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# BUILDING THE WESTERN-HEMISPHERE DEMOCRATIC FRONT

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THIS year's anniversary of the independence of the United States occurs in the midst of a growing struggle of the peoples of North, Central and South America against fascism—that malignant menace to peace, freedom and prosperity. From Canada in the North to Chile in the South, the twenty-two American nations, with their 250,000,000 inhabitants, are increasingly stirred by the deepening conflict between the forces of progress and those of reaction. The clash takes place on every front—political, economic, ideological.

The issues at stake in this struggle are gigantic—the disposition of the vast resources of this immensely rich hemisphere, the national independence and material welfare of the peoples of more than a score of countries, the decision as to which side the great influence of the three Americas will go in the developing world struggle between democracy and fascism. The forces at play in this vast political drama are extremely complex. German, Italian and Japanese fascism constitute the first and foremost danger. Supporting them in devious ways are British Tories and Wall Street monopolist interests. Native big landlords and capitalists, ruthless and treacherous, are making common

cause with fascist imperialism. Against all of these, the great popular masses are striving for freedom and well-being.

In this deepening welter of continental struggle it becomes increasingly clear that the democratic masses—workers, peasants, students, professionals, small business people—are fighting a winning fight. Gradually a great all-American democratic front is taking shape; throughout the hemisphere a huge popular wave is rising, directed against fascism, war and imperialist enslavement. But the victory is by no means won. Tremendous and decisive struggles loom ahead in the very near future, struggles within the several countries and on a continental basis. The outcome of these will be of profound importance—to the peoples of this hemisphere and to those of the whole world.

## THE FASCIST OFFENSIVE

In examining the complicated Pan-American situation let us begin with a glance at what the enemy is doing throughout the hemisphere. The main danger of fascism in the Latin-American countries comes from the Berlin-Rome-Tokio triangle; in the United States and Canada it comes from the most reactionary sections of

monopoly capitalists. In Latin America, German-Italian-Japanese fascist activities have enormously increased since the Munich agreement and Franco's victory in Spain. The fascist powers have deluged the Latin American countries with propaganda and infested them with spies and agents. Nor have the United States and Canada escaped their attention, as the repeated exposures of fascist espionage in these countries show.

The fascist invasion of the Americas assumes political, economic, ideological and sometimes military forms. Germany especially is carrying on a big campaign to subjugate the Latin American countries economically with its barter system, of which I shall speak further along. Both Germans and Italians are busily exploiting their victories in Munich and Spain in order to throw confusion into the minds of the masses. The fascists also do not hesitate to proceed with military means wherever practicable.

It is only a year since the Nazis failed in an armed uprising to seize control of Brazil from the reactionary Vargas government. They also tried, unsuccessfully, in their putsch of February, 1939, to overthrow the reactionary Peruvian dictator, Benavides, and to put one of their agents in his place. Similarly, they planned to seize Argentinian Patagonia and to set up a puppet state; but this scheme also came to grief. The fascists had better success in Bolivia, however, where on April 25 of this year they established a totalitarian state under Colonel Busch, a Nazi tool of German descent and affiliation. Meanwhile, Germany, Italy and Japan are busy plotting in every Central and South American

state, maneuvering to secure radio stations, to develop potential airfields, etc. After Munich, Mussolini brazenly announced that the frontier of the Berlin-Rome-Tokio triangle was at the Panama Canal; but this boast was a rather modest statement of fascist objectives, for recent months have exposed fascist plans for air bases in Iceland and even in Canada. Now they have put in the mouth of Franco and his Latin American fellow Phalangists the slogan "Restoration of the Spanish Empire." Even as this is being written a conference is being held in Berlin of all the Nazi diplomats to Latin America. The general purposes of their deliberations may be easily surmised.

The Berlin-Rome fascists find willing allies in the semi-feudal landlords of the Latin American countries, included among whom are the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. These people, the main source of the many local fascist movements, never fail to make traitorous alliances with the German and Italian governments against their own nations wherever they fear a rise of the people's front movement.

British and American imperialists also ally themselves with the native and German-Italian fascists wherever they face strong democratic, national liberation movements of the people. Characteristically, British imperialism sabotaged the Lima conference and also has a hand in many a fascist plot in Latin America. Characteristically, also, American imperialists—especially the Wall Street oil monopolists—supported the ill-fated uprising of the Mexican fascist bandit Cedillo, and are now helping arm the threatening

fascist opposition against President Cardenas. In the same spirit the American imperialist reactionaries in the United States—Hoover, Hearst, Coughlin, etc.—make war against Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy, minimize the fascist danger in Latin America, block a friendly settlement with Mexico on oil and silver and sabotage Cordell Hull's reciprocal trade agreements with Latin American countries. In every Latin American state American imperialist interests will be found plotting with landlords, and with German-Italian and also British imperialists against the growing democratic front movement.

The fascist offensive in Latin America, which is based upon German, Italian and Japanese fascism plus the local landowners, in addition to collusion on the part of British Tories and Wall Street imperialists, also derives aid and comfort from the Trotskyites. These traitors, although consisting of only a few handfuls here and there, are dangerous. They stab the people's movements in the back. Like Hitler, they try to make Roosevelt out to be the main enemy and seek to turn the anti-imperialist sentiment of the masses against his Good Neighbor policy. They make war against every feature of the local and continental people's front movements; they denounce collective peace action by the American and world democracies as warmongering; they join the reactionaries in slandering the Communist Party and the Soviet Union; they try to rush the people into premature programs of nationalization of industry; they seize upon every opportunity to split and demoralize the trade unions; they try to inject dema-

gogic catchwords of "Socialism as the main immediate issue," designed to block and disrupt the defense of peace, democracy and national independence. All of which is water on the mill of the fascists.

That the fascist offensive in the three Americas is alive and vigorous is obvious; but it is no less clear that the building of the hemisphere democratic front is making still faster progress, as will be seen from a glance at its principal phases.

#### THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S FRONT MOVEMENTS

The foundation stones of the developing hemisphere democratic front are the people's fronts in the various American countries. These, in the main, are achieving substantial progress. The greatest recent democratic success was in Chile where, in October, 1938, a combination of workers, peasants, professionals and the progressive sections of the bourgeoisie dealt a smashing blow to reaction, elected President Aguirre Cerda and set up a people's front government, thus establishing a strong democratic fortress in South America. In Cuba the democratic forces, with Colonel Batista as their outstanding figure, have also been making swift progress and are on the way to the formation of an advanced form of popular democracy. Meanwhile, in Mexico, the people's front government headed by Cardenas has gone on steadily strengthening its position. In these three situations, the popular mass organizations—trade unions, peasant organizations, student bodies, democratic and Communist political parties, etc.—have unified themselves and

undergone rapid growth. Typical of the general trend, the newly consolidated Labor Confederation of Cuba (C.T.C.) has over 500,000 members, a figure which is numerically equivalent, in proportion to population, to a union membership of at least 12,000,000 in the United States.

In virtually all other Latin American countries (and we can include also the Philippines), there are popular front movements in varying degrees of development. In Colombia, in spite of the recent electoral successes of the Conservative Party, the democratic forces, headed by the Liberal Party in power, maintain the country as one of the bulwarks of Latin American democracy. In Argentina the government, under the pressure of the people and particularly of the trade unions, has broken up the fascist organizations, and a democratic electoral victory has been achieved in the province of Entre-Rios. In Uruguay President Baldomir has resisted the fascist pressure exerted through the Herreristas forces. In Paraguay the recent victory of Estigarribia was possible by the support of the democratic forces. In Puerto Rico there is a strong people's movement against the brutal super-exploitation by American imperialism. Even where reactionary dictators rule—in Brazil, Bolivia, Peru and Central American countries—the virtually universal popular front tendency is distinctly growing and the dictators are increasingly menaced by the rising democratic tide. The Latin American workers, who have few Social-Democratic traditions and no strong labor aristocracies corrupted by imperialism, take readily to the people's front.

In all these popular mass movements the Communist Parties are playing vital, leading organizing roles.

North of the Rio Grande the great people's mass movement in the United States around the New Deal and the labor unions in recent months has been conducting something of a defensive struggle against the current big offensive by the forces of reaction. It has withstood this attack so far, defeating or checking the opposition attempts to break down Roosevelt's foreign policy, to slash his work relief program, to shift the tax burden off the shoulders of big business, to cut the Wagner Labor Act to pieces, and to destroy the most important unions of the C.I.O. in the auto, textile and coal industries. But the Roosevelt government has not defeated big capital's economic sabotage of the country or generally taken the offensive in support of the New Deal program. And a very grave weakness of the progressive movement is the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. split. In Canada, the basic elements of a strong popular front movement are developing noticeably. An important recent event in Canada was the enactment of the new trade union law, which is expected greatly to facilitate the organization of the unorganized workers.

In all the American countries throughout the hemisphere where people's front or quasi-democratic governments are in control—Chile, Mexico, Cuba, the United States—they face stupendous problems of economic reconstruction. Here it is not necessary to dwell upon the great tasks confronted by the Roosevelt Administration, which faces 11,000,000 unemployed, paralyzed industries, im-

poverished farm population, the sit-down strike of big capital, etc. In Chile, Mexico and Cuba conditions are still more difficult, what with mass starvation among industrial and agricultural producers, the land monopolized by great landlords, and the industries and natural resources in the hands of foreign imperialist interests. Typical of the situation in many Latin American countries is that of Mexico, where foreigners own 50 per cent of the country's natural wealth, 95 per cent of its extractive industries and 60 per cent of its manufacturing and processing industries.

The governments backed by the people's front and democratic front are attacking these huge tasks of reconstruction. It is needless to recapitulate here the work of the New Deal Roosevelt government. The general reconstruction line in Latin America is indicated by the Cardenas Government in Mexico. It has nationalized the oil industry and the railroads; it is also gradually breaking up the landed estates—so far some 36,000,000 acres of land having been distributed to the peasantry. Besides this, the Mexican government has taken many other steps to improve the living and cultural conditions of the workers and other toiling masses. The new People's Front government in Chile has also begun work to realize a broad program of land reform, establish popular control of the nation's natural resources, industrialization, abolition of illiteracy and general improvement in working and living standards.

All the people's front and democratic front-supported governments on our two continents face tremendous reactionary opposition. In Mex-

ico the progressive Cardenas government has to fight a powerful combination in which are found native reactionaries, the Nazis and Anglo-American imperialist interests. The great test of strength will come in the 1940 presidential elections. A second term for President Cardenas being unconstitutional, the democratic forces are moving to unite around a single progressive candidate. The reactionaries are ganging up behind General Almazan and, realizing that they would have only a small chance in an honest election, they are organizing for an armed revolt. In Cuba Colonel Batista also faces a ruthless and powerful opposition of American imperialist interests, native large-scale landowners, the daily bourgeois press, and hostile majorities in both houses of Congress; but he has the support of the great bulk of the Cuban population and is firmly entrenched in the army. The clash between the two opposing forces in Cuba is developing around the elections for the Constituent Assembly in October and it is quite possible that the opposition in desperation may resort to a putsch. In Chile the young people's front government similarly has to fight a powerful and determined opposition, eager and willing to destroy it by violence, should it find a favorable opportunity. And, as we know, in the United States the Roosevelt New Deal government and the democratic cause generally are facing a fierce fight for life in the Presidential elections of next year. The outcome of the United States elections will exert a profound effect on the democratic front throughout the Americas.

From the foregoing facts we can

draw the general conclusion that while the people's front movement is undoubtedly making substantial progress in many individual American countries it has not yet firmly consolidated its position. Everywhere it is faced by staggering economic problems which it has not yet mastered, and in all the countries it confronts a resolute and desperate opposition with the danger of fascist coups d'état becoming more and more menacing.

#### THE PAN-AMERICAN PEACE FRONT

The mutual aid peace pact between the various American governments is one of the stronger phases of the developing hemisphere democratic front. At the Lima, December, 1938, Pan-American conference the American governments, all being represented except Canada, advanced beyond their position in Buenos Aires in December, 1936, and declared their common determination to resist aggression. In his recent Pan-American Day address President Roosevelt summed up the stand at Lima as follows: "Twenty-one American nations joined in a declaration that they would coordinate their efforts to defend the integrity of their institutions from an attack, direct or indirect."

Fascists and other reactionaries everywhere gulped hard at this bitter pill of united action by the Americas against fascist aggression. But they were unable to defeat it. Munich was fresh in the public mind; the danger of fascist war loomed over the Americas; the threat to the national independence of many Latin American states was vivid and imminent; the American peoples had made the peace phase of Roosevelt's Good

Neighbor policy thoroughly their own. The consequent pressure of the masses in all the countries of the two continents for a common solidarity of the Americas against the ruthless fascist enemy was irresistible. The reactionaries in the several countries could not withstand it, although the Ortiz government of Argentina, elected with the support of British Tories and of Nazis, did succeed in considerably weakening the peace stand taken at Lima.

The Lima conference arrived at four principal decisions: (a) joint action by all the American countries against aggression; (b) condemnation of religious bigotry and racial intolerance; (c) repudiation of organized political activities by alien groups; and, (d) support of the reciprocal trade agreement policy. The conference did much to strengthen the growing democratic mass movements throughout the two American continents. Moreover, it made the Americas a world peace factor of vast importance.

One very significant aspect of the developing peace solidarity of the score of American nations is the growing popular trend in Canada for Canadian-American collaboration, which has hitherto held aloof as a government from joint actions by the Pan-American states. In August, 1938, President Roosevelt declared that "the peoples of the United States will not sit idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened." Tim Buck, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, says Roosevelt's statement gave "a thrill of satisfaction and assurance to 90 per cent of the Canadian people." Probably, before

long, Canada will be in active collaboration with the other states of the Americas.

The people of the United States are overwhelmingly backing up Roosevelt's vigorous lead in building the Pan-American peace front, despite determined efforts of the Hoovers and their like to confuse them. They fully support Roosevelt's determination to defend the peace and territorial integrity of the Americas with all the armed power of this country. In endorsing an extension of the United States navy and air force the people definitely have in mind the defense of the whole hemisphere from fascist aggression. One significant expression of the broad mass sentiment in favor of Roosevelt's peace defense policy is the fact that an important section of the Republican Party, typified by Landon, has to give this policy lip endorsement; and another is that the initiators of the Ludlow war referendum amendment, who are advocates of isolationism, had to change their proposal so as to define military cooperation with Latin-American countries as defensive action requiring no sanction by popular referendum.

The Lima conference, despite its limitations, was a substantial achievement for the forces of peace and democracy throughout the three Americas. But the reactionaries of all stripes—in the first place German and Italian fascists, supported by reactionary circles of Anglo-American imperialism, as well as big landowners and other reactionaries in the various Latin American countries, and their Trotskyite stooges—are ceaselessly at work trying to break down what was ac-

complished. Only by the greatest vigilance and determination on the part of the democratic forces throughout the hemisphere can the peace unity of the American peoples be maintained and extended.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE STRUGGLE

In our summary so far we have seen that the developing hemisphere democratic movement is making real progress, in spite of some setbacks, in the establishment of people's fronts in the various countries, and it is also succeeding in developing Pan-American peace unity between the respective governments. It cannot be said, however, that much has been achieved as yet by the forces of democracy in the vital matter of controlling the foreign trade of Latin America. In this fundamental sector the present-day struggle develops primarily as a battle between Nazi Germany and the United States for leadership in Latin American markets.

With its barter system, export subsidies, blocked marks, clearing agreements and militant propaganda, Germany is conducting a ruthless drive to dominate the trade of Latin America, and it has been making dangerous progress. Italy is also intensifying its efforts along the same lines. In the first seven months of 1938 German exports to Latin America exceeded by 12 per cent those of the same months of 1937. Between 1933 and 1937, German trade with Brazil increased from 12 per cent to 24 per cent of the total; in Chile from 11 per cent to 26 per cent; and in Peru from 10 per cent to 19 per cent. By its agreement with Costa Rica Germany is capturing the coffee distribution trade

in Europe, long held by England. In Bolivia the Germans have put through important oil barter deals, and in Ecuador the deputy Preiz asserted recently that "German economic tactics have conquered our own country without firing a shot." The most dangerous trade advance of the Germans, however, is their oil agreement with Mexico.

German economic penetration into Latin America, which is the most virulent type of imperialism, threatens not only the economic welfare of the masses, but also the democracy and political independence of their countries. Realizing this, President Roosevelt in his recent Pan-American Day address stated that "should the method of attack be economic pressure, I pledge that my own country will also give economic support, so that no American nation need surrender any function of its sovereign freedom to maintain its economic welfare."

This statement would seem to imply an intensification of the economic side of the Good Neighbor policy, with its correlated aspects of reciprocal trade agreements and financial loans. So far, the United States has made trade agreements with ten Latin American countries, in addition to one with Canada, and it is now negotiating for others. Its Latin American loan policy has as yet assumed only small proportions, some of its principal items, either completed or under consideration, being Brazil \$120,000,000, Cuba \$50,000,000, Chile \$80,000,000, Nicaragua \$2,000,000, Paraguay \$500,000.

In its fight for Latin American trade, as against the Nazi drive,

American policy has been somewhat weak and vacillating. Especially the loan policy has not been developed. This is due partly to hesitancy and confusion among New Dealers and also to reactionary influences in Congress and the State Department. A bad example of the application of the economic side of the Good Neighbor policy was in the case of Mexican oil, as a result of which the Cardenas government has been forced by the United States to sell its oil in the open world market, which means to the fascist "anti-Comintern" powers. Another recent negative example, which is bound to have adverse repercussions in Latin America, was the stupid slap in the face given Argentina by the Tories in Congress in connection with the proposed purchase of canned beef for the U. S. Navy. Gross neglect of the economic welfare of Puerto Rico is also a blot on the record of the New Deal Administration.

In *The New York Times* of May 20 John W. White makes a pessimistic sum-up regarding the trade struggle between Germany and the United States in Latin America, saying:

"Political problems throughout South America are closely interwoven with economic problems, and the United States is definitely losing ground through its inability to buy larger amounts of South American goods. This is forcing Southern Republics to look to Germany for relief."

In a recent issue of *Foreign Affairs*, however, P. W. Bidwell undertakes to explain this. He says the advances being made by Germany in Latin American trade are principally at the expense of Great Britain and others, rather than the United States. He



states also that the decline of 9 per cent in United States exports to Latin America during the first seven months of 1938 is to be explained almost entirely by loss of trade with Mexico.

Obviously it is necessary that the hemisphere democratic forces make a more effective resistance to the fascist economic penetration. This will involve a great broadening out of the New Deal trade agreement and loan policies in Latin America. If this broadening out is not done serious political setbacks to the democratic front movement generally can ensue.

#### INTER-CONTINENTAL COOPERATION OF DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATIONS

Another very important sector in the developing hemisphere democratic front is that of cooperation between the popular mass organizations of the various American countries. Here substantial progress has been achieved in recent months in organizing the anti-fascist forces.

The first instance to be noted is in regard to the youth. At the Second World Youth Congress, held at Vas-sar College, August 16-23, 1938, there was a large participation of young people from all the principal Latin-American countries—that is, 171 delegates (besides 60 from the United States and 47 from Canada) out of a total of 600. At the Congress a special meeting of the Latin American representatives was held. This conference, among its many measures for the democratic development of the Americas, endorsed Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy and also world collective action by the democratic powers to halt the fascist war-making aggressors. The conference has produced favorable

repercussions among the youth of Latin America, and it is expected that the coming inter-American student conference in Havana will be successful.

A second event of vast importance in the field of cooperation on a hemisphere scale between the people's mass organizations was the holding of the Assembly of the International Congress of the Democracies of America in Montevideo, Uruguay, March 20-24, 1939. Represented at this historic gathering were virtually all of the strongest people's front forces in Latin America. From the United States Kathryn Lewis, daughter of John L. Lewis, was present as a representative of Labor's Non-Partisan League; also present were delegates from the American Labor Party and the Council for Pan-American Democracy. The assembly organized the "Confederation of the Democracies of the Americas," to consist "of all democratic parties of the entire continent." The assembly also laid down a program of struggle for peace and democracy, for national liberation and for the economic and cultural welfare of the peoples of this hemisphere. It called for joint action in defense of the sovereignty and integrity of the American nations and to protect international peace from the fascist war-makers. The assembly decided "to emphasize before the people of this continent the principles stated by President Roosevelt in behalf of democracy and peace, and to demand the support of and cooperation of all the democratic forces of America, political parties and social and cultural organizations, for this policy." The second congress of the

Confederation of the Democracies of the Americas will be held in Washington, D. C., on September 20, 1940.

A third development of deep significance in uniting the democratic forces of this hemisphere was the establishment of the Latin American Confederation of Workers (C.T.A.L.) in Mexico City in September, 1938. The Congress had representatives from all the principal labor movements of the Latin American countries and succeeded in unifying these organizations into a great American trade union international. Present also at the Congress were Leon Jouhaux of the French C.G.T., and John L. Lewis of the C.I.O., as well as representatives from the labor movements of Republican Spain, India, Sweden, Switzerland, and also from the International Labor Office of the League of Nations. The Congress, with the people's front orientation now characteristic of Latin American democratic mass movements, took a sharp stand against fascism, both foreign and native, for national liberation of the Latin American countries, in support of Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy, for collective security against fascist aggression, for international trade union unity, for affiliation to the Amsterdam International, etc. The head of the new confederation is V. L. Toledano, leader of the Mexican trade union movement.

The foundation of the Latin American Confederation of Labor and the great interest being shown by the C.I.O. in Latin American affairs have already produced profound effects throughout Central and South America. They have also stirred into action the reactionary heads of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor who, reflecting American imperialists, have always looked upon Latin America as a sort of private hunting grounds of their own. Consequently they have exhumed the long-dead Pan-American Federation of Labor, which has not held a meeting since July, 1927, and they propose to call a Latin American trade union conference in the near future. This is a deliberate attempt to spread the American trade union split throughout the hemisphere. The only ones in Latin America who can possibly profit from such a disruptive movement are the fascists and other reactionaries. Toledano, head of the Latin American Confederation of Workers, has denounced the resurrection of the corpse of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and charged the proposal as being "in the service of American imperialism." He declared that the P. F. of L. has no mass base in Latin America, all the real trade unions being affiliated to the Latin American Confederation of Workers or under its general influence. The splitting maneuver of the A. F. of L. leaders will probably not succeed on any mass scale; nevertheless, it represents a serious danger to the solidarity of the democratic forces in Latin America.

Still another important development in the general point of intercontinental democratic collaboration is the growing cooperation directly between the various Communist Parties of the Americas. The recent convention and national committee meetings of the Mexican, Cuban, Canadian and United States Communist Parties were occasions for many rep-

representatives of the brother parties to assemble from points as far distant as Chile and the Philippines. In South America a similar close Communist cooperation is growing. And now there is a perspective of an early conference of all the Communist Parties of the Western Hemisphere. This growing collaboration of the Communist Parties throughout the Americas is a factor of the utmost importance for the greater stimulus and consolidation of the Pan-American forces of labor and democracy.

#### SOME MAJOR TASKS

From the foregoing outline summary of the situation throughout the three Americas it is clear that a great hemisphere democratic front is gradually taking shape. People's front movements are being built in the respective countries at varying speeds; the Pan-American peace alliance between the various governments is being steadily consolidated, and cooperation is being constantly extended between the mass organizations of the many countries. The weakest spot in the general democratic line-up is that of the economic aspects of the Good Neighbor policy—continental foreign trade, where Nazi fascism displays dangerous strength; but here, as we shall see, the democratic forces have great reserves not yet drawn upon. Despite the progress that is being made in building the hemisphere people's front, however, very much still remains to be done to make the Americas an impregnable fortress of world democracy. Here I shall indicate only a few of the major tasks.

##### A. *The National People's Fronts.*

The task of strengthening these movements in the various countries of Latin America presents a host of problems, including the development and execution of progressive land reform programs, the popular control of the national resources, the building up and unifying of the labor and popular mass organizations, the involvement of the Catholic masses, the winning of progressive sections of the bourgeoisie against the imperialists, the organization of Spanish and Jewish refugee immigration, and the isolation and elimination of the Trotskyites. Especially to be signalized under this general head is the necessity to purge the government apparatus and armed forces of reactionaries and to break up the fascist espionage rings and terrorist gangs. The example of Spain fairly shrieks this lesson. In Mexico and Chile some headway has been made in cleaning fascists out of the army, and in these countries, as well as in Argentina and elsewhere, numerous Nazi agents have been exposed, deported and their conspiratorial gangs broken up. Only a start has been made, however. In all such cleansing activities vigilance is very necessary to prevent the mass desire to be rid of fascist agents from being distorted and used against the democratic forces, as the Dies Committee is doing in the United States.

An important task of the stronger national people's front movements is to help their weaker neighbors.

At the present stage of development of the people's front movement some Latin American countries are in convenient strategic locations to render help to other countries where the

movement is weaker. Mexico and Cuba have special responsibility to the countries of the Caribbean. Chile is in an exceptional position to help the Pacific countries of South America and, in spite of the fact that in Argentina the people's front movement lacks national scope, it can render help to Uruguay, Paraguay and Brazil. In all this work of mutual aid the radio is tremendously important. The United States democratic front movement has a double responsibility to help Latin American countries as a whole, badly-neglected Puerto Rico in particular, to bring the New Deal to that impoverished country.

*B. The Pan-American Peace Front.*

On this sector of direct government cooperation also there are many very important tasks. Everything possible must be done to strengthen the Pan-American Union and its peace policy. To this end it is especially necessary to secure the affiliation of Canada and representation from all the British, French and Dutch colonies in the hemisphere to the Union; the Philippines and Hawaii should also be brought to participate in it. To be effective in giving a decisive setback to fascist aggression the Pan-American peace front, breaking with all isolationist tendencies, must link itself with the world peace forces, including the Soviet Union, the most consistent champion of world peace.

The Pan-American Union needs also be democratized, by the inclusion of workers and peasants in the various delegations, and by the holding of international mass conferences at the same times and places as the conferences of the P.A.U. It is impor-

tant also that the decisions of the P.A.U. should be better enforced in the various countries. Furthermore, the P.A.U.'s functions should be broadened out. Especially its labor department should be developed—a demand now being pressed by the C.I.O. Recently the Interdepartmental Committee recommended to President Roosevelt seventy-four proposals for increased cooperation between the United States and Latin America, involving activities by almost every department of the United States government. These proposals should be carefully studied throughout the hemisphere; many of them can be made good use of by the peoples.

The International Labor Office of the League of Nations has scheduled its second Latin American regional conference to take place next December. The experience of the first conference teaches that this gathering should provide opportunity for the democratic forces generally to strengthen their program and to facilitate penetration of the reactionary dictatorship countries which are affiliated to the League of Nations, on the basis of the progressive measures adopted by the I.L.O.

*c. The International Trade Struggle.* In this phase the hemisphere democratic forces have urgent need to strengthen their activities in order to prevent the grave danger of fascist domination of the resources and markets of Latin America. The key to success in giving the Good Neighbor policy a strong economic backbone lies in a great extension of the Roosevelt-Hull policies of reciprocal trade agreements and government

## THE COMMUNIST

loans to Latin American countries. This is the problem of re-starting and reorganizing the export of United States capital to Central and South America.

During the great economic crisis, not only did the investment of new capital in the domestic industry of the United States come almost to a standstill, but also the export of capital to Latin America actually ceased completely, and for the same general reasons. According to Department of Commerce figures, the following is a table of:

“ . . . the net nominal amount of Latin-American issues publicly offered in the United States since 1929. The amounts shown are exclusive of estimated refundings to Americans.

*(In millions of dollars)*

1929	175.0
1930	194.4
1931	.0
1932	.0
1933	.7
1934	.0
1935	.0
1936	8.5—Credit
1937	15.3—Credit
1938	20.9

“The credit figures for 1936 and 1937 result from the fact that the issues refunded exceeded the new issues sold in the United States.”

Just as it is necessary for the Roosevelt Administration to intervene with huge capital expenditures of government funds in order to infuse life into the paralyzed American industries, so also is it necessary for the United States government to develop a vast capital export to Latin America in order to revive and expand trade with those countries. In the case of the export of capital, as

in the matter of fresh capital expenditures within the United States, monopoly capital is both unable and unwilling to meet the situation.

The export of United States capital to Latin America must, however, take place upon a totally different basis than formerly. In the days before the Good Neighbor policy the export of capital was carried out by private bankers and used by them to restrict Latin American industries mostly to public utilities, railroads, plantations and mining; the bankers also used their capital for fierce exploitation of the Latin American peoples by American imperialists, for setting up American-controlled dictatorships, and for weakening the national sovereignty of many Latin American countries through American financial control and the use of military force.

The export of American capital under the Good Neighbor policy, however, instead of developing imperialist super-exploitation and oppression, must be made to lead to the growth of democracy and friendly economic cooperation between the score of countries in the hemisphere. The loans should be negotiated between government and government; they should be long-term, bear minimum rates of interests, and contain no restrictions whatever as to the type of industrialization to be carried out. Especially they should be free from any economic or political coercion over the borrowing countries by the United States. The loans would be guaranteed by democratic people's governments, instead of by irresponsible dictators as in the past. In practice this would mean that the Latin American governments would work

out plans for the industrialization of their countries and the United States would largely finance them by loans. This would strengthen democracy in Latin America and also in the United States by improving the economic situation in both areas through democratic methods. Nazi fascism could not defeat such economic cooperation.

The United States, seeking fields of capital investment, could profitably export billions of dollars into Latin America on this basis. Such loans would provide an immediate increase of United States trade with Latin America, and the ensuing industrialization and improved agriculture of Latin America would create the basis for a larger permanent trade. Thus, industrialized Canada's imports from the United States equal 90 per cent of the United States exports to twenty weakly industrialized Latin American countries with ten times the Canadian population; and Argentina, with one-fourth Brazil's inhabitants, imports one and a half times as much from the United States. The present or proposed loans to Chile, Brazil, Cuba, Paraguay, Haiti, etc., are only drops in the bucket compared to what can and ought to be done. The democratic peoples of Latin America, therefore, should negotiate for large-size loans, and the workers and progressives of the United States should fight to see they get them. This whole loan question can be made an important New Deal issue in the 1940 elections. To plans of U.S. government capital investment in W.P.A., housing, railroads, health promotion, etc., a huge loan program for Latin America should be added.

*d. Hemisphere Cooperation of Mass Organizations.* In this sphere also there are many tasks awaiting fulfillment in the big job of building the Pan-American democratic front. There is the need to strengthen the international bonds and activities of the Latin American Confederation of Workers and also those of the new Confederation of the Democracies of America, the building up of the all-American student movement, and the much-needed organized international movement of peasants and farmers. These tasks present elaborate aspects, but here I shall confine myself briefly to only one problem—trade union unity.

The threat of Green, Woll and Company, in collusion with the discredited Morones, to exhume the Pan-American Federation of Labor from its well-earned grave is a menace to the progressive movement throughout North and Latin America. It should not be allowed to take place. The split in the labor movement in the United States must not be permitted to cross the Rio Grande. In the Latin American Confederation of Workers, the toilers of the countries to the south of us have established a real basis for trade union unity. They will not let the Greens split their ranks in their criminal war against the C.I.O. The workers of the Americas should also be very much on guard against splitting moves in the same direction by the Amsterdam International.

Labor unity throughout the two American continents is an urgent necessity. It is a necessity also in the interests of international trade union unity. And the most practical way to

achieve the maximum possible unity under present circumstances is for the Latin American workers to hold to their Confederation and to accept C.I.O. and A. F. of L. fraternal delegates to the Congresses of the Latin American Confederation. Later on, when the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unite their forces into one body or at least agree upon a joint program of harmonious cooperation with the Latin American labor movement, then will be the time to establish a more solid hemisphere labor unity in a great all-American trade union congress. In the meantime, should the A. F. of L. reactionaries try to carry their splitting tactics to Latin America by holding a Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference, this disruptive gathering should be resolutely fought against by the workers in this country and boycotted by all Latin American trade unions.

E. *On the Ideological Front.* The building of a great democratic front throughout the Western Hemisphere presents numerous difficult theoretical problems, many of which have been as yet only cursorily examined. There is much Marxist-Leninist analysis to be made, much concrete application of the theoretical work of Lenin and Stalin to specific Pan-American situations. The Communist Parties have leading tasks to perform in every sector of the huge continent-wide democratic struggle, but none is more important than the thorough clarification of the theoretical problems faced by the awakening masses.

Among the most basic of the general complex of theoretical problems requiring more precise analysis are the relations between the people's

front and the uncompleted bourgeois-democratic revolution which has left many of the countries with semi-feudal land systems; the relations between the people's front and the national liberation struggle to achieve popular control of the basic natural resources and the independence of various Latin American countries from imperialist oppressors—especially in view of the fascist and Trotskyite “anti-imperialist” demagoguery; the relation of the democratic program of the people's front to the fight for socialism; the relationship between the Indian, Negro and white peoples, to counteract the fascist “racist” propaganda; the relationships in the complicated struggles between the fascist axis powers and Anglo-American imperialism in Latin America. There is also need for a thorough survey of the bourgeois-democratic revolution as a whole throughout the two continents, from its inception 150 years ago until the growth of the present-day people's front movement.

Especially is it necessary to analyze precisely, and to popularize widely, the antagonistic relations between Roosevelt and the New Deal, on the one hand, and the ruthless American imperialist interests on the other; to explain the difference between the present-day Good Neighbor policy and the Monroe Doctrine as applied by Theodore Roosevelt, Coolidge and Hoover. This analysis is imperative because the fascists and Trotskyites try to identify Roosevelt with Wall Street, and strive to turn the anti-imperialist masses against his Good Neighbor policy.

There is also a danger from another direction. The hemisphere dem-

ocratic forces, while cooperating with Roosevelt, who has become the democratic leader of all the Americas, must not fail to carry on a struggle against predatory Wall Street imperialist interests—the common enemy of the New Deal and of the peoples of Latin and North America. At the recent Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Comrade Manuilsky warned against “certain tendencies of a Right-opportunist character—a tendency . . . to idealize the role of the so-called democratic states, and to gloss over their imperialist character.” Nowhere is this warning more pertinent than with respect to Wall

Street imperialism in Latin America.

Confusion regarding the complicated theoretical questions now confronting the democratic front in the Americas is bound to lead to disastrous errors in practical work. The masses are on the march in many of the countries, and the fascists and counter-revolutionary Trotskyites are using every trick to mislead them. The only way, therefore, to avoid costly mistakes is by having our political analyses and programs very clearly worked out. This means that a vast amount of theoretical work is necessary, work that is the special task of the vanguard Communist Party.