

**Conservative Thought in Twentieth Century Latin America:
A Statistical Approach to the Study of Intellectual History**

by

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Introduction

This paper reports the results of an empirical analysis of Latin American conservative thought in the twentieth century. Its inspiration is the fact that while Latin American conservatism is a subject of considerable interest and importance, it is one that has not received much attention from academic writers. A few scholars have investigated aspects of nineteenth century Latin American conservatism.¹ Others have examined the theme in works embracing both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.² And numerous others have offered valuable insights on conservatism in the course of writing on other matters.³ But in spite of scattered references to conservatives and to conservatism, there remains little agreement as to who proponents of that of sociopolitical thought are, or what it is they believe.

There are sound reasons for the present failure to understand what modern Latin American conservatism is all about. There has been a tendency among academic writers to employ a wide and confusing assortment of terms synonymously with "conservative." Words and terms such as "the right," "the reaction," "conservadurismo," and "fascist," appear alongside others like "arielist," "Hispanist," "neo-Thomist," and "spiritualist." Given this welter of terms it's no wonder that Latin American conservatism has not been an easy subject for scholarly analysis. We can but sympathize with those trying to make sense of what at times seems a confused, even spurious philosophy. Their relative lack of success is suggested by Russell Kirk, the

dean of North American conservative theoreticians. For him there is no Latin American conservative tradition worthy of the name. In a recent essay he lamented the "feebleness of conservative elements" there, concluding that "one cannot look to Latin America for signs of conservative imagination and hope."⁴

The present writers propose to demonstrate empirically that there is a body of Latin American sociopolitical thought that can be termed "conservative," as distinguished from other broad bodies of thought such as liberalism, Marxism, and fascism. In so doing they will suggest a way of categorizing twentieth century Latin American conservatives and their ideas. They will also suggest that it is possible to measure changes in conservative thought over time, and to reveal the specific nature of that change. Finally, they will argue that it is possible to establish empirically that certain individuals and groups are conservatives.

Selection of Data

The chief problem in data selection lay in identifying the given subject of analysis as a conservative. It was necessary to establish each writer's conservatism as systematic and philosophic, as opposed to non-systematic and unreasoned. It was also necessary to establish that he was not a member of the extreme right. Avowed fascists, and others advocating authoritarian solutions to social problems, were judged not to be conservatives.

The sine qua non of Latin American conservatism, the litmus test by which conservatives are distinguished from fascists, is Roman Catholicism. If a Latin American accepts Roman Catholic doctrine, then he necessarily abjures dictatorship. Violence and dictatorship are condemned by the church as contrary to natural law and to the common good. Professions of Roman Catholic orthodoxy and express rejection of dictatorship were determined by the present writers to be sufficient indication of a writer's conservatism, and of his antipathy to fascism.

Further, if a writer refers to himself as a conservative, if he is considered such in the scholarly literature, or if the overall content of his writing points to his conservatism, then he is considered appropriate for inclusion here. In the case of several writers--José Enrique Rodó, Laureano Vallenilla Lanz, Eduardo Frei, and Alceu Amoroso Lima, for example--it is the content of their writing that has led to their inclusion.

Statements by writers identified as conservatives were selected following these these criteria:

1. They were broad, general statements of conservative sociopolitical belief rather than topical or circumstantial in nature.

2. Samples of between 4,000 and 8,000 words were considered ideal, although exceptions were made as required. If a statement contained a high concentration of words or themes applicable to analysis, it could be rather short. If it was more discursive, it might run longer.

3. Statements were grouped by broad chronological period, this to provide a balanced design for the analysis. The periods, circumscribed by major events and/or developments in the Western world, were as follow:

a) Period I, from the turn of the century through World War I.

b) Period II, from World War I through World War II.

c) Period III, from World War II to the mid-1960s (post Cold War era).

d) Period IV, from 1965 to the present.

Further logic for grouping samples by period is found in the fact that as the major events delimiting the periods had great impact on all areas of Latin American life they were likely to influence the thought of Latin American conservatives.

4. They were selected with an eye to achieving representation from all parts of Latin America. However, in cases in which a single writer was active in more than one period, as in the case of Laureano Gómez of Colombia, several statements by an author might be analyzed. In no case is the work of a single writer used more than once per period.

5. They were selected from general collections of writings by Latin Americans contained in the following two places: the Latin American Library of Tulane University, and the authors' personal library. The limited number of library collections from which samples were collected presented several difficulties. First, not all members of the population had an equal chance of

being selected simply because a single collection of all conservative statements of ideology does not exist. As a practical matter, availability, rather than randomness, determined selection. Only those statements that fulfilled the criteria described above and that were also found in one of the two library collections had any chance of being selected. It could be argued that the vagaries of importation of printed matter from Latin America to the U.S. constitute a kind of randomness; in any case, that randomness can scarcely be described as statistical.

A second problem encountered in the data selection process concerned the breadth of coverage required by time and geography. Equal representation from each of four time periods was needed in order to test the first hypothesis of interest. Broad geographical coverage was desired to avoid national biasing of results and was ensured by selecting items from as many countries as possible. The sample included pieces from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The sample was thus representative, rather than random.

Content Analysis

The first task undertaken was that of coding. Coding was based upon themes that were selected from each statement included in the sample. Each theme of sociopolitical import was assigned

to an appropriate subcategory. Then all subcategories were grouped, in accord with thematic affinity, to broad general categories. Ultimately twenty-eight such broad categories, or variables, were selected.

An example of the coding technique follows. A sentence from Eduardo Frei's 1959 speech "The Road to Follow" reads, "We know precisely not only what we want but how we want it and how we must do it: economic development to achieve social justice."⁵ The terms "economic development" and "achieve social justice" were identified as those expressing the writer's sociopolitical orientation. Of the approximately 3,000 words contained in the speech, thirty-five such themes were identified. Each of them was assigned to one of the twenty-eight general categories. As two of the general categories bear the names "social justice" and "economic development," the two terms extracted from the Frei speech, cited above, were assigned to those categories.

All fifty-two observations of conservative writing [see Bibliography of Sample Statements, pp. 35-38, below] were subjected to the coding process described above. The ideas were written out in English [translation from the original Spanish and Portuguese occurred at this point], and then classified under one of the twenty-eight broad categories. These categories, or variables, proved to be very effective in summarizing the initial ideas and themes. A listing of each variable and the ideas and themes it represents is contained in the following table.

Table I
VARIABLES

1. ACTIVISM: pro change, pro social and evolutionary change, anti status quo; favors state intervention; reform minded
2. ANTICAP: anticapitalist, references to the "bourgeois" class, reference to the evils of capitalist exploitation
3. ANTICOM: anticommunist, antirevolution, anti-leftist
4. ANTIDICT: antidictatorship, pejorative references to dictators; antitotalitarian; antifascist; antiauthoritarian state
5. ANTILIB: antiliberal, antipositivist, antiutilitarian; politically sectarian
6. ANTIMAJ: antimajoritarian, favors indirect parliamentary rule; would "rationalize" universal suffrage through corporate arrangements
7. AUTHDEM: authoritarian democracy, authoritarianism; "democratic caesarism" narrow republicanism, antifederalism; discipline, order, social order; rule of law, armed forces; favors censorship
8. CHURCH: Roman Catholic church, anti-Protestant, antiseular; defends Catholic clergy; stresses superiority of natural (God's) law to "positive" law, universal values; favors close church-state ties; against secularization of education
9. COMGOOD: common good, Christian communitarian; anti individualist, antiegotism
10. CONSERV: conservative ideas, conservative party partisan;

- counter-Enlightenment, cites evils of French Revolution; endorses protection of private property
11. CORPORAT: corporatism, subsidiarity principle, integrity of intermediate groups, labor unions, associations, and the family
 12. CORRUPT: attacks on corruption of officials, venality, caciquismo, caudillismo; protests electoral fraud and use of violence to achieve political ends
 13. CRISIS: warns of decline of Western civilization; social crisis in history; social decadence, pessimism; antimodernism
 14. DEMOCR: democracy, liberal democracy, parliamentarism; concern for congressional activities
 15. ECONDEV: economic development; antidependency, anti-imperialism; sees developed nations as models of industrialization; technology, science
 16. FREEDOM: freedom, liberty; Christian concept of free will, antideterminism
 17. HARMONY: social and political harmony, anti-class conflict, against revolutionary change; antisectarian, bipartisan conciliatory
 18. HIERARC: hierarchical social organization, elitism, natural order, distributive justice, antiegalitarian, antidemagoguery; admires heroes
Darwinist
 19. HUMRIGHT: human rights, human dignity, natural rights; right of self-defense

20. INTERN: international affairs; multinational regional associations; panamericanism
21. MORALITY: Christian principles, traditional values, traditional virtues, moral order; duty, reciprocal duty, moral responsibility
22. NATION: nationalism, stresses Latin American cultural uniqueness, historicism (particularist as opposed to "universal" laws of human society), hispanism, anti-U.S.A.
23. NONCON: nonconservative ideas; liberal, positivist, rationalist, egalitarian, individualist; pragmatic, favors accommodation with nonconservative parties, ideological relativism
24. ORGANIC: organic nature of society, family as basic social unit, dignity of work, social nature of man; solidarity
25. PROGRESS: favors progress; strives for perfect society ("City of God")
26. RACISM: racist, anti-Semitic, inferiority of indigenous races
27. SOCJUST: social justice; aware of social problems, pro-education, anti-child labor, just wage, rural conditions, welfare; social function of property
28. SPIRIT: spirituality, spiritual values; arielismo, antimaterialism; belief in ideas and ideals

Once the ideas in each statement were classified in accord with twenty-eight categories (Table I), an input data set was

prepared by recording the number of times each theme was mentioned. Variable frequency counts indicated the underlying intensity with which each idea was held. If no mention was made of a given variable, a zero value was assigned. The resulting scores ranged from 0-17 overall with a heavy preponderance of zeros since no single statement included mention of all possible variables.

A preliminary analysis of the data showed that each variable exhibited a relatively uniform, unimodal distribution, skewed right. Tests of univariate normality showed that the variables were not normal in the univariate sense and were therefore unlikely to satisfy multivariate tests of normality. Bartlett's test of homogeneity was used to test equality of variances in the data set; the test chi-square was not significant at the 0.01 level. The conclusions arising from these tests were that the data were nonnormal and homoskedastic.

Adequacy of the sample was tested using Kaiser's measure of sampling adequacy [MSA]. The MSA of 0.48 was interpreted to mean that the sample size of fifty-two observations was barely adequate. This showed a clear improvement over the MSA of less than 0.20 reported in an earlier version of this paper in which a sample of thirty-two observations was analyzed. Although the sample $n = 52$ was a considerable improvement, it was still too small to test completely certain hypotheses concerning each of the four periods of interest, as will be demonstrated below.

PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS ANALYSIS

A principal components analysis [PCA] was undertaken to reduce the information contained in the data set to manageable dimensions and to prepare it for further analysis using other statistical procedures. Fortunately, analysis of data using principal components [PCs] is not a modeling procedure and does not require that the assumption of multivariate normality be satisfied, so complications arising from the idiosyncrasies of the data were expected to be few.

Criteria established to judge whether or not a given principal components solution was satisfactory are listed in descending order of importance:

1. Interpretability. The principal components should group the idea-variables in a reasonable way that enhances their interpretation. In fact, the grouping itself was expected to be of considerable interest as a quick way to categorize conservative ideas and spokesmen into logical groups.
2. Small number of principal components. The goal of parsimony led to the expectation that five components would be a useful maximum number of PCs. A categorization scheme based on larger numbers of PCs would be unwieldy and less susceptible of interpretation.
3. Amount of information captured by the principal components. Sixty-five to seventy-five percent of the variance constituted an acceptable minimum. In addition, the information captured by each PC should ideally be exclusive. That is, variables should

load heavily on only one PC, with relatively low loadings on the rest.

4. Approximate independence of the principal components. The original PCs and subsequent PCs generated by orthogonal rotation would of course be independent of each other. PCs produced by means of oblique rotations, however, might not satisfy this criterion. The matrix of inter-factor correlations would be used to determine the extent of independence following non-orthogonal rotations.

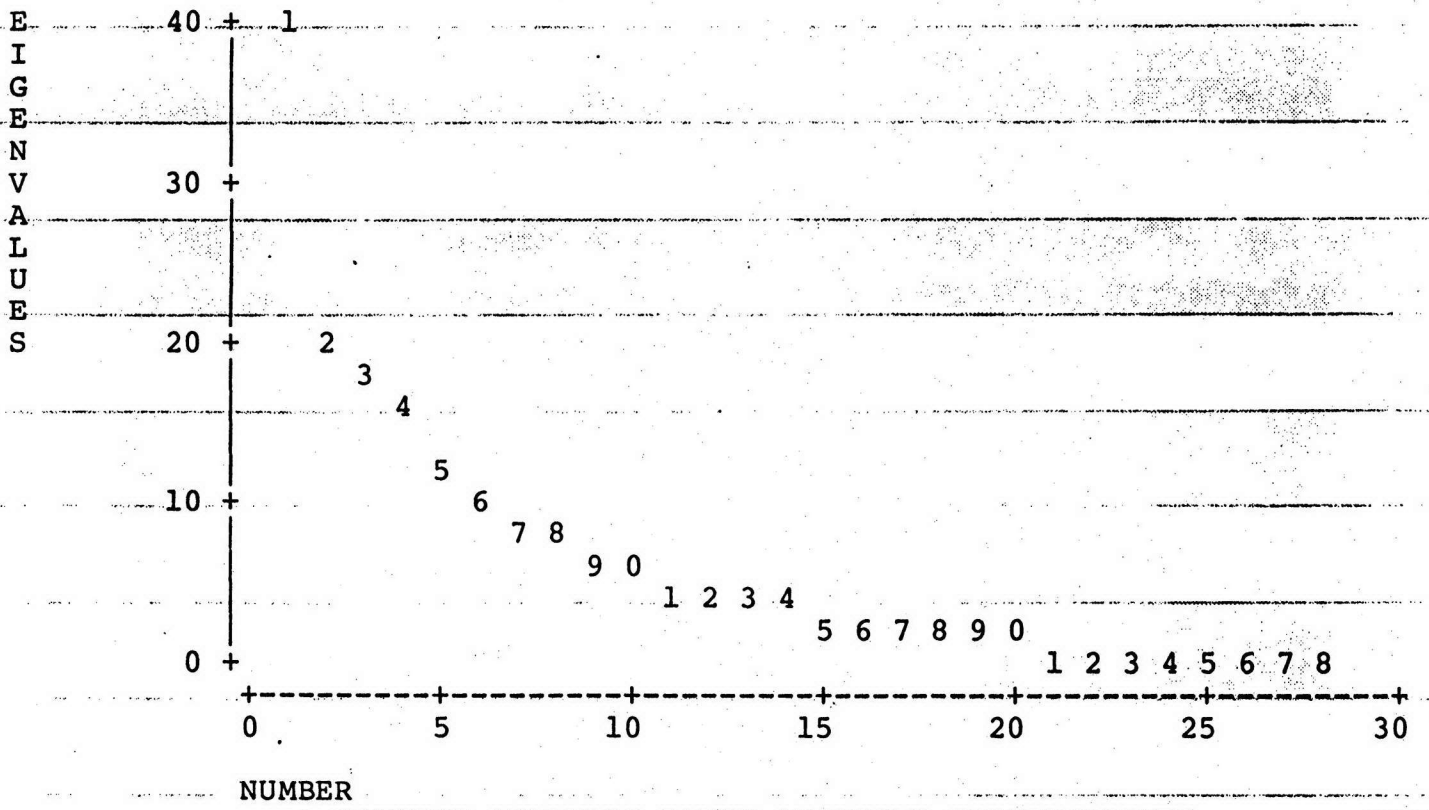
Principal components can be computed using either the variance/covariance matrix or the correlation matrix. The correlation matrix is preferred in cases where the data are measured in different units, since correlations are unitless measures of interrelationships among the variables. In the present instance, all units of measure--frequencies--were identical; it was therefore decided that analysis of the covariance matrix was in order. Of course, in principal components analysis, the diagonal values (variance of a variable with itself is 1.0000) are left unchanged.

Initial Principal Components

The initial PCA resulted in twenty PCs with eigenvalues greater than one. On the basis of the scree plot reproduced in Figure 1 [see page 12a], five PCs, each with eigenvalues greater than ten, were deemed to be an acceptable number of PCs. Although the amount of variance captured by the five PCs was 60%--less

FIGURE 1

SCREE PLOT OF EIGENVALUES



CONTENT ANALYSIS LATIN AMERICAN CONSERVATIVES

than originally specified--it was felt that both interpretability and parsimony were achieved by the smaller number of PCs. The decision to proceed with five PCs was made in spite of the fact that less than two-thirds of the variation in the data would be captured and that a number of the original variables would be underrepresented in the PCA. The trade-off between capturing a high proportion of variation in the data and achieving a small number of easily interpretable PCs was thus resolved in favor of the latter, more heuristic considerations.

A number of stable relationships among the variables first appeared at this stage in the analysis. A list of variables loading highest on each PC is presented in Table II. The complete factor pattern for the initial method is presented in Table III [see page 13a].

TABLE II

VARIABLES LOADING HIGHEST ON PRINCIPLE COMPONENTS 1 TO 5

PC1	PC2	PC3	PC4	PC5
Democr	Antilib	Church	Anticap	Antimaj
Econdev	Comgood	Morality	Anticom	Hierarc
Progress	Corporat		Antidict	Humright
Socjust	Crisis		Conserv	Organic
Activism	Nation		Freedom	
Corrupt	Authdem		Harmony	
Intern			Racism	
			Spirit	
			Noncon	

PC 1 appears to represent the developmentalist or progressive element of conservatism; PC 3 isolates the Roman Catholic element in conservative thought; and the remaining PCs group different aspects of traditional and authoritarian conservatism. Variables tend to load rather high on several PCs, however, making inter-

TABLE III

INITIAL FACTOR METHOD: PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS

FACTOR PATTERN					
	FACTOR1	FACTOR2	FACTOR3	FACTOR4	FACTOR5
ANTICAP	-0.19770	-0.09645	-0.15341	0.19396	0.10217
ANTICOM	-0.19130	-0.23501	0.21994	0.50927	0.26393
ANTIDICT	0.12557	-0.37429	-0.07362	0.29989	-0.13232
ANTILIB	-0.65742	0.35986	0.24670	0.18903	-0.12827
ANTIMAJ	-0.33541	0.10927	-0.19532	0.12816	0.26415
DEMOCR	0.60075	-0.25920	0.14631	0.34738	-0.01171
CHURCH	-0.59957	0.29959	0.62898	0.22794	-0.01330
COMGOOD	0.30120	0.49589	0.00636	0.16074	0.30124
CONSERV	-0.14210	-0.59565	0.13032	0.53910	0.23939
CORPORAT	0.18279	0.50083	-0.12482	-0.15369	0.02852
CRISIS	-0.42888	0.36790	0.21829	0.15243	-0.24221
ECONDEV	0.73783	0.35605	0.11767	0.24865	-0.15581
FREEDOM	0.19460	-0.33720	-0.13397	-0.24906	-0.07405
HARMONY	0.34667	0.17562	-0.16733	0.50770	0.05712
HIERARC	-0.37836	0.15438	-0.02302	-0.18368	0.27942
HUMRIGHT	0.17733	-0.00682	0.21197	0.04636	0.23471
MORALITY	0.00306	0.00990	0.29765	-0.12442	0.24769
ORGANIC	0.12306	0.39309	-0.07928	-0.09034	0.43835
PROGRESS	-0.17157	-0.09492	-0.14503	-0.10678	0.09918
RACISM	-0.18790	-0.17793	-0.22706	0.10521	-0.31149
SOCJUST	0.80838	0.32013	0.35264	-0.03693	0.07750
SPIRIT	-0.39382	0.11044	0.28584	0.29101	-0.45780
NATION	-0.17486	0.28038	-0.41768	0.18752	-0.69100
ACTIVISM	0.57641	0.32470	0.22496	-0.03760	-0.02174
CORRUPT	-0.48349	0.02248	0.11286	-0.42009	-0.15573
AUTHDEM	-0.29803	0.47870	-0.58601	0.37859	0.29751
NONCON	0.38975	-0.26706	-0.13924	0.48497	-0.12828
INTERN	0.43448	0.33780	0.06551	-0.04446	-0.20289

pretation difficult. A series of rotations was undertaken to determine whether loadings could be consolidated.

Promax Rotation Method

The results of the varimax prerotation method, presented in Table IV [see page 14a], were strengthened but otherwise unchanged by the promax oblique rotation. Varimax is an orthogonal rotation method and as such ensures that the PCs are independent of each other. Promax, on the other hand, employs oblique rotations to enhance interpretability of the principal components. Both methods distributed variables among the five PCs as indicated in Table V, below.

TABLE V
VARIABLES LOADING HIGHEST ON PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS 1 TO 5
VARIMAX AND PROMAX ROTATIONS

PC1	PC2	PC3	PC4	PC5
Comgood	Anticom	Antilib	Racism	Anticap
Corporat	Antidict	Church	Nation	Antimaj
Econdev	Democr	Crisis		Hierarc
Harmony	Conserv	Spirit		Organic
Humright	Freedom	Morality		Authdem
Socjust	Progress			
Activism	Noncon			
Corrupt				
Intern				

The full rotated factor pattern for the promax rotation is presented in Table VI [see page 14b].

Independence of the promax rotated PCs was adequate as indicated by the inter-factor correlations shown in Table VII [see page 15]. The highest correlation is a negative one between PC1 and PC3 (-0.33). PCs 3 and 5 are very modestly correlated

TABLE IV

PREROTATION METHOD: VARIMAX

ROTATED FACTOR PATTERN

	FACTOR1	FACTOR2	FACTOR3	FACTOR4	FACTOR5
ANTICAP	-0.08371	0.02633	0.07979	0.06375	0.31913
ANTICOM	-0.15969	0.52618	0.21480	-0.24552	0.24581
ANTIDICT	-0.02293	0.46821	-0.12420	0.17180	-0.06353
ANTILIB	-0.18104	-0.14456	0.74945	0.05767	0.23678
ANTIMAJ	-0.23326	-0.06415	0.06707	-0.02805	0.43009
DEMOCR	0.41826	0.54334	-0.24732	-0.10829	-0.16509
CHURCH	-0.12882	-0.00898	0.89577	-0.26434	0.08968
COMGOOD	0.49042	-0.14272	-0.03658	-0.25513	0.35488
CONSERV	-0.32565	0.76552	0.01739	-0.17392	0.13146
CORPORAT	0.35460	-0.41623	-0.04773	0.00888	0.15136
CRISIS	0.00227	-0.14167	0.63136	0.12961	0.11557
ECONDEV	0.86345	0.10995	-0.09839	-0.01072	-0.06063
FREEDOM	0.05464	0.45087	-0.05987	-0.01424	-0.16426
HARMONY	0.45711	0.30067	-0.10522	0.08006	0.35101
HIERARC	-0.30054	-0.30548	0.11610	-0.17995	0.22322
HUMRIGHT	0.12695	0.09704	-0.03987	-0.32625	-0.01005
MORALITY	-0.02928	-0.05633	0.06338	-0.38879	-0.07951
ORGANIC	0.19543	-0.31401	-0.13995	-0.32048	0.34229
PROGRESS	0.06395	0.14089	-0.22022	0.00336	0.09094
RACISM	-0.18646	0.12862	0.03729	0.41672	-0.01610
SOCJUST	0.81039	-0.03796	-0.16927	-0.38028	-0.23718
SPIRIT	-0.02953	0.14339	0.66614	0.27056	-0.06994
NATION	0.14673	-0.11292	0.23078	0.83467	0.10994
ACTIVISM	0.63976	-0.09765	-0.07944	-0.19710	-0.16178
CORRUPT	0.53018	0.40260	-0.02957	0.04752	-0.03776
AUTHDEM	0.00642	-0.16287	0.01042	0.20974	0.90695
NONCON	0.27359	0.57324	-0.22261	0.19938	0.03875
INTERN	0.55059	-0.15582	-0.03214	0.05665	-0.13654

TABLE VI

ROTATION METHOD: PROMAX

ROTATED FACTOR PATTERN (STD REG COEFS)

	FACTOR1	FACTOR2	FACTOR3	FACTOR4	FACTOR5
ANTICAP	-0.08187	0.05558	0.05214	0.05627	0.31268
ANTICOM	-0.09358	0.55775	0.22877	-0.25729	0.21555
ANTIDICT	-0.04622	0.45992	-0.11544	0.16877	-0.04412
ANTILIB	-0.06430	-0.11116	0.73966	0.05084	0.15264
ANTIMAJ	-0.23621	-0.02285	0.00804	-0.04323	0.41713
DEMOCR	0.41795	0.52367	-0.14921	-0.09136	-0.12342
CHURCH	0.05060	0.01823	0.93434	-0.26701	-0.01781
COMGOOD	0.51577	-0.11434	0.02921	-0.23723	0.37415
CONSERV	-0.29948	0.78539	0.00773	-0.19372	0.11798
CORPORAT	0.34457	-0.40885	-0.02258	0.02458	0.16988
CRISIS	0.10049	-0.12366	0.64783	0.13192	0.05207
ECONDEV	0.88520	0.09449	0.04816	0.02756	-0.01603
FREEDOM	0.06312	0.43652	-0.02082	-0.01219	-0.15505
HARMONY	0.45324	0.32465	-0.04195	0.09411	0.38839
HIERARC	-0.28842	-0.27938	0.05431	-0.19416	0.19433
HUMRIGHT	0.15583	0.09899	0.00116	-0.32116	-0.00936
MORALITY	0.01395	-0.05675	0.08310	-0.38859	-0.09955
ORGANIC	0.19074	-0.28491	-0.13404	-0.31525	0.35786
PROGRESS	0.02894	0.14500	-0.21966	0.00336	0.11902
RACISM	-0.21878	0.12439	-0.00485	0.40822	-0.01523
SOCJUST	0.84694	-0.06476	-0.01550	-0.34183	-0.20027
SPIRIT	0.07298	0.14498	0.69712	0.27259	-0.13473
NATION	0.11806	-0.11302	0.21399	0.84158	0.11490
ACTIVISM	0.66725	-0.11734	0.03485	-0.16647	-0.13571
CORRUPT	0.55462	0.39381	0.07745	0.06956	-0.01009
AUTHDEM	-0.02766	-0.08691	-0.05448	0.19952	0.92081
NONCON	0.24351	0.56913	-0.17162	0.20732	0.08303
INTERN	0.55923	-0.17529	0.05279	0.08353	-0.11207

(0.16). PCs 2 and 4 show almost zero correlations with the other PCs (near perfect orthogonality). The oblique rotations strengthened loadings of many variables, but did not seriously impair independence.

TABLE VII

PROMAX ROTATION

INTER-FACTOR CORRELATIONS

	FACTOR1	FACTOR2	FACTOR3	FACTOR4	FACTOR5
FACTOR1	1.00				
FACTOR2	0.01	1.00			
FACTOR3	-0.33	-0.07	1.00		
FACTOR4	0.03	0.02	0.02	1.00	
FACTOR5	-0.06	-0.10	0.16	-0.01	1.00

FIVE PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS

Interpretation of each of the five principal components was facilitated by reference not only to high variable loadings but also to low variable loadings and to principal component scores listed in descending order by author [see appendix].

PC 1: Progressive Conservatism. The first principal component represents the developmentalist movement within Latin American conservatism as indicated on the following list of highest and lowest variable loadings on PC 1.

VARIABLE LOADINGS ON PC 1

HIGHEST:	Econdev	0.89	Comgood	0.52	LOWEST:	Conserv	-0.30
	Socjust	0.85	Harmony	0.45		Hierarc	-0.29
	Activism	0.67	Corporat	0.34		Antimaj	-0.24
	Intern	0.56				Racism	-0.22
	Corrupt	0.55					

PC 1 groups together major progressive ideas within the context of traditional conservative beliefs. Economic development, social justice, activism, interest in international affairs, and protests against official corruption and electoral fraud are, by themselves, rather liberal ideas. Yet they are mitigated by association with very traditional conservative concepts: the common good--the idea that the overall good of society takes precedence over individual rights and interests; corporatism, the idea that all groups--elites, workers, the church, the family--have special, fixed places in the political structure; and harmony--the rejection of class struggle to achieve goals such as social and economic development. Combining activism and harmony implies that only peaceful change is acceptable.

Factor scores were computed for PC 1 to test the reasonableness of this interpretation by classifying authors of statements comprising the original data set. A test of reasonableness is not a test of statistical significance; rather the scores serve as a quick (rather than rigorous) way to classify authors into appropriate groupings.

The following conservative authors scored 1.00 or higher on PC 1:

	<u>Score</u>
Mariano Ospina Pérez (Colombia, 1946)	4.2
Belisario Betancur (Colombia, 1968)	2.3
Christian Democratic Party of El Salvador (1967)	2.0
Manuel Gómez Morín (Mexico, 1965)	1.9
Rafael Caldera (Venezuela, 1972)	1.5

High scorers on PC 1 include contemporary Latin American conservative politicians and a political party that tend towards activism and interest in social and economic issues. Mariano Ospina Pérez of Colombia, an engineer by training and elected to Colombia's presidency by a mere plurality, adopted a conciliatory, centrist note in his 1946 inaugural address. Belisario Betancur, also of Colombia, is a populist conservative whose major themes are those of social justice achieved through economic development. Manuel Gómez Morín, leader of Mexico's PAN, promotes developmentalist conservative positions as he opposes the entrenched PRI that has dominated Mexican politics during much of the twentieth century. Two members of the Christian Democratic movement in Latin America--Rafael Caldera of Venezuela and the El Salvador Christian Democratic Party--appear high on the PC 1 list. The question of whether Christian Democrats belong in the overall category of Latin American conservatives is addressed below.

Equally as interesting are those who scored exceptionally low (-0.90 or less) on PC 1:

	<u>Score</u>
Alvaro Gómez Hurtado (Colombia, 1958)	-1.1
Francisco Bulnes (Mexico, 1926)	-1.0
Eduardo Solar Correa (Chile, 1934)	-1.0
Félix Navarrete (Mexico, 1935)	-1.0
José Enrique Rodó (Uruguay, 1900)	-0.9
Julio César de Moraes Carneiro (Brazil, 1897)	-0.9

The least progressive of all statements in the study was taken from a conservative manifesto by Alvaro Gómez Hurtado, Colombian Conservative Party candidate for president in 1986, writing from

exile in 1958. The remaining authors were traditional conservatives like Bulnes, or church supporters like Morais Carneiro.

PC 2: Anticommunist Conservatism. The second principal component combines standard conservative political ideas with a fundamental anticommunism. Variables loading highest and lowest follow:

VARIABLE LOADINGS ON PC 2

HIGHEST: Conserv	0.79	Democr	0.52	LOWEST: Corporat	0.41
Noncon	0.57	Antidict	0.46	Organic	0.28
Anticom	0.56	Freedom	0.44	Hierarc	0.28

PC 2 groups together partisan conservatism embodied by workaday political leaders with opposition to totalitarian forms of government. The implication is clear: in the conservative lexicon, the party is by nature the defender of democracy and freedom and the implacable enemy of communism.

Authors scoring highest (1.0 or more) on PC 2 were:

	<u>Score</u>
Laureano Gómez (Colombia, 1960-1962)	2.6
Alvaro Gómez (Colombia, 1972)	2.6
Carlos José Solórzano (Nicaragua, 1947)	2.6
Laureano Gómez (Colombia, 1932)	2.0
Laureano Gómez (Colombia, 1917-21)	1.4
Mariano Ospina Perez (Colombia, 1946)	1.3
Rafael Caldera (Venezuela, 1972)	1.0

Vociferously anticommunist, vocal in defense of democracy, these authors were exceptionally partisan spokesmen who harped on the dangers of communism and fought to gain support for their party. This principal component might almost be named for Laureano Gómez of Colombia. Four statements taken from four separate periods in his political life were included in the data set. Only one of his pieces--the 1950 inaugural address delivered as he assumed

the presidency of Colombia--failed to score heavily on this factor, probably because he struck an uncharacteristic note of moderation on that occasion.

At first glance the variable NONCON appears out of place in a category dominated by the defense of conservative party positions. The juxtaposition may not be as contradictory as it appears: a powerful element of NONCON is the turn-of-the-century positivism that lured many conservatives from their more traditional beliefs. Evidence of this fact is the striking number of early twentieth century positivistic conservatives with positive loadings on PC 2:

	<u>Score</u>
Carlos Octavio Bunge (Argentina, 1904)	0.9
Francisco Bulnes (Mexico, 1926)	0.8
Miguel Antonio Caro (Colombia, 1903)	0.6
Francisco García Calderón (Peru, 1912)	0.5
Roque Sáenz Peña (Argentina, 1909)	0.4

Authors scoring lowest on PC 2 (-1.0 or less) represented opposition from both the more progressive branch of conservatism (Christian Democrats) and traditional conservatives like González von Marées, a failed fascist, and Carrasquilla, a Roman Catholic priest with Thomist inclinations.

	<u>Score</u>
Jose Enrique Rodó (Uruguay, 1900)	-1.9
Jorge González von Marées (Chile, 1940)	-1.7
Christian Democratic Party of El Salvador (1967)	-1.6
Marco Vinicio Cerezo (Guatemala, 1968)	-1.2
Rafael María Carrasquilla (Colombia, 1916)	-1.0

PC 3: Traditional Roman Catholic Conservatism. The third principal component represents traditional Latin American conservatism founded on counter-Enlightenment rejection of

liberal ideas. Highest and lowest variable loadings on PC 3 are:

VARIABLE LOADINGS ON PC 3

HIGHEST:	Church	0.9	LOWEST:	Progress	-0.22
	Antilib	0.7		Noncon	-0.17
	Spirit	0.7		Democr	-0.15
	Crisis	0.7			

Clearly a Roman Catholic factor, PC 3 reveals a sense of crisis over the increasing secularization in world affairs and is accompanied by the exaltation of spiritual values over purely rational ones. Progress loads negatively on PC 3, indicating resistance to change. Positivist and democratic ideas also load negatively.

Authors scoring highest on PC 3 (1.0 or greater) are:

	<u>Score</u>
Jackson de Figueiredo (Brazil, 1918)	4.5
Júlio César de Moraes Carneiro (Brazil, 1897)	2.4
Jorge Iván Hübner Gallo (Chile, 1959)	2.2
Federico González Suárez (Ecuador, 1913)	1.9
José Vasconcelos (Mexico, 1935)	1.1
Rafael María Carrasquilla (Colombia, 1916)	1.0

Of these authors, two were Roman Catholic priests (Moraes Carneiro and Carrasquilla); a third was a late-in-life convert to Catholicism (Jackson de Figueiredo); and one was a philosopher-spokesman for Roman Catholic political thought (Hübner Gallo). Gonzalez Suárez appears to have earned his place in this grouping by virtue of his position as archbishop of Quito.

There is clearly a relationship between high scores on PC 3 and low scores on PC 1, the progressive conservative factor. As expected, lowest scores on this principal component appear beside such progressive authors as Manuel Gómez Morin, Mariano Ospina Pérez, Belisario Betancur, and Eduardo Frei (Chile, 1977),

leader of the Christian Democratic party. At the time of his statement, Frei was out of power and had no reason to moderate his more liberal views to achieve political viability. Interestingly, this statement was published by the Venezuelan Christian Democratic party, then under the leadership of Caldera, a high PC 1.

PC 4: NATIONALIST CONSERVATISM

Only two variables load high on PC 4: Nation (0.84) and Racism (0.41). Ideas included in Nation emphasize nationalism, Latin American cultural uniqueness, historicist (particularist as opposed to "universal" laws of human society), hispanism, and anti-U.S sentiments. Racism captures all racist statements including specifically anti-Semitic views and belief in the inferiority of indigenous American peoples.

Authors scoring highest (0.9 and above) on PC 4 are:

	<u>Score</u>
Francisco García Calderón (Peru, 1912)	3.0
Jorge González von Marées (Chile 1940)	2.5
Eduardo Frei (Chile, 1942)	2.5
Manuel Gálvez (Argentina, 1920)	2.0
José Vasconcelos (Mexico, 1935)	1.7
Miguel Antonio Caro (Colombia, 1903)	1.0
Laureano Vallenilla Lanz (Venezuela, 1919)	0.9

Two broad strains of thought group under this principal component drawing together very different authors. In the first group are the racist/positivists--"sick continent" theorists--like García Calderón, Gálvez, Vallenilla Lanz, and, to some extent, José Vasconcelos. In the second are strong nationalists like González von Marées and Eduardo Frei. Like González von Marées, Eduardo

Frei was dissatisfied with the entrenched conservative status quo in Chile in the early 1940s. At that time he had just established a new party, the National Falange, as a nationalistic platform upon which to oppose elements in power.

PC 4 appears to be specifically associated with earlier periods in the study. Racism appears early in the twentieth century as an offshoot of positivism and later reappears as conservatism sought a middle course between fascism on the far right and more progressive strains on the left during the 1930s and early 1940s.

PC 5: AUTHORITARIAN CONSERVATISM. The fifth principal component gathers together ideas of far right conservatism and in so doing describes an authoritarian scheme of social and political organization. Variables loading highest and lowest on PC 5 are as follows:

VARIABLE LOADINGS ON PC 5

HIGHEST: Authdem	0.92	Organic	0.36	LOWEST: Socjust	-0.20
Antimaj	0.41	Anticap	0.31	Freedom	-0.16
Harmony	0.39	Hierarc	0.20	Activism	-0.14
Comgood	0.37				

On the subject of political organization, PC 5 weighs in on the side of authoritarian democracy and against rule by simple majority. Anticapitalism is not so much an economic philosophy as it is an expression of opposition to the power of the new business (bourgeois) class.

The variables also describe the way society should be organized in order to ensure the common good and eliminate conflict among groups (Harmony). Social organization should be

hierarchical and organic with interrelationships controlled by Roman Catholic political concepts of moral order and traditional virtues. In this view, society is likened to a living organism made up not of individuals who enjoy the same guarantees and rights, but of groups, each with its preordained position and set of rights and responsibilities--a natural hierarchy.

Authors loading highest (1.0 or greater) on PC 5 are:

	<u>Score</u>
Jorge González von Marées (Chile, 1940)	2.9
Alberto Eduards Vives (Chile, 1928)	2.4
Jorge Iván Hübner Gallo (Chile, 1959)	2.4
Miguel Antonio Caro (Colombia, 1903)	2.3
Sergio Fernández Larraín (Chile, 1950)	1.8
Laureano Gómez (Colombia, 1950)	1.7
Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño (Ecuador, 1929)	1.6
Laureano Vallenilla Lanz (Venezuela, 1919)	1.1
Alfredo Rueda (Argentina, 1969)	1.0

Chilean authors dominate this list. Early in the national period, Chile was remarkably successful in avoiding the recurrent civil wars and rule by dictator that plagued other nations of the continent during the nineteenth century. This led many political theorists to recommend strong authoritarian government, such as that enjoyed by Chile during the previous century, as an antidote to ruinous struggles for power. It was this strong authoritarian strain that another Chilean, Eduardo Frei, steadily opposed: two separate statements by Frei show negative loadings of -1.1 (1959) and -0.7 (1942) on PC 5.

The case of Chilean González von Marées, the highest scorer, is notable only in the degree to which he may have wished to carry the concept of authoritarian government. He turned out on closer examination to have been the founder of the Chilean

nationalist socialist party in the 1920s. Although a member of the conservative party at the time he wrote the statement included in this analysis--his nationalist socialist party having failed by 1940--the strong authoritarian element persists.

Miguel Antonio Caro, leader of the Colombian Conservative party in the late nineteenth century, and Laureano Gómez, in his 1950 inaugural address, both championed the idea of the authoritarian state. In fact, soon after assuming the presidency, Gómez began his unsuccessful attempt to rewrite Colombia's 1886 constitution and thereby eliminate its majoritarian aspects.

Venezuelan writer and politician Vallenilla Lanz advocated what he called "democratic caesarism" as the best form of government for his country: caesarism because the nation needed a strong central authority; and democratic because the people themselves admired and followed such a ruler. Vallenilla Lanz was an apologist for Venezuela's then-dictator General Juan Vicente Gómez.

Last among the high scorers listed above is Alfredo Rueda who, in a piece entitled "Order, Discipline, and Hierarchy," welcomed the regime of General Juan Carlos Onganía in Argentina.

Principal Components Analysis--In Conclusion

The five factor model produced interpretable PCs that served to categorize authors in realistic ways. Curiously, a number of statements failed to score high (absolute value) on any PC. Authors of these pieces were committees (Young Conservatives of

Chile, the Colombian Conservative Party) or individuals whose writings were amorphous statements of general beliefs that appealed to a cross section of conservatives rather than to a particular faction within conservatism. Logically they failed to rank high on any one of the five principal components.

TESTS OF HYPOTHESES

Three hypotheses of interest were tested using principal components scores and the statistical procedure known as multivariate analysis of variance [MANOVA]. MANOVA was used to test for effects of one variable or group of variables on the principal component scores by author.

Overall Effect of Christian Democratic Party Affiliation

Six statements by self-identified Christian Democrats were included among the fifty-two observations that composed the sample. The basis for inclusion was that Christian Democrats are similar to conservatives in many basic ways, and that several Christian Democrats, most notably Eduardo Frei of Chile, were initially members of their national Conservative parties.

Analysis of PC 1 loadings showed a disproportionate number of Christian Democrats among the more progressive elements of conservatism. This finding brought into question the original inclusion of Christian Democrats in the sample. A MANOVA test of the following hypotheses was designed to determine whether members of the Christian Democratic party are in fact conserva-

tives in the context of twentieth century Latin America:

H_0 : There is no overall effect of Christian Democratic (CD) affiliation on PC scores.

H_A : Christian Democratic party affiliation affects PC scores.

The model was specified as follows:

$$PC1 \ PC2 \ PC3 \ PC4 \ PC5 = CD \quad [\alpha = 0.05]$$

Wilk's criterion was used to test the significance of the model. A Wilk's lambda of 0.87 gave a low F approximation of 1.35, clearly not significant at the established alpha level.

Analysis of the effect of Christian Democratic party affiliation on the individual PC scores found a significant relationship only between CD and PC 1, the progressive conservative factor. This finding merely underscores the high loadings already reported above.

The lack of overall CD effect on principal components scores supports the decision to include Christian Democrats Caldera of Venezuela, Eduardo Frei of Chile (1959 and 1977), Roberto Lara Velado of El Salvador, Marco V. Cerezo of Guatemala, and the Christian Democratic party of El Salvador in the sample of Latin American conservatives.

Overall Effect of Laureano Gómez

Four statements by Laureano Gómez corresponding roughly to the four periods outlined above were included in the study. Gómez was an outstanding conservative party leader in Colombia from 1909 to his death in 1965. The question of interest was

whether he was properly placed within the mainstream of Latin American conservatives during his lifetime or whether he was somehow different, that he was a "creole Hitler" as many of his critics averred. In addition, Gómez's high loadings on PC 2, the anticommunist conservative factor, raised the possibility that he was outside the middle ground of conservatism.

The hypotheses to be tested were:

H_0 : There is no overall Gómez effect on PC scores.

H_A : Gómez's scores are significantly different from those of other Latin American conservatives.

The model was specified as follows:

PC1 PC2 PC3 PC4 PC5 = GOMEZ [alpha=0.05]

Results were judged on the basis of Wilk's criterion. That value was 0.86 yielding an $F=1.50$, not significant at the stated alpha level. A test of Gómez effect on each factor produced a significant F value only on PC2 (anticommunist conservative), information that merely supports the results of the principal components analysis reported above. Gómez, therefore, is properly classified as one among many Latin American conservatives of this century.

Overall Effect of Period

The data were divided by year into four chronological periods, each containing thirteen observations. Period 1 extended from the turn of the century through World War I; period 2 extended from the 1920s to the start of World War II; period 3 from the end of World War II to the early 1960s; and period 4

from the mid-1960s to the present. Because of the small number of observations in each period, periods 1 and 2 were combined into a single, pre-War World II category, and periods 3 and 4 became a single post-World War II grouping of twenty-six observations each.

An initial examination of the data suggested that conservatism has changed in a number of ways over the course of the century. A test of these hypotheses was undertaken:

H_0 : There is no overall effect of period on PC scores.

H_A : There are significant differences among PC scores grouped by period.

The model was specified as follows:

$$PC1 \ PC2 \ PC3 \ PC4 \ PC5 = PERIOD \ [\alpha=0.05]$$

Results of the MANOVA test of significance indicated that there is no overall period effect on PC scores. The Wilks' criterion of 0.87 yielded an F approximation of 1.32, clearly not significant at the stated alpha level.

Tests of the effect of period on individual PCs were undertaken to determine if individual factors responded to period in significant ways. Results of these tests follow:

	<u>F Value</u>	<u>PR > F</u>	
PC 1 Progressive Conservatism	5.23	0.03	***
PC 2 Anticommunist Conservatism	2.47	0.12	
PC 3 Traditional Roman Catholic Conservatism	3.20	0.08	***
PC 4 Nationalist Conservatism	3.99	0.05	***
PC 5 Authoritarian Conservatism	0.57	0.45	

*** Significant at the alpha = 0.05 level.

The Tukey "honestly significant difference" test, a more rigorous

test of significance for pairwise comparisons under partial null hypotheses, yielded significant results only between period and PC 1.

In order to substantiate these results, tests of the effect of period on selected variables was undertaken. The MANOVA test of overall effect was specified as follows:

H_0 : There is no effect of period on selected variables.

H_A : There are significant differences among variables by period.

The Wilks' criterion of 0.82 yielded an F value of 1.15, clearly not significant at the alpha = 0.05 level.

A further test of the individual effect of period on the variables provided these results:

	<u>F Value</u>	<u>PR > F</u>	
ECONDEV	3.21	0.08	***
SOCJUST	7.16	0.01	***
ACTIVISM	3.05	0.08	***
COMGOOD	3.19	0.08	***
CONSERV	0.06	0.81	
CHURCH	1.76	0.19	
NATION	6.12	0.02	***
AUTHDEM	1.11	0.30	

*** Significant at the alpha = 0.05 level.

The more rigorous Tukey test found significant period effects only on Socjust and Nation.

Results of these tests of significance can be summarized as follows:

1. There is no overall period effect on either factor scores or selected variables.
2. There is a significant relationship between period and PC 1,

the progressive conservative factor.

3. There is also a significant period effect on PC 1 variables Econdev, Socjust, Activism, and Comgood, as well as on the PC 4 (nationalist conservative factor) variable Nation.

CONCLUSIONS

The focus of this study was a sample of fifty-two statements by Latin American conservatives in the twentieth century. Using principal components analysis, five PCs capturing 60% of the variation in the original data were generated and interpreted. Several recurring themes within conservatism as a whole were detected and used as a means of categorizing authors in the study. PC 1 represented the progressive movement within mainstream conservatism; PC 2 the anticommunist conservative party strain; PC 3 the Roman Catholic branch; PC 4 the nationalist conservative; and PC 5 the authoritarian faction. Although the developmentalist conservatives appeared to stand by themselves, they exhibited a firm grounding in such traditional concepts as the common good and harmony. These traditional concepts, rooted in Roman Catholic social doctrine, are seen by the authors as representing the philosophic "center" of Latin American conservatism.

PC scores for each author in the study were analyzed further using MANOVA procedures. Results of the analysis are:

1. Christian Democrats are properly classified as conservatives.
2. Laureano Gómez is properly classified as one among many

conservatives in the sample.

3. There is no overall effect of period on the PC scores by author. There is, however, a significant relationship between period and PC 1, as well as between period and certain PC 1 variables. The lack of overall period effect suggests that conservatism has held fast to a central body of ideas founded in Roman Catholic social and political philosophy. The individual period effects suggest further that on the fringes of this central stability, there has been a discernible shifting towards progressive and developmentalist thought since World War II.

The authors feel that future analysis of conservative writings along the lines of this study will prove most fruitful in monitoring the shift in conservative thought during the final decades of the century.

1. José Luis Romero, ed., Pensamiento conservador, 1815-1898 (Caracas: Editorial Arte, 1978), is an anthology of conservative writing from all parts of Latin America. Nearly all other studies focus on a single notable thinker, Carlos Valderrama Andrade's El pensamiento filosófico de Miguel Antonio Caro (Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1961), being a good example. Or they contain information on Latin American conservatism in conjunction with other subjects. Charles A. Hale's El liberalismo mexicano en la época de Mora, 1821-1853 (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1972), is such a work. It contains a great deal of useful information on Lucas Alamán and the course of early nineteenth century Mexican conservatism.

2. José Luis Romero, El pensamiento político de la derecha latinoamericana (Buenos Aires: Editorial Paidós, 1970), attempts to cover the whole subject, while Gastón García Cantú, ed., El pensamiento de la reacción mexicana; historia documental, 1810-1962 (Mexico City: Empresas Editoriales, 1965), and Alfonso Noriega, Pensamiento conservador y conservadurismo mexicano (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1972), offer surveys of the subject within one nation.

3. Useful recent studies of these sorts include the following: William Rex Crawford, A Century of Latin American Thought (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1963); Harold E. Davis, ed., Latin American Social Thought, the History of its Development since Independence, with Selected Readings (Washington: The University Press of Washington, D.C., 1961); Harold

E. Davis, Latin American Thought: A Historical Introduction (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), Revolutionaries, Traditionalists, and Dictators in Latin America (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1973); Charles A. Hale, "Political and Social Ideas, 1870-1930" (unpublished typescript), "The Reconstruction of Nineteenth-Century Politics in Spanish America: A Case for the History of Ideas," Latin American Research Review, 7:53-73 (Summer 1973); Richard M. Morse, "The Heritage of Latin America" in The Founding of New Societies, ed. by Louis Hartz (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964), pp. 123-177; Fredrick B. Pike, Hispanismo, 1898-1936 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971), Spanish America, 1900-1970: Tradition and Social Innovation (New York: W.W. Norton, 1973), The New Corporatism, Social-Political Structures in the Iberian World (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1974), The United States and the Andean Republics (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977); Martin Stabb, In Quest of Identity: Patterns in the Spanish American Essay of Ideas, 1890-1960 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967); Claudio Veliz, ed., Obstacles to Change in Latin America (2nd ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), The Politics of Conformity in Latin America (2nd ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); Leopoldo Zea, The Latin American Mind, trans. by James H. Abbot and Lowell Dunham (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963).

4. Russell Kirk, ed., The Portable Conservative Reader (New York: Penguin Books, 1982), p. xxxiii.

5. Eduardo Frei, "The Road to Follow," Latin American Social Thought, ed. by H. E. Davis (Washington: The University Press of Washington, D.C., 1961), pp. 546.

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