities explores the political commitment of Latin American writers. One of the few specific studies to take ideas and ideologies seriously, weird though some of those ideas were, is Donald Hodges, Intellectual Foundations of the Nicaraguan Revolution, (Texas 1986). The ideological and political significance of the Spanish Civil War for the countries of Latin America is well treated in Mark Falcoff and Frederick Pike eds., The Spanish Civil War: American Hemispheric Perspectives, (Nebraska 1982). For the important period following the

There are relatively few memoirs by Marxists, or former Marxists, and they are not always reliable. But well worth reading are, for Chile, Elías Laferte, Vida de un comunista, (Santiago 1961); Pablo Neruda, Confieso que he vivido: Memorias (Barcelona 1983); and the ex-Comintern agent turned militant anti-communist, Eudocio Ravines, The Yenan Way, (New York 1951). For Mexico see Valentín Campa, Mi testimonio: experiencias de un comunista mexicano, (Mexico 1978). Quite outstanding is Roque Dalton’s recounting of the life of the veteran Salvadorean Communist, Miguel Mármol, (Connecticut 1986). On another leading Salvadorean figure see Jorge Arias Gómez, Farabundo Martí: Esbozo biográfico, (Costa Rica 1972). For Argentina see José Peter, Historia y luchas de los obreros de la carne, (Buenos Aires 1947), and, by the same author, Crónicas proletarias, (Buenos Aires 1968). For the memoirs of a leading Comintern agent, who was active in Mexico see M.N. Roy, Memoirs, (Bombay 1964). And for the memoirs of a labour activist from the opposite side of the political spectrum see Serafino Romualdi, Presidents and Peons: Recollections of a Labor Ambassador in Latin America, (New York 1967).


The guerrilla movements that sprang up following the Cuban Revolution are discussed in great if uncritical detail in Richard Gott, Rural Guerrillas in Latin America, (London 1973). The strategy of such movements derived from Regis Debray’s influential if partial account of the success of the Cuban revolution in Revolution in the Revolution? (London 1968). Debray later wrote a two volume, A Critique of Arms, (London 1977 and 1978), which sets out his revised theories and includes case studies of guerrillas in Venezuela, Guatemala and Uruguay. Very revealing of the problems facing rural guerrilla


For the politics of the left in Argentina in the inter-war period see, Horoschi Matsushita, *El movimiento obrero argentino, 1930-1945*, (Buenos

The Chilean left has received considerable attention, reflecting its importance in the politics of the country. An excellent overall interpretation is Julio Faúndez, *Marxism and Democracy in Chile: from 1932 to the fall of Allende*, (New Haven and London 1988). The pioneer of labour studies in Chile wrote extensively on the politics of the union movement in Jorge Barra, *Trayectoria y estructura del movimiento sindical chileno* (Santiago 1963), and the *Historia de la CUT* (Santiago 1971). Relations between the parties of the left and the unions is also discussed in Alan Angell, *Politics and the Labour Movement in Chile* (Oxford 1972). A brilliant account of a worker seizure of a factory under the Allende government is Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution: the Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism* (New York 1986).


There is a huge literature on the Allende government. For accounts relevant to this chapter see Eduardo Labarca Goddard, *Chile al rojo* (Santiago 1971) which gives a fascinating account of the origins of the government. For a good review of the literature see Lois Hecht Oppenheim, “The Chilean Road to Socialism Revisited”, *Latin American Research Review*, Vol XXIV N° 1, 1989. Allende’s ideas are explored in Regis Debray, *Conversations with Allende* (London 1971). An interesting account by an aide of the president is Joan Garcés, *Allende y la experiencia chilena* (Barcelona 1976). The best account of the political economy of the period is Sergio Bitar, *Transición, socialismo y
democracia: la experiencia chilena, (Mexico 1979), translated as, Chile: Experiment in Democracy (Philadelphia 1986). Relations with the Soviet Union are well treated in Isabel Turrent, La Unión Soviética en América Latina: El caso de la Unidad Popular Chilena (Mexico 1984).


An excellent set of essays on Mexico, covering the whole period is Arnoldo Martínez Verdugo ed., Historia del comunismo en México, (Mexico 1983). The early years of the Mexican left are thoroughly examined in Barry Carr, El movimiento obrero y la política en México 1910-1929 (Mexico 1981); and see also Arnaldo Cordoba, La clase obrera en la historia de México; Vol IX: En una época de crisis, 1928-1934, (México 1980) and Manuel Márquez Fuentes and Octavio Rodríguez Araujo, El Partido Comunista Mexicano 1919-1943, (Mexico 1973). For the crucial Cárdenas years see Samuel León and
