

American contributed to the early organization of workers along anarchist lines. After the Second International (1889), however, democratic socialism became increasingly popular with Latin American labor.

Socialist unions, clubs, publications, and parties appeared in various countries, particularly in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay, around the turn of the century. This socialism was Marxist or "scientific," but democratic and reformist, rather than conspiratorial or totalitarian. The prime example of socialist influence was seen in Uruguay with the reforms of President José Batlle Ordóñez (1856-1929), the leader of the Colorado (liberal) Party. He introduced sweeping institutional changes of a socialist nature. He also originated the plural executive consisting of a nine-man council representing both major parties.

Students, during this period, began to participate actively in the political struggle. This phenomenon, often baffling to foreign observers, has to be understood in its historical context. Latin American universities were modeled upon the Spanish University of Salamanca, which in turn had been modeled upon early Italian universities. The latter consisted of student guilds dealing on an equal basis with the professors' guilds. As early as the 17th century, students in Latin American universities, in imitation of the Salamanca practice, participated in the election of rectors. Down to the present day, Latin American universities have enjoyed full autonomy. This status has provided the students license to participate freely in politics, especially in revolutionary activities. As a rule, students are the first to protest political oppression, the first to offer opposition to dictatorships. It is primarily at the universities, of course, that fledgling politicians receive their philosophical indoctrination.

Following World War I, political ideas began to change. Democratic socialism, overwhelmed by the force of nationalism, had been unable to prevent the war. Furthermore, the Russian Revolution of 1917 split the movement into democratic Socialists and Communists.¹ The failures of liberal parliamentarism and the impotence of the League of Nations deepened further the democratic crisis. As a result, new ideologies of the right, such as nazism, fascism, and corporatism, gained in strength and prestige. Europe's political crisis attracted the attention of many Latin American thinkers, and serious attempts to try out the new totalitarian ideologies were made by Vargas in Brazil and Perón in Argentina.

A lesser, though all the same important, role in Latin America was played by Spanish liberal thought that prepared the ground for the Republic of 1931. The philosophies of José Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955) and Miguel de Unamuno (1864-1936) were closely followed in intellectual and academic centers. Ortega popularized existentialism and neo-Kantian criticism, while Unamuno developed his own version of existentialism, though based heavily on Søren Kierkegaard.

An important new leftist political philosophy also appeared in Latin America after World War I. This was the indigenous APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana) movement. The

¹ Communism, the object of a separate study, is not covered in this report.