

SOCIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

"A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN CHILE AND CUBA"

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## INTRODUCTION

Between the years 1804 and 1825, all of the present independent Latin American countries were established, except three. The Dominican Republic, gained independence from Spain in 1848, Cuba in 1902 and Panama was established out of present-day Colombia in 1903.<sup>1</sup>

Democratic socialist parties, that is, parties that have been ideologically (to various degrees) closely aligned with the parties of the so-called second, or socialist, international, have existed in many of the Latin American countries. The older ones date from the last decades of the 19th century. With one or two exceptions, the democratic socialist parties have not developed into major parties. Furthermore, in recent decades the group as a whole has tended to decline in importance, some of the parties disappearing altogether and others undergoing damaging schisms. Most have lost influence in the labor movement and other groups in which they were formerly important. The socialists have usually considered themselves Marxists and parties of the left and have frequently found the competition of the Communists to be embarrassing. During the 1950s and the 1960s, several of the democratic socialist parties tended to be converted, usually with some degree of a Marxist-Leninist philosophy. The socialists were among the first political groups to try to represent the new social economic interests engineered by modern economic development, particularly representing the urban working class. Although there had been native utopian socialists earlier in the century, they did not leave behind any permanent socialist organization. In Chile, for example, "European Utopian Socialism" was

introduced by Francisco Bilbao after the revolution of 1848 in Europe.<sup>2</sup>

According to Rollie E. Poppino, in the past half century Marxism has become part of the common background of most well-educated Latin Americans. University students who have gone into politics have been familiar with the basic tenets of Marxist socialism, and modern Marxism-Leninism. Poppino argues that the socialists are concerned for the social and economic improvement of the masses. They stress the importance of economic factors as determinants of political and social developments and they accept the Marxist theory of the "inevitability" of historical trends.<sup>3</sup>

Vera M. Dean and others suggest conditions which breed political and social unrest in Latin America. Relations with the United States are the most important elements in Latin American Foreign affairs. The "colossus of the North" was long feared and suspected by Latin Americans who looked on unhappily as the United States made large territorial gains at the expense of Mexico in 1848, acquired Puerto Rico and important rights in Cuba as a result of the Spanish-American war in 1898, intervened in the 1903 revolt establishing Panama as a country independent of Colombia and immediately signed a Panama treaty favorable to the United States, stationed Marines in the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua and Haiti for long periods, ending only in 1933 when the last troops were withdrawn from Haiti. Meanwhile, the United States' economic and military powers were growing far beyond the total of all Latin American countries combined. Latin American countries look on their economic relationship with

the United States as a colonial relationship in which America's tremendous power is used to extract advantages in unequal bargains.<sup>4</sup>

In the American foreign relations, Latin America has always been a secondary element, traditionally subordinate to relations with Europe-- and recently-- to relations with Asia and the Middle East. The United States' interest in Latin America has been spasmodic right up to the present.<sup>5</sup>

Some nations in the world are poverty stricken because they lack national resources. That is not true of Latin American countries. They have an abundance of the resources necessary to make a country rich. Yet the people of Latin America are desperately poor. Poverty, illiteracy, hopelessness and a sense of injustice are the conditions which breed political and social unrest. They are almost universal in Latin American. Unless the economic and social structures of Latin American countries are radically altered, nothing fundamental will change. On December 4, 1960, United States Senator Mike Mansfield addressed "The Basic Problem of Latin America." He proposed immediate improvement of diet, housing, health, the creation of industries, the elimination of illiteracy and an increase on educational facilities. Additionally he proposed the improvement of agriculture for local consumption, the creation of a network of transportation and communication to connect all points within the republic. What he proposed must be done by any Latin American nation that wished to develop was an age-old remedy that was prescribed for Cuba in 1935 and again in 1950

and 1956. But the medicine was never swallowed until the revolutionary government of Cuba came to power. What Senator Mansfield and a host of others said had to be done to develop Latin America is being done in socialist Cuba. However, it is not being done to any significant extent in any of the capitalist, colonial countries of Latin America. Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy suggest that Senator Mansfield's prescription cannot be implemented in the capitalist colonial countries of Latin America until they, too, have their own socialist revolution.<sup>6</sup>

Helen Desfosses and Jacques Levesque stated that socialism promises the achievement and benefits of capitalism and industrialization, but without the exploitation that is attributed to the capitalist class. Socialism offers the hope that the benefits of the industrial age can be controlled in the people's best interests by the representatives of the masses. Socialism-- with its Marxist emphasis on achieving capitalism without the profit motive, its Leninist emphasis on national liberation revolutions and its Maoist stress on the revolutionary struggle between bourgeois and proletarian nations-- satisfies the need of Third World countries to explain their "backwardness" and to fight continued oppression.<sup>7</sup>

Socialism appeared in Chile soon after the Communist Manifesto was written. Furthermore, Chile was one of the countries in which socialism was most important in Latin America.<sup>8</sup> Socialism in Chile pursued the executive office of the republic through the democratic electoral process. R. J. Alexander wrote that in contrast to Chile, Cuban socialism never amounted to much more than a sect. Socialism

in Cuba appeared in the later part of the 19th century. The protagonist of the socialist revolution in Cuba after consolidating for securing the support of the people declared Cuba a socialist country.

The objective of this report is first to present a history of socialism in both countries and their search for power. Second, some of the methods employed in pursuing the socialist goals will be shown. And third, the main leaders in both countries who were the protagonists of the socialist movement will be described.

The body of the paper is in two parts. Part One presents a history of socialism in Chile while Part Two profiles a history of socialism in Cuba. The paper will present socialism in both countries and will examine their history from the last decades of the 19th century to the 1970s.

## II

### A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN CHILE

#### A. Introduction

Since the early years of Chile's independence, political parties played a significant role in the countries' affairs. The earliest parties emphasized the leaders of the independence movement, but those leaders disagreed about ideas and programs from the beginning. Their disagreements gave rise to a multi-party system. However, under the multi-party system, none of the political groups had sufficient power to govern by themselves. They had to unite in order to create a majority.<sup>9</sup>

Based on the above information, we can see that from the earliest days of their independence, Chile began to experience different political systems, with different ideas and programs that were not accepted by those involved in the political affairs of the new country. Thus, when socialism was introduced into Chile, this became another idea that could be explored, along with others, in seeking the direction the republic was to advance.

B. A History of socialism in Chile, its programs and main protagonists in the pursuit of the executive office.

Socialist ideologies began in the north, when the mining proletariat was created in the 1860s and 1870s. This mining proletariat eventually made the coal-mining region one of the most explosive areas of class conflict and union struggle in Chile. While the desert was yielding wealth to foreign investors and a Chilean elite in the 19th and the early 20th centuries, its ports, rail-lines and



mining camps were the principle battlegrounds of class struggle for Chile's emerging proletariat. Peasant workers returning to the south with the new experience of class organization, strikes, blacklists and occasional massacres by police or military brought a new consciousness to the wheat fields of the frontier or the vineyards of the central valley. Union organizers in the north became national leaders of the Chilean working classes and spread their message from the deserts to the centers of economic and political power in the cities and countryside of the "real" Chile to the south. The plight of the northern workforce became a platform for political reformers and a school of leadership for a new generation of labor leaders, whose attention was focused upon the reality of the "social question" and "workers questions." This meant industrial class conflict combined with serious concern with mass poverty, educational backwardness and other issues associated with social and economic development.<sup>10</sup> However in the late 1840s, Francisco Bilbao, a bright young intellectual and political agitator who had spent a number of years in France where he studied with leading French intellectuals and came in close contact with Utopian Socialist, returned to Chile and introduced the idea of Utopian socialism. Bilbao believed that a democratic, purely popular or proletarian movement representing the interest of the working class might be formed in Chile. In 1850 when Bilbao returned to Chile, he formed the Sociedad de la Igualdad with the help of other young Chilean radicals. Within months the Sociedad became politically motivated and the center of the movement. The Sociedad de la Igualdad

held public meetings and demonstrations against the government. The intendant (a Spanish district administrator) of Santiago prohibited further meetings and before the end of 1850, declared the society dissolved. A number of people who had been associated with the society in the 1840s again took part in forming the Socialist Party.<sup>11</sup>

For the first time in 1887, socialist ideologies were expressed by a political party. The recently organized Partido Demócrata-- under the leadership of Malaquías Concha-- began to take part in electoral and political struggles. The Democratic Party brought a new political ideology and style into Chilean politics. The party proclaimed as its objective the political, economic, and social liberation of the people (pueblo) and proposed numerous reforms, including direct election of the president, and municipal administrators of the departments, taxes on land and capital, compulsory public education and support for industrialization. They also promoted policies designed to improve the lot of poor laborers. The Partido Demócrata evolved as Chile's first populists' political party. Later the most progressive elements within the party emerged as leaders of the more militant labor organizations of the cities, the nitrate and mining camps and the southern coal mines, as well as of the Socialist Workers Party (POS), which was formed in 1912 by Luis Emilio Recabarren and his supporters.<sup>12</sup> Before the formation of the POS, which was the first party with a general Marxist orientation in Chile, various other groups were founded. Most of these were small groups with a cooperative orientation rather than polit-

ical parties in the modern sense of the word. They were nevertheless very important because they represented the first attempt to organize the working class in Chile. At the turn of the century, the fledgling trade-union movement espoused the earliest Marxist political associations. In effect, socialist elements established a viable base among organized workers and then picked up labor and moved it into the political system. Thus, in 1897, elements from different locations throughout Chile assembled in Santiago and created the Union Socialista. A year later, the Partido Obrero was formed and in 1901 the Partido Socialista appeared<sup>13</sup>. According to Burnett, these groups articulated their doctrines to an ever-widening audience through countless labor-socialist publications. The socialists declared their opposition to establish order and announced their intent to replace it with a "just and more equalitarian one of but one class, the workers, in which production and its benefits would be enjoyed by all." Achieving this goal necessitated converting the private property into collective or common ownership.<sup>14</sup> According to Carmelo Furci, there were other significant groups of the category mentioned above, such as: the Centro Social Obrero (Santiago, 1896); the Agrupacion Fraternal Obrero (Santiago, 1896); the Union Socialista (Chillan, 1897); The Union Obrero (Punta Arenas, 1897); the Partido Socialista (Punta Arenas, 1897); and the Partido Socialista Francisco Bilbao (Santiago, 1898) with sections in Valparaiso, Iquique, Antofagasta, Talca, Curico, Valdivia, Rancagua, Chillan and Linares. There was also the Partido Democrata Socialista (Valparaiso, 1901).<sup>15</sup> The Partido Obrero

Socialista was founded in Iquique on the night of June 6, 1912, at a meeting called by Recabarren, the first national leader of the working class.<sup>16</sup> In this meeting Recabarren stated it was time to create a new, clearly socialist-oriented party and invited those present to abandon the Partido Demócrata, to which they all belonged. The POS was a well established party by 1920, with branches in most parts of the country. It was an effective electoral machine.<sup>17</sup> The POS candidate for president in 1920 was founder Luis Emilio Recabarren Serrano, making him the first labor candidate in Chilean history.<sup>18</sup> In 1921 Recabarren easily transformed the POS into the Communist Party.<sup>19</sup> According to Poppino, the POS of Chile proved to be the only instance of a socialist party in all of Latin America to be transformed intact to the international communist movement. Thus, in 1922, the POS became the Chilean Communist Party.<sup>20</sup>

The socialists were inactive until a number of small socialist parties appeared in 1927, after the fall of Ibanez and the emergence of the socialist republic. Included in these minor political factions and university groups were, El Partido Socialista Marxista, Nueva Acción Pública (NAP), Orden Socialista, Revolutionary Socialist Action (ARS) and the Unified Socialist Party. The NAP, under the leadership of Eugenio Mattes, and the four Micro-parties united together and eventually became the Socialist Party of Chile in 1933.<sup>21</sup>

Based on most of the material available about Chile the rise of the contemporary Marxist electoral movement began during the Great

American Depression. As an anti-status quo party, the Chilean socialists broke into the national arena in the 1930s behind a charismatic caudillo from the armed forces.

In 1931, the New Public Action (NAP), led by Eugenio Matte, sold its brand of socialism to Marma Duke Grove. The NAP's programs of immediate action stressed state control of the economy for the benefit of the workers, anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism.<sup>22</sup> The same year-- six months after taking the presidential oath of office-- Juan Esteban Montero was dumped by a coup d'etat led by Colonel Grove, the commander of the air force. A junta composed of individuals who held socialist leanings, such as Matte and Grove, was organized and actually dominated the government. In short order they declared Chile a socialist republic.<sup>23</sup> The famous 100 days of the Chilean "socialist republic" was governed by six different regimes.<sup>23</sup> During the period of the socialist republic, the American, British and French governments warned the Chilean socialists that any interference with foreign holdings would cause Chilean deposits to be frozen and credit for international transactions would be withheld. On June 16, 1932 the army ousted the first socialist government of Chile.<sup>24</sup> In 1932, after Carlos Oavila relinquished his office to General Blanche, Blanche called for a presidential election for the end of October. While in exile, Colonel Grove became the presidential candidate of the small group of socialist parties. Working under the banner of the Socialist Revolutionary Action, Grove came in second to Arturo Alessandri, who was elected president. This same group was responsible for the establishment of

the Partido Socialista de Chile (PSCCh) in the early months of 1933.<sup>25</sup> According to Drake, at the beginning the socialists demanded the state expropriation of most of the Latifundia and major foreign and domestic enterprises. Consequently, they publicly toned down such radical demands as time passed. The PSCCh rapidly became one of the most dynamic mass movements to appear in the hemisphere. They attracted the largest working class following the presidential election of 1932 and thereafter throughout the 1930s. Socialism was fashionable, particularly among intellectuals, teachers, students and professionals.

The PS youth federation was founded in 1934. The federation attracted some urban and rural laborers and even named a worker as its first secretary-general. In 1934, the first party split (one of the many schisms in the socialist party history) took place when a small group of Marxist revolutionary intellectuals in the Santiago branch of the PS began arguing for violent, proletariat revolution instead of class coalition and electoral gradualism. They were expelled from the PS and, in 1935, the intellectual rebels united to form a tiny vanguard group dubbed the socialist left.<sup>26</sup> By 1935 the major socialist factions, the dissident communists and the small democratic party formed a left block. They were joined in May 1936 by the radicals, communists and communist-led labor federation to create the formal Frente Popular which survived until 1941.<sup>27</sup>

According to Kinsbruner, the popular front's three-point overall program of action was: First, against oppression and in favor of

the restoration of democratic liberties; second, against imperialism and for the achievement of Chile for the Chileans; and third, against material intellectual misery of the people and for the realization of a modern social economic justice for the middle and working class.<sup>28</sup> In preparation for the 1938 presidential election, the socialists put forward the name of their leader, Marmaduke Grove, as the presidential candidate of the united left. The radicals put forward Pedro Aguirre Cerda, thus creating a deadlock in support of each party's candidate. Grove, the socialist candidate, withdrew in favor of Cerda. Cerda was nominated and later elected president of the republic.<sup>29</sup> During the popular front, socialist party membership grew by thousands, more than doubling from 1938 to 1941. The PS established hundreds of new local chapters after the 1938 victory and new members outnumbered those enrolled in the first five years of the party. The PS propaganda portrayed Ostor Schnake Vergara, (was minister of development in the Cerda administration and the spokesman for the Socialist Party) and other leaders as loyal men of the north, "The Cradle of Socialism in Chile." However, during the same period following the election, a number of disagreements between the leaders of the socialist party led to several secessions in the party organization and ranks. In mid-1940 a group of dissidents withdrew from the PS and under the leadership of Oscar Godoy Urrutia, formed the Partido Socialista de Trabajadores (PST) in 1941. The dissident elements argued that the socialists were losing prestige by participating in a government that could not fully carry out those things it had promised. The PST claimed to speak more for

the working class elements among socialists. By 1941 the socialist party seceded from the popular front coalition shortly after the departure of the nonconformists, after the front refused to expel the communists. They officially withdrew from the popular front coalition in 1941.<sup>30</sup>

According to Poppino, in the early 1940s the United States encouraged some Latin American republics to expand diplomatic contacts with the Soviet Union. Between 1942 and 1945, 13 Latin American countries established relations with or extended formal recognition to the Soviet government. Such action was encouraged by the United States as a gesture of wartime solidarity. Cuba began the new trend by establishing relations at the embassy level in October 1942.<sup>31</sup>

In 1942 Oscar Schnake Vegarra was the socialists' choice for president, but to their dismay Schnake withdrew in favor of Ríos, the Radical Party candidate, who won the election and kept the socialists in the same minor position they have had under the Cerda administration. This was followed by a serious socialist division in 1943, when Secretary-General Salvador Allende, and the party (lifetime) president, Marmaduke Grove, failed to agree on the party's participation in the government of Antonio Ríos. Grove favored continued participation and the formation of the Partido Unico, while Allende and other members opposed both measures. Due to their dispute, Grove and his supporters withdrew and elected an opposing central committee to that elected by the whole socialist party. This was followed by another split. In 1944, Grove and his



followers organized the Partido Socialista Autentico (PSA) with Grove supporting a socialist communist merger and Allende opposing. In 1946, the socialists joined the cabinet of acting president of the republic, Alfredo Duhalde, in order to gain benefits for the union and its members. For the 1946 presidential election, the party nominated Bernardo Ibanez, a labor leader, as their candidate for president. However, Gonzalez Videla was elected president. During his administration socialists were terrorized by the communists and, in several instances, assassinated. By late 1947, the situation had changed in favor of the PS and the party joined the Gonzalez Videla government. However, the PS membership was divided over the issue of participation in the Gonzalez Videla government. Because of this division another split took place. The anti-Videla faction broke away to form the Partido Socialista Popular (PSP) in 1948. The PSP was under the leadership of Raul Ampuero and Salvador Allende.<sup>32</sup>

The party split again over the issue of the party's alliance with Carlos Ibanez del Campo. This time Allende quit the PSP and rejoined the other socialist faction, the Partido Socialista de Chile (PSCH), at the same time announcing his candidacy for president of the republic in the 1952 presidential election. The communists and small factions of the radicals and democratic parties joined the PS in support of Allende. These groups formed the so-called Frente del Pueblo. The PSP endorsed the candidacy of Ibanez del Campo.<sup>33</sup>

The doctrine of a "Peaceful Road to Socialism", whereby a "democratic front of national liberation" might come to power by parliamentary means, began in the 1950s. About the same time

Allende became a candidate for president of the republic in 1952, the socialists were calling for a "workers front" under their own leadership rather than the broadening of coalitions behind centrist reformers. The Marxists ran socialist Salvador Allende Gossens for the presidency four consecutive times.<sup>34</sup>

On February 29, 1956 the Popular Action Front (FRAP) was born. It was comprised of the two branches of Chilean socialism (PS and PSP). Included were the Communist Party, the Popular Democratic Party and the People's National Front, a group of socialists under the direction of Baltazar Castro, a man who had remained faithful to Ibanez del Campo. In 1957, the two branches of socialism merged again under the name of the Socialist Party. The left, in order to contest the presidential election of 1958, stood united behind the socialist Salvador Allende. Salvador Allende came in a strong second with 28.8 percent of the national votes. The leftist coalition again decided to nominate Allende as their candidate for the 1964 presidential election. This would be Allende's third time as a candidate for the office of president of the republic. Again Allende failed to capture the presidency, but he finished a strong second with 38.9 percent of the votes.<sup>35</sup>

According to Allende, the United States using both the government and private enterprise raised very large sums of money to support the campaign of his opponent, Eduardo Frei.<sup>36</sup>

The Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) is a paramilitary group founded at the University of Concepcion in 1964-1969. This group rejects a peaceful or electoral road to socialism, has

participated actively in urban and rural tomas (illegal takeovers) and has financed many of its activities through "expropriation" of bank funds. The MIR regarded armed struggle as the only possible means of gaining power. The MIR's official party line stated that armed struggle of both workers and peasants was needed in order to take power. They planned urban guerrilla activities, war in the countryside, war against the army and the creation of a Marxist-Leninist party.<sup>37</sup>

The FRAP program intended to nationalize foreign mining companies, launch a policy of agrarian reform, nationalize major banks, introduce democratic reforms in the structure of the state and adopt an independent foreign policy.<sup>38</sup>

In 1967, the socialist party split one more time, when Raul Ampuero and a handful of followers seceded and founded the miniscule Popular Socialist Union (USP). Ampuero and his followers were claiming to speak for the truly revolutionary workers. They criticized the PS for accepting communist strategies.<sup>38</sup> Michael J. Francis argues that the 1967 split led to the dissolution of the FRAP.<sup>39</sup>

In 1969 the alliance of the left took on a new name, Unidad Popular (UP), and on August 29, 1969 the socialists finally managed to agree on Salvador Allende as their entry for the nominating contest of the UP. In January 1970, Allende emerged once again as the candidate of the united left.<sup>40</sup>

The united left coalition for the 1970 presidential election was reminiscent of 1938 with the socialists and communists leading

and the radical party in tow. In addition, three minor parties-- notably one of the left-wing rebels from the Christian Democrats-- rounded out the coalition. The UP coalition promised a government in transition as a move toward socialism.<sup>41</sup>

Cesar Caviedes explains the sequence of events of 1970 in Chile, beginning with the election. On September 5, 1970, Salvador Allende won Chile's presidential election with 36.2 percent of the electors. Jorge Alessandri won 34.9 percent of the votes. Since Allende's first-place showing at the polls did not represent an absolute majority, it had to be ratified by Congress. On October 24, 1970 Allende was ratified by Congress and became the president of the republic. On November 3, 1970 the new president inaugurated his government and announced his first cabinet. The cabinet was composed of four socialists, three communists, three radicals and one member each of the four minor parties. Once in office the president and his administration moved swiftly on the most pressing issues of their electoral platform. Manufacturing establishments owned by foreign concerns or by local capitalists were nationalized. The central workers' union was recognized as a legal body representing the interests of the workers in their dealings with the state, total nationalization of the copper industry and of financial institutions was announced and provisions were made by the minister of agriculture to accelerate the pace of the agrarian reform.<sup>42</sup> However, following the election, right-wing extremist groups, such as Patria y Libertad, and United States business and diplomatic groups plotted to prevent Allendes inauguration.<sup>43</sup>

Both James A. Nathan and Monte Palmer suggest that it is now well documented, for example, that the United States did actively work to block the election of president Allende in Chile. Kissinger concedes that the United States attempted to influence votes in the Chilean congress to prevent Allendes election. The United States supported the attempts of International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) to bring down the government of Allende's Chile.<sup>44</sup>

Allende said he was a militant socialist who realized that only in unity lay the hope of victory for the people, that in his pursuit of unity he was guided by an overwhelming desire to bring socialism to Chile without civil war.<sup>45</sup>

In any event, economic conditions deteriorated within Chile throughout 1971 and 1972. Supply and distribution problems in urban areas in 1971 sent thousands of women from upper-middle and even working class homes into the streets, banging on pots and pans to symbolize the government's inability to resolve the economic crisis.<sup>46</sup>

The 1972 October strikes were precipitated by demands of the members of the independent truckers' association. The association's members were against the government's plans to create a state-owned trucking enterprise, but it quickly became openly political and directly challenged the government and its program.<sup>47</sup>

Alexander argues that in 1971 the socialist party was the second largest party in Chile, with only the Christian Democrats being larger.<sup>48</sup> In 1971 the socialists elected Carlos Altamirano Arrego secretary-general of their party. Under his leadership the

PS slogan was "advance without compromise".<sup>49</sup>

Monte Palmer suggested that one of the major factors contributing to the overthrow in 1973 of President Salvador Allende of Chile was the emergence of a leftist militia designed to counterweight the army. According to him, in most developing areas the dominant families who control most other positions in society also control the top positions in the military. Thus, if the conservatives' domination of the state political institution is threatened by the election of radical leftists, conservative elements in the military move to readdress the imbalance. This, of course, was very much the case in Chile.<sup>50</sup> Paul W. Drake suggests another reason that led to the 1973 coup. He wrote that lack of cohesiveness within the UP and Allende's unwillingness to be moved toward the armed revolution in order to stay in power led to the coup.<sup>51</sup>

Thus, on September 11, 1973, General Pinochet and his fellow service commander led a well coordinated, brutal and highly successful coup d'etat that ended the UP government and resulted in the death of Salvador Allende. For the first time in over 40 years a coup took place in Chile.<sup>52</sup> Salvador Allende-- Chile's first elected Marxist president-- came to power in 1970 and should not have been a surprise to the world in view of the political history of Chile. Chilean history shows that a reformist philosophy and experience with Marxist parties have been aspects of Chilean political culture and left-wing governments were not new in Chile, nor were leftist reform philosophies.<sup>53</sup>

Robert J. Alexander argues that socialism has been an import-

ant element in the politics of Chile for longer than in any other Latin American country. Although there have been several different socialist parties during the decades since establishment of the first such group in the 1880s, they have been an element of some importance for more than 80 years.<sup>54</sup>

Paul W. Drake suggests that the socialist party's death came as did its birth. The socialist party was born of a coup, weaned through an election, and initiated as a formal organization in April 1933. And, as stated before, the socialist government of Chile was destroyed by a military coup in 1973.<sup>55</sup>

In conclusion, the protagonists of the popular unity experiment were defeated by a military coup. Do they still consider the "peaceful road" as the only viable option in order to establish socialism in Chile or is it considering adopting armed struggle? In short, the dilemma today in Latin America is between peaceful means and armed struggle. Which one will benefit the western hemisphere? How many revolutionary groups will join forces throughout Latin America? And finally, what reaction can be expected of the United States if this movement was to take place?

## A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN CUBA

## A. Introduction

Socialism was introduced about the same time into Chile and Cuba. In both countries socialism was under the leadership of intellectuals. However, in Chile socialism became a major political movement that successfully contested presidential election in a number of elections. The socialist party of Chile sought the office of president of the republic through the electoral process, until it was successful in the 1970 presidential election. In contrast to Chile, socialism in Cuba never became more than a sect and its leaders sought the government through revolutionary means. The only way for Cuban socialist leaders to create a following was by deceiving the Cuban people as to the intentions of their movement. Socialism in Cuba took control of the country on January 1, 1959 and soon afterward thousands of people were in exile. The leaders of the Cuban revolutionary government also began to take steps that were indicative of their true philosophy.

Socialism in Cuba never amounted to much more than a sect.<sup>56</sup> Since socialism never became an important movement in Cuba, little has been documented about its historical development.

According to Ruiz and Foner, radical ideas entered Cuba from Spain in the 1960s. Their champions were the Spanish workers who had fled their homeland in search of economic opportunity and freedom from persecution. These men were committed to a belief in the inevitability of class warfare and of hostility between employer and



worker. Upon reaching Cuba, the Spaniards immediately began to demand higher wages, better working conditions and the right to organize trade unions. The labor movement emerged from the tobacco industry and-- until the 1920s-- received dynamic and progressive leadership from tobacco workers in Havana. There, in 1865, anarcho-syndicalists (a combination of anarchist ideology and socialist ideology) established a newspaper to voice the grievances of the workers in the tobacco industry. One of the columnists of the newspaper was Jose de Jesus Marquez, an advocate of cooperative societies and a vague form of humanitarian socialism. In 1866, Marquez and his friends formed the first labor union in Cuba, the Association de Trabajadores de la Havana.<sup>58</sup>

In the 1880s, labor organizations appeared in most major cities on the island among bankers, bricklayers, port workers and tailors. This labor movement was influenced by Saturnino Martínez from 1876 to 1884. The idea of socialism and class struggle came about a year later when younger men equipped with the teaching of Marx and Engels challenged Martínez as the labor leader. Thus, in 1885, these younger men began preaching the ideology of class struggle and socialism in Cuba. These men were profoundly affected by the doctrines of Marx and Engels, which reached Cuba through Spanish sources. Basically, the new groups in the Cuban labor movement were anarchosyndicalist, believing in trade unions and socialism, but rejecting political action as a weapon to be used by the working class in class struggle. Most prominent among the anarchosyndicalist leaders was Enrique Roig y San Martín.

In 1887, Roig y San Martin founded a newspaper, which was dedicated to the "economic and social interest of the working class." The newspaper's purpose was to unite the workers, to protest all oppression and to gain social regeneration. The newspaper under Roig y San Martin's direction helped develop a socialist ideology among the Cuban workers<sup>57</sup>. According to Ruiz, the same year (1887), the first workers' congress was convened in Havana.<sup>59</sup>

In 1888, a socialist trade union, the Union General de Trabajadores (UGT), was established.<sup>60</sup> By 1889 the Cuban workers were actively behind the socialist and anarchosindicalist leadership. The following year (1890), the Circulo do Trabajadorer issued a May Day Manifesto, calling Cuban workers to support the Paris Congress of International Socialists, who had set May 1, 1890 as a day for an eight-hour international demonstration.<sup>61</sup> Ramon Eduardo Ruiz suggested in 1892 that the union sponsor a workers' congress, which called for independence and linked independence with social revolution. Non-Marxist socialism thus arrived in Cuba in the last decades of the 19th century. However, socialism of this type was not entirely new to the island. Miguel A. Bravo, a lawyer by profession and an advisor to General Vicente Garcia (a General during the ten years was (1860-78)), had urged his chief to work for a "socialist, egalitarian state."<sup>62</sup>

Socialism as a doctrine did not win a popular following and formal expression until 1899 when the Partido Socialista Cubano (PSC) was formed in Havana. The PSC was founded by Anbro시오 Borges and Diego Vicente Tejera, the Father of Cuban Socialism.<sup>63</sup> Tejera,

in 1902, established Cuba's first socialist organization, the Club la Gloria in Havana.<sup>64</sup>

The Partido Obrero Socialista de Cuba (POSC) was organized in 1904-1905 by Carlos Balino. As early as 1905, Balino, then an advocate of socialism, had argued for the equality of blacks and whites. Marxist defense of black equality brought many Afro-Cubans into the communist fold. The racial question thus played a special role in the clash of ideologies in Cuba. The Marxists found an especially friendly hearing among Afro-Cubans who, shunned by white society and denied economic equality in practice, often proved eager converts. Thus, in Marxist camps a number of blacks rose to positions of prominence. Balino, in 1906, organized the Agrupacion Socialista de la Havana with the old members of the POSC.<sup>65</sup>

In 1912, the socialists absorbed a small group, the radical labor party, and by 1914 they consisted of five branches. However, the socialist party failed to become a major factor in Cuban political life. Thus, by the 1920s the socialist movement was reduced to a small group of labor leaders and intellectuals in Havana.<sup>66</sup>

Hugh Thomas suggests that some socialist groups became carried away with enthusiasm for the Russian revolution in 1918 and 1919 and between then and 1923 a large quantity of revolutionary literature in Spanish was brought to Cuba by communist sympathizers who were seamen. In 1920, a new Partido Socialista Radical (PSR) was founded by Juan Arevelo, Luis Fabregat and Luis Domenech. Also, during the early 1920s the initiative to form a communist party in Cuba-- to be affiliated to the new Russian third (communist) international or

"Comiten"-- came from the socialists, Carlos Balino, president of the Agrupacion Socialista of Havana.<sup>67</sup> Various socialist groups were involved in the establishment of the Confederacion Nacional Obrero-Cubana (CNOC) in 1925.<sup>68</sup>

The Movimiento Socialista Revolucionario was founded in the early 1930s by Rolando MasFerrer.<sup>69</sup> In the early 1930s, Graw San Martin stated the goals of the revolution were nationalism, non-Marxist socialism and anti-imperialism. He also became president of Cuba by acclamation in 1933.<sup>70</sup> Robert J. Alexander argues that Batista altered his tactics to gain labor support, thus remaining the political boss of Cuba. In 1938, he permitted socialists, communists and other leftists to form the Partido Union Revolucionario (PUR) during the same year he legalized the Cuban Communist Party. Batista was the presidential candidate in 1940 of his socialist democratic coalition. During the 1940s, a prominent group was the Movimiento Socialista Revolucionario headed by Mario Salabarría. The group operated under the government's protective umbrella. However, in 1941 a socialist group which had formed part of the Union Revolucionaria, broke away to reorganize as the Partido Socialista de Cuba. In 1944 the communists changed the formal name of their party from Union Revolucionaria Comunista to Partido Socialista Popular (PSP) and issued a mild political program which called for social equality and rights for women. But it failed to attack the United States or request agrarian reform or large-scale nationalization of foreign properties in Cuba.<sup>71</sup> Jaime Suchlicki wrote, in the 1950s the PSP spoke against the attack on the presidential

palace, and against Castro's landing in Oriente as well. The PSP made their party line clear. They advocated as a correct strategy against Batista a mass struggle based primarily on the mobilization of the proletariat and leading toward national elections. The PSP called for the creation of a democratic front of national liberation to form a government representing the workers, peasants, urban petit-bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie-- all under the leadership of the proletariat. They later merged with Castro to form the Communist Party.<sup>72</sup>

In 1952, Batista moved against the PSP by changing the electoral law requiring a certain percentage for a party to be recognized. Later in 1953, the PSP principle leaders were arrested or went into exile. Finally, the PSP was outlawed by the Batista Government.<sup>73</sup>

Fidel Castro, in his 1953 trials, spoke against dictatorship and oppression of the people. He listed some relatively mild socialist goals that he said would have been followed if his rebellion had been successful. Castro never mentioned communism. Castro, at that time, wanted more land reform, 55 percent of large business profits to go to the workers and to take away property obtained by fraudulent means.<sup>74</sup>

James A. Nathan and James K. Oliver wrote that after seizing power on New Year's Day in 1959, Castro had begun to restructure Cuban institutions, while professing a socialist-revolutionary ideology profoundly disturbing to Americans. According to Nathan and Oliver, one of the most advanced nations in Latin America had been converted to Socialism almost with one stroke.<sup>75</sup>

Monte Palmer argues that during his early months in office, Castro spoke of the revolution's philosophy as being one of "humanism." However, following Castro's conversion to communism, "humanism" gave way to a Cubanized version of Marxism-Leninism.<sup>76</sup>

Another writer, James O'Conner, suggested that in the early days of 1959, Castro called the revolution anything but socialist. For example in January 1959, the revolution was not socialist, but a democratic and national revolution. In May of 1959, Castro referred to the revolution as neither capitalist nor socialist, "but humanistic."<sup>77</sup>

Rene Dumont wrote in mid-April 1959 that during a press conference in New York Castro had specified: "I have clearly and definitely said that we are not communists, that the gates were open to private investment that contributed to the development of industry in Cuba, and that it was absolutely impossible for Cuba to make progress without an understanding with the United States." During the same period, Raul Roa emphasized Cuba's independence when he said "we do not accept being forced to choose between the communist solution and the capitalist solution. Cuba is governed in the name of the people, by the people and for the people."<sup>78</sup>

In 1960, before the United States embargo, socialist countries sent their representatives to Cuba and credit agreements were signed for the building of a great number of basic industries. Most serious observers of Cuba really date the installation of socialism in Cuba following between March and May of 1960, about six to seven months before the United States declared its embargo.

Jorge I. Domingues suggests that socialist policies were initiated, beginning in the summer of 1960. In 1960 the government assumed control of newspapers, magazines, journals, publishing houses, radio and television. The government also exercised a monopoly in the schools. Thus, by the end of 1960, all political opposition to the government and its policies had been illegal. The political opposition was crushed, disappeared or sent to the United States.<sup>79</sup> Jorge I. Domingues presented a chronology of events that took place in 1960 in Cuba. Between June 29 and July 1, 1960, Cuba socialized foreign-owned petroleum refineries. On July 5, 1960, the Cuban cabinet authorized the socialization of all United States property in Cuba. In the mid-1960s the government launched a policy to develop a "new" socialist citizen. Thus, in the summer and fall of 1960, the economy was socialized. On February 4, 1960, Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Anastas Mikoyan arrived in Cuba to sign the first important Soviet-Cuban agreement.<sup>80</sup>

Jaime Suchlicki wrote that the Castro regime has systematically encouraged the subsequent developments, perhaps aware that the only way to develop Cuba's new socialist man is/was through the destruction of the culture transmitting institutions, such as the family and the church. Relations between husband and wife have been undermined and the family has largely lost control of the children. Large numbers of children attend free boarding schools and see their parents for only short periods of time during the year. There is, therefore, not only frequent separation of husband and wife due to the work demands of the revolution, but also separation of parents

from children.<sup>81</sup> Fidel Castro described the type of man his regime proposed to create: A human being devoid of selfishness, devoid of defects of the past, a human being with a collective sense of effort a collective sense of strength.<sup>82</sup>

Most of the authors writing about Cuba mentioned in this paper agree that in April 1961 Castro first publically admitted that Cuba was socialist. In April 1961, Castro said "That is what they (the United States) cannot forgive that we should here under their very nostrils have made a socialist revolution." Castro declared himself a Marxist-Leninist, hoping to gain support from the Soviet Union.

On April 15, 1961, the Bay of Pigs invasion took place. During the invasion Castro declared his already established ideology, as will be seen later, in his 1967 interview. However, Nathan and Oliver wrote that the Kennedy administration established an extensive clandestine operation against the Castro regime using the Cuban exile community in south Florida as a source of manpower under CIA direction. This harassment and several attempts to assassinate Castro would continue until Kennedy's assassination more than two years later.<sup>83</sup> James O'Connor wrote that in July 1961, the 26th of July movement (Castro's original 1953 group), The PSP, the Revolutionary Directorate (a student organization) and minor revolutionary groups fused into the Integrated Revolutionary Organization (ORI). The ORI's purpose was to prepare the way for a united socialist party, the United Party of the Socialist Revolution.<sup>84</sup> James O'Connor also wrote that in January 1962, Castro said the most important thing achieved as a result of the revolution was that Cuba



has been freed from the tutelage of American imperialism and that Cuba achieved national liberation and full national sovereignty.<sup>85</sup>

Rene Dumont wrote about Cuban purges, documented in 1964-1965 and again in 1968. He wrote that a student was beaten up because he refused to take part in a vote. Another student was expelled because he worked hard over his books, but not enough in the fields. A professor was expelled in 1968 because she mentioned certain kinds of rationing in Russia.<sup>86</sup> According to Robert M. Bernardo, Castro-- during an interview in 1967-- declared that he was a "Utopian Socialist" of long standing and that for political strategic reasons, he and the other leaders kept their socialist plans to themselves. In his interview with Lackwood in 1967, Castro admitted being a Utopian Marxist. In his last years in the University of Havana, he began "to think of different forms of the organization of production and of property, although in a completely idealistic way without any scientific basis." Castro said, "You might say that I had began to transform myself into a kind of Utopian Socialist."<sup>87</sup>

On the 15th anniversary of the Moncada attack in 1968, Castro spoke of "the great task of the revolution which was to form the new man, a man whose conscience is truly revolutionary, truly socialist, truly communist." The new man is a model soldier ever obedient to his leaders, determined, full of self-sacrifice and joyfully accepting all difficulties and assignments.<sup>88</sup>

In September 1969, the Cuban government promulgated a law under which each worker would have a dossier and workbook kept on him. Such things as the places he worked, his comings and goings and transfers

were noted in the dossier and workbook. Dumont argued that the overall picture in 1969 began to resemble certain aspects of Stalinism without the terror, but with a widespread use of police.<sup>89</sup>

The Cuban revolution has had influence in other areas of Latin America. Anderson and Dynes suggest that the revolutionary changes Cuba has undergone have captured the imagination of many developing nations. For example, the Cuban revolution had an indirect influence on the May movement in Curacao. Leading dissidents in the May movement imitated the khaki military dress made famous by Castro and his followers and rode around the island in a jeep. Cuba was also used by some of the dissidents as a standard by which to compare circumstances in Curacao, as in the case of the leader who suggested that Antilleans should be as free as the Cubans have been since the Castro-led revolution.<sup>90</sup>

Other writers such as Vera Micheles Dean suggest that Castro succeeded in Cuba after the revolution by sending thousands of his opponents into exile and establishing political control. Dean's point of view is very significant. In order to gain strength and popular support, most people remained within the country in question and worked while being exposed to the sacrifices and the degradation of the system.

#### IV Conclusions

Now that salient socialist events have been examined in each of the two Latin American republics, generalizations about the roots of socialism can now be refined. Socialism develops under the following conditions: When immigrants with knowledge of the philosophy of Marx and Engels reach Latin America and are allowed to secure good jobs and demand better working conditions and wages than the local people. They are allowed to do these things probably because they are European and considered to be of "a better class" than most of the people of the Latin American countries. The people of Latin America are predominantly a mixture of Europeans, Indians and Blacks. Most of the immigrants had experienced economic and political oppression in their native lands. They know how to instigate a movement. In Latin America they find fertile ground especially when dealing with the race issue, which is predominant in Latin America and other Third World countries.

Socialism also develops when the middle class and upper middle class intellectuals with upper mobility ambitions subjugate the poor working proletariat-- those with nothing to lose, and who are the largest group in any of the Latin American republics...those who for generations have lived in degradation...those who have experience, with promises of better things to come, and never materialize.

Socialism develops when people experience repression by the controlling elites usually under government protection. Socialism also develops when political parties are under the control of the oligarchy, which is also in control of the means of production and

distribution. As Palmer points out, in most developing areas the dominant families which control most positions in society also control the top positions in the military. When this happens-- which is the case of most of Latin America-- they are in a position to manage by force, or by persuasion usually supported by United States. In evaluating the recent past, Alexander wrote that in recent years much attention has been focused on the Socialist movement in Latin America. According to Alexander, due to the little heed paid to those movements in the past, the public in the United States is almost completely ignorant of the extent of the movements' influence in nearby Latin American countries. Average American citizens are startled when a crisis suddenly arises, such as that in Cuba in the 1950s. They then tend to become panicky and conjure up gigantic communist forces in the "other America," which do not, in fact, exist.

Alexander presents in detail the conditions favoring the rise of communism in Latin American countries. He began with the conditions of life (in most cases) south of the Rio Grande: backward, poor and in many cases oppressive. Wages are low, chances for advancement are limited and class and racial barriers are high. He concluded by saying that by knowing the conditions in which most of the Latin American people live will allow us to understand the reasons socialism appeals to them.

Phyllis and Julius Jacobson present us with a good scenario in which to compare grades among a number of Third World countries. Some Americans support Third World countries, others they regarded

as enemies. Based on their conclusion, the simple human realities of each system makes it impossible to decide which is more or less brutal. On a balance, it is a draw.

Carmelo Furci points out that looking at the future of Latin American political forces, will show the "peaceful road" was defeated in Chile by a military coup or the armed struggle which was tested in Cuba and later in Nicaragua. In short, the dilemma today in Latin America is between peaceful means and armed struggle. Which one will benefit the western hemisphere and will other revolutionary forces join throughout Latin America to maintain a terrorist atmosphere for all of us?<sup>91</sup>

Phyllis and Julius Jacobson suggest the crisis of the 1920's and 1930's can in part be traced to the weakness of international regulation and the decline of a leading world power. Since 1945 and through the 1950s the United States was economically, politically, and militarily dominant among capitalist states. Now it remains the largest single economic power, but its margin of superiority has been drastically cut, its political credibility and leadership is fast failing. Its military dominance remains, yet the utility of its military strength in far-flung corners of the globe has declined.<sup>92</sup> To this should be added a personal note: The Soviets are no longer indifferent regarding involvement in Latin America as they demonstrated in Cuba and Nicaragua. They challenged American dominance in our own backyard and they are making progress. The American public needs to be educated as to what is taking place in the nations south of the border. Some take the side of one group or

government against another based on personal feelings and not on simple human realities. With all the information available on Latin America the American government should be able to make decisions where Latin America is concerned resulting in the good of the entire western hemisphere.

Do Latin Americans want the United States to make decisions for the hemisphere? Should the United States make those decisions? The sovereign states of Latin America are entitled to their autonomy. Autonomy should be recognized and respected by the United States as well as the Soviet Union. The United States and the Soviet Union are two super powers each using its influence in Latin America in order to gain advantages to be used against the other. In the past, the United States' decisions regarding Latin America were based on Latin American importance regarding its security. Thus, Latin America represented a buffer-zone that protected the United States from a possible aggressor. However, if the United States today considers Latin America as a major factor for its security, it should say so and deal with Latin America as equal partners for the security of the hemisphere. In making decisions (with the concept of all Latin American nations), the United States should keep in mind the security, integrity and dignity of the people involved. Latin Americans will no longer accept decisions that exploit one side based on the superiority of the other (meaning the United States). Decisions that exploit one side to benefit the other are disgraceful and destructive and lead the sufferers to look elsewhere for relief.

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APPENDIX A

POS Partido Obrero Socialista  
NAP Nueva Accion Publica  
ARS Accion Socialista Revolutionary  
PSCh Partido Socialista de Chile  
PS Partido Socialista  
PST Partido Socialista de Trabajadorer  
PSA Partido Socialista Autentico  
PSP Partido Socialista Popular  
FRAP Frente de Accion Popular  
MIR Movimiento de lsquierda Revolucionaria  
USP Union Socialista Popular  
UP Unidad Popular  
ITT International Telephone and Telegraph  
UGT Union General de Trabajadorer  
PSC Partido Socialista Cubano  
PSR Partido Socilista Radical  
CNOC Confereration Nacional/Obrero Cubana  
PUR Partido Union Revoluciona  
ORI Integrated Revolutionary Organization  
PURS United Party of the Socialist Revolution  
PAL Partido Aqrario Laborista  
PDP Partido Democrata del Pueblo  
PRD Partido Radical Doctrinario  
PNC Partido Nacional Cristiano

APPENDIX A

PFC Partido Femenino Chileno  
PDC Partido Demócrata Cristiano  
PR Partido Radical

APPENDIX B

Spanish Phrases, names or words translated to English

1. Sociedad de la Igualdad: Society of Equality
2. Sociedad: Society
3. Partido Demócrata: Democratic Party
4. Pueblo: People
5. Partido Obrero Socialista: Socialist Workers Party
6. Unión Socialista: Socialist Union
7. Partido Obrero: Working Party
8. Partido Socialista: Socialist Party
9. Partido Democrático Socialista: Socialist Democratic Party
10. Partido Socialista Marxista: Marxist Socialist Party
11. Nueva Opción Pública: New Public Action
12. Orden Socialista: Socialist Order
13. Acción Socialista Revolucionaria: Revolutionary Socialist Action
14. Partido Socialista de Chile: Chile Socialist Party
15. Frente Popular: Popular Front
16. Partido Socialista de Trabajado: Labor Socialist Party
17. Partido Único: United Party
18. Partido Socialista Auténtico: Authentic Socialist Party
19. Partido Socialista Popular: Popular Socialist Party
20. Frente de Opción Popular: Popular Action Front
21. Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria: Revolutionary Left Movement
22. Unión Socialista Popular: Popular Socialist Union
23. Unidad Popular: Popular Unity

APPENDIX B

24. Union General de Trabajadores: Workers (Labor) General Union  
Spanish Phrases, names or words translated to English
25. Partido Socialista Cubano: Cuban Socialist Party
26. Partido Socialista Radical: Radical Socialist Party
27. Agrupacion Socialista: Socialist Confederation
28. Confereracion Socialista: Socialist Confederation
29. Movimiento Socialista Revolucionario: Revolutionary Socialist  
Movement
30. Partido Union Revolucionario: Revolutionary United Party

## APPENDIX C

## PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1952

<u>Candidate</u>	Vote Totals
Carlos Ibanez	446,439
Arturo Matte	265,357
Pedro E. Alfonso	190,360
Salvador Allende	51,975

## PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1958

<u>Candidate</u>	Vote Totals
Jorge Alessandri	389,909
Salvador Allende	356,493
Eduardo Frei	255,796
Luis Bossay	192,077
A. Zamorano	41,304

## PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1964

<u>Candidate</u>	Vote Totals
Eduardo Frei	1,409,072
Salvador Allende	977,902
Julio Duran	125,293

## PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1970

<u>Candidate</u>	Vote Totals
Salvador Allende	1,070,334
Jorge Alessandri	1,031,159
Rodolfo Tomic	821,801

SOCIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

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Since the early years of the Latin American countries' independence, political parties have played a significant role in those countries' affairs. Thus, political parties are likely to continue to be important in the countries' future and the socialists --as political parties-- will contribute to Latin American affairs. Socialists were among the first political groups to try to represent new social-economic interests engineered by modern economic development, particularly regarding representation of the urban working class.

One major source of strength of the Chilean Socialist Party-- since its inception in 1933-- was its sizable base among urban workers and miners, as well as a considerable following in middle-class and professional circles.

One major source of weakness of the Chilean Socialist Party took the form of bitter personal quarreling among top leaders, which became a permanent characteristic of the Chilean Socialist movement. This weakness helps to explain why they were never able, until 1970, to come to power. For over 30 years the Chilean Socialists relied on electoral means to acquire power. When they successfully gained the executive office, their reluctance to use revolutionary means allowed a military coup to take over the government. Socialists in Latin America-- especially in Chile-- have learned that peaceful or legal means of struggle alone may not lead to power.

In Cuba the leaders of the revolution kept the people from the leaders' true intentions regarding the future of the country. Cuban leaders exiled people they viewed as possible enemies of their

future plans. Cuban leaders then consolidated their government and began an education program to indoctrinate the people to become loyal followers of the socialist ideology. From the Cuban experience socialists in Latin America have learned that a combination of peaceful, legal and revolutionary means are more likely to work, and therefore, would bring their countries to significant social change.

By using the countries of Chile and Cuba as examples of the route to take or not to take by socialist movements in Latin America in the future, socialist parties are being forced toward the possibility of using non-electoral means. The socialist future in Latin America looks bleak. Because socialist regimes are not preferred, the United States would rather work with military dictatorships as long as North American economic interests are protected.