
WIN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE FOR DEMOCRACY AND PEACE!*

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

PART I

THE PROBLEM AS A WHOLE

(A) THE FASCIST-WAR THREAT

THE danger of fascism and war, precipitated by the offensive of the Germany-Japan-Italy fascist alliance, hangs over the whole Western Hemisphere, as over the rest of the world. To defeat this menace there is the most urgent necessity for all the democratic peoples of North, Central and South America, comprising 22 countries with some 250,000,000 people, to cooperate against the universal war-making fascist enemy. This joint action by the American peoples should have the two-fold object of assuring democracy and peace throughout our continents from Hudson Bay to Tierra del Fuego and of bringing the united power of all the nations of the Western Hemisphere into collaboration with the peace-loving peoples on other continents to quarantine the fascist war aggressors and to maintain world peace.

During the past few years, especial-

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ly since the rise of Hitler and the formation of the Berlin-Rome-Tokio alliance, the danger of fascism and war has grown strong and menacing throughout the Western Hemisphere. In Canada the reactionaries are consolidating their forces, especially in Quebec, and to a lesser extent in Ontario, where, under the leadership of Duplessis and Hepburn, the two provincial governors, open fascist activities are being carried on. And in the United States we are well aware of the fascist danger, with the intense offensive of Wall Street against the toiling masses, the bitter attack against Roosevelt and the New Deal, the openly fascist agitation of Hearst and Co.

But when we turn towards the Latin American countries to the south we find the fascist-war danger extremely acute. In nearly every country below the Rio Grande there are active and malignant fascist movements. In Brazil, a country larger than the United States and containing 47,000,000 inhabitants, the Vargas fascists have succeeded in setting up the first fascist dictatorship in this hemisphere. In Mexico the fascist General Cedillo, instigated by German fascism and

counting on the help of the British oil monopolists, took up arms against the Cardenas government, with the aim of suppressing the growing national liberation movement of the people and of turning Mexico into a second Spain. In Argentina, the fascist Uriburistas and the followers of Governor Fresco in the Province of Buenos Aires are endeavoring to swing the reactionary Ortiz government to their fascist policies. In Chile, the notorious Nacistas Party and the fascist elements led by Gustavo Ross are conspiring to stop the progress of the People's Front by civil war. Similar fascist movements, in varying degrees of development, are to be found in all other Latin American countries.

The fascist-war danger in Latin America comes chiefly from the militant drive of German, Japanese and Italian imperialism to seize the rich resources of Central and South America—oil, iron, copper, manganese, nickel, nitrates, rubber, timber, sugar, grain, meat, tobacco, etc.—that the fascist dictatorships need so badly in their plans of world conquest. The subjugation of Latin America has become a central part of the general plan of the allied fascist powers for world imperialist domination.

The three fascist world powers have strong groups of nationals in Latin America, as bases of operation. Thus, in Brazil there are 1,500,000 Italians, 800,000 Germans, and 270,000 Japanese. In Argentina and other countries of South America there are also large population blocks of Italians, Germans and Japanese, and their numbers are being steadily increased by organized, selected colonization.

The penetration offensive into

Latin America by the three allied fascist powers is economic, political, military, and "cultural." In their drive for markets the Germans, Japanese and Italians, from 1929 to 1936, succeeded in raising their proportion of imports into Latin America from 17 to 28 per cent, while that of British and American imperialisms declined accordingly. Everywhere the fascist powers are carrying on active propaganda, one of the many sinister developments being the so-called Pan-Latinism movement, financed by Italy, which seeks to make Rome the cultural center of the whole Latin world. Likewise, General Franco of Spain is trying to exploit the old Mother Country tradition to further his fascist propaganda in Latin America. The fascist bloc of powers is also openly collecting stores of arms and establishing air bases. All its activities aim at the overthrow of the existing governments and the setting up of European-controlled fascist dictatorships. The recent unsuccessful Nazi-Integralista uprising in Brazil indicates where the Berlin-Rome-Tokio policy leads to.

The German-Italian-Japanese fascist triangle is the main force endeavoring to foist fascism upon Latin America. The ultra-reactionary elements of British and American finance capital also have a hand in promoting this fascist game. For many years past these imperialist sharks have been manipulating the governments of Latin America and robbing the people. In this spirit the Guggenheim interests are now vigorous supporting the Ross fascist presidential ambitions in Chile, the American meat packing companies are helping organize the fascists in Argentina, American con-

cerns are aiding Vargas in Brazil, American sugar interests are the mainstay of the tyrant Batista in Cuba. Similar activities are being carried on by the Bond and Share, the United Fruit Company, and other powerful American enterprises in various countries. In Mexico, British and also certain American Tory interests are plotting to overthrow the advanced democratic Cardenas government. Significantly, many airplanes of Cedillo, the fascist bandit in Mexico, were of American make and delivered by American aviators, resulting in condemnation by President Roosevelt.

The development of fascism in Latin America is facilitated by the prevailing latifundia, or big land-owning system, and the relative weakness of the working class numerically and organizationally. The great land-owners and the Catholic hierarchy, long basic sources of the traditional Latin American dictators, readily join forces with one or another of the several imperialist powers fighting like wolves over the resources and destinies of the Latin American peoples. More and more their activities assume a fascist character.

Further feeders to fascism in Latin America are the Trotskyites and other "Left" adventurists. Throughout Latin America there are present Trotsky agents (let it not be forgotten that Trotsky himself is in Mexico City), and with their opposition to the People's Front, their demagogic "Left" proposals, and their splitting tactics, they help the fascist barbarians. The vigorous condemnation of Trotsky by the Mexican General Confederation of Labor shows the alertness of the workers to this danger.

The rise of the fascist danger in the Americas signifies also an increasing menace of war, because fascism and war are inseparable. Fascism cultivates antagonisms between the Latin American governments and is fomenting a renewal of the Bolivia-Paraguayan war. We have also seen that foreign fascist influence was mainly responsible for many Latin-American countries supporting Mussolini's murderous incursions into Ethiopia and the Hitler-Mussolini invasion of Spain. Moreover, the militant offensive of German, Japanese and Italian fascism in Latin America vastly sharpens the danger of war between these imperialist powers and the United States. A new world war may easily begin in Latin America.

(B) THE ANTI-FASCIST, ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

If, under the Rome-Berlin-Tokio drive, the fascist-war forces are growing in the countries making up the Western Hemisphere, the forces of democracy and peace, as a reaction to the fascist offensive, are also increasing rapidly. The struggle of the great majority of the American peoples against the fascist-war menace constantly becomes more acute, widespread, and effective.

In South and Central America there are many broad popular anti-fascist movements. These have the character of national liberation struggles to preserve the national independence and freedom of the people in the face of the attempts of fascist imperialists to subjugate these countries. In Chile, a country of 3,500,000 inhabitants and rich resources, there is a strong Popu-

lar Front movement, the first to be organized in Latin America, consisting of the Radical Party, the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the trade unions, and other organizations; it is a real political power, with a chance to win the presidency next year. In Argentina, despite the repressions of the Ortiz government, there are the beginnings of a strong Popular Front movement among its 13,000,000 people. In Brazil, the anti-fascist forces suffered a setback by Vargas' defeat of the National Liberation Alliance, the arrest of Prestes and the establishment of a fascist dictatorship; but this defeat can be only temporary as the present mood of the Brazilian people evidences. In Cuba the People's Front movement expands rapidly. In such countries as Uruguay, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Puerto Rico (and also in the far-off Philippines) the anti-fascist national liberation movement is also growing. It is all being given a powerful stimulus by the victories of the People's Front in Mexico, which is serving as an inspiration to all the American peoples. In none of the Latin American countries could the present-day dictators, natural tools of the fascists, be elected by an honest popular vote.

In North America, the forces of democracy and peace are much stronger and better organized than in Central and South America (for definite historical reasons). In Canada, with its 10,000,000 people, the People's Front movement is making steady progress. This is expressed by the maintenance of cooperative unity between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. in the Trades Congress, the expansion of the Social Credit movement in the

West, and the growth of the Communist Party which, with its almost 20,000 members, is, population considered, numerically stronger than the Communist Party in the U.S.A.

In the United States, as we know, the democratic groupings of the people are powerful and are on the forward march. They are expressed by the development of the progressive forces around the Roosevelt administration and the growth of the C.I.O., the expansion of the youth, women's, peace, Negro and other popular movements and, not least, the recent rapid growth of the Communist Party and Young Communist League to a total of over 90,000 members.

In Mexico, a land of rich resources and 18,000,000 people, the forces of democracy and peace are even further advanced, with the progressive Cardenas government relying on the People's Front, the establishment of the broad revolutionary party of Mexico, the building up of the militant Mexican Confederation of Labor, the growth of organization among the peasants, and the rise of the Communist Party, embracing 25,000 members, to a position of decisive political importance.

North America, despite the presence of a serious fascist menace within its confines, constitutes a strong fortress of democracy. In its three main countries, the United States, Mexico and Canada, we see that the democratic-peace mass organizations of the people are strong and flourishing, while the Communist Parties are a swiftly growing force. All of which places a great responsibility upon the democratic nations and organizations of North America to lend a helping

hand to the peoples of Central and South America, who have less organization and are harder pressed by the fascist-imperialist barbarians.

(c) THE INTER-CONTINENTAL
DEMOCRATIC FRONT

The development of cooperative action between all the peoples of the three Americas for democracy and peace and against the common menace of fascism and war is imperatively necessary. Such cooperation is facilitated by a whole series of favorable conditions, mainly: the scores of countries constitute one great geographical unit stretching from the Arctic Ocean almost to the Antarctic Ocean; they are bound together by a network of economic, political and cultural relationships, and they have a long record of working jointly for various purposes; they have a common pioneer heritage of having carved their various countries out of the primeval wilderness; they are not so inflamed against one another by intense national hatreds and clashing imperial interests as are the European states (for the most part the countries have unfortified frontiers); they all have the republican form of government, except Canada, which is nevertheless a democratic country; and, lastly, they have the common national tradition of having set up their independent governments in revolutionary struggles against feudalistic European monarchies.

We should seek to develop Western Hemisphere cooperation for democracy and peace along three principal channels:

The first way is by common action

of all the governments of the two continents through various pacts and agreements directed against fascist attempts to destroy the liberties and peace of the peoples of the New World, and also against the fascist-war makers on a world scale.

The states of this hemisphere, even though under pressure of imperialist domination, have frequently acted together on various matters. As long as a century ago a congress of all Latin American nations, proposed by the celebrated patriot of Latin America, Simon Bolivar, was held in Panama. In 1890 the Pan-American Union was organized, and it has, from time to time, drawn into joint activity every government in our hemisphere. It has become a sort of Pan-American League of Nations.

From the outset, however, the Pan-American Union has been dominated by the United States and used in the past largely as an instrument to further the interests of American imperialism. This must be changed. The democratic-peace demands of all the American peoples must be made to prevail in the Pan-American Union. Steps in the right direction were the proposal of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull at the Buenos Aires conference in December, 1936. The Pan-American Union will hold its next conference in Lima, Peru, in December of this year. At that time the united forces of the democratic movements of the three Americas should come forward unitedly against fascism and war.

A problem in this general respect is to draw Canada more into the cooperative efforts of the peoples of this hemisphere. Hitherto Canada has

stood somewhat apart, because British imperialism fears that Canadian participation in such activities would weaken Canada's bonds to the Empire and throw that country dangerously within the orbit of the United States. Despite these imperialistic fears, the Canadian people should bring the strong support of their democratic country actively into the struggle of the peoples against fascism and war throughout these two vast continents.

The second type of hemisphere-wide collaboration for democracy and peace should be developed directly between the mass organizations of the toiling, progressive peoples, that is, between their political parties, trade unions, farmer organizations, cooperatives, peace societies, student bodies, cultural organizations, etc., etc. Such cooperation of mass organizations also corresponds with the experiences and tendencies of the peoples in our two continents. From time to time for many years past, there have been various conferences and conventions for economic, political, educational, and social purposes which have drawn together representatives from many of the countries. These gatherings have come to be considered natural and normal expressions of the growing bonds between the many nations of the Western Hemisphere.

Several such broad mass conferences are now being organized on the two continents. Among these is the Democratic Continental Congress, called by the Batllista Party of Uruguay, to be held soon in Montevideo. There is also the projected World Labor Congress Against Fascism and War in Mexico, which is indorsed by the Cardenas government and various organ-

izations of Mexican workers and farmers. Then there is the World Youth Congress, soon to be held in the United States, which will draw together the young people from many countries of the Americas. These various conferences offer a valuable means to knit the mass democratic organizations of our hemisphere closer together, to intensify the struggle against fascism in the several countries, to support the advanced democratic government of Mexico, to bring pressure upon the various American governments for common democratic action, and to increase the specific gravity of the American republics in the world scales of peace. All steps should be taken to bring the fullest possible mass representation to these vital inter-continental gatherings.

A basic phase of inter-continental cooperation of mass democratic organizations against fascism and war is along trade union lines. This is also in harmony with well-established traditions. But there are great difficulties. In 1918, upon the initiative of the A. F. of L., the Pan-American Federation of Labor was formed. This body, whose principal Latin American support came from the reactionary Morones and the now superseded C.R.O.M.* in Mexico, was influenced by American imperialism and never gained the confidence of Latin American organized labor. It still exists on paper, and William Green is trying to revive it. The situation is further complicated by the C.I.O.-A. F. of L. split and by the fact that many Latin American trade unions have to work under illegal conditions. It is timely,

* Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana.

therefore, that the Mexican Confederation of Labor, headed by Lombardo Toledano, has taken steps to summon a Latin American trade union unity conference. This should be a first step towards the formation of real cooperation between the trade union movements of every country in the two continents.

The third type of inter-continental cooperation necessary is between the Communist Parties of the several countries of the three Americas. The struggle against fascism and war in these countries is extremely complicated and difficult, and the only way our Parties can come forward with our correct policy of the People's Front is through close collaboration on a hemisphere scale. Considerable has already been done in this respect. There is a good working together among the Communist Parties of Mexico, Canada, Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Philippines and the United States. There is also some cooperation among the Parties in South American countries. But all this is just a beginning. There is a great need for a two-continental information center, for more inter-Party conferences and delegations, etc. In developing all this Communist cooperation, the Mexican Party, by its strategic position in Latin America, can do very much, and the C.P.U.S.A., the strongest of our Parties in this hemisphere, bears the heaviest responsibility.

(D) DANGERS TO BE AVOIDED

In furthering these various forms of all-American collaboration—between governments, mass organizations and Communist Parties—for democracy

and peace, there are many serious dangers that must be guarded against. Among the most important of these are the following:

1. *Left-Sectarianism.* The most serious political error we can make now is to put forth demands of a too Left character; that is, to raise advanced slogans that the masses are not yet ready to fight for. This would split us off from these masses and expose them to the machinations of the fascist-Trotskyite demagogues. The danger is especially acute in the countries of Central and South America.

In these countries, the task before the toilers is primarily to stave off and defeat the fascist menace as a pre-condition to complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution; that is, to break up the great landed estates, abolish their political control and liquidate their many feudalistic hangovers; to smash the grip of the imperialists on the industrial life of the countries; to win for the workers the right to organize, better working and living conditions; and adequate social insurance; to achieve for the masses the most elementary democratic rights. These are the things the masses want and are now willing to fight for.

These facts must be constantly borne in mind, on pain of disaster. We must also be fully conscious that the mass struggle in Latin America takes on the character of a national liberation movement. The several countries are largely semi-colonial; their basic industries are owned principally by foreign imperialists and their governments are dictated to by these outsiders. The national liberation nature of the Latin American masses becomes more pronounced as

the German-Italian-Japanese offensive grows more intense.

The peoples of Latin America are fighting for democracy, national independence and for control over their own industries and national resources as the economic basis of freedom. The question of socialism is still in an agitational stage among them. Any tendency on our part to forget this by coming forward with premature proposals for confiscation of imperialist-owned industry, or by failing to fight for the toilers' daily demands, or to defend the people's national independence, would constitute an attempt to leap over the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and would alienate us from the masses and result in disaster. It would open wide the door to fascism.

Trotskyism leads towards just such a debacle. The Trotskyites and semi-Trotskyites play down the democratic demands of the workers and peasants; they fight against the People's Front and all inter-continental cooperation that would realize the urgent needs of the masses; they ignore the cry of the peoples for national independence; they demagogically raise all sorts of adventurist demands for the immediate seizure of industry and the establishment of socialism. Thus, in the name of socialism, they confuse and disorganize the toilers, sabotaging their struggle on every front. They are endeavoring to obscure the people's democratic developments in the United States that are responsible for President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy, and that are creating the possibilities for a broad Pan-American anti-fascist front. In raising the slogan of Yankee imperialism as the main

danger, they are insidiously spreading a smokescreen for fascist domination of Latin America. And in so doing, they demonstrate themselves to be real agents of fascism.

While stressing the main "Left" sectarian danger, we must also combat the Right opportunist danger, which assumes a variety of tendencies—surrender of the vanguard role of the Communist Party, trailing behind petty-bourgeois and progressive bourgeois allies in the popular front and national liberation movements, hiding the face of the Party, and even tendencies to liquidate the Communist Party.

2. *Hemisphere Isolation.* This is another danger that has to be fought. Throughout the three Americas, but especially in the United States, there is a strong body of opinion which, faced by the deepening crisis of capitalism and its consequent menace of fascism and war, says: "Let us save the Western Hemisphere and let the rest of the world go to the devil if it wants to." This idea is to be found not only in designing predatory circles of American imperialists who want to guard their interests from German-Italian-Japanese fascist attack, but it also prevails among many confused liberals. These people would draw a cordon around our two continents and try to isolate them from the rest of the world.

This is American isolationism raised to a hemisphere scale. It is false and injurious and must be combated. Fascism and war are world questions and must be finally settled on a world basis. The winning of the Western Hemisphere for peace and democracy within its own coasts can-

not be accomplished so long as there is the deadly fascist threat from abroad. The associated democratic, peace-loving nations of the new world must join their forces with those of the old world to defeat the common enemy, fascism. The general aim must be for a great collective security pact between the peoples of the Western Hemisphere and those of the U.S.S.R., France, Great Britain, and other democratic countries to restrain the fascist aggressors and to give active aid to their actual and intended victims—Ethiopia, Spain, China, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, and, on our own continent, Mexico, Brazil, Chile, and other countries. Nothing short of such a world policy can possibly liquidate the menace of fascism and war in our two continents.

3. *American Domination.* American big trusts have some five billion dollars invested in Latin America, and they are always alert to defend their vast holdings. Hence, they never let slip an opportunity to try to control in their own interests the many cooperative movements that take place among the various peoples of our hemisphere. While bearing in mind the main danger of domination by the fascist powers, we must, of course, not lose sight of this serious danger.

Thus, the United States has dominated the Pan-American Union ever since its formation and has used this control systematically to advance its own imperialistic interests and to stifle the national liberation struggle in Latin America. American domination has also manifested itself in many other movements, often subtly and obscurely. In the Pan-American Federation of Labor, for example, American

control was definite and effective, although covered with a mask of labor phrases. The Pan-American Federation of Labor (P. F. of L.) was formed in Laredo, Texas, and had its headquarters in Washington. Its president was Sam Gompers; its secretary, John Murray; its treasurer, Jim Lord—all Americans. Even its "Spanish Secretary" was a member of an American labor union and lived in the United States. Throughout its activity, the P. F. of L., completely controlled by Americans, carried on a war against everything progressive and revolutionary in Latin America, which was so much water on the mill of Yankee imperialism. And now we find Phil LaFollette in launching his National Progressive Party, expressing similar domination tendencies by assuming that the United States has some sort of a divine (imperialistic) mission to control all Latin America. The very preemption of the name "American" by the people of the United States is an expression of the same domination ideology.

We, especially the Communists of the United States, must fight resolutely against this strong tendency of "Americans" to control all Pan-American movements. Our policy must be based on the principle of the equality of nations, equality of mass organizations. We must combat the characteristic American attitudes of superiority and superciliousness towards Latin America. We must struggle against every tendency, however subtle, that reflects the policy of the American big trusts to look upon

Latin America as their own God-given hinterland.

PART II

THE ROLES OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

(A) THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Although German-Italian-Japanese imperialism is the main fascist-war danger in Latin America, it is nevertheless necessary to make a somewhat detailed analysis of the specific parts being played by American imperialism and also American democracy in the complex struggle now going on among the five imperialist powers and the peoples of the three Americas around the issue of fascism and war. Such an analysis, supplementing our foregoing general statement of the situation, demands in first line a proper estimate of the Monroe Doctrine.

The Monroe Doctrine, formulated by President Monroe in a message to Congress in 1823, was primarily, in its beginning, a measure in defense of democracy throughout the Western Hemisphere. The Republic of the United States was still young, and many new nations, nearly all republics, had just been born in Latin America. From 1810 on, Haiti, Venezuela, Argentina, Mexico, Chile, Brazil, Uruguay, Peru, Colombia, and other countries, by a series of revolutions, had freed themselves from the heavy colonial yokes of Spain and Portugal. This vast revolutionary movement, involving almost all of South and Central America and one-third of North America, was profoundly influenced by the preceding

American and French revolutions and was viewed sympathetically by Jefferson and other American revolutionaries.

It was when this whole new system of democracies was threatened with invasion and destruction by the reactionary so-called Holy Alliance of Powers ruling Europe after Napoleon's fall that the Monroe Doctrine was enunciated by the United States. It constituted a notice to European monarchies to keep hands off the Americas. Jefferson had said: "Our hemisphere should be one of freedom," and it was in this spirit that Monroe declared: "The American continents, by the free and independent condition they have assumed and maintained" . . . are not "subjects for future colonization by any European power." He warned the Holy Alliance that the United States would consider any invasion of Latin America an unfriendly act, "dangerous to its peace and safety," and that this country would defend the young Latin American democracies from attack. This firm attitude, which was generally endorsed by the Latin American democracies, put a halt to the colonizing plans of the Holy Alliance.

Thus, the Monroe Doctrine, in its initial stage, was a progressive policy. Undoubtedly it helped to save many of the new and weak Latin American republics from being reduced again to colonies of European powers. But there was definitely a predatory capitalist element in the Monroe Doctrine. The bankers and shipowners of the time looked with covetous eyes upon the vast markets of Latin America, and the slave-owning planters and land speculators hoped to conquer

Brazil and Mexico. (They seized half of Mexico's territory in 1848.) These anti-democratic capitalist forces all sought to use the Monroe Doctrine as a weapon to advance their plans of exploitation and territorial expansion.

With the growth of American capitalism, and especially with the development of American imperialism, the Monroe Doctrine, under such reactionary pressure, gradually lost its original progressive significance and became more and more an instrument for American subjugation and exploitation of the Latin American peoples. Pan-Americanism, the Pan-American Union, become a codification of domination by the United States. Especially from McKinley to Hoover, every American President, including the liberal, Wilson, constantly used the Monroe Doctrine imperialistically. In 1904, Theodore Roosevelt correctly expressed the American government's policy when he called the Monroe Doctrine an "international police power" of the United States. The seizure of Cuba and Puerto Rico (as well as the Philippines), the grabbing of the Panama Canal strip, the armed invasion of Mexico, Haiti, Nicaragua, etc., the fomenting of insurrections in many Latin American countries, the setting up of puppet dictators, and the exercising of direct economic, financial, political, cultural and military pressure in the most brutal forms against the Latin American peoples, were all carried on under the imperialist flag of the Monroe Doctrine, which finally became a symbol of oppression throughout Latin America.

(B) ROOSEVELT AND THE FASCIST-
WAR DANGER

President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy facilitates the anti-fascist and anti-war ends of the peoples of the Americas. It gives clearer recognition to the sovereign rights of the Latin-American republics, and also makes an effort to draw together all these countries into a joint peace alliance with the United States against the fascist-war menace to the three Americas created by the militant penetration of the Berlin-Tokio-Rome powers. [The Good Neighbor policy also fits in with Roosevelt's declaration in favor of quarantining the fascist aggressor powers on a world scale.]

The Good Neighbor policy, enunciated in the Montevideo Pan-American Conference (1933) and the Buenos Aires Peace Conference (1936), is the expression in Latin America of Roosevelt's New Deal program in the United States. It is a reflection in American foreign policy of the great mass democratic upsurge in the United States.

The Good Neighbor policy has its historical precedent in the protective, anti-aggressor features of the original Monroe Doctrine. We have seen how that policy was formulated at a time when the score of young American republics were threatened by the reactionary Holy Alliance of European monarchies, with the United States taking the lead in the joint defense against the common enemy. And now, the many countries of these two continents are again faced with a deadly threat to their democracy and national independence, this time from the far more sinister and dangerous "unholy

alliance" of German, Italian and Japanese fascist imperialist powers; wherefore, once more, the United States government calls upon them to unite to repel the common foe. We have also seen how the Monroe Doctrine came to be used to oppress the Latin American peoples. We must guard against allowing the Good Neighbor policy to become an agency for continuing that oppression. This can only be done by the united democratic efforts of all the American peoples.

Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy (plus his New Deal in this country) has undoubtedly provided a stimulation in Latin America for the struggle of the peoples against fascism and war. It has at the same time given added strength to the national liberation movements in the several countries. Roosevelt is thoroughly hated by reactionaries and fascists throughout the three Americas, and by the same token, his prestige is great among the toiling masses everywhere, in that he is increasingly responsive to the anti-fascist pressure of the people.

The Monroe Doctrine, even in its early, progressive stage, contained the germ of hegemony by the United States which later grew into imperialist domination. Such hegemony tendencies in the application of the Good Neighbor policy must be combatted. The Good Neighbor policy must be based upon a free association of all the American peoples, each possessing full national sovereignty.

(c) ROOSEVELT AND AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

The present main danger of fascism and war comes from the Berlin-Rome-

Tokio alliance, but we have to be on the alert to prevent the predatory big trusts in the United States from foisting their oppressive policies upon the Latin American peoples. The great American banking, oil, mining, meat packing, utilities, fruit, and shipping companies are still deeply entrenched in the economic and political life of the countries of Central and South America, and they are as ruthlessly determined as ever to exploit and oppress these peoples. The Good Neighbor policy has by no means abolished this American imperialist domination, but it has, nevertheless, through its democratic and peace features, put a certain check upon the brutal oppression of American imperialism in Latin America.

This development is in harmony with Roosevelt's attitude towards finance capital in the United States. Roosevelt is no Socialist and he does not aim at the abolition of capitalism. But his New Deal, although supporting the capitalist system, also gives some protection to many elementary interests of the workers, farmers and lower middle classes. The New Deal thus lays various restrictions upon the ruthless rule of the big banks and industrialists. It has forced these voracious exploiters to make certain minimum concessions to the toiling masses, including the right of trade union organization, some measure of unemployment and farm relief, various elementary kinds of social legislation, etc. Under the same American democratic mass pressure, plus that of the masses of Latin Americans, the Yankee imperialists are now being compelled also to modify considerably their exploitation policies in Central and

South America. The old-time brutal suppression methods in Latin America are being changed. This is seen, among other manifestations, by the abolition of the Platt Amendment, by the withdrawal of American troops from Latin America, and, lately, by the attitude of the United States government toward the recent Mexican oil nationalization. Although considerable pressure has been brought against Cardenas by the reactionaries in the U. S. State Department; but were these the days of Coolidge-Hoover rampant imperialism American troops would have been long since sent to Mexican territory to compel the Cardenas government to reverse its action.

In the United States the Tory interests make bitter war against Roosevelt's New Deal, and in Latin America these same imperialists will fight (and are increasingly fighting) against the democratic and peace tendencies of Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy. The American imperialists dread the growth of a great mass democratic, peace, national liberation movement in Latin America, and they do not hesitate to cooperate with local fascist elements and also with their worst imperialist rivals (Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Japan) in order to crush the growing revolt of the masses. They seek to make the Good Neighbor policy an instrument of American imperialism, as they did the old Monroe Doctrine, and they are thus bringing the greatest pressure (often too successfully as in the case of Mexican silver) upon Roosevelt to make the American government aggressively support their capitalist interests by violent measures against their impe-

rialist rivals and against the Latin American peoples. This imperialist pressure must be offset by democratic pressure upon Roosevelt by the masses in the United States and Latin America. The fate of the Good Neighbor policy in Latin America will be directly dependent upon the degree to which the Roosevelt Administration resists this imperialist pressure and develops the Good Neighbor policy as one of real peace and democracy.

The conflict between the policies of Roosevelt and finance capital is decisive in determining the attitude of the Latin American masses towards American activities in their countries. Thus, these masses should oppose every economic and political machination of the American imperialistic trusts who are now preying upon them, but at the same time they should support Roosevelt's Good Neighbor peace policy insofar as it is honestly applied. The American colonies, the Philippines and Puerto Rico should be guided by the same principle, coupling with their demands for national independence, proposals for cooperative relations with the U. S.

There is no contradiction in this two-sided policy. It is only a recognition in practice that imperialist United States now has a government with a strong democratic trend. This two-sided policy is essentially the policy followed by the Cardenas government in Mexico, which, while it seizes the wells of the big American oil companies, at the same time seeks to maintain friendly relations with the Roosevelt administration. It is also in line with the policy of the Communist Party in the United States, which militantly struggles against reactionary

monopoly capital, but simultaneously supports the progressive features of Roosevelt's program, including his Good Neighbor policy in Latin America, and fights for their energetic application.

The fight against fascism and war in Latin America is inseparable from the fight against the ultra-reactionary sector of American finance capital. But in this fight (against British imperialism as well) it is of basic importance to realize clearly that the main enemy to be fought at this time is the Berlin-Rome-Tokio fascist powers. It is the drive of these malignant forces that creates the present acute danger of fascism and war in Latin America, as in the rest of the world. Hence, the main fire of the democratic masses must be directed against these aggressors. This is all the more urgently necessary because the German-Italian-Japanese fascists and their local fascist tools, capitalizing upon the justified, long-time hatred of American imperialism by the Latin American peoples, and the latter's determination to secure control of the basic industries in their countries, have adopted as their central slogan "Down With Yankee Imperialism." Under cover of a demagogic use of this slogan, they are seeking to hide their own fascist designs, thus to ride into power with their program of oppression and war. This maneuver must be exposed and the Berlin-Tokio-Rome fascist combination fought as the chief enemy of the people. Grave disaster will result if this is not done.

On the other hand, while fighting German-Japanese-Italian fascism as the central danger, the mistake must not be made of ignoring or glossing

over American imperialism, of accepting Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy as a sort of blanket to cover up the reactionary role of the American trusts in Latin America. This would be just another way of surrendering the national liberation slogans to the Hitler-Mussolini fascists; for they (with the help of the Trotskyites) would be able to appear demagogically as the peoples' champions against the ruthless American corporations. It is necessary to insist upon a true application of the Good Neighbor policy, which must include opposing the American trusts in Latin America.

Under no circumstances shall the fascists be allowed to capture for their demagogic use the national liberation slogans of the people. This would give them the masses and it would be a sure road to disaster for the democratic-peace forces. Such an outcome can be avoided only by the toiling masses conducting a fight against all imperialist influences in Latin America, not indiscriminately against imperialism in general, but with the main attack overwhelmingly aimed against the central menace, the basic source of the present fascist-war danger, the chief threat to the lives, liberties, prosperity and national independence of the Latin American peoples, the Berlin-Rome-Tokio fascist alliance.

(D) IN CONCLUSION

Throughout the three Americas the fascist-war danger is acute and full of menace: the great drive of the Berlin-Rome-Tokio powers to conquer rich Latin America; the rapid growth of fascism in a number of countries from Canada to Chile; the intensified

“ganging up” of the fascist powers and the ultra-reactionaries of Great Britain and the United States against the popular masses when these make determined resistance; the pro-fascist activities of the Trotskyites; the open bid for power by the various imperialist fascist elements in a number of countries—all go to show the seriousness of the threat of fascism and war in our hemisphere.

But the picture is by no means one-sided. We have seen briefly how the democratic masses of the people throughout the three Americas are organizing to defeat the fascist forces: the strong popular democratic-peace-national liberation movements in many Latin American countries and the strong democratic fronts in Canada and the United States; the growing collaboration between the trade unions and other mass organizations of the two continents; the enunciation of the Good Neighbor policy and the tendency of the many American republics to cooperate together for peace—all indicate the powerful reaction of the masses against the fascist offensive and their determination to fight for democracy, peace and national independence.

It is obviously the task of all the democratic forces in our hemisphere to strengthen their ranks and to draw closer in aid of each other against the common enemy. Cooperation for peace and democracy must be intensified among the several governments,

among the popular mass organizations and among the Communist Parties. The fascist foe, wherever it raises its head, must be met by the united forces of democracy, peace and freedom. Our great hemisphere can and must be won for democracy and peace.

Smash fascism through the Western Hemisphere!

Down with all imperialist oppression in the Americas; for full national independence of the Latin American peoples!

Defeat the Berlin-Tokio-Rome fascist alliance, chief enemy of the democracy and peace of all the peoples of the Americas!

For a democratic application of Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy!

For the all-American people's cooperation of Jefferson and President Roosevelt, not the Pan-Americanism of Hoover and Wall Street!

Full support for the Cardenas government of Mexico in its defense of democracy and its struggle against the financiers of fascism, the oil monopolies and the Tory Chamberlain government!

For concerted action by the allied democratic peoples of the American continents with the Soviet Union and all other peace-loving peoples of the world to quarantine the fascist war aggressors!

Keep the Americas out of war by keeping war out of the world! For a great democratic front from Canada to Cape Horn!