

OUTLINE
POLITICAL HISTORY
OF THE AMERICAS

William Z. Foster



INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK

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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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P R E F A C E

This book is a general political history of the more than three hundred million people who make up the many nations of North, Central, and South America. The historical record of the western hemisphere—the account of its aboriginal peoples, its discovery and exploration, its subjugation by ruthless exploiters, its economic and political growth, its developing cultural life, and its revolutionary struggles for freedom and well-being—constitutes one of the greatest epic dramas in the whole life of mankind. There has long been a need to tell in a connected way this rich and complex story of the New World. Only in the penetrating light of Marxist-Leninist social science can this be done correctly.

A host of books have been written on the history of the various nations that go to comprise the peoples of the western hemisphere. But these works, besides suffering from the basic limitations inseparable from all bourgeois histories, have dealt almost exclusively with the life and progress of single peoples or of limited groups of peoples. Very rarely, if at all, has anything even remotely approaching a co-ordinated history of the hemisphere as such been attempted. In my reading I was able to locate only two such examples. Robert Mackenzie, in his work, *America, A History*, printed in London in 1894, sketched a history of the several countries of this hemisphere, but without in any manner relating them economically, politically, or culturally. H. E. Bolton, president of the American Historical Society, in his small book, *History of the Americas*, published in Boston in 1935, presented a general history of the western hemisphere. But Bolton's little book is simply a collection of brief notes, forming the basis for a series of lectures, and is not a systematic treatment of the subject. This book of lecture notes also suffers from characteristic bourgeois shortcomings, distortions, and superficialities.

The present book is an attempt to fulfill the need for a popular, integrated outline history of the western hemisphere. Such a unified treatment of all the countries of the Americas is necessary because of the geographical, economic, political, and cultural ties which throughout four centuries have bound all these countries together in a closely related history. A general history of the western hemisphere as a whole has become very much needed now because of the growing attempt of United States imperialism to reduce the entire hemisphere to the status of an armed, dominated, and thoroughly controlled Yankee hinterland. It is all the more necessary because of the growing struggles of the many American peoples against enslavement by

aggressive, fascist-minded, war-making Wall Street. If the imperialist menace is to be combated effectively, it is imperative that the many peoples of the western hemisphere should become better acquainted with one another. They must learn to know each other's history, to understand the complex economic, political, cultural, and social forces now at work in and among all the respective countries, and how to build up a strong spirit of democratic co-operation among themselves and with the other peoples of the world.

This book makes no pretense at presenting detailed histories of each of the score of countries making up the three Americas. Nor does it deal minutely with all aspects of the general history of the western hemisphere. Its aim rather is to analyze the broad course of economic, political, and cultural growth and decay, and to trace the general progress of the class struggle—both in the individual countries and in the hemisphere as a whole. The book's central purpose is thus to provide an outline that will make clear the forces that have laid the groundwork for the broad social development now taking place throughout the Americas and by the same token also to indicate the progressive attitude of the peoples towards their problems and their future. This book especially bears in mind the relationship of the peoples and nations of our hemisphere to the most fundamental social process of our times; namely, the developing general crisis and decay of world capitalism, and the birth and growth of world socialism.

On the question of terminology in preparing this book a couple of points need to be made. First, regarding the use of the term "American." In the present book this term is used as applying generally to all the peoples and countries of the western hemisphere. The practice of the people of the United States in reserving for themselves the name "American" is an offense to the other peoples of the Americas, who also rightly consider themselves Americans. Another remark regarding terminology, this time in connection with the controversy over the generic term to cover collectively all those American nations having a Spanish, Portuguese, or French background: In this respect writers have used variously such terms as "Latin America," "Hispanic America," "Afro-America," "Ibero-America," "Indo-America," etc., and they have marshalled strong arguments in support of these terms respectively. In this book the term "Latin America" is used as a general designation, not because the expression is technically correct, but for want of a better term and because of the more general use and acceptance of this term among writers and the peoples concerned.

On the matter of statistics—a word of warning. The book makes no claims to infallibility in this respect. It is a fact that in all the American countries the existing bodies of statistics are highly unreliable. Often they are deliberately distorted, and still more often they are fragmentary and incomplete. This is particularly true where the figures relate to the earlier periods

of western hemisphere history, when few reliable records were kept. Consequently, writers differ widely in their statistical presentations of various problems. Hence, the author of this book has had to use his own judgment in selecting what has seemed to him to be the most authentic statistics in given situations.

The writer wishes to express his thanks to the many men and women who either read and criticized the manuscript of the book, or co-operated in the extensive research and technical work required for its writings. These include James S. Allen, Herbert Aptheker, Marion Bachrach, Theodore Bassett, Erik Bert, Alexander Bittelman, Tim Buck, Victorio Codovilla, J. Colon, Carl Dorfman, Robert W. Dunn, Dionisio Encina, Philip S. Foner, Gilbert Green, Grace Hutchins, Cesar Andreu Iglesias, Blas Roca, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Stanley B. Ryerson, Joseph Starobin, Celeste Strack, and Robert Thompson.

New York, January, 1951

TO ESTHER

BOOK ONE

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

I. A NEW WORLD IS FOUND

When on October 12, 1492, Christopher Columbus, the son of a Genoese* weaver, stepped ashore on the island he later named San Salvador,† in the Bahamas, it was one of the great moments in world history. Sponsored by Spain, the discovery of America gave an enormous stimulus to human progress in many directions. It virtually brought the Middle Ages to an end by further undermining decaying feudalism and by speeding up the growth of the young European capitalist system. The coming into civilized man's orbit of two vast new continents, alive with strange civilizations and richly endowed with natural wealth of all sorts, widely expanded his economic and political concepts and gave him a greatly changed outlook upon the world in which he lived. As the immense social drama unfolded in the centuries after the discovery, humanity's conceptions of political democracy, of science, of culture, of intellectual freedom grew and developed in a revolutionary way. Although the growth of the New World also generated and set afoot various dangerously reactionary currents and thereby brought about endless human misery and hardships, basically it has been a profoundly progressive development, relentlessly pushing on those factors which are now bringing the world to inevitable socialism.

Columbus, of course, was not the first to "discover" America—the presence of the Indians here at the time of his arrival being sufficient proof of that. Moreover, there exist many more or less plausible tales about earlier navigators who also "discovered" the western hemisphere, sailing from various countries during the thousand years prior to Columbus' celebrated voyage. Among these supposed discoverers may be listed the group of Chinese priests who are said to have landed in California about the year 458. Besides, there were St. Brendan, sundry Portuguese sailors, seven Spanish bishops, and the Irishman, Ari Marson, adventurers who are rumored to have crossed the Atlantic to the American coasts in the sixth, seventh, and ninth centuries, or thereabouts. Also, it is claimed that Basque fishermen were fishing off the Newfoundland banks as early as the year 1000. It is guessed that Columbus may have learned something from the latter about the fabled America. There are stories too of early African voyagers to America.¹ More authentic than

*Fifteen Italian cities claim to be the birthplace of Columbus.

†Now known as Watling's Island, a British possession.

these many misty myths and legends, however, are the records of the voyages of the Norsemen, Leif Ericson and others, who in the period of the tenth to fourteenth centuries, sailing from their base in Iceland, undoubtedly visited Greenland, Labrador, Newfoundland, and New England. There are signs that these hardy navigators may even have penetrated the Great Lakes as far west as Minnesota. The distinctive feature about Columbus' discovery, however, in contrast to all those transatlantic voyages which preceded it, was that it ended the isolation of the western hemisphere. It definitely and permanently linked the new continents economically, politically, and culturally with the rest of the known world.

There were many forces at work which made virtually inevitable the discovery of America at about the time Columbus accomplished it. Most important of these realities was the fact that European mercantile capitalism was then growing rapidly and tearing the foundations from under the obsolete feudal system. In the two or three centuries prior to Columbus' time the restless merchants, with their swiftly expanding commerce, had built scores of great cities all over Europe from England to Russia, either establishing these centers outright or raising them up from insignificant towns to thriving commercial cities. They were laying the basis for the coming world order of capitalism. Holland and England were taking the lead industrially. The enterprising merchants incessantly scurried all over the known world to develop trade and they also pressed boldly against the barriers of the unknown seas. No adventure was too risky for them to undertake, and they were the prime movers in all the big explorations of the period. With their raids and robberies and wars, they were hardly to be distinguished from pirates.

The end of the fifteenth century was also a time of tremendous intellectual ferment in Europe. The thousand-year-long strangle grip of the Catholic Church upon the mind of man was being shaken and loosened by developing capitalism. The Dark Ages were ending, and science and art were experiencing a growth such as they had not known for a full two thousand years, since the Golden Age in Greece. It was the period of Leonardo da Vinci and of many other famous artists and scientists. The Renaissance, beginning in Italy in the middle of the fourteenth century, was then in full bloom. Signs were multiplying rapidly of the coming of the great Protestant Reformation in northern Europe. The Church had burned John Huss at the stake in Bohemia in 1415, but the economic-political-religious revolt of nascent capitalism could not be stayed even by such barbarous measures. Some years after Columbus' discovery, in 1517, Martin Luther was to nail his celebrated theses to the door of his church in Wittenberg, Germany—an act which signaled the fact that the Reformation was fully under way, that capitalism was beginning to overthrow feudalism, and

that the monopoly of Rome over the European mind was being broken. It was a time of great daring in combating hoary religious and philosophical dogmas.

Another important factor that helped to prepare the way for Columbus' epoch-making voyage and its far-reaching consequences was the great advance that had just been made in the special sciences and arts involved in sea navigation. It had already become a generally accepted fact that the world was a sphere, and Columbus doubtless knew of this revolutionary scientific discovery. Besides, the magnetic compass had come into pretty general use among western European seamen; the astrolabe, a crude forerunner of the sextant, was also being used to establish ships' positions at sea, and marine maps were generally being vastly improved. And not the least important, the true sailing ship, one capable not merely of hugging the coasts as had hitherto been the case but of faring forth into the open ocean, had come into being in the ever bolder and wider venturing voyages of the fifteenth century shortly prior to the discoveries of Columbus.

The Era of Discovery

In these generally favorable circumstances an immediate impulse to the discovery of America was the capture of Constantinople in 1453 by the Turks. This historic event largely shut off the trade routes to the Middle and Far East, due to the exactions upon trade and the general stupidity of the Moslem rulers. Their greed ruined the rich commerce in spices, silks, and other luxury goods from the Orient which were in tremendous demand among the wealthy all over Europe. To find a new route to the Indies, especially to fabled Cathay (China) and Cipango (Japan), therefore, became an imperative need for the merchants and traders of western Europe. At that time only a handful of Europeans had ever traveled overland to these far-off and mysterious realms.

Portugal led in the quest to find a sea route to the Orient. Her navigators, even before Columbus' time, had long since distinguished themselves by their enterprise and seamanship. As early as 1418, a Portuguese captain had succeeded in reaching the Madeira Islands; in 1432 another had discovered the Azores, which are about one third of the way across the Atlantic; and in 1488 Bartholomew Diaz performed the great feat of rounding the Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of Africa.

Portugal's aim was to reach the Far East by the southern route, either around Africa or, as it turned out later, around South America. It was in following this general plan that Vasco da Gama reached India in 1497 via the Cape of Good Hope, and in 1519 Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese captain sailing for Spain, discovered the South American straits that now bear his name. Magellan boldly continued on, the first mariner to head a

ship that circumnavigated the globe, discovering the Philippines en route (where he was killed) "in the most valorous and adventurous sea voyage in all history." Portugal was able to display this pioneering initiative at sea because, first, freed from Moslem domination since 1385, it was a comparatively peaceful and united country, and, second, situated on the extreme western tip of Europe, it could advantageously play its key role in the Atlantic Ocean in the vital sea drama of the period.

Spain was not far behind Portugal, however, in launching into the great task of discovering a sea route to the Orient. Having driven the last of the Moors from their shores in 1491, after a struggle lasting almost eight hundred years, Ferdinand and Isabella gave a not unwilling ear to the proposals of Columbus to find the way to Cathay by sailing due west. Columbus had been unable to get any financial backing in his own country, Italy, its leading cities, Florence, Venice, Genoa, and others being both bankrupt and demoralized by the loss of their lucrative trade with the Orient through the fall of Constantinople. Henry VII of England also had turned a deaf ear to Columbus' offers, that country just then recovering from the devastating Wars of the Roses, which had lasted from 1455 to 1485. King John II of Portugal, to whom Columbus also very earnestly appealed for help in 1485, saw the force of his arguments but thought to circumvent the Italian captain by surreptitiously sending out one of his own navigators on the proposed mission. Italy, England, and Portugal having rejected Columbus, Spain seized the prize of sponsoring his historic enterprise.

The cost of outfitting Columbus for this history-making voyage, in modern financial terms, was almost insignificant. His three ships were unbelievably small, the *Santa Maria* being only about 111 feet long and of 100 tons burden; the *Pinta* about 85 feet long and of 40 tons burden; and the *Nina*, 56 feet long and of perhaps 50 tons burden. The total cost of the first voyage of Columbus has been estimated at from \$5,000 to \$7,500 in our money.² It is significant to note, too, in view of the tales current about Isabella pawning her jewels to equip Columbus, that his ships were really owned by merchants in Palos, who also gave him all or most of the money he needed for his expenses. This was another example of the fact that the merchant capitalists were the real force behind such pioneering voyages.

Relatively little is known about Columbus as a person. "We do not know with certainty when he was born, where he was born, what his early life was, what he looked like, whether or not he could read or write, where he first landed in America, or where he is buried."³ But Morrison's recent studies are clearing up some of this obscurity. It is plain, however, that Columbus was a man of clear sight and resolution. On the basis of his understanding that the world was round, he was sure that he would eventually come to the Indies by sailing to the west. But with the crude knowl-

edge of his time Columbus considerably miscalculated the distance of the earth's circumference. He figured that India was about 7,000 miles closer to Europe than it actually was. This was why, even after his four voyages to the West Indies, in fact until the very day of his death, the Great Captain believed firmly that he had found the much cherished new path to the fabulous Orient. He died, presumably in May, 1506. Spain did not yet realize the stupendous prize Columbus had found and she was deeply jealous of the seemingly more glamorous exploits of the daring, world-girdling Portuguese navigators around the Cape of Good Hope.

Columbus' voyages provoked a great burst of Spanish and general European maritime activity, directed towards the rapidly expanding areas of the New World. Soon both coasts of the western hemisphere were being explored by intrepid navigators, not only Spanish and Portuguese, but also Italian, French, English, and Dutch. It was not, however, until the Spaniard Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean at the Isthmus of Panama in 1513 that the tremendous significance of Columbus' discovery, in unfolding a whole new world, began really to penetrate the mind of Europe.

The Vatican was quick to intervene to protect its interests in the spectacular voyages and discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards. In line with its centuries-old practice, the Pope arrogantly claimed to be not only the spiritual but also the temporal ruler of the world. Therefore, as early as 1493, only one year after Columbus' first voyage, Pope Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia, a Spaniard), proceeded upon "invitation" to divide up the New World between the two rivals, Portugal and Spain, giving his native country the lion's share. In a series of bulls the Pope drew a line north and south 100 leagues west of the Azores, allowing Portugal everything to the east of this and Spain everything to the west. This gave the Spaniards very much the best of the deal. Under Portuguese pressure, however, the Pope later shoved the line to a point 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde islands. The dissatisfied Portuguese were thus allotted a section of Brazil which they later, by ruthless aggression, managed to expand to take in the present vast areas of that country. Thus by the Pope's decree, Spain was to have all of the Americas, except a slice of eastern Brazil.⁴

The Pope's arbitrary action in giving the New World (which was then also supposed to include India) to the Spaniards and Portuguese had a somewhat deterrent effect for about fifty years upon the navigation policies of England, Holland, France, and other maritime powers, which were still Catholic countries. Stretching the point somewhat, the Beards say: "Before a single English sea captain dared the wide Atlantic, the impetuous Spaniard held in fee the West Indies, ruled huge empires on two continents, and laid claims to fair domains in the Orient."⁵ But the Reformation gaining headway and his country recovering from the recent Wars of the Roses, Henry

VIII of England broke with the Church in 1530 and that country immediately turned its attention to the rich prize of America, regardless of the Spanish Pope's decision that gave the New World to Spain. Protestant Holland and Catholic France also took a hand. As for bankrupt Italy, the birthplace of Columbus, it never really did get into the international scramble for control of the vast new America.

Pope Alexander VI's dividing up of the Americas was only the first major step of the Church in participating in the conquest of the western hemisphere. From the beginning the sword and the cross went hand in hand with the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors. If there was gold to be won, lands to be conquered, peoples to be enslaved, the powerful Catholic Church was determined to have its full share in the enterprise, and the sequel showed that it did. In the later colonizing efforts of the English, Dutch, Swedes, and others, the various Protestant Churches were no less greedy for wealth and power, but nowhere did they have the strength, discipline, determination, and general success of the Catholic Church.

Many Spanish and Portuguese navigators followed closely after Columbus. They directed expeditions along the American coasts in every direction. Pinzon, Pineda, Solis, de Leon, and others quickly mapped out the whole Caribbean area. Meanwhile, Ojeda, Cabral, Vespucci,* Magellan, Guerva, Sebastian Cabot, and various others were busily exploring the eastern and western coasts of South America. The energetic Spaniards also pushed northward along the Atlantic Coast and by 1525 they had reached Nova Scotia. Thus, within a generation after the arrival of Columbus in 1492, the Spanish, with some Portuguese participation, had explored the whole eastern coast of the Americas, north and south, and had also explored the western coast of South America. Meanwhile, the exploration of the western coast of North America continued and by 1544 Cabrillo and Ferrelo had voyaged as far north as Oregon.

England and France, for the reasons already noted, were slower in getting into this spectacular work of discovery and conquest in the New World. Henry VII, however, did commission John Cabot (the Italian Giovanni Caboto) in 1497, with Bristol merchants typically footing the bill, to explore the northern American coasts. It was upon Cabot's voyages that England later based its claims for sovereignty over these general North Atlantic areas, and eventually over the bulk of North America. France, too, displayed some exploratory activity. John Verranzo, an Italian sailing in the French service, in 1524 explored the middle Atlantic coast, and in 1534 Jacques Cartier discovered the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It is said that Cartier found

*It was after Amerigo Vespucci, an Italian sailing in the interest of Spain, that America was named. In 1507, a German professor, Martin Waldseemuller, published a map of the New World on the basis of Vespucci's very dubious voyage and labeled it "America."

two small French ships already there, trading with the Indians.⁶ But not until nearly a century later did either England or France follow up their early discoveries by trying to colonize these unpromising northern regions. The Englishman Henry Hudson did some notable work later along the North Atlantic Coast, discovering the river (1607) and the bay (1611) that bear his name. And the Russians, headed by Vitus Bering, a Dane, in 1725 completed the first general mapping of the American coasts by their discovery of Alaska and the narrow strait that separates Asia from America.

Inland Exploration

As in the matter of discovery and coastal navigation, so in the question of the inland exploration of the great New World, the Spaniards were the outstanding leaders. They were both tireless and fearless. Especially in the early decades after Columbus they were driven on by a frantic search for gold. This greed whipped and drove them into the most daring and fantastic expeditions and adventures in every direction. It was not long until the Spaniards had penetrated nearly all corners of the tremendous wildernesses of America, as far north as about halfway up the present territory of the United States. They far outshone the Portuguese, British, French, Dutch, and all others as overland wanderers and explorers.

The most celebrated of all inland expeditions were those of Hernando Cortes, in 1518-21, which resulted in the conquest of Mexico, and of Francisco Pizarro in 1531-33, which brought about the conquest of Peru. These two spectacular triumphs, bringing vast loot to the greedy conquistadores, gave a tremendous impulse to the feverish hunt for gold that was already firing the Spaniards' cupidity. All sorts of stories sprang up about mythical Indian empires in the unknown interior, which supposedly surpassed even Mexico and Peru in wealth. North of Mexico were the fabled "Northern Mysteries," including the "Fountain of Youth," "Chicora," the "Giant King," "Apalachan," the "Seven Cities of Cibola," "Quivera," the "Island of the Amazons," etc., all supposedly rich with gold; and on the continent of South America were the "Southern Mysteries," or "El Dorado," "Meta," "Manoa," the "Copper-Crowned King," the "White King," "Omagua," the "Land of Cinnamon," the "Land of the Amazons," etc.⁷ In pursuit of these alluring will-o'-the-wisps, the Spaniards conducted many daring expeditions undergoing reckless hardships.

Starting out of the West Indies, which had already been completely overrun by the Spaniards, went Ponce de Leon, who voyaged to Florida in 1513, searching for the spring of eternal youth. In 1528, Cabeza de Vaca also left Havana, Cuba, and for six years wandered through Florida, Louisiana, and Texas, finally winding up in Mexico City. Among the other expeditions bound northward, Hernando de Soto's also sailed from Havana in 1539 and the

party traveled widely through the areas now constituting the states of Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Louisiana. But the most famous of the many early Spanish expeditions into the lower parts of what is now the United States was that of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, who, however, had been preceded by the Negro, Esteban. In 1540, the adventurer, Coronado, looking for the fabled "Seven Cities of Cibola," left Mexico, and fared far and wide for the next two years in the territory of the present states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas. He was the first white man to see the Grand Canyon. All this exploration by the Spaniards took place a half century or more before England hesitantly began, in 1606, to establish its straggling colonies at Jamestown and later elsewhere along the Atlantic Coast.

In South America the Spanish explorations inland were even more spectacular than in North America. In 1536 Jimenez de Quesada voyaged deep into Colombia, while others explored the jungles of Venezuela. In 1539-41, Francisco de Orellana left Quito, Ecuador, and voyaged down to the mouth of the Amazon River and then up the coast to Venezuela, a trip of at least 5,000 miles, mostly through a totally unknown jungle wilderness. A score of years later, Lope de Aguirre, starting out from Lima, Peru, also went over the Andes and down the Amazon, butchered his companions in a murderous fight, and took off along the unknown Orinoco River to its mouth, a hazardous trip at least as lengthy as Orellana's. In 1542, Diego de Roxas also went overland 3,000 miles from Lima to Buenos Aires, blazing a trail which was later to become a famous route for commerce. Meanwhile, many other expeditions fared forth, searching out all corners of the continent of South America, from Peru deep into southern Chile, and from the general Buenos Aires region far up into the remote interior points of Brazil, Venezuela, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Bolivia. Most of these exploratory expeditions consisted of mere handfuls of soldiers and the inevitable contingent of priests, all told a few hundred at most. They underwent incredible hardships and dangers in their tireless search for gold, glory and converts.

No other conquering, colonizing nation showed the energy and initiative of the Spaniards in penetrating the unknown American wilderness. The Portuguese, it is true, in their quest for gold and slaves, early pressed deep inland in Brazil, expanding that colony's borders far beyond the limits originally set for the Portuguese possessions by Pope Alexander VI. The French Jesuits and voyageurs, LaSalle, Joliet, de Caron, Marquette, Nicolet, and others long afterward, in the seventeenth century, also showed much of the dauntless exploratory spirit of the early Spanish, navigating the Great Lakes and finding their way down to the mouth of the Mississippi, often through hostile Indian tribes, and claiming all the territory for France as they went along. The early British and American colonial hunters and

trappers also fared great distances into the wilderness but, being early disabused of the vivid lure of gold that had animated the incredible travels of the Spaniards, they never organized such extensive exploratory expeditions. Indeed, the first recorded full crossing of the continent north of the Spanish area did not take place until 1793, when Alexander Mackenzie, a Scotsman, made his way overland from the St. Lawrence River to present-day British Columbia, where his party contacted Russian trappers coming down the coast from Alaska.⁸

A Rich and Beautiful New World

It was indeed a great and bounteous world that Columbus and those who followed him discovered, explored, and brought into the general orbit of civilization. North America and South America, stretching about 10,000 miles from the Arctic to the Antarctic and covering 8,000,000 and 6,800,000 square miles respectively, together constitute an area almost as large as that of Africa and Europe combined. They are endowed with an abundance of all those resources and conditions necessary for man to develop a good and prosperous life, although these resources are not uniformly distributed throughout the hemisphere. The actual wealth of the New World, as we know it in our times, utterly dwarfs even the most extravagant dreams of the Spanish conquistadores, with their "El Dorado," "Seven Cities of Cibola," and other golden mirages.

Among its many qualities, the western hemisphere can boast of the widest variety of climates, from a northern Canada which ranges between 80° below zero and 100° above, to vast tropical areas in South America where the temperature rests permanently in the eighties, hardly varying more than two or three degrees winter or summer. The hemisphere's climate, too, varies from the Atacama desert in northern Chile, with only two inches of rainfall yearly, and said to be the driest place on earth, to the Amazon Basin, which is among the wettest places in the world, and where there is rain precipitation of up to 200 inches per year. Between these extremes of cold and heat and wet and dry are vast temperate zones.

The New World possesses unsurpassed lands for food production—the rich Mississippi Valley farmlands, the boundless wheat fields of middle and western Canada, the lush plantation lands for tropical crops in Brazil, Central America, the West Indies, etc., the broad grazing llanos of Venezuela of about 100,000 square miles, the large altiplano (high mountain plateaus) areas of Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru, and the immense grain and cattle growing pampas of Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and southern Brazil, a territory about five times as large as the state of New York. The native American agriculture and forest culture also added many invaluable new products to mankind's acquisitions through the ages, some of the more important of

these being corn, potato, rubber, yam, peanut, maguey, tomato, squash, pumpkin, cassava, beans, vanilla, nuts of many kinds, various melons, cacao, quinine, ipecac, cara, sarsaparilla, strawberry, maple sugar, pineapple, manioc, avocado, artichoke, etc. Columbus also found cotton indigenous in the West Indies, although it had also long been known in Europe. Together with the western hemisphere's other incalculable food resources, the two oceans on either side of the hemisphere are teeming with edible fish, among others of these resources being the world-famous fisheries on the Newfoundland banks, the tremendous supplies of salmon along the North Pacific Coast, and the inexhaustible myriads of food fish off the Mexican and South American coasts.

America, too, is, or was, endowed with massive lumber resources, that basic necessity for man. When Columbus arrived in this hemisphere it undoubtedly possessed, all told, more standing timber than the rest of the world combined. There were the incomparable timber lands of the Canadian and United States Northwest, the heavily forested areas in eastern Canada and United States, and there are still magnificent, largely hardwood forests in many parts of Central and South America. Brazil, despite criminal waste of its timber resources, today still has at least one billion acres of rich forest land, an amount twice as large as the forests in the United States and surpassed in extent only by the timber reserves of the U.S.S.R. According to rough estimates, Latin America now contains within its area 30 per cent of the world's production forest area.⁹

The western hemisphere possesses also nearly all the essential metals and minerals in great quantity. About 60 per cent of the world's iron ore is said to be in the Americas, Brazil alone having an estimated 12 to 15 billion tons, or some 23 per cent of the known high grade iron ore deposits.¹⁰ Cuba's undeveloped iron resources are very rich, and recently vast iron ore deposits were found in Venezuela, said to be of higher quality and in greater quantity than the famous Mesaba range in Minnesota. The iron supplies in the United States are also great, although rapidly diminishing. The tremendous mountain ranges of the Andes and Rockies, stretching from one end of the hemisphere to the other, are loaded with non-ferrous metals of many kinds, as yet only sketchily developed: copper in Chile, Peru, Mexico, and the United States in great quantities; masses of tin in Bolivia, an abundance of gold and silver in many countries, the vast nitrate deposits in Chile. Brazil, Mexico, Canada, Bolivia, and many other countries are literally gigantic storehouses of metals and minerals of nearly every sort. Lead, manganese, bauxite, molybdenum, vanadium, platinum, cobalt and asphalt, as well as diamonds, emeralds, and other precious stones are also found in Brazil and elsewhere. Nor is the vital thorium, needed for atomic power, lacking in Canada, Mexico, and South America.¹¹

The power resources of the western hemisphere are also gigantic, although also by no means evenly divided among the score of countries throughout the two continents. Generally, Latin America is not well endowed with known coal deposits. The United States alone, however, is estimated to have coal enough to last some four thousand years at the present rate of consumption.¹² Brazil also has huge deposits of low-grade coal, and so, too, has Colombia. Oil is found in vast quantities in various parts of the western hemisphere—in the United States (with 36 per cent of the world's known resources), in Venezuela, which is also very rich in oil; there are notable sources also in Mexico, Chile, Brazil, Canada, etc. Hydroelectric power possibilities are also immense, from the hundreds of turbulent, undeveloped rivers, especially in South America. One of the many great sources of electric power in North America is Niagara Falls, but the Iguassu Falls, located on the Brazil, Argentine and Paraguay borders, is much larger and more spectacular. And La Guayra Falls in the same area is still larger—the biggest in the world, carrying twice as much water as Niagara.

The three Americas are endowed with wonderful networks of rivers, admirably adapted to power and transportation purposes. The great Mississippi River, the "Father of Waters," in the United States, 2,550 miles long, navigable for 2000 miles, and with a watershed of 1,257,000 square miles, is surpassed in the New World only by the Amazon River of South America, which is the greatest system of waterways in the world. This "sea of rivers," 3,550 miles long, is navigable 2,500 miles and drains 2,700,000 miles of territory. The Bay of Rio de Janeiro, New York Bay, San Francisco Bay, Rio de la Plata, the St. Lawrence River, Chesapeake Bay, and Puget Sound are only a few of the magnificent harbors and waterways that cut into all the coasts of the western hemisphere.

It was this rich New World, full of precious resources of all kinds, that the various conquering forces from Europe, sword and cross in hand, fell upon voraciously, beginning with the arrival of Columbus. The subsequent 460 years of American history constitute a long and gruesome story of the despoliation and wasting of the natural resources of the western hemisphere, and of the enslavement and exploitation of its peoples for the enrichment of small ruling classes of parasitic landowners and capitalists. The history of the Americas is also the record of an endless and indomitable struggle on the part of the toiling masses against this ruthless exploitation and for human freedom. But before dealing with this unfolding epic social drama, with its complex series of wars, revolutions, and other mass struggles, let us first take a glance at what manner of folk they were who populated the western hemisphere when the great discoverer Columbus arrived.

2. THE INDIAN PEOPLES OF THE AMERICAS

There is much dispute as to where the Indians originally came from to this hemisphere. When Columbus reached here they were living all over the Americas from Alaska to Cape Horn. Some authorities contend that they came across a formerly existing land-bridge stretching from Europe or Africa to this hemisphere—the “Lost Atlantis” of song and fable; others assert that the Indians got here overseas from the South Pacific islands or from Africa; while still others maintain that mankind itself originated in the Americas. The latter is an unlikely supposition. Remains of pre-human “man” have never been found in this hemisphere as in Europe, Asia, and Africa. The weight of available evidence seems to indicate that the main migration of Indians came into this hemisphere from Asia by crossing the Bering Strait, although some may have drifted across the Pacific. The prevailing view has it that the Indians traveled, in successive waves, along the route through Alaska during the last glacial age, about 25,000 years ago. With the sea level, as estimated about 225 feet lower than it is today, they could have crossed on solid land from Siberia to Alaska. From the latter area the newcomers are supposed to have gradually fanned out all over the western hemisphere during the ensuing centuries.¹

The question of how many Indians populated the two continents when Columbus arrived is also a matter of endless speculation, the estimates varying from 14 million to 40 million.² In the United States and Canada areas there were then supposedly about a million Indians;³ in the West Indies there were at least another million; and about double or triple that number lived in the territory now called Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Chile. But the greatest masses of the Indians were located in Mexico, in Guatemala, and the other countries of Central America, and in Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia of South America. It was in these generally mountainous countries that, due to the higher development of agriculture, the great Indian regimes existed. Mexico alone is said to have had a population of nine million Indians.

The numbers of Indian tribes were legion at the end of the fifteenth century, at the time of Columbus, and they still are. The different languages and dialects have been calculated to be as many as 1,700.* Frank Tannen-

*Many of these Indian languages have very complex grammars, with vocabularies containing up to 20,000 words. The extent of such a vocabulary is realized when it is recalled that the average English-speaking person rarely commands more than 10,000 words.

baum says that in Mexico, even now, 33 principal Indian tongues are spoken, these being as little related to each other as Finnish, Chinese, and Hebrew. Among the major families of tribes ranging from north to south throughout the hemisphere were and are the Eskimos and Aleuts of the extreme North; the Athabascans, Algonquins, Iroquois, Sioux, Shoshones, Muscogees, and Pueblos of Canada and the United States; the Aztecs, Toltecs, and Zapotecs of Mexico; the Mayas of lower Mexico and Central America; the Caribs of the Caribbean Sea area; the Chibchas of Venezuela, Colombia, and the surrounding country; the Incas (Quichuas, Aymaras) of the Andean highlands; including Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia; the Arawaks of Amazonia; the Tupis of the large areas around the mouth of the Amazon; the Guaranis of Paraguay, Argentina, and Lower Brazil, and the Araucanians of Chile. Few figures exist as to the statistical strength of these many Indian groups in Columbus' time. The tribes varied in color from almost black, through copper colored, to pale olive.

The Indians' economies differed as widely as their languages and colors. They ranged from nomadic tribesmen, such as the Tierra del Fuegians, to the Sioux buffalo hunters of the Mississippi valley, to the semi-agricultural tribes of the North Atlantic coast regions, and to the highly developed village Indians of Mexico, Central America, and Peru. According to the scientific classification of the American ethnologist Morgan (who wrote in 1877),⁴ in the rising scale of social development the Indian societies went upward from the upper stage of savagery (Indians in the Columbia River Basin, the Hudson Bay district, the Brazilian interior, etc.), to the lower stage of barbarism (all the Indians east of the Missouri—Iroquois, Algonquins, etc.—were at this general level of development), to the middle stage of barbarism (which was the status of the remarkable societies of the Aztecs and Incas of Mexico and Peru).

Although there were many variations in their actual organization, the many Indian societies throughout the hemisphere all fitted into a general pattern of tribal communalism. The basis of this fundamental social system was common ownership, control, and usage of the land on a tribal basis, whether the tribe made its living by hunting, fishing, herding, farming, or by a combination of all these occupations. The general prevalence of communal control of the land in Indian communities did not, however, prevent wars from developing among neighboring tribes, whose territories tended to infringe upon one another. They fought over hunting grounds, water holes, river valleys, lake sites, flint beds, salt deposits, water for irrigation and other issues.

In some instances, however, notably in the case of the Aztecs and, to a lesser extent, the Incas, when the Europeans arrived a departure was being made from this primitive system, and the private ownership of land with

the accompanying elementary class divisions and exploitation of toilers was being introduced far and wide.

A fundamental characteristic of the tribal communalism prevailing throughout the Americas was the *gente* or clan form of social organization; that is, the various ascending stages of the social structure—gens, phratry, tribe, confederation—were based not upon property or territorial considerations but upon well-established principles of family relationships. In this respect, as indicated by Morgan and supported by Engels,⁵ and also lately by George Thomson and many other scientists, the Indian peoples of this hemisphere were undergoing the same basic course of economic and political development as had the primitive peoples in other parts of the world. Speaking of the detractors of Morgan, Thomson says: "After striving all those years to refute Morgan they have only succeeded in refuting one another. In the meantime Morgan's work, as amplified by Engels, is being carried on along a broad front by the ethnologists and archaeologists of the Soviet Union."⁶

Tribal communalism was profoundly democratic, with certain reservations regarding the Aztecs and Incas. Not only was the tribe's economy operated for the benefit of all, but the chieftains from the lowest to the highest were chosen by election. The whole social organization was permeated with a deep sense of human solidarity. Speaking of this characteristic Indian democracy, Morgan says: "All the members of an Iroquois gens were personally free, and they were bound to defend each other's freedom; they were equal in privileges and in personal rights, the sachems and chiefs claiming no superiority; and they were a brotherhood bound together by the ties of kin. Liberty, equality and fraternity, though never formulated, were cardinal principles of the gens. These facts are material, because the gens was the unit of a social and governmental system, the foundation upon which Indian society was organized. A structure composed of such units would of necessity bear the impress of their character, for as the unit so the compound. It serves to explain that sense of independence and personal dignity universally an attribute of Indian character."⁷ These remarks apply generally to the tribes throughout the hemisphere, with the exceptions noted.

The pre-conquest Indian woman held an honored position in the primitive society within which she lived, indeed far more so than she has had since in America. She was the mistress of the home and of all its associated industries, including agriculture in its early stages; she took full part in tribal elections, and in certain stages the tribal lineage was traced solely through her. Engels writes: "One of the most absurd notions taken over from eighteenth-century enlightenment is that in the beginning of society woman was the slave of man. Among all savages and all barbarians of the lower and middle stages and to a certain extent of the upper stage, also,

the position of women is not only free, but honorable."⁸ Morgan says: "At the epoch of European discovery the American Indian tribes generally were organized in gentes, with descent in the female line. In some tribes, as among the Dakotas, the gentes had fallen out; in others, as among the Ojibwas, the Omahas, and the Mayas, descent had been changed from the female to the male line."⁹ Clark Wissler writes about the role of the Indian woman: "We do know that the Indian woman did as much to make Indian life a success as did the man. She was a strong laborer, a good mechanic, a good craftsman, no mean artist, something of an architect, a farmer, a traveler, a fisherman, a trapper, a doctor, a preacher, and, if need be, a leader."¹⁰ Speaking of conditions in colonial Canada, Francis Parkman says: "In this the most savage people [the Iroquois] on the continent, women held a degree of political influence never perhaps equalled in any civilized nation."¹¹ The position of women among the Aztecs was far superior to that of Spain, then and now. Polygamy was widespread among Indian tribes, although many definitely practiced monogamy or the beginnings of it.

There was considerable cannibalism among certain American Indian tribes. Radin says it was widespread, citing many examples among South American Indians.¹² For the most part, however, this cannibalism was of a war or religious ceremonial nature, as among the Aztecs in Mexico. The word "cannibal," it is said, came from a mispronunciation of the name of the Carib Indians of the West Indies area. Enemies of the Indians try to magnify the amount of cannibalism that existed among them.

Contrary to the slanders that have been heaped upon them by ruthless conquerors, the Indians, as a natural result of their primitive democratic system of society, were infused with high conceptions of honor and fair dealing with one another and with outsiders. There was none of the frightful poverty, neglect of the aged, exploitation of children, and general misery that has been the Indians' lot since they were conquered by the technically far superior and supposedly more civilized capitalist nations.

Speaking of Peru, Crow in his book, *The Epic of Latin America*, says: "Life for the average Indian was undoubtedly on a very primitive scale. Yet all who were able to work did work; no sickness went uncared for, few crimes were committed, no aged or infirm lacked the necessities of life; and cooperation for the general welfare, rather than competition for profit, was the mainspring of Inca economy." And of Argentina, he says: "When the Spaniards arrived the natives lived in neat subterranean villages surrounded by cactus walls and carefully cultivated fields. Their clothes were of wool adorned with pretty designs and metallic spangles, and they carried a dagger hanging from the right wrist. Their houses were spacious, being large enough to hold 'ten men mounted on horseback'. . . . The Indians . . . were 'fine farmers, industrious, and sober in temper.'"¹³

Verrill writes: "I have never found a truly primitive Indian who was a

thief. I have dwelt for days, weeks, and months in Indian villages where the houses were open sheds and where all my belongings and trade goods, priceless and coveted beyond words by the Indians, were fully exposed and unprotected. Yet never have I had a single article stolen."¹⁴

The Aztecs

The most highly developed of the American Indian peoples were the Aztecs and the Incas. The Aztecs, a militant, warlike people, occupied middle and northern Mexico. Their early history has not been definitely established; but apparently they came from the north in the twelfth or thirteenth century, overcoming the Toltecs and subjugating many of the neighboring tribes. No real statistics are available as to the numbers of the Aztecs at the time of the Conquest, but their society must have embraced several million people. Their chief center was Tenochtitlan, on the site of the present Mexico City. It is said that this city had up to 60,000 houses,¹⁵ which, at five to ten per house, would make its population run from 300,000 to 600,000 inhabitants. It was thus one of the largest cities in the world at the time, London, at the end of the fifteenth century having about 200,000 inhabitants.

The Aztecs, whom Morgan places in the middle stage of barbarism, basically held the land in common. The various clans were allotted land by the high council of the tribes which they, in turn, distributed among the families for individual cultivation. Much of the cultivation of the chieftains' and priests' lands was done collectively. At the time of the arrival of the Spaniards this basic communal land system was breaking down. The chieftain and priest castes, living in barbaric splendor, had already wrested more or less permanent control of much land, which they held virtually as their own. But there were strong clan tendencies against these inroads upon the communal land system. The workers were attached to the land, although they also had considerable rights to it. There were also many landless workers, who were employed to cultivate the privately or semi-privately owned lands of the ruling castes. There were also numerous "slaves"—prisoners of war, criminals, and those who had "voluntarily" sold themselves into "slavery." Fairs were often held to bring about an exchange of commodities between the workers in the handicrafts and those on the land. There was a rudimentary money system, based on cacao, tin, and gold dust.

Whereas the early Asian civilizations were built on rice and the European on wheat, the aboriginal American regimes were based on corn. The Aztec economy, like that of the Incas, was rooted in the cultivation of maize, or Indian corn. In the American Indian societies, says Radin, "where the cultivation of maize stopped, civilization stopped."¹⁶ Engels called corn the best of all cereals. Morgan states: "The high productiveness of corn, a grain [probably native to Bolivia] which was evolved and developed by the In-

dians of Mexico, Central America, and Peru, enabled the growth of a relatively dense population and thereby the development of complex societies. Maize, from its growth in the hill—which favored direct cultivation—from its useableness while both green and ripe, and from its abundant yield and nutritive properties, was a richer endowment in aid of human progress than all other cereals put together. It serves to explain the remarkable progress the American aborigine has made. . . .”¹⁷

The American Indians were often skilled agriculturists, but, having no plows, theirs was only a hoe culture. As John Collier remarks: The Indians succeeded in developing twenty major plant products from the native American wild growth, whereas the white man in the Americas during 460 years has hardly succeeded in developing one. Over fifty per cent of the present agricultural wealth of the United States comes from the cultivation of corn, peanuts, potatoes, tobacco, etc., originally developed by the Indians. Aztec science classified twelve hundred plants, as well as many species and kinds of snakes, insects and minerals. The Aztecs also had a pictograph system of writing, but unfortunately, at the time of conquest, thousands of their books were burned by ignorant Catholic priests who considered them the work of the devil. The only important domesticated animals possessed by the Aztecs were the dog and certain fowls.

The Aztecs and their forebears were great builders, their many forts, aqueducts, temples, and other structures are marvels to all who behold them. Their pyramids surpass in mass and area those in Egypt. The ruins in the Monte Alban area cover an extent of about fifteen square miles. The Aztecs were also magnificent workers in gold, silver, tin, wood, and various precious stones. Their pottery and weaving were superlatively fine. In 1520, Albrecht Dürer, German Renaissance artist, commenting on the beautiful presents sent by the Aztec “emperor” Montezuma to the Spanish King, said: “I have never seen in all my days what so rejoiced my heart, as those things. For I saw among them amazing artistic objects, and I marvelled over the subtle ingenuity of the men in these distant lands.”¹⁸

The Aztecs had also made much scientific progress, especially in astronomy, which was closely related to their agricultural needs. Their calendar, with a year of 365 days and an extra day for leap year, was more accurate than the one then prevailing in Europe, and was as reliable as our present-day calendar. The Aztecs also had a very practical numerical system, based upon the number 20. Also, although this people lacked iron and knew nothing about working in this medium, they were able, with tools made of an alloy of tin and copper, and by the addition of a silicious dust, to cut the hardest metals and stone. The Aztecs, however, like the Incas, did not know the principle of the wheel, nor did they have the true arch in their buildings.

In their religion the Aztecs were worshippers of the sun and the moon,

as well as of many lesser deities. They had attained to the conceptions of immortality and an all-ruling supreme being. They believed in a heaven, a hell, and a purgatory, and they practiced baptism, confession, penance, and various other religious ceremonies similar to Catholicism. They had priests and nuns and also used the cross as a religious symbol. Their chief god was Teotl, their god of war was Huitzilopochtli. Another important god was Quetzalcoatl, "the feathered serpent," "a bearded white god who taught the Aztecs agriculture, metallurgy, government, and the reckoning of time," and who was supposed to have made a fatal prophesy about the coming of white conquerors from the East. Human sacrifices on a large scale were a marked feature of the Aztecs' religion. Their "emperor" was considered a divinity.

The Aztecs, historically, were relatively a young people, having been dominant in their area only about four hundred years when the Spaniards arrived. But they had behind them in their history a whole series of Indian societies of high culture, particularly those of the Toltecs and the Mayas. The Mayas, whose principal area was in Yucatan, Guatemala, and other parts of Central America, were outstanding in their great achievements. Their societies are supposed to have existed from as early as 2000 B.C. down to about the year 1000 A.D. About the latter period, for some unknown reasons, whether from pestilence, exhaustion of the soil, or outside attacks, their society declined and disintegrated. It was succeeded, first, by that of the Toltecs, and later that of the Aztecs. Many of the splendid ruins in Central America are of Mayan origin. Most of the other highly developed tribes in Mexico and Central America undoubtedly drew much of their culture from the Mayas.

Of this great people Crow says: "The Mayas developed the most refined of all the American cultures. They excelled in painting, woodcarving, sculpture, finely balanced architecture, and in hieroglyphic writing. They were also supreme as astronomers and mathematicians, and their calendar was the most accurate in the world at that time."¹⁹ Radin says: "The knowledge the ancient Mayas possessed of astronomy is almost beyond belief."²⁰ They used the zero in their mathematical calculations 800 years before any people in the old world. Says Chase: "While America was at its zenith [under the Mayas] Europe was floundering in the darkest era of the Dark Ages."²¹ The Mayas have been called "the Greeks of the New World."

The Incas

The Incas, "the Children of the Sun," at the time of the Spanish Conquest dominated an area stretching, north and south, from Colombia to central Chile (about 3000 miles), and west to east, from the Pacific Coast deep into the Amazonian jungles. Sometimes called the "Romans of the New

World" because of their success in war, the Incas had a strong, well-organized army of some 200,000 men, and when the Spaniards arrived they were recently in the process of rapidly extending their regime by conquest over other tribes. Their population has been estimated to be as much as 10 million. The Incas' capital was in Cuzco, Peru, and the center of their "empire" was upon the high plateaus of the Andean countries, ranging from 10,000 to 15,000 feet high. Like the Aztecs, the Incas were a young people, having established themselves only some five hundred years before the arrival of the Spaniards. W. H. Prescott in his *Conquest of Peru* asserts that although the Incas and Aztecs were only a couple of thousand miles apart they had no knowledge of one another's existence, but this is very doubtful. The presence of the highly developed Chibcha Indians, lying between Peru and Mexico in the Venezuela-Colombia country, is a good indication of the possibility of contact between the two major Indian peoples.

The land system of the Incas, communal ownership, was basically the same as that of the Aztecs, with some important differences. The land was divided into three parts: one for the sun, one for the Inca, the ruling chief, and one for the people. These lands were all worked collectively. First cultivated were the lands of the sun (the priesthood), then those of the sick, aged, widows, and of the people generally, and finally those of the Inca. Private ownership of land had not progressed in Peru to the extent that it had in Mexico. The Incas had no horses, cows, sheep, or pigs. They had developed agriculture to a high degree, certainly not inferior to that of contemporary Europe. They were familiar with the use of fertilizers, and their vast irrigation systems and terraced mountainsides were among the greatest construction works ever achieved by man. Corn was the basic food of the heavy Inca population, but the potato, native to Peru, also was a major item in the food supply.

The workers were bound to the soil, and everyone had his life's occupation cut out for him from birth. The people were divided into groups of ten, fifty, one hundred and one thousand families, with a captain over each group, responsible for the activities and welfare of its members. The dominant castes lived in luxury. There were no slaves, however, as in Mexico. The living levels of the masses were very low, nevertheless there was no real destitution in the country. Prescott writes: "The security of the working classes seems to have been kept in view in the regulations of the government; and these were so discreetly arranged, that the most wearing and unwholesome labors, as those of the mines, occasioned no detriment to the health of the laborer; a striking contrast to his subsequent condition under the Spanish rule."²²

John Collier writes about Inca resources: "A population possibly denser than that of today in the same area used the land and its water. None were

in want, where today millions are in chronic want. From generation to generation the soil and water resources became more, not less. Today, as ever since the European conquest, the Andean area marches with most of the rest of the world on its way to the destruction of these resources."²³

The Incas did not equal the Aztecs with regard to their science, particularly astronomy. Nor were they as far advanced in the development of writing. Their biggest achievement in the latter respect was the so-called quipus, a system of cords, knots, and colors by which they were able to carry on calculations and to keep a complex record of events. They had a general language, Quichua, which the subordinate tribes generally knew in addition to their own. By smoke signals the Incas could send messages as far as 2,000 miles in four hours.

The Peruvians were superlatively gifted art workers in metals, especially in gold, silver, and copper. They, too, did not know of iron. It is said (and often disputed) that they understood how to temper copper—apparently with a tin alloy—so that it became almost as hard as steel, a secret never yet learned by European metal workers. Says Crow: "The natives of Peru 'discovered and made use of almost every known technique of weaving,' and they developed the art itself 'to a point unequaled by man in the whole course of human history.'"²⁴ They also developed pottery, carving, and painting to a very high stage. A marvelous achievement was their surgery. "Inca surgeons were most skilled, and possessed a knowledge of surgery and anatomy, as well as dentistry, which was far in advance of European surgical knowledge of their time,"²⁵ says Verrill. They even performed brain operations and they probably used some form of anaesthetics. The Incas were also great builders and workers in stone. Many of their construction works continue to be world wonders. The great Temple of the Sun in Cuzco was the most magnificent building in the New World and it compared in ornamentation with the best structures in the Old World. The Incas, without benefit of steel tools, explosives, wheeled vehicles, or draft animals, were able to cut huge stone blocks from the living rock, some of them weighing as much as 200 tons. These were transported fifteen to forty miles over rugged mountain country and then fitted together so nicely in their structures "that a knife blade could not be inserted between the joints."

But perhaps the greatest building achievements of the Incas were their splendid roads. These highways were far superior to those existing in Europe and were comparable to the famous roads of old Rome. There were two big routes running lengthwise through the country for 1,500 to 2,000 miles; one road going along the seacoast and the other through the lofty and rugged Andes. The difficulties in building the latter road were immense, and as Prescott said, they "could appall the most courageous engineer of modern times." Humboldt stated that "the roads of the Incas were among the most

useful and stupendous works ever executed by man."²⁶ Over these fine roads sped the armies and couriers of the Incas.

The Incas were sun worshippers. They acknowledged a supreme being, whom they worshipped under the name of Viracocha. There were also many minor deities. The Incas rarely, if ever, indulged in the human sacrifices that were such a marked feature of the Aztec religion. As for the Inca himself, says Prescott: "He was not merely the representation of Divinity, or, like the Pope, its vice-regent, but he was Divinity itself."²⁷ He was the Sun God in person. As among the Aztecs, many of the Incas' religious customs resembled those of Catholicism. "Children were baptized by having holy water sprinkled on their heads by priests. Confession of sins was regularly practiced in the temples. A gesture was made in approaching the Gods much like the Catholic practice of making the sign of the cross and bending the knees. . . . A communion service was held through the eating of little cakes made in the shape of idols and blessed by the priests."²⁸ The Spanish priests believed that this curious resemblance to Catholicism pointed to the fact that Catholic priests at some earlier period must have reached the Americas.

Like the Aztecs, the Incas were the successors of highly developed societies that had gone before them. The best known of these were the so-called pre-Incas. The real history of the pre-Inca peoples, however, is lost in remote antiquity, mummies being found dating as far back as 1000 B.C., indicating that the inhabitants already then possessed an advanced degree of culture, at a time when the peoples of northern Europe were still in a most undeveloped state. Some of these pre-Inca peoples were even greater builders than the Incas of conquest times and the latter made use of the tremendous structures left them by their predecessors.

Aztec and Inca Social Organization

There has been much confusion and controversy as to the character of the general social organization of the Aztecs and Incas. The conquering Spaniards, seeing the complex societies of these peoples but not understanding them, promptly endowed them with all the qualities of their own feudal system—empires, states, emperors, kings, nobles, serfs, etc.—and succeeding historians have followed their erroneous example. Morgan, however, challenges such false conceptions, pointing out that these Indian regimes, based on the gente system of family relationship, lacked the quality of states, which are necessarily built upon considerations of property and territory.

Morgan says: "The Spanish writers boldly invented for the Aztecs an absolute monarchy with high feudal characteristics, and have succeeded in placing it in history. . . . Indian chiefs are described as lords by Spanish writers and invested with rights over lands and persons they never

possessed. . . . There was neither a political society, nor a citizen, nor any civilization in America when it was discovered. One entire ethnical period intervened between the highest American Indian tribes and the beginning of civilization as that term is commonly understood."²⁹ Crow supports this general view of Morgan's, stating that the Spanish "wrongly saw in the world's largest and finest social integration of primitive folk culture the royalty, courts, and empire of their untutored imaginations. When such terms as these are employed, the reader must bear in mind that the Incas [and Aztecs] were Indians whose notions of rank and statehood were not at all like those of the European, but sprang out of a tribal and folk culture. . . . The basis of Inca society was the community or clan, called the ayllu."³⁰

The noted scholar on Indian life, Paul Radin, says that although the Aztec "kings" held considerable authority in military affairs, "the powers possessed by the king in civil matters and over the lives of his fellow Aztecs, were comparatively small." And speaking of the Inca regime, Radin further states: "But while formally this government was a pure despotism there seems to be no reason for believing that the Inca possessed the arbitrary power which we are accustomed to associate with European and Asiatic despots."³¹ Wilcox states of the Aztec "emperor": "He was elected by the tribal council and the clan war chiefs and the leading priests and he could be disposed of by them."³²

The Aztec and Inca general social organizations were confederacies of tribes, ruled by councils representing these tribes. There were three major tribes in the Aztec confederacy, according to Morgan—the Aztecs, Tezcucans, and Tlacapans—and the Inca confederacy was based primarily upon two tribes, the Quichuas and Aymaras, although seemingly the tendency of the Incas was eventually to bring conquered tribes into the confederacy on a restricted basis. Morgan points out that there were also many such confederations of tribes among the Indians of North America, including those of the Creeks (six tribes), Ottawas (three), Dakotas (seven), Moquis (seven), etc. The best known of all these, however, was the Iroquois confederacy of five, and finally six, tribes. Supposedly this was established by the fabled Hiawatha. Morgan, who made a profound study of these famous Indians, believed that the Iroquois confederation was more solidly organized than even the confederation of the Aztecs.

Both the Incas and the Aztecs, in their "empires," held many tribes in subjection. These subjugated tribes were exploited in various ways—to furnish sacrificial victims, to supply slaves and soldiers, to yield tribute of precious metals and other valuables. Both "empires" are generally believed to have passed their zenith when the Spaniards arrived.

In Peru and Mexico, where the Indian regimes were essentially at about the same level of cultural development, although the economy was still

fundamentally tribal communalism, private property in land and the organization of the state were beginning to develop. Crow says: "In pre-Inca days these ayllus controlled every public act, owned all the land, and provided the community or tribal government. They were made up of clans or communities of various sizes and were democratically run by their councils of elders. The ownership of land was communal; work was communal. . . . This is exactly what the Inca 'empire' was in its initial stages. As time passed and the central authority increased, ownership of lands became theoretically vested in the Inca, but actually the ayllu remained (and in many regions still remains) as the backbone of the structure."³³ Potentates such as Montezuma in Mexico and Atahualpa in Peru, while still elected by small circles of powerful chiefs, had acquired great powers as heads of both the "church" and the "government," and their offices apparently had become hereditary in one family or gens.

In both Peru and Mexico at the time of the conquest the state, a ruling class and a producing class were being gradually created out of the progressive breakdown of the communal land system, the slow disintegration of the gens, the growing concentration of power in the hands of certain families or gens, and the increasing enslavement of the working masses of the people. Engels, in great detail, points out that much the same type of development took place among the early Greeks and Romans as they emerged from the gentile form of social organization.³⁴ When the Spaniards arrived in America both the Incas and Aztecs apparently were in the process of developing societies somewhat like those of ancient Greece and Rome, where state power and much of the land were concentrated in the hands of a small ruling class and the vast masses of the people were slaves.*

The influence of the Aztec and Inca regimes, the basic centers of developing Indian civilization in the Americas, radiated far and wide in various directions. According to Radin, elements of Aztec culture were to be found as far north as the Modoc Indians of Oregon and as far east as the Algonquin and Iroquois tribes of the Atlantic Coast regions; while the influence of the highly developed Inca regime of Peru extended far beyond its actual borders, all the way down the Pacific Coast through Chile, across the Andes to present-day Paraguay and Argentina, and also deeply into the immense jungles of Brazil.

*In the "Golden Age" of Greece, about 600 B.C., there were eighteen slaves for each free adult male in Athens, and in Corinth, Aegina, and other Greek cities, the proportion of freedmen and slaves was about the same as in Athens.

3. THE CONQUEST OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

The settlement of the Americas by Europeans and the introduction of Old World culture represented a great step forward over the prevailing primitive societies. But this historical advance was accomplished with the welter of bloodshed, tyranny, and suffering always attendant upon the establishment of feudalism and capitalism in all countries. The conquistadores of the several powers who introduced their higher social system into the western hemisphere were not, of course, animated by any notions of social progress, but simply by a determination to grab what they could for themselves and their class. This brutal greed was the driving force of the ruling classes of all the feudal-capitalist colonizing states. In his "Requisicion" of 1509, King Ferdinand of Spain gave the ruthless line for the whole conquest of all the colonizing countries when he warned the Indian peoples that if they did not submit, "we shall . . . make war against you, in all ways and manners that we can, and shall submit you to the yoke and obediences of the Church and of their highnesses; we shall take you, and your wives, and children, and shall make slaves of them!"¹

There are many writers who try to gloss over the tragic sea of violence, bloodshed, slavery, exploitation, poverty, and general misery attendant upon the subjugation of the Americas with the argument that it was all something flowing out of the very nature of man and therefore historically inevitable. So they play down as unavoidable the anguish and terrors and sufferings of the masses throughout the whole long period. But this is a much too easy justification of predatory feudalism and capitalism. In this general respect the great lesson standing out from the history of the western hemisphere is the extreme barbarity with which capitalism goes about its development of primitive countries. And this lesson has validity, not only regarding the crimes committed by the exploiters in the Americas during the early centuries, but those they are guilty of here in the twentieth century—in Latin America, Asia and Africa. In contrast with this, socialism undertakes the development of backward areas upon an altogether higher level than does capitalism. This has been graphically shown by the tremendous advance which it has brought about among the many formerly oppressed and undeveloped peoples in the Soviet Union, some of whom, at the outset of the Russian Revolution, were about as primitive as various of the American Indian tribes. With capitalism destroyed and the working class in power in the U.S.S.R., the advance of these once backward peoples has been a steady

and peaceful one, to ever-improving degrees of literacy, industrialism, democracy, and general well-being. Today, after just a few years of socialism, these peoples are in the front line of social progress and are incomparably more advanced than the tragically situated primitive peoples of the Americas after four hundred and sixty years of feudalism and capitalism.

The conquest, seizure, and exploitation of the New World, and its peoples, on behalf of the avaricious ruling classes of Europe, and their class offshoots in America, began immediately upon the landing of Columbus in 1492. The drive of the Europeans against the Indians was swift, cruel, and irresistible. Within fifty years, the Spanish and Portuguese had overrun and reduced generally to their sway the whole vast stretch of country from Cape Horn well up to the present United States-Canada border, including the many islands along the coasts. In the northern wildernesses of North America the conquest, chiefly under English and French auspices, went somewhat slower than in the South. It was, however, a full four hundred years before the last important armed resistance of the Indians was broken and the territories of the western hemisphere were completely mastered.

The subjugation of the Americas brought about a reckless shattering of Indian society and culture, as well as the wanton murder of millions of people. For sheer barbarity and disregard of human life, and for destruction of historical treasures and valuable institutions, this conquest was hardly to be equalled in modern times. It was one of the very worst of the monster bloodbaths that have accompanied the birth and establishment of the world capitalist system.

At first the unsuspecting Indians greeted the strange white newcomers from across the seas in a most friendly manner, often as gods. Verrill expresses this typical attitude: "When Columbus stepped ashore upon the Bahamas the peaceful natives welcomed the Spaniards with presents, hospitality, and entertainment, and regarded them as gods or supermen."² Everywhere else, upon first contact, the white men were received similarly. Columbus himself thus describes the Indians' reception in a letter written in 1493: "They refuse nothing that they possess, if it be asked of them; on the contrary, they invite anyone to share it and display as much love as if they would give their hearts."³

The well-meaning Indians were quickly undeceived, however, and soon learned that they had to resist the brutal and insatiable invaders or perish. They began their heroic struggle, which in spite of devastating defeats, has continued on down to our own times. Many men are still alive who have participated in hard-fought Indian wars. Some tribes, such as the indomitable Araucanians* of southern Chile and the brave Yaquis and various other

**La Araucana*, one of the greatest poems of Latin America, was written around the wars of these valiant Indians. The Araucanians, in executing Pedro de Valdivia in 1533, are said to have poured down his throat molten gold, symbolic of the treasure that the Spaniards so craved.

peoples of Mexico, were never actually conquered by military force. It has been well said, too, that, "Pizarro conquered the Inca empire but neither he nor his successors down through the centuries conquered the Incas."⁴ The Indian, says Simons, "was the ablest savage fighter the world has ever known."⁵ And it was not until the 1880's that the Sioux, Apaches, and other tribes finally abandoned their armed resistance in the United States. There are many tribes deep in the jungle interior of the Amazon basin of Brazil who to this day have preserved their tribal independence and institutions, despite innumerable attempts to subjugate them. And, as we shall see in later chapters, the Indians throughout the hemisphere are even now continuing their struggle for freedom with different means and different slogans.

There were many reasons why the Indians, for all their stoic courage, were unable to withstand the invaders from Europe. These all relate to the higher social development of the latter. Most important, there was much disunion and even war among the various Indian tribes, so that the Europeans, on the principle of "divide and rule," were able easily to play off one people against another, with fatal results for the Indians generally. The Indians also had quisling tendencies among them, particularly in Mexico and Peru, where sections of the ruling castes tried to make self-serving arrangements with the conquerors at the expense of their own people,⁶ by acting supinely as their puppet rulers, by politically marrying off their daughters to the conquistadores, etc.* The Spaniards widely used local chieftains as farm overseers, and many of them distinguished themselves by extreme brutality to their fellow Indians. Diffie says that, "The Indian nobility was specifically recognized in the laws, and was maintained in its privileges so long as it was obedient to its Spanish superiors."⁷

The Indians also suffered a disastrous inferiority as to arms, discipline, and material resources, compared to the endless stream of invading settlers and soldiers. Various diseases also played a great part in the Indians' downfall. According to Hrdlicka, Carter, and others, the Indians were originally an unusually healthy people; but the whites introduced many diseases among them which had truly catastrophic effects. Some of the worst of these new diseases were yellow fever, bubonic plague, cholera, smallpox, measles, typhus, whooping cough, diphtheria, pneumonia, oncorosis, and probably also tuberculosis, malaria and syphilis, few or none of which evils had existed in the Americas prior to the white man's coming.⁸ Alcohol also had devastating consequences among the Indians.

An especially demoralizing force among the Indians, in crippling their

*Garcilaso de la Vega, the eminent Peruvian historian, was the son of such a marriage. And Martinez de Irala, Governor of the Rio de la Plata region in 1537, himself married no less than seven daughters, at one blow, of local Indian chieftains, his soldiers also getting three girls each.

resistance to the conquerors, was the influence of the Church, especially the Catholic Church. The role of the Church in the conquest, expressed in modern terms, was to soften up the Indians ideologically, and it did just that. The Church, with special insidiousness, undermined the Indians' fighting spirit by giving them supposedly a spiritual bond with their oppressors. At the same time the Church, including all denominations, was always on hand to give its blessing to the worst exploitation and oppression of the peoples. It gave a moral excuse for the commission of the most terrible pillage and murder of modern times. It has been well said that the conquistadores of all the invading nations, with their hypocritical pretences of Christian Evangelism, "first fell upon their knees and then upon the aborigines."

Overrunning the West Indies

The first American territories actually conquered by the Spaniards were the many islands comprising the West Indies—Cuba, Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, Jamaica, and a score of others. These lush islands from the outset were held to be very great prizes. Eventually, said Eric Williams: "the tiniest British sugar island was considered more valuable than the whole thirteen mainland colonies. French Guadeloupe . . . was once deemed more precious than Canada, and the Dutch cheerfully [?] surrendered what today is New York state for a strip of the Guianan territory."⁹ For many years Santo Domingo was accounted the most valuable colony in all the world.

Most of the West Indian islands originally were heavily populated with Indians, principally the Caribs and Arawaks. These were hardy, warlike peoples. The Spaniards, in the years immediately following Columbus' arrival, proceeded to enslave these Indians and to exploit them in the most ferocious manner. This oppression, together with the new diseases, which spread like wildfire among the native inhabitants, had deadly effects upon the Indians. Those who did not die of disease or of hard work were killed in resisting slavery.

Consequently, within a few years, the whole West Indian area became virtually depopulated of Indians, and so it remains until today. Large numbers of West Indians killed one another or committed suicide in order, by these desperate means, to escape the Spanish oppression, while others fled to areas where they had a chance to reach the mainland. Cuba was said to have had at the outset some 300,000 Indians, Santo Domingo 250,000, and Puerto Rico, 60,000, and these were almost completely wiped out. The inhabitants of the other West Indian islands, for the most part, suffered a similar fate. Probably at least 1,000,000 Indians in the West Indies were destroyed in this holocaust. Speaking of this terrible West Indian tragedy, Verrill says: "Within a dozen years [after 1492] . . . not an Indian was left

alive in the Bahamas; within a score of years after the discovery of Santo Domingo every Indian had been enslaved, deported, or killed. And the same was true wherever the Spaniards went. To them, an Indian was no more than a wild beast."¹⁰

It was these brutal outrages committed against the Indians of the West Indies that caused the famous Spanish Catholic priest, Bartolome de las Casas, to raise his strong voice in their behalf. Among his many bitter descriptions of the atrocious treatment accorded the Indians, Las Casas said: "And it was related to me for certain that a ship going from Hispaniola [Santo Domingo] to the islands of Lucays sailed thither without any compass, guided only by the carcasses that floated up and down the sea."¹¹ In our days apologists for reactionary Spanish culture, including Carlos Davila, try to discredit Las Casas and his so-called Black Legend by claiming that he cast undue aspersions upon the conquistadores and unfairly gave them a bad name.¹² But regardless of this eminent priest's sometimes inaccurate statistics, the irrefutable fact sustains him; namely that the Indians of the West Indies were virtually exterminated during the first few years of Spanish rule.

The Conquest of Mexico

The first decisive drive of the Spaniards onto the continental mainland resulted in the conquest of Mexico in 1518-1521. Hernando Cortes, a Spanish nobleman who had been a planter in Santo Domingo and Cuba, led the predatory expedition. Cortes was commissioned by Velasquez, the Governor of Cuba, to find and conquer the great Indian empires on the mainland, about which many exciting stories had come to the ears of the gold-hungry Spaniards. On November 18, 1518, Cortes sailed towards the Continent on one of the most astonishing adventures ever undertaken. When his forces were fully assembled he had some 508 soldiers, 109 sailors, 200 Cuban Indians, and several Negro slaves, and his equipment consisted of a number of horses, ten large cannons, five small ones, and thirteen muskets—truly a tiny force for the gigantic task in hand. Cortes' expedition in search of gold and glory was, as usual, dressed up with religious pretenses that its main purpose was to save the souls of the heathen Indians. The cross marched with the sword to ruthless conquest.

After cruising along the Mexican coast, Cortes finally landed in present-day Vera Cruz in April of 1519. He burned his ships, so that any faint-hearts that might develop would have no possibility of returning to Cuba. Cortes then headed boldly for Tenochtitlan (Mexico City), of which, by now, he had received definite and very glowing information. Hardly had he got under way than the key of ultimate victory was handed him when the Totonacs, one of the many local tribes who were in more or less open rebellion against the dominant Aztecs, joined forces with him against the latter.

Further along, another larger tribe, the Tlascalans, after offering some resistance, also joined Cortes against the hated Aztecs, thus giving him substantial Indian support in the shape of an estimated 150,000 seasoned warriors. This lack of solidarity among the Indian tribes against the invaders was one of the basic reasons for Cortes' amazing success. Some of the chieftains urged a unity with the Aztecs, despite all previous conflicts, but their advice was rejected. Chase says Cortes' Indian allies actually far outnumbered the Aztecs.¹³

Montezuma, "emperor" of the Aztecs, was in consternation at the coming of the Spaniards. Deeply superstitious, he was said to be numbed by an old-time prophecy attributed to the god Quetzalcoatl, to the effect that about this date white men would come across the sea from the east and conquer Mexico. In any event, during the crucial first days he made no real effort to halt Cortes by major military force. Lawson says: "It seems probable that Montezuma and his advisers were less concerned about mythology than about saving their own necks."¹⁴ Montezuma vacillated fatally, in one breath professing friendship for Cortes and sending him lavish presents of golden art objects, which greatly excited the Spaniards' greed and determination for conquest, and in the next breath warning Cortes not to come to Mexico City but dispatching inadequate forces to stop him. But Cortes, with the reckless daring typical of the Spanish conquistadores, marched boldly on. He easily defeated the detachments sent against him by Montezuma, the Indians finding it impossible to stand against the Spaniards' armor, guns, cannons, horses, and discipline. Cortes reached Mexico City in November, 1519, whereupon the weakling Montezuma greeted him and provided his army with quarters and entertainment.

Cortes, surrounded by tens of thousands of enemy armed warriors, felt that he was in a most precarious position, so he resolved to cut his way out of it by a desperate expedient. In the West Indies the Spaniards had learned that if they seized the head men, the caciques of the Indians, this resulted in demoralization of their fighting forces. So Cortes decided to grab the chieftain, which he did when Montezuma naively gave him an opportunity by approaching him without a strong guard. This coup had a ruinously disrupting effect upon the Aztecs. Cortes now had in his power not only their supreme military leader, but also their religious divinity. For a time chaos reigned in the Aztec ranks; but soon, disgusted by Montezuma's constant attempts to appease Cortes and to surrender Mexico to Spain, the people deposed him and elected Cuauhtemoc in his stead.

The eventual open clash between the Aztecs and the Spaniards was brought about by a barbarous (and typical) violation of the Aztec religion by Alvarado, Cortes' right-hand man, who cold-bloodedly killed several hundred unarmed Indians during a religious festival. The Spaniards had pro-

fessed to be revolted by the Aztecs' idolatry and especially by their human sacrifices, but they did not hesitate to butcher numberless Indians in the name of the Catholic Church. To them, there was no contradiction whatsoever in this. The Aztecs replied to Alvarado's savage attack upon them and their religion by an all-out armed assault against the Spaniards. And when Montezuma, at the behest of Cortes and in line with his general policy of surrender, spoke to the people from a balcony, pleading abjectly with them to give up their fight, they stoned him to death. After a desperate and bloody struggle, the Spaniards were driven out of Mexico City, with a loss of more than half their forces.

Undaunted by this crushing defeat, Cortes pulled his forces together on the coast for a new offensive. One of his major moves in this second effort was to create a flotilla of thirteen vessels out of the remnants of the destroyed ships at Vera Cruz, this flotilla to be transported overland and used to attack Mexico City from Lake Tezcuco, on which it is situated. By this time Cortes' Indian allies had greatly increased in number and Cortes had built his Spanish army up to about 1,000 men, with 12 cannon, and 86 cavalry horses. The famous old conquistador historian, Bernal Diaz, describes the ensuing march on Mexico City as a series of fantastic battles in which the gigantic Indian armies arrayed against Cortes suffered losses amounting to tens of thousands killed, while the Spaniards, virtually invulnerable, had only trivial casualties.¹⁵

The joining with Cortes of further Indian tribes in revolt against Aztec rule, was fatal for the Aztecs. As Prescott, who wrote in 1843, says: "The Indian empire was in a manner conquered by Indians. . . . The Aztec monarchy fell by the hands of its own subjects, under the direction of European sagacity and science. Had it been united, it might have bidden defiance to the invaders."¹⁶

After capturing the surrounding towns, Cortes besieged Mexico City itself in May, 1521. The siege lasted until August. Wilgus has this to say about the siege: "Before the city's fall many of the Indians had died of starvation and the Spaniards, working their way slowly toward the center of the city, massacred the weakened natives by the thousands and captured the Aztec emperor. In the end the town was a mass of ruins and a horrible shambles."¹⁷ Later on Cortes hanged the "emperor" Cuauhtemoc for "treason."

Christian civilization had now established itself in Mexico. The Aztec organization was basically shattered, never to recover. The Indians, however, did not give up easily. Old Bernal Diaz himself thus describes the conditions prevailing in the early years after the Spanish conquest: "In the whole of New Spain [Mexico], the demand for tribute was the signal for an insurrection, and those who attempted the collection of it were killed, as in-

deed were all Spaniards who fell into the hands of the natives. In the provinces the resistance was universal, and we were under the necessity of going round from one city or town to another with a company of soldiers to keep the peace."¹⁸ And this resistance, as we have already noted, was to continue among many Mexican tribes for 400 years or more.

The Spaniards' great victory in Mexico, which was blazoned all over Europe, firmly established them on the continental mainland. The rich treasures they had looted from the Mexican people also whetted their appetites for fresh conquests. From Mexico City, in the ensuing years conquistadores searching for gold fanned out northward to the areas now the lower United States, setting up claims for these territories, and southward through Central America to Panama, seizing all the lands they visited and enslaving and baptizing the inhabitants. The Spanish state and church were well on their march to conquer the bulk of the hemisphere.

The Conquest of Peru

The next great step in securing the mastery of the Western hemisphere was the conquest of Peru by the Spaniards during the years 1531-33, only a decade after the conquest of Mexico. The organizer and leader of this remarkable expedition was Francisco Pizarro, who was formerly an illiterate swineherd. Among Pizarro's closest associates were his four half-brothers and Diego de Almagro. There was a basic similarity between the conquests of Mexico and Peru in their ruthless methods and religious fanaticism.

When Pizarro after two earlier exploratory voyages landed at Tumbez, Peru, in November, 1532, with his little band of reckless adventurers—he had less than 200 men all told—the situation in the country was ripe for the success of his daring enterprise. A civil war had been raging between the two brothers, Huascar and Atahualpa, contenders for the Inca "throne." After a sharp struggle the interloper, Atahualpa, had been the winner and had thrown his brother into jail. This situation had badly shaken the Inca regime and had left it wide open to Pizarro's attack.

Atahualpa, like Montezuma in Mexico, was fatally indecisive in dealing with the Spaniards. He, too, was plagued by an ancient prophecy about white men who would one day come and conquer Peru. And he also made the mistake of believing he could dispose of Pizarro and his tiny body of men when and as he pleased. So he foolishly allowed Pizarro's force to make its way through the Andes mountains, where he could easily have destroyed it in the precipitous mountain passes. Then, of course, unaware of the fate of Mexico, he made the great mistake of coming into the presence of Pizarro unarmed and unprotected. Pizarro seized him just as Cortes had seized the Mexican Indian leader, Montezuma.

Prescott vividly describes the dramatic seizure of Atahualpa, one of the

most brutal and bloody crimes in all American history. It happened at Caxamarca, Peru, on November 16, 1532. Pizarro and Atahualpa met for the first time in the public square, with elaborate ceremonies. Atahualpa and the many thousands of his people present were completely unarmed, but Pizarro's forces, fully armed, had the trap all set. The signal for the slaughter was given by a priest, Father Valverde. The latter had advanced to Atahualpa, given him a Bible and called upon him to renounce his gods, to accept Christianity, and to give his allegiance to Spain. Insulted by these proposals, Atahualpa indignantly threw the Bible upon the ground, whereupon the priest Valverde cried out to Pizarro: "Do you not see, that, while we stand here wasting our breath in talking with this dog, full of pride as he is, the fields are filling with Indians? Set on, at once; I absolve you." The slaughter began. The unarmed Indians were helpless before Pizarro's attack and were butchered. Pizarro's secretary later stated that two thousand were killed, but the Inca historian, Titucussi, says the number was ten thousand. Not one Spaniard was even injured. The massacre ended with Atahualpa a prisoner in the hands of Pizarro.¹⁹

This bold stroke had a shattering effect on the Inca people's morale. They were paralyzed with shock. Their army was disrupted, their leader captured. Distant tribes, long discontented, gave up their allegiance to the Inca regime. And the Huascar faction began to maneuver to regain power, with the Spaniards' blessing. The Spaniards found themselves virtual masters of the country.

The conquerors then perpetrated another monstrous crime. Atahualpa, to secure his freedom, agreed with them that, as his ransom, he would fill with gold his prison room, 22 feet by 17, as high as he could reach. He also agreed to fill a somewhat smaller room twice over with silver. The ransom, equal to at least \$20 million in our times and the largest ever known in history, was duly collected; but Pizarro callously violated his bargain and refused to free the Inca. In line with this treachery, shortly afterward he seized upon a flimsy pretext to execute him. Atahualpa was sentenced to be burned to death, but at the last moment he was given the opportunity, by the same Father Valverde, to die by strangulation instead of by fire, if he would but profess Christianity. The desperate Inca, unbelieving to the last, accepted this tragic bargain.

In full control now, the Spaniards launched into an unbridled orgy of looting the country. Temples were stripped of their gold and demolished. Precious Inca records were destroyed. Says Prescott: "Pizarro delivered up the conquered races to his brutal soldiery; the sacred cloisters were abandoned to their lust; the towns and villages were given up to pillage; the wretched natives were parceled out like slaves to work for their conquerors in the mines; the flocks were scattered and wantonly destroyed; the granaries were

dissipated; the beautiful contrivances for the more perfect culture of the soil were suffered to fall into decay; the paradise was converted into a desert."²⁰

Manco, also a brother of Huascar who was then dead, was the rightful successor to the Inca "throne." He pretended to go along with the Spaniards for a while as a puppet Inca, but late in 1535 he escaped and set out to arouse the Peruvian people to fight. The masses responded to his call and in February, 1536, with a huge army, he laid siege to Cuzco. The siege lasted six months, but the hard-pressed Spaniards managed to survive it, while the big Indian forces, unused to this type of warfare, gradually dissolved. Finally, Manco had to flee to the mountains, where for several years he continued to harass the invaders. Finally he was killed by the Spaniards.

In their struggles for possession of the vast wealth of Peru, Pizarro's greedy adventurers now fell upon each other like starving wolves. A civil war developed between the followers of Pizarro and his erstwhile bosom friend, Almagro. During the course of this savage conflict Almagro and his son, defeated in the field, were barbarously executed in 1537 and 1542, respectively. Alvarado, another friend of Cortes, was poisoned. Pizarro himself was assassinated, and his four brothers were either jailed or executed. Out of this quagmire of intrigue, assassination, and mass butchery, the Spanish Church and colonial state, the standard bearers of European culture and civilization, emerged triumphant over the dead body of the great Inca society.

After their victory, which gave the Spaniards control over Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru—an immense territory—the conquistadores spread out rapidly in various directions. In 1535 Almagro—they had not yet executed him—followed by Pedro de Valdivia in 1540, had penetrated Chile about as far south as Santiago, but could go no further due to the unbreakable resistance of the Araucanian Indians. In 1536-38, Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada, searching for the mythical El Dorado, had led an expedition that finally established Spanish dominion over the highly developed Chibchas of Colombia and Venezuela. And in 1540-42, Gonzalo Pizarro and Francisco de Orellana, searching for another golconda like Peru, had vainly voyaged far and wide in the Amazonian jungles. It is of interest that during these years—1517 to 1531—the Fuggers and Welsers, big bankers of Augsburg, Germany, wangled from the Spanish kings²¹ a huge and valuable stretch of territory in Venezuela and also the whole end of South America below the Rio de la Plata, in payment of debts that these profligate kings had contracted.²² But the Germans were not able long to hold onto these vast claims in the face of the rapacity of the Spanish conquistadores. The Fuggers, with rich opportunities in Europe, never tried to develop their extensive American holdings, and the Welsers, after inflicting horrible cruelty on the Indians in Venezuela, finally had to yield up their properties to the Spaniards.

Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay

The Rio de la Plata, or River of Silver, or River Plate, as the English called it, a broad estuary of the Parana and Uruguay rivers, was discovered in 1516 by Juan Solis, who was killed by Indians. Sebastian Cabot explored the region in 1526, and Pedro de Mendoza, hoping to find another Mexico or Peru, led a big expedition in 1534, which attempted to set up Buenos Aires a year later. The Indians, however, destroyed the town, forcing the Spaniards up the river, where they founded Asuncion, now the capital of Paraguay. It was not until 1580 that the Spaniards could finally get Buenos Aires firmly established.

The vast pampas, which embraced most of Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and lower Brazil, were inhabited by numerous tribes of nomadic Indians, who fiercely but unsuccessfully resisted the encroachments of the Spaniards. Crow estimates that these Indians numbered up to 800,000. The Spaniards waged a ruthless warfare against them, killing those whom they could not enslave. This bitter struggle went on and lasted until recent times. In 1854, the Argentine government had to sign a humiliating peace with the Indians, led by their great leader, Calfucura. As late as 1871, the province of Buenos Aires was subject to Indian attack.²³ The last of these tribes was subdued in 1879.²⁴ In consequence of these wars and massacres, the Indians were almost entirely wiped out in Argentina and Uruguay. The Guaranis of Paraguay were almost obliterated in the middle of the sixteenth century when they ordered the strangling of their children to prevent them from becoming slaves to the Spanish encomenderos.²⁵ Many survived, however, and are playing a decisive role in that country today.

Although at present the River Plate region is the best developed of any section in all Latin America, it was nevertheless a great disappointment to the early conquistadores, for it was without the gold and silver for which they were so feverishly looking. They searched fruitlessly for the supposedly nearby "City of Caesaro" which was to have made them all wealthy. The country also possessed none of the rich and highly developed Indian societies such as those of Mexico and Peru. It was not until long after the spectacular period of the conquest that these areas began to develop their true wealth, their immense agricultural resources. But this growth, as we shall see, also was achieved only at the cost of long decades of bloodshed, brutal tyranny, and barbarous exploitation.

The Occupation of Brazil

Brazil* was an easy conquest for the Portuguese. They had relatively few Indians to contend with, and these were largely scattered nomads. The biggest problem came later from rival nations—Spain, England, France and

*Brazil got its name from the dye-wood called brazilwood that was found there.

Holland—which wanted to grab the rich prize from the Portuguese. But they did not succeed. On the contrary, the Portuguese, although they were the smallest European power of the lot, with only about 1,500,000 people in the homeland (as against approximately 4 million for England, 10 million for Spain, and 12 million for France in 1500), managed to extend the borders of their Brazilian colony by grabbing an additional area at least half as big as the United States, beyond the western limits originally set for them by the Pope in 1494.

Brazil was discovered by Alvares Cabral in 1500. Following the route of Vasco da Gama around the Cape of Good Hope to India, Cabral was supposedly blown off his course, when he sighted the Brazilian shore. This was the basis for Portugal's claim to the country. But as the Portuguese at the time were devoting their main attention to looting the rich colonies in India and the Far East, they at first paid little attention to developing Brazil. Finally, however, in 1539, they sent Martin Alfonso de Sousa to Brazil with four hundred settlers. Upon their arrival they found a small settlement of Jews and other refugees from the terrors of the Inquisition in Europe.

This was the real beginning of Brazilian settlement. De Sousa established successful colonies at Bahia and Sao Paulo, and others soon followed these. Like other Latin American colonial lands, Brazil also had its will-o-the-wisp lure, the fabled "Land of the Amazons," and adventurers long sought in vain to find it. But the wild chase for gold, soon discouraged, did not play the decisive role in Brazil that it had in Peru, Mexico, and Colombia. No great Indian "empires" had ever been located there. Gold and diamonds were not found in quantity until long after the conquest, in 1698 and 1727 respectively. From the outset sugar became the basis of the colony's life, and Brazil began to build its system of large plantations, operated chiefly by Negro slaves. As for the Indians, all but those who fled into the jungle interior were ruthlessly enslaved and decimated.

The Conquest of the United States and Canada

The final act in the great drama of the seizure of the western hemisphere by European exploiters was the conquest of the territory of the present-day United States and Canada by the English and French. This process, begun at Jamestown in 1606 and in Quebec in 1608, was a long drawn out one and was not fully completed until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when the two nations, in their turn, completed the task of bringing the whole vast area from Mexico to Alaska under their respective controls.

Like the Spanish and Portuguese in the more southern latitudes, the English and French conquerors and colonizers proceeded on the theory that the American Indians had no valid claims to the lands they occupied, but could be robbed of them at will. Of course, these northern conquistadores occa-

sionally went through the motions of "buying" the land from the Indians, such as William Penn's "purchase" of Pennsylvania in 1670, or Peter Minuit's "purchase" of Manhattan Island in 1626 for 24 dollars worth of trinkets. Of the latter deal, Lossing says: "The price paid by the Hollanders for their territory estimated at forty-two thousand acres in extent was not extravagant."²⁶ The invaders also signed slippery treaties with the Indians, but these devices were mere subterfuges in executing their basic policy of helping themselves as they saw fit to the Indians' land. The various churches in the North American colonies, whether the Catholic Church along the St. Lawrence, the Church of England in upper Canada, or the hypocritical Puritans in New England, like the Church in Latin America, all gave their blessing to this wholesale despoliation of the Indians.

Inasmuch as early colonial experience proved that the Indians could not be enslaved on the southern plantations, or utilized in the budding industries of the north, colonial policy, especially in the colonies south of the St. Lawrence, was to drive the Indians out altogether. The watchword was, "The savage must go." As Ruth Benedict says: "The Englishman [and Frenchman] wanted the territories of the Indian, and he wanted them free of Indians. The early royal grants of land in the New World made no mention of the natives already living there; they read as if no human being occupied the territories. The dearest wish of the settlers was to achieve this happy condition as soon as possible."²⁷ The assault on the Indians in the North American colonies was especially ruthless and cold-blooded. It was animated by the deadly slogan long afterward voiced by General Phil Sheridan, "pacifier" of the western frontier: "There are no good Indians but dead Indians."²⁸ As late as 1894 Mackenzie says that a "Western American will on slight provocation shoot down an Indian as he would a stag."²⁹

The thin sprinkling of Indians along the Atlantic Coast did not, in the beginning, realize the fatal significance of the straggling line of French and English (and Dutch and Swedish) colonies strung out from Georgia to the St. Lawrence. At first, like everywhere else in the hemisphere, the Indians greeted the strange white man from across the sea in a friendly manner. But for the co-operation of Massasoit and Powhatan, the Massachusetts and Jamestown colonies would have perished in their first years. It was only later, after many deceptions, robberies, and oppressions had been practiced upon them, that the Indians began to defend themselves and their homes. But, like the Indians elsewhere in the Americas, these Indians were also split up into mutually warring tribes and were incapable of offering a common resistance. Of course, there was no trace of a sense of nationhood among the many primitive tribes. Consequently, as the French and English colonies grew and flourished throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they steadily forced back the retreating Indians.

As Cortes and Pizarro had done before them, the English and French used the "divide and rule" policy against the Indians. They played off one tribe against the other. One of the most decisive examples of this was in the case of the Algonquins and the Iroquois. Two strong Indian confederacies, long at war with each other, they dominated most of the vast areas of the eastern and central parts of Canada and the United States. The French generally made allies of the Algonquin tribes, while the British enlisted the Iroquois on their side in their endless trade and military wars against the French. Just what little consideration was actually given these Indian allies by their white "friends" was demonstrated at the close of the Seven Years' War between England and France. This war had been fought vigorously in Canada and the United States and it finally resulted in France losing Canada to the English. But when it came to writing the treaty of settlement in Paris in 1763, the Indian allies of both sides were not represented and their interests were flagrantly disregarded.

The conquerors of the Indian lands now comprising the United States and Canada had no golden lure before their eyes, such as the marauders from Spain and Portugal had.* They made no daring adventures into the deep interior, on the pattern of Orellana, De Soto and Coronado, if we may except the mid-west explorations of the French priests along the Mississippi in the seventeenth century. Their colonial economy from the outset was basically agricultural and they expanded westward slowly but ruthlessly, pushing the Indians off their lands. The Indians made many gallant fights to save their position, but divided as they were among themselves, especially in the early days, Algonquins against Iroquois, their efforts were unavailing. The invading flood rolled on.

After the birth of the United States republic the pressure against the Indians increased. They were even more brazenly robbed of their lands and systematically forced further and further west. Within the next two generations the main groups of Indians were driven across the Mississippi; then they were ruthlessly defeated in wars on the plains, and finally, by 1890, they were rounded up in the present system of reservations, or enlarged concentration camps. The Indians engaged in many sharp struggles in their gradual retreat before the ever-swelling tide of white immigrants, settlers and soldiers, but their resistance was futile. However, we shall say more further along about this whole shameful phase of American history. In Canada, the Indians were similarly despoiled of their lands and eventually bottled up in reservations, although this was not done so violently as in the United States.

*In the sixteenth century the early explorers along the St. Lawrence were for some time deceived by Indian tales of the rich country of Saguenay.

Revolutionary Significance of the Conquest

Bourgeois historians, intent primarily upon defending the role of the conquerors of the western hemisphere, have devoted very little attention to the far-reaching economic, political, and social effects of the conquest upon the life of the millions of Indians throughout the hemisphere. The tendency of such writers, particularly in the United States, has been merely to consider the primitive Indian society as crushed and to let it go at that. But the matter is by no means so simple. In reality, the consequences of the conquest have been revolutionary for the Indians, inasmuch as it fundamentally undermined their old tribal communalism and literally catapulted them into the higher, feudal-capitalist regime.

Of course, there has been no revolution among the Indians of the western hemisphere in the sense of the spontaneous growth of a revolutionary class among them which, on the basis of its higher order of production, proceeded to overthrow the old, primitive regime and thus to raise the whole Indian life to a higher status. Nothing at all like this happened. Instead, the revolutionary pressure came entirely from the outside, from the imposition of the feudal-capitalist system upon the indigenous regimes by the invaders. As a result, the normal course of evolution of Indian society has been rudely interrupted and sort of telescoped. Consequently, the Indians in this hemisphere will not experience the characteristic centuries-long development through slavery and feudalism, that societies have previously known in many parts of the world. They will, so to speak, skip these stages and will go with the peoples wherever they live through capitalism to socialism.

Karl Marx, in an article in the *New York Daily Tribune* of June 25, 1853, describes the revolution being brought about in the primitive economy of India through the introduction of capitalism in that country by the British. Dealing with the breakup of the village industries, Marx states: "English interference, having placed the spinner in Lancaster and the weaver in Bengal, or sweeping away both Hindoo spinner and weaver, dissolved these small semi-barbarian, semi-civilized communities by blowing up their economical bases, and thus produced the greatest and, to speak the truth, the only *social* revolution ever heard of in Asia. . . . England, it is true, in causing a social revolution in Hindoostan, was actuated only by the vilest interests, and was stupid in her manner of enforcing them."³⁰ These statements of Marx apply with equal force to the revolutionary imposition of European feudal-capitalism upon the Indians of the Americas.

In the United States particularly there prevail two general misconceptions regarding the status of the present-day Indians. With their minds upon the deplorable position of the Indians in this country, American writers for one thing frequently hop to the conclusion that the Indians generally in the hemisphere are a "vanishing," if not an already "vanished race," as a result

of the huge losses they suffered in the long agony of the conquest and the centuries following it. It is true, of course, that the Indians did experience large declines in numbers, especially in colonial times. Las Casas, the noted Catholic priest, estimated that by 1541, in the Spanish colonies alone, no less than 15 million Indians had been exterminated. Although this figure, in line with the characteristic statistical exaggeration of the period, is excessive, the truth in it is that it points to the needless Indian deaths that did run into the millions. Added to the at least one million Indians brutally wiped out in the West Indies, probably two million more were destroyed in Brazil and Argentina. Besides this, consider the holocaust of human destruction in such heavily populated Indian countries as Mexico, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, and Central America. In the United States and Canada, too, the slaughter of the Indians reduced them from about a million in Columbus' time to about half that number today.

Nevertheless, the hardy Indians physically survived this test by fire in and during the past one hundred and fifty years, and since the end of the colonial rule they have even increased their numbers very substantially. At the all-Indian conference held in Patzcuaro, Mexico, in 1940, under the auspices of the Pan-American Union, the official figure of the total number of Indians in the hemisphere was set at 30 million. "If all the persons possessing any trace of Indian blood were to be included in the enumeration, however, the number would probably be between sixty and eighty millions."³¹ These figures, which certainly far exceed the number of Indians in this hemisphere in 1492, show that the Indians are indeed anything but a "vanished race." And at the present time the population of Latin America, in which the Indians are such a large factor, is increasing faster than any comparable area in the capitalist world.

A second prevalent misconception in the United States is that the Indians throughout the hemisphere are all isolated on reservations, as in this country, and that they are continuing along in their old tribal ways, having little or nothing to do with modern life. But this is also a gross error. It is true that the Indian peoples, with wonderful tenacity, have clung to their old languages, religions, tribal customs, and even to consider fragments of their communal lands, Mexico and other predominantly Indian countries having large numbers of Indians living in most primitive fashion. Nevertheless, the vast bulk of the Indian masses exist in a capitalist environment and are basically subject to its economic and political laws.

The Indians, in those countries where they live in dense masses, are slowly developing the class differentiations characteristic of capitalist society. They have already produced a considerable mining and agricultural proletariat; it was the Indians basically in most of the countries of continental Spanish America who, for 460 years, worked the mines, plantations, and

cattle ranches as slaves, peons, and wage workers. Also, if we are to include the huge masses of Mestizos in the general ranks of Indians, the latter have similarly developed a large petty bourgeoisie of intellectuals, merchants, and handicraftsmen. In rare cases, as in that of the Osage Indians of the United States, there are even a few wealthy land-owning Indians.

Even the most isolated tribes, also, whether they be the Eskimos in the extreme north, the Guatamalan mountain Indians in Central America, or the Tierra del Fuegians in the far south, have to adopt more or less a commodity economy in order to secure the vital objects that they must have—oil, clothes, rifles, steel tools, and other articles—from the capitalist merchants. All over the western hemisphere the Indians take their grain, cattle, fruit, pottery, blankets, etc. to capitalist markets to sell. Indeed, as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, the Indian tribes along the North Atlantic coast, through participation in the extensive fur trade, already found themselves in commodity exchange relationships with the merchant capitalists. Many Indian institutions have been wiped out, but the many that still survive are being transformed on a capitalist basis. All of which means that Indian society throughout the western hemisphere, despite very important losses and tribal survivals, has been essentially revolutionized from a primitive communalism to a fundamentally capitalist basis.

The looting of the American hemisphere, particularly in the early colonial period, also gave a great impetus to the bourgeois revolution and the development of European capitalism in general. By 1800 the mines of Latin America were pouring into Europe \$40 million per year in gold and silver, or ten times more than the rest of the world together. Karl Marx wrote: "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of blackskins, signalised the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief momenta of primitive accumulation."³² Humboldt estimated that during three centuries of Spanish colonial rule, no less than six billion dollars in gold and silver had been siphoned out of the colonies and had found its way to many European countries. This was a tremendous factor in European capital accumulation which was necessary in order to give birth to the factory system and the industrial revolution. Besides, the development of the colonies of all the nations opened up a whole series of new markets for budding European capitalism. The ensuing American political revolutionary struggles also gave a big push to the struggle of the rising capitalist class in Europe against feudal-clerical reaction. The new hemisphere, particularly the United States, itself was destined to play such a decisive role in shaping world capitalism, so that today it has finally become the center and main stronghold of the world capitalist system.

4. POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Europe at the end of the fifteenth century, when Columbus made his fateful discovery, was still mainly feudal in character, but it had already given birth to a vigorous and rapidly expanding mercantile capitalism. This preliminary stage of capitalism was in its heyday from about 1500 to 1800. The European ruling classes, therefore, during the centuries-long colonial period that followed Columbus, in developing policies for the vast territories they had seized in the New World, sought to base them upon the practices of the mixed feudal-mercantile system then prevailing in Europe. The merchant capitalists concentrated upon the development of commerce and the building of a merchant fleet for the "home" countries. They sought to develop a "favorable balance of trade" and the assembling of the greatest possible amount of gold in their homelands. The growth of capitalist industrialization was to come later.

Of the main colonizing powers, Spain, Portugal, France, Sweden, and Russia (in Alaska) were essentially feudal countries. Holland had already made much progress along the road to capitalism. Says Bolton: "Nearly every mother country revived in America some vestige of feudalism—Spain tried the *encomienda*, Portugal the *capitania*, Holland the *patroon* system, England the proprietary grant, France the *seignior*."¹

As for England, the capitalist class, on the basis of a developing industry, already was beginning to secure the upper hand. This fact was of tremendous significance in the later development of her American colonies, and deeply affected their industrial development, the type of their immigration, and their political organization. The general common purpose behind the colonial policies of all the colonizing nations was to grab the land and to exploit the peoples and natural resources of the Americas for the benefit of the ruling feudal and capitalist classes. It was in this spirit of greed and cupidity that they proceeded to erect all their political, economic, and cultural systems from one end of the western hemisphere to the other.

Autocratic Colonial Government

An important difference in the colonizing methods of the several powers was that whereas Spain and Portugal undertook the exploitation of the New World directly under the leadership of the Crown and the Church, the

cattle ranches as slaves, peons, and wage workers. Also, if we are to include the huge masses of Mestizos in the general ranks of Indians, the latter have similarly developed a large petty bourgeoisie of intellectuals, merchants, and handicraftsmen. In rare cases, as in that of the Osage Indians of the United States, there are even a few wealthy land-owning Indians.

Even the most isolated tribes, also, whether they be the Eskimos in the extreme north, the Guatamalan mountain Indians in Central America, or the Tierra del Fuegians in the far south, have to adopt more or less a commodity economy in order to secure the vital objects that they must have—oil, clothes, rifles, steel tools, and other articles—from the capitalist merchants. All over the western hemisphere the Indians take their grain, cattle, fruit, pottery, blankets, etc. to capitalist markets to sell. Indeed, as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, the Indian tribes along the North Atlantic coast, through participation in the extensive fur trade, already found themselves in commodity exchange relationships with the merchant capitalists. Many Indian institutions have been wiped out, but the many that still survive are being transformed on a capitalist basis. All of which means that Indian society throughout the western hemisphere, despite very important losses and tribal survivals, has been essentially revolutionized from a primitive communalism to a fundamentally capitalist basis.

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powers of northern Europe—England, France, Holland, Sweden—began their colonies through the means of joint stock companies. Among the many of these were the London Company, Plymouth Company, Dutch East Indies Company, English East Indies Company, New France Company, etc. This development expressed the higher degree of mercantile capitalism in these lands than in Spain and Portugal. It was only later that the English and other colonies of North America became Crown colonies.

The kings of Spain and Portugal arrogantly assumed that their countries' immense colonies were their own personal possessions, to dispose of as they saw fit; nor did the kings of France and England think very differently. To quote Wilgus and d'Eca: "Both the Spanish and the Portuguese kings owned the land and water in their respective domains as well as everything in the air, water, and land. Whatever they wished for themselves they could keep, and whatever they did not want they could give away."² They accordingly built their colonial governmental machinery to conserve these autocratic powers of ownership.

The Spanish colonies were ruled by autocratic viceroys appointed by the king. When the system was fully developed there were four viceroys: for New Spain, established in 1535 and covering Mexico, Central America, and the West Indies; for Peru set up in 1544, including Peru and Chile; for New Granada, dating from 1718, including Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador; and for La Plata, 1776, including Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia. There were also four semi-autonomous captaincies-general: Guatemala, Venezuela, Cuba and Chile. The viceroalties were first divided into thirteen audiencias and later into many intendencias. These were juridical, advisory, and administrative bodies, and all were arbitrarily appointed from above. The viceroys were supposed to be controlled by the Council of the Indies in Spain; but situated, as they were, many thousands of miles away from the home country, they tended to become despots and they largely ignored Spanish colonial legislation designed to control them. To offset the danger of the development of these colonial rivals, the Crown usually limited the viceroys to short terms, from three to five years, and surrounded them with batteries of spies and snoopers to report upon their activities. The aim of the viceroys was to become as rich as possible during their ordinarily short terms, and usually they succeeded. Their regimes were, therefore, saturated with every imaginable sort of graft and corruption.

The so-called democratic phase of the Spanish colonial set-up was the *cabildos*, or town councils. The democracy of these bodies, however, may be measured from the facts that at the outset the *cabildo* members, usually big land-owners, clericals, and the like, were appointed by the viceroys, and when a *cabildo* member resigned he had the right to appoint his successor. Often, too, council seats were sold to the highest bidders. Offices such as those of

sheriff, city and county clerk, notary, assayer, and others of the big colonial bureaucracy, were also for sale, the Spanish Crown receiving a large income from such sources. Of course, in managing this Spanish colonial regime, both locally and on a province-wide scale, the bulk of the people—Indians, Negroes, and Mestizos—had no voice whatever.

The vast Portuguese colony of Brazil was organized politically on much the same autocratic basis. At the beginning, in 1534, the country was divided into thirteen captaincies; but this scheme failed, so in 1549 the powers of the donatorios were revoked and in 1572-1577 the huge colony was split into North and South Brazil. But as this set-up also did not work, in 1645 the colony was reunited and governed for a short while as a principality. Eventually, however, all Brazil was placed under a viceroy, pretty much on the Spanish pattern. The fragmentary town councils in Brazil were still less democratic than those of Spanish America. The big Portuguese nobles and Brazilian landowners, among whom the Crown held the largest of all land holdings, had the whole situation well in hand and thoroughly organized to further their interests, while the working masses, mostly Negro slaves, were completely disfranchised.

France and Holland, in their colonies in North America, followed basically the same system of feudalistic political organization as did Spain and Portugal. The royal governors of Canada and New Netherlands, appointed arbitrarily by the respective kings, ruled autocratically as local potentates. Says D. G. Creighton: "Traditionally, the French Governor was one of the great nobles of his district. . . . In the minds of Colbert and his colonial officials, the destiny of all these new colonists was simple. They were to play their part in developing a colonial society which bore the closest possible resemblance to that of rural [feudal] France."³ The seigneurs swore fealty and homage to their sovereign lord, also rendering him military service when called upon to do so.

What kind of a feudal regime Holland was attempting to build in New York state in the seventeenth century, before it lost that colony to the English, is exemplified by the following characteristic picture of Hudson River Dutch big landowners given us by Gustavus Myers: "The patroons encased themselves in an environment of pomp and awe. Like so many petty monarchs each had his distinct flag and insignia; each fortified his domain with fortresses, armed with cannon and manned by his paid soldiery. The colonists were but humble dependents; they were his immediate subjects and were forced to take the oath of fealty and allegiance to him."⁴

English basic political policy in the many colonies along the Atlantic Coast, in the present United States and Canada, although with some differences due to the greater development of capitalism in that country, was essentially the same as that of Spain, Portugal, France, and Holland in their respective

colonies. Their aim was to rob and exploit these colonies to the limit. The English controlled their colonies through an autocratic Board of Trade and Plantations. All through the colonial period, from 1600 to 1776, the English kings, with but little restraint from Parliament, arbitrarily appointed royal governors to rule over the colonies. However, they had to give more consideration to the claims of the powerful, rising capitalist class at home and in the colonies than did the feudal Spanish, Portuguese, or French monarchs. Throughout the colonial period capitalism made continued and rapid progress in England, bringing a breakdown of feudal relationships in that country and a growth of bourgeois democracy. This was expressed most sharply in the revolutionary period from 1642 to 1688. Spain, Portugal, and France, however, remained more solidly feudal. This varying tempo of the rate of development of the colonizing countries was evidence of the validity of the law of the uneven development of capitalism.

The English colonial provincial assemblies in America were universally dominated by big landowners and merchants, some of the former maintaining their seats without elections, as hereditary legislators from their respective landholdings. In the town and village councils in the English colonies, however, there was much more democracy than in the provincial assemblies, although the local councils also had many property qualifications, restricting the right of suffrage. This budding local democracy was particularly marked in New England, where small farms, instead of big plantations, provided the basis of agriculture. The New England town councils, more than those in any other part of the colonies, especially during the earlier years of the colonial era, reflected on the one hand the great bourgeois-democratic changes that were taking place in England and, on the other hand, they expressed the new frontier small farmer type of democracy which was eventually to play such a decisive role in the struggle for freedom in the United States and Canada.

Colonial Land Grabs

In line with the spirit of insatiable greed and autocracy which was the guiding principle of both feudalism and capitalism, the ruling classes of all the colonizing powers proceeded at once, during the long course of the conquest, to portion out the land among themselves, and, with it, to divide up the peoples, usually enslaving them. From one end of the western hemisphere to the other, huge estates were handed out on all sides to already over-rich nobles and merchants, to military adventurers, to clerical reactionaries, and to all the miscellaneous hangers-on of the prevailing corrupt social order. Thus was born the system of latifundias, or great landed estates, which still curses many American countries. Of course, the very last to be considered in the land distribution were the common people, those who

needed land the most. The main political idea behind this general policy was to keep the New World safely reactionary by placing it economically, as well as politically, in the hands of a small clique of big land potentates.

The Spanish kings accordingly distributed lavishly the lands they had stolen from the Indians, getting such graft as they could from each transaction and keeping gigantic land stretches for themselves. They especially kept a firm grip upon the rich gold and silver mines, retaining at first 50 per cent, and later 10 per cent, of production as their own share. Cortes received a grant of 22 towns, 25,000 square miles of land, and 115,000 Indians as vassals. Pizarro was given a similar vast domain and 100,000 Indians, plus the title, Marquess de la Conquista. Other conquistador captains among these looters and destroyers were also given titles and estates of 5,000 to 10,000 square miles, with the necessary slaves to work them. Indeed, a map of South America of 1534 shows the vast Spanish holdings on that Continent divided into five huge grants.⁵ The first, Nueva Andalusia, shows no grantee; the second, Nueva Castilla, comprising about one-fourth of all South America, was assigned to Francisco Pizarro; the third, Nuevo Toledo, was granted to Diego de Almagro; the fourth, Rio de la Plata, belonged to Pedro de Mendoza; and the fifth, comprising the lower part of Argentina and Chile, was checked off to the big German banking house of Fugger.

In this arbitrary way the Spanish colonies were partitioned and a body of rich landowners created. The West Indies, Mexico, Peru, and other vast areas were also divided up in this manner. The immense Rio de la Plata section—Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and lower Brazil—was divided in 1580 among 64 big landowners. Chile, also, was apportioned out similarly, at least the section that could be wrung from the hard-fighting Araucanian Indians. Many of the great estates in the Spanish colonies, which had never been properly surveyed, were so immense that no one knew precisely where they began or left off, not even their proprietors, a situation which caused many armed boundary disputes among the greedy landowners. In this grabbing of land in the colonial period, the Catholic Church eventually got the lion's share, but of that we shall speak further along. In seizing the lands of the Indians in Mexico and Peru the Spaniards made the pretext that they were only continuing and developing the old land systems of the Aztecs and Incas. Many modern writers, notably Diffie, continue to propagate this contemptible fiction. In a large number of cases the conquistadores often also gave a cover of legality to their land seizures by marrying Indian "princesses."⁶

The great Portuguese colony Brazil was similarly parceled out to create a rich class of autocratic landowners, who lived like nabobs, their plantations being home, fortress, church, school, hospital, and harem. As we have seen, in 1534 Brazil was divided into thirteen capitancias. These huge estates,

allotted to certain individual nobles, donatarios, as they were called, each stretched a distance of approximately two hundred miles north and south along the Atlantic coast and as far inland as the vague Line of Demarcation between the Portuguese and Spanish colonies. When in 1549 the political rights of these estates were curtailed in favor of a more general organization, the donatarios managed to retain control of their land holdings. Later on, in the middle of the eighteenth century, these immense grants were broken up into more workable but still huge plantations, with the original donatarios being compensated with land and quitrents. One landowner had a place larger than all of Portugal. And in the Amazon region another family had an estate as big as England, Scotland, and Ireland combined.⁷ The type of big landownership prevalent in Brazil was exemplified by the fact that at the end of the eighteenth century, in the important province of Rio Grande do Sul, there were 539 landowners, each of whose holdings ran from 18,000 to 90,000 acres.

France, in her colonies along the St. Lawrence in Canada, which was then called New France, was no less generous in giving away the Indians' lands to French aristocrats. Between 1623 and the end of the Seven Years' war in 1763, when France lost Canada, 375 seigneuries were granted eight million acres, of which the Catholic Church got two million.⁸ This arrangement gave the feudal landholders in the Quebec province an average of about 16,000 acres apiece. Not to be outdone in dealing out other people's lands, the French government presented the Company of New France, which was owned by one hundred rich stockholders, with a perpetual monopoly of the fur trade and the seigniorial ownership of all New France, no less!⁹

The Dutch, in their colonies along the Hudson River, followed essentially the same policy of building up a great landholding class as the reactionary base for colonial society. They created a whole series of big feudal estates, mostly fronting the Hudson River and stretching far inland, where the proprietors lived like petty kings and ruled with an iron hand. The biggest of these patroons, Killian van Rensselaer, a gold and diamond and pearl merchant of Amsterdam, Holland, had a place on the west bank of the Hudson, 24 miles long by 48 miles wide, or some 700,000 acres in all. Rensselaer never even saw his princely domain, not bothering his head to come to barbaric America. This Dutch patroon later "bought" his land from the Indians for "certain quantities of duffels, axes, knives and wampum."¹⁰ Such "purchases" were a favorite device of the land-grabbers to ease the Indian resistance.

The English, too, in their colonies in North America, were hardly less generous with the conquered lands than were the Spanish, Portuguese, French, and Dutch. They also proceeded upon the general policy of building a powerful ruling class of big landowners by making huge grants to rich

individuals and companies. Typically, Charles I in 1629 gave Maryland and most of Delaware to Lord Baltimore who, under his charter, "could declare war, make peace, appoint all officers, including judges, rule by martial law, pardon criminals, and confer titles." In 1681, Charles II gave William Penn 40,000 square miles of land, the present-day Pennsylvania, in payment of a debt the Crown owed Penn's father; whereupon the sanctimonious Penn proceeded to "buy" the land from the Indians for the usual collection of such trinkets as beads, thread, ribbons, and the like. Among the other big land grants was that of Carolina, given by Charles II to eight court favorites. This vast grant was to take in the whole lower half of the United States, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean.¹¹ Colonel Samuel Allen also claimed that he had been granted the whole state of New Hampshire, while Sir Ferdinando Georges laid a similar claim to all of Maine. Governor Alexander Spotswood deeded himself 60,000 acres of the best land in Virginia.¹² In 1670 a group of London merchants and aristocratic capitalists, on the basis of Henry Hudson's discovery, formed the Hudson Bay Company (which exists to this very day), and were given virtual feudal rights over the whole north and west of the immense territory that constitutes the Canada of today. This great company was empowered to issue currency, levy taxes, hang people, and wage war—all of which it did freely.

Together with the huge feudal estates that they had created, the various colonizing nations not only put the decisive colonial political power in the hands of the landowners, but they also equipped them generally with sweeping feudal rights of entail and primogeniture, to keep their lands from being divided. By these medieval provisions, an estate could not be seized or sold for taxes or debts, and the land was further kept intact by passing entirely to the oldest son upon the death of the owner. These feudal laws, which were almost universal in the colonies of all the powers, lasted until the period of political independence of the various American countries, and even beyond. During the colonial era in the United States and up to the Revolution of 1776, several of the American colonies were governed by such laws of entail and primogeniture. The states with varying types of such laws were New York, Rhode Island, Virginia, Maryland, North and South Carolina, and Georgia.¹³

The great colonial landholdings throughout the western hemisphere assumed several economic forms. First, was the Spanish *encomienda*, which was largely copied from feudal Spain and was already established in the colonies during Columbus' time. This form came to be applied generally throughout the Spanish colonial world and to a certain extent in Brazil. In this type of landholding the proprietor, at least in the early stages of the system, did not actually own the land or its workers. He was granted the use and control of the land for his life time, or as long as he fulfilled the con-

ditions of the grant. He also had "recommended" to him certain bodies of workers, Indians, for whose welfare he was supposed to be responsible and who labored partly on their own lands and partly, in payment of certain established tributes, on the lands of the *encomenderos*. The *encomenderos* had virtual life and death powers over their slaves and peons. All this dovetailed in with the *repartimiento* system of forced labor for "public works." The *encomienda* was formally abolished by Spain in 1720.*

Second, there was the mission type of big landholding. This was a sort of religious application of the Spanish *encomienda* system and it had a considerable extension, mostly in the Spanish colonies of Paraguay, Mexico, California, and also in Portuguese Brazil. A particular religious order—the Jesuits, Franciscans, or some other—would hold the land while the Indians did the manual work on the main estates, presumably for the glory of Christianity and the good of all participants in the mission life. Actually the Indians were heavily exploited by their clerical masters.

Third, the general successor of the Spanish *encomiendas* was the *hacienda* type of huge landholding which had various names in the several Colonies. This was a system in which the proprietor actually owned the land, while the workers, with little or no good land of their own, worked for the *hacendados*, or owners, presumably as free workers, but actually, because of economic, political, and religious pressures, practically as serfs and peons. Many of the landholdings in the English colonies also approached this general type.

Fourth, there was the almost purely feudal type of landholding prevalent in the Dutch colonies on the Hudson and in the French colonies on the St. Lawrence. In the French colonies, for example, the peasants rented the land from the seigneur land proprietor, who held his land in fee from the Crown. The peasants had to render the seigneur various types of dues and service on his lands, including the infamous *corvee*, or forced labor, of medieval times. The Dutch had a similar system of serfdom on their big estates.

Fifth, there was the chattel slave economy type of plantation, in which the planter owned outright both the land and the workers thereon. The big *fazenda* plantations of Brazil were organized almost entirely on this master-slave basis, there never having been any wide extension of the Spanish-type *encomiendas* and *haciendas* in colonial Brazil. This type of landowning was also widely in effect in the West Indies and the countries of Central America. It was the type also of the great plantations in the southern part of the United States down to the Civil War of 1861-65.

All the colonies throughout the hemisphere provided in some degree or

*Originally the term "encomienda" and "repartimiento" were interchangeable, but eventually the former came to signify long time grants of land to Indians, and the latter, a short time mobilization of Indians for specific tasks.

other for the development of small landholdings. But generally such holdings were not encouraged by the respective home governments, because the big landowners did not at all want a body of small, free farmers to grow up to menace their entrenched position. Hence, small farmers played no important role in the colonies, except in those of the English. By a combination of circumstances—the existence of a vigorous industrial development, the inadaptability of the area to plantation farming, and the prevalence of a forceful democratic spirit in the community—big landholdings did not prosper in the English colonies north of Virginia. Instead, they were gradually dissolved and were succeeded by a widespread growth of a small farmer economy. This fact was of tremendous significance, as we shall see later on. It gave a great impetus to the industrial and democratic development of the thirteen American colonies and of the eventual United States.

Colonial Agriculture and Industry

The colonial period of the Latin American countries, from Mexico all the way south, was initiated at the time of the arrival of Columbus in 1492 and it lasted generally until about the 1820's, a period of some 325 years. The colonial era in the United States continued only about half as long; that is practically from 1607 to 1776. Canada continued on as a group of British colonies until 1867.

During the centuries of colonialism the several "mother" countries ("step-mother" would be a better name for them) looked upon their American colonies and the peoples who inhabited them as objects for unbridled exploitation. The young agriculture and industries were consequently handled in this sense. It was assumed that the role of the colonies was not to produce what their own peoples required, but what the ruling classes in the colonizing nations needed in their own economies or what their enterprising merchant capitalists could readily sell in the rapidly expanding world markets.

Throughout the whole colonial period all the colonies were overwhelmingly agricultural, although in many instances, particularly in Spanish America, the colonial exploiters devoted major attention to gold and silver mining. Thus, says Wilgus: "By 1800 the value of agricultural products in New Spain (Mexico) alone was estimated at \$30,000,000, or one-third more than the yield of the mines."¹⁴ In other colonies, including most of those of Spain, agricultural output was proportionally far greater than in Mexico. Many of the Spanish *encomiendas*, built around mining or the production of wool and hides, carried on a self-sufficient agriculture based on corn, potatoes, and other staples; but the agriculture in the tropical and sub-tropical countries was chiefly designed to produce crops that could be sold freely on the world market. Thus originated monoculture, the single crop system that is still such a serious handicap to the life and prosperity of Latin America.

Sugar was the richest crop for most of the exploiters in the more southern Colonies. "Crow says: Sugar in the early days was almost worth its weight in gold, and the kings of Europe frequently exchanged boxes of sweets which were considered to be the supreme gift."¹⁵ Brought over from Spain on one of Columbus' ships, sugar cane was soon cultivated far and wide in the West Indies. Jewish refugees from Madeiro introduced it into Brazil in 1548,¹⁶ where it quickly became the king of all crops. During that country's colonial period the Portuguese and Brazilian nabobs reaped ten times more profit from sugar than from all their gold and diamond mines. Sugar cane was not grown in the present-day United States, in Louisiana, until 1794, almost three hundred years after the Spanish had begun to cultivate it in their colonies.

During the early colonial period it was tobacco that was "king" in the lower tier of colonies in the United States, from Virginia southward. This, too, was a bonanza crop, to produce which countless Negro slaves were worked to death. Tobacco, a native American plant, was first cultivated in Virginia in 1612 by John Rolfe, the husband of Pocahontas. The world market for tobacco developed so rapidly that by 1770 over 100 million pounds was being exported yearly from the United States. In the early stages tobacco was even grown on the streets and squares of Jamestown.

Cotton, too, was another important crop in all the tropical and semi-tropical colonies. But the labor of separating the seed from the fiber was so great (it took a worker a full day to clean only one pound of raw cotton), that the cotton market and culture remained restricted, until the Yankee Eli Whitney invented the labor-saving cotton gin in 1793. This device, together with the invention in England of the spinning jenny, the power loom, and other cottonworking machinery, vastly increased the demand for cotton. The production of cotton soared to many millions of bales yearly in the United States alone. King Cotton thus displaced King Tobacco in the United States, and its culture, on a huge scale, spread rapidly into many countries of the New World.

Coffee, the culture of which was imported in the eighteenth century from Portugal, was also cultivated in many American tropical colonies. Largely because of the cheap slave production, coffee's popularity increased enormously on a world scale and the market for it expanded accordingly. Brazil, the chief coffee producer in colonial days, as well as now, has long supplied at least two-thirds of the world's consumption.

Rice, indigo, tea, cacao, citrus fruits, wool, hides, etc. were other important commodities produced on the big *encomiendas*, *fazendas*, *haciendas* and plantations of the American colonial world, all at the cost of the lives of countless Indian and Negro workers and for the selfish profit of a small minority of big landowners and capitalists. In the French and English colonies

along the North Atlantic Coast the fur trade was also an important economic factor and was the means of bringing many millions into the pockets of the European and colonial merchants and adventurers who engaged in this ruthless occupation. As late as the first half of the nineteenth century, the American Fur Company was the biggest business enterprise in the United States. Fishing, especially on the Newfoundland banks, was also a vital activity of the colonies in Canada and the United States.

The Spanish and Portuguese colonizers, dazzled by the lure of sudden riches, devoted their major attention to the development of the mining industry, particularly in the earlier years, concentrating on gold, silver, diamonds, emeralds, and other precious metals and stones. The Portuguese, slow in locating the great mineral wealth of Brazil, even offered titles of nobility to those who discovered profitable mines. As we have already remarked, the Spanish succeeded, during the 325 years of the colonial era, in extracting six billion dollars worth of gold and silver from their rich gold and silver mines. However, the mining of iron, manganese, tin, copper, nickel, zinc, and nitrates—industrial minerals—these developments in Latin America were all to await the birth of modern industry. Even the mining of guano, the bird-deposit fertilizer on the rich Peruvian islands, was not begun on a systematic (but criminally wasteful) scale, until 1840, although many hundreds of years ago the Incas knew about the fertilizing value of the guano and had mined it in a careful manner that ensured a permanent continuance of the supply.

The major colonizing countries—Spain, Portugal, France, and England—were all very concerned with preventing the development of industry in the New World. They did not want to create a strong national capitalist class in the colonies, with its turbulent allies, the handicraftsmen and laborers. Above all they did not want their home industries, such as they were, to be subjected to even the slightest colonial competition. They wanted the colonies to rob and exploit the Indians and Negroes for their sole advantage. The laws governing the colonies of all the powers were filled with provisions designed to nip in the bud every competing colonial industry. On the west coast of South America, for example, the Spanish pushed this general idea so far that they even prohibited the growing of olives and grapes in their communities, to protect the culture of these crops in Spain. As for the Spanish, Portuguese, and French colonizers, their anti-industrial measures proved quite successful, the colonies remaining to the end basically agricultural, with the big landowners in full control. Such anti-industrialization trends were the roots of the later policies of the great imperialist powers to strangle the competitive industries of the peoples of vast areas of the world—Asia, Africa, Latin America—in order to protect the interests of their home capitalists.

In the English colonies, however, the results of this policy made quite a different story. England was the most advanced country industrially, yet the reactionary English rulers were no less active in trying to stifle all independent industries of their overseas holdings. They also sought to prevent the development of a banking system and a sound colonial currency. They looked with a jaundiced eye upon the sprouting industries of New England, which were directly competitive with those of England. Consequently, in 1732 an English decree preventing the manufacture of hats in the American colonies was promulgated, and in 1750 there was another order in Parliament which prohibited the erection of various types of iron-works. These were but two of many similar laws. But such efforts to strangle the colonial industries were largely in vain. In all the American colonies, especially those of New England, notwithstanding every attempt to choke them out, the industries continued to grow apace—shipbuilding, naval stores, lumber, textiles, iron, shoes, glass, and others. Skilled artisans and men with some capital came from industrial England and stimulated the industrialization of the colonies. There was a rapid growth of the capitalist, middle, and working classes, which increasingly arrayed themselves against the feudalistic landowners of America and of England.

Many of the young American colonial industries were efficient and progressive. Says Kirkland: "These mill industries had been brought to a more advanced stage of technical development in America than in England. The sawmill was constructed in the colonies before it was in the mother country, and its equipment remained superior. The flour mill, transformed by American inventions, startled and awed the European observers. The Lynn iron furnaces were not surpassed in capacity by European furnaces." The English colonials also became the best ship-builders in the world. "It was little wonder that the American-built ship not only pre-empted its own field but invaded the markets of the world. The golden age of colonial shipbuilding was the first half of the eighteenth century. So low were the prices per ton that New England vessels were sold in the West Indies, Portugal, and Spain. But England was the greatest purchaser."¹⁷ In this colonial situation, with the industries of New England rapidly growing and with the unwittingly stimulating influence of England's industrial system, was to be seen the beginning of the great industrial development of the United States. It was all of prime revolutionary significance.

Colonial Restrictions on Commerce

The colonizing nations, one and all, in accordance with their policies of monopolizing the land in the colonies, of distorting their agriculture to suit world market requirements, of suppressing colonial industries, of ruling the colonies politically with an iron hand, and of otherwise ruthlessly exploiting

the colonies, also attempted to monopolize and restrict colonial commerce, both among the colonies themselves and with the rest of the world. Their schemes to this end were not only very harmful to the growth and prosperity of the colonies, but unbelievably clumsy, inefficient, and reactionary. All the "mother" countries were guilty in this respect, but Spain was the worst offender.

Spain completely and autocratically controlled (or tried to control) the trade of its vast colonial system. Its colonies were not allowed to trade with each other unless they sent shipments through Spanish ports, all the way across the sea and back. Nor could they trade with any other nation except Spain. All cargoes to the colonies had to be carried in Spanish-owned and manned vessels. Seville, and Cadiz later had a monopoly of the colonial trade. Every eighteen months or so, from 1561 to 1784, big fleets of merchant vessels, numbering up to one hundred or more and accompanied by warships, left Spain for the colonies. Such fleets usually first headed for Santo Domingo; there they split in two, one section going to Portobello, Panama, and the other to Vera Cruz, Mexico. Cargo for the Philippines was also trans-shipped at Panama. This convoy system was a measure of protection against the hordes of English, French, and Dutch pirates who infested the Caribbean Sea, or "Spanish Main."

Arriving at their destination (if they were fortunate), the Spanish merchants held large fairs in various cities, selling their goods and buying colonial products. To these fairs came buyers and sellers from far and wide. No ships were allowed to sail direct from Spain to the Rio de la Plata (Argentina), except certain small vessels on special business. Therefore, goods designed to this area had to be trans-shipped from Panama to Lima, and then sent 3,000 miles overland across the Andes mountains by mules or camels to Buenos Aires. This incredibly stupid arrangement raised the cost of goods eight times by the time they reached Argentina, and such a trip from Spain to Buenos Aires and back took about two years.

To handle the colonial trade the Spaniards set up several trading monopolies, most of which failed because of gross incompetence and corruption. Some Spanish merchants often made profits of as much as 300 per cent on a single voyage. The ever-penniless Crown kept a general surveillance over this cumbersome trading system and also burdened it with dues and levies of every imaginable type. There were forty different kinds of taxes in force in the Spanish colonies.

Portugal had a somewhat similar system designed to monopolize for its own benefit the colonial trade of Brazil, but it was not quite as absurd as that of the Spaniards. At first the merchants bound for Brazil sailed their own ships, but towards the end of the sixteenth century a caravan fleet system, accompanied by war vessels, had to be established. This lasted until

1765, when individual sailings were resumed. However, all colonial trade had to go through Lisbon. Portugal tried to monopolize its colonial trade in two big corporations during the eighteenth century, but these did not last long. This country's colonial trade was also loaded down with the usual assortment of taxes, graft, and enormous profits.

The French, in handling their colonies in Canada, were animated by the same narrow, mercantilist conceptions that characterized Spain and Portugal. In the beginning of the seventeenth century they commissioned one company after another to control the fur trade monopoly. But these all failed and the business fell pretty much into the hands of private enterprisers. But the French kings, nevertheless, managed to keep this rich trade, which in 1761, two years before the French lost Canada, amounted to £135,000, in the control of Court favorites.

The English also applied mercantilist monopolistic principles to the regulation of trade with and within their North American colonies. By a whole series of measures throughout the 170 years of their active colonial domination, they greatly restricted the rights of the colonies to trade with each other and with nations other than England. In some cases, as in 1669, the export of wool, yarn, and woollen goods from one colony to another was prohibited. According to the Act of 1663, goods purchased by American colonists in Europe had to be first shipped to England, there trans-shipped, and then sent back to the colonies. And according to the Act of 1650, all goods destined to countries in Europe from the colonies had to go through the same rigamarole, but in reverse. In 1650, foreign ships were forbidden to trade with any of the English colonies in America without a license. The Navigation Act of 1651 provided that all commodities destined from the colonies to England, or coastwise in the colonies, had to be shipped in English bottoms. By such monopolistic devices the English merchants, shipowners, and politicians took their cut from the colonial trade both coming and going.

Says Kirkland: "Under the English imperial design it was hoped that the conduct of the trade with the colonies would be largely in the hands of the English merchants, and that no colonial mercantile class would form to share in the profits and to offer competition."¹⁶ But in the long run these hopes proved illusory. The rapidly growing capitalism in the American colonies, especially in the north, was not to be halted by such devices. By smuggling and one means or another, the American colonists succeeded in building an extensive commerce among themselves and with other countries. They also constructed an important merchant marine, by 1775 there being 2,000 American ships in service, with 33,000 seamen. The attempts of England in the first half of the eighteenth century to cripple this young industry and commerce by such laws as the Molasses Act of 1733, the Stamp Act of 1765, the Townshend Import Duties Act of 1767, and the Tea Act of 1773, following in the train of many others like them, were decisive factors in finally precipitating the American Revolution of 1776.

5. ENSLAVED LABOR

The greatest of all problems of the victorious European conquerors of the western hemisphere, one which was to remain with them for centuries, was to find the myriads of workers necessary to operate the immense network of mines, plantations, and cattle ranches that was being opened up by the invaders. In the urgency of this problem and with the greed and cynicism characteristic of feudalism and capitalism, these exploiters brutally applied almost every conceivable form of slavery. Red, black, and white men—they enslaved them all; nor did they make any distinction because of age or sex. All those who had to work for a living were thrust into slavery in one form or another and made to grind out profits for the new owners of the western hemisphere.

The capitalist development of the Americas has been one of the greatest tragic dramas in the history of the world. In 1881, Karl Marx, writing to Frederick A. Sorge, stated that the growth of capitalism in the United States had been brought about "more . . . *shamelessly* than in any other country."¹ The same castigation could have been applied to capitalism throughout the whole western hemisphere. During the four and a half centuries that have elapsed since Columbus arrived, literally tens of millions of workers have been destroyed callously on the altars of capitalist greed. The blood sacrifices of the Aztecs were minor as compared with the blood sacrifices of American capitalism. The life and liberty of the toilers have meant nothing to the exploiting classes. All the devices learned during many centuries by exploiters—planned illiteracy, benumbing religion, political deception, ruthless violence—have been systematically used in all the colonies to enslave and rob the peoples. The Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English colonizers have been equally guilty. As a result countless myriads of the working population, through the centuries, have been the victims of enforced labor, political servitude, miserable lives, and premature deaths.

Enslaving the Indians

The enslavement of the Indians began in the very earliest days of the conquest. Spain, at the opening of the sixteenth century, having only about

10 million inhabitants and Portugal only 1,500,000, it was obvious that the exploiters could not get enough workers from their home countries to cultivate the New World, so they promptly fell upon the native Indians and undertook to force them to work as slaves. As for the rights of the Indians in the matter, naturally this was a question of no moment whatever. Says Galdames: "It was the general belief among the Spaniards that the Indians did not belong to the human race, that they were not worth more than a horse or a dog."²

The attempt to make chattel slaves of the Indians was begun by the Spaniards in the West Indies, soon after Columbus arrived. But it all turned out to be a frightful failure. The Indians would not work on the plantations. Many perished from the unaccustomed hard labor under the broiling sun,* others died beneath the lash of the overseers, and others revolted and fled. As we have seen, the general result was that within one generation the West Indies islands were almost completely depopulated of Indians.

Las Casas' book, *The Destruction of the Indies*, exposing the barbaric Spanish exploitation and wholesale murder of the Indians, is one of the most celebrated and widely read books ever written in this hemisphere. Las Casas carried his vigorous agitation to the Spanish Court, and not without some results. The Court was aroused by the fear that the colonists, with their destructive policies, would wipe out the greatest of all colonial riches, Indian labor power. Therefore, in 1542, the so-called New Laws, which are made much of by present-day apologists for Spanish colonialism, were duly adopted. These laws provided that Indians could not be personally enslaved, and gave them certain rights. However, the laws left the door open for continued exploitation and enslavement of the Indians, by allowing the encomenderos, or big landowners, the right to work them as peons. Much Indian chattel slavery also continued right on.

Although by the New Laws the Indians had been placed one rung above the level of chattel slaves, they nevertheless soon fell into deep peonage bondage all over Spanish America. Even the mild New Laws were bitterly resisted by the encomenderos and they soon became dead letters. In Mexico, in 1544, when the Viceroy Mendoza published the New Laws and timidly proposed to put them into effect he was met with such a storm of opposition from the landowners that he quickly abandoned the attempt. In the same year, in Peru, too, when Viceroy Nunez Vela, indicated his determination to enforce the New Laws, he had to face an armed revolt which eventually cost him his life. Therefore in 1545 Charles V revoked most of the more important clauses of the New Laws and the enslavement of the Indians as peons went on faster than ever.

*Some authorities believe that the Indians have never become fully acclimated to tropical regions.

The *encomienda* system, by which the proprietor held the land through a sort of lease and was allotted a certain number of Indians to work the place, was initiated in 1503 in Santo Domingo and it spread widely to the other Spanish colonies, Mexico, Peru, Argentina, etc., as fast as these colonies were organized. According to this system, the Indians were allowed small plots of poor land, in return for which they had to do a certain amount of work on the proprietors' lands. Gradually the time that the Indians could work for themselves got shorter and shorter. In Chile, Indians were required to work as much as 160 days a year free for their masters.³ And in the Andean country, north of Chile, during the first decades of the eighteenth century, *encomienda* Indians worked as much as three hundred days a year for the proprietors and had only 65 days for themselves.⁴

In 1720, the *encomienda* system, already obsolete economically, was abolished. It was succeeded by the *hacienda* system, which in turn became the dominant type of big farm economy in nearly all the Spanish colonies. The *encomendero* had by now secured the ownership of the land. He, therefore, became a *hacendado*, and the Indian, who had lost most of his lands, became his peon worker. By keeping the Indian perpetually in debt at the *tienda de raya*, or company store of the *hacienda*, as well as by various other pressures, the landowner reduced him to the status of a peon, and there, in most of Latin America, he remains to this day.

Akin to the *encomienda* system was the forced labor *mita* system in Peru and Bolivia for working the mines. It was also applied in agriculture, cloth manufacture, and other fields of work. The *mita* was established in 1572 and lasted for two hundred years. One of the worst aspects of the *mita* was that it was a prostituted form of a system which the Incas, with necessary protection for the workers, had formerly used to organize the labor force at the mines. For example, under this vile *mita* system, during the colonial period, officially one-seventh of all Indian males were assigned to work three months per year in the Potosi silver mines, under dreadful working conditions and for little or no recompense. But many worked there continuously. It was the most fatal of all the methods devised to exploit the Indians in the Andean areas. Rotofski says that when Indians were drafted for the *mita* they disposed of their worldly goods and their friends gave them virtually a funeral. Crow says: "Four out of five Indians died in the first year of their employment."⁵ Father Motolina says that the roads and caverns around the mines in Mexico were so covered with cadavers and bones of the Indians who had died of hunger and fatigue that it was hardly possible to walk except over men's bones.⁶ Meanwhile, the mine-owners revelled in wild luxury and Potosi and other mining centers became the greatest boom towns on earth.

In Brazil, the *encomienda* system for Indians was formally instituted in

1611. From the foundation of the colony in the 1530's, however, the plantation owners reduced the Indians to the position of actual slaves, with the usual disastrous results. Consequently, even the autocratic Portuguese government in 1720 had to declare that Indians could not be enslaved as chattels, unless they were "cannibals" or were caught in the act of armed rebellion against the government. But the planters largely ignored such legal limitations upon their slavery activities. As a result most of the Indians fled into the jungle interior. Whereupon, slave-hunting gangs, chiefly operating out of Sao Paulo, scoured the country far and wide to seize and enslave the Indians. Some of these expeditions, numbering up to several thousand members and equipped with priests, women, banners, and all, would be gone on these raids as long as three to five years. For a full 200 years the "Paulista" slave-hunters kept up such depredations. One raid alone into Paraguay is said to have netted 15,000 Indian slaves. Between 1614 and 1639, the Paulistas enslaved 300,000 Indians.⁷ It is claimed that these far-reaching raids into the most remote parts of the jungle were responsible for extending the borders of Brazil hundreds of miles beyond the lines established by previous treaty.

During the three centuries of Spanish and Portuguese rule with the intermingling of Indian and Spanish, a body of a large mixed group developed, called *Mestizos* in Spanish and *Mamelucos* in Portuguese. These groups finally came to outnumber the Indians in many of the American countries and to play a decisive role. As a rule, in colonial times, they shared pretty much the general slavery or peonage fate of the Indians on the big landed estates. In the towns however many of them eventually came to make up the body of small merchants and professionals.

In the North American colonies of France, Holland, and England attempts were also made to turn the Indians into chattel slaves, but without any material success. It was too easy for the captured Indians to flee beyond the frontier into the wilderness, where they were perfectly at home. Nomadic, or semi-nomadic tribes, such as those along the North Atlantic Coast (also in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, etc.) could not even be turned into peons. It was the more densely populated Indian groups, as in Mexico and Peru, that fell victims to the European exploiters. Says Philip Foner: "In [North] America there were Indians who could be captured and sold as slaves. Unfortunately for the exploiters the Indians were inclined to escape to their tribes and then return in increased numbers to pay their respects to their former masters by taking their scalps."⁸ Strong and proud Indian tribes like the Iroquois and Algonquins, who dominated the North American frontiers throughout the entire colonial period, would not tolerate the enslavement of their members. About the only systematic economic exploitation of the Indians in these areas that was ever successfully set up by the French, Dutch, or English was through the fur trade. In fur-trapping, al-

though apparently operating as free agents, the Indians were in reality working for the white traders. The farflung fur trade played an enormous role in the development of the English-French colonies of North America.

Indian Revolts

The Spanish and Portuguese kept their peons and slaves in subjection by policies of iron terrorism. The slightest sign of revolt they countered with ruthless repression. Nevertheless the history of the many colonial countries is replete with terrible accounts of Indian insurrections, drowned in blood. There were such revolts especially in the west coast Spanish countries from Mexico south where the Indian population was the heaviest. There are those writers, detractors of the Indians, who try to make it appear that the latter met their tragic fate unresistingly. But this is completely contrary to the facts. Not only did the Indians fight heroically from the outset against the conquest with such limited means as they had at their disposal, but they also made many desperate efforts in later years to throw off the invader's yoke wherever it had been fastened upon them.

Only a few of the innumerable Indian revolts can be indicated here. In 1571, in Peru, an Inca Indian, Tupac Amaru, led an important rebellion, undertaking to re-establish the old Inca regime. The Spanish authorities succeeded however in tricking this bold leader into a conference, whereupon they seized him, and later beheaded him in the Central plaza of Cuzco. Two hundred years later, in 1780, in the same district, another revolt was led by an Indian calling himself Tupac Amaru II, a direct descendant of his namesake Inca "emperor." Over 60,000 Indians rallied to his support, but the Spaniards managed treacherously to capture him by pretending to grant an amnesty to him and his followers. They then pulled his tongue out, had him torn to pieces by horses, and burned his body before the eyes of his family and the public, also in the public square of Cuzco where his predecessor, Tupac Amaru I, had been executed more than 200 years before. This savage act provoked a wide uprising among the Indians. They besieged La Paz for 109 days; but were finally defeated. This civil war lasted two years and cost 80,000 lives.

Mexico, like all the other Spanish colonies, also had many Indian and Mestizo uprisings. The "great riots" between 1624-92, although bearing a religious character, had much of economic and political revolt in them. Carruthers lists many revolts in Mexico, in the years 1524, 1541, 1546, 1595, 1616, 1660, 1680, 1696, 1701 and 1761. The Weyls thus describe one of the more outstanding of the numerous Mexican Indian revolts: "As early as 1767, Pedro Soria Villarroel, an Indian who claimed direct descent from the Tarascan rulers, declared himself governor of the province of Michoacan and set up his capital at Valladolid. Over a hundred villages threw off the Span-

ish yoke and paid him tribute. Soria, however, was too provincial-minded to march on the capital and instead was defeated and destroyed by the royalist forces. He and his chiefs were seized by the Spaniards, hanged, and their heads placed on pikes as a warning to the people.⁹⁰ There was in Chile, in 1600, a big uprising of Araucanian Indians. These indomitable fighters threw off their would-be masters, drove them out, and ruled middle and southern Chile for over two hundred years longer. In Brazil, in 1572, there was also a big Indian revolt, known as the Seven Years' War, during which the Indians destroyed three hundred villages and were defeated only after many thousands were killed. In the Viceroyalty of La Plata there was the ten years war of the Colchaquians from 1620 on, the Guarani war of 1750, etc. In Venezuela and elsewhere there were also many Indian and Mestizo uprisings during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

These many Indian revolts, particularly in the eighteenth century, were forerunners of the decisive revolutionary struggles to free the colonies from Spain and Portugal, which took definite shape in the first decade of the nineteenth century. A striking feature of such pre-revolutionary colonial revolts was the solidarity developed among Creoles, Mulattoes, Mestizos, Negroes, and Indians.* In Venezuela, in 1711, the Mestizos and Mulattoes proclaimed a Mulatto as king. And in Bolivia a revolt of several hundred Mestizos secured the right for Creoles to hold government jobs formerly monopolized by the Spanish. Women took an active part in these desperate revolts, despite the strong Spanish traditions against political activity by women. In Colombia a woman who distinguished herself for bold leadership was Manuela Beltran.

Negro Chattel Slavery

Unable to find enough Indian and white workers to serve as forced laborers on their plantations and in their mines the Colonial owners, of every nationality, turned greedily to enslaving African Negroes. Negro chattel slavery became practically universal throughout the western hemisphere during the entire colonial period and in many instances lasted for long years beyond. All the colonizing nations—Spain, Portugal, Holland, France, England—had a hand in the dirty business. Negro slavery was blessed by the Catholic and Protestant churches, and condoned and practiced by many liberal leaders. The brutal enslavement of the Negro peoples constitutes the deepest shame in the whole history of the Americas.

Modern capitalism, says Marx, dates from the sixteenth century, and slavery had much to do with its growth. Capitalism fattened on the slave trade and upon slavery itself. This was glaringly true of industry in England

*Creoles are native-born whites; Mestizos are part Indian and part white; and Mulattoes are part Negro and part white.

and it was no less true of New England. Yankee shipping and textile mills had direct foundations in the slave system of the South. Marx said of this situation, "Direct slavery is just as much the pivot of bourgeois industry as machinery, credits, etc. Without slavery you have no cotton; without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that has given the colonies their value; it is the colonies that have created world trade, and it is world trade that is the pre-condition of large-scale industry. Thus slavery is an economic category of the greatest importance."¹⁰

It is not generally realized what a great economic factor slavery was in the development of early capitalism. Tannenbaum points out that thus "Hundreds of ships, thousands of sailors, and hundreds, perhaps thousands, of individuals, partnerships, and companies engaged in bringing to the New World south of the United States more Africans than Europeans for the entire colonial period."¹¹

There were slaves in all the colonies. "Black ivory," they were called in the slave trade. Negro slaves went along with Cortes and Pizarro on their conquering expeditions into Mexico and Peru, and there were said to have been thirty Negroes with Balboa. Especially wherever there was hard work to do, Negro slaves were forced to do it. In 1600, in Lima, Peru, one-third of the population were Negroes, and of Buenos Aires' inhabitants at that time about one-fourth were slaves. There were Negro slaves likewise in the northern parts of the colonial United States and also some in Canada. But the main bodies of Negro slaves were located in the tropical and subtropical areas of Central America, in the West Indies, and other Caribbean countries, in Brazil, and in the lower parts of the United States, where sugar, tobacco, cotton, and other plantation crops could be raised.

For the owners, Negroes possessed various advantages over Indians as slaves. There were larger numbers of them in thickly populated Africa; they were stronger and more rugged than the tropical Indians; they could better stand the intense heat in the plantation areas, and they were said to be much more resistant to new tropical and European diseases. Besides, the Negroes, often coming from higher cultures than the nomadic Indians, were far better qualified to carry on an intensive agriculture. Moreover, being a people in chains in a foreign land, the Negroes were more handicapped in fighting for their freedom than the Indians who were native to the country and who had behind them strong free tribes. The general result was that everywhere in colonial America Negroes were more highly prized than Indians as slaves. In early Brazil, for example, an adult Negro slave cost about seventy-five dollars, whereas an Indian could be bought for as little as five dollars.

The basic explanation of why it was possible to enslave and transport such large numbers of Negroes from Africa was the existence of tribal dis-

unity and internecine war among the Negroes in their homeland. The slavers, Negro and white, were able to play upon these differences, with disastrous results for all the Negro peoples. It was basically the same divide-and-rule policy that Cortes, Pizarro, and all the other invaders of the Americas had used with such fatal effects in subjugating the Indian peoples. The slave hunters early learned this trick of playing upon the tribal divisions in Africa. Thus, in 1567, Sir John Hawkins, one of England's earliest admiral-pirate-merchant-slaver types, while searching for slaves made an open attack upon a Negro village in Sierra Leone. But he got nothing for his trouble but poison arrows and a serious defeat. Profiting from this harsh experience, Hawkins had better success in his next slave-hunting foray by lining up with one tribe that was fighting another. He had learned the fatal device of enslaving tribal war prisoners, a practice which eventually became general.¹²

The great bulk of the slaves came from the West Coast of equatorial Africa, the nearest coast to the great American slave market.¹³ The various colonizing nations, competing greedily with each other for slaves, scattered their forts and factories along this extended coast. They kept armed forces in these establishments for slave-hunting. Many ships also directly conducted slave raids with their crews, a practice called "boating." The slavers also "maintained friendly relations" with local Negro chieftains in order to obtain slaves in return for guns, powder, rum, cloth, beads, kettles, knives, etc. These quiescent chiefs worked with whites, scouring the country roundabout, seizing and kidnapping members of neighboring tribes. The latter fought back and many local wars resulted. The general consequence of this slave trade, organized by the European and American powers, says DuBois, was that: "Whole regions were depopulated, whole tribes disappeared. It was the rape of a continent seldom if ever paralleled in ancient or modern history."¹⁴ J. H. Franklin declares that: "There can be no doubt that the natives offered stiff resistance to their capture, sale and transportation to the unknown New World."¹⁵

The Slave Trade

The slave-hunters chained the slaves together, marched them hundreds of miles, branded them like cattle, transported them across the sea in horrible slave ships, and sold them off to colonial masters like so many animals. On shipboard the slaves were jammed in, starved, and generally brutalized. Large numbers of them perished. Many fierce insurrections took place on these hell ships. Human degradation, in its greed for profits, has never sunk to lower depths than in the monstrous slave trade.

In a French pirate-slaver, which was visited in an American port in 1821, "The space [for the slaves] was so low that they sat between each other's legs and were stowed so close that there was no possibility of their lying down or

at all changing their position by night or day." The writer says, however, that this was one of the "best" of the slavers; the worst one had only eighteen inches of space between decks.¹⁶ Because of their horribly unsanitary condition, the stench of the slave ships was so great that they could often be smelled several miles down the wind.

McMaster paints the following gruesome picture of a slave ship: "When the sun set the whole band went below. There the space assigned to each to lie down in was six feet by sixteen inches. The bare boards were their beds. To make them lie close the lash was used. For one to turn from his right side to his left was impossible, unless the long line of cramped and stiffened sufferers turned with them. But the misery of the night was as nothing to the misery of a stormy day. Then the hatches were fastened down, tarpaulins were drawn over the gratings and ventilation ceased; the air grew thick and stifling; the floor became wet with perspiration; the groaning and panting of the pent-up Negroes could be heard on deck. . . . It was not uncommon for as many as five dead bodies to be brought up and flung over the ship's side. On a slaver making the middle passage a mortality of thirty per cent was not rare."¹⁷ Often, short of provisions or water, or in danger of capture, slavers would throw their human cargoes to the sharks. Despite these losses, profits in slave trading ran as high as 1000 per cent on a single voyage.

In his book, *History of Slavery* (1857), page 134, W. O. Blake states: "With respect to the mortality of slaves in the passage, Mr. Falconbridge says that in three voyages he purchased 1100, and lost 191; Trotter, in one voyage, about 600, and lost about 70; Millar, in one voyage, 490, and lost 180; Ellison in three voyages, where he recollects the mortality, bought 895, and lost 365; Mr. Morley says that in four voyages he purchased about 1325, and lost about 313; Mr. Claxton, in two voyages, 250, and lost 132." These were English slave traders.

The Dutch were experts at this mass torture and murder. They worked principally through the Dutch West Indies Company, founded in 1621, a combination of land grabbers, pirates, and slavers. But the French and the Portuguese were not far behind the Dutch as murderous enslavers. And as for the English, who have built for themselves a historical reputation of having opposed the slave trade, in reality they took second place to nobody in the slavery business. In 1774, three hundred ships sailing out of Liverpool were engaged in the slave trade. By any comparison with the English, the slave traders of other countries were small fry. "Nearly four times as many African slaves were transported in British bottoms as in all the ships of all other nations combined."¹⁸ The English counted it a big victory when at Utrecht they succeeded in securing for themselves the *asiento*, or slave trading contract for all the Spanish colonies. They had this monopoly in 1600,

the Dutch had it in 1640, the French in 1701, and in 1713 it was granted to the English South Sea Company. By the *asiento*, the English became the world's recognized leading slave traders. Says Wilgus: "This last contract was provided for in the Treaty of Utrecht [of 1713]. By it the English received the right to introduce into Spanish America 144,000 Negroes at the rate of 4,800 each year for thirty years. For this right the company paid the Spanish king \$200,000."¹⁹ This rich slave trade, coming and going, as Marx pointed out, gave a tremendous stimulus to the growth of English capitalism. The great fortunes of English gentlemen were based on the blood and bones of Negro slaves.

The sanctimonious Puritans of New England also did not hesitate to besmear themselves with the infamous slave traffic. In fact, they made it into a regular business. McMaster says: "Molasses brought from Jamaica was turned to rum; the rum dispatched to Africa bought Negroes; the Negroes carried to Jamaica or the southern ports were exchanged for molasses, which in turn, taken back to New England, was quickly made into rum."²⁰ Rhode Island alone had 150 vessels in the slave trade in 1770. Profits were fabulous: The *Venus* of Baltimore, which cost \$30,000 to build, made a profit of \$200,000 on her first slaving voyage.²¹ The Yankee slavers, the fastest ships afloat, were forerunners of the famous clipper ships of the early nineteenth century. The northern textile mill owners and bankers like the shipowners for decades reaped huge profits from the southern slave system. Faulkner and Kepner state thus the slaveowners' cynical and hypocritical defense of slavery, and the infamous traffic in human beings: "Slavery is as old as civilization itself. As for the morality of slavery, is it not sufficient that the Bible sanctions it? And does not the Constitution legalize it? The inferiority of the African naturally makes him a subject of a more advanced race. These are the lessons of history."²²

The first slaves brought to this hemisphere were landed in Santo Domingo in 1502, only ten years after Columbus' first voyage. They were grabbed up by planters who, in their greed for quick and big profits, had already decimated the native Indian population. This was the beginning of Negro slavery in America and within the next fifty years many tens of thousands of slaves were brought to the various islands (Cuba, Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, Jamaica, etc.) and also to the Central American countries (Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, etc.) constituting the broad Caribbean area. Soon the Negroes came to outnumber the whites in these countries. On the eve of the revolution of 1790 in Haiti (Santo Domingo) which had by then become a French colony, of the total population of 536,000, no less than 480,000 were Negro slaves. There were only 35,000 whites.²³ And this was probably an underestimation of the total number of slaves, as the planters, who had to pay a head tax for them, usually understated their numbers.

Slaves were introduced into Brazil, the second great slave area in the western hemisphere, in 1532, from a Dutch ship. Henceforth, Negro slaves were in great demand to operate the huge sugar and other plantations of their Portuguese masters. Despite the extensive slave raids to capture the Indians by the ferocious Paulista Mamelucos, the demand for more and more plantation workers could only be eased by bringing in large masses of slaves from Africa, principally from the Portuguese colonies on that Continent. By the end of the eighteenth century, especially after the introduction of the new culture of sugar, the slaves in Brazil were reported to outnumber the free whites by fifty per cent. In some parts of the country, notably in Bahia, there were as much as twenty times as many slaves as white people. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, five million slaves had been brought into Brazil.²⁴ Statistics in this matter are not reliable, but it has been estimated that as many as 12 million Negro slaves were imported into Brazil prior to the halting of the slave trade in 1850.²⁵ Kuczynski suggests that the grand total of Negro slaves brought to all the Americas numbered about 15 million,²⁶ and DuBois asserts that for every slave imported into the western hemisphere about five were killed in Africa or died on the high seas, making a total loss to Africa of more than 60 million souls.²⁷ These frightful manpower losses and the chaos created by them were great restraining factors to the development of the African peoples.

The importation of Negro slaves into the United States, the third big area of chattel slavery in the Americas, began in 1619, only a dozen years after the settling of Jamestown, Virginia. Again, as in Brazil, it was a Dutch ship that initiated the infamous slave-trading. The planters grabbed up the new supply of labor, as they found the Negroes who, at first, were "indentured," particularly valuable in producing the warm-climate crops—tobacco, rice, indigo, etc. Some people in this colony believed that a Negro who accepted baptism should become free. But this practice did not suit the greedy planters; so in 1663 and 1667 Maryland and Virginia put a stop to it by legislation. After this, throughout the whole slave area, Negroes became permanent slaves, whether they were Christians or not. The exploiters would never let a little matter of religion stand in the way of getting cheap labor. They still maintained, however, the fakery that the Negroes were being enslaved in order to educate and Christianize them.

In early colonial Virginia there were many plantations of up to 50,000 or more acres which required large numbers of workers. It was a rich market for slaves. However, the total number of slaves rose relatively slowly. In 1710 they numbered 50,000, and by 1770 there were 462,000 slaves in all the thirteen American colonies. It was only with the rapid development of the cotton and sugar cultures after 1800 that the increase in the number of slaves took a big spurt, so that by 1860 they counted up to about 4 million.²⁸

Canada had no great number of slaves, as its climate was not adapted to plantation cultures. Most of the Canadian slaves were house servants. The following advertisement, taken from the *Quebec Gazette* of August 20, 1767, shows, however, that the "peculiar institution" was fully legal in Canada: "And on the first of September next will be sold at Mr. Lichbourne's some Negroes of both sexes, chain, saddle, and workhorses, with oxen, cows, sheep, etc."

The Brutality of Slavery

It is a sign of the political corruption of our times that there are some writers, including professed liberals, who try to gloss over the horrors of slavery, even as they do the other outrages committed by the invaders who so ruthlessly seized this hemisphere. In the United States we have had such conciliators of slavery as the Beards²⁹ and Gunnar Myrdal³⁰ who develop false theories to the effect that the slaveowners, because they had a great deal of money invested in the slaves, therefore took good care of them. Freyre also expresses such ideas in Brazil. Such people also insist that the Negroes unresistingly submitted to slavery. The facts, however, contradict these outrageous conclusions. In the very nature of things, to maintain a system of slavery it was necessary to keep the slaves in deep ignorance and to exercise a harsh tyranny over them. By the same token, slavery was bound to, and always did in the Americas, result in revolts on the part of the enslaved human beings. From whatever angle slavery is looked at, it was as barbaric as it was uneconomical. Slavery was particularly ruthless on those plantations and in those areas producing for export.

Wilgus and d'Eca state the situation correctly when they say that in Latin America, "The Negro slaves were generally considered as animals and treated as such."³¹ Engels gave the work period of a tropical country slave as six years. Tannenbaum bears this out when he states that "The life of the Negro plantation laborer in the West Indies is said to have averaged seven years."³² Spears declares that "the planters of the West Indies found it more profitable to work slaves to death, while yet in the prime of life, than to support them in an idle old age."³³ And speaking of slavery in colonial Brazil, de Azevedo says: "Seven years of relentless work and then worse than an old ox, an animal carcass to be thrown in the junk heap of the slave quarters."³⁴ Redding states that "an old slave was something of a rarity." He also says that in Mississippi slaves could be worked eighteen hours in twenty-four, in Georgia and Alabama nineteen. There was no law that said they could not be worked to death.

This same general situation prevailed also in the United States, except that in this country Negro slavery was more ruthlessly enforced than anywhere else in the western hemisphere. As in the United States, special codes

or laws, were worked out in Brazil and other big slave areas on the basis that slaves were mere property, not human beings. In the Spanish and Brazilian colonies, however, the slaves had more legal rights (such as they were) and a much better chance to secure their freedom than in the English colonies. McMaster gives this outline of slave code conditions on United States plantations where the slave codes were severer than anywhere else: "Lashes were prescribed for every black who kept a dog, owned a gun, who had a 'peragua,' who hired a horse, who went to a merrymaking, who attended a funeral, who rode along the highway, who bought, sold, or traded without his master's consent. Slaves were forbidden to learn to write or read writing, to give evidence against a white man, to travel in bands of more than seven unless a white man went with them, or to quit the plantations without leave. Should they do so, the first freeman they met might give them twenty lashes on the bare back. If one returned a blow it was lawful to kill him. For wandering about at night or riding horses without permission the punishment was whipping, cropping, or branding on the check. . . . Next to murder, the worst offense a slave could commit was to run away. Then the legislation would outlaw him and any free white that met him might kill him on sight. To steal a Negro was felony. To take his life while punishing him was not."³⁵

Frederick Douglass, the great Negro leader, himself a runaway slave, painted this graphic word picture of slavery: "Behold the practical operation of this internal slave trade, the American slave trade, sustained by American politics and American religion. Here you will see men and women reared like swine for the market. You know what is a swine-drover? I will show you a man-drover. They inhabit all our Southern states. They perambulate the country, and crowd the highways of the nation, with droves of human stock. You will see one of these human flesh jobbers, armed with pistol, whip and bowie-knife, driving a company of a hundred men, women, and children from the Potomac to the slave market at New Orleans. These wretched people are to be sold singly, or in lots, to suit purchasers. They are food for the cotton-field or the deadly sugar-mill."³⁶

Negro women especially suffered from slavery. In addition to all the hardships of life and work common to both sexes, they had to suffer every indignity from the masters and their agents. In the Spanish colonies, says Williams, "The slave had no legal rights; if the male was in most instances denied the privilege of marrying, the female was denied the right of refusing access to her bed on the part of the owner or the overseer. The refusal of sexual intercourse with a white overseer was equivalent to mutiny. It was no uncommon thing for a planter to line up his girls before his guest, who was invited to take his choice for the night."³⁷ In many slave areas, due largely to the attitude of the Negro women, the birth rate was so low that

the only way the number of slaves could be maintained was by the constant importation of fresh slaves from Africa. Plenn says that in the cases where women refused to bear children, in resistance to slavery, and these were many, their masters often put iron collars on them until they gave up this practice.³⁸ On the United States slave plantations Negro women were treated no less barbarously by the white masters.

Naturally, the ruling class, drawing its sustenance from such an outrageous system of human exploitation, led a generally worthless life. Slavery exerted a degenerating effect everywhere. Wherever slavery existed, the masters made it a sacred point of honor to do nothing useful that by any stretch of the imagination might be called "work." Oneal paints the following picture of the slaveowners in colonial Virginia, which could well serve to describe them in all countries: Virginia became "a class aristocracy, composed of an idle, fox-chasing, cock-fighting, gambling, drinking, ruling class, served by black and white servile labor, controlling church and state, establishing customs, forming current opinions and ruling all classes below it; a society that had little to command our admiration and still less to elicit the praise of historians."³⁹

Fierce Slave Revolts

The Negroes, despite the very limited means at their disposal under the prevalent iron discipline and terrorism, bitterly resisted slavery. They "slowed up" while at work, they ran away, they burned plantations, they murdered overseers and planters, they refused to bear children, they organized armed insurrections. Contrary to the slanders of the Beards, the Myrdals, and the innumerable other "white supremacists" who are trying to picture them as timid, pliant, and unresisting to enslavement, the Negro peoples, in their heroic fight for freedom, made a record of which they can well be proud. M. J. Herskovits, one of the many modern writers who are striving for a more correct analysis of Negro history, cites scores of slave revolts in all the colonies, in his book, *The Myth of the Negro Past*. He says: "Contemporary accounts are so filled with stories of uprisings and other modes of revolt, cases of voluntary starvation and more direct forms of suicide, that it is surprising that the conception of the pliant African ever developed."⁴⁰

In the Caribbean countries, throughout the colonial period innumerable slave insurrections occurred, beginning with the one in the early sixteenth century on the plantation of Diego Columbus, brother of the Discoverer. In Cuba there were slave uprisings in 1533, 1537, 1548. In Mexico a Negro insurrection took place in 1530; in the Barbados and Jamaica (English) there were important Negro uprisings in 1655, 1664, 1692, 1702, 1816, and 1831. There were many such struggles, too, in the early years of the French

colonies of Haiti, Martinique, and Guadeloupe. And on the continental mainland—in Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Venezuela—there were also numerous slave uprisings. Some of these slave insurrections gained partial victories, but most of them were drastically suppressed and their leaders hanged, shot, or burned to death. Of the many Negro slave revolts in Cuba, the most important was that led by a freed Negro, Jose Antonio Afonte, in 1812. The Negro uprisings in the Caribbean came to a head in the tremendous slave revolution in Haiti in 1791, which dealt a mortal blow to world Negro slavery and shook the whole American colonial system.

Many Negroes also fled from the plantations and established camps in the forests and swamps. In all the great areas of mass slavery there were such settlements of runaway slaves. The runaways were called “maroons” or “cimmarones.” They abounded in Cuba and other West Indian islands, Brazil, Central America, and elsewhere. Aptheker says of the United States, “Evidence of the existence of very many such communities in various places and various times, from 1672 to 1864, have been found.”⁴¹ In Dutch Guiana, even today, there are settlements of at least 17,000 Negroes in the jungles, descendants of escaped slaves of early colonial times.⁴² These are known as the Djukas. In 1825, says Herskovits, in *The Myth of the Negro Past*, the Dutch government, unable to conquer the rebel slaves, had to accord them official recognition in a formal treaty.⁴³

In Brazil, too, there were many Negro revolts against slavery. Over the years scores of thousands of Negroes fled into the jungles, where they were welcomed by the Indians and given land and friendship. Several of the most important Brazilian slave revolts took place in 1756, 1813, and 1839. Then there were the noted religious wars of the Mohammedan Negroes in Bahia, from 1807 to 1835, which were directly related to slavery. But the most extensive and famous of all Negro revolts in Brazil was that of Palmares. This quilombo, as runaway slave camps were called, was started in 1630 and lasted until 1697. A regular community, the Palmares Republic, was organized on African lines. Its head, Ganga Zumba, was a brave and brilliant leader. At its highest point there were about 20,000 Negro ex-slaves in this remarkable community. A government was established, a leader was selected, and trade was carried on with the surrounding country. The Portuguese dispatched many ineffectual military expeditions against this Negro republic. Finally, however, in 1697, the garrison was overthrown by the Portuguese armies. Thousands of defeated Negroes committed suicide rather than surrender. This great event stands out as a milestone in Brazilian colonial history.⁴⁴

In the English Atlantic Coast colonies, Negro slaves also conducted many struggles for freedom from the earliest days down to emancipation in the Civil War of 1861-65. Using the methods common to slaves in other

parts of the hemisphere, thousands escaped to Canada by means of the celebrated Underground Railway,* while other thousands fled into the swamps of Florida and other southern states. One of the major objectives of the United States government in the hard-fought wars against the Seminole Indians in 1817 and 1835 was to try to compel them to surrender the large numbers of Negro slaves who had fled to their territory. The federal government also used troops against Negro slave insurrections in Virginia (1800), Louisiana (1811), South Carolina (1822), Virginia (1831), Louisiana (1837), etc.⁴⁵

There were scores of extensive slave plots uncovered during the American colonial period,⁴⁶ not to count innumerable smaller uprisings. Aptheker says, "The history of American slavery is marked by at least two hundred and fifty *reported* Negro conspiracies and revolts. This certainly demonstrates that organized efforts at freedom were neither 'seldom' nor 'rare,' but were rather a regular and ever-recurring phenomenon in the life of the old South."⁴⁷ The first recorded slave revolt in the United States took place in 1526 in the Spanish colony on the Pedee River in South Carolina. In 1663, a planned revolt of indentured white servants and Negro slaves in Virginia was betrayed by a house servant, for which betrayal the colonists set aside a day of prayer in thankfulness. This was the first big revolt in the English colonies in which Negro slaves participated, but it was followed by many others in the slave areas throughout the eighteenth century. Even in New York City there were serious slave revolts: one took place in 1712, for which 21 slaves were savagely executed, and in 1741 there was another for which 31 Negro and whites were burned and hanged. The American Revolutionary War and the great slave revolution in Haiti stimulated the Negroes in all the colonies of the hemisphere to make many local attempts during the 1790's to free themselves.

With the swift growth of the slave population after 1800, as a result of the new cotton and sugar cultures, slave revolts became bigger, more frequent, and more dangerous to the masters. They kept the planter class in a permanent state of alarm. Rigorous semi-military measures were taken to prevent and suppress such uprisings. Organized mounted squads patrolled all the main roads of the South, every plantation mansion house virtually became an arsenal, and for many years the situation was one of almost martial law. Every sign of slave insubordination was combated with ruthless terrorism. To organize revolt under such extreme difficulties was a remarkable achievement and required tremendous courage and skill on the part of the slaves.

*One of the most celebrated "engineer-conductors" of the Underground Railroad was Harriet Tubman. She made many trips into the slave South, leading three hundred slaves to freedom. On the eve of the Civil War the planters had offered \$40,000 for her capture. (See Earl Conrad, *Harriet Tubman, Negro Soldier and Abolitionist*, New York, 1942.)

Nevertheless, in spite of all terrorism, many slave revolts were planned and carried through. The most important of these was the Gabriel conspiracy of 1800, in Virginia: this was an abortive attempt of at least a thousand slaves, which was put down violently and 35 Negro leaders executed. At Negro Fort, Florida, in 1816, over a thousand runaway slaves held off the United States army for weeks, until they were finally annihilated. Among the many revolts of those pre-Civil War decades, another of great importance was that of Denmark Vesey in 1822, in South Carolina. This revolt, like many others, was betrayed by Negro house servants, and it resulted in the hanging of 35 Negro leaders. In 1831, in Virginia, there was another crucial insurrection led by the famous Nat Turner. It, too, was defeated, and sixteen Negroes were hanged. There were many similar revolts as the great Civil War approached. A significant feature of the Negro slave revolts in all the colonies was the co-operation, on various occasions, of many white people. The most outstanding symbol of this collaboration in the United States was the heroic attempt of John Brown, with his little band of twelve white men and five Negroes, at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in October, 1859, to unleash a wide slave revolt, a brave effort for which Brown and the six other survivors of the battle paid with their lives. The Indians also often made common cause with the Negro slaves. An indication of this co-operative spirit was seen at the "massacre" of Jamestown in 1622 in which not one African was killed, although there were many in the colony.⁴⁸

All this is certainly not the record of a people who were submitting tamely to slavery, as the enemies of the Negro people falsely assert. Such slanders are characteristic of those generally directed by a ruling class against another class or people whom it wishes to discredit in order to exploit it the more readily. The Negro people historically have displayed a high degree of courage, fighting capacity, and love of liberty, in their many tribal wars, in their desperate struggles against the white invaders in Africa, in their innumerable revolts, with impossible odds against slavery in the Americas, and in their great political militancy during our own days.

White Wage Slavery

The labor exploiters throughout the hemisphere during the colonial period developed three general patterns of labor servitude: for the Indians, peonage; for the Negroes, chattel slavery; and for the whites, wage slavery. Of course, wage slavery was not restricted merely to whites; many Indians and Negroes also becoming wage workers. In their chronic hunger for workers, the labor exploiters did not hesitate also to enslave white workers as chattels. They were not hindered by sentimental considerations of racial relationships. Indeed the lines of demarcation between the three basic forms of labor servitude were vague and indistinct, and they overlapped and merged.

White criminals from Europe were dumped as slaves in all the colonies. Under the barbaric laws prevailing in England at the time, those found guilty of petty thievery could be hanged, imprisoned for long terms, or shipped off to the colonies as slaves. But the worst examples of chattel slavery among non-criminal whites was prevalent in the English colonies of North America. These white slaves were the so-called "indentured servants."

It was a widespread practice in the English colonies, from the earliest days of the Jamestown colony right down to the Revolution of 1776 (and in some places for fifty years beyond it) for white immigrants to be forced to enter into slavery for periods up to seven years or more, in order to pay for their ship's passage across the ocean. These indentured servants, in the civil and criminal codes, were handled much like Negro and Indian slaves. They were bought and sold at auction, they were whipped and worked at their master's pleasure; they could not marry without his permission, and for one of them to run away was a serious crime, punishable by a further term of servitude.

The immigrant workers were brought to the colonies under conditions but little better than those prevailing in slave ships. James Truslow Adams says of the eighteenth century immigrant traffic: "On one immigrant ship 350 passengers died out of 400, and these figures can be almost duplicated in many other instances."⁴⁹ Barbaric conditions prevailed regarding immigrants, right down to World War I. On the basis of fantastic advertisements, immigrants were drummed up from all over Europe by employer agents and then herded together and transported to America under conditions hardly fit for cattle.

Parrington gives the following typical examples of the colonial period white slave traffic: "From the *American Weekly Mercury*, Feb. 18, 1729: Lately arrived from London, a parcel of very likely English servants, men and women, several of the men Tradesmen; to be sold reasonable and Time allowed for payment. By Charles Reid of Philadelphia, on board his ship, at Anthony Milkinson's wharf. . . . Sometimes the profits were unexpectedly great, as is illustrated by the case of a certain George Martin, who contracted with a ship master to transport himself, his wife and five children to America for 54 pounds. He paid down 16 pounds, but died on the passage. On the arrival of the vessel in port, the captain foreclosed on the contract, sold the widow for 22 pounds, the three oldest sons at 30 pounds each, and the two youngest, who were under five years of age, he sold for 10 pounds, realizing 122 pounds on a debt under 51 pounds."⁵⁰

The indenture type of slavery was widespread in the early colonial United States. Kirkland estimates that indentured persons constituted more than one-half of the 100,000 people who came to Virginia before 1700. "As late as 1670, the number of white indentured servants in Virginia was three

times that of the Negroes."⁵¹ The large estates of the Penns further north were cultivated mainly by indentured labor. In the early colonial days most of these white slaves came from Ireland and Scotland, with a considerable number from Germany, lured to America by dazzling advertisements. The indenture practice extended also to Canada. For example, the *Quebec Gazette*, of July 26, 1764, offers a reward of 40 shillings for the capture of a runaway girl, and warns that any who may hide her will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

Many of the indentured immigrants were handicraftsmen, and it was out of their ranks that the primitive working class—hired mechanics and laborers of various kinds—largely developed. However, in the colonies of the western hemisphere, generally, there were hardly the beginnings of the modern, independent working class. This was because, even down to the beginning of the revolutionary period in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, industry had not yet developed out of agriculture. The factory system was still to be born. The big landed estates of the colonial period—haciendas, plantations, and fazendas—were largely self-sufficient economic units. They had their own blacksmiths, wheelwrights, weavers, shoemakers, bakers, etc.; and they made nearly everything they needed on the spot, with peons and slaves. Among the leaders of insurrections throughout the eighteenth century were Negro mechanics, some of them former slaves. What few manufactured commodities the landowners bought usually came from abroad, not from local industries, which were discouraged by the colonizing powers. In the English North Atlantic colonies, at the end of the colonial period, small industries were nevertheless coming into existence and a real working class was developing. But even here the market for manufactured products was small, because the farmers, who constituted 85 per cent or more of the population, bought very little on the open market. Iron wares, salt, guns and ammunition, glass and a few other items were about all they purchased. But what little they did buy was enough to enslave them to the avaricious merchants and money lenders. The restrictive policies of the "home" governments of the colonial powers were another powerfully hampering factor against the development of industry and the working class in the colonies.

With the growth of industry the wages system became firmly established. This method, which gives the worker a semblance of freedom, is far better adapted to industrial production than the slavery and peonage systems. Throughout the period of the colonies, however, there had been a considerable number of wage-earners in government service, commercial enterprises, shipping, crude inland transport, and occasionally in mines and on the farms; but real industries and big bodies of wage earners, as we know them, were non-existent. Consequently, the workers were unable to play an independent political role. Their fight for better conditions merged with the general strug-

gles of the people. In the English colonies as well as others, there were many such struggles, mostly of farmers. These farmers were debt-ridden and robbed by the merchants both when they bought and when they sold. The most important of these struggles were: Bacon's rebellion in Virginia in 1676, Leisler's rebellion in New York in 1689-91, the uprising in New England in 1689, the Westchester "levellers" and Prendergast rebellion of 1765-66, the fight of the "Regulators" in 1771, etc.⁵²—all of which were repressed in brutal slaughter. The big independent struggles in the colonial era were conducted primarily by the Negro slaves and Indian peons, not by wage workers. It was only in the English North Atlantic colonies that the working class had taken sufficient form to play a considerable political part by the time the Revolution began in 1776.

The position of the wage workers in the colonies was very bad. Indeed there was but a thin line of difference economically between them and the peons and chattel slaves. The employers set wages and hours as they pleased. They proceeded on the assumption that men, women, and child workers should labor almost to the point of collapse each day and for barely enough wages to keep the breath of life in them. Parkes, speaking of colonial working conditions in Mexico, says: "In the 18th century the workers were half-naked peons, who could be beaten at the pleasure of the employer, and who were locked in the factory, alongside criminals hired out by civic authorities, from dawn to sunset."⁵³ Only a thin sprinkling of skilled handicraftsmen in the towns were somewhat better situated.

Similar conditions were also to be found in other Spanish, Portuguese, and French colonies. Crow thus describes an early Peruvian colonial workshop: "The workshops also employed a certain allotment of workers doing forced labor, and in them the poor Indian carried out his task, tied to the lathe, while his body slowly lost its vigor in the exhausting and interminable operation assigned to him. His miserable daily wage served mostly to pay for food and clothes, and the rest remained in the hands of the master to pay the personal tribute tax, the debts which had accumulated, and so on."⁵⁴

Conditions in the sprouting industries of the English colonies were little or no better for the wage workers than those in Latin America. Says Foner: "In 1630, wages of carpenters in Massachusetts were approximately twenty-three cents a day with board, or thirty-three cents without board, those of laborers with board were as low as eleven cents a day, while those of bricklayers and masons in 1672 were twenty-two cents a day with board. A carpenter in 1770 earned about fifty cents a day; a butcher thirty cents; a shoemaker seventy cents, a laborer twenty cents. The general wage was about two dollars a week."⁵⁵ The workers in the colonies were mostly disfranchised politically, and were without trade unions. They worked under an arbitrary employer discipline, in unhealthy and dangerous conditions, and totally with-

out protection against unemployment, sickness, accidents, and old age. The work period varying in summer and winter averaged about 12 hours a day. Those who could not pay their bills were thrown into the terrible debtors' prisons. It was an ideal situation for the employers of the time, to exploit their workers to the extreme.

In the colonies of the several European powers, the Negro and Mulatto chattel slaves occupied the lowest rung in the scale of human exploitation, but the Indian and Mestizo peonage slaves were hardly better off economically. And the white wage slaves were nearly on the same low economic level. Indeed, there were many defenders of chattel slavery who declared boldly that the white wage slaves were much worse off than the Negro chattel slaves. This type of argument came sharply to the fore in the great debate over slavery in the United States in the decade just prior to the outbreak of the Civil War.

During this time, champions of chattel slavery such as Grayson,⁵⁶ in reply to strictures made against slavery by Harriet Beecher Stowe and others, painted an idyllic picture of the life of Negro slaves, who, they said, were assured of work, sufficient food, medical care, and a home in their old age, as against the desperate conditions of the wage slaves in the industries of New England, poverty-stricken, worked half to death, subject to dire unemployment, and threatened with the poor house when they got old. George Fitzhugh, an ardent champion of slavery, declared: "Slavery is ideal Socialism. The Socialistic doctrine that capitalism is barren and lives by exploiting labor is a fundamental defense of slavery, for it proves that the profits extorted from free labor make free labor into slaves without any of the advantages of the domestic slaves, and it makes capitalists their masters without any of the duties of slave-owners. Slavery is ideal Communism, for each one receives not according to labor, but according to need."⁵⁷

This raw debate between the northern and southern exploiters of labor was one of the most revealing exposes in American history. Not only were the horrors of chattel slavery in the South, but also those of wage slavery in the North ruthlessly exposed. Says Parrington: "In defending the plantation system they attacked the factory system; in upholding black slavery they attacked wage slavery; and in this game of the pot and the kettle the exploitative root of both systems was nakedly exposed."⁵⁸ It was all very embarrassing to the northern industrialists, who were making a sanctimonious attempt to discredit chattel slavery on humane grounds, when in reality what they had against slavery was that it prevented the spread of industrialization. It was the basis of planter domination in the government, it hindered a more efficient exploitation of the workers, and it inhibited the growth of the national market.

Politically, in all the colonies the three basic groups of the toiling popu-

lation—slaves, peons, and wage workers—were almost disfranchised. The right to vote was denied to them and they had no say as to how they should be governed. At the social bottom was the Negro, the most abused and exploited of all. In the colonial world the rungs of class distinction and racial discrimination were about as follows: On top the miscellaneous groups of social parasites—the landed aristocracy and their chief military and clerical aides; then came the merchants and other middle class elements; next were the small farmers, handicraftsmen, and white wage workers; below them were the Mestizos, Mulattoes, and Zambos (part-Negro and part-Indian), and finally, at the lowest level, the Indians and Negroes, with the latter at the lowest social levels. This was the general social stratification throughout colonial society on the hemisphere basis. Except that nowhere were the Indians and Negroes so deeply discriminated against as in the English North American colonies.

6. THE CHURCH IN THE COLONIES

The Church, in both its Protestant and Catholic phases, was part and parcel of the European ruling classes that set out to conquer, rule, and exploit the western hemisphere and its peoples. About the time of Columbus, before the Protestant Reformation had gotten well under way, the Catholic Church owned at least one-third of the total wealth of all Europe. The ruling classes that furnished the heads of the various European states, the owners of the great feudal latifundia, and the generals of the armies, also provided, in the main, the Princes of the Church. The same principle also applied generally, if not in the same degree, to Protestantism when it came upon the historical scene. But this essential unity of the Church with the ruling classes, which manifested itself in a common front against the discontented masses of the people, of course did not prevent—in the struggle over the rich colonial booty of the Americas—the development of serious quarrels within the ranks of the Church hierarchy, antagonisms between the leaders of the Church and state, sordid disputes between the Church leaders and the lay landowners, and wars between Christian states over the possession of the New World.

There is this distinction between the Catholic and Protestant churches, however. Protestantism was created by the rising capitalist class during the Reformation in its revolutionary struggle against the feudal system in Europe, of which the Catholic Church was a basic part. Protestantism was the ideological weapon of the young bourgeoisie. The capitalist class, however, once in power, did not hesitate to use the Protestant Church, much as the Catholic Church was used by the feudal landowners, as an instrument for exploiting the toiling masses.

The special role of the Church, in all its sections, in the conquest and exploitation of the colonial Americas, was twofold: first, it provided a moral and religious cover for the many barbarities that were committed in the course of the whole life of the colonies; and, second, it paralyzed the resistance of the people by capturing their minds with a benumbing ruling-class-inspired religion. How deeply religion entered into the atrocities of the Spanish conquistadores was illustrated by the statement of Simon de Vallalobos in 1606, who said: "Let us take care that when we kill and wound we do it in defense of the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, so that

in his favor and in his service we may win Heaven by means of the lance and the knife."¹

The Church, on the basis of its exploitative role, its class affiliations, and its great wealth, was able to demand and secure a very favored and powerful position for itself in the colonies, particularly in those controlled by the Catholic powers. In all the colonies the Church was able to establish its status as the official State Church. This was true not only in Spanish Mexico, Portuguese Brazil, and French Quebec, but also in Protestant Massachusetts. This gave it a tremendous influence during the colonial period virtually everywhere.

In the early days of the conquest the Spanish kings held many state controls over the Church—"patronage" these were called. Among them were the right to collect tithes, to name high church dignitaries, to establish the ecclesiastical territorial boundaries, to decide if, when, and where cathedrals should be erected, to control the calling of church councils and synods, to name the members of the Inquisition, and to limit its property-holding rights.²

The Catholic Church, however, proceeding on the theory that the Pope was not only the spiritual, but also the temporal ruler of the world, found various means, through its power as an organization and its control over the individual, to get around these formal state controls and to have pretty much its own way in all the Catholic Spanish, Portuguese, and French colonies. The basis for the church's power, of course, was the existence of feudalism in the colonies and the "home" countries. The Catholic Church hierarchy even enjoyed the right, in both civil and criminal cases, to be tried not by state but by special ecclesiastical courts for violations of the law. In the English colonies the Protestant Church hierarchies displayed similar tendencies to dominate the state, as in the hard-boiled theocratic regime of Puritan New England. Divided as the Protestant sects were among themselves, they were not able to exercise a power equal to that of the unified Catholic Church in Latin America. The division of colonial Protestantism into many squabbling sects, bred by the class conflicts within developing capitalism, prevented the Church from getting a death clutch on the English colonies, and this was one of the basic reasons why these colonies were able to progress so rapidly toward industrialization, democracy, and eventual revolution. By the same token, the stifling grip of the Catholic Church, the greatest of all the landowners, upon Spanish, Portuguese, and French America early developed into one of its most deadly handicaps, with regard to its culture, freedom, and industrialization.

The Wealth of the Church

As its part of the colonial loot, the Catholic Church demanded and got the lion's share of the land in the Spanish, Portuguese, and French colonies, especially in the former. It eventually became by far the biggest landowner in Catholic America. At first the Catholic kings of Spain and Portugal, bearing in mind the Church's superlative ability to monopolize land in Europe, laid certain restrictions upon the right of the Church to own land in the colonies. But, in the face of the hierarchy's great power, these regulations soon collapsed and the Church repeated its European landowning success. So much so that by the time the revolutionary period opened in Latin America in 1810, the Church possessed over one-third of the total land. Parkes cites Alaman: "Early in the nineteenth century it was estimated that more than half of the land in use in Mexico had become the property of the Clergy. . . . By the end of the colonial period the Church and its well-to-do clergy owned an estimated one-half of the total wealth in the countries of Mexico, Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, and almost that amount in all of the other Latin American nations. A considerable portion of the remainder was controlled by the Church through mortgages."³ And another scholar says: "Philip III [of Spain] complained to the Viceroy of Peru in 1620 . . . that the convents covered more ground than all the rest of Lima [and] there are but few who do not pay rent to the Church, either for their houses or farms."⁴ And in 1644, the cabildo of Mexico City petitioned Philip IV that if action were not taken to restrain it, the Church would soon own everything. In French colonial Canada, says Peck, the Catholic Church was also, by far, the biggest landowner.⁵

In the Catholic colonies the Church, i.e., the hierarchs, also secured for itself the right to tax the people in various ways. Through the "diezmo" or tithe the Church was entitled to collect one-tenth of all cattle, sheep, fruit, grain, and other agricultural products. Pope Alexander VI, at the close of the fifteenth century, gave this right to the Spanish Church, to be exercised through the Spanish Crown, which collected the tithe. The Portuguese in Brazil also collected tithes for the Church. By the Quebec Act of 1774, the French Catholic Church in Canada was conceded the right by England to collect tithes of one-tenth of all production. Peck points out that the Church of England was also granted one-seventh of the public lands as clergy reserves. In some of the English colonies down along the Atlantic Coast the institution of the Church tithe was also in effect, but it never assumed the importance that it did in the Catholic colonies.

The Church, in addition to the large income derived from tithes and the production of its vast landholdings, had many other sources of income. In the Spanish colonies the Catholic Church was the leading mortgage holder and money lender, and it also owned various mines, tanneries, dockyards,

shoe shops, pottery plants, bakeries, etc. The Church sought to monopolize the whole economic life, and was thereby a direct rival of the developing capitalism. The Church exacted, too, many ceremonial fees, virtually compulsory, for baptisms, marriages, funerals, and the like. Carlos Wiesse says, of colonial Peru, "The priests, for their part, received or extorted by a thousand means the little that was left to the Indian, the principal means being collections for saints, masses for the dead, domestic and parochial work on certain set days, forced gifts, and so forth."⁶

The Church had a gigantic, far-flung organization, including scores of thousands of priests, monks, and nuns. Using Indian labor, great numbers of churches, monasteries, and other structures were built, to house this large personnel. At the time of the Latin American revolution, in 1810, Mexico had 10,000 religious buildings. Many of the church structures, scattered from one end of the great Spanish colonial regime to another, were very elaborate, and were almost entirely built by forced, unpaid Indian labor. In 1550, the Archbishop Alonzo de Montufor criticized this practice, saying: "It is nothing for a religious [friar] to begin a new work costing ten or twelve thousand ducats [fifty to sixty thousand dollars] . . . and bring Indians to work on it in gangs of five hundred, six hundred, or a thousand, from a distance of four, six, or twelve leagues [ten to thirty miles], without paying them any wages, or even giving them a crust of bread. . . ."⁷

Under these general circumstances many of the upper clergy became rich and corrupt. At the end of the eighteenth century the Archbishop of Mexico had an income of \$130,000 per year from property alone; the Bishop of Puebla, \$110,000; the Bishop of Valladolid, \$100,000; and the Bishop of Guadalajara, \$90,000. Such conditions, accompanied by gross licentiousness, were protested by the more conscientious clergymen. Even Catholic leaders nowadays frequently admit the deep corruption of the top hierarchy in the colonial Church. Says Father Ryan: "The great wealth of the Church and the ease whereby it was acquired led inevitably to a certain amount of idleness, laxity, and immorality."⁸ In this riot of wealth by their superiors, the bulk of the lower clergy remained poor. Their poverty and the general misery of their lives were basic reasons why many of them played active parts during the revolutionary period.

Within the general fold of the Catholic Church were several religious orders, all very active in the colonies—Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, Augustinians, Capuchins, and others. The most influential, aggressive, and best organized of these orders was the Jesuits. So rich and powerful did the latter become finally in their manifold activities in Europe and the Americas that they became a menace, not only to the Kings of Spain, Portugal, and France but to the Vatican itself. In the colonies of the western hemisphere they owned great strings of missions, haciendas and other enter-

prises. The result was that the Jesuits were expelled from Portugal and its colonies in 1759, and from Spain and its colonies in 1767. At this time, too, in 1764, the English confiscated the estates of the French Jesuits in Canada. The Pope also ordered the Order of Jesus to be dissolved, but eventually it was reconstituted.

Conversion, Education, Inquisition

The Church, both Protestant and Catholic, was strong enough during the entire colonial era and throughout almost the whole western hemisphere to enforce for its own benefit an official monopoly over men's religious convictions. Those who dissented from the Church's dogmas and practices, and these brave people were many, were subject to horrible persecutions. The Church nearly everywhere was specifically endorsed and subsidized by the state. Freedom of religion was practically unknown in the entire American colonial world, save to a certain degree in such relatively small and isolated colonial spots as Rhode Island and Pennsylvania. This religious monopoly of the Church persisted until the revolutionary period, beginning in 1776 in the English colonies, and in 1810 in Latin America, when the awakened peoples dealt the whole reactionary system a smashing blow.

The Catholic Church, as usual, was more successful than the divided Protestant sects in enforcing its religious monopoly in the vast areas where it ruled over men's minds. During the early years of the Conquest, its greatest achievement in this respect was to sweep the millions of Indians into its ranks, despite all resistance, by a combination of shrewd propaganda and economic and political pressures. The defeated Indians accepted stoically, in word if not in fact, the gods of the conquerors as more powerful than their own defeated ones. The Church likewise absorbed millions of the Negro slaves who came later. That this job of conversion was not done too completely among the Indians and Negroes and their Mestizo and Mulatto descendants, however, is a matter of common knowledge. Says Metraux: "Anyone who has travelled in Peru or Bolivia knows that the old religion of the Incas survives under a thin veneer of Christianity. . . . The gods of the past are not only worshipped in hidden villages in the Andes, but are still openly adored in the large cities."⁹ The Negroes in Brazil and the Caribbean countries also kept alive their old African religions although professing Catholicism.

This general situation, a sort of an amalgamation of Catholicism and the old Indian and Negro tribal beliefs, prevails to a greater or lesser extent all through Latin America. The Brazilian writer Da Cunha calls this mixture a "Mestizo religion." Regarding this general matter, Blanshard says: "During the period of more than four hundred years since Catholic warriors took possession of the area [Latin America] in the name of Catholic

sovereigns, the Roman Church has failed so notably in its efforts to capture the loyalty of the masses of the people that the region is still largely a missionary territory."¹⁰ And the Jesuit writers Benson and Dunne admit that: "Indifference is widespread. . . . In general only a small portion of the population partakes in the sacramental life of the church or lives up to even its minimum obligations." Nominally, however, even today the majority of the Negroes and Indians of the western hemisphere are Catholics.

The Protestant Churches in the English colonies, although they succeeded in converting the masses of Negro slaves, were never able to make much headway among the Indians who, even down to our day, largely cling to their primitive religions. The nearest thing in the north to compare with the early wholesale conversion of the Indians in the countries of Latin America was the extensive work done among the Indians by the French Jesuits along the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

An important phase of the monopoly maintained over the mind of man by the Church, Catholic and Protestant, was the control of education by the Church throughout the colonial era all over the western hemisphere. In describing the position of lower education in colonial New France (Canada) just before the English seized it in 1763, Creighton says: "In Canada, the Church maintained a strict supervision over the teaching personnel, the teaching methods, and the subjects taught. It looked with no great favor on lay instructors, and the great majority of the primary teachers were parish priests, or members of the religious orders. Religious instruction was naturally regarded as the essential basis of all education."¹¹

This characterization would apply generally to education, both the lower and the higher, in all the American colonies, Catholic and Protestant, throughout the long colonial era. The chief differences consisted in the fact that in the Catholic colonies the curriculum in the schools was more narrowly religious and the Church controls even more closely maintained than in the English Protestant colonies. Everywhere, however, right down to the revolutionary period, the Church, with varying degrees of severity, retained its crippling grip upon education and the freedom of thought.

The colleges and schools of the colonial era were everywhere restricted almost exclusively to the ruling classes. Negroes, Indians, Mulattoes, Mestizos, white workers, and small farmers were not wanted. Pounding a few religious dogmas into the latter's heads at church meetings was good enough for these despised elements. Consequently mass illiteracy ran as high as 85-95 per cent in the various colonies. Women were also everywhere discriminated against in the educational field in colonial America, and were barred from most of the colleges. Even the well-to-do had to hire private tutors, if they wanted their daughters educated. Despite these severe handi-

caps, however, some women managed to acquire education. Indeed, one of the most brilliant literary minds during the whole colonial period in the American Catholic lands was a woman, Juana Ines de la Cruz (1651-1695), of Mexico City. She was a student, a sensitive poet, and an able writer; her literary reputation is still bright and Torres-Rioseco even calls her the "Tenth Muse."¹²

The Church, however, not content with being given a religious monopoly by the state, control of education, and funds to keep its many institutions going, also sought to apply its religious teachings by force, to the extent that it could in the varying circumstances. Dissenters and disbelievers were generally trampled upon roughshod. The Puritan regime in New England was typical of the generally intolerant spirit of the times, with its persecutions of nonconformist Congregationalists, Quakers, Jews, and Catholics, and its banishment beyond its borders of such liberal figures as Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson. The fine flower of the grim Calvinistic teachings of Cotton Mather and others was the witchhunt in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692, when within four months thirteen women and six men were hanged for "witchcraft."

It was in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, however, that the Church used the sharpest terroristic measures to enforce its control over the minds of the people. The Inquisition, one of the most malevolent institutions ever created by man, was introduced from Spain into its colonies in 1569. It was established in Brazil about the same time. Bannon and other Catholic writers now try to dismiss the Inquisition falsely as a state, not a Church, institution. The Spanish brand of the Inquisition was even more virulent than the Portuguese. This torture system lasted 250 years. During this period the Inquisition burned at the stake over one hundred men and women—Jews, Mohammedans, Protestants, Catholic dissidents, "witches," etc.—and imprisoned several thousand others. The deadly crime in the Inquisitors' eyes was heresy: that is, daring to think independently. If a man could not believe the "miracles" of Catholicism, and dared say so, he might be burned alive. The Inquisition, consisting of high church dignitaries, controlled and censored all printing and art, burned "heretical" books, confiscated property, and spied on everybody. Its pernicious influence was felt everywhere. It was the original thought-control system. The Inquisition perished in the flames of the Latin American revolution, to the great joy of the people. Its spirit still lingers on, however, in the reactionary hierarchy of the Catholic Church. In Quebec, Canada, the Inquisition has never been formally abolished and is still legally in existence.

The Church Bulwarks Human Exploitation

The Church, all sects of it, acting in line with the precept of rendering unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, has historically endorsed and supported all the systems of human slavery that have followed one another during the almost two thousand years of Christian Church history. About chattel slavery, St. Augustine, in his *City of God*, said: "Slavery is desired by God, and it is to rebel against God to wish to suppress it." Concerning serfdom, San Laud de Angers stated: "God himself has wished that among men some would be masters and others serfs, in such fashion that the masters are called upon to love God, and the serfs are called upon to love and venerate their masters." And as to capitalism, Pope Leo XIII declared: "The workers should accept without rancor the place to which divine Providence has assigned them."¹³

Naturally, therefore, the Church, as a key part of the exploitative apparatus of the ruling classes, supported and applied in Latin America all the basic forms of economic and political servitude that the toilers were subjected to during the colonial period, namely, Indian peonage, Negro chattel slavery, and white wage slavery. Under no circumstances can it be said that the Church, in any part of the colonies or at any period of the colonial era, was a force to abolish human enslavement and exploitation. In Latin America, the local churches, situated on the landowner's estates, were as much a part of his exploitation apparatus as his mansion house or the huts of his slaves.

As to the Church's attitude towards Indian servitude: It was not far along in colonial history, in all the Americas, before the exploiters realized that the Indians, for reasons explained earlier, could not be turned into chattel slaves. Both the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns, as well as the Catholic Church, the biggest exploiters of colonial labor, soon understood, even if many ignorant landowners did not, that peonage was the deepest form of servitude that could be enforced upon the Indians, especially in heavily populated areas. Says Weyl: "As the Church became the greatest landlord of the colony [Mexico], it acquired a vested interest in the system of compulsory Indian labor."¹⁴ The resistance of the Church to Indian chattel slavery in favor of Indian peonage must therefore be understood in the sense that, like the Crown, the Church did not want to destroy the source of all its wealth, Indian labor. Only in Brazil was there any sustained, determined effort by the landowners to force the Indians into chattel slavery. Especially in the latter colony the Church tried to secure a monopoly on Indian labor for its own missions in the form of peonage and it supported Negro slavery on private plantations.

In view of its accord with the monstrous system of Indian peonage, it is impossible for the Catholic Church to make good its claim that it was the

Indians' friend in colonial days. The fact is that it barely considered the Indians as men. It was not until 1537, about 45 years after Columbus landed, that, to settle bitter disputes over the question among churchmen in America, Pope Paul II issued a bull pronouncing the Indians to be humans capable of receiving the holy sacraments. Says J. X. Cohen: "The Peruvian Indians were not considered human by their rulers. The College of Cardinals in Rome actually debated for half a century whether Indians, being non-human, could receive the sacrament."¹⁵ If the Catholic Church in Latin America during the 250 years of the existence of the Inquisition did not enforce it against the Indians, as it did against the white population, it was primarily because the Church looked upon the Indians as inferior beings who were not really responsible for their moral conduct.

In England's North American colonies, after a few preliminary futile attempts, no continued efforts were made by exploiters to make actual chattel slaves of the Indians. Attempts had to be abandoned even to make peons of them, or to exploit them in any way save, as we have seen, as fur trappers. The prevalent policy in the colonies along the North Atlantic Coast was to drive the Indians off the land altogether or to exterminate them outright. The colonial churches, Protestant and Catholic, went right along with this barbaric policy.

In all the American colonies the Church's record was even worse regarding Negro chattel slavery. It is a well-established fact that not only did the Catholic Church in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies freely endorse slavery, but it had its own large numbers of Negro slaves on its many big plantations. Calderon quotes a characteristic view of a Catholic hierarch, in colonial Latin America, Father Charlevoix, who declared that, "properly speaking we may say that the Negroes . . . have been born only for slavery."¹⁶ Even Las Casas himself, although a violent opponent of chattel slavery for Indians, at first openly advocated such slavery for Negroes, proposing that each white immigrant be allotted twelve Negro slaves. This scheme, the great priest later rejected and repented of, and he became an enemy of chattel slavery for both Indians and Negroes. Typical of conditions generally in Latin America and, writing specifically of Chile, Galdames says: When the Jesuits were expelled from that country in 1767, they owned 50 big haciendas and along with a large number of Indian serfs they had three hundred Negro slaves.¹⁷ Diffie, who states that the Jesuits owned one-fifth of the slaves in Chile, declares that, "The Church condoned (and practiced) slavery and the slave trade on the grounds that it was better to enslave a man's body and save his soul than to leave him free and a heathen."¹⁸

In the English colonies of North America voices in the Protestant Church for the freedom of the Negro were just as rare as were those in the Catholic Church in Latin America. Indeed, the Puritan merchants of New

England, as we have already seen, freely carried on the slave trade and grew rich. The church leaders in the English colonies generally accepted slavery, no less than did the big landowners, especially in the South. The Beards say that: "Neither the Puritans nor the Cavaliers had fixed scruples against the enslavement of their fellow men, of their own or any other color."¹⁹ Even such liberal churchmen as William Penn and Roger Williams owned slaves, as did many other church leaders. John Eliot, the noted Puritan preacher, had no particular objection to slavery. And when, after Independence was established in the United States and the great Abolition movement later got under way, the Church in the southern states, with Bible text and holy precedent, almost unanimously defended Negro slavery in the name of Christianity.

Aptheker gives an example of a type of sermon for slaves, popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries among Protestant Episcopal clergymen in Virginia and Maryland: "The slaves here are assured that God has willed that they occupy their lowly position. They are told that unless they perform their allotted tasks they will suffer eternally in hell. Specifically, they are warned that the Lord is greatly offended when they are saucy, impudent, stubborn, or sullen. Nor are they to alter their behavior if the owner is cross or mean or sullen; that is the Lord's concern, not theirs, and they are to leave the master's punishment to Him."²⁰ This is what Marx had in mind when he called religion the opium of the people.

L. B. Washington gives a whole list of Bible quotations which the slaveowners used to defend slavery.²¹ But the Negroes, in their spirituals and otherwise, expressed other ideas of Christianity. Says Aptheker: "Many of the slaves, however, instituted a different religion. Their God had cursed man-stealers, had led slaves out of bondage, had promised the earth as an inheritance of the humble, had prophesied that the first would be last, and the last would be first. Their God had created all men of one blood, and had manifested no preferences among those into whom he had breathed life."²²

Most of the big slaveowners in the South belonged to the Episcopal Church. Bishop Polk of this church, in Louisiana, 1854, owned four hundred slaves.²³ Nor was the Church in the north appreciably better than that in the south regarding slavery. Many of the white Abolitionists in pre-Civil War days, it is true, were ardent Christians; but they by no means had the backing of their organized churches, which generally took the compromising attitude of many big merchants and bankers towards slavery in the South. Although most of New England abolished slavery in the 1790's, Parrington could say of that religious region: "In the year 1830 there were somewhat more than a hundred Abolition Societies in the United States, not one of which was in New England; and in the first number of the *Liberator* Gar-

rierson wrote, probably, without exaggeration, that he found 'contempt more bitter, opposition more active, detraction more relentless, prejudice more stubborn, and apathy more frozen' in New England 'than among slave-owners themselves.' The old Puritan conscience might be tender, but it refused pretty steadily to take on any larger job than sabbath-keeping and dogma-saving."²⁴

As for the third form of human servitude enforced by the colonial exploiting classes—wage slavery—whether for Indians, Negroes or whites, the Church in all its sects throughout all the colonies fully endorsed and supported it. Not only did the Church leaders, Catholic and Protestant, support this peculiarly capitalist form of servitude, but they did not even try to alleviate its terrible ravages among colonial workers. In the matter of wage slavery, as in that of peonage and chattel slavery, the Church, in colonial times (and in our days, for that matter), was in no respect the champion of fairer and more humane treatment for workers. On the contrary, the Church leaders, as a definite part of the ruling classes, were a powerful factor in intensifying the people's exploitation and subjugation.

The Catholic Missions in Latin America

The Church, both in its Catholic and Protestant variants, while working hand-in-glove with the lay conquerors and exploiters, nevertheless had strong theocratic tendencies in the governments that it strove to set up in the colonies of the New World. Its plans in this respect varied with the several branches of the Church and in different countries, but in the main it sought to establish, within the framework of feudalistic-capitalist society, some sort of theocratic regime in which the Church would be dominant. The Church wanted at once to be the master of the state and of the economy of the various countries. This was the heart of both the Catholic and the Puritan theocratic conceptions.

In all the colonies of North, Central, and South America this theocratic trend was highly manifest. For example, in Massachusetts, up to 1700, church membership was a qualification for voting. But the clearest and most primitive expressions of such bureaucracy were the well-known Catholic missions of Latin America. No survey of colonial life, however brief, is complete without a picture of the remarkable mission system. This was a large-scale attempt to organize the New World upon the basis of the system of Catholic clerical domination that existed far back in the Middle Ages.

The mission movement began early in the sixteenth century, in 1520, and it lasted all the way down to the revolutionary period in Latin America. Eventually the missions were spread out all over the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, particularly in their wild, frontier portions, where the

mission builders could operate with a minimum of control from the rest of colonial society. There were also French Catholic missions among the Indians in Canada, but these never took on the mass importance that the missions did in the lands controlled by Spain and Portugal. Several of the Catholic priestly orders took an active hand in mission building, but, as usual, the Jesuits were the most energetic and successful. After the latter were expelled from the colonies in 1767, the mission leadership fell mostly to the Franciscans.

The Catholic Indian missions have been much glorified in Catholic literature as a sort of social ideal. Many claim that they were an attempt to put into practice the principles enunciated in Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, which was published in 1516. The Catholic missions have also been described as a practical application of communism. Actually, however, the mission was neither of these things. It was a church version of the Spanish feudal *encomienda*, with all its basic exploitative features, covered over with a veneer of religious propoganda and church ceremonialism. The priests adapted the Indians' primitive communalism to their own uses. The land of the missions was owned or controlled by the Church order in question, and it was cultivated by the Indians, who had small individual plots for the production of fruit and vegetables for themselves. They were peons, like the Indians in all other *encomiendas*. Some of the Indians were taught various crafts, and they built literally thousands of church buildings without pay. These mission churches were to be found all over Latin America, from California to Chile.

"The missions were neither 'communitic', nor 'socialistic,'" says Erik Bert. "The production relations of the missions were feudal, master and slave relations."²⁵ The political relationships within the missions were autocratic. The priests ran everything and the Indians were treated as minors who never grew up. Illiteracy was almost universal. Says Crow: "Only those children were taught how to read and write who were designed for public officers, servants of the church, or for medical practice."²⁶ In some missions the Indians were allowed to elect their local civic officials, but these were subject to the veto of the cura, or rector. Actually two priestly officials supervised everything in the Missions. The missions had their own police and armed forces. The Indians were tried and often seriously punished by the priests for rules infractions. Says Wilgus: "The home life, clothing, manners, and morals of the natives were regulated by the missionaries." Recreation was similarly controlled. "All direct contact between the natives and the outside whites was forbidden."²⁷

Regarding the general regime in the missions, many writers have criticized this very severely. Diffie says: "The Jesuits held the natives in virtual slavery, reaping rich fruits from their labor. . . . Their technique of

organization was almost everywhere the same, since its plan was devised by one central authority. A few missionaries, usually accompanied by troops for protection, entered a region not previously Christianized. A settlement was made and the Indians were induced to establish themselves in a mission, by peaceful means if possible, or by force if necessary. . . . Humboldt did not find, however, that the missions exercised a very civilizing effect upon the Indians. . . . The missionaries also isolated the Indians, took their produce as religious offerings and sold it, returning to the Indian little to compensate him for the loss of his freedom. . . . Slaves were among the most valuable possessions of the Jesuits. A close inventory would probably reveal that they owned thousands. That their treatment of the slaves was in keeping with the customs of the times is indicated by the stocks, chains, and other instruments found on their plantations at the time of their expulsion."²⁸ In 1767 when the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish colonies, it was found that numbering all told 2,260 they had under their control 717,000 Indians. And there were scores of other missions besides those of the Jesuits.

The missions produced many commodities for sale, thus netting large sums of money into the clergy's hands. Speaking of the thirty missions in Paraguay after the expulsion of the Jesuits, a prominent Argentine poet and historian, Leopoldo Lugones, "figured expenses at a million dollars a year and profits at three million dollars. Extending this over one hundred years, he arrived at a total net income of the amazing sum of three hundred million dollars. "All this," says Lugones, "went into Jesuit coffers, because the order had an absolute monopoly on trade in the region."²⁹ In other areas the missions were similarly wealthy. Says Freyre: "The exploitation of the native workers had been so systematized, to the benefit of the whites and the Church [in Brazil] that out of a daily wage of 100 reis the Indian of the missions received but the miserable sum of 35 reis a day."³⁰

Las Casas established the first mission in Venezuela in 1520, but it failed. Right at the heels of Cortes, in 1524 the Franciscans arrived in Mexico (the Jesuits came in 1572), and soon missions dotted that country. From 1593 on, during the next century, the Jesuits built an extensive network of missions in Paraguay and northern Argentina, the most successful of them all. By 1750, a large chain of Jesuit missions stretched along the banks of the Amazon River all the way up to Peru. In 1769, Portola and Serra established missions in San Diego and Monterrey, in California. In 1776, a mission was set up on the present site of San Francisco and others at various California points, twenty-one in all. There were many others organized in Texas, Arizona, Louisiana, and Florida.

The grandiose "mission empire" began to weaken in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. This social force ran counter to the whole development of capitalism in the Americas. Also, the expulsion of the Jesuits was

a heavy blow. Other disintegrating factors were the hostility of the state, which looked upon the missions as an aspiring rival for political power, and the hatred of private landowners who were in sharp competition with the missions for markets. Then there was the declining supply of Indian serfs, who were more and more resistant to the wishes of the mission priests, and the development of great masses of Mestizos who had no taste for mission life. By the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the hundreds of missions, which once had played such a vital role in Spanish and Portuguese colonial life, had vanished almost completely, leaving behind many old churches and monasteries as mementos of a vast social effort that had failed, an ill-fated attempt to build a great Middle Ages theocracy in the New World.

7. INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLES FOR POSSESSION OF THE COLONIES

It was a fundamental characteristic of the feudal system, which prevailed for over a thousand years in Europe, that a cannibalistic struggle for land and power raged more or less continuously among the nobility. Might was right, and the powerful ruthlessly devoured the weak. No sooner did one big land pirate feel strong enough to do so than he proceeded to despoil and murder his neighbor. For many centuries this savagery was quite the accepted order of things in Europe and no holds were barred in the endless struggle.

Capitalism has carried over and greatly intensified this feudalist dog-eat-dog element in social relationships. It has brought about a relentless, internecine struggle for wealth and power. Not only are the individuals of the ruling class thoroughly saturated with this ruthlessness, but this dominant class tries, too, to contaminate the workers with the same parasitic spirit. "Each for himself, and the devil take the hindmost," is the heart motto of capitalism. Everybody is stimulated to grab what he can at the expense of everyone else, without regard to methods, always on guard against being caught in too flagrant violations of the elementary rules that have been laid down to govern the wolfish struggle to rob and exploit one's fellow citizens. Capitalism, socially irresponsible, is essentially a gangster system of society. It is individualism rampant, become cancerous.

The fierce struggle that capitalism initiates among the exploiters themselves, and especially the fight of the capitalist class as a whole to rob the working class, receives an especially violent expression in the fundamentally hostile relations between the capitalist nations themselves. Capitalism built up the modern states and they are animated, and to a most intense degree, with the characteristic capitalist cutthroat spirit of murderous competition, with an irresistible drive to seize one another's lands and other possessions. They all look upon each other as active or potential enemies. Except that the capitalist states, equipped with all the military and industrial means for mass murder, proceed to far greater extremes of ruthlessness and violence than is possible for any individual exploiter or capitalist class within a given state. It was inevitable, therefore, that capitalism, because of its inherently violent nature, should be responsible for the most terrible wars of all human history.

During the long colonial period in the Americas, Europe was the scene

of endless wars between the various countries. At the bottom of these wars was the growing conflict between rising capitalism and decaying feudalism, with the capitalist classes of the various nations trying to carve out strong national states at the expense of other peoples. These many and complex wars were nearly all reflected in the Americas, as the predatory European powers attempted to seize the colonial prizes for themselves.

The peoples of the western hemisphere have suffered greatly from this characteristic thieving propensity of the European powers, leaving aside for the moment their sufferings from the similar grabbing among the various American capitalist states themselves. All through the colonial era a ceaseless struggle went on among the various colonizing countries, sometimes covert, sometimes open, and assuming various forms in different situations, for possession of the potentially vastly rich western hemisphere. Involved in the murderous fight were mainly Spain, Portugal, England, France, and Holland.

These powers started out by flagrantly stealing the western hemisphere from the Indians and; logically enough, they continued just as ruthlessly to steal it from one another. Consequently, the boundary lines between the various colonies were drawn strictly on a power basis, each "home" country doing all it could to extend its own territory to the utmost and to restrict that of its rivals to a minimum. In this relentless struggle of the European nations for colonial possession, no spirit of decency, honor, or fair play was allowed to interfere. The various governments, true to the spirit of capitalism, had not the slightest respect for the lives and property of other peoples.

Spain and Portugal, as we have seen, got a long head start over England, France, and Holland in colony grabbing. During the sixteenth century they were the world's leading colonial powers. In the Americas they had seized all the "sunny climes," the rich plantation lands, and the known mining areas. By the end of that century, when the other main powers began active colonization, about all that was left for them were the colder, more forbidding, and apparently almost worthless areas of upper North America. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, however, Spain and Portugal both suffered severe European defeats at the hands of the English and the Dutch. Holland became the leading world power, stripping Portugal of its rich far eastern colonies and, by the middle of the seventeenth century, it controlled three-fourths of the world's shipping. Early in this century, too, rising England reduced Portugal virtually to the status of a satellite state, and before the century was ended it had also ruthlessly broken the power of Holland and become the unchallenged mistress of the seas. Throughout this century England also waged war after war against France, finally, in the last quarter of the century, driving her out as an American colonial power.

The wolfish struggle by the several European powers for the division of the western hemisphere among themselves did not come to an end with the

close of the colonial era. On the contrary, their general dog fight continued on without letup right into the colonial period and beyond. Consequently, in our own decades, particularly with the rise of fascism and the outbreak of World War II, this struggle reached more vicious and dangerous extremes than ever before. But here let us confine ourselves to describing the general course of the more important of the struggles for western hemisphere control that took place during the colonial period, up to the time of the various wars for American national independence.

The Smuggling Industry

One of the major objectives of the competing European colonizing powers in the Americas over long periods was to steal each other's trade by destroying those trade monopolies which all the powers were trying to fasten on their respective colonies. For as we have seen, the colonizing states undertook to enforce upon their colonies restrictive policies which were designed to clip the sprouting colonial industries and to monopolize the colonial trade for the benefit of the "home" countries. The rival states sought mutually to smash these narrow monopolies and to conquer one another's colonial markets. One of their major weapons in this economic and often military struggle was wholesale smuggling. The powers freely violated each other's commercial laws. In this violation they usually had the co-operation of the merchants in their rival's attacked colony, who were only too pleased to escape from under the strangling trade restrictions of their "home" country, even though this meant criminal "trading with the enemy."

From the earliest period the Spanish colonies were especially the objects of such foreign smugglers. So successful were the latter in their illicit trade that by 1624 the royal inspector stationed at Panama declared that while only 1,446,346 pesos worth of goods had legally passed through the local customs that year, an estimated smuggling trade of 7,597,559 had gone on during the same period, paying no duties or taxes to the government. Another Spanish inspector stated at the same time that for every thousand tons imported legally into the colonies, seven thousand tons came in illegally. So widespread did smuggling become that by the end of the eighteenth century the Spanish monopoly was practically broken, foreign ships arriving in the ports of the colonies of Spain at the rate of about ten times as many as those of the Spanish themselves.

Brazil also received much attention from the smugglers, especially the French, Dutch, and English, who boldly, by armed force, even established bases and trading posts on the Brazilian coasts. According to the laws of Portugal, Portuguese ships sailing to Brazil paid no duties, but foreign ships, if they were allowed to trade legally at all, had to pay customs equal to one-tenth the value of their cargoes. Smugglers, en masse, however, cut around

these onerous charges. Especially successful were the British, with their rising sea power. Finally by the Methuen Treaty of 1703, Portugal and its colony, Brazil, became virtually dependent economically upon England.

In the North American colonies, both English and French, smuggling was also widely prevalent, and for the same general reasons. Lecky says that the French fleets and garrisons, even in war times, were regularly supplied with goods smuggled from the English colonies. In the English colonial customs houses, it cost, on the average, about eight times as much as they were worth to collect the customs duties.¹ Many of the most prominent colonial merchants freely engaged in smuggling, among them John Hancock and other leaders in the American Revolution of 1776. One of the things that lent real zest to the famous Boston Tea Party, for example, was the fact that the local merchants had previously smuggled into the country large amounts of tea, and the arrival of further East India Company shiploads from England threatened to glut the tea market altogether. So good patriotism and good business marched hand-in-hand when the tea merchants and other indignant citizens of Boston threw the English tea in the harbor.

Pirate Hijackers

The colonizing powers, in their greed for lands, markets, and riches in this hemisphere, went much farther than smuggling and trade wars against each other. Another of their favorite weapons of mutual struggle was piracy. Ships of one country would halt the ships of another and rob them of their valuable cargoes, subjecting the crews and passengers to the rudest violence. Or pirates of one country would raid the colonial ports of rival powers, sacking and burning them, and putting their inhabitants to death. Scores of Spanish and Portuguese colonial cities were thus devastated during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, among them Portobello, Panama, Havana, Valparaiso, Cartagena, Maracaibo, Puerto Cabello, Bahia, Pernambuco, Vera Cruz, Callao, and many others. The mere fact that the various "home" countries in Europe might be at peace with each other at the time had no restraining effect whatever upon these pirate forerunners of our present-day gangster hijackers. Many pirates operated on their own without any specific authorization of their governments, but the most effective ones were honored subjects in their respective countries and worked with the full sanction and support of their reigning monarchs. The difference between a merchant and a pirate in those days was pretty thin, and, for that matter, it still is. Marx thus characterizes the merchant capitalists of this general period: "Merchants' capital in its supremacy everywhere stands for a system of robbery, and its development, among the trading nations of old and new times, is always connected with plundering, piracy, snatching of slaves, conquest of colonies."²

Spain was also the special object of attack by the hijacking pirates, freebooters, and buccaneers, and the place where these gentry carried on their principal depredations against her was in the Caribbean Sea, or "Spanish Main." Their immediate aim was to rob Spain of the great stream of gold and silver that she had stolen from the colonies and kept pouring across the Atlantic in her ships. The ultimate aim was to destroy her altogether. The principal piratical attacks began in the last half of the sixteenth century and lasted, with greater or lesser intensity, for a full two hundred years. They became especially damaging after Spain lost her famous Armada off the coast of Ireland in 1588 during a great storm, a disaster that permanently broke the sea power of that country and gave sea dominion to England.

Pirates also occasionally attacked Portuguese ships, homeward bound from Brazil, but these usually were not such rich prizes as the gold and silver laden galleons of Spain. So effective were these piratical activities that "in the reign of Charles V," says Crow, "a total of 2,421 vessels left Spain for the New World and only 1,748 returned. The difference of 673 was either taken by the corsairs or lost in storms. Then, even after the convoy system was established (1561), the Dutch alone captured around 550 Spanish ships within a period of only thirteen years, between 1623 and 1636."³

The English were the star pirates, even as they were the leading slave traders of these early days. Spain had stolen a march on England by her great initiative and energy in discovering, overrunning, and conquering the largest and most preferred sections of the hemisphere. So England, once she got into the game of grabbing in the Americas, in the true cannibalistic spirit of budding capitalism, set out to rob Spain of the fruits of her "labors," and piracy was one of the major weapons she used.

Of the many famous English pirates and slave traders, Sir Francis Drake headed the list of such marauders. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth for successful piracies. Drake once raided Panama, seizing a whole year's shipment of gold to Spain; this was the most lucrative pirate raid ever recorded.⁴ In his famous piratical trip around the world Drake cleaned up £600,000 on an investment of but £5,000.⁵

Following closely upon Drake's fame were such figures as John Hawkins, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Henry Morgan, Captain Kidd, Thomas Cavendish, and many others. Beginning in 1565, these pirates "singeing the beard of the Spanish king," ravaged Spanish colonial towns and shipping far and wide, regardless of whether or not an official state of peace or war existed. During Queen Elizabeth's reign it is estimated the English pirates brought in as much as £12 million—an enormous sum in those times.⁶ The English Caribbean pirates, in their depredations, laid the basis of the British navy. Among their thievings, they seized many West Indian islands—the Bahamas, Barbados, Jamaica, and others—as bases for piratical operations, and Great

Britain still holds these islands. Thus, just as England's capitalism largely originated out of the slave trade in Negroes, so, also, her boasted navy and her mastery of the seas had their real beginnings in the activities of Caribbean pirates. Many of the most noted English families date back to these gangster beginnings.

The French and Dutch gave the English strong competition in piracy. French pirates seized the western end of Spanish Santo Domingo, out of which later was born the French colony of Haiti. French claims to Martinique and Guadaloupe were similarly established by pirates who landed and settled there. One of the most ferocious of the French pirates was L'Olonnois, the memory of whose terrible cruelties still lingers in the Caribbean. The Dutch were also energetic pirates, paying special attention to the Portuguese fleets. They even tried to grab Brazil. Among the more notorious of the Dutch pirates were Pret Heyn and Edward Mansveldt. France and Holland, however, never reaped the great glory from their pirates, nor did they honor them so fulsomely as England did. Whether England hanged a pirate at the yard-arm or made a knight of him depended pretty much upon whether or not he shared his loot with the current, ever-greedy king.

Wars over the Colonies

The colonizing powers, passing beyond smuggling and piracy in their murderous rivalries, engaged in many full-scale wars to seize rich colonies from one another. The law of the jungle prevailed in their colonial relationships and victory went to the strongest. The several countries were also almost constantly at war with each other in Europe over various issues, and these murderous wars were carried into the colonies. England, far behind in the historical process of discovery and conquest in the western hemisphere, and feeling the strong impulse of developing capitalism, sought to make up for her tardiness in America by waging ruthless attacks upon the colonial possessions of other powers. In these hijacking operations she was outstandingly successful.

After her pirates had grabbed the valuable West Indies islands from Spain, England's next achievement in seizing another power's American possessions was to drive the Dutch out of New Netherlands (New York). This happened in the middle of the seventeenth century, when England was in the process of destroying Holland's power generally. For a long time the English had looked askance at the Dutch, strongly entrenched as they were along the highly strategic Hudson and Delaware rivers. They had been there since 1623, and were rapidly building a strong feudalistic regime. The Dutch colonies split the English North American colonial system in two parts, making a wedge between those colonies strung along the southern part of the

Atlantic Coast and those stretching northward to Newfoundland. So the Dutch had to go.

In 1664, the British, now masters of the sea, struck the blow. Without warning, their fleet fell upon New Amsterdam and captured it. The English lost the city again in 1673, but finally regained possession in 1674. This finished the Dutch colonies in North America. King Charles II gave the whole conquered region, from the Connecticut River to Delaware Bay, to his brother, the Duke of York, whence came its name, "New York," To quote the Beards: "Under the genial favor of the Duke, English fortune hunters now secured huge grants, running in size from fifty thousand to a million acres, at negligible quitrents, thus adding an English aristocracy, partly absentee, to the Dutch gentry created by the West India Company and retarding the growth of the colony by impediments in the way of freeholders."⁷

England's next and biggest success in despoiling other nations of their American colonies came in 1763, when she finally wrested New France (Canada) from French possession. By this victory a territory eventually greater than that of the United States fell under her sway. She formally allotted herself the former French colonies by the Treaty of Paris, signed at the close of the Seven Years' War.

This conquest was a grim and sordid story. The French were the original colonizers of Canada, establishing posts in Quebec in 1608 and in Nova Scotia (Acadia, the land of "Evangeline") in 1610. But the British, proceeding upon the flimsy pretext that Canada was theirs because John Cabot had sailed along the coast in 1497, tried to push out the French. In 1628 they occupied Port Royal, Nova Scotia, and in 1670 they established a post of the Hudson Bay Company far up in the northern wilderness. During this whole period there were endless Franco-British wars in Europe, which were also fought out in the colonies of the New World. Among them were King William's war, 1688; Queen Anne's war, 1702; King George's war, 1744, and the Seven Years War, 1755, and in all of these wars the fate of Canada was at stake. Great Britain succeeded in securing an official title to Nova Scotia through the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Later on, in the Seven Years War, the British carried the war vigorously to the French in Canada, and Quebec fell to the army of General Wolfe in 1759. Four years later, in Paris, France had to yield up all her North American colonial possessions, except her string of settlements west of the Mississippi River. Canada, the great war prize, was now definitely British. At that time, says Graham, there were only a few hundred English and about 75,000 French in Canada.⁸

The British, shortly after grabbing Canada, tried to seize the valuable River Plate (Argentine, Paraguay, Uruguay) colonies from Spain. They perceived from the outset the great strategic and commercial importance of this vast area. In June 1806, therefore, Admiral Popham, with a force of

1200 men, captured Buenos Aires, the Spanish authorities and their army fleeing. A couple of months later, however, the people rebelled and expelled the British from the city. Determined, nevertheless, to establish themselves in this vital area, the British returned in January, 1807, with 12,000 men, landing in Uruguay and capturing Montevideo. They set out to retake Buenos Aires, but were again defeated. This reverse caused them also to surrender Montevideo. Thus ended in military defeat this significant venture. England saved something from the disaster, however. She obtained a treaty giving her the right to trade in the area, an advantage that she knew well how to exploit during the next hundred years, and making her the trade ruler of the whole River Plate region.

So far, as we have seen, the British, dominant on the seas, had done very well in seizing other peoples' lands in America. Besides having grabbed from Spain a number of very important islands in the West Indies, they had forced the Dutch out of their North Atlantic colonies, and captured Canada from France. In the meantime England was also trying her fortune at land-grabbing in Brazil. After a number of pirate raids upon the Brazilian coast, in 1592, English corsairs burning and sacking Olinda and Recife, the English undertook, in 1630, to settle at the mouth of the Amazon, a strategic point for taking over that whole territory. But the Portuguese managed to wipe out the English fort, thus ending the ill-fated attempt to snatch Brazil from Portugal.

But England was not alone in such colony grabbing. France and Holland especially made determined efforts also to seize Brazil. The French began early. In 1555 they landed at the point where Rio de Janeiro now stands and proceeded to establish themselves there, expecting to take over the whole country. But the Portuguese succeeded in driving them out in 1565, after a desultory struggle of ten years. Thus, France lost the rich Brazilian prize.

Holland's great Brazilian adventure began in 1623, at which time the Dutch were a strong power. In that year a large Dutch expedition captured Bahia. Solidly intrenching themselves, after many tribulations the Dutch also captured Pernambuco in 1629. Then, however, they proceeded to spread out over nearly all of northeastern Brazil. Finally, after fourteen years of desperate war, the Portuguese expelled the Dutch from Brazil in 1654. Many Negro slaves participated in the defense of Brazil against the French and Dutch and they acquitted themselves so well in battle that they were given their freedom. Henri Dias, the brilliant Negro military leader, defeated Prince Maurice of Nassau and completely routed the Dutch.

All that the French, British, and Dutch finally got out of these and other attacks upon Brazil was a strip of jungle country (with Britain, of course, getting by far the biggest chunk) in the area now known as the Guianas. The Guianas were originally settled by English, French, and Dutch pirates, preying upon Spanish and Portuguese commerce and coasts. Combined,

they are about three times the size of New York state. This territory, a geographical and colonial curiosity, lies on the northeastern coast of South America. The three European powers, after endless quarrels and shifting of control, still manage to cling to these colonies, their only remaining definitely colonial possessions on the whole mainland of the Americas, save for tiny British Honduras, which is slightly larger than Wales, in Central America.

As to the colonial relations between Spain and Portugal, "presented" with the whole American hemisphere by the Pope in 1494, it might have been expected that these two countries would have been able, gorged as they were with vast colonial possessions, to live in peace and harmony. But they would not have been feudalistic-capitalistic nations if they had not tried to rob and destroy each other. Portugal, from the outset, paid little attention to the demarcation line that was supposed to separate the possessions of the two powers in South America. Instead, with her marauding gangs of Paulistic Indian slave hunters, she kept pushing her borders farther and farther into the interior. Eventually, Portugal claimed virtually all of the continent east of the Andes Mountains. She finally made good on this claim by absorbing into Brazil (which still holds it) about 1,500,000 square miles of territory to which she was not entitled by treaty.

Not to be outdone by these Portuguese land grabbers, Spain blasted through an even more ambitious scheme of war and conquest. At one blow she grabbed not only all the Portuguese colonies, but also Portugal itself. This military master coup was accomplished in 1580 by Philip II of Spain who claimed that he had come into the throne of Portugal by inheritance. Control of the "home" country naturally carried with it at least a general control of its colonies, and thus Spain became master of the whole vast stretch of Latin America. This gave her one of the largest empires in history. The Spanish managed to hang on to their gigantic Brazilian swag for sixty years, until 1640, when the Portuguese, in a sudden palace revolt, kicked them out of Lisbon. This action led to a 27 years war, as a result of which, finally, in 1668, Spain had to concede defeat at the hands of Portugal and her allies. Brazil, in consequence, reverted to its former Portuguese rulers.

The Land Division at the End of the Colonial Period

The wars of the rival colonizing European powers for a redistribution of the lands of the American Hemisphere lasted through 250 years of stormy history. In 1776, when the first flag of revolt was raised in the American colonial world, the general result of these struggles was about as follows: Spain, the discoverer of the New World, had succeeded in seizing and holding onto the largest portion of the new, rich American domains. Within her empire was all of South America, except Brazil and the Guianas. Her vast areas were divided into the three southern viceroalties of Peru,

New Granada, and La Plata. She also owned all of Central America and Mexico, organized into the viceroyalty of New Spain. Spain's control over territories that are now part of the United States, included Florida, the lower sections of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and, vaguely, all the territory west of the Mississippi River to the Pacific, extending towards the present Canadian border. Besides all this, Spain also held such important West Indian islands as Cuba and Puerto Rico, and much of Santo Domingo. Far off in the Pacific, Spain held the Philippines as well. With 10,547,000 square miles at the maximum, the Spanish colonies constituted indeed an imposing territory, twice as large as the Roman Empire at its zenith. It has been exceeded in extent only by the later world empire of Great Britain, with its 13,355,000 square miles.⁹

Great Britain, although in comparison with Spain and Portugal a late arrival in the field of American colonial conquest, nevertheless, from the standpoint of territory, ranked second among the colonial powers at the close of the colonial period. She still owned the vital thirteen Atlantic Coast colonies, later to become the United States, and they stretched loosely as far west as the Mississippi River. Besides she held the colonies and territories that comprised the immense wilderness of Canada, possession of which she had just consolidated in the Seven Years' War against France. Then there were her Guiana and tiny Honduras. Besides all this, England also had such important West Indian islands as Jamaica, the Bahamas, the Barbados, and some smaller groups.

Portugal was the third most important American colonial power. Her one holding was Brazil. But this was an immense territory, strategically located, and with tremendous possibilities. Portugal's great Brazilian colony actually occupied three-sevenths of the total expanse of South America, and she even claimed much more of that continent.

France, when the colonial period came to a close, was already a defeated colonial power on the mainland of the Americas. A dozen years before the Battle of Concord in Massachusetts she had lost her valuable and extensive settlements along the St. Lawrence (New France) and the east bank of the Mississippi. With this defeat evaporated all prospect of one day controlling the immense territory of Canada. France's vague claims to the Louisiana that lay on the other side of the Mississippi River conflicted with the claims of Spain. Besides these remnants of her once great North American regime, France now held only a small piece of Guiana and such West Indian islands as Martinique, Guadaloupe, and about one-half of Santo Domingo—Haiti.

Holland, like France, at the end of the colonial period was also a defeated colonial power in the New World. She had lost to England her valuable Hudson and Delaware River territories, and about all she had left was a few small islands in the West Indies and a section of the Guiana

jungle in South America. Sweden, too, had given up her hopes for American conquest, if she had ever nourished any; for her Delaware River colonies had been long since absorbed, first by the Dutch, and finally by the English. Denmark held an important colony in Greenland but, except for minor West Indian islands, never played a role in the western hemisphere proper. And as for Russia, after her discovery of Alaska in 1741, she was making her way down the then little known Pacific Coast, as far South as San Francisco, claiming the territory as she went along.

Then came the great wave of national liberation revolutions throughout the Americas which completely wrecked the whole colonial system of the European powers.

On the Eve of the Revolution

There was a wide difference in the state of economic development of the vast colonies of the Americas as the colonial era approached its close and as the various peoples, beginning with those in the English colonies in 1776, increasingly entered the revolutionary struggle for independence from the exploiting "home" countries. So far as the physical volume of economic development was concerned, Latin America, that is, the colonies of Spain and Portugal, was far ahead of the English colonies stretched out upon the North Atlantic seaboard. To all intents and purposes Latin America was leader of the western hemisphere. In view of the great change in the extent and tempo of economic development that has taken place since colonial days, on the part of Latin America and of the English-speaking American countries, some writers in Latin America tend to look back nostalgically to colonial times. They glory in the achievements of their forefathers, and wonder why Latin America has since fallen so far behind the United States and Canada in economic progress.

At the time of the revolution which established the United States, the Latin American colonies were more than a hundred years the older—and they had made much of this advantage. They had already established many thriving population centers, while the future United States was still almost an untouched wilderness. Pedro Urena lists dozens of these early Spanish and Portuguese cities, scattered over an immense territory, among them San Juan (Puerto Rico) 1508, Santiago (Cuba) 1514, Havana 1515, Veracruz 1519, Guatemala 1524, Granada (Nicaragua) 1524, Quito 1534, Lima 1535, Bogota 1538, Buenos Aires 1536, La Paz 1549, St. Augustine (Florida) 1565, Sao Paulo 1554, Bahia 1549, Rio de Janeiro 1567, and many others.¹⁰ On the other hand, Jamestown, Virginia, our first city, came weakly into existence only in 1606. So far behind were the English that in 1776, New York City had a population of but 12,000, whereas Havana had 76,000 and Mexico City 90,000. At the time of our revolution, the thirteen colonies had a population

of about 3,500,000, but Latin America had some 20 million. It was not until 1870 that the number of inhabitants in the United States came abreast of that of Latin America.

The Latin American countries, at the beginning of the revolutionary era, outstripped the English colonies in production and trade, as well as in city-building. Davila grows enthusiastic over Latin American colonial achievements in this respect: "The total exports of the thirteen British colonies, when they became independent in 1783, did not exceed five million dollars; Brazil alone was exporting three or four times as much, and Latin America as a whole about twenty-seven times more. All the signs of a matured economy: prosperous industrial as well as agricultural production, urban opulence, well-developed arts and sciences, imposing public and private buildings and all luxuries of the age, were seen in the lands to the south and west of the newborn Anglo-Saxon Republic. . . . By the middle of the eighteenth century there were but 84 pleasure carriages in Philadelphia, while Lima had about 5,000 and Mexico City even more. Paved streets and sidewalks were unknown in the cities of Anglo-Saxon America until the nineteenth century, by which time Latin America had had them for 200 years."¹¹

Despite all repression by the church the Latin Americans were also pioneers in striving for culture in the new world. Says Quintanilla: "The first printing press in America was set up in Mexico about 1539, a hundred years before the beginning of printing in the English colonies. . . . When the first college was started in the English colonies (Harvard, 1636), Latin America already had six universities."¹² The University of Mexico was founded in 1551. The first book appeared 102 years earlier in Latin America than in the English colonies, and Lima had a newspaper 150 years before the first one appeared in Boston.

Davila ascribes the later slowing up of Latin American economic progress, as measured against that of the United States, to the fact that the Spanish colonies broke up into a number of small independent states, which proved an insuperable barrier to industrial growth. It is true, of course, that such excessive state divisions have greatly hindered Latin American economic expansion, and so has the serious lack of coal, as is also alleged. But there were deeper, more important factors working against economic development, which were well in evidence as the colonial period came to an end. Other nations, such as Holland and Japan, have industrialized themselves despite their small size and lack of natural resources. Three negative factors, largely absent in the North American colonies of England, literally strangled industrial development in Latin America.

The first of these retarding factors, in addition to the reactionary pressures from the "home" countries, was the fact that practically all the land

in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies had been grabbed up by the owners of the big latifundias, who effectively opposed every trend, and still do, towards industrialization. Second, and following from this, a work system of peonage and chattel slavery had been introduced in these colonies that was totally unadapted to real progress in industrialization. And third, the Catholic Church exercised throughout Latin America a stifling influence upon every phase of economic, political, and social life. Despite these basic handicaps, especially in view of the feverish pressure of gold and silver mining and the production of bonanza crops, like sugar, the Latin American colonies could and did considerably develop their preponderantly colonial agricultural economy; but their progress into real industrialization was necessarily at a snail's pace.

Rennie gives the following graphic description of the lack of industrial development in Argentina a couple of decades after the end of the revolutionary war—and this condition was characteristic of Latin America in general, "In a million square miles there was not a single highway, not a single railroad. The country was watered by navigable rivers; there was not a single . . . bridge."¹⁸ Such conditions were the result of Spanish and Portuguese feudal policies, and they constituted the chief reason why Latin America fell behind in the hemispheric race for development.

On the other hand, the English North American colonies, particularly in New England and along the Middle Atlantic coast, were largely free from the three basic obstacles hamstringing Latin American industry. First, the area not being adapted to big plantations, small farming prevailed in the Middle Atlantic and New England colonies and the big landholders could get no death grip on the economy and the state; second, neither peonage nor chattel slavery, but the wage system of payment to the workers prevailed, the method best adapted to capitalist industrialization; and, third, inasmuch as there were many competing religious sects, no one of them was able to monopolize the community's mind and paralyze it. Consequently, industrialization could and did develop rapidly in the northern part of the Atlantic Coast colonies, even while they were still rigidly controlled by England. It is significant, however, that in the southern English colonies, where slavery existed and where the economy was comparable to that of much of Latin America, very little industrialization developed during the colonial era and for a long time afterward.

Therefore, during the closing years of the colonial period the different courses taken by the Latin American and the North American colonies were already quite evident, courses which were to create wide contrasts in the economic and political development of the two vast areas during the next generations. When the colonial period ended, Latin America, crippled by latifundism, peonage-slavery, and Catholicism, was, despite the glitter of

colonial ruling class life, stagnating in what was fundamentally a feudal agricultural economy. On the other hand, New England and the adjoining English colonies, relatively free of these three deadly hindrances, were already rapidly building up a vigorous young capitalism.

Spain and Portugal remained feudal countries throughout the colonial era, and this fact indelibly stamped itself upon the economies of their colonies. England, on the other hand, became the leading industrial country in the world. This great fact, too, worked powerfully in the development of her American colonies. Despite all English efforts to stifle industrial development in these colonies it grew, stimulated by the very existence of capitalism in England and by the immigration of skilled mechanics, and potential merchants and manufacturers, and influenced by the developing capitalist democracy in England.

The whole historical economic-political process in the western hemisphere, first, the original rapid development of Latin America and later the outstripping of that area industrially by the United States and Canada, is a classical expression of what Lenin termed the law of the uneven development of capitalism. Capitalist nations do not all develop at an even pace, but at widely differing tempos, due to varying local and international conditions. This is one of the dynamics of capitalism, one of its most basic laws. It produces deep-seated contradictions among the capitalist nations and is a fruitful source of war, arising from the need for these powers frequently to rearrange their power relationships.

8. THE AMERICAN HEMISPHERIC REVOLUTION

Beginning in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and continuing for about sixty years, the three Americas were swept by a series of political upheavals. These national colonial liberation revolutions took place in several stages and embraced all the major continental colonies of England, France, Spain, and Portugal (except the Guianas and the nebulous Louisiana). The first of these mass uprisings was the revolution in the thirteen English colonies in 1776-83. Next in order came the slave revolution in Haiti, a colony of France, in 1790-1803. Then, followed the far-reaching revolution throughout the Spanish mainland colonies, from Mexico to Argentina, in 1809-25. Simultaneously a movement developed in Portuguese Brazil resulting in that colony's independence in 1822. And finally came the explosion of Canadian colonial discontent in the Rebellion of 1837.

The several national political upheavals constituted one general hemispheric revolution. Taken together, they were by far the broadest revolutionary movement the world had known up to that period. They were spread out in time throughout more than half a century and in territory over the whole New World; they were organized and fought out with considerably differing slogans and under widely different economic and political conditions; and the class content of their leadership and mass fighting forces was not everywhere identical. That is to say: the revolutions all had their own national characteristics, corresponding to the specific conditions of the countries and peoples in which they developed and were fought. For example, the struggle of the thirteen colonies against industrial England was not identical with the fight of the Haitians against feudal France. Nevertheless, all these revolutions were basically akin in their fundamentals and their major political objectives. They were also highly responsive to and co-operative with each other. Thus the revolutionary Haitians helped the Venezuelan Bolivar when his fortunes were at the lowest and when success of the revolution in the Spanish colonies looked most dim; the far-flung Spanish colonies assisted each other in the long and hard revolutionary struggle; and the peoples of the United States, whose own revolution had been successful, gave much friendly sympathy and support to the battling Latin Americans. In short, the several American revolutions were but so many segments of one general movement. The heart of this great movement was a revolu-

tionary attack against the feudal system. It was the broad all-American bourgeois, *i.e.*, *capitalist*, revolution.

This American hemispheric revolution was a phase of the great capitalist world revolution which was then developing. In this general period the forces of capitalism, seeking to free themselves from medieval economic and political restrictions, were fighting against decaying feudalism. The English revolution of 1642-88 had already taken place, the great French revolution of 1789-94 had blazed its course of progress simultaneously with the course of the broad American hemispheric revolution. Capitalist revolutions were also in the making in other European countries. These capitalist revolutions in the old and new worlds, fundamentally the same, powerfully reacted to strengthen one another. They exchanged revolutionary principles and programs and, on a limited scale, their followers participated in the fighting in each other's armies. The whole series of revolutions in the Western Hemisphere between 1776 and 1837, therefore, fitted right in with the vast struggle of the capitalist class everywhere to smash feudalism and to make itself the master of the world.

The revolutions in the colonies of the Americas did not spring spontaneously out of a clear sky just at the moment when the several open breaks with the "home" countries took place. On the contrary, they were long in generating. They were preceded by innumerable Negro slave insurrections, Indian peon uprisings, and general political struggles of the various peoples, and were bred by the intolerable colonial oppression of the masses and of the irresistible efforts of the new capitalist system struggling to be born. Ever since the conquest, the English, French, Spanish and Portuguese rulers of the colonies had undertaken to suppress with violence every striving, however pacific, of the colonial masses for liberty and livable economic conditions. Therefore, the colonial peoples were left with no alternative but to overthrow their pernicious and reactionary rule by force. The whole situation was a striking demonstration of Marx's revolutionary principle that there is no case in history in which a ruling class has yielded up its prerogatives to a rising, revolutionary class without making violent resistance to the extent of its power to do so. And as Stalin has said, "Revolution, the substitution of one social system for another, has always been a struggle, a painful and a cruel struggle, a life and death struggle."¹

The series of revolutions throughout the Americas was not simply a rebelling of the peoples against intolerable economic and political conditions, although this was a most basic part of the vast struggle. Above all, it was an offensive movement, a great effort on the part of a rising class to make its will predominant, to establish a new world order under its control. This new social system, capitalism, for all its tyrannies, wars, and barbaric exploitation of the toiling masses, represented a long step forward from feudalism. It

constituted the next ascending stage in man's hard struggle from savagery to socialism.

The hemispheric American revolution, however, was by no means a "pure" capitalist revolution. It retained within itself many distinct traces of the feudal system out of which the new capitalist system was being born. The state of economic and political development upon which the general revolution grew differed widely throughout the western hemisphere. This affected the features of the several national revolutions. Thus, in the thirteen English colonies, with the historical background of an industrially developed England, the revolution bore most clearly a capitalist character; whereas in the Latin American countries, dominated as they had been by feudal Spain, Portugal, and France, the revolution was held back by characteristic features of feudalism. Thus, in Brazil and Peru, for example, the revolution was hardly more than the achievement of national independence, the strongly entrenched feudal landowners remaining in complete control. Because of the differing conditions, therefore, not only the programs but also the results of the revolution in the many colonies varied greatly.

The central demand of the revolution everywhere was for national independence. All the colonies rang with this slogan and it was the key to every other demand. When Patrick Henry in the Virginia Legislature cried, "Give me liberty or give me death!" he spoke not only for the people of the thirteen English colonies, but for all the peoples of the western hemisphere. The big, all-important task facing these peoples, and especially the rising capitalist class, was to get rid of the foreign oppressors, the parasitic European governments and ruling classes which were sucking the life-blood out of the American colonial world. Around this demand for national independence arose the greatest mobilization of the forces of liberation and freedom throughout all the colonies.

Within this general framework of the need for national independence, the hemispheric revolution also faced many related basic and imperative tasks. Among them may be listed the need for the establishment of political democracy in the New World, the wiping out of medieval restrictions on industry and commerce, the abolition of chattel slavery and peonage, the more equable disposition of the land, and the separation of Church and State. In the many rebelling colonies varying stresses were placed on these elementary bourgeois necessities and programs, and varying degrees of success were achieved in their realization.

The roles played by the different social classes in the national revolutions also varied from colony to colony. In the English North American colonies the merchants, planters, the farmers and the incipient working class, corresponding to the higher industrial development of the colonies, played the decisive role; in the Latin American colonies, on the other hand,

the big landowners were the predominant leading class force; and in Haiti it was the masses of slaves themselves who led the revolution and pushed it through to success. Everywhere, of course, the toiling masses provided the fighting forces and the manpower of the revolution.

A general characteristic of the hemispheric American Revolution as a whole was that it was led by immigrants from other countries, and their descendants. In this respect the all-American colonial revolution differed from the current revolutions in Asia, which are being made by indigenous populations. The European powers, exploiting the densely populated countries of the Far East, could not undertake to colonize them; they merely set up a relatively small force of exploiters wherewith to rob the vast masses of the peoples at hand, and it is this clique of foreign exploiters who are now being overthrown. But in the Americas it was different. Because of the relative sparseness of the native population in many places, the conquerors had to bring into the American colonies as workers large numbers of immigrants, including Negro slaves. The European rulers sensed the revolutionary danger in the new colonial peoples thus being created, and they spared no effort to keep them politically powerless by drastic discrimination against them. However, in the long run, these mass colonizing policies proved futile for the "home" powers; for it was the immigrants and their descendants who led the revolution all through the western hemisphere. The all-American Revolution of 1776-1837, therefore, has its own specific character in contrast to the Far East revolutions. The native American Indians, even in those countries where they constituted a big section of the people, could not lead this basically capitalist revolution, as they were just emerging from primitive tribal communalism. Nevertheless, in those countries and situations where demands were raised in their behalf, they took an important part in the revolutionary struggle.

The Revolution in the English Colonies

The revolution which established the United States—the first in what was to become a hemisphere-wide attack upon feudalism—after many preliminary struggles broke into armed conflict in 1775 and lasted until the victorious peace was signed in Paris in 1783. The revolution was the result of consistent efforts over a long period by the newly growing capitalist forces in the thirteen colonies, supported by the great toiling masses, to break loose from the strangling grip of English capitalism and to expand on their own account. Elsewhere we have indicated some of the grievances of the colonies. The English capitalists and landlords, from the time of the first settlement of Jamestown in 1606, had proceeded upon the arbitrary assumption that the American colonies and their peoples had virtually been created for the special benefit of the English ruling classes, and they had

spared no effort to stifle the colonies' independent economic and political growth.

From the first years of the colonies the English rulers had been setting up a whole body of navigation laws giving a monopoly of colonial commerce to English shipmasters; of trade laws conserving the cream of colonial trade for English merchants at monopoly prices; of industrial laws protecting the interests of English manufacturers at the expense of those in the colonies; of financial laws abolishing the right of the colonies to issue paper money, and generally devised to keep colonial debtors enslaved to English creditors, and so on. It was a characteristic complaint in the colonies at the time that "A colonist cannot make a button, a horseshoe, nor a hobnail, but some sooty ironmonger or respectable buttonmaker of Britain shall bawl and squall that his honor's worship is most egregiously maltreated, injured, and robbed by the rascally American republicans."²

Southern planters, too, had their grievances. They were hopelessly in debt to England, the price of tobacco and other commodities they sold or had to buy being arbitrarily determined by London capitalists and politicians. The colonists, especially the land speculators, were also enraged because of the British Treaty of 1763, which drew a line along the ridge of the Appalachian Mountains, beyond which settlers were forbidden to go. This line was established, not to protect the Indians in their lands, but to restrict the expansion of the colonies. Besides, when the colonials sought, by petitions to the king or by political action in their assemblies, to rectify current glaring economic and political oppressions, their pleas and decisions were arbitrarily swept aside by the king, the Board of Trade, the royal governors, and the royal judges. All of the foregoing sank the barb of resentment deeper into the heart of the young colonial capitalist class and of the people generally.

The economic center of the revolution, so far as its leaders, the capitalists, were concerned, was to win control of their national market. Stalin says: "The chief problem for the young bourgeoisie is the problem of the market. Its aim is to sell its goods and to emerge victorious from competition with the bourgeoisie of another nationality. Hence its desire to secure its 'own,' its 'home' market. The market is the first school in which the bourgeoisie learns its nationalism."³ The United States bourgeois revolution of 1776 clearly exemplified this principle.

In spite of all restrictions placed upon it by the English, capitalism had continued to grow in the Atlantic Coast colonies. Through the later colonial years industries sprang up, commerce expanded, the number of workers increased, and the people exercised more and more political initiative. The many armed rebellions of the small farmers, workers and Negro slaves during earlier colonial days and the constantly growing mass discontent and

anti-English sentiment, were significant forerunners of the great revolutionary storm that was eventually to break.

For almost a century before the colonial revolution, England had been engaged in a series of hard-fought wars with France, in all of which the colonies were involved. Among these wars were the War of the League of Augsburg (King William's War), 1689-97; the War of the Spanish Succession (Queen Anne's War), 1702-13; the War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-48; and the Seven Years' War (French and Indian War) 1756-63. The colonists took advantage of England's involvement in these war situations by boldly flouting the autocratic English trade laws and by energetically expanding their own industries, commerce, and political liberties; and embattled England could not do much to stop them.

Such colonial insolence was not to be tolerated, however, by the ruling classes of England, which were chiefly made up of an estimated ten thousand big landlords and industrialists. So King George III and his prime ministers, first Townshend and then North, proceeded to crack down on the rebellious colonies after England's sweeping and final victory over France in America during the Seven Years' War. They initiated a whole series of repressive laws designed to cripple the colonies' growing industry and trade. Among the worst of these were the Sugar Act of 1764 and the Stamp Act of 1765. To make matters still worse for the colonists, the English rulers also adopted the Mutiny Act of 1765 and flooded the American colonies with troops to crush their developing political struggle.

These provocative and oppressive laws deeply aroused the people of the colonies and increased their resistance. The center of the popular movement was in Boston, and it was headed by the resolute Samuel Adams; but the Middle and Southern colonies, led by men like Isaac Sears, John Lamb, and Patrick Henry, were also heavily disaffected. The Sons of Liberty was founded in 1765 and the organization spread rapidly and conducted extensive and militant agitation against British oppression. "The Sons of Liberty, varying in structure in the different colonies and not always operating as a formal organization, consisted mainly of artisans, mechanics and day laborers, who were led largely by militant merchants and lawyers. These masses were in part the beginnings of a working class, in part sections of the petty bourgeoisie."⁴

The growing colonial rebellion was at first directed against the hated Stamp Act, which affected all strata of the population. This resulted in a Stamp Act Congress, held in New York in October, 1765, in which a boycott action against English goods was initiated. Petitions for redress were also made to the king, but in vain. The stiff-necked English aristocracy, like every other ruling class that feels its dominant position threatened, resolved to use violence to repress the rebellious colonies. It was a classical example

of how violence in revolutionary struggles originates with the reactionaries. The powerful colonial mass resistance, however, forced the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766, together with other repressive legislation. Parliament retaliated by passing the notorious Quartering Act, placing large bodies of troops in the colonies at the latter's expense. A new batch of Townshend restrictive economic laws was also adopted, all of which further enraged the colonists.

The colonial spirit of rebellion was still more deeply intensified by the Boston massacre of March 5, 1770, when British troops cold-bloodedly fired into groups of people. Six Americans were killed and five wounded, one of them, Crispus Attucks, a Negro. The Sons of Liberty grew rapidly, became stronger and everywhere increased their agitation. In 1772, at the suggestion of Samuel Adams, a "committee of correspondence" was formed in Boston. This type of committee quickly spread to the other colonies and eventually became a powerful means for organizing the revolutionary forces.

In 1773, the English Parliament, which was blind to the real significance of the growing revolutionary situation in the colonies, passed the infamous Tea Act. This spurred the colonies into flaming indignation from end to end. The cry, "No Taxation without Representation" ran through the land. In the famous "Tea Party," on December 16 of that year, enraged citizens of Boston, dressed as Indians, in protest dumped £17,000 worth of tea from three East India Company ships into the harbor. The English government replied to this bold action by passing five new acts of repression, among them, the sealing up of the port of Boston, the prohibition of town meetings, and the quartering of large numbers of troops in Massachusetts.

The Course of the Revolution

These added outrages brought about a sharp response from the now thoroughly aroused colonial people. On September 5, 1774, the First Continental Congress, was called in Philadelphia, consisting of representatives from all the colonies but Georgia, whose representative was debarred from coming by the provincial governor. The Continental Congress, although it had by no means reached the point of making an outright fight for national independence, nevertheless supported the bold stand of Massachusetts, organized a boycott of English goods, and set up "committees of safety" in the various colonies to enforce the Continental Congress decisions. The farmers, artisans, and workers began to arm themselves. England's reply to these activities was not long in coming. General Gage in Boston, hearing that the Americans had hidden military stores at Concord, Massachusetts, sent a body of troops to seize them. But the silversmith, Paul Revere, in his celebrated ride (together with the less famous working man, Will Davis), aroused the farmers. So that the latter met the Redcoats arms

in hand and at Lexington, April 19, 1775, the shot was fired "heard round the world." The American Revolutionary War, with all its vast implications, had begun.

The revolutionary colonists now summoned the Second Continental Congress, which opened in Philadelphia, in May, 1775. The Congress faced a most basic decision. Up to this time there had been little talk of national independence, save among the Sons of Liberty and the more radical sections. The official merchant and planter leaders of the revolution always believed that a compromise with England was possible. But now the fundamental question had to be met squarely. The demand for national independence became irresistible with the appearance of Thomas Paine's famous book, *Common Sense*, in January, 1776, which in a matter of a few months had been read to or by nearly every colonial adult. The Congress rose to the situation: George Washington, said to be the richest planter in the colonies, was put at the head of the colonial army, and Thomas Jefferson, another planter, drafted the Declaration of Independence, which was adopted and then announced to the American people and the world on July 4, 1776. The rebelling colonies were New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

The Declaration, borrowing from principles formulated long before by leaders of England's revolution, and also from the works of the French Encyclopedists, boldly enunciated the people's inherent right to revolution. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness." In our times the ruling capitalists, having long since successfully made their own class revolution and entrenched themselves in power, are trying to abolish this inherent people's right of revolution by throwing Communists into prison for long periods. A futile proceeding, for when the masses of the people, denied all other means of redress of their grievance through the existing government, shall decide upon revolution, they will then exercise that right, regardless of any theories or fulminations of the decadent ruling classes against them. This was one of the great truths taught by the Revolution of 1776.

To fight the British, even at the time of the outbreak of hostilities the

colonials already had the beginnings of a governmental machine. They had been building this organization during the past ten years of struggle, without fully recognizing its true nature and revolutionary significance. The committees of correspondence, committees of safety, provincial assemblies, and continental congresses that they had been organizing alongside the British organs of political power were the nucleus of the revolutionary government which, after 1776, came fully into existence. In fact, this dual governmental machinery, prior to the armed phase of the revolution, bore a resemblance under different political conditions and class relations to the position of the Soviets in modern Russia, between the revolutions of March and November, 1917, when the Soviets were contending rivals with the official government for political power, which the Soviets finally won.

As the American colonials waged their war with England, their nascent government gradually took shape, while the old British governmental machinery fell to pieces under the blows of the revolution. The American bourgeois revolutionists of 1776 learned in their own specific circumstances the basic revolutionary lesson that Marx pointed out to the Paris Commune who attempted to set up a socialist regime in 1870; namely, that they could not take over and use the existing state machinery but had to break it up and create a new state—even though in the United States it was still a bourgeois one—adapted to their revolutionary ends.

The British ruling class viewed with scorn the efforts of the American colonials to establish their national independence by armed force. For their country was the strongest power in the world, and was definitely in the ascendant. England had passed through its own bourgeois revolution a century before in which the merchant capitalists had proved strong enough, with their landowner and peasant allies, to curb the absolutist power of the monarchy and to increase decisively the power of Parliament, chopping off the head of Charles I in 1649, and shoving the Stuarts finally off the throne in 1688, in order to drive home their revolutionary point. After that, with the invigorating impulse of a rapidly growing capitalism giving it vitality, England had defeated all its major foes in war—Spain, France, and Holland—and had reduced Portugal to the status of a satellite. England had become the mistress of the seas and was heading into the period of its greatest power when for more than a hundred years it would remain the world's leading nation. To the stiff-necked landlords and capitalists grouped behind the insane King George III, therefore, it appeared to be but a relatively simple chore to beat down the handful of barbarian rebels in the American colonies.

But the reality proved to be a devastating disillusionment to these big-wigs. The American revolutionaries were not so easily licked, although their armies numerically were much smaller than the British. They were fighting a new kind of war, a heroic people's war. The terrain was favorable

to them, and their armies used tactics largely learned from the Indians and admirably suited to wilderness fighting. The American cause also drew strength from the bourgeois revolutionaries—Lafayette, Pulaski, Kosciusko, Von Steuben, de Kalb, and others—who flocked to its banners from all over Europe. France, smarting from its loss of Canada to the British in 1763, seized upon the occasion of the colonial revolution to send troops and ships against her traditional enemy, England. Spain, Holland, and Russia also gave financial and diplomatic assistance. Says Lenin of the skillful revolutionary diplomacy of the colonial leaders: "The American people utilized the differences that existed between the French, the Spanish, and the English, at times even fighting side-by-side with the armies of the French and Spanish oppressors against the English oppressors."⁵

The bitter struggle still going on in England between the industrial bourgeoisie and the big landowning aristocracy also worked to the advantage of the colonies, many liberals in England being openly sympathetic to the colonial cause. Thus Lord Howe, commander of the British armed forces in the colonies, himself a Whig, displayed a notable lethargy in using his troops, particularly at decisive moments in the Revolutionary War. Only his powerful political connections later saved him from criminal proceedings in England for his course of action in America.

The combination of foes was too much for the English ruling class. Consequently, seeing that they could not win, Lord North in 1778 offered many concessions, short of independence. But it was too late; the issue had to be fought out. After more than six years of sharp warfare, the course of which hardly needs recapitulation here, and in which the British forces suffered many humiliating and damaging defeats, Lord Cornwallis finally surrendered at Yorktown on October 19, 1781. In Paris, on September 3, 1783, Great Britain reluctantly signed the peace treaty which recognized the independence of the United States of America. It was a triumph for the colonists. The impossible had happened; the "ragged Continentals" had defeated the British armed forces and humbled the most powerful government in the world. A great new nation was born. The young republic, however, later had to fight and win a second war with Great Britain, the War of 1812, before the latter country was finally convinced that its erstwhile thirteen colonies were actually independent.

Class Forces in the Revolution

To quote Morison and Commager: "The upper colonial class consisted of merchants, landed gentry, clergy of the established churches, lawyers, and officials. . . . They controlled the colonial assemblies, in certain colonies owned most of the land, sat on the county courts, controlled credits by

individual loans [for as yet there were no banks] and set the social and cultural standards."⁶

The official leaders of the revolution came mainly from these exploiting classes. The revolution was headed by a combination of northern merchants and industrialists, and southern planters, with the former giving the most dynamic leadership. The composition of the signers of the Declaration of Independence shows this alliance clearly. Of the 56 who signed, 28 were lawyers, 13 merchants, eight planters, and seven miscellaneous professionals. Many of the lawyers, it may be remarked, were themselves either merchants or planters, or their direct representatives. Among the signers were no small farmers, workers, women, Negroes, or Indians, who constituted the overwhelming majority of the colonial population.

The merchant-capitalist and planter classes, however, were by no means united behind the revolution. When the revolutionary break came, large numbers of big merchants, landowners, high clergymen, officials, and the like took a definite stand against the revolution, whose development they had resisted from the beginning. "Loyalists" they called themselves; "traitors" the people dubbed them. Throughout the war they sabotaged the struggle, and at its conclusion about a hundred thousand of them fled to Canada, the Bahamas, and Great Britain. During the war the patriots handled these traitors without gloves, horsewhipping and tarring and feathering the recalcitrants. And after the war the people expropriated the property of many of them. This course, says Hardy, "went far to break up the land monopolies and the landed aristocracy which English policy had fostered."⁷ The reactionary groups were strongest in New York, New Jersey, and Georgia; and weakest in Virginia, Massachusetts, and Maryland. It has been estimated that the Loyalists, on an average, had a following of about one-third of the colonial population.

The merchant-capitalists and the planters who did go along with the revolution generally made up its right wing. They were characteristic bourgeois self-seekers. Many of them brazenly speculated in army supplies, furnishing worthless munitions for the troops. They were the forerunners of those capitalists, of the same breed, who later sold antiquated muskets to the government during the Civil War, provided embalmed beef to the soldiers of the Spanish-American War, and made billions on munitions orders during the two world wars. "Everywhere the supporters of the Revolution were divided into conservative and radical wings, the former composed mainly of merchants and men of substance, and the latter of mechanics and yeomen-farmers."⁸ The conservative merchants and planters were led politically by such men as Washington, Hamilton, Randolph, Dickinson, Rutledge, Jay, and Galloway, and the chief spokesman in the Congress for the democratic revolution were liberal representatives of the

planters and merchants, such as Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, Paine, Sears, Henry Gadsden, and Lamb. The rank and file of popular leaders, because of the lack of a definite class organization and program, never got into the Congress, nor did their names become prominent nationally. Their influence, however, was great.

The small farmers exercised a fundamental influence on the Revolution. They amounted to a majority of the total population. Even in the planter-dominated state of Virginia, two-thirds of the population were small farmers in the back country. The small farmers also made up the body of the fighting forces of the Revolution. They were a revolutionary force, fighting not only for complete independence from England but also against the land monopolists in the colonies.

The workers also played an important revolutionary role. Although there were as yet no definitely formed working class and no clear-cut workers' program and organization, nevertheless, there were considerable bodies of wage-workers—seamen, longshoremen, bakers, brewers, blacksmiths, hatters, tailors, laborers, and others—and they were a driving force in the Revolution for unqualified national independence. They worked in close collaboration with the farmers. The strong weapon of the merchants and artisans was the Sons of Liberty, which pushed the hesitant bourgeoisie into more radical action. "The movement of resistance thus set on foot by the class-conscious merchants," says Parrington, "eventually slipped from their control and passed into the hands of the Sons of Liberty, who drove faster and farther than conservative business men would willingly follow."⁹

The Negroes numbered approximately 500,000, of a total colonial population of about 3,500,000. About nine-tenths of them were slaves. Realizing the political opportunity of the times, they sharply pressed the question of emancipation. The Negro freemen, most of whom were workers, actively supported the Revolution. Crispus Attucks, a runaway Negro slave from the South, was killed in the Boston massacre. Many Negroes fought at Bunker Hill, Negroes were among those in Washington's party of soldiers crossing the Delaware, and Negroes also served in the navy and in many army units. The only woman who fought as a soldier in the revolutionary army was Deborah Gannett, a Negro. To quote the Beards: "In 1778, it was officially estimated that there were on the average fifty-four Negroes in each of Washington's battalions."¹⁰ The Negro slaves in the South seethed with unrest and several big anti-slavery conspiracies were organized.

The British intensified the growing revolt of the Negroes by offering freedom to all the slaves who reached the British military lines. Tens of thousands of slaves fled to the British, great numbers dying of hardship on the way. This big stir among the Negroes terrified the southern slaveholders. Aptheker says: "Thomas Jefferson declared that in the one year of 1778

Virginia alone saw thirty thousand slaves flee from bondage." Other states had similar slave losses. Aptheker continues: "It appears to be conservative to say that from 1775 until 1783, some one hundred thousand slaves (*i.e.*, about one out of every five) *succeeded* in escaping from slavery, though very often meeting death or serfdom instead of liberty."¹¹ Madison proposed that the slaves be recruited into the armed forces and given their freedom,¹² but the slave-holding planters were much too greedy and frightened to venture upon this bold step.

The Indians numbered an estimated 700,000 at the time of the Revolution. But scattered far and wide across the Continent, they played no big part in the struggle. The main tribes on the frontier at the time were the Iroquois, or Six Nations, and they had small reason to support or trust either side. The British had shamelessly betrayed their Indian allies in the Treaty of 1763 that ended the Seven Years' War, and the American settlers were ruthlessly pushing the Indians off their lands. In 1775, the Six Nations declared their neutrality, but the majority allied themselves with Britain—Mohawks, Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, and many of the Tuscaroras. The Oneidas went with the colonists.¹³ The major Indian battle during the Revolutionary War, participated in also by British troops and Tory Loyalists, was the "Wyoming massacre"* at Forty Fort, near Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, on July 3, 1778, when about two-thirds of the four hundred settler occupants were killed. In retaliation for this, the Continental troops under General Sullivan destroyed 40 Seneca villages. Another battle in which the Indians participated was the "massacre" at Cherry Valley, New York, in which 15 soldiers and 32 civilians were killed. Both of these Indian actions were presumably carried out by the Mohawks.

The Revolution in the English colonies was a bourgeois revolution, with a strong democratic content. Lenin said of it that it was "one of those great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars of which there have been so few. . . ."¹⁴ Yaroslavsky points out that "the character of a revolution is ascertained by determining which are the *driving forces* of the revolution. We call the driving forces of a revolution the classes that play an active part in the revolutionary movement and guide the movement."¹⁵ By this measure, there was a large element of democracy in the Revolution of 1776, for the workers and farmers played a tremendous role in it. The revolution's greatest democratic weakness was its total failure to abolish chattel slavery.

The Revolution in the English colonies in 1776 took place before any other in the hemisphere, primarily because these colonies were the most highly developed economically of all the colonies in the Americas. Their

*In United States bourgeois history, Indian victories in wars are always characterized as "massacres."

rapidly growing capitalism could no longer be contained within the restricting fetters placed upon it by England, so it explosively burst these bonds asunder. This Revolution was a great milestone in the historical development of world capitalism. It laid the basis for a rapid growth of the capitalist order in the new United States. Symbolically the first President of the United States, Washington, was inaugurated in Wall Street, in Federal Hall. The revolution shook feudalism all over Europe; it lent strength in many lands to the growing capitalist revolution, and it contributed to strengthening the maturing revolutionary forces in the other countries of the western hemisphere.

The Haitian Revolution

The second great stage in the American hemispheric revolution was the revolution in Haiti, in 1790-1803. This remarkable struggle, a bourgeois-democratic revolution carried through by slaves, was the hardest fought and deepest cutting of any of the American revolutions. Despite the relatively small number of people involved, it exercised a profound world effect.

The tropical island of Santo Domingo lies to the southeast of Cuba. It is the second largest island in the West Indies and is about as big as the state of North Carolina. Two-thirds of the island, the eastern section, constitutes the present Dominican Republic, the rest being Haiti proper. The island is very mountainous. It was discovered by Columbus in 1492, and he named it Espanola, or as it is known to us, Hispaniola. Originally the whole island was a Spanish colony, the "mother" of all the Spanish New World colonies. There the *encomienda* system was first introduced into America, and there, also, for the first time Negro slaves were used on American plantations. During the middle of the seventeenth century, French pirates established a base on the island; they gradually extended this and in 1697, by the Treaty of Ryswick, France was given title to the western part of the island, Haiti.

With the great demand for sugar in Europe, Haiti quickly became a bonanza colony, and was considered the most valuable in the world. The whole system of plantations was operated by slave labor. In the year 1788 alone, there were 29,500 slaves brought in from Africa. At the time of the Revolution a couple of years later the slaves outnumbered the white population by at least fifteen to one, if not more, in a general population of some 536,000.

Haiti was a paradise for the French exploiters. DuBois says, "Thousands of black slaves were at work and slept at the edge of the cultivated land. Many of the owners lived in luxury almost barbaric, with palaces, gilded coaches, scores of horses, well-trained servants, and unbounded power. Probably nowhere else in America was existence more delightful for the white man than in San Domingo in the eighteenth century. Ten thousand

square miles produced more sugar, coffee, chocolate, indigo, dye-woods, and spices than all the rest of the West Indies put together."¹⁶

The fly in the ointment in this planters' paradise was the dangerous unrest among the Negro slaves. The history of the island was replete with slave uprisings, the most notable of these before the Revolution being in 1671, 1691, and 1718. The mountains also contained large numbers of run-away slaves; maroons, as they were known in Haiti, Cuba, and other islands. They were no end of trouble to their erstwhile masters. The planters, as in other slave economies, lived constantly in fear of revolts by their slaves.

The Haitian Revolution developed under the influences of the revolution in the thirteen English colonies, which was still very fresh in the minds of the people, but it was most decisively influenced by the French Revolution, which was then just beginning. The first important step towards revolution was a demand, in 1789, on the part of the Mulattoes and free Negroes, numbering about 28,000, for full citizenship, on the basis of the general principles announced by the revolutionary National Assembly in Paris. To this end the first armed revolt of freedmen took place in 1790, but it was barbarously suppressed. After much jockeying about, the right of citizenship was finally conceded to these two groups of Mulattoes and Negro freedmen on May 15, 1791. Up to this time, however, little or nothing had been done to alleviate the miserable conditions of the great mass of Negro slaves, who also were reacting powerfully to the liberating influence of the great French Revolution. DuBois has this to say:

"Then suddenly at midnight, August 22nd [1791], the representatives of the half-million black slaves of Haiti rose in a bloody revolt that shook the modern world. [As Thiers said], 'In an instant twelve hundred coffee and two hundred sugar plantations were in flames; the buildings, the farm-houses, were reduced to ashes; and the unfortunate proprietors were hunted down, murdered, or thrown into the flames, by the infuriated Negroes. The horrors of a servile war universally appeared.'"¹⁷ The revolt, probably launched by maroons from the mountains, was led by Toussaint L'Ouverture, a brilliant Negro, whose name and fame quickly spread all over the world.

After this uprising in 1791 there followed a dozen years of complex and difficult struggle for the rebellious Haitian masses. At first the slaves demanded that they be permitted to work three days a week on their own places, allowing the other three days for their masters; but soon their demand became one for outright freedom. The French planters tried to drown the rebellion in blood, conducting aggressive military campaigns against the rebels. In 1793, the Spanish too, who, with England, were then at war with France, tried to re-establish their control over all of Santo Domingo by demagogically promising the Haitian slaves their emancipa-

tion. Thus, Toussaint became a general in the Spanish Army and warred against the French. Early in 1794, however, the French National Assembly, now in the hands of the Left leaders of the middle classes, proclaimed universal emancipation for the slaves of Santo Domingo and the other French islands. Toussaint quit the Spaniards, whose real plans to subjugate the Negroes he had learned about, renewed his French allegiance and, with his revolutionary army, drove the Spanish almost completely out of the island.

Meanwhile, the British, believing there was a good chance now to grab the rich colony of Santo Domingo and accepting an invitation from the hard-pressed Haitian planters, also took a hand in the situation, landing an expedition on the island. But they fared no better than the Spanish and French. Disease and the valiant Negro rebels knocked out their forces. Of the 15,000 troops that England had assigned to the task of taking over the island, only 1,000 remained alive when Commander Maitland surrendered to the revolutionists on October 1, 1798. This erstwhile military tyrant meekly signed a treaty with Toussaint, which recognized the independence of Haiti. Toussaint's forces were now in control of virtually the whole island.

Reaction by this time was in the saddle again in France. Napoleon, then riding high to glory and conquest, decided to curb Toussaint and to bring the island again under firm French planter control. He also needed Haiti as a key base for developing the grandiose plans he had in mind for expanding Louisiana into a great French empire in America. Napoleon, in the interests of the planters, ordered slavery to be reinstated in the nearby French island colonies of Martinique and Guadeloupe. This act drove the iron of desperation into the hearts of the fighting Haitian Negroes. General Leclerc was ordered by Napoleon to subdue Haiti, and in 1801 he arrived at the island with 54 ships and 29,000 veteran troops to do the job. After conducting a futile military campaign to gain his ends he committed one of the most outrageous betrayals in all American history. Pretending to desire peace, he invited Toussaint to a conference, whereupon he seized him, put him in irons, and shipped him off to France. There the great patriot and fighter Toussaint died in prison, in 1803. Thus perished a brilliant leader of his people, one of the most outstanding figures produced by the entire revolutionary movement throughout all the Americas.

The seizure of Toussaint was a heavy blow to the Revolution, but the indomitable Haitian Negro people fought on bravely, now under the leadership of Christophe and Dessalines, two very able generals. Napoleon poured troops into the island, but to no avail. Leclerc suffered defeat after defeat, with devastating losses from the Haitian soldiers and their ally, yellow fever. The French general complained to Napoleon, "To give you an idea of my

losses, know that the 7th of the line came here 1395 strong; today there are 83 half-sick men with the colours and 107 in hospital. The rest are dead. The 11th light infantry landed here 1900 strong; today it has 163 fit for duty and 200 in hospital. The 71st of the line, originally 1000 strong, has 17 men with the colours and 107 in hospital. . . . Thus, form your own idea of my position in a country where civil war has raged for 10 years and where the rebels are convinced that we intend to reduce them to slavery."¹⁸ Leclerc himself later died of yellow fever. In October, 1803, the French surrendered. Of the 43,000 troops sent by Napoleon to reconquer the island, 35,000 had perished. As the French fleet sailed away, taking their 8,000 decrepit soldiers with them, the whole outfit was captured by the British navy, a complete debacle for France.

The Haitians, whose armies never numbered more than 20,000 armed men, had thus defeated the maximum efforts of Spain, England, and France to enslave them. Not even Napoleon, then at the height of his military glory, could conquer them. The Haitian Revolution was the first revolution in Latin America; it was also the first to bring about the abolition of slavery; it was the only fully successful slave uprising; and it was also the sole example in the Americas of an island people winning freedom by their own efforts, the colonial islands generally suffering the handicap of being exposed to naval assaults and full mobilization by the colonizing powers. Small wonder then that every slaveholder in the world trembled with apprehension at what happened in lovely Haiti.

After the final defeat of the French in 1803, the Haitians proclaimed once more their national independence, the first in all Latin America to do this. Their Independence Proclamation, signed on November 29, 1803, proudly declared: "The independence of St. Dominique is proclaimed. Restored to our primitive dignity, we have asserted our rights; we swear never to yield them to any power on earth. The frightful veil of prejudice is torn to pieces. Be it so forever! Woe be to them who would dare to put together its bloody tatters."

9. THE AMERICAN HEMISPHERIC REVOLUTION (continued)

The third great phase of the general American revolution of national liberation was the revolution in the Spanish colonies. This revolution ran its course of military struggle during the period of 1810-25. It covered all four of the Spanish viceroyalties—New Spain, New Granada, Peru, and La Plata. In terms of the modern Latin American states, this colonial area included Mexico (with Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, and California), Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Chile, and Argentina. It constituted a string of countries stretching north and south for about seven thousand miles. Although the statistics of the times are unreliable, these Spanish mainland colonies were estimated to have had a population of some 15 million people. The Spanish-American revolution liberated four times as many people and seven times as much territory as that conceded the United States by Great Britain in the peace treaty of 1783.

The Revolution in the Spanish Colonies

Domestic grievances lay at the base of this broad revolution. The Spanish colonial regime was incredibly rotten and class-ridden. The land had been monopolized by a small minority of landowners, including the Church hierarchy who viciously exploited the masses of Indians, Mestizos, and in Central America and the islands, Negroes and Mulattoes. Foreign trade was in the hands of Spanish merchant monopolists. Domestic trade and industry were strangled by reactionary Spanish laws. The whole colonial government apparatus was shot through with impossible taxes and wholesale graft. There were no traces of civil freedom. The great masses of the population, completely disfranchised politically, lived and worked in direst poverty, oppression, and ignorance, while the handful of exploiters reveled in boundless luxury and profligacy. Large numbers of landowners resented the arrogance and exactions of the Crown and its Spanish-born allies and agents, the "gaschupins," and wanted to be rid of them.

The Catholic Church, the biggest landowner and a close partner with the other landlords in the exploitation of the people, had gobbled up about half of the land. It had also set itself up as a sort of state within the state,

claiming many special political privileges for itself. The Church dictated what the people should think, and through its Inquisition it did not hesitate to burn at the stake those who dared to disregard or dispute its dogmas. The masses, whom the Church claimed the right to "educate," were almost completely illiterate.

Adding fire to this potentially revolutionary situation, the Spanish kings stupidly followed a policy of trying to hold the decisive colonial economic and political power in the hands of old-country Spaniards, "Peninsulars," as they were called. They undertook to keep the colony-born white population, the Creoles, in a position of second-class citizenship. Very few Creoles were given important political, military, or church posts. Characteristically, "Only four of 170 viceroys prior to 1813 were born in America."¹ And only 14 of 602 captains-general were colonial born. In early days this reactionary policy was partly successful; but as the decades followed, the Creoles, by the processes of inheritance, came to own most of the big estates and soon heavily outnumbered the Peninsulars. At the time of the Revolution in 1810 it was estimated that there were about 300,000 Peninsulars as against three million Creoles in all the Spanish colonies. The rest of the people—the great mass—were Indians, Mestizos, and in Central and Caribbean America, Negroes and Mulattoes. The Creoles, many highly educated, deeply hated the Peninsulars, and it was they who furnished the main leadership of the revolution throughout Spain's colonial world. There were, however, many Mestizo leaders, including Perez, Castilla, Santa Cruz, and others.

Besides the explosive domestic conditions, outside influences also played a decisive role in precipitating the revolution in the Spanish colonies. The French Revolution exerted a tremendous influence in bringing about the revolution. The works of Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau had been read in organized literary circles far and wide in the colonies, and every literate adult was acquainted with the course of the revolution itself in France. Miranda and several other prominent Latin American liberation leaders had fought with the revolutionary French armies, and many more of them had been educated in France. Bolivar himself was an ardent believer in Rousseau's teachings. Then there was the example of the successful revolution in the United States. This was contagious. The Creoles were closely acquainted with the history of this revolution and they had absorbed and been inspired by the revolutionary doctrines of Jefferson and Paine. The fact that Spain, to defeat her ancient enemy England, gave some aid to this revolution, also deeply affected her own colonies. Nor was the very recent, highly dramatic, and victorious revolt of the Negro slaves in Haiti against their French masters without wide repercussions throughout the rest of Latin America. As in the English colonies, Masonic lodges

served as centers to propagate anti-clerical and anti-monarchist sentiment throughout Latin America. The whole intellectual atmosphere in the Spanish colonies was pregnant with the great world capitalist revolution, which was then rolling on its irresistible way in full force.

Summing up the causes of the Spanish colonial revolution, the Peruvian writer Garcia Calderon says: "From 1808 to 1825 all things conspired to help the course of American liberty; revolutions in Europe, ministers in England, the independence of the United States, the excesses of Spanish absolutism, the constitutional doctrines of Cadiz, the romantic faith of the Liberators, the political ambitions of the oligarchies, the ideas of Rousseau and the Encyclopedists, the decadence of Spain, and the hatred which all the classes and castes in America entertained for the Inquisitors and the viceroys."²

Prior to the actual outbreak of the Spanish colonial revolution in 1810 the harassed people of the colonies, denied every legislative means of relief, had made many desperate uprisings. In Chapter V, we have noted a number of such revolts by Indian peons and Negro slaves. The Creoles also had conducted various hard struggles, which tended to merge with those of the Indians and Negroes. Among the more important of these may be mentioned the comuneros rebellions in Paraguay in 1721-35, the revolts in Caracas in 1749 and 1797, the Creole rebellion in Quito in 1765, the comuneros uprising in New Granada in 1781, and the conspiracies in Chile in 1776 and 1781. These and similar uprisings were put down with ferocious brutality by the Spanish armed forces. But the most extensive and clear-sighted of all these pre-revolutionary struggles was the one conducted in Venezuela by the Creole, Sebastian Francisco de Miranda, in 1806. Miranda, the son of a wealthy merchant, a veteran of Washington's army and an active participant in the French Revolution, organized an expedition of ten small ships to free his native country, Venezuela. But the movement failed, as it was premature. In 1808, in Montevideo, a junta was set up in opposition to the Viceroy, an indication of the brewing revolutionary storm.

For twenty years prior to the outbreak of the revolution in the Spanish colonies, Miranda had sought support for an uprising in the United States, England, and various European countries. England toyed with the idea, at no time being apparently committed fully to the project. She wanted to deal a blow to her ancient enemy Spain, and also wanted the vast colonies in the Americas. Afraid of the consequences of such a revolution and finding herself suddenly in alliance with Spain against Napoleon, England definitely rejected Miranda's proposals. Nevertheless, as we shall see, England dabbled in the revolution—in Chile, Peru, Brazil, and elsewhere.

The Beginning of the Revolution

The revolution was finally touched off by dramatic developments in Spain. Napoleon, then in the midst of his sweep of conquest, knocking decadent kings off their thrones in many parts of Europe, in May, 1808, forced the weak Charles IV and his equally feeble son Ferdinand VII to abdicate the Spanish throne. Whereupon, the conqueror, Napoleon, had his brother Joseph crowned king of Spain, in July, 1808. One of Joseph's first acts was to send a large crew of puppet functionaries to America to take over command of the vast Spanish colonial system for France's interest. These agents, however, met with a hostile reception in the colonies, which had been deeply aroused by the events in Spain, and finally were either expelled or imprisoned. Juntas, or committees, sprang up throughout the colonies to govern in the revolutionary situation.

This was the first active step in the revolution. At this time the colonial mood was essentially anti-French and pro-Spanish, and in favor of the return of the Spanish Charles IV to the throne. But the rapidly awakening Creole colonial leaders everywhere quickly realized that they must now rid themselves not only of the new French pretenders but also of their long-time Spanish oppressors. They were encouraged in this revolutionary trend by the outbreak of new revolutionary struggles in Spain itself, where a sharp fight had developed against the French invaders and also against Spanish reaction. By 1810, the Spanish colonies on the mainland, with the exception of Peru, were generally in revolt. The revolutionary fervor spread like wildfire.

Spain, involved in internal and external difficulties, was much too weak to cope effectively with the farflung colonial revolt which now confronted it. This was true not only in 1810, when Spain was occupied by Napoleon's forces, but also following 1814, when the French had been finally driven out and Ferdinand VII was restored to the throne. Spain as a country had not grown strong from the exploitation of its colonial domain. In the sixteenth century, under the tremendous impact of the Conquest, Spain had evidenced much vitality and made a show of strength, but this was only on the surface. The Spanish regime was rotten at heart from the beginning. The ruling combination of great lay and clerical landowners, who held the country in a death clutch, prevented its economic and political development. The immense wealth that Spain extracted from the colonies they wasted away in riotous living and criminal wars. Hacker states that during three centuries Spain received 2,500,000 kilograms of gold and 100 million kilograms of silver from its American colonies.³ But all through the three-hundred-year colonial period Spain remained a country of economic weakness, gross superstition, deep political reaction, great wealth for a few, and profound poverty for the masses.

Notwithstanding the millions in gold and silver that Spain wrung from the colonial mines, she never succeeded in industrializing herself. The ruling feudal landowning class prevented this revolutionary development. Consequently, Spain could not produce enough industrial goods to meet its own needs and the limited markets of the colonies. Industrial England profited most from this situation, particularly from the seventeenth century on, and Spain served as a sort of two-way funnel, to pipe the wealth of her colonies to England and to pipe England's commodities back to the colonies. Such a feudal country as Spain could not stand up in the face of growing capitalist western Europe, and it did not. As early as 1588, England, by smashing the Armada, had forever crippled Spain's sea power. Also, in the next two centuries, with her smugglers, pirates, and endless wars, England was able still further to undermine decadent Spain. And when England was not tearing into the lumbering Spanish colonial monster, Holland and France were on the job. Weakened by its own internal rottenness and incessant outside attacks, monarchial, feudal Spain, therefore, was unable to put down the revolutionary upheaval that developed from 1810 on in her widespread American colonies.

The Creoles were everywhere the leaders of the revolution. They had many intellectuals in their ranks; they owned great landholdings; they held large numbers of lesser posts in the Church, the army, and the state apparatus; they were mainly the merchants and professionals of the time; and they were the controlling force in most of the *cabildos*, or town councils. The Spanish reactionaries, for all their restrictive policies, had not been able to prevent the Creoles from advancing as a large and powerful force. Characteristic of the type of revolutionary leadership: Sebastian Francisco de Miranda, known as the Precursor of the Revolution, was born of a very rich Venezuelan family; Simon Bolivar, the liberator of the north, another Venezuelan by birth, also came of wealthy parents and had inherited a thousand slaves;⁴ Jose de San Martin, the liberator of the south, was the son of a captain, and Bernardo O'Higgins, the founder of Chile, was also rich. Most of the other outstanding revolutionary leaders had similar social backgrounds.

At the time of the revolution the colonial capitalist class, consisting mostly of merchants, was very weak in numbers. There was also virtually no real working class in the Spanish colonies, most of the handicraft and general labor being performed by Indian, Negro, and Mestizo peons and slaves, who made up the vast bulk of the population. Some historians have charged that these working masses were indifferent to the revolution, especially in its earlier stages; but this is a characteristic slander against the basic democratic forces of the people. Actually, the Creole leaders, themselves mostly landlords, were afraid to develop the revolutionary impulses

of the masses and they did what they could to stifle such revolutionary action. They were very careful not to raise the question of the land, which was of such vital importance to the masses of the people. Therefore, many of the peasants and slaves felt that the revolution would only bring a change of masters, Creoles instead of Spanish.

Nevertheless, the fact is that everywhere, from Mexico to Argentina, the great body of the fighting armies was composed of Indian peasants, Negro slaves, Mestizo handicraftsmen, and city petty bourgeois elements. Indian and Negro fighters responded in scores of thousands and with tremendous enthusiasm, particularly in those isolated cases where the questions of the confiscation of the landed estates and the abolition of slavery were raised, as they were by the pioneer revolutionaries, Miguel Hidalgo and Jose Maria Morelos, in Mexico. It was significant of the revolutionary feeling of the exploited masses during this period, despite the systematic playing down of their grievances by the Creole revolutionary leaders, that in Peru, in 1814, before the Creoles had yet been able to get a substantial revolt underway, the Indians of Cuzco launched a powerful uprising under the leadership of Pumacagua. This movement, which soon had some 40,000 irregular forces in the field, quickly spread to Bolivia. But it was finally crushed by the Spanish army and the leader was hanged. It is often asserted, too, that about one-third of San Martin's army that crossed the Andes into Chile was composed of Negroes, mostly slaves.

The top hierarchy of the Catholic Church, predominantly Spanish-born, personally rich, part and parcel of the old political regime, and fearful of losing its own immense landholdings, opposed the revolution. Many of the local priests, however, largely native-born and poverty-stricken, cast in their lot with the rebelling peoples. The revolution also produced something of an upheaval in the Church itself. Catholic writers have to acknowledge the fact of the counter-revolutionary role of the Church, but they try to sugarcoat it. Father Ryan says: "Speaking generally and allowing for individual exceptions on both sides, the bishops opposed the movements for independence, while the lower clergy strongly supported them."⁵ While the Church, true to its historic policy of playing both ends against the middle, was not adverse to having numerous friends in the camp of the revolutionary forces, by no means all of the lower clergy supported the revolution, as Ryan avers. The Church's real attitude toward the revolution was expressed by its excommunication of the patriotic priests Hidalgo and Morelos, who led the revolution in Mexico. The Inquisition condemned Hidalgo as "a partisan of French liberty, a libertine, a formal heretic, a Judaizer, a Lutheran, a Calvinist, a rebel, a schismatic, and a suspected atheist." Presumably, otherwise he was all right. On the international scale, the Pope, by a special bull, condemned American independence.⁶

The Revolutionary War

When the thirteen English colonies, thirty-five years earlier, found themselves in revolutionary struggle against England, they already had an intercolonial organization, the Continental Congress, with a whole network of local and provincial committees. Hence, at the outbreak of the revolutionary war they were able to work out a common strategy and to unite their military forces, although not without much difficulty. But in the Spanish colonial revolution there was no such unifying, over-all strategy and organization. Save in relatively local situations, the various countries fought largely with their own devices. It was only toward the latter part of the fifteen-years' war that a sort of double phased general strategy developed, with Simon Bolivar leading the forces in the northern part of South America, and San Martin leading those in the south. Both of these forces came together at the close of the war for the final drive upon Peru, the last stronghold of Spanish power in the Americas.

When, in 1810, the revolution burst out more or less spontaneously all over the mainland colonies, except in Peru, juntas were set up to lead the revolution. During that year, such juntas were established in Caracas (Venezuela), April 19; Buenos Aires (Argentina), May 25; Bogota (Colombia), July 20; Quito (Ecuador), August 2; Mexico City, September 16; and Santiago (Chile), September 18. The sudden attack of the revolutionary forces caught Spanish reaction by surprise; but soon the war everywhere settled down into a long and desperate struggle.

First, let us consider the northernmost area of struggle. In Mexico, or New Spain, the revolutionary initiative was taken, in September 1810, by the Catholic priest, Miguel Hidalgo, a man over fifty years old. With a program calling for the return of the land to the Indians, the freedom of the slaves, and the abolition of the tribute. Hidalgo's forces quickly amounted to 80,000 men and they overran much of the country. But, in January 1811, they were decisively defeated. Hidalgo was captured and shot, and his head was displayed in the public square of Mexico City.⁷

Jose Maria Morelos, after the death of his leader, Hidalgo, in 1811, led the Mexican people's fight. Morelos captured big stretches of the central provinces of Mexico, but he, too, was finally defeated. He was seized and shot in 1815. His program called for Mexican independence, together with many major reforms, such as the confiscation of landed estates, abolition of slavery, caste distinctions, judicial torture, sales taxes, etc. After Morelos, Francisco Xavier Mina took the field, but he, too, was captured and executed, in 1817.

For the next two or three years the Mexican struggle was pretty much on a guerrilla basis. But in 1820, with the Spanish forces then very weak, Agustin de Iturbide, a former officer in the Spanish army, assumed leader-

ship. Iturbide was undoubtedly an agent of the domestic reactionaries who, convinced that national independence was inevitable, decided to seize control of the movement. Iturbide's military campaign was successful and he entered Mexico City in 1821, having himself crowned as Emperor Agustin I. His rule lasted until 1823, when he was overthrown and driven out of the country. Returning in 1824, he was seized and shot. But by this time Mexico was no longer under Spanish control and was independent.

The Central American areas—Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica, Guatemala, and El Salvador—calling themselves the United Provinces of Central America, after an abortive uprising in 1811, led by Delgado and Arce, declared their independence from Spain in 1821. They won through "without firing a shot," the decrepit Spanish apparatus in this former captaincy-general of colonial times being unable to make any effective armed resistance.

Meanwhile, to the south, on the mainland of South America, the war in the second great area of revolutionary struggle had spread far and wide. In Venezuela, Francisco Miranda reopened his fight early in 1810. But he was defeated, and in 1812, in one of the most astounding incidents in Latin American history, he was turned over to the Spaniards as a traitor, by a group said to have included Simon Bolivar, the Liberator, himself. Miranda died in a Spanish prison in 1816.

Bolivar became the revolutionary leader in Venezuela in 1812. He established the second Venezuelan republic in 1814, but soon had to flee again. In Haiti, Bolivar was furnished with seven ships and 250 men by the victorious Negro revolutionists. After a couple of attempts, he finally landed again in Venezuela, and in 1818, once more proclaimed the independence of that country. Reinforced by several thousand English, Irish, and Scotch volunteers, who had been recruited in Europe, Bolivar made a spectacular march across the Andes and at the Battle of Boyaca in August 1819, along with General Santander, he defeated the Spaniards. The Republic of Colombia was proclaimed on August 10. It was to include Venezuela, and Bolivar was elected president. In June 1821, Bolivar fought the battle of Carabobo, which liberated Venezuela. The next step was to free Ecuador, which was done at the Battle of Pichincha in 1822, fought under the leadership of General Sucre, one of Bolivar's generals. Ecuador was united with Venezuela and Colombia into the Republic of Gran Colombia, with the conqueror Bolivar at its head.

The third major center of revolutionary struggle was at Buenos Aires, Argentina, in the extreme south. Saturnino Rodriguez Pena, a coworker of Miranda's, had long carried on revolutionary agitation in Buenos Aires. The open break began on May 22, 1810, when the popular demand forced the calling of an *abierto cabildo* (open town council meeting) to consider

the grave news from Spain. This meeting demanded the resignation of the viceroy. The cabildo meeting was made up of 60 military and naval delegates, 25 clerics and friars, 26 professionals, mostly lawyers, 39 high civilian officials, and 94 merchants, landowners, and other persons.⁸ The revolutionary struggle was under the leadership of Mariano Moreno and Manuel Belgrano, whose forces, on May 25, overthrew the Spanish viceroy in La Plata province and established a revolutionary junta to control the country. They also sent an armed expedition into Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia, attempting to upset the Spanish regime, but without success; the peoples in these localities viewing the Argentine movement with high suspicion and failing to rally. These countries went their own way to emancipation, which they achieved a few years later.

San Martin, soon to be celebrated as the Great Liberator of the South, returned from Spain to his homeland, Argentina, in 1812. He joined the independence movement at once. In view of his military training as a former officer in the Spanish army, San Martin was put at the head of the patriot forces of Argentina in 1814. He began to rebuild the army, with the bold plan in mind of striking at the stronghold of Spanish colonial power, Peru, some three thousand miles away.

During this preparatory period Argentina, on July 9, 1816, declared its independence, which heartened the revolutionists everywhere in Latin America, as this time was a low point for them in the general revolutionary war. In January 1817, San Martin began his famous expedition—destination Peru. He crossed the Andes to Chile, with about five thousand men, over the Uspallata and Los Patos passes, at about 13,000 feet elevation, in one of the most trying and brilliant marches in military history. San Martin's forces then fell upon the surprised Spaniards in Chile and defeated them at the decisive battle of Chacabuco. The Chilean revolutionists, led by the Creole, Bernardo O'Higgins, in the past few years had repeatedly attempted to overthrow Spanish rule in Chile, but had failed. San Martin's troops did the job quickly and completely. The next big task was to organize a sea expedition to attack Peru itself. With the joint help of Chilean patriots and naval forces under the English privateer Lord Cochrane, San Martin was able to land in Peru, in September 1820. He occupied Lima, the capital, in July of the same year. In 1820 the revolution throughout the Spanish colonies got a big lift from the outbreak of a revolution in Spain, an event which clipped the wings of the reactionary king Ferdinand VII. San Martin, a bold general, even planned in 1822 to send a naval expedition against Spain.⁹

The climax of the whole revolutionary war strategy in the Spanish colonies was the coming together of the two victorious liberators, Bolivar from the north and San Martin from the south, in a decisive pincers move-

ment directed against the Peruvian stronghold of Spain. The two leaders first met in Guayaquil, Ecuador, on July 26, 1822. They had a couple of conferences together, in which they disagreed upon a number of serious questions, including the type of government that should be set up in Peru, the territorial boundaries between Peru and the north, and military command relationships between themselves. It was largely a power question between the two leaders. They did not quarrel publicly, however; but on the second day San Martin quietly withdrew, going back to Lima. A couple of months later he also gave up his post at the head of the Peruvian government and retired to Valparaiso, stating that he had finished his task as a military fighter. Upon returning to Chile and Argentina, San Martin found that in the meantime his once great prestige had largely evaporated; so, toward the end of 1823, he left Buenos Aires for Europe, never to return. There has been much speculation as to San Martin's real reasons for his unexplained course of action after meeting with Bolivar.

Bolivar, after the departure of San Martin, prepared to complete the conquest of Peru; the revolutionary forces as yet holding only the coastal areas of that country. He strengthened his army, made another heroic crossing of the Andes, and on August 6, 1824, attacked the Spanish army and won the Battle of Junin. This was followed on December 8, by the decisive battle of Ayacucho, which Bolivar's forces also won. On January 25, 1825, Upper Peru declared its independence, naming itself Bolivia, in honor of the Liberator. On January 23, 1826, the last of the Spanish troops surrendered to Bolivar at the castle in the Peruvian port of Callao.

The revolutionary war had passed through three periods: 1) beginning in 1810, there were initial rebel successes nearly everywhere except in Peru; 2) by 1815, the Spanish forces had succeeded largely in re-establishing themselves; 3) in 1816-17, a fresh revolutionary offensive began which carried the war to success all over continental Spanish America,¹⁰ completing the task in Peru in 1826.

In 1823, a very dangerous moment occurred in the revolution when the Holy Alliance of Russia, Prussia, and Austria proposed to send a military expedition to get back for Spain its already almost lost American colonies. This whole development indeed constituted a formidable danger, as the colonial patriotic forces were already greatly exhausted by the long war. But the threat was averted. England, the power that commanded the seas, was already getting her hooks into the rich Spanish American markets and did not want to lose these markets again to Spain. So she said no to the project of the Holy Alliance. Similarly, the still young and weak United States was also emboldened to take a stand in defense of the new American republics, which it did in the well-known Monroe Doctrine.

The official attitude of the United States government during the revolu-

tionary war in the Spanish colonies was one of neutrality. Many political leaders and the mass of the people, however, were sympathetic to the revolutionists. Consequently, large numbers of United States citizens participated in the war in Mexico, Chile, Peru, and Argentina. After the Anglo-American War of 1812, many released American privateers also carried on vigorous campaigns, seizing and destroying Spanish shipping. The United States government, under mass pressure, recognized the independence of the former Spanish colonies by a law passed on March 8, 1822.

The bitter colonial war was over. Spain had lost her vast and rich American colonies. By fifteen years of heroic struggle the peoples had succeeded in freeing themselves. The Spanish American wars were twice as long and far bloodier than the United States Revolutionary War. After 1825, all that Spain had left of her great conquest following Columbus' discovery were her island possessions of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. Spain was able to hold these islands against the rebellious peoples only by means of her remaining naval strength and her consequent ability to concentrate big forces against them. The Cuban people especially made heroic and desperate efforts to break their colonial chains. The Negro slaves carried through many revolts of their own, and took a decisive part in all these general liberation struggles. In 1823 and 1826 popular uprisings occurred, but both were bloodily suppressed. A strong revolutionary party existed in 1827.¹¹ In 1844, a large-scale insurrection of slaves took place but it, too, was unsuccessful. In 1849 still another revolt occurred, led by Narcisco Lopez; it, too, was put down and the leader executed. Next came the bitterly fought Ten Years' War, from 1868 to 1878. During this struggle, in 1869, a Cuban republic was set up with Cespedes as president, but in 1873 the revolution was put down by the Spanish. The Spanish government, however, was compelled to make certain concessions, notably the abolition of slavery, in 1886. But Antonio Maceo and other patriotic leaders, refusing to accept the peace pact, continued the war. In 1895, the revolution broke out afresh, its two outstanding leaders the poet Jose Maria Marti and General Maximo Gomez. In the face of savage repressions by the Spanish general, "Butcher" Weyler, the war was being prosecuted successfully. Spain, economically exhausted and with tens of thousands of its soldiers wiped out, was on the verge of defeat. It was at the moment that the Spanish-American war of 1898 was declared and the imperialist United States forces invaded Cuba. During the ensuing struggle, Spain lost all of her island possessions—Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines and she was finally driven completely out of the western hemisphere.

The two most outstanding figures in the far-flung Spanish-American revolution were Simon Bolivar and Jose de San Martin. Together with Toussaint L'Ouverture of Haiti, they rank among the greatest of the world's

bourgeois revolutionary leaders. Both men understood the supreme necessity of freeing the colonies from Spanish domination and they pursued this objective steadfastly through many years of most difficult struggle. Both also displayed the military capacity to mobilize the armed fighting strength of their peoples and under conditions of severe warfare they succeeded in smashing the military power of Spain in the New World—a tremendous historic achievement. Every country in Spanish America has its national revolutionary heroes, but Bolivar and San Martin stand out as the symbols of the general struggle for national liberation, and throughout Latin America their names carry great prestige.

Spain reluctantly parted company with her colonies. In 1829 she sent an expedition of several thousand men to reconquer Mexico, but this force was defeated. And in 1864-66, seizing upon a pretext, she also invaded Peru, attempting to again subjugate that country. In the ensuing war Ecuador, Bolivia, and Chile made common cause with Peru against Spain. The Spanish were defeated and gave up their last attempt to restore their old empire. Spain eventually recognized her colonies as independent countries in the following order: Mexico, 1836; Ecuador, 1840; Chile, 1844; Venezuela, 1845; Bolivia, 1847; Nicaragua, 1851; Argentina, 1858; Costa Rica, 1859; Guatemala, 1863; Peru, 1865; El Salvador, 1865; Paraguay, 1880; Colombia, 1881; Uruguay, 1882; Honduras, 1894.

The Brazilian Revolution

The fourth major phase of the hemispheric colonial revolution was the breaking away of Brazil from Portugal during the period of 1810-22. Behind this revolution was a long train of typical colonial abuses. The parasitic Portuguese ruling classes, throughout the three hundred years of colonial domination, had sucked the colonies dry of their production, with little regard for the masses of the people of either Brazil or Portugal.

The Catholic Church in Brazil played a role similar to that in the Spanish colonies—the backbone of feudal reaction. The great masses of the people, chiefly Negroes, were chattel slaves, living in deep poverty and illiteracy. There was no democracy; the laws were handed down to Brazil from Portugal, while the Catholic Church, with its Inquisition, terrorized men's minds. Industry and trade were stifled by the usual hampering restrictions, designed to protect the interests of the merchants in the "home" country.

From the earliest colonial days sugar was the chief wealth-creating produce in Brazil. The cultivation of sugar created a rich class of slave-owning planters in the colonies and also numberless parasites in Portugal. Coffee was introduced in 1727, but it did not become an important crop until a century later.¹² Freyre, who glosses over Brazilian slavery, compares

the profligate life of the patriarchal slaveholders in his country with those in the southern United States. "These were almost the same country gentlemen—chivalrous after their fashion; proud of their slaves and lands, with sons and Negroes multiplying about them; regaling themselves with the love of Mulattoes; playing cards and amusing themselves with cock-fights; marrying girls of sixteen; engaging in feuds over questions of land; dying in duels for the sake of a woman, and getting drunk at great family feasts."¹³

The wealth accumulated from the sugar industry was increased by the discovery of gold in 1693 and of diamonds in 1729. These rich discoveries created such a fever of speculation and exploitation in Brazil that the whole economy of the country was disrupted. Negro slaves died like flies in the mines, driven by their masters' ruthless quest for immediate wealth. Up to the time of the revolution in 1822, no less than \$600 million in gold and \$300 million in diamonds, fabulous sums in those times, were shipped to Portugal, there to be squandered in the approved manner by noble idlers and parasites.

The harsh conditions of oppression, exploitation, and mass poverty in Brazil produced their inevitable revolutionary responses. In Chapter V we have noted some of the more important of the many Negro slave revolts that took place in that country during the colonial era. There were also revolts led by the Creoles. The Creoles were discriminated against in many ways, much as they were in the Spanish colonies, although perhaps not to such a sharp degree. They were the real leaders behind the Brazilian revolution, as were the Creoles in the revolution in the Spanish colonies.

As early as 1789 a revolutionary movement took place in Minas Geraes. Its leader was Joaquim Jose da Silva Xavier, popularly known as Tiradentes, or "the tooth puller," as among other occupations he was a dentist. The conspiracy took for its governmental pattern the Constitution in the United States, and proposed to make Brazil into an independent, democratic republic. The movement was betrayed, however, in its early stages, with the result that Tiradentes, after a long and dramatic trial, was hanged in Rio de Janeiro in 1792. Tiradentes has become a popular Brazilian revolutionary hero.

In 1817, as the independence movement was gradually taking on strength, an insurrection took place in Pernambuco, led by Creoles. Its outstanding figure was Domingo Jose Martins. The rebels seized Pernambuco and much of the surrounding territory. Brazilian troops sent to quell the insurrection refused to fire on the rebels and, instead, joined forces with them. The country refused to rise in revolt, however, and in a few months the movement was violently put down by the government and its leaders were executed or imprisoned.

The actual separation of Brazil from Portugal, when it finally came to pass in 1822, was virtually bloodless. This was primarily because little Portugal was unable longer to dominate big Brazil and could not make a real fight. The latter country was already developing a strong national feeling and displaying much initiative. It was the Brazilians themselves who had repulsed the French, Dutch, and English invaders, in long and fierce struggle during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when these powers had tried to seize Brazil. So when the Brazilians finally decided, largely under the influence of the principles of the French and American revolutions, and especially influenced by the revolution in the neighboring Spanish colonies, that the time had come for them to set up an independent government, there was very little Portugal could do except to make the best of a bad situation, which its rulers did with no little skill. England also had a hand in the Brazilian Revolution, its powerful influence being exercised largely to keep its puppets, the Braganzas, on the Brazilian throne, in which it succeeded. At the time it won its independence Brazil had about 3,500,000 people, of whom about 60 per cent were Negroes, 14 per cent Indians, 14 per cent Mestizos and Mulattoes, and about 12 per cent whites.

The Brazilian Revolution, like that in the Spanish colonies, got its immediate impulse from developments in the "mother" country. In 1808 John VI, Regent of Portugal, in behalf of his mother, the insane Queen Maria I, fled to Brazil, with the help of the British navy, to avoid the clutches of the invading Napoleon. With the king in that country, Brazil now became the actual center of the Portuguese empire, and it remained such until Napoleon was defeated and forced out of Portugal. In 1815, Brazil was elevated to the status of a realm, and became part of the "Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves." John became king in 1816, after Maria's death.

In the meantime, the agitation for independence spread throughout Brazil, especially around the personality of Jose Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva, a distinguished scientist. This agitation increased with the overthrow of the government in Portugal in 1820 and the establishment of revolutionary juntas in Oporto and Lisbon. These events intensified separatist tendencies also among reactionaries in Brazil, as the big landowners did not want to be ruled by the liberals in Portugal.¹⁴ The new Portuguese Cortes, or parliament, fearing that little Portugal was beginning to play second fiddle to big Brazil, demanded that King John return to Portugal, which he did in 1821, leaving his son, Dom Pedro, in charge in Brazil. On departing, John is supposed to have told his twenty-four-year-old son, "If the worst comes to the worst and Brazil demands independence, proclaim it yourself and put the crown on your own head"—sage advice which the canny Dom Pedro was soon to put into effect.

The Cortes in Portugal later demanded that Dom Pedro return, to reduce further Brazil's relative importance in the empire, but on the advice of Jose Bonifacio, Pedro publicly refused to return to Portugal, on January 9, 1822—a date now famous in Brazilian history as "I Remain" Day. The revolutionary ferment rapidly rose. In May of the same year, Dom Pedro assumed the title of "Perpetual Defender and Protector of Brazil." And on September 7, 1822, after again being called upon in vain by the Cortes in Portugal to yield to its authority, Pedro made his famous *Grito do Ypirango*, declaring, "Independence or Death! I proclaim that we are now separated from Portugal!" This was Brazil's Declaration of Independence.

The Brazilian independence revolution, while influenced by many of the bourgeois revolutionary slogans then current throughout the Americas, nevertheless remained at all times firmly in the hands of the big planters. The merchants and other elements of the rudimentary bourgeoisie were weaker than their counterparts in the Spanish-speaking colonies and they played even less of a decisive political role. No major demands were made for the great masses of slaves and peons, and these took no great part in the whole movement. The Brazilian revolution, therefore, had even less the character of an agrarian revolution than did that in the Spanish colonies.

The vast country of Brazil was now on its own, an independent land. Little Portugal could do nothing to prevent its cutting loose. Within a year the last of the Portuguese army left the country. The House of Braganza of Portugal, however, in alliance with conservative forces in Brazil and with the aid of the British, saved much for themselves from the wreckage of the old colonial regime by keeping Dom Pedro, one of their own ilk, on the Brazilian throne. The Brazilian slave-owning planters were in full control. This was another reason why there was no armed struggle by Portugal. With the interests of the reactionaries taken care of, the welfare of everybody else, of course, amounted to nothing. Brazil became a monarchy. The United States recognized the new government on May 26, 1824. The Portuguese royal house managed to hang on to the throne until November 1889, when the monarchy was finally overthrown and replaced by a republic.

The Rebellion in Canada

The fifth phase of the all-American bourgeois revolution was the independence movement in Canada, which came to a head in the Rebellion of 1837. This struggle had been brewing for several decades, particularly since the revolution in the United States. The developing revolutionary ferment was caused by characteristic colonial grievances. The small British party known as the "Family Compact," monopolized all colonial political offices, local manufactures were stifled and the colonists were compelled to buy from England, foreign ships were kept out of Canadian ports, justice was

maladministered by English reactionaries, huge land monopolies were held by the Hudson's Bay Company, the Catholic Church, the Church of England, etc.¹⁶ "For three quarters of a century the conflict in the Canadas centered around these issues: colonial self-government, abolition of feudal tenure, and the land monopoly; separation of Church and State; defence of French-Canadian rights. It was only after the demand for responsible government had met with persistent refusal from the Colonial Office, and when the conflict was turning to civil war, that the more drastic and definitive slogan of 'Independence' was advanced by Mackenzie, Papineau and Nelson."¹⁶ The rebellion was finally crushed but the struggle continued, until the Canadian people eventually won virtual independence within the framework of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

When the United States Revolution of 1776 was looming on the horizon, Canadian discontent was already widespread. But the British promptly took steps to save Canada for themselves from the revolutionary storm. They especially wanted to use Canada as a means of control over all the Atlantic Coast colonies. To this end they adopted the Quebec Act of 1774, designed primarily to keep discontented French Canadians, who outnumbered the English settlers in the Canadian provinces by many times over, from joining hands with the rebellious United States colonists to the South—and it did just that. Among its major provisions, the Quebec Act "confirmed the feudal landholding system, specified that the 'Laws of Canada' were to be the rule in the settlement of civil suits, and gave the Church statutory authority to collect the tithes."¹⁷ The concessions were enough to hold the powerful French Catholic Church in line for Britain. As for the merchants in the English Canadian colonies proper, they were mostly dependent on London and in the main lacked the revolutionary spirit of those in New England. There was wide sentiment among the masses of the people, however, to make common cause with the thirteen rebellious colonies. Thus, in Nova Scotia, "While the provincial assembly voted loyal addresses to Great Britain, illegal town meetings gave secret support to New England."¹⁸

The Canadian colonies were invited by the American rebels to send delegates to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, but they did not do so. When the American Revolutionary War broke out in 1775, forces from the United States, with help from many Canadians, promptly attempted to capture Canada. Although they met initial successes, they failed in the long run. The masses of the Canadian people did not respond. Evidently, they did not relish being "taken over" by the invaders from the south, a lesson those in the United States were to learn once again in the War of 1812. Creighton has this to say: "The United States won its independence from Great Britain; but Quebec and Nova Scotia kept their independence

of the United States."¹⁹ In the tangled situation at the time of the United States revolution there was the anomaly of the government of France fighting side by side with the American patriot forces, hoping thus to win back its lost provinces in Canada, while the French Catholic Church in Quebec sided with the British against the Americans and thus also against France. The ruling French Canadian clericals and landlords were less afraid of the British than they were of the United States revolutionaries, and they were very largely responsible for keeping Canada from joining the revolution.

In the succeeding decades Canadian grievances against British rule grew apace. Expanding Canadian capitalism found the British colonial shackles more and more irksome. The masses of the people were also deeply discontented. In Lower Canada, a Constitutional Club advocating Canadian freedom existed as early as 1791. But it was not until 1837 that these grievances broke out into open flames. This delay was due to the non-revolutionary mood of the bulk of the capitalist class, to the weakness of the working class, to the reactionary influence of the powerfully entrenched French Catholic Church, and, not the least, to the efforts of the 40,000 ultra-reactionary tory "Loyalists" who had fled to Canada from the victorious United States Revolution of 1776. These many factors not only retarded the Canadian independence movement, but were instrumental in defeating the rebellion when it finally came.

Stanley Ryerson writes about this: "The reasons [for the defeat in 1837] lay, of course, in such directions as the strength upon Canadian soil of the American counter-revolution, the power in French Canada of the hierarchy which kept the lessons of the French enlightenment from the masses, and the weakness of the Rebel Party of 1837, in organizing an effective counterpart of the republican party of Jefferson."²⁰ Mackenzie says: "The Roman Catholic clergy took part with the government, and sought to hold the excited people to their duty by threatening disturbers of the peace with the extreme penalties of ecclesiastical law."²¹

The outstanding leaders of the 1837 rebellion, a struggle which took place in the midst of a deep economic crisis, were: in Upper Canada (Ontario), William Lyon Mackenzie,* an editor, and in Lower Canada (Quebec), Louis Joseph Papineau, a landowner *seigneur*. The revolutionaries in Upper Canada were called the Reformers, and those in Lower Canada, the *Patriotes*. The armed struggle was poorly organized, and it found the immature working class and the lower middle class masses unprepared and unable to give it decisive support. The rebellion began suddenly, unexpectedly in fact, on November 6, in Montreal, Lower Canada, and it hastily spread to Toronto and other cities of Upper Canada. The British authorities, however, were soon able to put it down. In a month the armed

*He was the grandfather of the late Prime Minister of Canada, W. L. Mackenzie King.

uprising was over. Large numbers of rebels were arrested, and a dozen of the French Canadian leaders were hanged in a public square in Montreal. Papineau escaped to the United States. Matthews and Lount, two of the leading spirits of the rebellion in Upper Canada, were hanged in Toronto by the victorious reactionaries.

There was much sympathy and support for the fighting Canadian patriots among democratic forces in the United States. Many big meetings took place in Buffalo, Oswego, Troy, Detroit, Lockport, Ogdensburg, Batavia, etc., and everywhere the Marseillaise was sung. Mackenzie, who had fled from Canada, was greeted as a great hero wherever he went. Several hundred volunteer soldiers were recruited in the United States and a couple of expeditions were organized to invade Canada by lake steamer. Finally, the United States government ordered troops to halt the movement, which was accomplished after considerable difficulty. "These orders were given not a moment too soon," says McMaster, "for the whole border was in arms."²²

The Canadian rebellion patterned its presentation of the right of revolution much after the United States Declaration of 1776. At a big meeting in St. Ours, Quebec, a few months before the fighting began, a typical resolution of the French Canadian rebels declared, "We deny the right of the Parliament of England to legislate for the internal affairs of this colony, against our consent and without our participation."²³ They had the goal of an independent French Canada. The *Declaration of the Reformers*, adopted on July 31, 1837, and signed, among others, by Mackenzie and Papineau, proclaimed: "The time has arrived, after nearly half a century's forbearance under increasing and aggravated misrule, when the duty we owe our country and posterity requires from us the assertion of our rights and the redress of our wrongs. Government is founded on the authority, and is instituted for the benefit of a people; when, therefore, any Government long and systematically ceases to answer the great ends of its foundation, the people have a natural right, given to them by their Creator, to seek after and establish such institutions as will yield the greatest quantity of happiness to the greatest numbers . . ."²⁴

The Canadian people did not win national independence in 1837, but the force of their gallant struggle was not lost. At first came the wave of reaction, registered in the Act of Union of 1840, which arbitrarily linked Upper and Lower Canada together and especially hampered the rebellious French Canadians. But the developing Canadian nation was not to be denied its independence. The British ruling class, yielding to the inevitable, eventually had to make serious concessions. In 1867, fearing that Canada, in the aftermath of the Civil War, might affiliate to the United States, Great Britain—by the North America Act—confederated Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick into the Dominion of Canada. The new state had,

however, but a limited degree of autonomy. There was much popular resistance to this Act of Confederation. Its shortcomings have been summed up in its failure to establish a democratic republic, to achieve democratic unity on the basis of the rights of the French and English-speaking Canadians, to sweep away semi-feudal institutions in French Canada, and to break the grip of the Hudson's Bay Company on the western lands. But it did at least open the way to capitalist development.

In 1871, the last of the British troops left Canada, save for a few remnants in Esquimalt and Halifax. At the Imperial Conference of 1926, Canada was recognized as having "equal status" with the United Kingdom. In 1927, Canada established its first foreign diplomatic mission in Washington; and in 1931 the Statutes of Westminster removed the last major legal limitations on Canadian sovereignty. The monopolists who direct the policies of finance capital and its political spokesmen in Canada (this includes several very prominent United States capitalists) continue, however, to utilize some of the forms of colonial relationships as barriers against democratic advance. Typical of this is their preservation of the role of the British Crown in Canada, with its appointment of Canada's Governor General. Another example is the preservation of the colonial relationship expressed in the fact that the big corporations can still appeal to the British Privy Council against the decisions of Canadian courts in civil cases. It must be emphasized, however, that while these and other similar vestigial remnants of the colonial relationship are preserved by monopoly capitalism, Canada stands today fundamentally an independent nation, free to shape its own constitution and laws, free to wage war or to make peace as it wills, free to belong or not belong to the British Commonwealth of Nations and to the United Nations.

10. WHAT THE REVOLUTION ACCOMPLISHED

The great American revolution—in the United States, Haiti, the Spanish colonies, Brazil, and Canada—was fundamentally a bourgeois, *i.e.*, a capitalist revolution. Notwithstanding all its reactionary shortcomings, it constituted a big step in the revolutionary establishment of capitalism in this hemisphere. But, as we have already remarked, it was by no means a “pure” capitalist revolution. Many feudalistic hangovers were still attached to it which prevented it from reaching its full capitalist expression in various countries. This was especially the case in the Latin American countries, where the feudal elements were very strong and where the revolutionary bourgeoisie and working class were relatively very weak. This fact has led many writers to conclude erroneously that the national liberation struggle in Latin America was not a revolution at all, but merely a mechanical breaking off of the allegiance of the colonies from their “mother” countries.

Capitalism generally, a world system, battling in a revolutionary way against feudalism in order to be born and to grow and develop, had to break the back of that system. Lenin says, “The bourgeois revolution has but one task to perform: to sweep away, to fling aside, to destroy all the fetters of the previous society.” But this central task involved many secondary ones. The revolutionary task of freeing capitalism from feudalistic restraints was a many-sided one, and the subordinate tasks had to be performed in some measure at least if the new social order was to get a solid foothold and to expand. In the general revolution throughout the Americas the capitalist class, because of widely differing economic and political conditions in the several colonies, accomplished the specific phases of this general revolutionary task in varying degrees. In many of the Latin American countries the great strength of the landowners seriously blocked the advance of the capitalists. Consequently, many of the economic and political struggles since the great hemispheric revolutionary wars of 1776-1837 have had as their aim the carrying out of the basic bourgeois tasks left uncompleted by that vast revolution. In our days, however, it is only the working class which can bring these bourgeois reforms to completion, in the process of carrying on its own socialist revolutionary struggle. In the present chapter we shall examine what some of the specific tasks of capitalism were in this hemisphere and what progress the bourgeois revolution made toward accomplishing them.

National Independence

To facilitate the growth of capitalism in the Americas the achievement of national independence for the various countries was an absolute "must." As we have seen, it was impossible for capitalism to grow vigorously in the colonies so long as these were attached to the "mother" countries. The latter, as a matter of settled policy, literally sucked the life's blood out of the colonies, considering their lands, industries, trade, and workers merely as objects to be ruthlessly exploited for the sole benefit of a comparative handful of parasitic owners and rulers in Europe and America. Hence, if capitalism was to root itself in the Americas it had, at all costs, to shatter its colonial fetters. This is why the question of national independence achieved such supreme importance in all the colonies, in every sector of the hemispheric revolution. The common demand for national independence was the basis for such community of action as developed during the revolution between the industrialists and the big land owners. "The [Latin] American revolution," says Mariategui, "instead of a conflict between the noble landowners and the commercial bourgeoisie, in many cases produced their collaboration."¹

The basic task of securing national independence for the several American colonies was largely accomplished by the revolution. But here again, because of differing colonial conditions, it was accomplished to varying degrees in the many countries. Formal political ties were broken with the "home" countries in almost every instance. The western hemisphere which, before the revolution, was colonial throughout, was, after the revolution, almost completely independent. The exceptions were: (a) Canada which through its allegiance to the British Crown still maintained a tenuous organic connection with the "home" country; (b) the three Guianas in South America, which continued as colonies of England, France, and Holland; and (c) the West Indies islands, with the notable exception of Haiti, which were still held as colonies by Spain, England, France, and Holland.

The specific dates when national independence was established are as follows: United States, 1776; Haiti, 1804; Paraguay and Venezuela, 1811; Argentina, 1816; Chile, 1818; Colombia, 1819; Mexico and Central America (Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua), and Peru, 1821; Brazil and Ecuador, 1822; Bolivia and Uruguay, 1825; the Dominican Republic, 1844; Canada, 1867; Cuba, 1898; Panama, 1903.

Great Britain, in this period of Latin American revolution, set herself crosswise of the great movement for national independence and tried to take over the whole former Latin colonial system. In 1825, Prime Minister Canning wrote to Granville, "The deed is done, the nail is driven, Spanish America is free; and if we do not mismanage our affairs badly, *she is English*." With this plan in mind, the British rushed in to grab control of the old Spanish mines and other investments. "Nothing like this enthusiasm,"

says Rippey, "had occurred in the whole history of English finance."² Efforts were made everywhere to dictate policy to the young governments.

The British quickly acquired a dominant economic and political position far and wide in Latin America. They were especially powerful in Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile. In Brazil, too, the ruling "House of Braganza had been under English domination for centuries." In the northern part of South America British influence, which supported Bolivar, was almost as strong. In Mexico, from the war of independence to the war with the United States, the British practically dictated Mexican foreign policy. And at the All-American Congress in Panama, in 1826, Great Britain's specially invited envoy, E. J. Dawkins, virtually ran the show from behind the scenes, to the great dismay of the United States, whose tardily invited delegates failed to arrive at the congress at all. Britain hailed this congress as a great victory.

Great Britain's grandiose scheme of taking over for herself the Portuguese-Spanish colonial system eventually failed—the drive for national independence by the erstwhile colonies was too urgent and powerful for her. She did not succeed in transforming any of the countries into British colonies, and her scheme to make them into monarchies under her domination also finally collapsed. Nevertheless, Britain did manage to entrench herself in most of Latin America where, as a foreign power, she was virtually the unchallenged mistress for about seventy-five years, down to the eve of the twentieth century and the advent of militant Yankee imperialism.

The Abolition of the Monarchy

The monarchial system, particularly of the absolutist type generally current in Europe at the time of the great western hemispheric revolution, was also incompatible with effective capitalist development and had to be destroyed. Consequently, the American revolutionary movement was generally republican in character, but not exclusively so. The Canadians, for example, did not make a basic question of the repudiation of the British monarchy. And as for the Brazilians, the Portuguese royal house of Braganza forced itself upon them in the shape of two emperors, who ruled Brazil for over sixty years after the country had achieved its national independence. Mexico, too, from 1864 to 1867, was ruled by the French puppet, Emperor Maximilian I. He was thrust upon the Mexican people by France, with the connivance of the Mexican Catholic Church, which manipulated the Mexican Assembly of Notables that offered Maximilian the crown. Maximilian was, however, soon overthrown and executed.

There were also marked monarchist tendencies among the colonial ruling classes themselves. In the United States the Tory forces who, seeing that England's cause was lost, went along with the revolution, had as one of

the major planks in their program the establishment of a monarchy in the young United States. Every democratic manifestation was anathema to them and they boldly condemned the masses of the people as "rabble" totally unfit to govern themselves. Alexander Hamilton was an outspoken champion of these tory groups. He proposed that the Senate be elected for life. Parrington says of him, "He was frankly a monarchist, and he urged the monarchist principle with Hobbesian logic. 'The principle chiefly intended to be established is this—there must be a permanent *will*.' There ought to be a principle in government capable of resisting the popular current. . . . Failing to secure the acceptance of the monarchist principles [in the Constitutional Convention], he devoted himself to the business of providing all possible checks upon the power of democracy."³ One-third of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention favored the monarchial principle. These reactionary elements offered the Crown to George Washington, reputed to be the wealthiest man in the country. But the latter had the political wisdom to refuse it. In view of the revolutionary spirit of the farmers, workers, small shopkeepers, and professionals, there was no chance for such a royalist scheme to succeed.

In the Latin American countries there were more marked monarchical tendencies among the revolutionaries. England everywhere actively supported these monarchist tendencies, whereas the strong Yankee influence supported a republican form of government. In Haiti, following the successful revolution, which ended in 1804, General Dessalines had himself "elected" governor for life and he was later crowned as Emperor Jacques I. After Jacques' assassination in 1806, General Christophe set himself up as King Henri I. Christophe was challenged by General Pétion, who also claimed to be king. Emperor Faustin I was another Haitian monarch, 1849-1858, before the country finally adopted a republican form of government. In Mexico, in 1822, Agustin de Iturbide, a reactionary who had ridden into power with the revolution, was "elected" emperor of Mexico by the Congress. He called himself Agustin I. He lasted a year, when he was overthrown and shot.

Both San Martin and Bolivar, in the Spanish American countries, also had pronounced leanings toward dictatorship, which reflected their privileged class background. San Martin believed that only a monarchial form of government could serve the peoples of South America. Belgrano, Alvear, Rivadavia, Iturbide, and many other revolutionary leaders held similar ideas. Wilgus, commenting on certain negotiations between the Argentine rebel leaders and the Spanish authorities in 1821, says, "The patriot leaders proposed that all of South America be organized into a constitutional monarchy with a Bourbon prince as king, provided Spain would recognize the independence of her former colonies."⁴ The negotiations failed and Argentina

became a republic. Prior to this time, in 1811, Argentine Creole leaders had wanted to give the throne to Carlotta, the sister of Fernando VII of Spain.

Bolivar, the great leader of the revolution in the north, was himself a monarchist, and he believed strongly in highly centralized forms of government. Many times he expressed a lack of faith in the people's capacity to rule themselves. In 1816, Bolivar declared, "A great monarchy will be very difficult to consolidate; a great republic impossible."⁵ Bolivar's later governments in Venezuela, Ecuador, and Peru were dictatorships. The first Bolivian constitution, which he wrote, provided for a lifetime presidency and a hereditary senate made up of revolutionary leaders. England tried to make Bolivar king of Gran Colombia, but he like George Washington, had the good political sense to reject all such proposals. He also refused a life presidency of Peru. Karl Marx was very critical of Bolivar. Referring, for example, to the Panama All-American Conference of 1826, Marx stated that, "What he [Bolivar] really aimed at was the erection of the whole of South America into one federative republic with himself as its dictator."⁶

The revolutionary leaders, not only in Latin America but throughout the western hemisphere, based themselves primarily upon the big land-owners, merchants, and budding industrialists. Politically, they feared and scorned the Negroes, Indians, and white small farmers and mechanics. This was true not only of such men as Bolivar and San Martin, but equally so of George Washington and Alexander Hamilton. Bolivar only stated a commonly held view among many of these leaders when he said that the African and Indian groups in the population were "ignorant, debased, and profligate," totally unprepared for liberty and self-government. Such an undemocratic conception naturally gave birth to the many monarchial and dictatorial tendencies prevalent among these leaders. Striking exceptions were Toussaint L'Ouverture, of Haiti, who based himself upon the Negro slaves; Miguel Hidalgo, of Mexico, who spoke for the Indians and Mestizo peons, and to a lesser extent, Thomas Jefferson of the United States, who, although himself a planter, had his real strength among the white small farmers. With respect to democracy, Toussaint, Hidalgo, and Jefferson (among others) were upon a far higher plane than Bolivar, San Martin, or George Washington.

Political Democracy

In its earlier, competitive stage, a basic need of capitalism was a certain minimum degree of political democracy, whether in the form of a constitutional monarchy or a republic. (Later on, when capitalism becomes monopolistic and enters its general crisis, its tendency is to abolish democracy altogether and to establish autocratic fascism.) This early democratic urge of competitive capitalism was caused by the necessity to provide some political

expression for the competing capitalist, middle, and landowning classes. But this democracy was not meant to go beyond these categories—to the peasants and workers. In the bourgeois revolutions, led by capitalists and landowners, the degree to which democracy was extended to workers and small farmers always depended upon the strength and revolutionary activity of these classes. Within the struggle for national liberation was waged the class struggle, with the toiling masses striving also to win what democratic concessions they could from the ruling classes. A striking example of this was the winning of the Bill of Rights in the United States Constitution.

Throughout the three Americas, in the colonial hemispheric revolution of 1776-1837, a marked democratic tendency was in evidence. Mariategui says: "The ideas of the French revolution and the North American constitution encountered a climate favorable to their diffusion in South America, because in South America there existed, however embryonic, a bourgeoisie which, because of its necessities and economic interests, could and did absorb the revolutionary mood of the European bourgeoisie."⁷

The entrenched landowners were not able to suppress democracy altogether. In all the countries (with the exception of Canada and early Brazil, Mexico and Haiti) the new revolutionary governments immediately took on the form of republics, nearly all of them closely patterned on the general organizational principles outlined in the basic document of the pioneer republic of the western hemisphere, the United States Constitution. Each country either had at the outset, or eventually developed, the following characteristic features: a written constitution; a two-chambered congress, with members of the House and Senate elected for specified terms; no prime minister, but a president elected for a definite period and endowed with extensive powers; and the application of American parliamentary methods of government instead of European. The general exception was Canada, which patterned its democratic political system after that of Great Britain, with a House popularly elected and a Senate appointed for life.

The aim of the capitalistic constitution writers all over the western hemisphere, including the United States, was to keep the franchise from the broad masses of toilers and to restrict it to the propertied classes, those who had a distinct interest in the exploitation of the workers. The constitution-makers were not workers, and it was a bourgeois democracy they were setting up, not a popular democracy. Consequently, the constitutions adopted during the revolution, either in their local or national forms, carried various types of franchise restrictions. At the time the United States Constitution was adopted, "out of a population of 3,000,000 not more than 120,000 could vote."⁸ "Even Jefferson, fiery apostle of equality in the abstract, shrank at first from the grueling test of his own logic; not until long after the Declaration of Independence did he commit himself to the dangerous doctrine of

manhood suffrage."⁹ Throughout, the big landowners were a dead weight against democracy.

Everywhere, save in Haiti, Indians and Negroes were denied almost altogether the right to vote. Women also were excluded from the ballot. Often, there were heavy property qualifications for voting and holding office. There was frequently also a poll tax, which barred great numbers of workers. Another of the many widespread constitutional restrictions on the franchise was the literacy test. In various Latin-American countries, where illiteracy among the toiling masses ran as high as 50 per cent to 90 per cent, the qualification requiring citizens to know how to read and write in order to vote practically excluded the toilers en masse. If in the ensuing decades after the revolution such franchise restrictions were largely broken down, this fact was due to the growing number and power of the workers and other toilers and not to any democratic spirit among the ruling classes.

The Separation of Church and State

The rise of world capitalism has been marked by a strengthening of the State at the expense of the pretensions of the Church to dominate the economic and political life of the people. It has also involved more-or-less of a separation of the functions of Church and the State, the disestablishment of the Church. This strengthening and freeing of the State from clerical domination, often involving sharp collisions between civic and clerical leaders, were necessary if capitalism were to grow. For capitalism cannot expand freely while hamstrung by the Church and its feudal ties. This is particularly true of the Catholic Church, which, as a big landowner, has always been fundamentally medieval and feudal. No deeply Catholic country has ever fully industrialized itself. To reduce the power of the Church, therefore, was an essential everywhere for the maximum development of capitalism. This tendency was an important phase of the bourgeois revolution, manifested to varying degrees in the different countries, during the western hemispheric revolution. It was a particularly marked element in the revolution in the thirteen English colonies of North America. Many of the leaders of this revolution were definitely anticlerical, even agnostic. Thomas Paine was the clearest spokesman of this trend. He said, "I do not believe in the creed professed by the Jewish Church, by the Roman Church, by the Greek Church, by the Turkish Church, by the Protestant Church, nor by any church that I know of. My own mind is my own church." He denounced "the adulterous connection of Church and State."¹⁰

The Constitution of the young United States republic brought about a formal separation of Church and State, Article I of the Bill of Rights providing that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." It was not too difficult for

the revolutionary leaders to do this, because in the United States the capitalist class was strong and the Church relatively weak and disunited, split into many disputatious Catholic and Protestant sects—a very fortunate thing indeed for the future of the young American people.

In the Latin American colonies, however, the situation was quite different. There the Church was unified, it possessed great wealth in land, and was a very powerful ally and weapon of the landowners in general; whereas the merchant capitalist class was very weak in comparison with the big landholding interests. The result was that the Latin American revolutions did not bring about an effective separation of Church and State, although they did set in motion anticlerical currents that in the years to come materially weakened the position of the Catholic Church as the established religion in many of the countries.

Numbers of the Latin American revolutionary leaders, like those in the United States, were Masons and freethinkers. This included such men as Bolivar, San Martin, Miranda, O'Higgins, and many others. Even the devout Catholic Hidalgo, pioneer patriotic leader of Mexico, was highly critical of the Church. He said, in criticism of the hierarchy who were opposing the revolution: "Open your eyes, Americans. Do not let your enemies deceive you. They are Catholics for political purposes only. Their God is money. Their threats have oppression as their sole aim. Shall we believe that he cannot be a true Catholic who does not subject himself to the Spanish despot?" Hidalgo was excommunicated and eventually executed.

The first big bone of contention between the Church and the State in revolutionary Latin America was the question of "patronage," which we have described earlier. The pope asserted that with the downfall of the colonial system all the existing State controls over the Church reverted to the Vatican. The new republics, on the other hand, claimed that they inherited the Church controls formerly exercised in the American colonies by the Spanish (and Portuguese) kings. The negative position of the Church practically made it a rebel against the revolutionary governments, all of which proceeded upon the theory that the "patronage" belonged to the state.

Notwithstanding this sharp and serious dispute, however, the new Latin American republics, also Brazil and Haiti, after the revolution officially endorsed Catholicism. Inman says that "At the very beginning of their independence all the states made the Roman Church the State Church. While the Inquisition was eliminated a few years afterward, its spirit remained alive in the Republics." "Juarez [Mexico, in the 1850's] was the first Spanish-American ruler," he says later, "to point out the impossibility of conducting a democracy in the presence of a State Church that owned a large part of the real estate, conducted a considerable part of the banking,

and controlled the thinking of most of the inhabitants."¹¹ Inman is not strictly correct on this; President Farias of Mexico, twenty years before Juarez, had outlined an anticlerical program. It was long after the revolution, however, that the governments generally began to pass legislation, clipping the power and pretensions of the Church. Bolivia, in 1853, was the first of the Latin American republics actually to separate the Church from the State. From all this it is clear that the Catholic Church, although its top leaders vigorously opposed the revolution, nevertheless survived the revolution intact and continued its landlord-minded course of economic, political, and ideological domination. This was a fact which, in all the years following, worked to the serious detriment of developing capitalism throughout Latin America. The Church's favored position remains a potent factor also today in checking social progress in Latin America, although the bulk of the republics have since seen fit, at least formally, to separate the Church and the State and to provide for some measure of religious freedom.

The Partitioning of the Land

Another vital necessity of developing capitalism in the Americas was to break the strangling economic and political grip upon society of the feudal-minded big landlords, including the Church. Such elements always oppose all measures needed to industrialize a country. Young capitalist systems have ever grown best in situations where the land was held by a large body of small farmers, and not by a few big latifundists. The only sure way by which the power of the landowners could really be broken was by the partition of their large estates through one device or another. The agrarian revolution is an integral part of a successful bourgeois-democratic revolution.

In Latin America, as elsewhere in the colonies of the western hemisphere, the revolutionists were confronted with this land question—and in an extreme form, for the land-grabbers in the old Spanish, Portuguese, and French colonies had seized the best land before the period of the revolution. But the capitalists were too weak to solve this issue.

Only in a few instances, therefore, did the revolutionists come solidly to grips with the land question. They refused to tackle the issue largely because many of them were themselves landowners. In Mexico, Hidalgo, the revolutionary priest, was one of the few who boldly met this question, declaring to his Indian and Mestizo followers: "My children, this day comes to us [as] a new dispensation. Are you ready to receive it? . . . Will you make the effort to recover from the hated Spaniards the lands stolen from your forefathers three hundred years ago?"¹² But the Mexican Creole revolutionaries, like those in other colonies generally, stood aside from Hidalgo, afraid to deal with the key land question, so Hidalgo's mass movement was crushed. In Haiti, the revolutionary slaves smashed the big landlords and

partitioned their estates even more thoroughly than the peasants were doing at that very time in revolutionary France. Regarding the land question, and many others, the Haitian revolution of Negro slaves was unique in its bold accomplishments. It was not until a century later, in the Mexican revolution of 1910, that any other Latin American country sought a revolutionary solution of the land question.

Generally the big landowners of Latin America, notably the Catholic Church, which owned far more land than any others, survived the revolution in good shape. They kept their big landholdings and maintained their feudal laws of entail and primogeniture, which were legal devices to hold the huge estates together. Freed from the restrictive controls of Spain and Portugal, they even expanded their haciendas, fazendas, and plantations. Duggan says that in Latin America "during the nineteenth century as much land was incorporated into large estates as during the three previous centuries."¹⁸ The failure of the revolution in Latin America to solve the land question was its most fundamental weakness. Consequently, latifundism still hangs like a millstone about the necks of the Latin American peoples and it constitutes one of the basic obstacles to economic and political progress in their countries. "The small farms of diversified production as we know them in the United States are practically unknown in all of Latin America."¹⁴

In the United States, however (and the development was roughly similar in Canada), the revolution achieved better success regarding the basic land question, but with very serious limitations. This partial success can be explained by the fact that the revolutionary forces of capitalists, small farmers, professionals, and workers were relatively stronger, and the landowners, particularly the Church, were relatively weaker than those in Latin America. The revolution in the United States strengthened two previous contradictory tendencies regarding the land question, both linked with the expansion of the country's boundaries.

First, as the frontier rapidly extended westward, the slaveowners helped themselves liberally from the vast public domain by means of all sorts of land swindles. Gustavus Myers cites many of these steals.¹⁵ Big estates of 10,000 to 50,000 acres or more were freely handed out to slaveowners. In 1795, the Georgia land grant frauds totaled 35 million acres; in Texas by 1858, 68 million acres had been stolen from the government, mostly by absentee slaveowners. Similar practices were carried on in other southern states. The slaveholders extended their political sway, along with their land-grabbing, until the eleven states of the entire South, including all the territory as far as the western boundaries of Texas, were embraced in this slave system of big plantations. The slavers aimed also to grab the whole West,

and even dreamed and planned of extending their holdings to Mexico, Central America, and South America.

In the meantime, capitalist mining companies, lumber concerns, and land speculators were equally busy in seizing land in the north. Tens of millions of acres passed into their hands in large holdings. After the revolution, a company headed by Robert Morris, controlled six million acres of land. This robbery of the public domain reached its apex after the Civil War, when 160 million acres of valuable farming, grazing, timber, and mineral lands, a stretch of country as big as Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana combined, were given the railroad corporations as subsidies for building their lines.¹⁸

The opposite trend to all this land-grabbing was the people's demand to break up the big estates and to establish small farms. This was the movement of the poorer farmers and other toilers who strove to obtain farms for themselves from the immense public domain. In a large number of cases the poorer farmers and workers simply moved in and took the land, without title. They were the "squatters" who played such a big part in United States land history. The tendency to break up the big estates was greatly strengthened by the democratic currents set afoot by the revolution. It became a powerful force in the land question in the most decisive sections of the United States. It was a main factor in bringing about the confiscation of the immense Tory estates during the Revolutionary War; in averting the spreading of the slave plantation system over wide sections of the west; in preventing the capitalist corporations from stealing even more immense blocs of land from the public domain; in finally bringing about the passage of the Homestead Act of 1862, which gave the small man an opportunity to get a 160-acre farm (if not of the best land); in defeating, in alliance with the northern industrialists, the southern latifundists in the Civil War. This fight of the toiling masses for land was facilitated by the basic fact that most of the land and the climate of the north and west were of such a character that agriculture did not lend itself to giant-sized estates of the Latin American variety. The movement for small-scale farming, given a big impetus by the revolution, was one of the major reasons why industry in the United States, unhampered by crippling restrictions of large landowners, was able, in the ensuing generations, to make its tremendous progress.

The Unfettering of Industry

A major objective of the bourgeois revolution in the western hemisphere was to free industry and trade from the fetters fastened upon them by the "home" countries in Europe. As we have seen earlier, it was a special point of policy of all the colonizing powers to monopolize colonial trade and to

prevent the growth of colonial industry, all in the interests of the merchant-capitalists and landowners of the West European countries. The revolution shattered in large measure these outside economic controls over the colonies. Thenceforth, the newly independent nations were relatively free to develop their industry and trade as they saw fit and were able. The capitalists, mostly merchants, largely conquered their national markets. This was particularly true of the former English colonies in North America, where, after national liberation, the capitalists were comparatively strong and were able to proceed rapidly to the building of industry generally. This whole development also made possible the growth of the modern working class.

National independence did not, however, automatically give complete liberty of action to the capitalists in regard to industry and commerce. There were still the retarding influences of powerful landowners in the new countries to be combated. These landed interests inherently dreaded the rise of a strong capitalist class and a tumultuous proletariat, and from the outset were strong enough in all the colonies except in the northern part of the United States to lay a crippling hand upon industry generally. Their continuing anti-revolutionary influence still remains deadly in the Latin American countries. Much of the history of republican America deals with the struggles between industrialists and landowners. Moreover, in addition to the paralyzing effect upon industry and trade of the widely prevalent domestic system of big landholdings, the ousted European powers, by dint of economic competition and by other pressures, were still able to cramp the general economic development of all the young nations, especially those of Latin America. And then, toward the end of the nineteenth century, when the stronger capitalist nations entered into the period of imperialism, the retarding effects of these big capitalist powers upon the expansion of the economies of the weaker states of Latin America became even more injurious.

Chattel Slavery and Peonage

The wage system is the form of labor exploitation best suited to capitalism. Therefore, it is almost universally applied in industry all over the capitalist world. Chattel slavery and peonage, dating from earlier agricultural economies, although they have served the capitalists in their colonial systems, historically have been everywhere hindrances to the development of capitalism in the particular countries or areas in which these practices have existed. One of the basic tasks facing the bourgeois revolution throughout the western hemisphere, therefore, if it was to achieve the maximum of results for capitalism, was to abolish chattel slavery and peonage, which were in force almost everywhere in the colonies, and to establish the characteristic capitalist method of paying wages for work done by toilers.

This task was not accomplished, however, except to a small degree. While the revolution weakened these systems, chattel slavery and peonage vigorously survived the revolution in many countries. They were long to continue to serve as strangleholds upon the economic, political, and social development of the western hemisphere, and to be the causes of many prolonged and bloody political struggles. The main reason why the revolution did not solve the questions of chattel slavery and peonage was because it did not solve the basic question of breaking up the big landed estates, the natural home of these two antique forms of human servitude and exploitation. The big landowners were able to preserve their own special types of labor exploitation.

In Latin America the revolutionary leaders, with but few exceptions, did not boldly attack the question of slavery and peonage. This was because of their own extensive economic and political ties with the landowners. Among the exceptions was "Tiradentes," the pioneer Brazilian revolutionary leader, whose revolt of 1789 was put down. He demanded the abolition of slavery in his country in which the whole economy was based on Negro slave-labor. In Mexico, too, in 1810, the far-sighted Hidalgo and Morelos declared the slaves free in that country: they also abolished the tribute (a basis of peonage), whipping of Indians, and all forms of racial discrimination.¹⁷ But this movement was beaten down by the Spaniards. At the close of the great Latin American revolutionary war in 1826, at the All-American Conference of States in Panama, the meeting went on record for the abolition of the slave trade, but the decision was later ratified by only one country, Colombia. The sole country in which the question of slavery was squarely dealt with in the great revolution was Haiti. There human servitude was abolished outright in revolutionary struggle in 1793 by the slaves themselves, and together with the abolition of slavery naturally went the breaking up of the big estates. Haiti was the first country in the western hemisphere to abolish slavery where that system was heavily entrenched. (In Canada and New England slavery was abolished about the same time, but in these areas the slave system was no considerable economic factor.) The great achievement of the Negro slaves in Haiti in this vital respect goes to emphasize the tremendous importance generally of the Haitian revolution.

In the United States, as in all of Latin America except Haiti, the revolution similarly failed to put an end to chattel slavery, and for the same general reasons; namely, the economic and political strength of the planters, the ties of many revolutionary leaders and forces with the planters' slave economy. The abolition of slavery did become something of an issue, however, in the Revolution of 1776. Benjamin Franklin had long been an Abolitionist, Tom Paine advocated the abolition of this monstrous institution, Samuel Adams and other New England leaders spoke out against it,

and Washington and Jefferson, both southern planters, had set their slaves free. But when it came to the crucial point of decision, in the writing of the Constitution, the southern slaveholding planters had their way. Jefferson, it is true, proposed an amendment to the Constitution condemning the slave trade, but it was rejected and a pro-slavery clause adopted.¹⁸ This clause—Article IV, Section 2, Paragraph 3—reads: “No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.” It was this clause that made many Abolitionists violent enemies of the Constitution, and also upon this clause Judge Taney later based his infamous pro-slavery decision in the Dred Scott case on the eve of the Civil War, denying Congress the right to abolish slavery anywhere.

The basic law of the United States, therefore, in concession to the slaveholders, in its final form contained this elementary contradiction that, whereas the Declaration of Independence proclaimed “that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness,” the Constitution left a big section of the population enslaved and subject to arbitrary treatment as animals by their masters. Thus, in the Revolution of 1776, the great issue of slavery was passed over, to the profit of slave-owners, to the misery and suffering of the slaves, to the bedevilment of the nation for three generations, and finally to the drenching of the country in blood. On this failure of the revolution to abolish slavery, Frederick Engels stated: “It is significant of the specifically bourgeois character of these human rights that the American Constitution, the first to recognize the rights of man, in the same breath, confirmed the slavery of the colored races in America: class privileges were prescribed, race privileges sanctified.”

Bound up with the question of slavery and its economic basis, the latifundia system of landholding was also the elementary national question, that is, the fundamental matter of the social relationships between the conquering Europeans and the Negro and Indian peoples. Colonial revolutionists in the western hemisphere, particularly in the United States, met this question by ruthlessly suppressing the democratic aspirations of the Negroes and Indians, denying them the right to vote, and establishing a system of discrimination. This, of course, was no solution at all; but it is the one to which capitalism even today still clings. The establishment of the relation of equality between the various peoples, both on the domestic and international fields, is a task reserved historically for the democratic forces under the leadership of the Communist Party and the modern working class.

The Status of Women

During the centuries-long colonial period women were everywhere the oppressed of the oppressed. They suffered not only the exploitation common to all other toilers, but also a special oppression based on sex. As Negroes, Indians, Mestizos, and Mulattoes, they shared to the full all the back-breaking work of slavery, peonage, and the wage system. They were to be found, not only in the fields, but in many cases also in the mines, turning out wealth for the exploiters. They were worse off even than the men workers, were more completely denied every political right, and were by law treated as minors. They were always placed in a lower economic category than the men. Besides all this, as women, they were looked upon as beings inferior in intelligence and strength to men and despised accordingly. They were robbed of even the little education that was to be had. Especially was the position of woman deplorable in the Latin American colonies, with the Moorish influences in the background and also the active sway of the Catholic Church, which has never been a friend of womankind.

One may read volumes of Latin American history and find practically no mention of the special status of the colonial working woman. But the little their writers do say about the position of woman, including those of the upper classes, does give at least an inkling of the inferior position of woman in general in colonial times. In Brazil, for example, the women of the slaveowners were virtually under a moslem-like regime. Segregation was so severe that "as late as 1757, at a ball given by the governor of Rio de Janeiro to French naval officers, there was not a single woman present . . . to dance with these foreign officers."¹⁰ The Brazilian slaveowner, says Crowe, "believed in every freedom for himself and in none for the female members of his family. . . His Moorish background made him look upon polygamy, condemned by his Church, as the natural state of masculine existence. It likewise caused him to enforce the utter seclusion, bordering on imprisonment, of his women."²⁰

The ruling autocrats helped themselves freely to the Negro and Indian slave women in the Spanish colonies. "Life in Asunción [Paraguay] was compared with a Mohammedan paradise because each Spaniard had at his disposal a number of women ranging from five or ten to a hundred."²¹ They kept the women in almost complete ignorance, going on the old Moslem proverb that "to educate a woman is like putting a knife in the hands of a monkey."²² In the southern United States also the slave women were the personal property of the masters, not only to be worked at will, but also to cater to their sexual appetites. In all the colonies, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and English, woman, especially the Indian and Negro woman, was at the very bottom of the social scale.

The great hemispheric revolution of 1776-1837 did very little to improve

the status of woman. This was another of its major unfulfilled democratic tasks. Women, however, played a very considerable role throughout the revolution. The Beards, speaking of the revolution in the United States, state that, "Nearly every male leader of the rebellion had a wife, sister, or daughter actively at work in the second line of defense."²³ The same could be said of the revolution in Latin America. It might also be added that women fought in the first line of the revolution everywhere. But the revolution did not settle or even take up their special grievances. All this had to wait many years, generations in fact, until woman herself, with the help of the developing labor movement, could begin to fight for her own rights and for the final emancipation of her sex.

The Question of Mass Education

In order for the capitalist system to function effectively the workers must possess at least a certain degree of elementary education. Slaves and peons could be completely illiterate and yet carry on the primitive agricultural and mining economy of colonial times; but when the capitalist system began to develop, with its more complex economic processes, then it became imperative, in the name of improved efficiency, to begin to educate the workers in some small degree.

The leaders of the great bourgeois revolution throughout the American colonial world, however, paid little or no attention to this educational need of the people in general and of budding capitalism in particular. For the most part, their leaders themselves originating in the old ruling classes, had a profound fear of the workers and of any education that would increase their understanding and strength. It was the same principle that made the slaveowners use every means to keep the slaves in ignorance. Like the movement for the rights of women, that for the education of the working masses of the people had to wait for the maturing of their own democratic organizations and struggles.

Because the revolution did not separate the State from the Church, in the Latin American colonies education remained a virtual monopoly of the Church. This meant to sentence the great masses of the people to illiteracy, a condition which under continued religious "education," still prevails, to a greater or lesser extent, in all the Latin American countries. This weakness in mass education has constituted not only a great evil to the intellectual development of the peoples concerned, but also a serious handicap to the growth of Latin American industrialization and capitalism. In the United States (and to a lesser extent in Canada), on the other hand, by separating the State from the Church and thereby lifting the dead hand of the Church from education, the groundwork was laid in the Revolution for the eventual diminishing of illiteracy and the beginnings of mass popular education.

But this possibility could not be realized until many years later when the workers, with their vigorous, young labor movement, became strong enough to insist upon the right to education, in some small measure at least. The basic difference in the educational system of Latin America and the United States, with regard to religious controls, constitutes one of the most fundamental reasons why the latter area has so widely outstripped the former in economic development.

The Strengthening of the Capitalist Class

The hemispheric American Revolution was led by a combination of industrialists and landowners, supported and pushed by the revolutionary city and rural middle classes and the workers. The relationship of forces between the two leading groups varied in the many national phases of the general revolution, in some cases the industrialists being the dominant force, and in others the landowners. The effect of the revolution, however, was to strengthen greatly the controls and development of the industrialists, as against those of the landowners and all other social classes.

The revolution tended to strengthen the capitalist element in the economies of the various countries in that it also intensified and extended capitalist tendencies in agriculture itself. Particularly in Latin America, the big landholders began to expand and to produce more and more for export, many of their estates in the process becoming more like capitalist big farms than typical feudal latifundia. This has been a most important capitalist development flowing from the revolution.

In Latin America, in the combination of ruling classes that led the national liberation revolution, merchants and other capitalistic sections were strong enough to put the imprint of a bourgeois revolution upon the movement as a whole. But they were by no means sufficiently powerful to break the feudalistic landowners' grip. Especially they could not and did not dare to try to partition the big landed estates. After the revolution, the landowners retained their decisive role. The alliance of "landowner, priest, and army officer," which constituted the forces of the landowners, not only survived the revolution intact, but it has continued to rule Latin America ever since. The capitalists in these big sections of the western hemisphere have never succeeded in taking hold of the decisive state power. As Mariategui says, referring to the growth of bourgeois democratic forms in Latin America: "The aristocratic landowners, if they did not preserve their principles, preserved their positions in fact."

In the United States, however (and in many respects Canada also), the capitalists were from the outset the dominant force in the revolutionary class combination. They were strong enough to force wide open the doors for capitalist development, something the revolutionary forces were not able to

do in Latin America. But the United States industrialists by no means had things all their own way. The landowners, concretely the southern slavocracy, were able to exert a powerful hindering effect upon the revolution (for instance, preventing the abolition of slavery), and in the succeeding decades they also challenged the industrialists boldly for control of the whole country. It was only by overthrowing these latifundists in another revolution, the Civil War of 1861-65, that the capitalists in the United States became fully the ruling class and were able to launch feverishly upon the building of the industrial system throughout the country. Latin America, with the exception of Haiti, 1790-1803, and with the partial exception of Mexico, beginning in 1910, has never been able to accomplish this second phase of the bourgeois revolution—the agrarian revolution—the defeat of the big landowners. Therein lies the key to all of Latin America's economic and political backwardness.

BOOK TWO

FROM THE WARS OF INDEPENDENCE
TO WORLD WAR I

II. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TWENTY-TWO NATIONS

At the beginning of the revolutionary period in the western hemisphere, which lasted from 1776 to 1837, the Americas were divided among the European colonizing powers, approximately as follows: Spain controlled the largest areas, her vast holdings including all of South America except Brazil and the Guianas; she also held Cuba and Puerto Rico in the West Indies, the whole of Central America, and the lower section of North America, extending over the present southern United States. Portugal controlled immense Brazil. England held the North Atlantic colonies, with territories extending to the Mississippi River, and also roughly the vast regions now constituting Canada. Russia had possession of Alaska, France and Spain alternated in controlling the big area named Louisiana, while Holland, previously defeated in the scramble for colonies, had to content itself along with England and France with bits of Guiana and with lesser islands in the Antilles.

Altogether, at the end of the colonial period, the Western Hemisphere was roughly estimated to contain about 25 million people as follows: the former Spanish colonies, 16,810,000 (3,276,000 whites, 5,328,000 Mestizos, 7,530,000 Indians, and 776,000 Negroes); Brazil, 3,617,400 (843,000 whites, 1,887,000 Negroes, 628,000 "mixed," 259,400 "civilized" Indians), and the United States and Canada, about 4,250,000 (Negroes 500,000, Indians, 750,000, whites 3,000,000). The population of Latin America grew to 25 million in 1860 and 80 million in 1910.¹

One of the imperative needs of the new capitalist order that was being born in the Americas was to transform the primitive colonies into nations with centralized governments. This great process has gone on uninterruptedly until the present day. Out of the revolution, therefore, came a movement for national development which soon radically altered the colonial territorial set-up. From the former colonial divisions have grown 22 nations, each possessing a greater or lesser degree of political individuality and national independence. This does not include, of course, the Negro nation in the United States, nor the French nation in Canada, nor the island peoples of the Caribbean.

Let us examine briefly the territorial aspects of the national integration that has taken place. The various American nations and colonies total about

321 million people,* an increase of some 1200 per cent since the end of the colonial period. Their present approximate populations (1950 estimate) and areas (*World Almanac*, 1949 figures), are as follows:

Nations of the Western Hemisphere

<i>Country</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Area</i> (in square miles)
Argentina	17,000,000	1,078,769
Bolivia	4,250,000	416,040
Brazil	48,500,000	3,286,170
Canada	13,000,000	3,690,410
Chile	5,750,000	286,396
Colombia	10,500,000	439,830
Costa Rica	800,000	23,000
Cuba	5,500,000	44,128
Dominican Republic	2,400,000	19,129
Ecuador	3,600,000	175,830
El Salvador	2,150,000	13,176
Guatemala	4,000,000	45,452
Haiti	3,800,000	10,714
Honduras	1,260,000	59,161
Mexico	24,000,000	763,944
Nicaragua	1,150,000	57,145
Panama	675,000	28,575
Paraguay	1,500,000	150,515
Peru	8,000,000	428,258
United States (with Alaska)	150,000,000	3,563,528
Uruguay	2,500,000	72,172
Venezuela	4,600,000	352,150
Total	314,935,000	14,904,502

*The *New York Times*, June 11, 1950, estimates that the 1950 census will raise the figure to 325 million.

Colonies of the Western Hemisphere

<i>Country</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Area</i> (<i>in square miles</i>)
<i>Great Britain</i>		
Guiana, Jamaica, Bahamas, Trinidad, Bermudas, Honduras	2,442,008	102,538
<i>France</i>		
Guiana, Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Pierre	619,500	66,097
<i>Netherlands</i>		
Guiana, Curacao	300,000	55,525
<i>United States</i>		
Puerto Rico	2,300,000	3,435
Virgin Islands	30,000	132
Total	5,691,508	227,727
Grand Total (approx.)	320,626,508	15,242,933

The Break-Up of the Spanish Colonial System

The Spanish colonies, at the time of their national independence, constituted an immense, shapeless land mass, extending about seven thousand miles north and south on the two continents. Altogether they totaled approximately 5,210,000 square miles, or about one and one-half times the area of the present-day United States. Vast stretches of ocean, deserts, jungles, and rugged mountains separated the various colonial sections. Communications between the colonies were consequently very tenuous. Travel was mostly by water, as the land routes, covered mainly by mule trains, were impossibly long, also usually traversing towering mountains or crossing almost impassable jungles. There was no real economic integration among the four big viceroyalties, each of these being directly connected with Spain and more or less an entity unto itself. Spain, fearing the growth of a common community and solidarity among her colonies, deliberately suppressed or restricted their commerce with one another.

This mammoth aggregation of Spanish colonies could be held together in one general organization only by outside armed pressure, as it had no inner cohesiveness of its own. If Spain was able to govern its farflung American colonies for three hundred years, it was, in the main, because it imposed a strong centralized control. While on the one hand, Spain worked successfully to prevent integration among the four viceroyalties, on the other hand, she prevented the individual viceroyalties from splitting asunder altogether. All tendencies to break up the viceroyalties or to give them autonomy from Spain were met with an iron policy of repression. But

once the revolution got under way, the centralizing pressure from abroad was weakened and finally broken. Then the great colonial system swiftly broke up into many pieces, each of which finally developed into a national state.

The four Spanish viceroalties eventually transformed themselves, when the decentralizing tendency had run its full course by the beginning of the twentieth century, into nineteen distinct countries. New Spain, the oldest and northernmost of the old viceroalties, gave birth to the largest number of these subdivisions: namely, as they stand today, Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Haiti, Dominican Republic, and Cuba. The viceroalty of New Granada finally resolved itself into the present states of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and Panama. The viceroalty of Peru broke up into today's Peru and Chile. And the viceroalty of La Plata, when finally dissolved, became the modern nations of Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

It would have been in the fundamental interest of growing capitalism to hold all these colonies together under one centralized government, and many revolutionary leaders, responding to this class need, tried to accomplish this. But the disintegrating tendencies were too strong and the great Spanish colonial system fell apart.

Various powerful forces worked to bring about this splitting up of the colonial system. The pressure was effective because there were no impelling economic reasons strong enough to hold the colonies together, either as a total group or along the lines of the four old Spanish viceroalties, inasmuch as the several new communities had little established trade with each other, their primitive economies were not interdependent, and intercommunications were almost nonexistent. This situation reflected the essentially feudal character of the colonies. Besides the lack of compelling economic reasons for unity on a broad scale, there was also no decisive political need for the colonies to fuse together. The big enemy of the colonial peoples, Spain, had been defeated, and no other serious foreign enemy was pressing. The big, feudal-minded landowners generally supported the ensuing powerful decentralizing trends. The masses of the people also, after their long and bitter experiences with the autocratic Spanish rulers, were very suspicious of all attempts to set up highly centralized governments. Such powerful disintegrating tendencies prevented the development of a much-needed common political and military strategy during the long revolutionary war in the Spanish colonies.

In view of this condition, it was a relatively simple matter, for the voracious local interests, the ruling landowners, clericals, and army leaders, to break down the old colonial organizations and to set up governments of their own, usually along the territorial lines of some subdivision of the

old Spanish viceroalties. Nearly every country in Latin America was torn with civil wars over this issue. Such decentralization tendencies were characteristic of all the newly born nations, not only in Spanish America, but throughout the western hemisphere. The United States, Brazil, and Canada all experienced similar trends. Moreover, the big Spanish-American states, such as Argentina, Venezuela, Bolivia, Colombia, etc., that did manage to hold together through the revolution, were for many years afterward the scenes of sharp and often bloody struggles between the advocates of federalism and those of centralized forms of government.

But there were also countercurrents against the prevalent decentralizing tendencies. In the main, but not exclusively, these came from the need of the budding capitalism for centralized governments. Here are some examples of this general centralizing trend which resulted in failure however: Iturbide, who became Emperor Agustin I of Mexico, claimed jurisdiction over all of Central America, following the geographical lines of the old Spanish viceroyalty of New Spain; and in 1822, upon his insistence, Central America was declared annexed to Mexico. But this combination failed to endure. El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua dissented, and in 1823 these countries called a congress which set up the United Provinces of Central America. This organization consisted of five states, with a constitution modeled after that of the United States. The Central American organization lasted until 1838, when it fell apart, because of internal dissensions; whereupon its constituent states all set themselves up as independent governments.

Under the direct leadership of Simon Bolivar, a big landowner, who later became a representative of the rising bourgeoisie, an attempt was also made to develop a large state taking in most of the northern end of South America, following roughly the boundaries of the former viceroyalty of New Granada. This new set-up was called Gran Colombia, and was established in 1819 by the Congress of Angostura. Bolivar was elected president and General Santander vice-president. But the new state soon fell victim to the usual quarrels over whether it should be federalist or unitary. The centrifugal, disintegrating forces, essentially feudal, proved to be the more powerful, and in 1832, after a period of civil war, Gran Colombia split up into what are now the three independent nations of Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador. The newest state in this area, Panama, was broken off from Colombia by the United States in 1903. The old viceroyalty of Peru broke up into the present Peru and Chile; it was so obviously impossible to keep the latter country attached to far-off Peru that the revolutionists made no attempt to do so. Peru and her neighbor, Bolivia, established a confederation in 1837, but it lasted only a year.

In the River Plate region the revolutionary leaders, Moreno, Belgrano,

Artigas, and San Martin also had a general plan to hold together the territory of the old Spanish colonial viceroyalty of La Plata as a single state. This was the motive behind their United Provinces of South America, launched in 1816. But their ill-fated military expeditions into Paraguay, Bolivia, and Uruguay soon convinced them that these peoples generally wanted no dictation from Buenos Aires, which, during colonial days, had been the symbol of all oppression. So Paraguay, Bolivia, and Uruguay went their own way, winning their independence and eventually establishing themselves as individual states. For a long time, too, Argentina itself was split in two. Even today the fascist dictator Peron of Argentina has as part of his plans the reconstruction of the territory of the old viceroyalty of La Plata under his leadership.

In Central America, the break-up of the old Spanish colonial political organization went to extremes, the small states in that area being inherently weak because they were so tiny and lacked the possibility for all-around development. In this general region the process of splitting up into new states went so far that in 1844 even the relatively small island of Santo Domingo was divided into two independent countries, Haiti and the Dominican Republic. In South America, however, despite these splitting tendencies, for the most part substantial areas were kept together under single governments. Thus Peru is equal in extent to California, Washington, Oregon, Nevada, Idaho, Utah, and Arizona. Venezuela is two and a half times as big as Texas. Colombia is as large as Germany, France, Holland, and Belgium together. Bolivia is nine times as large as New York State. And Argentina, the seventh largest country in the world, is equal in area to all the states east of the Mississippi, plus Texas.

De Tocqueville, in his book, *Democracy in America*, written in 1805, says of the revolution in the English colonies (page 76): "The thirteen colonies which simultaneously threw off the yoke of England toward the end of the last century professed . . . the same religion, the same language, the same customs, almost the same laws; they were struggling against a common enemy; and these reasons were sufficiently strong to unite them to one another, and to consolidate them into one nation." Not so the Spanish-speaking colonies, although they also had all these qualities in common. The sprawled-out condition of the colonies, the weakness of the capitalist class, the strong disintegrating tendencies among the big landowners, the lack of good land communications were effective barriers to all-inclusive integration.

Bolivar and other farsighted bourgeois political leaders of the revolution deplored the disintegrating tendencies that were breaking up the old Spanish colonial regime into so many independent, jangling states. They realized more or less clearly the capitalist need for geographical unity and centralized government over broad areas. They even dreamed of an

all-inclusive republic of Latin America, or possibly of the whole hemisphere. These ideas came to at least partial expression at the general conference of the American republics held in Panama on Bolivar's initiative, in June 1826. But conditions did not exist for a close union among the former colonies of Spain, Portugal, and England, and Bolivar's gesture was unsuccessful. The break-up of the colonial territories went on, the new divisions following largely the lines of the viceroalties, captaincies-general, and presidencies of the old Spanish empire.

The Growth of the Brazilian State

The United States of Brazil, with 3,286,170 square miles of territory, occupies almost half of the continent of South America. It is four times as large as Argentina, the next biggest of the Latin American states. Its coast line on the Atlantic extends for 4,889 miles. The country is 2,676 miles in extent from north to south and 2,694 miles from east to west. Brazil, occupying the heart of South America, borders upon every other country on that continent, except Chile and Ecuador. Brazil's population of almost 50,000,000, is about as large as that of the three next biggest Spanish-speaking American countries together—Mexico, Argentina, and Colombia. Possessing a vast stretch of country, a large body of inhabitants, and a rich store of natural resources, Brazil is free of many of the obstacles to industrial development presented by the national fragmentation of various small Latin American countries.

The Portuguese, and later the Brazilians themselves, displayed great initiative and boldness in welding the vast territory which now constitutes their country out of the immense South American wilderness. Thus, in 1494, when the Spanish Pope Alexander VI divided between Spain and Portugal the New World which was then in process of exploration, all that Portugal got out of the deal was a piece of territory on the tip of the Brazilian bulge. The Portuguese, however, as we have seen, immediately made a big protest, with the result that the reluctant Spanish Pope had to revise his decision and shove the demarcation line westward to a new point. This rearrangement gave the Portuguese a slab of country equal to about three-fifths of present-day Brazil.

The Portuguese and native Brazilians, although they were Catholics, aggressively went far beyond the Pope's division of South America, including even his second decision which they professed to accept. They went right ahead, driving out or enslaving the Indian inhabitants and helping themselves freely to the vast expanses of the Amazon basin ever opening up before their covetous eyes. As Wilgus says: "In the course of Portuguese expansion, little attention was paid to the Line of Demarcation or to the provisions of the Treaty of Tordesillas. The Spaniards, after the first en-

thusiasm of conquest, failed to expand as rapidly as the Portuguese, with the result that by 1679 the Portuguese claimed westward to the Andes and south to the Rio de la Plata."² The slave-hunting Mamelucos of Sao Paulo were a powerful force in determining the division of the South American interior, their many slaving expeditions explored and claimed vast sections of that country. The general result was that by the time Brazil severed connections with Portugal in 1882, she had within her borders nearly three times as much territory as she was entitled to under her treaties with Spain. Brazil's seizure of the Amazonian wilderness was one of the biggest land grabs in the history of the western hemisphere.

Although the huge Spanish colonial regime, in severing its connection with the "home" land, broke up into nineteen countries, no comparable disintegration took place in Brazil. That country passed through the revolution and has since maintained its territory, with small modifications, practically intact. The basic reason for this was to be found in the solid, autocratic control of a relatively small group of big planters. There were a number of other specific reasons why Brazil did not break up into a number of countries during the revolution, as the Spanish colonies did. Most important of these was the fact that that country constituted one great contiguous mass of territory. It was not stretched over half a world, as the Spanish colonies were, so it was relatively easy to hold it together. Besides, Brazil, whose declaration of independence from Portugal was too weak to oppose by armed force, escaped the strains of civil war, such as marked the course of the fifteen-year-long revolution in the Spanish colonies. Consequently, the reactionary class of landowners, who were generally more solidly entrenched in Brazil than their counterparts in the Spanish colonies, were able to maintain a firm grip upon the government and its territories and to beat down all secessionist movements.

Nevertheless, as in the Spanish colonies, powerful disintegrating tendencies, although usually unsuccessful, were not altogether absent in Brazil. One of these came to a head in the northern provinces, particularly in Pernambuco, in 1824, under the leadership of the Andrada brothers. These two set up an independent republic, which they called the "Confederation of the Equator." It took Dom Pedro a full year, with the help of the fleet of the English Admiral Cochrane, to stamp out this separatist movement. In 1825, also, the "Cisplatine Province," better known as the Banda Oriental, revolted under the leadership of Lavelleja. After a three-year struggle in which it was aided by Argentina, the rebellious district achieved its independence from Brazil in 1828. Thus, Uruguay was born. In 1835, still another important separatist movement occurred in Rio Grande do Sul, in the extreme south, led by da Silva. The rebels set up a government, which they called the Piratinin Republic. It took ten years for the Brazilian gov-

ernment to suppress this big revolt. During the next several decades numerous other rebel movements also took place, with the similar aim of carving new states out of the vast Brazilian territory, but they were all defeated. Not even down to our days, however, have the strong provincial suspicion and hatred for Rio de Janeiro died out.

The Integration of Canada

Canada, with its 3,690,410 square miles of territory, is the largest country in the western hemisphere and the third biggest in the world, exceeded in size only by China, which has 4,314,097 square miles, and the Soviet Union, with 8,473,444. It is a country rich in food, timber, mineral, and other vital resources, and it is easily capable of sustaining several times its present population of about 13,000,000. Canada's biggest cities and 75 per cent of its people are located in a broad band, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, within two hundred miles of the 4000-mile-long United States-Canadian border.

The territorial integration and centralization of the government of Canada has been a gradual process which has taken three and a half centuries. The development of the Canadian capitalist class has stimulated this general trend. On the English side, the first phase of this growth toward nationhood was the establishment of a colony in Nova Scotia in 1628. This original settlement was followed by others during the next century and a half, in Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and in the Hudson Bay area. These colonies, like the thirteen English colonies along the Atlantic coast south of the Saint Lawrence and the Great Lakes, were virtually distinct from one another as administrative units. The English Board of Trade, like the similar colonial controlling organs of Spain, Portugal, France, and Holland, was very jealous of any real co-operation or solidarity of interest growing up among the several English colonies.

The next stage in the general development of Canada was the breaking of France's control over her settlements along the Saint Lawrence, which dated back to the Quebec colony of 1608. This ensued as a result of a long and bitter struggle, in which the various wars between England and France in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were reflected in intense colonial warfare in Canada. Finally, however, England by the Seven Years War decisively defeated France in the New World, capturing Quebec, the main French stronghold, in September 1759, and Montreal a year later. By the Paris Treaty of 1763, the victorious English stripped France of her Canadian colonies and of all of Louisiana east of the Mississippi River. Thus another step in Canada's national evolution was achieved.

The growing revolutionary ferment in the thirteen colonies south of the Saint Lawrence, soon to become the United States, confronted England

with the imperative necessity of trying to save her Canadian colonies from the growing conflagration. This, she accomplished by means of the Quebec Act of 1774, formulated on the eve of the 1776 Revolution. "The Quebec Act provided the newly-won British colony with its first Constitution. On the one hand it granted recognition of the national character of the French-Canadian community on the St. Lawrence, and thereby secured its . . . allegiance; on the other hand, it sought to make that national survival conditional upon the denial of democracy and the maintenance of the feudal absolutism that had characterized New France."³ The Quebec Act was a decisive factor in keeping Canada out of the revolution, which almost immediately afterward broke out in the thirteen colonies to the south. Canada was now definitely headed along an independent course, toward her own national path to progress and democracy. This division between the future Canada and the future United States was one of the decisive events of western hemispheric history.

After the Canadian Rebellion of 1837, which has been described previously, came another important step in the territorial and governmental consolidation of Canada. The Constitutional Act of 1791 had divided Canada into an Upper and Lower Canada, virtually along the lines of present-day Ontario and Quebec; but this proved to be only a temporary and unsatisfactory agreement. Hence, after the military failure of the rebellion, victorious reaction in the British Parliament in 1840 passed the Act of Union, which united Upper and Lower Canada, definitely to the disadvantage of the French Canadians.

In the succeeding two decades the population of the Canadian provinces rapidly increased, one of the most important features of this increase being the gradual settlement of the vast western prairie areas and the Pacific Coast. Canals were also being dug in the east, industries were growing rapidly, and the railroads had begun to develop. A national economic integration was rapidly taking place. "In 1860, there were from two to three hundred miles [of railroads] in the Maritime Provinces and slightly over two thousand in the Province of Canada."⁴ These new capitalist industrial factors imperatively demanded closer relationships generally between the Canadian colonies regardless of narrow English absentee interests. Moreover, with the young republic to the south flourishing like a bay tree, it was necessary for Canada to unite politically or be absorbed. England was fearful that she would lose Canada by the unification of her several colonies, but she was even more afraid that the United States would grab the Canadian colonies from her outright, as she herself had stolen them from France a century before.

These considerations finally brought about the passage of the British North America Act of 1867. This act created the Dominion of Canada.

The document is the written Constitution of Canada. It achieved a general confederation of the Canadian colonies. The four established provinces—Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick—became parts of the Dominion at once, with Manitoba joining in 1870, British Columbia in 1871, Prince Edward Island in 1873, Alberta in 1905, Saskatchewan in 1905, and Newfoundland as late as 1948. As the Dominion of Canada now stands it contains ten provinces and two territories—the Yukon and the Northwest. Thus, the territorial home of the new Canadian nation was forged out of the immense colonial wilderness, which had been claimed by England ever since the sixteenth century.

The Unification of the United States

The United States has fulfilled to the highest degree the need of the capitalist system for the broadest possible stretch of country covered by one single, centralized government. With the 3,563,528 square miles of territory (including Alaska) that the United States has finally amassed, it has spread over almost one-half of North America. No capitalist country in the world has secured for itself so rich a base. This capitalist territorial expansion, which was marked with utterly ruthless land-grabbing from other aspiring powers and from the native Indians, we will deal with in detail in the next chapter.

While the dominant trend since the Revolution of 1776 has been one of active territorial expansion and political unification of the United States, nevertheless, as in the other sections of the western hemisphere, there have also been strong splitting counter forces at work tending toward the creation of more than one independent country within the territory now occupied by the United States. It is with this latter tendency, and its defeat by expanding capitalism, that we are immediately concerned here.

England's colonizing policy, as we have seen, was always to keep the colonies detached economically and politically from each other. As a general result, the thirteen colonies tended to develop pretty much as small nations in embryo. It took the fierce pressure of the revolution to overcome this sectional development. Eventual unity was achieved only with the greatest difficulty, even under the life-and-death pressures of the Revolutionary War.

While the various colonies recognized the need for a general national government and a military commander-in-chief, they were nevertheless very reluctant to accord the required powers to either. Even upon Washington's most urgent pleas, the Congress would not give him a solid federal army; it finally did no more than "advise" the respective states to fill their quotas according to their own devices. With a strong centralized army the war could have been won, says Beard, in six months, instead of that many years.⁵ There were similar sectional difficulties in raising money for the war.

The Articles of Confederation, adopted by Congress in 1777, under which the Revolutionary War was fought, were altogether inadequate to the needs of the growing capitalist order. Each of the mutually jealous states retained virtual governmental independence and the national government was almost impotent. So impossible was this situation that a new, more centralized government had to be created. In 1789, therefore, the present Constitution was adopted after long and bitter wrangling. The capitalist forces, whose clearest spokesman was Alexander Hamilton, definitely recognized the need of the capitalist system for a strong, centralized national government. At the same time they wanted to make this government autocratic and reactionary, to keep it under their full class control. This was what they set out to accomplish in framing the Constitution.

The resistance to the type of government proposed by Hamilton was mainly agrarian in character. The feudal-minded planters mostly opposed it because they feared the power of the growing capitalist class. The great masses of the small farmers and also the mechanics and laborers in the cities, were against it because of their costly experience with reactionary government, especially that of King George III, during colonial times. They demanded a democratic government. The Constitution, as finally adopted, with its ten amendments, which are known as the Bill of Rights, was a compromise between the industrialist and the essentially agrarian forces. The Constitutional Convention set up not the all-powerful national government that Hamilton and his associates wanted, but a federal system in which the respective states still retained a high degree of autonomy. Even so, the ratification of the Constitution met with widespread democratic mass resistance.

As we have seen, the revolution in the Spanish-speaking colonies marked the break-up of the colonial system into a score of independent countries. But in the United States a reverse trend took place—the revolution solidified the thirteen scattered colonies and eventually united them into one strong nation. This was basically because of the greater strength of capitalism in the United States and the more definitely bourgeois character of the revolution.

The adoption of the Constitution did not, however, finally solidify the unity of the young nation. There were still strong attempts made to split the country. The first effort along this line was the important secession movement that developed in Massachusetts following the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, during Jefferson's first administration. The merchants and manufacturers of New England, although firm believers in a strong national government, headed this secession attempt. Since the Revolution they had been greatly alarmed at the strength of the southern slave holding planters in Congress. When Jefferson bought Louisiana from France their

anger and alarm overflowed all bounds. Obviously, they argued, the planters would now carve a block of slave states out of the vast new territory, which stretched from the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes, and from these new states they would further flood the Congress with proslavery senators and representatives. "Virginia influence, Virginia politics, Virginia men ruled everywhere. The influence of New England in the affairs of the nation seemed gone forever."

With such a dire perspective before their minds, Pickering, Griswold, Tracy, and the other leaders of the Massachusetts secessionist conspiracy decided, and their capitalist forces with them, to pull New England out of the Union. Their general plan was to form a Northern Confederacy, consisting of the five New England states plus New York and New Jersey, as well as the Canadian provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The Delaware River was to be the dividing line between the two countries. Part of the action was to create a revolt of the slaves in the south and to induce England to seize Louisiana.

Aaron Burr was drawn into this conspiracy, although he was not its main instigator. The Massachusetts secessionists banked everything upon Burr's capturing the governorship of New York, for which he stood as a candidate in the 1804 election. Once Burr should become governor of New York, the conspirators planned to make him president of the new Northern Confederacy and the secession would quickly become a fact. But the whole scheme fell through when Burr failed to be elected. It was the bitterness generated in this New York election fight that led Burr to his duel with Alexander Hamilton, which resulted in the latter being killed.

The second big attempt to split the country also had Aaron Burr as an active participant. But this time he occupied the center of the stage as the chief conspirator. Defeated in the attempt to form the secessionist Northern Confederacy with Massachusetts as its base, Burr set about an even more grandiose scheme of secession. This was to take the shape of a general confederacy in the Mississippi valley, as the first step toward the creation of a vast western empire which would include the West generally and, hopefully, also Mexico. Up to this time, Burr had already had a spectacular career. He had fought in the Revolutionary War, he had polled the same number of electoral votes for president as Jefferson had in the 1800 election, with Congress finally electing Jefferson; and he had killed Hamilton in a duel. He was ready for any political adventure that would satisfy his insatiable greed for power.

Burr began to develop his plan of western secession late in 1804. He brazenly went through Ohio, Tennessee, Louisiana, and other western states and territories, preparing and organizing forces for revolt. England, always eager to deal a blow against the young republic, gave Burr encouragement

and some help but, tied up in its fierce struggle against Napoleon in Europe, that country was not able to provide Burr with all the finances and guns that he required and demanded. Burr also had behind him many Tory planter elements throughout the south and southwest. But he did not develop the mass influence he needed. As a result, in 1807, with his secessionist plot languishing, he was arrested and charged with high treason and other crimes. Chief Justice John Marshall, an archenemy of Jefferson, presided over Burr's trial and maneuvered the culprit out of all danger of punishment. Marshall practically instructed the jury to find Burr not guilty, which it did. Burr faced another indictment, however, which he could probably also have sidestepped with Marshall's help. But shortly afterwards he fled to England, where he stayed on for many years. Thus collapsed the second major attempt to wreck the Union.⁹

There were other incipient secessionist threats, such as that of the Hartford Convention of 1814, including Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. But the third serious menace to the young nation's territorial and political unity came from the southern slaveholders in the great separatist movement that culminated in the Civil War of 1861-65. This time the situation was reversed from the period of the secessionist conspiracies of Aaron Burr. Now it was the southern planters, not the northern industrialists, who wanted to wreck the country. They felt their control slipping hopelessly away before the irresistible advances of the ever growing capitalist class, and they sought to evade these dire implications by tearing the federal union in two. Nowadays, both the northern industrialists and the southern planters are very unctuous in their patriotism and are swift to condemn Communists who advocate socialism, which is in the best interests of the nation and alone can save it from disaster. But both of these classes, when they felt their own rule menaced, did not hesitate to shove their patriotism into their pockets, to deluge the country with civil war, and to try to rip the nation to pieces.

The great southern secessionist movement, of which we shall speak in detail further along, was the last of the big efforts of dissident sections of the ruling classes to destroy the territorial unity of the United States. With the defeat of the rebellious slaveholders by the advancing industrialists, the principle of a strong national government was enormously strengthened. In practice the individual states lost their supposed right of secession from the Union, which they had stoutly claimed ever since the Republic was founded by the great revolution. And they also had to surrender many of their erstwhile local prerogatives to the national government. The victorious capitalist class has since been easily able to maintain under one government the wide expanse of territory which has been so essential to the effective working of its social system.

The Development of the American Nations

More is involved, of course, in the growth of a nation than the definite establishment of its territorial boundaries. Stalin has defined a nation as an "historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture."⁷ The twenty-two young American nations have evolved these essentials of nationhood in varying degrees. These national qualities were developed, even as the nations of Europe—Germany, Italy, France, etc.—went through their national growth during the past two centuries of capitalist expansion. As it grows, the complex national life of the peoples in the American hemisphere is developing individuality and variety.

The twenty-two American nations are made up of various combinations of the three great branches of humanity that have gone to populate this hemisphere—the American Indian, the African Negro, and the European white. These ethnic combinations range in content from predominantly Indian Mexico and Peru to mainly Negro Haiti, to almost completely white Canada and Uruguay, and to the racial and national mixtures of Brazil and the United States. In few places of the world has there been such a profound mingling of peoples as in the Americas. The consequences of all this will be discussed in Chapter 34.

National developments in the Americas definitely affect the languages of the several countries brought there by the conquerors. Thus, Brazilian Portuguese, heavily impregnated with African terms, is considerably different from the language of Portugal. The Spanish of Argentina and Mexico, too, is by no means identical in both countries or with that spoken in old Spain. Canadian French also has its own marked peculiarities which distinguish it from old-country French. And the English spoken in the United States and Canada, subject to the linguistic pressures of their many new peoples and conditions, varies widely from the tongue of the "mother" country.

As for the specific forms of economic life that are among the distinguishing characteristics of nationhood, in many of the American nations these are badly distorted, one-sided, and altogether inadequate to the needs of the respective peoples. In Central America, for example, the several states are unworkably small and economically weak. The various American economic systems range all the way from feebly developed semifeudal Paraguay to the monster monopolistic economic structure of the United States. In Latin America the process of political division and development of individual nationalities has been pushed altogether too far, to the grave injury of the peoples' economic interest. The industries of many of the smaller countries are caught in a vise, incapable of modern, all-around, large-scale development.

The many American peoples have produced great variety in the national "community of culture" built up in their respective countries during their 460 years of life, first under colonial rule and then under political independence. The people's music of Brazil, Argentina, the Caribbean Islands, and the United States has developed great distinction and beauty. The painting of Mexico, and the literature of Chile, Cuba, Peru, Argentina, and Ecuador have their own national quality and expression. Even the religion of the masses has not escaped the impress of nationality, the Catholicism of the United States thus differs materially, at least in its outer expressions, from that of Canada or Peru; while the religious practices of, say, Mexico, differ even from those of Cuba.

The peoples of the Americas are loaded down with crippling problems bred of their obsolete capitalist economic system and the reactionary bourgeois regimes under which they live. The present narrow nationalism of the score of American nations, each going its own "sovereign" way and trying to take advantage of the difficulties and weaknesses of the others, is totally out of place in the modern world. This system breeds economic impotence, wholesale mass pauperization, stupid national chauvinism, international war, fascism, and the loss of political independence to ruthless imperialist powers. Nor is the solution to be found in such imperialist-controlled bodies as the Organization of American States (Pan-American Union). The route of the American peoples to freedom, prosperity, and real national independence lies in the development of a new democratic, socialist internationalism, which can mature fully only with the final victory of the working class and its allies.

12. INTER-AMERICAN WARS

In the historical development of the nations of the western hemisphere war has played a very important part. Many times the various sections of the New World have been drenched with the blood of armed conflict. Few people realize how numerous such American wars have been. It is an illusion to think that the American nations, particularly the United States, have a record of peace. Neither the original colonizing powers nor the later independent American nations have ever hesitated to have recourse to armed force whenever they have felt their vital interests sufficiently involved. All of them, both the old and the new nations, have always been dominated by ruthless, exploiting classes of landlords and capitalists who shed the people's blood without compunction whenever they believe this will advance their own selfish profits and power. Consequently, the whole warp and woof of New World history is saturated with war, both civil war and international war. Some of these many wars have been just, in the sense that assailed classes and peoples have been justified in resisting such attacks, but the very existence of war indicates that the prevalent feudal and capitalist systems are based on physical violence.

The fact that all the nations that have written the history of the New World boast of their Christian character has not at all restrained their war-making propensities. On the contrary, Christianity is, with the possible exception of Mohammedanism, the most warlike of all religions. Although the Church, in both its Catholic and Protestant variants, cries out, "Blessed be the Peacemakers," nevertheless, in practice, its hierarchy ever aligns itself with predatory ruling classes; and when these embark upon a warlike course the Church is always to be found by their side, encouraging their belligerency and blessing their course. This is the history of the Church in the western hemisphere, as well as in every other part of the world.

The wars that have periodically wracked the Americas have not all been identical in character. They fall into several distinct categories, usually with different specific objectives. The various types of American wars, as they have occurred in the violent history of the western hemisphere, may be listed as follows: (a) Indian wars: the wars of conquest, the stealing of the land from the Indians; (b) colonial wars: the armed struggles among the colonizing powers for control of the colonies; (c) servile wars: the suppres-

sion of insurrections of Negro slaves and Indian peons; (d) wars of liberation: the struggles of the colonial peoples to break the domination of European powers; (e) national wars: struggles among the new nations for the establishment of their national borders; (f) civil wars: domestic armed struggles between rival classes, or between sections of these classes, for political control; (g) imperialist wars: the conflicts among modern industrial powers for the redivision of the world and the subjugation of other peoples.

The many wars fought, or participated in, by the American people since Columbus' discovery have wrought untold havoc among the peoples of the hemisphere. Exact statistics are not at hand on the actual numbers of people killed and maimed and also of property destroyed; but obviously the totals are immense. The United States, itself, the leading warmaker of the hemisphere, has conducted 114 wars since 1775, not counting the two world wars, involving 8,900 battles and other armed engagements. Its total casualties in major wars, in the armed services alone, were 817,566 killed and 1,177,825 wounded. Its property losses are almost incalculable. The estimated cost of World War I was \$187 billion, and this figure is still increasing because of the large number of pensioners. The cost of World War II is far larger, its estimated total for the United States alone being \$1300 billion. This is indeed the record of anything but a peaceful nation.

The war casualties of the other American nations are not so well established statistically as those of the United States. But their combined death losses undoubtedly far exceed United States casualties. Throughout the hemisphere the wars of conquest against the Indians were holocausts of death, with literally whole populations wiped out. The wars of independence in Latin America against Spain were also very lethal, their ferocity being illustrated by the facts that the Spaniards often gave no quarter, and Bolivar fought under the slogan of "War to the Death." The wars of the Latin American nations among themselves were also deadly. Paraguay alone, an extreme example, lost about one million people in the terrible war of 1864-70. And in the savagely fought revolutionary war in Haiti (1791-1803), the Haitian Negroes lost 50,000, the native whites 50,000, the French 60,000.¹ The Spanish and English lost some 50,000 more—and all this slaughter on an island with only a little over a half a million people at the start. All told, American war deaths must run well into several millions.

So far, in our narration of the history of the western hemisphere, we have dealt with a number of wars of various types, inextricably interlaced with American historical growth. Thus, we have briefly outlined some of the more important wars against the Indian tribes, and wars among the powers for possession of the colonies, the violent suppressions of slave and peon insurrections, and the wars for liberating the colonies from foreign domination. Now we come to another of the several types of wars, namely,

national wars for the establishment of the territorial boundaries and national sovereignties of the many young American peoples. This is one of the most characteristic types of war in the period since national independence began in the Americas. Usually behind such wars were the hands of Great Britain and the United States, seeking trade, territory, and political controls.

At the Congress of Panama, held in 1826, the various Latin American states, realizing the danger of inter-American wars over territorial disputes, decided to accept the boundaries of the old colonial viceroalties and their subdivisions as current borders for the new-born states. In 1848, also, the Lima conference of several American nations declared that: "The American Republics, united by bonds of origin, language, religion, and customs, by the common cause which they have defended, by the similarity of their institutions, and above all by their common necessities and reciprocal interests, cannot but consider themselves as parts of the same nation." Similar expressions of international unity and peace have been adopted at the innumerable other Pan American conferences held since then. But at the time of independence, all existing borders, among the Spanish colonies and between them and Brazil, were very vague. Such generalized sentiments as those of the Panama conference could not prevent the wolf-like spirit of capitalism from producing many territorial conflicts among the new American states, several of which developed into major wars.

The Brazil-Argentina-Uruguay War of 1825-28

Uruguay is the smallest of the South American nations, with an area of 72,172 square miles, or about the size of the State of Washington. Its present population is approximately 2,500,000. A very rich agricultural and stock-raising area, it is a key section of the enormous pampas of the Rio de la Plata region, which taken all together are about twelve times as large as New York State. Situated on the north side of the Rio de la Plata, Uruguay occupies a highly strategic position. The big estuary, often known as the River Plate, is formed by the junction of the Uruguay and Parana rivers, which drain a large portion of South America. Uruguay, therefore, has always been of considerable importance from a political as well as a commercial standpoint. Several of the famous explorers—Solis (1509), Magellan (1519-21), Cabot (1527), Mendoza (1534), and others—put into the River Plate during the course of their voyages. The area, too, was the starting point for many expeditions of discovery into the deep interior of South America—including those of Garcia (1516), Roxas (1542), Garay (1576)—in search of mythical lands of gold. The Charrua Indians of Uruguay fought long and desperately against the invaders.

From the earliest days control over the River Plate region, and particularly of Uruguay, was a bone of contention between Spain and Portugal,

and later on, Great Britain. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Banda Oriental (Eastern Bank of the River), as Uruguay was then called, changed hands several times between Spain and Portugal. When, in 1810, the national struggle for independence developed into revolution in Argentina, Uruguay was part of the Spanish viceroyalty of La Plata. Portugal, which claimed all of South America as far south as the River Plate and west to the Andes, had most reluctantly signed Uruguay to Spain in 1800. Spanish control had later been strengthened by the defeat of the English attempts (see Chapter 8) to seize Argentina and the whole River Plate region in 1806-07.

The revolution, however, quickly shattered Spanish domination of Uruguay. A year after the first uprising in Buenos Aires in 1810, an Uruguayan gaucho, Jose Gervasio Artigas, raised the banner of revolt. He roused the country and laid siege to Montevideo. Artigas, now celebrated as the father of his country, evidently planned at first to have Uruguay go along in affiliation with Argentina, but later on, he and his followers, claiming that they had been humiliated by the Buenos Aires junta and their delegates denied seats, decided to go it alone. This decision brought about open hostilities between the revolutionaries of Uruguay and Argentina, as well as against Spain. The chaotic situation that developed was so confused that in one day three different persons headed the governments in Buenos Aires.²

In 1814, the Spanish were finally driven out of Montevideo, and by the end of 1815 Artigas' forces practically controlled Uruguay. However, Portugal, viewing the confused situation in the River Plate provinces, deemed the time ripe to move in and establish by force its long-term claim to strategic Uruguay. In 1816, therefore, Portuguese forces from Brazil invaded Uruguay and defeated Artigas, who had to flee the country; in 1817, the victorious Portuguese captured Montevideo. Then, to consolidate their victory, in 1821 they had a hand-picked Uruguayan congress declare the country reaffiliated to Brazil under the title of the Cisplatine Province.

This Portuguese success was short-lived, however. In April 1825, a small band of Uruguayan patriots under the leadership of Juan Antonio Lavalleja rose in revolt, drove out the Brazilian troops, and proclaimed Uruguay to be a province of Argentina. This was too much for Brazil, which in the meantime, in 1822, had become independent from Portugal. Brazil declared war upon Argentina in December 1825, a war that lasted three years. The Brazilian army was defeated and its navy was destroyed in February 1827. Finally, in 1828, peace was established through the intervention of Great Britain, which had a big hand in the war in the first place, and was maneuvering to take Uruguay itself. Both Brazil and Argentina, in the peace terms, agreed to recognize Uruguay as an independent country, and

on November 6, 1830, Jose Fructuoso Rivera took office as its first president. Thus, the Republic of Uruguay was born out of a welter of war and revolution.

The Second War over Uruguay of 1839-51

The settlement of the 1825-28 war between Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay, which recognized the independence of Uruguay, was dictated by Great Britain. That power, which only a few years before had tried to seize the whole River Plate region by armed force, hoped that it could make a puppet state, if not an actual colony, out of tiny Uruguay, wedged in as it was between the two big rival states of Brazil and Argentina.³ As for the latter countries, both heartily disliked the peace settlement of 1828. Brazil felt very much aggrieved that she had been squeezed out and denied a place in the strategic Rio de la Plata region, and Argentina was also discontented, as her ruthless landowning ruling class had long wanted to take over the entire rich Uruguay area. So hostile was Argentine "public opinion" to the 1828 peace treaty that President Rivadavia disavowed it openly.

In this situation it was therefore certain that Uruguay's two voracious neighbors would soon make another effort to devour her. This attempt began in 1839. The Argentine dictator, Rosas, with the assistance of Oribe, former President of Uruguay, sent an army into Uruguay to overthrow President Rivera and to annex the country. For three years the ensuing war was desultory and inconclusive. Then, in 1843, the Argentine forces began their Nine Years' Siege of Montevideo, confronting Uruguay with a very difficult situation. In 1845, England and France, fishing in troubled waters, took a hand in the war, blockading Buenos Aires and forcing Argentina to open the two rivers, the Uruguay and the Parana, for navigation. But the war continued until six years later, when, in 1851, with the siege of Montevideo still dragging on, Brazil intervened in the war. Its troops invaded Uruguay and, in the latter part of that year, defeated the Argentine forces under Rosas at the battle of Monte Caseros. This overthrew the Argentine dictator, Rosas, raised the siege of Montevideo, and forced Argentina, for the time being at least, to abandon its attempts to absorb Uruguay. But even down to our own times neither Brazil nor Argentina is satisfied with the national existence of Uruguay, and reactionaries in both countries would be only too glad to do away with her as an independent people.

The Mexico-United States War of 1846-48

All the inter-American wars, the armed conflicts between the nations of this hemisphere, have arisen out of border disputes. The various nations involved, true to their capitalist character, have come to blows in trying to steal each other's territories. The most cynical and devastating of all these

hijacking exploits, however, was the war between the United States and Mexico in 1846-48. Great Britain, which had designs upon Mexico herself, resisted this callous United States aggression. The war, with which we shall deal at more length in the succeeding chapter, was cold-bloodedly organized and ruthlessly driven through by the United States government, dominated at the time by the Southern slaveowners. As Mackenzie interpreted United States policy, "A war with Mexico was a thing to be desired, because Mexico could be defeated, and could then be plundered of territory which the slaveowners would appropriate."⁴ It resulted in the biggest land steal in the history of such wars, Mexico being stripped of over one-half her territory. General Taylor, marching on Mexico City, traversed the same route as Cortes had taken three hundred years before, and in much the same predatory spirit.

This war left behind it several major negative consequences, which are still being acutely felt a century later. First, Mexico continues to experience the destructive economic effects of this predatory war—its loss to the United States of vast areas of its richest farming, cattle-grazing, and fruit-raising lands. It also lost immense oil fields, huge copper deposits, and incalculable amounts of other natural resources. The general result of these losses has been to cripple Mexico's economic development, not only during the past century, but also in the present. For example, one of the most serious handicaps of present-day Mexico is a great shortage of crop and pasture lands, its total being some 200 million acres; whereas, in the states of Texas, California, New Mexico, and Arizona, which were torn away from Mexico, there are about 265 million acres of pasture and plow land, generally superior in quality.⁶

Second, the war also left in its wake a big oppressed national minority of Mexicans in the United States southwest. According to various estimates, this minority now numbers some three million. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed by the United States and Mexico in 1848 at the conclusion of the war, provided that the Mexican nationals taken over by the United States and living in the absorbed territories, should be granted all the rights of other United States citizens under the Constitution. But the treaty has been flagrantly violated. The Mexicans are discriminated against economically, much as Negroes are in the south and elsewhere, and are denied many civil rights. "Ninety per cent live in substandard homes, and their infant mortality rate is one-third higher than the rest of the population. Their tuberculosis rate exceeds all other sections of the population put together, and the average wage paid to the Mexican-American is below 40 cents an hour. 'No Mexicans served' signs are common in towns throughout the Southwest . . . police brutality, which includes wanton murder . . . is becoming a storm-trooper pattern."⁸

Third, the despoliation of Mexico and the shameful treatment of the Mexican people in the United States, as a result of the war of 1846-48 and its aftermath, have done profound damage to the democratic prestige of the people of the United States within the United Nations and among the Latin American countries generally. For naturally, such a great land grab and national oppression could not be perpetrated against the Mexican people without leaving deep scars in Mexico proper, as well as in other Latin American countries, which also have many other reasons to fear and dislike the "Colossus of the North."

The Paraguay War of 1864-70

This was the fiercest and bloodiest of all the inter-American wars. Paraguay, outnumbered by its enemies ten to one in armed forces, nevertheless made war for five years against Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay. As a result, Paraguay was literally torn to pieces. "She came out of it a nation completely broken, her soil desolated, her male population obliterated, her cities in ruins, her body and mind destroyed. . . . Out of a population of approximately 1,337,000 when the war began, Paraguay had only 220,000 inhabitants when peace was made. Of this total there were only 28,746 males. The country has never recovered from this unparalleled desolation. Even today it has less population than in the year 1864, when hostilities started."⁷

Paraguay is a landlocked country of some 150,000 square miles, or about three times as large as New York State. It is bounded on the north by Brazil and Bolivia, on the east by Brazil and Argentina, on the south by Argentina, and on the west by Argentina and Bolivia. Paraguay is a potentially rich country, abounding in splendid forests and grazing plains. It is the best watered country in the western hemisphere. The population is overwhelmingly Indian and Mestizo. It was part of the old viceroyalty of La Plata, and it won its independence from Spain in 1811, with very little fighting.

The country got into the ferocious war of 1864-70 when Brazil invaded Uruguay at that time. Brazil alleged, as the excuse for its invasion, that it was acting to protect its nationals in Uruguay from persecution; but it was actually pursuing its old policy of trying to absorb Uruguay. Lopez, the autocratic dictator of Paraguay, on the other hand, claimed that Brazil's warlike action threatened the very existence of Paraguay, and he declared war against that country. Shortly afterward Argentina came into the war, allegedly because Paraguay, without securing Argentina's permission, had marched its troops across Argentine territory. The war was savage in its ferocity. "No quarter was asked and none was given." Paraguay had no chance to win in the face of the terrific odds it faced, but its obstinate dic-

tator fought on, regardless of military realities and the devastation of his people. The United States offered to mediate the quarrel, but the allied powers that were fighting Paraguay (and which had British support), refused. When the Paraguayan dictator, Lopez, was finally killed in battle, his defeated army consisted mostly of old men of seventy or more and boys as young as eight or nine. The country was completely wrecked.

With Paraguay helpless, Brazil wanted to annex that country outright and thus wipe it out altogether as an independent state. Argentina and Uruguay refused to agree to this, however. Hence, a compromise was arrived at which gave both Brazil and Argentina big slices of Paraguay, amounting to about one-half of its territory. Brazil withdrew its troops from Paraguay in 1874, and the remnant of the ruined country was left to get along as best it could. Ever since, Paraguay has remained a prey to economic backwardness, mass poverty, and violent political dictatorship.

The Pacific War of 1879-83

This important war involved Chile, Peru, and Bolivia. These three Andean countries all faced the Pacific; Bolivia then had a strip of coast country between Peru on the north and Chile on the South. Chile, a narrow country, 2600 miles long and averaging 45 to 250 miles wide, lying along the Pacific side of the Andes, is particularly rich in copper and various other minerals. It is very mountainous, having two hundred peaks taller than the highest mountain in the United States. Peru, Chile's neighbor to the north, is another rugged, mountainous land, about ten times as large as New York State. Although predominantly agricultural, producing much sugar, cotton, and various tropical crops, Peru is most noted for its extensive copper and other mineral deposits. Bolivia, lying inland from Peru and Chile and about 10 percent smaller than Peru, is a very rough mountain country with great mineral wealth. It possesses about one-fourth of the world's tin resources and is rich in gold, copper, and many other metals. Three-fourths of Bolivia's people live on the Altiplano, a high Andean plateau from 10,000 to 15,000 feet in elevation. Bolivia and Peru are predominantly Indian countries, and Chile also has a strong Indian strain.

The Pacific War of 1879-83 was the second war between these three countries. They had collided earlier, in 1836-38, when Chile, taking exception to the formation of the Confederation of Peru and Bolivia, set out to break it up, which she did. The second and bigger war of 1879-83 developed over control of the rich nitrate deposits in the deserts along the Pacific coast. Behind the war and basically responsible for it were rich English interests in Chile which wanted to exploit the nitrate fields. Bolivia originally owned most of these fabulous nitrate fields, which are unique in the world. Peru also held some of the region. But Chile, although she actually owned little

or none of the nitrate territory, managed nevertheless, by aggressive action, to penetrate the areas and to mine them for her own benefit—quite a characteristically capitalist thing to do. Bolivia attempted to tax the Chilean nitrate production. Chile objected and, since she had a strong army, marched in and occupied Antofagasta, a major nitrate center, in February 1879. Bolivia thereupon declared war on Chile. Peru, which had a secret treaty with Bolivia, mobilized its army and offered to “mediate” between the warring states. Chile, however, took exception to this, and in April of the same year, opened up war against Peru as well.

Neither Peru nor Bolivia proved effective in a military sense, so Chile soon defeated both of them. At the Battle of Tarapaca, the Chileans smashed the Bolivian army and drove it back across the mountains into Bolivia proper and out of the war. In January 1881, the Chileans captured Lima, the capital of Peru, thus knocking that country out of the war. In October 1883, peace was signed. Victorious Chile with England in the background dictated the treaty and took for itself (and the British capitalists) virtually the entire nitrate fields. Bolivia was stripped bare, losing Antofagasta, its Pacific province, while Peru lost its big nitrate regions of Tarapaca, Arica, and Tacna. Thus, Chile, which had owned none of the chief nitrate fields at the outset, nominally possessed all of them at the conclusion of the peace.

Peru and Bolivia, however, continued for many years to protest vigorously against the loss of their valuable territories. In consequence, as late as 1929 new treaties were drawn up among the three countries, with the participation of the United States and the League of Nations. The end result was that Peru got back its province of Tacna, while Bolivia, finally denuded of its valuable nitrate fields, had to content itself with a railroad from La Paz, the capital of Bolivia, across the Andes to the port of Arica, a road which Chile agreed to build. Thus, Bolivia was left landlocked and economically crippled. Along with Paraguay, it is the only country in Latin America without a broad ocean frontage. Chile, the victor, held the prize of the nitrate fields, enjoying virtually a world monopoly. For a generation the British and Chilean capitalist owners made fabulous profits. But after World War I, this monopoly broke down, due to the discovery of a process for extracting nitrogen from the air, and Chile's bonanza nitrate industry fell upon leaner days.

The Gran Chaco War of 1928-38

One of the most serious wars ever waged between American countries was that of Bolivia and Paraguay over the Gran Chaco, during the period from 1928 to 1938. This territorial dispute had been boiling up ever since the independence wars of a century before. It finally came to an armed clash between the two countries. Neither country was fit to fight. Bolivia

had been badly crippled by the Pacific War of 1879-83, which had deprived it of its outlet to the Pacific, and Paraguay had by no means recovered from its dreadful defeat in the devastating war of 1864-70.

The Gran Chaco is a large territory of some 150,000 square miles, about the same size as the state of Montana, lying between Bolivia on the north and Paraguay on the south. Its climate is subtropical and the country is very fertile. It has fine agricultural and grazing possibilities and is especially noted for its excellent timber. "The Chaco forests are one of the natural wonderlands of the South American continent."⁸ It is a land of great resources, among which are known to be important oil deposits. This general region was the main center of the famous Jesuit "mission empire" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Bolivia and Paraguay proved quite unable to divide this great territorial prize amicably among themselves—a rich land from which Brazil and Argentina had each taken a big cut after they crushed Paraguay in the war of 1864-70. In the years 1879, 1887, and 1894, successive treaties had been drawn up between Bolivia and Paraguay, aimed at splitting up the Gran Chaco between them; but these agreements were all stillborn. The territorial dispute went right on, with both countries claiming the entire vast region. The quarrel became more acute after the question of oil was injected into it. Great Britain and the United States also took a hand. At bottom, it was a war between the Royal Dutch Shell and Standard Oil. Del Vayo says:

"In 1926 Standard Oil was granted extensive concessions in the Chaco area [23 million acres] and undertook considerable development work, drilling and refining. The oil was there, but there was no way to get it out of Bolivia except through Paraguay to a Brazilian port. Under Argentine [and British] pressure, Paraguay refused to allow it to go through except on conditions that Bolivia could not or would not accept. Standard Oil was thus checkmated; it could not pump its oil over the Andes."⁹ So the Gran Chaco war was deliberately precipitated.

In December 1928, fighting broke out between the Bolivian and Paraguayan armies. During the next three years there was intermittent war, mixed with peace negotiations. The League of Nations, the United States, Great Britain, and several South American countries all took a hand in an effort to bring about a settlement. By the middle of 1932, however, Bolivia and Paraguay were in open war against each other. The ensuing struggle was very bitter and hard-fought, with all the more horrible features of jungle fighting. Both sides suffered very heavy casualties, Paraguay losing 50,000 soldiers and Bolivia 70,000. The Bolivian army was at a special disadvantage since most of its soldiers came from two- to three-mile-high mountain plateaus and were quite unadapted to the low jungle areas of

the Gran Chaco. A considerable resistance to the war developed among the peasants and soldiers of the two warring countries.¹⁰

Finally, on July 21, 1938, after interminable negotiations and truces, Bolivia and Paraguay signed a peace treaty. According to the approved war-makers' policy that to the victor belong the spoils, Paraguay, although it had much the smaller population of the two countries, had somewhat the better of the fighting and, with the help of Great Britain, was allotted about three-fourths of the area of the Gran Chaco. Neither country, however, is satisfied with this division, nor is the United States. Like the rest of the border "settlements" in Latin America, that of the Gran Chaco is a somewhat tenuous arrangement and may well be upset by future developments in the states most concerned. Indeed, the United States government is now trying to force Chile to grant Bolivia a ten kilometer wide corridor to the sea, so that Yankee-owned exports from the latter country may pass unimpeded to tide-water.

Other American Territorial Disputes

Besides the major wars listed above, there were many other lesser collisions between American countries over territorial claims against each other, which did not lead to actual war. Every Latin American country, as well as the United States and Canada, has been involved in one or more such boundary controversies. Brazil, true to its history of aggressive expansionism, has been engaged, since the wars of independence, in quarrels over disputed territory with several of its neighbors. Just as the Portuguese disregarded Pope Alexander VI's famous line of demarcation between the colonial claims of Spain and Portugal in the New World at the end of the fifteenth century, so Brazil ignored, especially after the revolution in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the boundary lines drawn by the Spanish-Portuguese treaty of 1777. It helped itself, during the next eighty years, to sizable chunks of land from most of its neighbors—Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia, and Venezuela. These land grabs were nearly all accomplished by a show of force and pressure treaties.

The general region embracing Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia has also been the scene of several sharp territorial disputes. Some of these have led to minor armed clashes, notably that between Peru and Colombia over the Leticia area in 1932. A serious war threatened, but in 1935 an arbitration agreement was finally reached. After much negotiation and jockeying about, the present unstable boundary lines were drawn among these three countries. In 1942 a sharp border dispute between Ecuador and Peru was settled. Peru had waged a winning war against Ecuador in 1859. For many years, Venezuela likewise had a sharp border dispute with Great Britain over the line between Venezuela and British Guiana. In the final arbitration in

1896, Great Britain was awarded about one-third more territory than it had demanded ten years before. Behind all these Latin American disputes lurked the sharpening imperialist antagonisms between the United States and Great Britain.

Central America has also been the scene of numerous territorial disputes, in which United States agents usually had a hand. The most important of these were between Honduras and Nicaragua; between El Salvador and Guatemala; between Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Panama; and between Mexico and Guatemala. Several quarrels were settled by arbitration, but others are still unresolved.

Between the United States and Canada, or England in Canada, the only important border dispute after the 1776 Revolution, save the case of the Oregon country previously discussed, was over the demarcation between Maine and the Canadian provinces of Quebec and New Brunswick. This quarrel caused a good deal of tension between the United States and Great Britain. It was finally settled in 1842, when the United States surrendered to Great Britain "a large section of land that, under the treaty of 1783 closing the war for independence, appeared to belong to the United States."¹¹

13. TERRITORIAL EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES

As soon as the thirteen English colonies had won their independence by the war of 1776-83 and set up their new United States government, they resumed with redoubled vigor the push westward which the white man had been making ever since his first settlement in Virginia in 1607. The migration to the west now became truly a mass drive. Very active were the southern slaveowners, who were determined at any cost to extend the slavery-plantation system far and wide into the great west. Then there were the northern land speculators, who wanted to get rich by seizing great stretches of the new farm lands. And finally the poorer masses of the population who, with a deep land hunger, were seeking to carve out farms for themselves from the great western wilderness. The result of these pressures was an irresistible drive westward, conducted in a spirit as ruthless as that of Cortes and Pizarro and relentlessly sweeping aside both rival capitalist powers and aboriginal inhabitants.

The expansionist ideas already current among United States ruling classes were exemplified by the all-inclusive name given to the new republic by the founding fathers in the Constitutional Convention, namely, the United States of America. No other country in the western hemisphere has ever attempted to monopolize the general term of America.

This drastic expansionism raged in full force prior to the Civil War of 1861-65. The ruling class expansionists in the prewar decades had raised the slogan of "Manifest Destiny." The people of the United States, according to them, were destined to control all of North America and, perhaps, also a good slice of South America. "If the whole program could be carried into effect, the 'new United States,' of which Clay spoke would include the continent of North America."¹ The bourgeois expansionists had nothing but contempt for the rights of Negroes and Indians, and disregard for rival nations. These militant advocates of "Manifest Destiny" were the direct forebears of the present-day United States imperialists who, filled with chauvinistic illusions of Anglo-Saxon superiority, believe that the United States has been called upon by history not only to control the western hemisphere but also to dominate the entire world.

The first barrier which the whites broke down in the storming of the west was the line of demarcation established by the Treaty of Paris of 1763.

This line ran along the summit of the Appalachian mountains and supposedly prohibited white settlements beyond this border. England had set this limit in the hope of curbing the expansion of her already too vigorous and rebellious colonies. But the revolution shattered this restrictive line completely. In any event, the barrier had always been pretty flimsy, as settlers had been constantly infiltrating through it and squatting upon Indian lands. Already in 1775 Daniel Boone had crossed the mountains into Kentucky and established the first settlements there, and during the revolution itself George Rogers Clark's forces had taken formal possession of the whole country north of the Ohio and as far west as the Mississippi. The peace settlement in 1783, at the end of the Revolutionary War, completely abolished the Appalachian demarcation line. The treaty gave the freed colonies, without so much as a by-your-leave to the Indians, the real owners, all the territory west of the Allegheny Mountains to the Mississippi River, except Florida. This more than doubled the original territory of the thirteen colonies. It was the first of the several great land grabs that followed in quick succession.

The Louisiana Purchase

The next big obstacle in the way of United States expansion to the west was the foreign possession of the key territory of Louisiana. This vast region, stretching more than a thousand miles north and south, was a direct hindrance to the great westward migration. "For 30 years European interests in the Mississippi Valley were a menace to the independence and growth of the United States."² This obstacle had to be overcome by any means possible. In the hands of the clever and unscrupulous Napoleon, Louisiana could be a deadly threat to the very existence of the young republic.

Up until this time, Louisiana had had a checkered existence. It had first been explored and claimed for Spain by de Vaca in 1528 and de Soto in 1539-42. In the latter part of the next century, however, La Salle and other French explorers, coming down the Mississippi from Canada, claimed for France all of Louisiana, which consisted of the whole of the Middle West from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. Spain ceded the territory to France in 1732, but got it back again in 1762. Napoleon, however, managed to wrest control of Louisiana from Spain in 1800.

Napoleon had big plans for his new colony. Using Haiti as a food-producing base and naval center, he hoped to transform Louisiana into a great American empire. But these grandiose plans were upset by the loss of Haiti through the Revolution of 1791-1803, and also by France's increasing involvement in war in Europe. When in 1803, therefore, Napoleon was approached on the matter by United States delegates, he quickly agreed to sell Louisiana for approximately \$15,000,000, much to their surprise. Napo-

leon wisely saw that in view of his heavy commitments in Europe he would never be able to defend Louisiana from the American settlers who, in their usual aggressive manner, were already streaming across its borders and settling on the rich black lands. It was clearly a case of either selling Louisiana or losing it by conquest. Making the best of a bad situation, Napoleon sold out.

Thus, in 1803, the United States came into possession of the rich territory of Louisiana, again totally disregarding the prior rights of the Indians. The new territory embraced about one million square miles, or almost one-third of the present total area of the United States, minus Alaska. Situated entirely west of the Mississippi, it extended from the Gulf to Canada and westward to the Rocky Mountains. The price paid for the huge domain, which contains some of the finest land and raw material resources on earth, was about four cents per acre. The whole operation was more of a hold-up than a purchase, as the wily Napoleon undoubtedly realized.

There was no provision in the United States Constitution for the acquirement of new territory by purchase, so President Jefferson frankly "stretched" that document to fit the situation. The Louisiana Purchase created big political issues in the United States. The slaveowners hailed it as a tremendous victory, the opening up of a whole new world for the extension of slavery; whereas the New England merchants and manufacturers, for the same reasons in reverse, bitterly condemned the purchase and plotted to secede from the Union. After recovering from these first pangs of indigestion, caused by gulping down this huge meal, the vigorous young capitalist United States was ready to devour the next available territorial morsel.

This was Florida. The peninsula was discovered by Ponce de Leon in 1513 and on this basis had been taken over by Spain. In 1819, however, Spain, harassed by revolutions throughout its vast colonial empire, was compelled to yield up this very important colony, embracing 58,666 square miles, to the pushing settlers from the States. The latter were obviously resolved to have Florida whether Spain agreed or not, as they, anticipating later policies in Texas and California, had faked two "revolutions,"³ and they had already militarily occupied the country in 1811 and still held it. Spain unwillingly vacated Florida upon the payment by the United States of \$5 million to settle the individual claims of big Spanish landowners. This was another typical "shotgun purchase," a method which the aggressive young United States, headed by merchants, industrialists, and planters, practiced with rival, landholding powers, as well as with the Indians. England violently opposed the whole Florida grab.

Oregon, as originally so-named, comprised the huge expanse of country, approximately 286,541 square miles, running north from the forty-second parallel and west from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast. It included

the present states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and parts of Montana and Wyoming. It had, at different times, been claimed by Spain, Russia, England, and the United States. England particularly claimed this wide area on the basis of its discovery by the pirate Admiral Drake in the sixteenth century, plus later English explorations. But the United States, because Lewis and Clark had arrived in Oregon overland in 1806 and a few fur traders had since settled there, demanded the whole region. With the slogan of "Fifty-Four, Forty or Fight," the Americans aggressively backed up this demand. They did not get 54°40', nor did they have to fight; but they did win the victory. They succeeded in forcing England out and in establishing the line of the present United States-Canadian western border, from the Pacific to the Great Lakes. Thus, the youthful and enterprising capitalist republic found itself richer by another territory five-sixths as large as the thirteen original states.

The Partitioning of Mexico

Meanwhile, another monster land grab, one of the most shameful incidents in United States history, was shaping up in the southwest. This was the series of events leading to the Mexican War of 1846 and to stripping our southern neighbor of one-half of her total territory. Altogether in this huge steal (including the Gadsden Purchase of 1853), the United States added to itself approximately 944,825 square miles, embracing the present states of Texas, California, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, Colorado, and part of Wyoming. These areas were first wrung from Mexico by war and then "paid for" at a price of \$26,800,000.

This immense steal began to take shape in Texas. Upon the invitation of the Mexicans, United States citizens, under certain limitations set by Mexico, had been allowed during the previous two decades to settle there. From the outset the newcomers, however, were obviously resolved to take over the whole region for themselves. The Mexican invitation had specified that they be Catholics and should become Mexican citizens. But the regulations were flexible, and immigrants from the United States poured in by the thousands. The inevitable clash came in 1835, when President Santa Anna of Mexico sent troops to collect taxes from the rebellious Texas settlers. Armed resistance ensued, and in February 1836, war began in earnest when Mexican troops, in greatly superior numbers, wiped out to the last man a Texas garrison of 188 men, fortified in the Alamo mission at San Antonio. The Texas settlers, rallying under Sam Houston, and with the cry, "Remember the Alamo," quickly defeated and captured Santa Anna. Texas then set itself up as an independent government.

The government in Washington kept in close touch with this rebel movement at every stage, having a decisive hand in the whole business.

It planned to annex Texas outright at the opportune moment. The time was deemed to be ripe in April, 1844, and President Tyler accepted Texas as a state of the Union. This action outraged the Mexicans, who threatened war—which was just what the United States wanted. Taking time by the forelock, the latter carried out a provocative border invasion of Mexican territory by troops under General Zachary Taylor in March of 1846. This brought about the desired armed retaliation by Mexico, and fighting began. Even in those early days, the warmakers understood the technique of blaming their war upon the attacked country. In this spirit President Polk, declaring that “Mexico had passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our country, and shed American blood upon American soil,” in May 1846 called for war against that country.⁴ Congress promptly responded and the war was on.

In the meantime, active maneuvers had also been going on to grab California from Mexico, much as Texas had been taken over. First, from 1840 on, came a wave of aggressive United States settlers, next their revolt, and then the setting up of an independent republic of California, in June 1846. This action was taken even before news of the Mexican War had reached California. Secretary of State James Buchanan had told the prospective rebels a year before that if California should set up an independent government “we shall render her all the kindly offices in our power.”⁵ When the showdown came, these “kindly offices” turned out to be troops under command of General Fremont, who at once supported the fledgling republic of California by engaging the Mexican forces. The cynical pretext for these outrageous actions was that if the United States did not take California from Mexico, England or France would do so.

The Mexican hostilities lasted from the declaration of war on May 13, 1846, to the capture of Mexico City on September 13, 1847. The United States, with much the strongest armed forces, won all the battles, despite desperate Mexican resistance. On May 30, 1848, therefore, the Mexicans were compelled to sign a humiliating peace which surrendered the bulk of their country’s territory to the United States. Many planters wanted to take over the whole of Mexico.

England, trying to maintain its influence in Latin America, resisted—ineffectually—every major step taken by the United States in the Mexican situation. It opposed U.S. settlers going into Texas in the first place; it tried to have the Texas rebellion put down by force; it sought to prevent Texas from joining the Union, and it threatened to make common cause with Mexico in the Mexican war.⁶

The predatory Mexican war also evoked bitter and widespread opposition in the United States. Many trade unions of the period openly protested the annexation of Texas and the war against Mexico.⁷ Particularly strong

was the opposition of the industrialists. Their party, the Whigs (the political descendants of the Federalists and the forerunners of the present-day Republican Party), took up the cudgels militantly against the war and were unrestrained in their criticisms. They opposed the Mexican War on the same general grounds that their forebears, the Federalists, had fought against the Louisiana Purchase over forty years before, namely, that it would extend the sphere of slavery.

McMaster quotes typically anti-war statements in the Whig press of the time: "The whole world knows that it is Mexico that has been imposed on and that our people are the robbers. Mexico is the Poland of America. To volunteer, or vote a dollar to carry on the war, is moral treason against . . . the rights of mankind. If there is in the United States a heart worthy of American liberty, its impulse is to join the Mexicans and hurl down the base, slavish . . . mercenary invaders."⁸ Lincoln, who was then a Whig, spoke out in Congress against the war, condemning Polk's policy and stating that "the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is crying out against him."⁹ Many years later, President Grant characterized the Mexican War as "one of the most unjust [wars] ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation."¹⁰

The Sweep of Expansion

The acquisition of Alaska from Russia in 1867 was the next big step in the general expansion of the United States. Alaska had been discovered by the Russians in 1741, and they had held it ever since. The tsar being broke at the time, the enterprising Secretary of State, Seward, bought this great territory, twice as big as the original thirteen colonies, from Russia for the sum of \$7,200,000. Since then Alaska has produced about \$400 million in gold and approximately the same in copper and silver, and its great mineral and other riches have hardly been touched. A very shrewd bargain indeed!

In the period of growing "Manifest Destiny" sentiment, particularly in the two decades prior to the Civil War, the most extravagant schemes of conquest were openly proposed in Washington. These were chiefly the work of the then dominant southern slaveowners, in their never-ending search for more and more territory for the extension of their slave system, and their determination to use this territory politically against the threatening northern capitalists. Among the many such schemes for expansion into potential slave territory were attempts to annex Yucatan, to seize Panama, to assimilate Santo Domingo, and to buy Cuba. There were also various harebrained schemes to "take over" Brazil.

But the most spectacular land-grabbing maneuvers were the adventures of the United States filibusterer, William Walker, formerly a Tennessee

slaveowner. Walker, in May 1855, left San Francisco with a small party, invaded Nicaragua, and in the following June made himself president of that country. He was soon driven out, however, by the armies of Costa Rica and other Central American countries. Walker, after another futile try at conquering Nicaragua a couple of years later, made an ineffectual effort to seize Honduras, but was captured and shot in September 1860.¹¹ Vanderbilt and Morgan, fighting to control the potential canal route across Nicaragua, used Walker as a tool;¹² but the general purpose of this adventurer was to found an American slave empire in Central America, with the further perspective of moving on into Brazil.

The northern industrialists during this whole period did not content themselves merely with secessionist threats against the slave-territory annexationist policies of the southern planters, nor with battling to make the newly acquired territory free soil. They also developed a strong annexationist drive of their own to the north. It was they who brought in Alaska in 1867, after the planters had been defeated in the war, and they had never ceased looking hungrily upon Canada since the very foundation of the republic. Indeed, in all three of the major United States wars up to that time—1776, 1812, and 1861—the New England industrialists definitely had control over Canada as one of their major objectives.

In the Revolution of 1776, as we have seen in Chapter 9, the revolutionists in the United States invited the Canadians to send delegates to the Continental Congress, which they did not do. Then, when the war broke out, one of the first moves made by the revolutionary forces was to try to capture Canada. They seized Montreal and besieged Quebec. But this invasion finally failed because of military blundering and especially because of the unwillingness of the Canadian people to become part of the United States then in formation.

In the War of 1812, there was a similar annexationist attempt. For the Americans this was a just war, forced upon them by the English, who had not yet become reconciled to losing their invaluable thirteen colonies. When the war got under way the Americans once more aimed at conquering Canada; as a result, Canada became one of the principal battle areas of the war. But again the United States forces were unsuccessful, and for the same general reasons. So Canada remained a British colony.

The Civil War of 1861 also raised sharply the question of Canada's status. Even before that great conflict began both the northerners and the southerners believed that the annexation of Canada to the United States was only a matter of a short time. The industrialists were for the annexation and the planters against it. Both of these rival groups earlier had supported the United States-Canada Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, the industrialists in the hope that the treaty would hasten Canadian annexation and the planters

convinced that it would delay this eventuality. And when, during the Civil War itself, war tension developed between the United States and England over the affair of the British mail-packet steamer *Trent*, the United States leaders were quite prepared to invade Canada and try to capture it. But this crisis passed without open hostilities.¹⁸

Immediately after the Civil War, annexationist sentiment about Canada grew more intense than ever in the United States and the defeated southern planters were no longer able to offset it. The United States at this time was constructing two major trans-continental railroad lines—the Union Pacific and the Northern Pacific. Tens of thousands of settlers were pouring west, large numbers of them going across the border into the prairie provinces of western Canada. Chandler, Sumner, Butler, Seward, Grant, Johnson, and many other prominent United States politicians were openly proposing Canadian annexation. Nevertheless, this widespread and very confident agitation for annexation did not come to fruition. One of Great Britain's major steps to prevent it was the passage of the British North America Act of 1867, which conferred dominion status upon Canada. This shrewd action, plus the rapidly growing national spirit of the Canadian people, kept Canada once more out of the hands of the United States. To get hold of Canada, however, is an ingrained and long-established idea that the United States ruling class has never relinquished. In our own days this class is working more busily and more successfully than ever towards the realization of its long-time Canadian dream.

The greatest opponent of United States expansion all through these decades was England. That country, scenting a dangerous rival, historically fought every step made by the United States toward national consolidation and aggrandizement. England did everything possible to prevent the national growth of the thirteen colonies. She established the Appalachian line in 1763 to "contain" them. She made war against her former colonies in 1776 and 1812. She prevented Canada from joining the rebellious colonies. She constantly instigated the Indians to make war against the colonies. She supported with arms the Burr conspiracies to split the Union. She violently opposed the accession of Florida and Louisiana, and these issues were factors in causing the War of 1812. She kept the United States from grabbing Cuba in 1822. She resisted every step of the formation of the Texas republic and its annexation by the United States. She supported Mexico in her war against the United States and was ready to join in the war. She almost came to blows with the United States over the Oregon dispute. She actively helped the Southern Confederacy in the Civil War and was only restrained from giving it military support by the resistance of the British working class, aroused by Karl Marx. This long continued Anglo-United States antagonism finally developed into a full-fledged struggle for control over Latin

America and eventually for capitalist domination of the world—with Great Britain historically on the losing end of the bitter competition.

Breaking the Resistance of the Indians

In its powerful push to the west, the south, and the north, the young and vigorous United States not only shoved aside rival nations that stood in its path of conquest but also relentlessly crushed the resistance of the original possessors of the land, the Indians. The brutal driving out of the Indians, in which many of the outstanding democratic leaders of the times actively participated, constitutes one of the most disgraceful pages in the history of the United States.

Even before the revolution, many of the Atlantic coast tribes of Indians had been crushed. Among the more important of the wars leading to their defeat were the Pequot wars in Massachusetts in 1630; the war against the forces of Opekankenough's in Virginia in 1622; and the Algonquins against the Dutch in 1641-45;* and the war against Narragansetts and their allies—King Philip's War in New England—in 1675-77. This last was an especially fierce war. King Philip was the son of Massasoit, who had saved the Pilgrims from starvation. But the settlers rewarded Massasoit's collaboration by shamelessly abusing the Indians and robbing them of their lands. "In many cases they had 'bought' those lands, to be sure; but the Indians had hardly realized that they had signed contracts to surrender to the white man the hunting grounds upon which their very existence depended."¹⁴ In the ensuing war the Indians wiped out most of the back-country settlements, including Deerfield, Northfield, and Springfield; but outnumbered four to one, they were finally defeated and virtually exterminated. King Philip was executed and his head stuck on a pole. The famous preacher, Cotton Mather, took part of his jawbone as a souvenir.

Two wars between England and France were especially devastating to the Indians—King William's War (1688-97) and Queen Anne's War (1702-13). In 1643 the United Colonies of New England (consisting of Plymouth, Massachusetts, New Haven, Connecticut) was formed principally to fight the Indians. This body conducted an aggressive struggle against the Narraganset and the remnants of other New England tribes, eventually wiping them out.

All these colonial Indian wars were fought with desperate ferocity. The white settlers outdid the Indians in savage brutality, massacring wholesale noncombatant men, women, and children, torturing prisoners and burning them at the stake; scalping war victims, cynically violating treaties, etc.¹⁵ Massachusetts in 1723 paid 100 pound bounties for Indian

*In this war the Dutch, driven down to the tip of Manhattan Island, had as their northern outpost a staked fortification along a line now called Wall Street.

scalps, as it might have done for wolves,¹⁶ and Pennsylvania paid 130 pieces-of-eight for scalps of men over 12, and 50 pieces-of-eight for the scalps of Indian women.¹⁷ The great weakness of the Indians in these struggles was their lack of unity, the white settlers finding little difficulty in playing off one mutually hostile tribe against another. In all the early colonial wars Indians fought on both sides, to their own defeat all around.

The Tuscarora war of 1711 and the Cherokee war of 1759 in the South were most injurious to these powerful tribes. The French and Indian War (the colonial phase of the Seven Years' War between England and France in 1756-63) was catastrophic to the most powerful and numerous of the Indian people in the East and Middle West—the Algonquins, who ranged “from Labrador to the Rockies, and from Hudson Bay to Pimlico Sound.”¹⁸ This great Indian family, allies of the French in the war, consisted of a hundred tribes, speaking forty variants of the basic language, and included the Micmacs, Ottawas, Delawares, Kickapoos, Pottawatomies, Cheyennes, Crees, Blackfeet, Arapahoes, Ojibways, etc. The Algonquins suffered the double disaster of being beaten in the war and then abandoned at the peace table (Paris, 1763) by their defeated French allies. As a result, this important group of tribes was largely scattered. To save something from the wreckage, Pontiac, a great Algonquin chief, who had brought many tribes—Ottawas, Micmacs, Chippewas, Wyandots, etc.—into an alliance, fought a gallant but futile rearguard action for several years. Pontiac captured all the midwest forts except Fort Pitt and Detroit, fruitlessly besieging the latter post for several months in 1769.

The Revolutionary War of 1776, involving the Indians as it did, had an even more devastating effect upon that other great eastern Indian force, the Iroquois Confederacy. This famous federation, formed in 1570, originally contained five strong tribes—Oneidas, Mohawks, Onondagas, Senecas, Cayugas, with a sixth, the Tuscaroras, joining later. For the most part, the Iroquois, led by their great leader, Thayendanega (Joseph Brant), had backed the British against the colonists, with the result that during the war their lands were overrun by the victorious colonists, their confederacy was broken up, and their tribes were decimated and scattered to the west and north. And, of course, the British forsook the Indians at the signing of the peace in 1783. Only a few remnants of these once powerful and feared Indians were left in their home territory, New York State, eventually to be cooped up in small reservations.¹⁹

These decisive defeats of the Algonquins and the Iroquois opened the way to the west for the ever-increasing flood of colonists. The United States government took advantage of the weakened position of the Indians by forcing upon them the Treaty of 1784 at Fort Stanwix, by which the latter signed away the land now included in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The

Indians, however, under command of the noted chief, Little Turtle, took a stand against this outrageous treaty and continued to resist the ever more numerous immigrants. They inflicted serious reverses on Generals Harmer and St. Clair, in 1790-91, near Cincinnati. These generals had embarked upon punitive expeditions against the Indians, but the latter surprised and completely defeated them. McMaster has this to say regarding the hard-fought battle that wiped out St. Clair: "Of fourteen hundred men and eighty-six officers who went into the battle, but five hundred and ten men and seventy officers came out unscathed. The Indians did not number more than a thousand, but they fought with the courage of desperation."²⁰ General Wayne finally succeeded, however, in crushing Little Turtle's forces.

The next serious stand of the Indians against the on-pressing whites was in the so-called conspiracy of Tecumseh, an Algonquin chief. About 1805, this brilliant leader, as King Philip, Pontiac, and Brant had done before him, strove to overcome the fatal disunity among the Indian peoples by bringing all the tribes into a joint front against the common enemy. Tecumseh's brother, famous as "the Prophet," was one of the many Indian "Messiahs" who sprang up to lead their peoples to freedom. McMaster describes the great Indian chief Tecumseh, as "bold, daring, and energetic; skillful in war, wise in council, an orator of no mean order." Tecumseh proposed "nothing less than the formation of an Indian republic, than the union of every Indian tribe from Canada to Florida on a democratic basis."²¹ For several years Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, carried on agitation, far and wide among the Indians on the frontier, for a general defensive alliance. He had succeeded in forming a strong grouping when the Americans under General William Henry Harrison, without provocation, suddenly fell upon the Indian forces at Tippecanoe, Indiana, in 1811, and defeated them. By exploiting this cold-blooded massacre, General Harrison, as "Old Tippecanoe," became President of the United States in 1840. Tecumseh was finally killed in the War of 1812, his body was mutilated, and his skin was made into souvenir razor strops.²²

The Indians were fatally divided along tribal lines. They not only lacked a common front against the invaders, but even in the face of the enemy, they conducted relentless wars between tribes. These wars were especially disastrous after the Indians obtained firearms from the whites. The Indians also suffered from traitors and quislings in their own ranks—from those elements who cast their lot with the invaders at the expense of their own desperately pressed peoples. Among these were Uncas of colonial times and the New England wars and the well-known Iroquois chiefs, Cornplanter and Red Jacket. The latter two refused to join up with Tecumseh and sided with the Indians' main enemies, the colonists. Clark Wissler says of them, "There is no doubt about Cornplanter and Red Jacket who, after the Revolu-

tion, stood consistently with the United States against all forces, Indian or white."²³

The next great struggle of the Indians—in which Tecumseh was also the most prominent leader—took place during the War of 1812. The frontier Indians generally sided with the British, and their tribes, remnants of the Algonquins and Iroquois, together with the Creeks and Seminoles—all the way from Canada to Georgia—went into action. They suffered ultimate defeat, along with the British, and, as usual, their interests were abandoned by the British at the peace table. Consequently, the war dragged on along the frontier, especially in the south. Andrew Jackson won his spurs in these terrible Indian wars.

Driving the Indians Across the Mississippi

The policy of the United States government, after Tecumseh's final defeat and death in the War of 1812, was definitely one of forcing the decimated and retreating Indians out of their remaining lands in the east and across the Mississippi to the practically unknown plains country. This led to repeated tragedies and slaughter of the Indians, who clung with desperation to their old homes in the mountains, forests, and valleys of the east.

The Cherokees and Creeks, strong tribes in the Georgia area, who had been repeatedly decimated by wars with the whites all during the 1700's, and who had fought with the British in the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, felt the relentless pressure of the whites for more and ever more land. These two big tribes possessed, between them, some 26,000,000 acres. Georgia claimed that the United States government had pledged itself in 1802 to clear these Indians of their valuable lands. "True to its pledge, the Federal Government began at once to negotiate for the 'purchase' of the Indian rights, and in the course of twenty years concluded seven treaties, by which fourteen million acres were acquired from the Creeks and one million from the Cherokees." Georgia, in 1822, relentlessly demanded, however, that the Indians give up all their lands and migrate west. To this demand the Cherokees boldly replied, "It is the fixed and unalterable decision of this nation never again to cede one foot of land."²⁴ The Creeks took a similar stand, and like the Cherokees, swore to kill any of their chiefs who might sign away their lands.

Nevertheless, the government succeeded in coercing or cajoling a number of these chiefs into signing a "treaty," which, for a relatively small sum of money, extinguished the Indians' claims to their lands. Because of this treachery, the aroused Indians put three of their guilty chiefs to death. President Jackson, an inveterate enemy of all Indians, was determined to force the Cherokees and Creeks to quit their lands and to drive the bulk of

them across the Mississippi. He finally succeeded in doing this, giving them the patently false promise that the new land would be "secured and guaranteed to them" and would be theirs "as long as the grass grows or the water runs."²⁵ General Winfield Scott, with 7,000 troops, in May 1838, rounded up the bulk of the two tribes and started them off westward. The long march of these Indians to the west was one of the greatest tragedies of American history. Of the 14,000 evicted, 4,000 died on the way.²⁶ The Indians called the route the "trail of tears."

Black Hawk's War of 1832 in Illinois and Wisconsin was another desperate rearguard action of the hard-pressed Indians. After the passage of the Indian Removal Act of May 1830 (Jackson's work), tribe after tribe was sent streaming west—Choctaws, Senecas, Shawnees, Wyandots, Ottawas, Creeks, Winnebagoes, Pottawatomies, Sacs and Foxes, Kickapoos, Delawares, Chippewas, and many others made up the lugubrious procession away from their traditional home countries and across the Mississippi into unknown territory.

But the white immigrants were still not satisfied with the speed of the evacuation. Dammed up at the borders of the remaining lands of the Rock River Sacs in Illinois, the settlers suddenly invaded and seized this territory while the braves were away on their annual hunt. Black Hawk thereupon led his people in a gallant struggle against the whites, clearing Illinois of the settlers from Chicago to Galena. But the fight was a hopeless one, and soon Black Hawk and his people were traveling the sad trail to the West.²⁷ The huge territory between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River, stolen from the Indians in the period between the Revolutionary War and the Civil War, was cut up into a dozen states.

Further epic struggles of the Indians were the wars of the Seminoles in Florida. These were also Jackson's doing. Jackson in 1812-14 had crushed the Creeks in the Georgia-Alabama area; the severity of this war was indicated by the fact that of the nine hundred Red Stick warriors who began one battle, 567 were found dead when it was over. The campaign broke the power of the Creeks, who had to surrender to the government several million acres of their best lands. The Seminoles were next on Jackson's list for elimination. In 1817-18, Jackson led punitive expeditions against this people in Florida, who had many runaway Negro slaves as allies. But he was unable to break their power. Therefore, a decade later, after he became president, Jackson took up this piece of unfinished business. In 1832, he provoked a war with the Seminoles. But it turned out to be a tougher proposition than he had bargained for. Under the brilliant leadership of Osceola the Indians, aided by Negro runaway slaves, resisted successfully for seven years.

It was the hardest fought of all the Indian wars. The Seminole Indians

actually held off United States soldiers who outnumbered this whole Indian people three times over. "For seven years troops entered the swamps, only to meet defeat, in some cases annihilation. Seven generals failed, some of the best in the regular army. . . . At last the United States admitted defeat. . . . Osceola, one of the great Seminole leaders, was encouraged to come to a peace conference, under guarantee of safe conduct, but was promptly knocked on the head, bound, and thrown into a dungeon [where he died within the year]. Don't forget that all this was the work of an army under direct orders from the President of the United States."²⁸ The Seminoles managed largely to hang onto their Florida territory, and remnants of these people still live there. General Zachary Taylor, another president-to-be, made his reputation in this deplorable war.

Expropriation of the Indians in the West

By 1840, the great bulk of the eastern Indians had been forced across the Mississippi, only small pockets of the once powerful Iroquois, Algonquins, Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles being left behind. And in the west, as the Indians clearly foresaw, the old game of robbing them of their lands was soon resumed. The railroads and the immigrant trails west slashed and divided the Indian country. Squatters and miners overran the region. In response to the ever-increasing clamors of the settlers for land, especially after the Civil War, the government continued its traditional policy of expelling the Indians. "Accordingly, a military campaign was started against the Indians, which lasted for a quarter of a century and ended in the removal of that long-standing issue for all time. It was marked by more than a thousand armed clashes, many desperate and deadly, a few disastrous to federal troops, all pointing pitilessly to the expulsion of the red man from lands coveted by farmers, prospectors, and railway builders."²⁹ The slogans were, "The savage must go," and "The only good Indian is a dead one."

The struggle was a bitter one. "Between 1862 and 1867, wars with the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Navajo alone had cost the United States government \$100 million.³⁰ Part of this money was spent eliminating the buffalo herds, primarily as a war measure against the Indians.³¹ To strike at the basic food supply of the Plains Indians, hunters were allowed to destroy the buffalo wholesale, either for their hides or merely for sport. In the end the inevitable happened. Despite many fierce struggles, including the destruction of General Custer's forces at the Little Big Horn by the Sioux in 1876, the Indians were finally defeated and rounded up on reservations. Along the Pacific Coast the tribes suffered the same fate. Usually the war ravage was accompanied by the time-honored method of robbing the Indians of their lands through "treaties" and "purchases." Thus came to its tragic climax the cynical Indian policy stated by royal proclamation in 1763, and reiterated

in substance by the government ordinance of 1787,³² shortly after the birth of the republic, which declared: "The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their land and property shall never be taken from them without their consent."^{33*} Nevertheless, by 1880, the great bulk of the Indians had been stripped of their lands and gathered into reservations.

Meanwhile, the Indians in Canada were also being steadily robbed of their lands, despite the sanctimonious protestation of latter day Canadian historians to the contrary. If Canada had fewer Indian wars than the United States, this was primarily because the Indians were sparse in that country and less able to resist. Peck gives an example of how the great plains area was wrung from the Indians in the big powwow of 1871 with a thousand Indians at Lower Fort Garry: "It was made clear to them [the chiefs] that hundreds of new settlers would come in and that unless they accepted reserves of land and annuities now they would lose everything. The chiefs saw the point and yielded."³⁴

The Indians in western Canada made their last stand in what is known as Riel's rebellion. Led by Louis Riel, whom Ryerson calls the "founder of Manitoba," it took place in the Red River country of the Canadian north-west. There, in 1885, the Indians and Metis, or "half-breeds," revolted in an effort to protect their holdings from the ever-encroaching whites. But they lost, Riel was later hanged in Regina, and the tide of settlers swept on over the broken bits of ancient Indian life in Canada.

When the Indians of the United States were forced into reservations, they still had considerable stretches of land left. But this was soon to go, too. The old "treaty" device of despoiling the Indians had now become obsolete, and the government discarded it in 1871. From that time on the tribes were no longer recognized as separate treaty-making nations. Shortly thereafter the so-called allotment system of individual landholding was instituted among the Indians. This led to further wholesale expropriation by greedy whites. In Oklahoma, for example, under the allotment system the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokees, Choctaws, Seminoles, Creeks, and Chickasaws) in twenty years lost 14,500,000 of their 16 million acres, and the Indians of the whole country, from 1887 to 1933, were similarly robbed of 90 million acres. In 1889, in the spectacular Oklahoma land rush, the last of the great Indian lands, which according to Jackson's pledge, were to belong to the Indians forever, were opened by the government to public settlement.

*Such lying statements of goodwill towards the Indians had been a key part of the land-grabbers' technique from the very beginning. Characteristically, in 1594, Philip II had the gall to say, after the Spaniards had robbed the Indians of a whole new world: "We command that grants of farms and territories given to Spaniards shall not be to the prejudice of the Indians, and that any that may have been granted to their detriment and loss shall be restored to their rightful owners." (Report II, I.L.O. Conference, Montevideo, April, 1949.)

Besides the United States and Canada, many Latin American countries applied the system of legally dissolving the Indians' communal landholdings and establishing individual ownership. This was done in Peru by Bolivar as early as 1838, in Mexico by Juarez in 1857, and in other countries later on. In all cases the general effect was catastrophic for the Indians, who everywhere stubbornly resisted the so-called reform. Consequently, in a number of the countries—Peru, Bolivia, Mexico, Ecuador, Colombia, Chile, etc.—they managed, despite all, to save important remnants of their traditional communal landholdings.

The final armed Indian resistance, in about three centuries of struggle, in the face of utterly hopeless odds, was the fight waged in the middle eighties by the Apaches of the southwest, led by the redoubtable Geronimo. After the latter's defeat and surrender in 1886, the United States army seized all the men on the Apache reservation, plus 329 women and children, and shipped them off to a military prison in Florida. Later they were all sent to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, where the army continued to hold them until 1914. Thus, for 28 years this whole tribe, including children born in the meantime, were kept prisoner.

A fitting climax to the centuries of robbery and oppression of the Indians was this last outrage against the Apaches. The Red Man, once "the monarch of all he surveyed" and master of the whole area of the United States, after a long and desperate struggle, was now completely defeated militarily and stripped almost entirely of his lands. Inter-tribal disunity and the white man's diseases had been fatal to him. Thenceforth, down to our own times, he was compelled to live in American-brand concentration camps, a victim of poverty, oppression, and illiteracy, and a tragic symbol of the mean and petty spirit of capitalism.

The century of active expansion following 1776, of pushing aside rival powers and robbing the Indians of their lands, increased the territory of the United States to ten times its extent at the time of the foundation of the republic. After the Civil War, this expansionist drive, save for the continuing pressure upon Canada and the despoilation of the Indians, temporarily slackened. This was because, first, the slaveowners had been crushed in the war and were no longer pressing for new slave territory; second, the capitalists, now masters of the United States, turned their major attention to industrializing the vast domain already under their control; and, third, the immense territory of the west provided enough land for the eager settlers for the next thirty years, the western frontier coming to an end in the latter 1890's. By the end of the century, however, a new wave of United States expansionism began, but this was an imperialist drive upon a very different basis from the previous development.

14. THE GROWTH OF INDUSTRY AND IMPERIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

Upon the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, United States capitalism faced what was indeed an inviting and promising prospect. Before it lay a huge virgin continent (which, as we have seen, it promptly overran and seized for itself from the Indians and others), plentifully endowed with nearly every basic material for industry, and all awaiting development. The restrictive political and economic domination of England had been broken; the Church was split into many quarreling sects and was unable to exert the disastrous effects upon industry that the Catholic Church has done in Latin America. Other feudal remnants, so handicapping to European and Latin American capitalism, were conspicuous by their absence—an exception being the slavery-plantation system, which was doomed eventually to die.

The period covered by the present chapter—between the end of the Revolutionary War in 1783 and the beginning of the World War 1 of 1914-18—marked a stormy growth of industry, finance, transportation, and agriculture in the United States. But it was not an even development. Periodically the whole capitalist system was wracked by cyclical crises, by that basic tendency of capitalism to produce more than its lagging markets can consume. The worst of these crises, or “hard times,” during this general period were in 1819, 1837, 1854, 1857, 1860, 1873, 1885, 1894 and 1907. It was a period of fierce class struggles, during which the capitalist class continuously grew and strengthened its position, until finally it emerged the richest, most powerful, and most ruthless ruling class in the history of the world.

Industrial Development Before the Civil War

At the end of the Revolutionary War most of the available capital was invested in shipping and inland commerce, in land and slaves. Industry as such, mostly on a handicraft basis, was still very small and feeble. Indeed, in the new republic many leading citizens, including Jefferson, openly propagandized against the United States becoming an industrial country like England. Let industry, with its class strife and poverty, remain in Europe, they said; America must be agrarian. But the capitalists were not to be deterred by such fancies. Already in 1791, in his famous *Report on the Subject of Manufactures*, Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, outlined a perspective for industrial and financial development which still remains a

sort of bible in capitalist history. "Hamilton's report was a blueprint for the capitalism that was to develop in the nineteenth century."¹

The factory system of manufactures, although having roots in late colonial times, got well started in the United States about 1800. During the next generation it rapidly spread from textiles to miscellaneous industries, all through New England and the eastern states. In the decades prior to the Civil War there was a rapid increase in the amount of capital invested in manufactures, in the value of the commodities produced, and in the number of workers employed in factories and large scale workshops. This industrial growth was particularly marked during the 1830's. In 1850, for the first time, the output of manufactures exceeded in value that of agriculture. With the growth of industry the working class took form and grew accordingly.

The first important industrial developments in the United States after the Revolutionary War were in textiles. England, by its laws of 1765 and 1774, had forbidden the emigration of trained operatives and the export of plans or textile machinery to the United States, in order to maintain its monopoly. But the Yankee capitalists quickly overcame such devices, luring mechanics and smuggling machinery and plans in from England and copying and improving upon the English originals. In 1788 the first woolen mill was set up in Hartford, Connecticut, and in 1791, Slater's cotton mill got under way in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. By 1815, the infant textile industry, operated by water power, had set up 130,000 spindles, and by the time the Civil War began, it had grown into 1,700 steam-operated mills with 640,000 spindles, and 60,000 workers.²

As early as 1648 there were small iron industries in New England, but the modern iron industry of the United States was founded about 1816 near Pittsburgh, when the first small puddling and rolling mills were built. After this modest start, the industry quickly mushroomed, increasing greatly in size and in the complexity of its products during the next decades. By 1850 the annual output of iron had reached 600,000 tons, and by 1860, 988,000 tons.

The development of coal was tied in with that of iron. Coal had been mined as early as 1750 in Pennsylvania, and it was used here and there for heating purposes. But it was not dug in great quantities until the iron industry began to develop. The later use of steam power further increased the coal industry's development. In 1820 coal production was 50,000 tons; by 1860 it reached 14,344,600 tons, of which two-thirds was anthracite.

Petroleum had long been known; Lloyd tells of a certain Joshua Merrill refining oil in 1853 in Massachusetts.³ But the epoch-making discovery of oil on an industrial basis came on the eve of the Civil War. At Titusville, Pennsylvania, in 1859, Edwin Drake, formerly a railroad conductor, bored a well and struck oil. This was the small beginning of the soon-to-be fabulous

oil industry, with its shameful story of capitalist exploitation and treachery.

The early industries of the United States depended upon water power for a long time. Even for several decades after Watt invented the steam engine in 1769, the use of water power persisted in New England industries. "In 1840, the respective cost [of water and steam power] at Lowell was placed at \$12 and \$90 per horse power. Nevertheless the steam engine invaded New England industrial cities where water power had become inadequate and the price of fuel was low."⁴ As late as the 1850's, Kirkland says, the respective merits of steam and water power were still the subject of lively debate; but by the outbreak of the Civil War steam had become supreme everywhere in swiftly growing United States industry.

Banking kept close pace with rapidly expanding industry and agriculture. Part of England's general policy of repressing the industrial growth of the colonies had been to prevent them from developing a substantial currency and banking system. The English capitalists kept all such matters in their own hands. Therefore, to lay the basis of the necessary financial system for capitalism, proved a knotty problem in the young United States for many years. In 1791, when Hamilton engineered the establishment of the first United States bank, there were only three local banks in the entire country. By 1860, however, there were 1,601 banks and this was just the beginning of the huge financial structure to come. Soon every town and city had its full quota of banks. The first stock exchange was established in Philadelphia in 1791. Industrial companies were organized about the same time.⁵

The early development of United States industry took place during the rising tide of the industrial revolution, based primarily upon the discovery of the steam engine and the development of the factory system. Indeed, the United States played its full part in the rapid development of industrial discoveries and inventions. Some of the most important of these, usually credited wholly or in part to the United States during the first century of its industry, were the steamboat (1787), cotton gin (1793), paper machine (1809), reaper (1831), telegraph (1832), harvester (1836), phosphorous match (1836), vulcanization of rubber (1844), turret lathe (1845), pneumatic tire (1845), shoe sewing machine (1846), rotary printing press (1846), Bessemer steel process (1847), turbine engine (1849), electric locomotive (1851), refrigerator car (1868), telephone (1876), talking machine (1877), electric lamp (1878), linotype (1880), photographic film (1881), alternating current (1892), motion picture (1893), caterpillar tractor (1900). Workers played a vital part in making these inventions, most of which were later stolen from them and exploited by capitalists. Among others, Eli Whitney was robbed of his great invention, the cotton gin.⁶

During the period before the Civil War, the growth of the nation's pop-

ulation was no less spectacular than the expansion of its industries. In 1790, the population of the United States was 3,929,314 and by 1860 it had jumped to 31,443,321,⁷ an over-all increase of about eight times. By this time the big wave of immigration, the greatest mass movement of people in human history over a long sea distance, was well under way. Just before the Civil War, the number of industrial workers had leaped up to 1,311,246, of whom about 25 per cent were women.

In 1860, the United States was fourth in world industry. Engels, commenting on its rapid growth, had said shortly before that the United States "with its inexhaustible resources, with its unmeasured coal and iron fields, with its unexampled wealth of water power, but especially with its energetic and active population . . . has in less than ten years created a manufacture which already competes with England in the coarser cotton goods."⁸ And Karl Marx, in the same vein, declared in 1858 of the United States that "when the inevitable transition to the factory system takes place, the ensuing concentration will, compared with Europe and even with England, advance in seven-league boots." The United States, by the time of the Civil War, was moving swiftly toward world industrial leadership.

The Evolution of Transportation

Immediately following the Revolution of 1776 the question of improving inland transportation became urgent, the existing "roads" being little better than Indian trails. "A wagon load of goods could be sent overland at the time of the War of 1812 from Augusta, Maine, to Savannah, Georgia, but the journey required 115 days and the freight charges on the load were \$1,000."⁹ To overcome such primitive conditions, a big road-building campaign was begun. The first important construction was the Lancaster Pike, a stone road, begun in 1792 and running from Philadelphia to Lancaster, Pennsylvania. A fever of road-building possessed the country during the next generation, another of the most famous roads being the Cumberland Road, which crossed the Appalachians and opened up the west. Over these new roads poured a great stream of stage coaches and Conestoga wagons loaded with immigrants and freight, bound westward to the land of promise.

Another big improvement in transportation was the extensive development of the canal system. These new waterways enormously cheapened freight charges. The Erie Canal was the first major project. It was the making of New York City as a port. The canal, extending 363 miles from Buffalo to Albany, was authorized in 1817 and completed in 1825. This vital canal was soon followed by many others, creating a whole network of inland waterways, connecting up the rivers and lakes, all over the country north of the Ohio and as far west as Illinois. Existing freight rates were slashed drastically, and the real movement of freight in bulk began. Kirkland calls

the construction of the Erie Canal "one of the greatest single man-made influences in American history."¹⁰

Meanwhile, the development of river transportation also proceeded swiftly. After the various attempts at steam navigation had finally culminated in the launching of Fulton's *Clermont* on the Hudson in 1807, it was not long until the rivers everywhere were dotted with steamboats. "In 1811 the first steamboat was launched upon the Ohio; in 1851, there were probably six hundred steamboats in service on the interior rivers."¹¹ The river steamboat was a great advance in transportation methods and it also inaugurated one of the most colorful phases of United States history. Mark Twain, in his *Life on the Mississippi*, caught the spirit of the early steamboat.

Where ocean traffic was concerned, however, the United States did not display comparable initiative. It lagged far behind Great Britain in the development of the ocean steamer. Although it is claimed that the United States ship *Savannah* was the first to cross the Atlantic under steam, with some aid from sails, the United States did not follow up this initial advantage. With unequalled wooden shipbuilding facilities, it clung to its glamorous clipper ships and whalers long after they had become obsolete. Great Britain, on the other hand, with little local timber, but with highly developed iron industries, was quick to make use of the iron ship. A further and more basic explanation for this situation was that the United States capitalists, giving their major attention to the huge task of internal development, had no great need to build up foreign commerce in the decades before the Civil War; whereas English capital, depending for its life upon trade with other nations, seized upon the most modern means of ocean transportation—the iron, steam-driven ship. The United States made tremendous use of iron for steam river navigation, however, where its famous sailing ships were obviously useless.

The decades just prior to the Civil War also brought the most revolutionary of all these advances in passenger and freight transportation, the steam railroad. Great Britain's George Stephenson pioneered in this great invention, with his *Rocket*. The first steam locomotive operated in the United States was the *Stourbridge Lion*, a British engine. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, built in 1828, was the original railroad in this country, operating between Baltimore and Washington. It was quickly followed by many others. By 1850 there were 9,021 miles of railroad, and by the time the Civil War began the mileage had increased to 30,000. The United States was already the leading railroad country in the world by far. The growth of the telegraph kept pace with that of the railroad.

The railroad quickly outdistanced the wagon road, the canal, and the river steamboat as the main carrier of passengers and freight. It tied together the great sprawling country, rendering its vast expanses easy of access to the

hordes of workers, farmers, and business men who were then swarming west and transforming the raw continent into a great industrial region. Capital, both domestic and foreign, poured into the life-giving railroads in great streams.

The Post-Civil War Economic Development

The abolition of English domination by the Revolutionary War gave a tremendous impetus to the entire United States economic system—industrial, agricultural, and financial. The Napoleonic Wars, the Embargo Act of 1808, and the War of 1812 also gave United States industry big shoves ahead. Cotton and woolen mills, flour mills, iron forges, shoe shops, carpet and cotton bagging, earthenware, pottery, glass, and other small industries grew swiftly. The factory system evolved out of simple manufactures. Periodically the whole economic system was swept by paralyzing crises, but each time upon reviving the vigorous young capitalism soared to new heights of development. As early, however, as the deep crisis of 1837 chronic unemployment became a marked factor in the United States.

The discovery of gold in California in 1849, by providing a stabilizing influence on the national currency, further spurred on the growing economy. The settling of much of the rich Mississippi valley before the Civil War was a strong impulse to economic expansion. By greatly increasing agricultural production, and therewith foreign trade, the demand for industrial products of all kinds leaped ahead. In 1820 the total capital invested in industry was \$50 million; in 1850 it was \$500 million, and in 1860 it reached one billion dollars.

The Civil War created a fresh demand for every kind of production including the worthless rifles, shoddy blankets, and inferior foods, that capitalists sold to the army with fatal results for thousands of soldiers. From 1860 to 1870 the value of manufactured goods advanced from \$1,885,862,000 to \$3,385,860,000, and the number of industrial workers increased from 1,311,000 to 2,733,000.

The smashing victory of the north in the Civil War was a tremendous stimulus to the development of the nation's economy, in the north and west particularly. Capitalism, free at last from the deadening shackles of slavery and the domination of the plantation system, redoubled its expansive powers. Thereafter, the capitalists, with the government fully in their hands, were relatively free to adopt tariffs to suit themselves, to subsidize the railroads with an empire of land, to rob the farmers, both on what they bought and what they sold, and to exploit the workers ruthlessly—all of which they did without stint or limit.

At the center of the economic development of the next forty years was the tremendous growth of the railroads. During the Civil War, in 1862, the first

transcontinental railroad, the Union Pacific, was authorized, and by 1869 it was finished. This was an event not only of great economic, but also of prime political importance. Other cross-country railroads soon followed: the Atcheson, Topeka and Santa Fe in 1881, the Northern Pacific in 1882, the Great Northern in 1893, and the last one, the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul in 1910. In the post-Civil War period a vast network of railroads was quickly constructed all over the United States. To finance these railroads, the government lavishly subsidized them with money and lands. The government actually built the roads and then handed them over to the private companies. All told, some 160 million acres of valuable farming, grazing, timber and mineral lands were donated to the railroad kings. The Northern Pacific alone got 47 million acres, or an area about equal to half that of modern France. It was the biggest land steal in United States history. Hundreds of millions of dollars more were also stolen by the railroad barons in the actual building of the roads and the sale of stock, which was at least partially exposed in the famous Credit Mobilier scandal of the time.¹² The American people have paid for the railroads several times over, but they still belong to the capitalists. By 1910 the railroads embraced 254,037 miles of tracks (more than one-half of the world's mileage) with 2 million workers. In 1944 they had 26.5 billion dollars of capital invested.

Many other industries grew rapidly in the general period between the Civil War and the Spanish-American War. Iron and steel marched ahead, rising from 191,933 tons in 1874 to an average of 9,452,731 tons a year in the period of 1895-1900. In 1870 steel production in the United States was well below that of Great Britain and France, but twenty years later it had outstripped them both. This growth was based principally on the exploitation of the big iron deposits of the Mesaba range in Minnesota, which had been discovered in 1844. The machine-building and coal industries kept pace with steel, the latter producing 227,123,000 tons in 1900. Another spectacular industrial post-Civil War development was in the oil industry. In her book, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, Ida Tarbell has told something of the lurid story of murder and robbery that accompanied the growth of this industry and the fierce struggle of rival capitalist groups for control. It was not, however, until after 1900, with the growth of the automobile, that this industry embarked upon its present enormous development.

Textiles, shoes, clothing, lumbering, flour-milling, canning, tobacco, and various other industries also grew rapidly after the Civil War. The meat-packing industry, based on refrigeration, and particularly upon the refrigerator car, expanded swiftly. Another big development was the opening up of the nonferrous mining industry, principally in the Rocky Mountain states. The mining of copper, gold, silver, lead, zinc, etc., was also to play a most vital role in the struggles of labor and in national politics for many

decades. The chemical industry, particularly the manufacture of fertilizer, grew rapidly from 1830 on. The rubber industry was also beginning.

One of the most significant industrial developments during this general period was the birth of the now enormous electrical industries. The telegraph, invented in 1832, grew up with the railroads. The telephone, invented in 1876, swiftly became an indispensable adjunct to every office. The incandescent lamp, first developed in 1878, spread with great rapidity into factories, offices, and homes. The electric streetcar, originally used in Richmond, Virginia, in the late eighties, was soon to be found everywhere. Big power plants were erected in many cities to operate the new electric lighting, communications, and streetcar systems. Electric power also began to be applied to industry, the first such plant being installed in a Connecticut textile mill in 1893. The manufacture of electrical machinery and appliances became an important industry, and the General Electric Company was organized in 1892, combining several important concerns.

As the century drew to a close, two epoch-making inventions were made—the motion picture and the automobile—destined profoundly to affect the life of succeeding generations. Even in the 1890's, these innovations were entering into commercial production, although few people had any inkling of their revolutionary potentialities. Motion pictures were showing in many places, and the future gigantic industry was in its swaddling clothes. And as for the automobile, in 1900 there were but eight thousand motor vehicles in operation in the United States, the advance guard of the more than 45 millions that in our days crowd every available space.

The settlement of the great west, which went on at a rapid tempo in the years following the Civil War, was one of the most vital developments, economically and politically, in this whole period. Under the Homestead Act, adopted in 1862, land amounting to some 200 million acres was distributed to settlers by 1900, when the good land was about gone and the frontier period ended. At least this much of the people's land was kept; for the time being, out of the hands of the land-grabbers, although they got much of it later on in the shape of foreclosed mortgages on impoverished farmers. The mass influx of farmers into the west greatly stimulated the industries and the railroads. It also produced a big demand for new farm machinery, in which the basic inventions had been made just before the Civil War. Consequently, the farm machinery industry grew swiftly in the Middle West, particularly in Chicago.

During all these years a vast wave of immigration kept pouring into the country, to satisfy the insatiable demand for workers. Between 1860 and 1900, an army of no less than 14,112,000 immigrants, mostly from Central and Western Europe, streamed into the United States, seeking well-being in the great land of promise, America. The general population of the country

heavily increased, rising from 31 million in 1860 to 76 million in 1900. Of these masses, 4,712,763 were listed as industrial workers, an increase of almost three times over since Civil War days.¹³

By 1894 the United States had far surpassed Great Britain and all other nations and had become the leading industrial country in the world. United States production in that year totaled \$9,498 million; Great Britain's was \$4,263 million; Germany's \$3,357 million; and France's \$2,900 million.¹⁴ The value of manufactures now was approximately seven times more than in 1860. The Beards sum up the economic progress of this half century as follows: "In 1860, just a little more than a billion dollars was invested in manufacturing and only 1,500,000 industrial wage earners were employed in the United States. In less than fifty years the capital had risen to more than twelve billions and the number of wage earners to 5,500,000. During the same period, the value of manufactured products had leaped to fifteen billion dollars a year, fifteen times the total at the beginning of the epoch."¹⁵

The Birth of United States Imperialism

The industrial system of the United States not only grew with rapidity, but it also began to become imperialist. Lenin had defined imperialism as the final stage of capitalism, displaying five basic qualities: (1) the growth of great industrial and financial monopolies which dominate the life of the nation; (2) the merger of industrial and bank capital; (3) the export of capital; (4) the systematic division of the world's markets, and (5) the completion of the territorial division of the world among the capitalist powers.¹⁶ The United States during the last decade of the nineteenth century began to show all these imperialist characteristics to a marked degree.

Already in the early 1890's, the process of monopolization was proceeding fast in industry. Indeed the railroads had begun to consolidate even earlier. In 1894, remarking these monopolizing trends, Lloyd declared: "Quite beyond ordinary comprehension is the magnitude of the syndicates. Laws against these combinations have been passed by Congress and by many of the states. There have been prosecutions under them by State and Federal governments. The laws and the lawsuits alike have been futile."¹⁷ During this decade there was a veritable fever of industrial and financial consolidation. In 1901 Moody listed a total of 440 large industrial, franchise, and transportation trusts, with a total capital of \$20,379,161,511.¹⁸ Among the more important of the industrial trusts at this time were United States Steel, Standard Oil, Amalgamated Copper, American Smelting and Refining, American Sugar Refinery, Consolidated Tobacco, and International Mercantile Marine. The first billion-dollar trust, Steel, was already on the scene. Consolidation was also rapidly creating vast combinations in the railroads

and in public utilities—electric power, telephones, telegraphs, etc. This was the growth of monopoly capitalism, the foundation of imperialism.

Moody did not include the financial combinations as trusts in his list. But these aggregations were also making as impressive a showing in the direction of monopoly as were the industrial companies. Established in 1853, the Morgan concern had by 1900 already gone far toward becoming the largest banking outfit in the world. In the years 1902-13, this concern sold to the public securities in the amount of two billion dollars, exclusive of municipal bonds and companies not engaged in interstate commerce.¹⁹ The Rockefellers, Kuhn-Loebs, Mellons, and other large banks, as well as the major insurance companies, were already tremendous financial combinations. By 1903 the Morgan, Rockefeller groups had directorships in 112 banks, railroads, insurance and other corporations having aggregate resources of over \$22 billion. A decisive feature of these new giant corporations was that they all constituted an amalgamation of big business and big finance, the very basis of imperialism, as pointed out by Lenin.

In this period the big American finance capitalists, as imperialists, also began to interest themselves in foreign investments. With large amounts of available capital accumulating in their hands from their ruthless exploitation of the people of the United States, they wanted to get a share of the super-profits that were to be wrung from the sweated and oppressed peoples of the colonial and semicolonial countries. By 1900 they had half a billion dollars invested abroad, nine-tenths of it in Canada and Latin America.²⁰ By 1912, these foreign investments had leaped to two billions, and on the eve of World War I, to two and one-half billions. The United States, however, still continued to be a debtor country, as its two and a half billion of foreign investments were more than offset by five billions invested by foreign capitalists in the United States.

Corresponding to this growing financial strength, production in the United States also soared. In 1914, the total production was \$28 billion, capital invested had gone up from \$9 billion in 1900 to almost \$23 billion in 1915, exports had reached \$2.5 billion and imports about \$2 billion, and there were 29.5 million people "gainfully employed," of whom about 55 per cent were wage earners. All this development was further stimulated by the digging of the Panama Canal, which was completed in 1914. From 1900 to 1914, the great flood of immigrants reached its crest, some 14,000,000 people pouring into the United States from abroad, seeking their fortune. The percentage of foreign-born workers in major industries in 1914 were: iron and steel, 58 per cent; soft coal, 62 per cent; meat packing, 61 per cent; textiles, 62 per cent; clothing, 69 per cent, and oil refining, 67 per cent.

The Spanish-Cuban-American War

About the turn of the century the capitalists of the United States, as budding imperialists, began to cast about for new worlds beyond United States borders to conquer for the construction of a colonial system of their own. Their slogan was "The Flag Follows the Dollar." They got their first taste of overseas territory in the seizure of Samoa in 1889. Then they grabbed the Hawaiian islands in the 1890's. Honolulu, for a hundred years, had been a port of call for the large numbers of United States whalers and China-bound merchant ships; but, with its new imperialistic impulses, the United States now determined to seize these highly strategic Hawaiian islands. By 1890, because of economic penetration, the largest part of the islands was already owned by citizens of the United States. So, in the manner approved long before in the seizure of Florida, Texas, and California, the local Honolulu Americans provoked a "revolution," overthrew the feeble queen, and in 1894 formally took over the islands. The United States was blazing its trail across the Pacific.

Then came the big seizure of the Spanish colonies in the war of 1898. Spain, by then grown thoroughly corrupt and senile in the grip of a decadent nobility, had long since been driven out of all of its once immense American colonial empire, with the exception of Cuba and Puerto Rico, which the national revolutionaries in these countries had never been able to free. Spain also still clung to the potentially very rich Philippines, in the Far East. The aggressive, imperialist United States, in the predatory war, proceeded to strip Spain of her last overseas colonial holdings. Even long before the war began, political leaders in the United States had publicly planned to get hold of all these valuable islands. Actually Spain had acceded to all United States formal demands before President McKinley sent his war message to Congress.

The sinking of the battleship *Maine* in Havana harbor on February 15, 1898, by parties still unknown, gave the imperialists the excuse they had long been seeking for a war against Spain, and on April 25 war was declared. It was only a small chore for the young and powerful United States to knock out decrepit Spain. After a few disastrous battles Spain surrendered, signing a peace treaty in December 1898, which gave up Cuba and ceded Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines (for \$20,000,000) to the United States. In the meantime, the hard-boiled capitalists had made many millions selling "embalmed beef" and other defective supplies to the United States Army.

When the Spanish-Cuban-American War began, hard-fought people's revolutions were going on in Cuba and the Philippines, with good prospects for final success. And Puerto Rico had won an autonomous status from Spain in 1898. Spain was obviously unable to beat down the revolution in Cuba. President McKinley gave solemn assurances to this struggling peo-

ple, as well as to the people of Puerto Rico, that he wanted none of their land and that their countries would be promptly given independence, once the war was won. But these promises were cynically broken. McKinley, according to Beard, prayed for heavenly guidance, through several sleepless hours one night, as to what to do with the conquered islands. Finally, as a result of his meditations, he concluded that "There was nothing left for us to do but to take them all,"²¹ after which he slept the sleep of the just. So Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines were turned into United States colonies, and Cuba was loaded down with the notorious Platt Amendment, which gave the United States the right of supervision and intervention. The island peoples, with their promised liberty denied them, all objected violently; the Philippine people, under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo, fighting an armed struggle against the United States in vain for two years trying to throw off the new yoke.

These imperialist aggressions awoke widespread alarm and opposition among the democratic masses in the United States. Anti-imperialism became the central slogan of Bryan's presidential campaign of 1900. Mark Twain sharply voiced this popular indignation by declaring that in the flag the "white stripes [should be] painted black and the stars replaced by the skull and crossbones."²² And, in Chicago, in October, 1899, an anti-imperialist conference was held with delegates from thirty states.

The United States had now become a world imperialist power, with its double orientation, toward Latin America and toward the Far East already well established. How clearly the big business men understood what they were doing through these imperialist moves was illustrated by a statement made by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge on January 7, 1901, who said: "We occupy a great position economically. We are marching on to a still greater one. You may impede it, you may check it, but you cannot stop the work of economic forces, you cannot stop the advance of the United States. . . . The American people and the economic forces which underlie all are carrying us forward to the economic supremacy of the world."²³

A Jungle Economy

The hundred and forty years between the War for Independence and World War I formed an unparalleled era of capitalist grabbing, robbery, and exploitation in the United States. The world had never before seen the like. The capitalists were like ravenous wolves, seizing and taking for their own the vast bulk of the country and its splendid resources. "A huge barbecue was spread to which all presumably were invited. Not quite all, to be sure; inconspicuous persons, those who were at home on the farm or at work in the mills and offices, were overlooked; a good many indeed out of the total number of the American people. But all the important persons, leading

bankers and industrialists, received invitations. There wasn't room for everybody and these were presumed to represent the whole. It was a splendid feast."²⁴

The capitalists assumed that the resources of the nation were theirs for the taking. They helped themselves greedily to forests, coal lands, mineral deposits, good farming and grazing lands, the growing industries, banks and transportation systems—ransacking the public domain, grabbing everything of special value and making it their own. It was an orgy of "free enterprise," and the law of the jungle prevailed. The capitalists fought among themselves like famished tigers over their rich prey—the industries and resources and people of the United States. They ruthlessly stole railroads from one another, they recklessly set armed gangs at destroying each other's oil plants; they flooded the public with watered stock; they bought and sold legislators "like fish in a barrel."

By the same token, the big capitalists considered the mass of workers and farmers to be their god-given slaves, to be exploited to the last limit. Their system of exploitation was different from the crude chattel slavery of the old plantation owners, in that it was incomparably more effective. While grudgingly permitting the toilers some semblance of political freedom, the capitalists doubly and triply robbed them of what they produced. During those years, they callously murdered literally millions of workers in their unprotected mines, factories, and railroads, and they also worked myriads more into early graves. They robbed the farmers coming and going. The capitalists treated the toilers as they did the natural resources of the country, as their personal property to be used and exploited and wasted at will.

This period saw the birth of the capitalist cliques of Rockefellers, Morgans, Carnegies, Astors, Goulds, Harrimans, Hills, Sages, Greens, Fisks, Vanderbilts, Huntingtons, Crockers, Armours, Cookes, Clarks, Elkins, and the like—the most notorious aggregation of crooks, money-grabbers, land speculators, invention-stealers, and political bribers in the history of world capitalism. Their cupidity was boundless. Their infamous exploits fill the pages of Henry George, Henry D. Lloyd, Ida Tarbell, Upton Sinclair, Charles Edward Russell, Lincoln Steffens, Ray Stannard Baker, and other "muck-rakers of those decades."

While tens of millions of the people lived in poverty and want, their capitalist masters reveled in luxury, piling millions upon hundreds of millions, and ever clamoring for more. Their greed was equaled only by their ignorance, and their culture was nil. They had no sense of patriotism or of national obligation. Their slogans were "All the traffic will bear" and "The public be damned." They lived in barbaric splendor, with their brassy palaces, their toadying to decadent European nobility, their "phony" society, and their dog-supper and monkey dinners. It was the *Gilded Age* of Mark

Twain. These greedy and ruthless capitalists were worthy successors to the Spanish conquistadores of four centuries before, and they were also the fitting forebears of the even richer and more ruthless capitalist oligarchy which owns and rules the United States in our day and which is now reaching out to dominate the world.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close the big capitalists stood as the actual masters of the United States. The country's major wealth was in their hands. "There were only three millionaires in the United States in 1861 and at least thirty-eight hundred at the lapse of thirty-six years. If . . . the economist, Charles Spahr, be accepted, one-tenth of the American people owned nine-tenths of the wealth by the end of the century."²⁵ To protect and increase their fabulous wealth, the capitalists had secured complete control of the state and were using it as their tool; the churches of the country, fatly subsidized, sang the glories of capitalism; the newspapers, with few exceptions, became but so many organs of propaganda for the capitalists; the schools and colleges propagated a pseudo-economic and political defense of capitalism; science, art, and culture generally became the handmaidens of capitalist profit, and even many, if not most, of the prominent leaders of labor became "lieutenants of the capitalists in the ranks of the working class." The interests of a small group of exploiters, who never numbered more than five to ten per cent of the total population, became superior to the interests and welfare of the vast majority of the people. Raw, naked capitalism was victorious. But still unsated, it looked forth hungrily upon the rest of the world.

But the capitalists were not unchallenged masters. The working class was growing and beginning to organize itself in the face of innumerable difficulties and treachery from its own leaders and violent repressions from the capitalists and their government. Especially after the Civil War, the workers began that challenge to capitalism, which can have only one end—the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism.

The Industrialization of Canada

Canada, the largest country in the western hemisphere, is amply supplied with the basic natural resources required for the development of a rounded-out, industrialized nation. It has vast stretches of rich farming land, immense forests, great fishing banks, and enormous mineral riches—nickel, silver, lead, zinc, gold, copper, asbestos, coal and lately discovered, oil, iron and uranium. The country also has huge sources of water power.

Besides these natural resources, Canada also possesses, like the United States, certain historical-political advantages facilitating its industrialization. Among these may be mentioned the vital fact that the big landholding system, which has been so disastrous to industrialization in Latin America, never got a real grip in Canada. The exception was in the French-settled areas along

the Saint Lawrence. There the latifundia system was early installed, and as a result industrial development has always lagged. The Canadian common people, contrary to this evil example, had the strength and good democratic sense to insist that the enormous prairies of the west should be parceled out to small farmers, much along the lines of the homestead system in the United States. Thus, in 1869, they compelled the Hudson's Bay Company to yield its stranglehold in immense Rupert's Land.²⁶

Another advantage Canada, like the United States, has enjoyed is that the Church, with its mutually hostile Catholic and Protestant sects, lacked unity and was never able to exercise the progress-crushing influence, save in French Quebec, that it has done in Latin America. Canada, too, again excepting Quebec, has been largely free of the various other feudal hangovers that have been so deadly to industry in Latin America. Also, Canada, being such an immense country, has found it relatively easy to develop a broad national market, an indispensable requirement for building a strong capitalist nation.

A number of other important elements have facilitated Canada's arrival at its present high stage of industrialization. Among these may be mentioned the proximity of Canada's major cities to the big industrial centers of the United States, a situation which has greatly contributed to their industrial growth. Then, there has been the long continued struggle between Great Britain and the United States for domination over Canada's economic and political life, a condition which has forced both of these powers to make various unwilling concessions to Canada's industrialization, which a single colonizing power might not have been compelled to do. And finally, Canada, like the United States, during the past generation, has not only escaped the ravages of the two world wars, but has flourished industrially from the war-born insatiable demand for foodstuffs and manufactured goods.

The Growth of the Industries

The general result has been that Canada has built up a big industrial system. Its manufactures now far surpass agriculture, mining, forestry, and fishing, its traditional industries, in the combined value of their output. The active industrialization of Canada began at a much later date, by half a century at least, than that of the United States. This was largely because of the long wars between the French and British for control of the country, and the aftermath of this struggle in the shape of a mutually hostile French Canada and English Canada. It was only after the adoption of the British North American Act of 1867, which brought the several disconnected colonies under one government and made Canada into a united dominion, that industrialization really got under way. Since then progress has been rapid.

Tim Buck thus describes the Canada of eighty years ago. "At the time

of Confederation [1867] the colonies of British North America comprised small, poorly developed communities, separated from each other economically as well as politically, with very limited facilities for transportation and communication, and little trade between them. Of their aggregate population of 3.5 million, about 1.5 million were in Ontario, somewhat less than 1.25 million in Quebec, with most of the remaining 750,000 in the three Maritime provinces."²⁷ After the political unification of the country, however, and under the influence of the great post-Civil War industrialization south of the border, in the United States, Canada got swiftly under way industrially.

From 1870 to 1890, the number of industrial establishments in Canada rose from 41,259 to 75,964; the capital invested from \$78 million to \$353 million, the number of workers from 187,942 to 369,595, and the net value of production, from \$96 million to \$219 million. "The years 1896 to 1913 were years of rapid large-scale economic expansion in Canada. Settlers poured into the West. The annual wheat crop of the three prairie provinces grew from 20 million bushels to 209 million bushels. Railway construction was resumed on an expanding scale, new resources were discovered and exploited, new towns sprang up and the entire economy of the country attained a new high level of development. The remarkable speed of economic development during that period was made possible by a huge investment of capital. Between 1900 and 1913, \$1,400 million were invested in railways, canals, and harbours."²⁸

The net value of manufactures grew from \$215 million in 1901 to \$565 million in 1911.²⁹ The general population of Canada increased from 5,371,315 in 1901 to 7,206,643 in 1911. Especially vital was the development of the railroads, which extended their mileage from 18,140 miles in 1901 to 30,795 in 1914, thus providing Canada with more railroad miles per thousand persons than any other country in the world. The vital Canadian Pacific Railway was first put through to the Pacific Coast in 1880-85. As in the United States, the government largely financed the railroads and then turned them over to private concerns to exploit. For railroad building, the government gave the companies \$598 million in public money, as well as 32 million acres of land. During that period, from about 1900 to the outbreak of World War I, "production of primary iron and steel was increased to almost five times its 1890 volume. Production of finished iron and steel and their products was increased three times; bridge and structural steel four times; railway rolling stock five times; the generation of electricity for light and power more than six times."³⁰ The mining and paper pulp industries also grew rapidly. Throughout the years there were constant discoveries of new mineral resources. Immigrants poured into the country, increasing in number from 16,835 in 1896 to 211,653 in 1906.

Both Great Britain and the United States sought to dominate the rising young Canadian state. How insolent the United States capitalists were in this

respect was illustrated by the statement of President Taft who, upon the drafting of a reciprocity treaty in 1911, remarked: "The amount of Canadian products that we would take would make Canada only an adjunct of the United States. It would transfer all their important business to Chicago and New York."³¹ The indignant Canadian people rejected the proffered treaty and defeated the Canadian government that drafted it. By the time of World War I, the United States had \$700 million invested in Canada. This was about one-third the amount of British investments in Canada, a ratio that was soon to be reversed. And the United States drive to control Canada was fated to increase accordingly.

Buck sums up the general industrial development of Canada as follows: "In the term of one lifetime her national economy was developed from the largely self-sufficient economy of isolated communities with small industries based upon natural protection and limited by local needs, to a unified national economy characterized by the powerful finance-capitalist monopolies which dominate it today."³² At the outbreak of World War II Canada had definitely become an imperialist country.

15. THE RETARDED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF LATIN AMERICA

When the first of the wars of national liberation in the western hemisphere began in 1776, Latin America had much more accumulated wealth, population, and general production than the United States. But it has since fallen far behind in the race for economic development. The agriculture and industry of Latin America, in comparison with those of the United States today, are glaringly weak and inefficient. During the century and a half of independence, while the United States was becoming a powerful industrial country, the lands of Latin America have remained predominantly agricultural. "In Mexico in 1939, 4,000,000 of the working population were engaged in agriculture, compared to only 410,000 in manufacturing and mining. In Brazil, nearly 9,000,000 out of 13,000,000 persons gainfully employed, or 69 per cent, work on the land. In Peru the figure is about 75 per cent, and in the small republics of the Caribbean and Central America, it is as high as 90 per cent."¹ Argentine is an exception, with about 57 per cent of its people urban and 43 per cent rural. An average of about 70 per cent of the people throughout Latin America, however, live on the land; whereas only 20 per cent of the people of the United States are actually farmers.

What this economic backwardness means to the approximately 150,000,000 people of Latin America, in comparison with conditions prevailing among the almost equal number of people in the United States, may be graphically illustrated by a few general figures. Thus, the national output of goods and services of the United States, at this writing, \$264 billion,² is some thirteen times as large as that of all the countries of Latin America combined, which is estimated at about \$20 billion; and the national budget of the United States, this year \$60 billion, is about 30 times greater than that of all the combined national budgets of the Latin American countries, estimated at some two billion dollars. In the United States, there are six times as many miles of highways (better in quality as well), four times the length of railways, twenty times as many telephones, five times as much telephone line, nine times as many radios, and thirty times as many automobiles as in the combined nations of Latin America.³ In United States industry, the annual output, on the eve of World War II, in 1939, averaged \$6,340 per worker, whereas in Latin America it was only \$1,380; production in agriculture is also many times greater per capita in the United States. As a result of the

retarded condition of Latin America's economy, plus the prevalent ruthless exploitation, its working population is forced to live in squalor, sickness, and oppression to an extent that constitutes a world tragedy—but of this phase, more in a later chapter.

This whole situation constitutes a further example of the operation of Lenin's law of the uneven development of capitalism. The capitalist system has not grown evenly everywhere all over the hemisphere, but by fits and starts; first one country and then another, because of specific conditions, taking the lead. In this sense, the United States has far outdistanced the countries that were formerly colonies of Spain and Portugal.

The State of Latin American Industry

Many reasons are put forward to explain the relative economic backwardness of Latin America. A favorite one is the argument that Latin America lacks the necessary raw material resources. But this will not hold water. It is true that Latin America has but little discovered coal—Wythe states that it possesses only about one per cent of the world's known coal deposits. But if Latin America lacks coal, it has immense potentials of water power, Wythe declaring that it has an abundance in this respect.⁴ Latin America also has very important oil fields, and its various lands are as yet only sketchily prospected for petroleum and other mineral resources. For the rest, Latin America has big supplies of iron, copper, tin, manganese, bauxite, timber, and other natural wealth. For a solid heavy industry development, "the raw material resources are probably more than adequate."⁵ Many countries have industrialized themselves on the basis of far less natural resources than those of the various Latin American countries. Neither Great Britain nor Japan, not to mention Italy, France, and a whole row of other capitalist countries, for example, can compare with Brazil in the matter of resources necessary for industrialization.

Those writers who are also constantly arguing that Latin America cannot have a strong agricultural system because its tropical soils leach out from the heavy rains and most of its arable land is unfit, for one reason or another, to raise good crops, underestimate the possibilities. Carlson makes the following timely comment on them, speaking of agricultural potentialities on the two-and-a-half-mile high Bolivian plateau, "The altitude of this plateau is too high, and it is too poorly watered in most places for profitable agriculture. Yet it is there that the Inca civilization developed its massive structures around Lake "Titicaca."⁶ But it is no unusual phenomenon to find that the Incas far outdid in many respects the present-day capitalism of the South American mountain countries. Latin America, with proper methods, can increase its present agricultural production many times over.

Another favorite argument used in the attempt to explain away the

economic backwardness of Latin America is the one that the several countries have split themselves up into national units too small to be effective in an industrial sense. Of course, this national division (Balkanization) into narrow units is a serious handicap to industrialization; but it cannot possibly explain the industrial backwardness of Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, and Peru, all of which are huge countries, especially Brazil, which is larger than the United States minus Alaska. Further arguments to the end that the tropical climate in most of Latin America effectively bars industrialization; that the topography of these countries, largely vast mountain chains, high plateaus, steaming jungles, and arid deserts, prohibits the growth of industry; that the Andes Mountains are an almost unsurmountable barrier to traffic; and that the peoples of Latin America, indolent by nature, are constitutionally unfitted to build up a modern industrial system—all such contentions do not stand up under real examination.

While some of the reasons put forth do constitute obvious handicaps to industrialization, they are not decisive obstacles to the building of a modern system of agriculture and industry in Latin America. The most basic reason for the stagnation of Latin America's economy, in contrast with the development in the United States, as we have already remarked in Chapter 7, is the fact that the whole vast area, with but local exceptions, is in the grip of a system of gigantic landholdings—the latifundia. Historically, this land system, a hang-over of feudalism, has paralyzed and stultified every progressive economic and political tendency in Latin America. The disastrous effects of the latifundia system in crippling agriculture and industry throughout the history of Latin America have been made all the worse by the more recent pressures of various imperialist countries, especially the United States, which limit and distort the economy of Latin America to their own liking and interest and to the detriment of the Latin American peoples.

The Curse of Big Private Landholdings

Already in colonial days the latifundia system, especially backed as it was by the Spanish and Portuguese governments and by the Catholic Church, which was the biggest landowner of all, showed clearly that it operated to prevent the growth of industry and the modernization of agriculture. The reactionary landowners, both in their European connections and in the colonies, realized from the outset that the growth of a national capitalist class and a militant working class could spell disaster for them. So they carefully guarded against this potential menace by laying every obstacle in the way of a modern industry and agriculture.

As we have seen, the big landowners of Latin America for the most part (and to a far greater extent than the landowners of the United States) came safely through the Revolution of 1810-26, finding themselves in charge

of the new governments and with their huge estates intact. Indeed, the revolution, instead of breaking up these estates, gave a new impetus to their extension. So did the expansion of the world market for Latin American products in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Nor have the many "revolutions" since weakened the power of the landowners, except in Haiti and Mexico. By and large, in the century-and-a-quarter that has passed since the wars of independence, the latifundia system has grown and entrenched itself. The Argentine dictators were especially lavish in giving the Indians' land to the big landholders. In the twenty years before the end of the nineteenth century, they handed out 150 million acres to these land monopolists. Rennie says that in this respect, "The Republic had far outdone Rosas in generosity."⁷ Duggan says that throughout Latin America, "During the nineteenth century as much land was incorporated into large estates as during the previous three centuries."⁸ Consequently, as Behrendt states, "Latin America, with few exceptions (among them Costa Rica and parts of Colombia and Brazil), has no farmer class. The land there is monopolized by a small class of landed gentry."⁹

The Latin American landowners, like the exploiters in all countries, try to hide the extent of their enormous wealth; nevertheless some figures are available. These indicate the extent of the great holdings characteristic of the latifundia system in general. Save in Mexico on a major scale and in Brazil to a small degree, little change has been made in the situation since the periods covered by the following statistics. In Chile, one per cent of the farms contain 52 per cent of all the land, and 626 properties average 57,182 acres each.¹⁰ In Argentina as a whole, two thousand families own one-fifth, and the best, of the land; in 1927, the average landholding in that country was nine times as great as in the United States. One family owns land in the Province of Buenos Aires to the extent of 1,250,000 acres. Others have holdings almost as great. In 1924, four companies in Tierra del Fuego owned 660,000 acres and rented 400,000 more.¹¹ In Mexico, prior to the revolution of 1910, one per cent of the people owned 85 per cent of the land. In Brazil, according to the 1940 census, 64,000 landowners held about 338 million acres, or an average of some 5,280 acres per estate. "There are estates in Brazil that are as large as England."¹² Some two thousand persons own a total expanse of Brazilian land bigger than Italy, Holland, Belgium, and Denmark together. In Bolivia, 516 families own the big and rich Yungas valley. In Venezuela, 85 per cent of the land is in estates of 4,000 acres or more. In Paraguay, there are 176 latifundias of more than 125,000 acres each. And in little Uruguay, there are 3,118 estates, ranging from 2,500 to 12,500 acres each.¹³ Similar huge landholdings are to be found in the other Latin American countries, with the Catholic Church one of the very biggest landlords in nearly every situation.

"Everywhere the huge estate monopolizes the glut of cheap labor and holds back the path of progress. They call it the hacienda in Mexico, the fundo in Chile, the estancia in Argentina, the hatu in Venezuela, the fazenda in Brazil, but no matter what the name, it stands for a way of economic life which has been passed down from generation to generation, accentuating the extremes of poverty and wealth. . . . At the present time it can be said that approximately 10 per cent of the people in Latin America own all of the productive land; the rest of the population is landless."¹⁴

Besides these large private estates, enormous stretches of valuable land are held by companies controlled by various foreign countries, especially the United States. Among these are Ford in Brazil and the United Fruit Company in Central America. As early as in 1928, this latter company, says Kirkland, "controlled plantations greater in area than the State of Delaware."¹⁵ It now owns some 4 million acres in Central America. The W. R. Grace Company occupies much the same dominating position along the west coast of South America as the United Fruit Company does in Central America, with about \$200 million invested in shipping, textiles, sugar properties, coffee plantations, chain stores, banks, airlines, mines, etc. Various United States mining, steel-making, petroleum and other concerns also own chunks of valuable property in Mexico, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, and other countries. In Cuba, for example, according to Kirkland, Americans in 1928 owned or leased 4,000 miles of private railways and 6,274,000 acres of land.¹⁶ The American Sugar Company, through subsidiaries, owns 300,000 acres of the best land in the island¹⁷ and it controls 62 per cent of the sugar industry. Half a million Cuban agricultural workers have no land at all. Standard Oil and U. S. Steel hold huge properties in Venezuela.

The general result of the latifundia system is land poverty for the overwhelming mass of the rural population throughout Latin America. Most of the people engaged in agriculture have no land whatever, or only small patches of the worst quality. Small peasant holdings make up only 10 per cent of all Latin American agriculture.¹⁸ The big landlords jealously guard their holdings, not only from expropriation and from the possibility of an unfriendly government breaking up their estates, but against their gradual dissolution through the processes of inheritance. To preserve their land monopolies, they fought as long as they could to retain the feudal laws of entail and primogeniture. But where these laws were abolished, the latifundists had recourse to the device of landholding corporations, which keep big estates intact within the sphere of the given families. Only under pressure and at extortionate prices do they reluctantly sell land to small buyers, displaying in this respect much the same attitude as did the former slaveholders in the south of the United States.

Besides impoverishing the great masses of the people, the latifundia

system has produced a whole series of other negative economic results. For one thing, with the consequent haphazard system of agriculture, only a small percentage of the arable land is cultivated, whole stretches of good soil lying idle. For example, "Venezuela has 69,000,000 hectares* of land suitable for cultivation, but only 730,000 hectares, or a little more than one percent, are tilled."¹⁹ Only 1.6 per cent of Brazil is cultivated although half of its area is cultivable.²⁰

Latifundism also makes for incredibly primitive methods of farming. Thus, says Duggan, "In 1920 there were six states of Brazil with fewer than 100 plows each—an average of one plow for every 214 farms!" He also declares that the fazendas "operate in much the same way today as they did in the sixteenth century."²¹ The landowners can waste fortunes in the gambling halls of Europe, but they cannot buy farm machinery and modern equipment. Characteristically, the Argentine cattle and sheep-kings sabotaged the construction of vitally needed railroads, opposed the establishment of the meat-packing industry, opposed the introduction of blooded horses, short-horned cattle, and merino sheep to replace the scrubby range stock, and resisted the plowing of the exceedingly fertile pampas for the cultivation of grain crops—all of which technical innovations would have made these big landowners fabulously rich almost overnight.²² These are the kind of conditions that explain why Argentina, a rich land five times as large as France, has much less than one-half the population of that country.

Such primitive conditions on the part of the dominant landowners enormously lessens the potential productivity of Latin American agriculture. Their deleterious results are felt in other respects. The peonage system of exploiting labor is barbarously inefficient. The soil is exhausted by all sorts of wasteful methods, while erosion, uncombated, has become a deadly serious problem in most parts of Latin America. And monoculture, or the cultivation of one or two particular crops for export, which exposes countries to the devastating effects of the world economic crises and inflicts numerous other ills upon the people, is a natural consequence of the big landholding system.

Besides these crippling effects upon agriculture, the latifundias also stunt and paralyze sprouting industry. The big Latin American landholders, not unlike their counterparts, the slaveowners in the southern part of the United States, dread the growth of industry, and, with certain exceptions, their general political course is directed to prevent it. They want cheap manufactured products from abroad, hence they are advocates of free trade and are enemies of tariffs that would protect the young national industries. They shunt off as much of the tax burden as they can upon the industrial groups, not forgetting, of course, to fasten as much as possible on the workers and other producers. They are also generally opposed to internal improve-

*A hectare is equal to about two and a half acres of land.

ments—roads, railroads, canals, and so forth, indispensable for a growing industrial system. The conscious opposition of the latifundists to trade, industry, and the development of the national market is illustrated by the customary boast of big Brazilian landowners that “in this house are bought only iron, salt, gunpowder, and lead”—all else being produced on the premises.

One of the more subtle and dangerous effects of latifundism is the prestige attached to landowning, as contrasted with other forms of wealth. What Crow says of Argentina in this respect applies pretty much to the rest of Latin America. “Land,” he says, “is the measure of a man’s pedigree even in advanced Argentina. The newly rich capitalist or industrialist is frowned upon by a large part of the best society.”²³ Such aristocratic practices, which prevail widely in Latin America, constitute a definite handicap to industrialization.

For a half-century after the end of the wars for national liberation in 1826, it was the big landowners, dominating every country in Latin America—save for occasional interruptions by ineffective liberal governments—who systematically stifled Latin American industry. This they did at a time when industry in the United States, relatively free of big landowner interference, was flourishing like a bay tree. About 1870, another new and powerful force entered into the Latin American situation which further crippled the whole economic life and development of the area. This was the penetration of these countries by imperialists from abroad, who were seeking superprofitable investments for their ever-growing capital for which there was no longer a sufficiently favorable field in their respective home countries. This imperialist development, as we shall see, intensified all the inherent negative features of latifundism, and moreover added a number of industry-hampering effects of its own.

Imperialist Economic Penetration in Latin America

Great Britain was the first country to begin a modern imperialist financial penetration of Latin America. That country, from early colonial times, had never abandoned activities aimed at getting a big slice of the Latin American pie. Although it had been sadly disappointed in its colonial ambitions when it was driven out of Brazil in the seventeenth century, expelled from its North American colonies in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and frustrated in its attempt to seize the vital River Plate area in the first years of the nineteenth century, Great Britain persisted in trying to grab what it could in the Americas. It meddled about in the revolutionary wars and movements at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Chile, Peru, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil, hoping to capture the trade of the new nations that were being born, or to take over as its own colonies most of

the old Spanish colonial system. And in all of these areas Great Britain did succeed in making important trade conquests which she is hanging onto more or less until our own times.

In the 1870's this penetration by Great Britain developed into its new and most important imperialist phase. That country, which had long held the dominant position in world trade, began to find its exports falling off and it plunged into the great economic crisis of 1873. Among the new measures taken then by the British capitalists to strengthen their trade position was the heavy investment of capital in colonial and other undeveloped countries, thus expanding the markets for British goods in these lands. The export of capital, characteristic of the period of imperialism, began to increase sharply. Great Britain's investments abroad leaped from £200 million in 1850 to £4 billion in 1913.²⁴ Latin America received due attention from the British investors, who began literally to scour the earth, seeking whom they might devour in a profit sense. British investments in Latin America mounted from £2,700,000 in 1878 to £167 million in 1891, and finally, in the 1920's, they reached some one billion pounds. They are now somewhat below this figure.

United States investors came into the Latin American field considerably later than the British. Basically, this was because, with the rich United States territory to develop industrially, they had little capital to spare for investment abroad. However, about the turn of the century, as the British before them, they also had to bolster their foreign trade and swell their profits by making capital investment in other countries. They were looking for colonial superprofits, like the British. By 1913, United States investments in Latin America totaled about \$173 million, but twenty-five years later they had climbed to about five billion dollars, including investments of all kinds.²⁵ The Wall Street capitalists paid special attention to mining in Latin America. Rippey says that by the end of the 1930's the bulk of the products of mineral resources of Hispanic America was owned by United States capitalists.²⁶ This country now controls almost all of the aluminum, lead, tin, zinc, nickel, and copper and about 75 percent of the petroleum resources of Latin America.

Following in the path of Great Britain and the United States, several other capitalist countries began to invest heavily in Latin America. These included Canada, Germany, France, and Italy. Altogether, the total foreign capitalist investment in Latin America amounted to about \$10.3 billion at their peak in 1932.²⁷ Of this invested capital, Great Britain and the United States controlled some 92 percent. The great economic crisis of the 1930's stopped, and even temporarily reversed, the flow of foreign capital investment in Latin America; but investment has since been resumed in connection with World War II and its aftermath. Says Judson and Showman:

"In no other great section of the world are commercial and financial interests so completely in the control of foreigners as in Latin America."²⁸

The Type of Imperialist Investments

The imperialist investors in Latin America, whether American, British, Canadian, German, Italian, or others, have consistently applied the customary industry-choking colonial economic principles they also used with such devastating effects in India, China, Africa, Indonesia, and other colonial and semicolonial areas of the world. That is: (*a*) they seek by every means to control entirely the basic natural resource materials of the respective countries they are exploiting; (*b*) they strive to monopolize completely the markets of these countries with their manufactured products; and (*c*) they use every means, however unscrupulous, to prevent the development in the exploited countries of basic industries which can become in any sense competitive with the industries of the imperialist countries. The general idea is to make the Latin American countries economically complementary, and therefore politically subordinate, to the imperialist countries.

It is in line with these methods of colonial exploitation that foreign investments have been made in Latin America. "The traditional role of foreign capital in Latin America was the development of enterprises producing raw materials for world market."²⁹ Thus, a major source of investment in these countries is in mining—copper, tin, nitrates, manganese, lead, zinc, gold, silver, platinum, etc.—to provide indispensable raw materials for the industries of the imperialist countries. Petroleum is a basic source of investment. A further sphere for such investments is agriculture, with its production of tropical foods, medicines, and lumber—sugar, coffee, tea, cacao, bananas, quinine, mahogany, rubber, sisal, dyewoods, etc.—that are essentially noncompetitive with the basic agricultural products of the industrialized nations. A third big sphere for capital investment is in public utilities of all sorts—railroads, airways, river steamers, streetcar lines, power plants, gas works, telephones, telegraphs, etc.—and also in general government bonds for military and related purposes. By such loans the imperialist investors, government and private, strive to rob the countries of their natural resources, wring the maximum profits from their peoples, dominate them politically, and prevent them from developing a rounded-out economy that might compete locally or on a world scale with the imperialist countries.

The Latin American Confederation of Labor (CTAL) states that a total of \$4,023,000,000 invested by the United States in Latin America by 1940 was directed into the following major channels: government loans, one billion dollars; mining, \$770 million; oil, \$722 million; public services, \$593 million; agriculture, \$367 million; railroads, \$186 million; commerce,

\$119 million; manufacturing, \$258 million.³⁰ From this statistical breakdown, it can be seen that manufacturing has absorbed only about one-fifteenth of United States investments in Latin America, although the burning need of the area is for manufacturing industries of all sorts. British, Canadian, German, French, and other foreign investments in Latin America show similar reactionary patterns.

There is one competitive industry in Latin America, however, in which the imperialists have invested relatively heavily—textiles. In fact, this is the number one industry of Latin America. It seems like an exception, but it is not. As a matter of world colonial experience, the imperialist exploiters have learned that, in view of the impoverished condition of the colonial peoples and their low buying power, it is far more profitable, especially in cotton-growing countries, to produce the cheaper grades of textiles locally with low-paid labor, than to transport the cotton and the finished goods all the way to the imperialist countries and back. The impoverished peoples could not buy such high-priced imported goods. It was on this basis that the elementary textile industries of India and China, as well as those of the several cotton-producing Latin American countries, have grown up. The undeveloped state of the general textile industry in Latin America, however, is demonstrated by the fact that, all told, it possesses only 4,400,000 cotton spindles; whereas that of the United States, primarily producing for an equal number of people, has about 24,000,000 cotton spindles.

Another at least partially competitive industry in Latin America has also been financed mainly by foreign capital, American and British. This is the big modern meat-packing industry of Argentina and Uruguay. The "Anglo," financed by British capital, is the largest packing plant in the world. From the standpoint of the imperialists, the economic reason for the existence, locally, of this packing industry, the "frigorificos," is that live-stock—cattle, sheep, and hogs—are perishable and it is far more profitable to slaughter and process them at the point of their origin than to transport them on the hoof six thousand miles by steamer to Europe. Therefore, British and American capital, with Argentine participation, has financed the River Plate packing industry. When the first refrigerator steamship, the French *La Frigorifique*, left the River Plate for Europe in 1877, it marked the beginning of what inevitably had to become a big Latin American industrial development.

For the rest, the policy of the foreign imperialists in Latin American countries is one of general opposition to industrialization. In this policy they have the collaboration of the big landowners, the Catholic Church, and many national capitalists. The imperialists have financed the railroads in many countries, but these systems have been built not to serve and develop the national economy but simply to get imperialist-controlled mining and

other products to tidewater. Foreigners in this sense pioneered in building railroads, establishing telegraph and steamboat lines, etc., in these countries.³¹ However, the foreign exploiters do more than merely refrain from investing in the competitive basic industries necessary for rounded-out economic systems in Latin America—in steel, power, automobile, chemical, electrical, general manufacturing, etc. They also use all their economic power and political influence to prevent the Latin American peoples themselves from establishing such industries. The tragedy of Latin America is that these destructive activities have been all too successful. For example, Argentina is the most industrialized country in Latin America, yet of a potential of five million horse power of hydroelectricity only thirty-five thousand horse power has been developed. The systematic stifling of Latin American industry by the imperialists, with the help of their landowner and clerical allies, has long been, and continues to be, a decisive factor in forcing upon the Latin American people their present tragically low living standards.

The Crippling Effects of Imperialist Economic Policy

The general political effect of foreign investment in Latin American countries has been to make them dependent semicolonies of the major investing powers. In general, their national sovereignty has been deeply infringed upon. In Argentina, the strongest country economically in Latin America, where British big capital has long been the dominant foreign force, even dictator Peron admitted the truth of a recent statement by a speaker in the British Parliament, who declared that "The Argentine Republic is our best colony."³² In Central America and the Caribbean area generally, the United States has repeatedly made and unmade governments to suit its own purposes. The successive governments of Cuba, since its liberation from Spain, have had little real power, with United States capitalists owning forty percent of the national wealth of the island and dictating the price of its basic product, sugar. In Chile, Brazil, and many other Latin American countries similar pressures upon the governments are exerted by the United States capitalists and their governments.

With various Latin American governments under their control or heavy influence, the big United States capitalists systematically use their political power to further their own reactionary economic program. They seek to draw up the national tax laws so that there is no burden upon them; they block tariffs that would shield the weak national industries from cut-throat competition from the big United States industries; they demand favored conditions for the investment of their capital, and they not only evade the respective national laws on the treatment of labor, but they also expect the national governments to shoot down their grossly underpaid workers when the latter dare to strike.

Under these conditions, the imperialists have long been able to suck big profits out of Latin American countries, thereby further weakening the already feeble economies. A notorious loan of Baring Brothers, English bankers, to Argentina of three million pesos, cost twenty-three million finally to liquidate.⁸³ In present-day Brazil, largely under imperialist influence, "interest rates and profits are among the highest in the world. . . . They are three or four times as high as the rates prevailing in most countries."⁸⁴ Davila says that, "According to a 1948 publication of the Institute of Inter-American Studies, a three billion dollar American investment in Latin America is now yielding \$400,000,000 a year."⁸⁵ Foreign profits in Latin America are now estimated to have reached \$700 million. The American copper companies in Latin America are reputed to make three times as much profit per worker as they do in the United States. In one year, 1929, the United Fruit Company wrung \$17,800,000 out of Central America. The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, in 1948, squeezed out an estimated profit of \$10,000 per year per worker in a Venezuelan petroleum plant. According to the Cuban labor leader, Lazaro Pena, from 1913 to 1939 the imperialists pulled out of Latin America \$6,403,000,000 in profits and reinvested but \$1,898,000,000 of this amount.⁸⁶

Another very harmful influence of imperialist investments in Latin America is the intensification of the already great danger of monoculture, of concentrating upon one or two products for export. "Monoculture, or the one-crop system, is an inheritance from colonial days when Spain and Portugal forced their colonies to concentrate on production of the minerals and the other raw materials they needed and to buy all imports from the mother country. Some Latin American countries still have a 'monoculture' of minerals, but most of them depend upon agricultural exports. To take some of the more extreme cases: In 1938, the last full year before the war, coffee accounted for 87 percent of El Salvador's exports, 61 percent of Guatemala's, 54 percent of Colombia's, 50 percent of Haiti's, and 45 percent of Brazil's. Sugar made up 70 percent of Cuba's exports, and 60 percent of the Dominican Republic's. Bananas accounted for 74 percent of Panama's exports and 59 percent of Honduras'. In five republics, more than two-thirds of the total value of exports came from one product, in six from two products, and in five from three. The three leading exports in each of the twenty republics are foodstuffs or raw materials."⁸⁷ Latin America's normal pre-war exports were: minerals, 40 percent; foodstuffs, 40 percent; fibers, 10 percent; miscellaneous, 10 percent. Petroleum is the largest single export.

One of the most deadly features of "monoculture," whether this system be applied to minerals or to agriculture, is that it exposes the countries practicing it to the worst vagaries of prices in the world markets. The United States, for example, as the chief market for Cuba's sugar, can paralyze that

country by arbitrarily lowering sugar prices and sugar quotas. The vulnerability of the monoculture countries has been especially severe in the recurring cyclical economic crises. During the great world economic crisis of 1929-33, when the bottom fell out of prices for raw materials and agricultural commodities generally, the countries of Latin America felt the blow with devastating force. This exposure to uncontrollable world price shifts is one of the basic reasons why a rounded-out, diversified economy is needed in the Latin American lands. Another detrimental effect of monoculture is the overstress upon exports, with a consequent neglect of the national market. Whereas the United States exports only about ten percent of its production, Latin American exports run as high as 85 percent in some countries.

Imperialist investment policies in Latin America have deliberately distorted and stunted the industries in other ways besides robbing them of necessary capital and inflicting the deadly monoculture system upon them. The basic industries, especially, have been purposely kept weak. While there are some recently constructed, small-sized steel mills in Mexico, Brazil, Chile, and Peru, largely built with United States capital, their combined annual output of steel is only about 1,500,000 tons, as against some 100 million tons in the United States.* Other heavy industries—machine-building, electrical, chemical, automobile, power plants, etc.—are still worse off. Even the lighter industries have not been allowed to develop sufficiently to satisfy the most urgent immediate needs of the people. Thus, there arise the economic absurdities of hides and skins being sent from Argentina to England and then shipped back to the former as shoes; Mexican henequen sent to the United States and then sold back to Mexico in the shape of rope." Panama, with vast woods covering most of the country and with equally plentiful fishery resources, imported timber and canned fish."³⁸

Snezhko says of industry in Brazil: "In quest of cheap raw materials and labor power, foreign imperialists (British, French, German, Belgian, Dutch, Japanese) . . . blocked the development of Brazilian industry. Never in the course of her history was Brazil in a position to make use of her natural wealth in her own interests. Any possibility of her being able to do so has been reduced to nought now that Brazil has been converted, with the help of Dutra and Goes Monteiro, into a colony of North American imperialism."³⁹ The same can be said with equal or greater force about every other country in Latin America.

*The most important of these steel mills are the Volta Redonda plant in Brazil and the Huachipato plant in Chile, both of which were built, in the main, with funds from the United States Export-Import Bank.

Latifundism and Imperialism

A United States economic expert on Latin America, George Wythe, says that: "The present stage of industrial development in the leading Latin American countries has some resemblance, although on a smaller scale, to that of the United States in the 1870's."⁴⁰ But this is a fundamental error. In the 1870's industry in the United States was developing freely and rapidly, chiefly with a swiftly accumulating national capital, and without serious interference from big landowners and outside imperialist investors. But in Latin America the situation is basically different. The respective countries are in the grip of a three-cornered combination of latifundists, reactionary national capitalists, and foreign imperialists, all of whom are throttling the young industries and preventing their development. They keep Latin America chained to a semicolonial status. And the worst culprit in this respect is United States imperialism which, besides repressing Latin-American industry generally, has, in order to protect its own predatory interests, repeatedly and deliberately killed specific Latin American industrial projects by ruthless competition. In view of this situation, Latin Americans will read with very great skepticism Mr. Wythe's statement that "It is significant that the United States Government has given its moral and financial support to industrial development in Latin America."⁴¹

As matters now stand, Latin America, with 14 per cent of the world's surface and four per cent of its people, nevertheless makes many important contributions to the economy of the world. Its shares in the world production of its chief products, in the nearest round figures, are: Coffee, 87 per cent; antimony, 53 per cent; silver, 45 per cent; cane sugar, 41 per cent; vanadium, 38 per cent; cacao, 33 per cent; bauxite, 32 per cent; copper, 22 per cent; lead, 21 per cent; tin, 18 per cent; petroleum, 16 per cent; meat, 16 per cent; wool, 16 per cent.⁴² These are strong showings, but, on the other hand, altogether, Latin America produces only one-fifth as much coal as Belgium and its output of heavy machinery, automobiles, etc., is almost negligible. From these figures it is clear that Latin America's major production still lies in the fields of raw materials and agriculture and not of manufactured goods.

During the two world wars, industry in Latin America made small-scale spurts forward. With the great capitalist powers engaged in killing each other off and thereby creating boundless national and international markets for goods of all kinds, it was possible for the Latin American peoples to get a few improvements into their own economies—extending somewhat their lighter industries, establishing here and there a small heavy industry plant, cultivating a bit of trade among the Latin American countries themselves, beginning some diversification in their agriculture, and nipping a little land off the big estates in the shape of small farms. Brazil's industrial production went up from three billion cruzeiros in 1920 to thirty-one billions in 1943.

Mexico's industrial output increased three times over during the period 1930-46. Argentina doubled the output of its general industries between 1935 and 1943. During the past twenty years, aviation has also made big strides in Latin America, largely because of the primitive state of the roads and railways. Beals says, "Today, South America flies many more airmiles per capita than any other part of the globe. Its total air mileage is approximately three times that of the United States."⁴³ Another striking development in Latin America during the past generation has been the rapid expansion of many of its large cities. Thus, Buenos Aires now has about three million population, Rosario (Argentina) two million, Rio de Janeiro 1,750,000, Sao Paulo (Brazil) two million, Montevideo one million, Mexico City two million, Havana 750,000, etc.

All this looks quite impressive statistically, but the sum total of national production and national income is still relatively very small, as we have seen. The Latin American peoples have not succeeded in making an industrial breakthrough. To quote Olson and Hickman: "Latin American manufacturing has developed chiefly in consumption goods; cotton cloth, shoes and other types of clothing, building materials, etc."⁴⁴ They have not yet smashed the deadly combination of latifundists, big national capitalists, reactionary clericals, and foreign imperialists who, nearly always found working together, are suffocating and hamstringing their national economies. They have not succeeded in laying a heavy industry basis, for their industrial life.

As remarked above, Latin America made its greatest advances in industrial progress during the two world wars. The same thing is also true of Canada and the United States. This goes to show the tremendous role of war in the industrial development of the western hemisphere. It also demonstrates the reactionary character of capitalism, which now has to have war in order to grow and fatten. But such war industrial development rests upon an altogether unsound and rotten basis.

Regarding the industrial advances made by Latin America during World War II, Lombardo Toledano, general secretary of the Latin American Confederation of Labor (CTAL), says: "The incipient industrial development that was achieved in Latin America during the war finds itself paralyzed because production in the United States has again turned to the conquest of markets and is attempting to annihilate all competitors. Under these circumstances, we have to deplore the evident fact that, after having contributed to the victorious war on fascism, our countries now are suffering under greater economic, and therefore, political, dependence than before the war."⁴⁵

Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Chile, in the order named, are the leading Latin American countries in industrial production; but their output is still deplorably small. Despite such industrial and agricultural progress as had been made in the past generation, the fact remains that the combined populations

of Latin America, although almost exactly the same as the population of the United States, have a national production less than one-tenth as large as that of the United States. Moreover, the living conditions of the masses of toilers on the farms and in the factories are so bad as to constitute a world-scale disaster. For Latin America a solid economic progress is dependent upon the respective peoples cracking the reactionary domestic and foreign political combination of landowners and capitalists that has been holding these potentially rich countries in an economic vise.

16. PAN-AMERICANISM

Historically, Pan-Americanism contains two mutually antagonistic elements: first, the striving of the Latin American peoples, supported by democratic forces in the United States and Canada, to develop a friendly co-operation with the peoples of all the Americas; and second, the effort of predatory capitalist interests in the United States (with the help of Latin American reactionaries) to use Pan-Americanism as a potent means to establish their domination throughout the western hemisphere. Unfortunately, the second reactionary force has so far proved dominant, with its Pan-American Union. Pan Americanism has come to mean but one thing—United States rulership of the western hemisphere. In this chapter we shall trace the development of the Pan-American movement only up to the general period of World War I.

The Latin Americans who led the revolution against Spain were ardent advocates of western hemisphere co-operation. As early as 1797, Francisco Miranda, famous as the Precursor of the Revolution, formed an all-inclusive plan for "The Great American Union." Later on Bolivar, San Martin, O'Higgins, Alvear, and many other revolutionists expressed similar ideas. Says Quintanilla, "Pan Americanism, at its inception, was indeed a Latin American affair. Expressions like 'Congress of America,' 'Congress of the Nation,' 'General Federation,' 'General Congress,' a 'Grand Confederation,' 'Perpetual Alliance and Confederation,' 'American Alliance,' 'The Greatest Nation in the World' (meaning All America), 'The American Pact,' 'A Cordial Confederation,' 'A Truly American League,' 'A Society of Sister Nations,' and Bolivar's 'Perpetual Union, League, and Confederation,' were popular in the political vocabulary of early nineteenth century Latin America."¹

The first important attempt of the Latin American revolutionaries to realize their hopes for western hemispheric co-operation was the famous Congress of Panama, in 1826, upon the proposal of Bolivar. Its expressed purpose was to create a general unity to guard against incursions from Spain and other potential aggressors. All the nations of Latin America were invited to send delegates. An invitation was also sent somewhat later to the United States. Ten sessions of the Congress were held, from June 22 to July 15. On hand were representatives from Mexico, Peru, Colombia, and Central

America (present-day Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador), with Argentina, Chile, and Brazil not represented. The United States sent delegates but they arrived too late to take part in the Congress. President John Quincy Adams hoped that the Congress would declare for the separation of Church and State, and that it would also take steps to prevent any extensive colonization in the New World.² Bolivar's hesitancy in inviting the United States was due to two facts; first, he instinctively feared the growing power of the United States and, second, he said he did not want to antagonize England, which, for its own selfish reasons, had given a certain amount of help to the Latin American revolutionaries. England sent an unofficial delegate and considered the outcome of the conference a decisive victory for her policy of dominating Latin America.³

Bolivar entertained great hopes for the Panama Congress, even contemplating it as the beginning of some sort of world league of states. He said, "Would it not be splendid if the Isthmus of Panama could be to us what the Isthmus of Corinth was to the Greeks? May we some day be fortunate enough to install there an august Congress . . . to deal with and discuss the high interests of peace and war with the nations of the other three parts of the world!"⁴

The Panama Congress adopted four treaties, the chief one being the "Perpetual Union, League, and Confederation." Among its thirty-one articles, this called for a Confederation to defend the sovereignty and independence of all the American nations; for the creation of an inter-American Army of 60,000 men; for applying the principles of conciliation and arbitration in international disputes; for a modified inter-American citizenship, and for the complete abolition and extirpation of the African slave trade. But the Congress was, nevertheless, largely futile as far as immediate results were concerned. The Confederation was stillborn, only one country, Colombia, ratifying the advanced decisions of the Congress. In 1831, upon the initiative of Mexico, another all Latin American congress was called but only a few governments accepted, hence the proposed Congress was canceled.

Obviously, revolutionary Latin America which, for the next century, was to have such great difficulty in establishing and maintaining stable national governments, was not yet ready to realize Bolivar's elaborate conception of hemispheric unity. In 1844, 1856, 1864, and 1880, general or partial conferences of the Latin American states were also held in South America, but for the most part they were fruitless and left no organization or definite program behind them. The initiative for Pan-Americanism, of a sort, was to pass eventually to the United States.

The Monroe Doctrine Proclaimed

On December 2, 1823, President Monroe issued his famous "Doctrine," warning aggressive European powers to keep their hands off the Americas. The salient passages of this historical statement read: "The American continents, by the free and independent conditions which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power." And "We owe it, therefore, to candor and the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. . . . With governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European Power, in any other light than a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

The policy expressed in the Monroe Doctrine was not an altogether new one for the United States. In 1808 President Jefferson had asserted that the United States had the same interest as the Spanish-American countries "to exclude all European influences from this Hemisphere." As early as 1786, expressing expansionist ideas widely held by United States political leaders at the time, Jefferson had said: "Our confederacy must be viewed as the nest from which all of America, north and south, is to be peopled," and he also spoke of the United States absorbing the Spanish colonies, "piece by piece."⁵ At the same time, Benjamin Franklin called for the annexation of "Quebec, St. John, Nova Scotia, Bermuda, East and West Florida and the Bahama Islands," as "absolutely necessary" for United States security.⁶ It was in line with this general annexationist spirit that in 1811, Congress adopted a resolution directed against the transfer of any American soil to foreign powers, and that, "In 1820, the American Secretary of State, Henry Clay, outlined a plan for . . . what he called a human freedom league in America, embodying 'all nations from Hudson Bay to Cape Horn.'"⁷ Clay definitely anticipated that the United States would dominate the whole hemisphere, and he freely said so. The Monroe Doctrine came as the logical sequence of these tendencies.

The situation which brought forth Monroe's declaration was a complex and dangerous one. Spain, as a strong colonial power, was about on its last legs, the Latin American countries having almost completely freed themselves. This fact unleashed a new wave of greed on the part of various European countries, which would have been only too glad to gobble up the newly freed, but very weak, republics as colonies.

Particularly great was the danger from the "Holy Alliance" of Russia, Prussia, and Austria (see Chapter 9). This reactionary combination had

been established in 1815, after the defeat of Napoleon, and at this time it was busy in various parts of Europe stamping out the revolutionary movements that came in the aftermath of the Napoleonic twenty years of mass slaughter. Upon viewing the success of the independence movement in Latin America, the Holy Alliance, in its self-appointed role of the gendarme of the world, promptly set for itself the task of blotting out the great Latin American Revolution and returning the colonies to the domination of decadent Spain—if the Holy Alliance powers did not decide to keep them for themselves. To put their plan in operation, the three allied governments were already organizing an expedition to America. Pope Leo XII, in support of all this reactionary work, issued a bull, calling upon all the former Spanish colonies to support the rotten King Ferdinand VII, whom the Alliance had put back upon the throne.

England, unchallenged mistress of the seas and leading the world in the industrial revolution, was then at a high point of power. With her ancient and powerful enemy, France, humbled and broken by the defeat of Napoleon, her appetite for conquest was sharply whetted. England, therefore, looked upon the aggressive actions of the Holy Alliance as a threat to its power on the Continent of Europe and elsewhere. Since England reserved the perspectives of Latin American conquest for itself, it considered opposition to the Holy Alliance's planned attempt to re-enslave the Spanish-speaking colonies to be in its interest. As we have seen previously, England had sought, unsuccessfully, upon several occasions, by military action, to grab chunks of South America as colonies—Brazil, the River Plate area, etc.—and at the end of the revolutionary wars schemed to take over all of Latin America. It did not, therefore, want to face in America the dangerous competition of the powerful nations of the Holy Alliance. As things stood, England was making good progress in gaining the trade of most of the countries of South America, as well as extending its political influence, and it desired to continue and develop this situation. It wanted Latin America for itself.

Canny England was also afraid that the United States would eventually extend its control in the former Spanish and Portuguese colonies all over Latin America. The British-Yankee antagonism was sharp. This was another basic reason why England favored the Monroe Doctrine—it wanted to commit the United States also, as well as the Holy Alliance, to a policy of noninterference in Latin America.

As for the United States, young and weak, it naturally looked upon the proposed incursion of the Holy Alliance into America with grave alarm, as a serious threat to its own existence. It also saw most unfavorably England's maneuvers. There was also in the democratic ranks of the people a feeling of solidarity with the new republics of the south. And there were cunning men

in Congress who were already scheming for United State control over the whole hemisphere. Indeed, long before, Alexander Hamilton had foreseen a "great American system, superior to the control of all trans-Atlantic force or influence and able to dictate the terms of connection between the Old and the New World."⁸ How later the United States leaders thought about Latin America was shown in 1823, when Secretary of State John Quincy Adams boldly asserted that Cuba and Puerto Rico were "natural appendages to the North America continent, and . . . the annexation of Cuba to our Federal Union will be indispensable to the continuance and integrity of the Union itself."⁹ Such forces were behind the United States' formulation of the Monroe Doctrine.

Faced by the threatened invasion of the Holy Alliance into its hoped-for preserves in Latin America, as well as by the growing threat of the United States, England proposed through Prime Minister Canning in August, 1823, that that country and the United States should issue a joint statement protesting the transfer of the former Spanish colonies to any other European powers. But the United States, with lots of reasons for suspecting England's motives, refused to go along. Four months later it took individual action by issuing Monroe's famous statement. England swallowed the Monroe Doctrine with difficulty, and it came as a heavy blow to Metternich and his cronies in the Holy Alliance. It was a victory for the young United States. It was also an advantage for the Latin American countries, as in the midst of the various powers seeking to absorb them, it gave them a measure of protection.

"The reception of the Monroe Doctrine in Latin America was universally favorable. In Argentina it was proclaimed that the United States had constituted herself the guardian of the hemisphere, and in Colombia Vice-President Santander declared that the stand taken was 'an act worthy of the classic land of American liberty.' Bolivar received news of the proclamation just before his last great battle, Junin, and was deeply impressed."¹⁰ Nevertheless, the Monroe Doctrine policy, in which the United States claimed for itself the role of protector of all the Americas and which was formulated without prior consultation with the Latin American countries, constituted a unilateral action and was destined, with the passage of the years, to cause much woe to Latin America.

The Doctrine Totters Along

Undoubtedly, in the formulation of the Monroe Doctrine there already lurked the idea of establishing United States hegemony over the whole western hemisphere. That this conception was prevalent in some circles was clearly evidenced by the various schemes advocated by the slaveowners during the next decades to seize all of Mexico, to "take over" Cuba, to annex

Santo Domingo, to occupy Central America, and to colonize Brazil. Nevertheless, deeply occupied with the development and exploitation of the great resources of its homeland, the young capitalism of the United States, for the next sixty years, lacked both the impulse and the resources to try vigorously to make good its claim to hemispheric domination, implicit in the Monroe Doctrine. The United States was, in short, unprepared to make a fighting defense of the western hemisphere in its own behalf against European colonizing forces. This was why in 1825, when the doctrine had only just been set forth, President Adams announced that the forthcoming Panama Congress of all the American republics might find it advisable to adopt a policy whereby "each (country) will guard by its own means against the establishment of any future European colony within its border."

It so happened that during the decades after Monroe's pronouncement, until the United States was prepared to put its own kind of vitality into the Monroe Doctrine, there were few major invasions by European powers that were too heavy for the various American countries themselves finally to repel. The main efforts of the European colonizing powers during these years were directed towards Asia and Africa where the pickings were easier. There were, nevertheless, many European interferences in the life of the new republics, which the United States either ignored outright or about which it did not feel strong enough to bestir itself.

Quintanilla cites a long list of such interventions on the part of the European powers, to which the United States made no effective reply. This in spite of the fact that on many of these occasions the aggrieved Latin American countries appealed to the United States for help. Such appeals for assistance were made "by Colombia in 1824; by Venezuela, Peru, and Ecuador, in 1846; by Nicaragua in 1848; again by Nicaragua, plus Honduras, and El Salvador in 1849; by Mexico in 1862; by Venezuela on five occasions (1876, 1880, 1881, 1884, 1887); by the Dominican Republic in 1905; and by Argentina in 1902-1903."¹¹

The United States also did not resist the seizure of the Falkland Islands by the British in 1833, nor did it support the opposition of the Central American governments to British colonization of Honduras in 1835. In 1837 a British fleet blockaded Cartagena, and in 1838 the French blockaded Vera Cruz, without United States resistance. In 1861 Spain took over the Dominican Republic, and in 1864 it bombarded Valparaiso. There were numerous other such forays by European countries against the young Latin American republics; but the biggest violation of their sovereignty was the invasion of Mexico by France in 1864, which overthrew the Mexican government and placed the French puppet, the Austrian Archduke Maximilian, on the throne. At this time, however, the United States, engaged in the Civil War, was in no position to intervene effectively in Mexico against France. All

these experiences indicated an inability on the part of the United States to enforce the Monroe Doctrine and to protect the new republics from European attacks, which President Monroe had so boldly announced it was prepared to do. That United States capitalism was not abandoning its determination to dominate Latin America and Canada, however, was made evident in the blatant statement of President Johnson in 1868 to the effect that, "Comprehensive national policy would seem to sanction the acquisition and incorporation into our Federal Union of the several adjacent continental and insular communities as speedily as it can be done."¹²

The Formation of the Pan-American Union

For about two generations after the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine, Great Britain exercised general economic and political hegemony over most of South America—while the prestige of the United States was already predominant in the Caribbean area. The British exploited their strong political influence in South America by characteristically helping themselves everywhere to the lion's share of the countries' foreign commerce. In the later 1880's, however, the United States, by then grown powerful and beginning to become imperialist, suddenly started to challenge sharply Great Britain's predominance throughout the whole of Latin America. The United States thus began its relentless drive for western hemispheric control, which it still continues. At that time, United States policy toward the south had two sharp prongs—to subjugate the Latin American peoples and to drive out British imperialism. From then on the history of this whole vast area was increasingly that of a battle for imperialist control between Great Britain and the United States, with the former getting more and more the worst of it, and with imperialist Germany, France, Italy, and later Japan playing lesser roles in the greedy struggle.

The fight between British and American imperialism for hegemony over Latin America developed sharply in the economic field. Great Britain had a long head start in making investments and in securing the trade of the Latin American countries, as we have seen in Chapter 15. But the United States challenged this lead, and by the 1920's it had outstripped Great Britain, in both investments and control of Latin American trade, especially in the highly strategic Caribbean area.

The battle between the two major rival powers was also fought out ruthlessly in the political field. The first heavy blow struck by the United States in opening its struggle against Great Britain and the Latin American peoples was the formation of the Pan-American Union (at first called the Commercial Bureau of American Republics) in 1889. This was largely the work of former Secretary of State James G. Blaine, a well-known agent of big business in the United States government. Blaine, who frankly avowed that his

purpose was to secure the bulk of Latin American trade for the United States, tried to organize an all-American conference of states in 1881. But the imperialistic impulse of the United States was not yet strong enough for it to push the project vigorously and the plan fell through. In 1889, however, largely upon the tireless Blaine's initiative, a conference of eighteen American nations was finally held, and the Pan-American Union was founded, with headquarters in Washington. From then on, Pan-Americanism was an organized movement, mainly under United States control, with periodic conferences of the score of American nations.

The organization of the Pan-American Union amounted to a solid attack by the United States against Great Britain in Latin America. It was quite a reversal from the Panama Conference in 1826, which the British heavily dominated. From the outset Great Britain saw the Pan-American Union in its true light as an arm of United States imperialism. It, therefore, used its influence successfully to keep Canada from becoming a member. A vacant chair marked "Canada" is always kept at Pan-American Union meetings. Britain was also instrumental in getting many Latin American countries under its hegemony, especially Argentina, to sabotage the various Pan-American Union conferences and to fail to ratify their many decisions. This British resistance and a general lack of enthusiasm among the Latin American peoples for the new organization combined to make the Pan-American Union largely impotent, so far as its formal decisions went. Davila says, "In 122 years we have had 208 Pan-American conferences in which over a hundred treaties were signed. Only *one* has been ratified by the twenty-one Republics."¹⁸

From the outset the United States, with its extreme economic and political weight, has nearly always completely dominated the Pan-American Union conferences. However, until very recent years, it has never been able to use the Union effectively as a direct instrument for actually carrying its imperialistic program into effect. Blaine learned this at the very beginning, when the first conference rejected his elaborate economic program, conceived in the interest of United States big business, to "integrate" the western hemisphere economically through a customs union, a monetary union, and an inter-American bank. Nevertheless, the Pan-American Union, reorganized as the Organization of the American States, continued to be a very important weapon in the hands of the United States capitalists. It gave the Latin American peoples the illusion that they have some measure of the Pan-Americanism dreamed of by Bolivar and others; it serves to keep the Latin American countries from falling fully under the control of Great Britain, and it acts as an effective sounding board for cynical and hypocritical United States imperialist policy in Latin America.

Venezuela and Panama

Originally the Monroe Doctrine was issued ostensibly in the general defense of all the young republics of the western hemisphere. But, being a unilateral statement by the United States, this country has ever since put such interpretations upon the Doctrine as it has seen fit in its own capitalist interest. As soon as the United States felt strong enough to intervene directly in Latin American affairs it applied the Doctrine, with its own interpretation, in the double sense, first that foreign powers should not intrude politically or militarily in Latin America, and, second, that the United States should be quite free to intervene in Latin America to any extent and in any form that its interests dictated. Even as late as 1928, at the Havana conference, when the Conference of Latin American Jurists had introduced into the Conference the proposal that "no state has a right to intervene in the internal affairs of another," Charles Evans Hughes fought against the proposal with all his power. This was a grave tactical error. As a consequence, Duggan says, Hughes experienced "one of the worst diplomatic defeats ever suffered by the United States at an important international conference."¹⁴

One of the first major unilateral interventions by the United States in Latin America, after it began to feel its growing imperialist strength, took place in Venezuela, beginning in 1895. This was in the dispute between Great Britain, Germany, and Venezuela. The United States brusquely stepped into this quarrel and checkmated the predatory demands of Britain and Germany. Secretary of State Olney, to the great dismay of Latin American peoples and the shock of European imperialists, declared that "today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition."¹⁵ This was raucous young Yankee imperialism, unaccustomed as yet to diplomatic double-talk, boldly and frankly stating its aims and its determination to run the western hemisphere. From then on until the Venezuela question was settled, the United States remained a party, the major party in fact, to the controversy. In 1903, when Germany, Italy, and Great Britain, in the course of this dispute, blockaded Venezuelan ports in an attempt to compel that country to pay its debts to them, the United States strongly intervened and forced the whole issue to arbitration. Germany at first refused to arbitrate, but President Theodore Roosevelt gave it forty-eight hours in which to agree to arbitrate, otherwise he would send the fleet to Venezuela.¹⁶ In this critical affair the United States let the world know emphatically that it held Latin America, particularly the vital Caribbean Canal zone area, to be its own special imperialist preserve.

Then there was the notorious United States intervention in the case of putting through the Panama Canal. The possibility and necessity of one

day cutting a canal through the Isthmus of Panama or through Nicaragua had long been a perspective in Latin America. As early as the seventeenth century, Champlain, the French explorer, having visited Panama, spoke of the need for a canal. Bolivar spoke of the canal also in the Panama Congress of 1826. France later made an abortive attempt to build the canal. When it came to its actual completion, however, the United States ran the whole business itself, roughly brushing aside Great Britain, France, Germany, and the Latin American governments. In 1850, when the United States was still unable to have its own way fully even in the Caribbean, it made a treaty with Great Britain, the Clayton-Bulwer Agreement, by which the two countries stipulated that they would jointly control the eventual canal. But when United States imperialism began to come of age it refused to live up to this agreement. So it abrogated the treaty, and in the Hay-Pauncefot Treaty of 1901 the United States secured the right to construct and control the canal alone. This was a major imperialist victory for the United States, driving Great Britain, as well as France, out of the highly strategic Panama area.

As for the peoples of Latin America, the United States treated them more ruthlessly than ever in the Panama affair. The imperialists controlling the United States government did not recognize this whole matter as one in which the Latin American peoples were vitally concerned. It proceeded to ignore them and the Pan-American Union altogether. At most, the canal was a question to be settled with England alone, plus a shadow agreement with either Nicaragua or Colombia, where the canal was to be dug.

Finally, after long consideration, the Panama Isthmus was settled upon as the site for the canal. Colombia, which owned the area, did not like the provisions proposed by the United States, and in 1903 she rejected them. Not at all abashed by this, the United States imperialists cooked up a "revolution" in Panama, which took place a few months later and broke that area loose from Colombia. United States warships prevented the Colombian army from quelling the uprising. Three days after the "revolution" the new government of Panama was recognized by President Theodore Roosevelt, and in ten days its envoy was received in Washington. The treaty for the Canal was soon framed, along the lines the United States wished. Its terms were even more favorable to the United States than those that had been demanded shortly before from Colombia. The United States acquired a strip of land ten miles wide, instead of the six-mile-wide strip it had previously demanded.

The man who engineered this master stroke of United States imperialism, President Theodore Roosevelt, arrogantly boasted later of his dictatorial action. He declared, "I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate; while the debate goes on the Canal does also."¹⁷ To the peoples of Latin America and to the imperialist powers of the world, Roosevelt boldly asserted the United States' claim to hegemony over the western hemisphere. Said he:

"Any country whose people conduct themselves well, can count upon our hearty friendship. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrong-doing or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the western hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of wrong-doing or impotency, to the exercise of an international power."¹⁸

The President with the "Big Stick" made this one-sided interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, that it gave the United States the right to police the hemisphere, at a time when the Pan-American Union was in operation and was supposed to have the final say in inter-American affairs. The peoples of Latin America were profoundly shocked at Roosevelt's jingoism and blatant imperialism.

Militant Yankee Imperialism

The Spanish-American War of 1898, with its rich windfall of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines for the United States, gave the monopolists of this country their first real taste of the red meat of imperialism. After that big victory they especially intensified their pressures against Latin America. They definitely set for themselves the goal of dominating outright all the countries south of the Rio Grande. They hoped to set up control over the nations of Latin America collectively through the Pan-American Union; but they paid particular attention to the countries of the Caribbean. The latter was their most immediate and special preserve, and they used methods of direct intervention in the individual countries in this area.

The seizure of Panama, and with it the control of the highly strategic Canal Zone, was only one, although the major, single coup of United States imperialism in this period. Many other countries also felt the weight of the aggressive offensive of Yankee imperialism. Among them was Mexico. That nation, in the war of 1846-48, had long before learned to dread the predatory aggression offensive of its neighbor, the "Colossus of the North." Later interventions of the United States in Mexico, of which there were very many, occurred largely in relation to the Mexican Revolution, beginning in 1910. President Wilson, with his eye to checking the maneuvers of Great Britain and protecting the big United States land and other holdings in Mexico, most of which had been callously stolen from the Mexican people, acted as though he were a party to the revolution. He supported this or that leader, program, or group, and sought to defeat all others. He even waged a private war against Mexico, United States troops under his orders occupying

Vera Cruz in 1914 and pursuing Villa across northern Mexico in 1916. All these actions were in gross violation of the national sovereignty and interests of Mexico.

Other Latin American countries also felt the heavy pressure of United States imperialism. Puerto Rico was held as an outright colony, left bereft of all autonomy; and Cuba, on the basis of the notorious Platt Amendment, was constantly subjected to United States political and military interference. In the so-called "banana republics" of Central America, also, repeated "revolutions" were engineered to put United States puppets at the head of the respective governments. The Beards give a long list of imperialist interventions in the Caribbean area, of which a few are here cited:

"In 1903, Germany was compelled by a threat of force from President Roosevelt to withdraw from Venezuela. . . . In 1905, Roosevelt, by executive action, took over the customs houses of Santo Domingo. . . . Under the Platt amendment, he interfered in Cuba in 1906. . . . By a formal treaty ratified by the Senate of the United States, the pecuniary protectorate over Santo Domingo was made regular in 1907. The next year . . . an American warship served notice on local contestants for power that there was to be no fighting in Bluefields [Nicaragua].

" . . . In 1911, on the suggestion of New York bankers, a treaty was negotiated with Honduras, extending American authority over that republic. . . ." During the same year a treaty was drawn with Nicaragua "putting the customs into the hands of a presidential appointee. . . . In 1914 a treaty with Nicaragua was at last adopted, ceding a canal strip and naval bases to the United States. . . . In 1915, the marines carried the flag into Haiti and established American suzerainty there after killing more than two thousand natives. . . . In 1916, Admiral Knapp—"to maintain domestic tranquillity"—took possession of Santo Domingo and declared that 'republic' subject to the military government of the United States. In 1917 the Virgin Islands were purchased from Denmark. In 1920, the American navy was employed in helping to stabilize Guatemala. In 1921, 1923, and 1924, similar forays were made into Nicaragua, Panama and Honduras."¹⁹ "At one moment North American officials directed the financial policies of eleven of the twenty Latin American countries, while in six these banking agents were backed by American troops on the spot," says Whitaker.²⁰

General Smedley D. Butler thus describes the role of the United States marines in Latin America, "I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interest in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank to collect revenues in. . . . I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-12, I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar in-

terests in 1916. I helped make Honduras right for American fruit companies in 1903."²¹

During this whole period, up to World War I, the United States greatly strengthened its position in Latin America, as against the other major imperialist powers—Great Britain, France, and Germany—particularly in the Caribbean area. Germany blazed forth aggressively in the two decades prior to the first great war, increasing its investments in Latin America, in the period 1896-1913, up to approximately one billion dollars, and its trade from \$145 million to \$470 million. These great imperialist gains, however, were wiped out during World War I. Germany during these years had repudiated the Monroe Doctrine and boldly challenged the advance of Yankee imperialism.

The Peoples' Resistance in Latin America

Naturally, this sustained and growing offensive of United States imperialism against the welfare and national independence of the Latin American republic provoked a sharp resentment among the peoples of these countries, all the more so because large numbers of local landlords, clerics, and capitalists were only too glad to become tools of the Yankee invaders. The whole development helped to open the eyes of the peoples to the south to the fact that the Monroe Doctrine had become simply a device of United States imperialism. "‘Paramount Interests,’ ‘Manifest Destiny,’ ‘Big Stick Policy,’ ‘Watchful Waiting,’ ‘Dollar Diplomacy,’ ‘Paternalism,’ ‘Protectionism’—in short, ‘Yankee Imperialism’—those slogans have become irrevocably connected, in the minds of Latin Americans, with the two words, ‘*Monroe Doctrine*.’"²²

A prevalent attitude among Latin Americans toward Yankee imperialism during this period was expressed by R. B. Fombona, in his book, *Los Grandes Escritores de America*, cited by Wilgus, as follows: "South America detests the United States because of its fraudulent elections, its commercial deceit, its ridiculous Colonel Roosevelt, its shirt-sleeve diplomacy, its university professors who write about Spanish America with extreme ignorance, its sinking of the *Maine*, the secession of Panama, its seizure of the finances of Honduras, its usurpation of the customs of Santo Domingo; the blood that it shed and the independence that it frustrated in Nicaragua; the revolution which it fomented in Mexico; the invasion of Vera Cruz, its extravagant claims against Venezuela, the Alsop claim against Chile; its poorly concealed designs on the Galapagos Islands of Ecuador and the Chinchas Islands of Peru, its daily affirmation that Argentine statistics are unworthy of credence; its attempt to prevent the valorization of coffee in Brazil; the appropriation of Puerto Rico; the Platt Amendment to the Constitution of Cuba; its conversion of its cables and newspapers into in-

struments of discredit for each of the Spanish-American republics; its aggressive imperialism; its conduct towards Latin America during the past half-century."²³

Under such circumstances resistance to the United States increased rapidly in Latin America. The people of revolutionary Mexico were about ready for war when President Wilson thought it the better part of wisdom to withdraw his troops from Vera Cruz, Mexico. And the Pan-American Union, which was increasingly the scene of much tension between the United States and the Latin American republics, almost fell to pieces in the face of Latin American discontent. Between the fourth Pan-American conference and the fifth there was a gap of thirteen years (from 1910 to 1923), and when the fifth conference did meet it was powerless to transact any important business. And, as we have seen, the United States suffered a great defeat in the 1928 Pan-American Union conference due to the strong hostility of the Latin Americans. Meanwhile in the United States, much opposition to the government's imperialist attitude towards Latin America was also developing in progressive labor and political circles. Very important, too, Yankee imperialist pressures in the Caribbean area made the countries further to the south much more susceptible to the wiles of British imperialism. Great Britain carefully cultivated, and profited from, the rising anti-Yankee hostility. These various factors, the growing resistance of the Latin American peoples, the expanding anti-imperialist moods among the masses in the United States, and the maneuvers of British imperialism, were to have major influence a few years later in eventually re-shaping the line of United States imperialism in Latin America under the heading of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's so-called Good Neighbor Policy.

17. THE ABOLITION OF CHATTEL SLAVERY

During the general period with which we are dealing, roughly between the end of the Revolutionary Wars and the outbreak of World War I, the most important blow struck by the American peoples against the existing outrageous system of human exploitation was the abolition of Negro chattel slavery. This forward step marked an epoch in the development of the New World.

At the close of the colonial period the western hemisphere, because of its insatiable demand for workers, had become by far the biggest chattel slave pen in the world. The overwhelming mass of the slaves were Negroes, but there were also numerous enslaved Indians, especially in Brazil. Indian slavery, however, for the reasons given in Chapter 5, had never been successful as a general system. It had, therefore, been formally prohibited in the Spanish colonies in 1542, and in Brazil in 1720. In the United States, Indian slavery disappeared without specific legislation, except in Virginia, North Carolina, Rhode Island, and New York.¹ There were, too, some white indentured slaves in the United States. But these also vanished gradually in the decades immediately following the Revolution.

The great hemispheric Revolution of 1776-1837 did not, except in Haiti and in some sections of Spanish America, directly abolish Negro slavery. This monstrous system of exploitation was generally to linger on, the cause of profound political upheaval and widespread bloodshed, deep into the second half of the nineteenth century. The hemispheric Revolution did, however, deal a heavy blow to chattel slavery and it set into motion currents which, in the long run, were to abolish outright this shameful outrage against humanity.

There were three major factors that finally brought about the end of Negro chattel slavery. First, slave labor had grown obsolete economically and could not become the general labor system under capitalism. In a world that was rapidly becoming capitalist, this antique system of production could have no permanent place. Karl Marx pointed out the uneconomic quality of slavery. He indicated how slaves sabotage their work, and he said: "Hence the principle, universally applied in this method of production, only to employ the rudest and heaviest implements and such as are difficult to

damage owing to their sheer clumsiness."²* Rotofski says: "Work that would require five men in Europe took 40 to 50 on the plantations." Adam Smith also realized this general fact, stating that "the work done by freemen comes cheaper in the end than that performed by slaves."³ Ben Franklin likewise opposed slavery on economic grounds, showing the inefficiency of slave labor, the burden of the heavy capital investments in the slaves, and the other economic shortcomings of slavery.⁴ Goodloe stated that, "The cultivation of land by slave labor requires a five-fold greater outlay of capital than is necessary with the use of free labor."⁵ It was material reasons such as these and not a spirit of Christian charity that undermined and finally destroyed the system of slavery. This does not mean, however, that slavery was automatically dying out. It was profitable within certain areas and cultures, and it was so deeply rooted that it could only be eliminated by a revolution.

The second chief reason leading to the abolition of slavery was the growing revolt of the slaves themselves. This revolt was far more extensive and effective than is now generally realized. This involved not only an increasing number of slave insurrections, but what was even more deadly, the ever-present fear of them on the part of the planters. Then there was the sullen resistance of the Negroes on the job, a fact which greatly hindered production and accentuated all the other uneconomic features of the slave system.

And third, there was a developing general opposition to slavery in all the slave countries. This came from wage workers who feared the competition of slave labor, from intellectuals who had become imbued with equalitarian principles, from small farmers who were opposed to the encroachments of the big landowners, from individual religious leaders who took seriously their principles of brotherly love, which most of the churches did not, and from capitalists who were fighting against the institutions of the feudal regime.

When Negro slavery in the Americas had to give way under these various pressures, it was not succeeded by a system of "free" wage workers. Instead, forms of peonage took its place. This was the case, both all over Latin America, save in Haiti, and also in the slave areas of the United States. Peonage was adopted not only when the Negro slaves were emancipated, but likewise when the Indian chattel slaves were freed, long before them. Historically, in the Americas, therefore, peonage has followed chattel slavery. When the slaves, Indians and Negroes, were emancipated, the big

*This statement by Marx, referring to the main sphere of the slaves' work, in the fields, is in no sense a contradiction to the fact that in all the plantation areas the skilled handicraftsmen, in the main, were slaves.

plantations were not broken up; the freed slaves just went right on working on the same big estates for the same masters, but now as peons.

Abolition in the Former French, Spanish and English Colonies

The first country in the western hemisphere to abolish Negro slavery was Haiti, in its blazing Revolution of 1790-1803. The rebellious Haitian Negroes, making up about 95 percent of the general population, did a thorough job of it, at once striking off their own chains and also partitioning among themselves the great estates of their erstwhile masters. Consequently, Haiti today is a nation of small farmers, almost the only such country in Latin America. This fact, alone, however, does not guarantee either Haiti's economic prosperity or political freedom. The complex modern world demands other conditions as well, about which we shall speak later. Haiti's freeing of her slaves had a profound effect upon the slave system in all countries. It sent a shiver of apprehension through the slaveowners throughout the world, and it also gave slaves everywhere a new hope for freedom. In the world history of the Negro people, the Haitian Revolution stands out as a development of supreme importance.

In the former Spanish colonies which won their national independence during the 1910-25 revolution, Negro slavery was not very prevalent, most of the big haciendas being operated by Indian peons. Partial exceptions were the Central American countries bordering on the Caribbean Sea. All told, in 1828 there were, however, but an estimated 700,000 Negro slaves in all the Spanish colonies. Consequently, Negro slavery in these colonies was abolished at a relatively early date, under the direct influence of the revolution and without very great opposition from the big landowners, who were satisfied with their prevalent and firmly established peonage system. Often in these countries slavery was abolished piecemeal: for example, first, the importation of slaves would be prohibited, then all children born of slave parents after a certain date would be declared free, and finally slavery would be banned altogether. In some cases the slaveowners were compensated, but usually they were not.

The following are the dates of major limitation, or final abolition of Negro slavery in the Spanish-American countries: Chile, 1811; Argentina, 1813; Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and El Salvador, 1824; Bolivia, 1825; Mexico, 1828; Uruguay, 1842; Paraguay, 1844; Colombia, 1851; Ecuador, 1852; Peru, 1856; Venezuela, 1858. Cuba, which remained a Spanish colony until 1898, had its Negro slaves, amounting to about one-third of its total population, emancipated in 1886. Puerto Rican slavery was abolished in 1873.

England has a more than shady record on slavery. After being the world's leader in the slave trade and making huge profits at it throughout

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that country suddenly decided that slave trading was obsolete (*i.e.*, no longer profitable) and proceeded to outlaw it. Wells says that, "Throughout the middle part of the eighteenth century there was an active agitation against Negro slavery in Britain, as well as in the States. It was estimated that in 1770 there were 15,000 slaves in Britain, mostly brought over by their owners from the West Indies and Virginia." The issue came to a head in England over a runaway American slave, when the courts declared him a free man and slavery repugnant to British life and law.⁹ This practically freed the Negroes in England, but slavery was formally abolished in 1807. In 1830 England declared the world slave traffic illegal, and in 1845, under the Aberdeen Act, it outlawed slave trading as piracy, even pursuing slavers into their home waters. Some opposition to slavery came from English nabobs in India, where chattel slavery did not exist. Despite these antislavery activities, however, England did all it could to help the southern slavocracy win the American Civil War. In its American colonies slavery was abolished in Canada in 1793, in Honduras in 1828, and in the British West Indies in 1838, although slave trading persisted in the latter area until about 1865. In August, 1833 (W. O. Blake, *History of Slavery*, page 249), England abolished slavery throughout its colonial system, by which act 770,280 slaves became free. Denmark abolished the slave trade in 1794, France and Portugal in 1815, and Spain in 1817. Holland abolished slavery in Dutch Guiana in 1863.

The Civil War in the United States

The political history of the United States from 1783 to 1865 is essentially the record of a constantly sharpening struggle between the decadent slave-owning planters and the rising industrialists. At the center of this struggle was the economic and political control of the lands of the great west and with it the domination of the government and the whole country. The southern planters sought to grab these vast areas and to make them slave territory, while the northern industrialists strove to make them "free" territory. A factor in this drive of the slave owners for new lands was the increasing exhaustion of the old plantation areas. Many other national issues entered into this historic struggle for the land and added to its intensity—tariffs, taxes, ship subsidies, internal improvements, land laws, banking and currency, slave law enforcement, and various other matters—in all of which the interests of the two rival exploiting groups violently conflicted. Although some of its industries fed directly upon slavery, capitalism could reach its maximum development only through the abolition of the slave system and by breaking the political power of the plantation owners. The long struggle finally took on a military character and resulted in the revolutionary overthrow of the planters and their "peculiar institution."

The first general phase of this bitter struggle, from 1783, when the Revolutionary War ended, to about 1800, went unfavorably for the planters and their slave system. Although the southern planters were strong enough to keep an anti-slavery clause out of the Constitution and to write in one condoning slavery, nevertheless slavery in the United States did not then have the strength that it later acquired. Tobacco, because of increased competition from many tropical countries, was no longer a bonanza crop for the planters; cotton, because of the high cost of production, was comparatively not widely cultivated in the south; and the other two major plantation crops, rice and indigo, were not sufficient to keep a big slave economy in operation.

In this period, despite a substantial spread of slavery and an increase in the number of slaves, it was widely believed that the slave system would soon die out, simply as the result of economic causes. Antislavery agitation, particularly against the slave trade, was common, also in the south. Most of the northern states prohibited slavery during this period—Vermont in 1779; Massachusetts, 1780; New Hampshire, 1783; Connecticut and Rhode Island, 1784; Northwest Territory, 1787; and New York and New Jersey, 1794-1804.⁷ In 1808 a federal law was also passed outlawing, and later condemning as piracy, the slave trade with Africa. Most of the churches, which always closely mirror ruling class interests, also declared against the slave trade. These included the Methodists, 1784, the Baptists, 1789, and the Presbyterians, 1793. The Quakers also went on record against slavery. Generally, they had by far the best record in this matter, but it was not until the eve of the Civil War, however, that they were solidly united on the question.⁸ This early anti-slavery movement was directly under the influence of the great revolution of 1776.

But the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 by Eli Whitney, a Yankee schoolteacher visiting in the south, plus the introduction of sugar cane culture into Louisiana in 1795, quickly and radically changed the whole outlook on slavery. With the new process, cotton now lent itself readily to profitable production by slaves. The chattel slave system of servitude, therefore, grew by leaps and bounds, and its great expansive power quickly transformed slavery into a malignant national political issue.

The cotton gin was revolutionary in that it brought about a huge saving in slave labor. It also stimulated the development of cotton-working machinery in England and the United States. Previously it had taken a slave nearly a full day to separate the cotton seed from but one pound of the raw fiber. This cumbersome and expensive process was the bottleneck of cotton production and effectively prevented its development. The cotton gin, however, enabled a slave on the average to separate, at first, about 150 pounds per day, and later, when steam was applied, 1,000 pounds per day. The

effect of this improvement was electric. Cotton production rapidly spread all over the south. Cotton became king. Kirkland says, "In 1792, the year before the invention of the cotton gin, the annual production of the country was somewhat over 6,000 bales (reckoning five hundred pounds to the bale); in 1794, the year after the invention, production had increased by 10,000 bales. From then on the increase was rapid, until in 1859 production reached its highest pre-war [Civil War] level of 4,309,642 bales."⁹

The number of slaves skyrocketed along with the rapid spread of cotton, and, to a lesser extent, sugar production. In 1772 there were 462,000 Negro slaves, and from then on the number climbed swiftly to 697,624 in 1790; 1,191,362 in 1810; 2,204,313 in 1840, and about four million in 1860. The prices of slaves soared with the expanding slave economy. Varying in the periods of depression and boom, the price of an unskilled Negro plantation slave went up from about \$400 in 1795 to about \$2,000 in 1860. Profits for the big slaveholders also kept pace with the growth of production and the increase in the number of slaves. Kirkland estimates that it cost the plantation owner about \$20 per year to keep a slave and that the average annual profit per slave was approximately \$83 in given typical instances.¹⁰ A slave cost about \$20 in Africa and sold for \$300 in Cuba.

The slave economy brought about a drastically unequal distribution of wealth and income in the plantation area. The bulk of the population, the Negro slaves, lived on the barest and roughest necessities of food, clothing, and shelter, as though they were mere work animals. The big majority of the white population, who were poor farmers, often had hardly higher economic living standards than did the slaves. At the top of the social pyramid was a small group of big slaveowners, who sucked the whole community dry for their own benefit. Kirkland thus describes the situation: "In 1860 the white population of the fifteen slave states was 8,000,000; the Negro population was some 4,000,000. Of the whites probably only 325,000 families owned slaves. Even within this large class there was a smaller group of dominant and wealthy planters. Ten years before the above enumeration it was calculated that three or four thousand families owned the best lands and received three-fourths of the returns from the early yearly exports [of cotton]. To put it another way, a thousand families received \$50,000,000 a year, while the remaining 660,000 received only \$60,000,000."¹¹

The rapid growth of the slave economy put an end to anti-slavery agitation among whites in the south, and for that matter, in most of the north. The churches, forgetting their generally antislavery stand of about 1800, when it was fashionable to favor some form of gradual emancipation for the Negroes, about-faced and either, as in the south, brazenly defended slavery, or as in the north, kept silent about it. Characteristically, "By 1836, the Methodist Church, which at first attacked slavery, took the position of

disclaiming any 'right, wish, or intention to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave, as existing in the slave-owning states in the Union.'¹² "As the controversy over slavery grew in intensity and bitterness the Baptists and Methodists of the south took an increasingly firm stand in favor of slavery."¹³ The big growth of independent Negro churches, before the Civil War and afterward, testified to the pro-slavery, Jim-Crow attitudes of the dominant white churches. The first Negro church was established in Philadelphia in 1794. Many banking and shipping interests of the north, tied up in the cotton trade, turned tail on the broad class interests of capitalism, and also became hostile to all talk of Negro emancipation. The bulk of the cotton crop of the South was handled through New York bankers and brokers. Most of the northern press also was either opposed, or indifferent to, antislavery movements.

The freed Negroes, who in 1860 amounted to 12 percent of all Negroes in the United States, were a constant danger to the planters. Therefore, the latter, often with the help of well-meaning people, tried to get rid of the freedmen through various colonization schemes—to send them to the West Indies, to remote sections of the United States, or back to Africa. As early as 1713 the Quakers started a movement to this latter end. In 1819, as a result of the work of the American Colonization Society, the United States government bought 43,000 square miles of land in West Africa and founded the present republic of Liberia. The capital, Monrovia, was named after President Monroe. Douglass, Garrison, and other clear-headed Abolitionists sharply fought this reactionary "repatriation" scheme, and few American Negroes actually returned to Africa.

The Negro masses, despite all their hardships, had definitely come to look upon America as their home. This fact was later again dramatically demonstrated in connection with the Marcus Garvey movement of the 1920's. Garvey, a strong leader of West Indian origin, in his movement, which was one of the earliest and most powerful examples of national sentiment among the Negroes of the United States, put out the slogan, "Back to Africa." But it failed to win the support of the Negro people, who obviously are determined to remain in the United States.

The southern planters after the invention of the cotton gin and new cotton-cloth making machinery promptly went over to a strong political offensive in support of slavery. Their territorial and political aims became boundless; they wanted all of the west, not simply part of it, as slave territory. They dreamed and schemed of extending their slave empire into the West Indies, Mexico, and South America. Some actually planned to operate industrial factories with slave labor, and a few experiments along this line were made during this period in the south, although generally the planters

opposed such tendencies. The planters determined more than ever to run the government solely in their own narrow class interests.

In the decades before the Civil War a desperate push was given to this political drive of the slaveowners by the deepening economic crisis of the slave-plantation system. The rapid increase in the price of slaves was a factor in particularly limiting their profits. They imperatively needed, and demanded, the reopening of the slave trade to get cheaper slaves, the cutting down of tariffs, the reduction of expenditures on national improvements, independence from the New York bankers, control of the public lands, etc.

The Struggle Sharpens

The first major collision between the decadent but expanding slave system and the ever more swiftly developing capitalist industrial system came over the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. The planters greeted this event as a great victory, and proceeded to try to carve up the vast new territory into slave states, which would at once give them a broader economic base and added political strength in Washington. Many northern industrialists were so dismayed, however, at the Louisiana Purchase that they wanted to secede from the Union. After a long and bitter struggle this issue was temporarily adjusted by the Missouri Compromise of 1820, the masterwork of Henry Clay. Under this arrangement most of the Louisiana Purchase was declared "free" territory.

Another big collision, however, was soon in the making. This occurred over the admission of Texas into the Union and the absorption of the other huge land spoils of the Mexican War of 1846-48. This vast annexation to United States territory, too, was hailed with glee by the planters, who managed to grab the bulk of it for slavery. The New England merchants and manufacturers cried out again in protest and made new threats of secession. But their discontent was partly eased by the admission of California and of the vast Oregon country at the same time as "free" territory.

The southern planters, feeling their new strength from the broad development of cotton production and the extension of slave territory, pressed their attack ever harder against the northern industrialists. In the election of 1852, the Democratic Party, controlled by the planters, elected its candidate Franklin Pierce and defeated the Whig capitalist candidate, General Winfield Scott, by an electoral vote of 254 out of 296. In 1856, the Democratic Party again swept the country, electing James Buchanan. He was the eleventh President representing southern interests, out of a total of sixteen presidents since the Revolution. Pierce and Buchanan were both northern men, the first from New Hampshire and the second from Pennsylvania, but they were controlled by the southern planters. They also had the backing of many big northern, pro-slavery financiers.¹⁴

The plantation owners were able to score these political victories because, by their control of the Democratic Party, they had secured the leadership of not only the proslavery business interests of the north, but also to a large extent the small farmers and wage workers of the north and west. The Democratic Party's prestige among the toiling masses was great. That party had been the party of Jefferson and Jackson, and had long represented the general agrarian interests against those of the growing capitalist class. Through many years Jefferson and Jackson had led the party in smashing victories over the reactionary schemes of the Hamiltons and Websters. Their party, therefore, had become the party of the masses. At this time, the question of slavery was by no means clear as a political issue, neither in the country as a whole nor in the political program of the Democratic Party. Therefore, the masses of workers and farmers continued their support of that party on the basis of secondary struggles which were plainly directed against the encroachments of the predatory industrialists. After the Jackson administration, which ended in 1837, the Democratic Party had become the main party of the slaveowners, although the masses in the north did not then realize this fact.

The southern planters, feeling themselves in solid control of the presidency, Congress, and the Supreme Court, followed up their big election victories with an all-out offensive against the northern capitalists. This was the general period, 1850, of the passage of the notorious Fugitive Slave Law. In 1854, Congress repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820 and, through the Kansas-Nebraska Act, reopened the question of slavery throughout the whole supposedly "free" area west of the Mississippi. In 1857, Congress also slashed the tariff, dear to the heart of the industrialists, and two years later it wiped out ship subsidies on the Atlantic, also a major capitalist measure. In 1857, through its infamous Dred Scott decision, the Supreme Court, in substance, declared that Congress had no right to pass laws restraining or prohibiting slavery. At the same time, the slaveowner-controlled Congress strengthened the fugitive slave laws, and President Buchanan vetoed the Homestead Bill. In 1860, a Senate resolution declared slavery legal in all the territories.

This drastic assertion of southern planter interests at the expense of those of all other sections of the population inflamed and aroused the antislavery forces throughout the country. It also brought about a sharp class differentiation within the ranks of the Democratic Party. The small farmers and the workers of the north and west began to break away from that organization. The basis was thus laid for the dissolution of the agrarian coalition which had formed the framework of that party, and the stage was set for the election of Lincoln in 1860.

Up until this time, although the southern planters were aggressively

strengthening their slave system, the northern capitalists did not yet realize that their true interests demanded a drive straight for the abolition of slavery. They were also held back by a fear of the revolutionary consequences to the workers and small farmers of wiping out slavery completely. Many of them were also tied up economically with the slave system through banking, shipping, etc. The industrialist policy, therefore, was to "contain" slavery, to put limits upon its expansion. This was Lincoln's position and also that of most of the other spokesmen of northern capital. As late as 1859, Ralph Waldo Emerson, although himself opposed to slavery, declared that no man living will see the end of slavery.¹⁵

The Abolitionists—Douglass, Phillips, Brown, Stowe, Garrison, Whitier, Lovejoy, and the host of other valiant fighters for Negro emancipation—understood, however, that slavery had to be done away with. They were the most clear-sighted spokesmen of the capitalist class. The Negro Abolitionists, the core of the movement, were the leaders of their most bitterly persecuted people. Women—Harriet Tubman, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and many others—played an especially vital role in this historic movement. The Abolitionists worked and agitated at the risk of their lives. The body of the industrialists did not hearken to them, nor, at first, did the masses of the northern farmers, city middle classes, and workers. In the national election of 1852, the Free Soilers, an Abolitionist party, polled only 156,000 votes out of 3,000,000 votes cast. In 1856, the Republican Party, formed at Ripon, Wisconsin, in February 1854, out of Whig and Democratic Party dissidents, with a "contain slavery" program, polled for its candidate, General Fremont, 1,341,264 votes, one-third of the total vote cast.

The Planters' Rebellion

In 1860, the Republican Party put up Abraham Lincoln for president. The Democratic Party split three ways that year over the question of slavery, with all three factions nominating candidates—Douglas, Breckinridge, and Bell. The dying Whig Party had no candidate. The formal issue of the campaign was whether or not the federal government should control slavery, and if so, how. None of the major parties or candidates proposed the actual abolition of slavery. But the real issues of the campaign, which at least the southern planters understood very well, had to do with the continued existence of slavery as an institution and with whether or not the planters or the industrialists should rule the country. After a blazing campaign Lincoln, who was supported by the Abolitionist forces, was elected by a plurality of over half a million votes. The balloting stood as follows: Lincoln, 1,857,710; Douglas, 1,291,574; Breckinridge, 850,082; Bell, 646,124.¹⁶

Like all other ruling, exploiting classes when faced with a decisive,

popular election verdict against them, the planters had immediate recourse to treason and violence. They intended to hold to their system of exploitation, law or no law, and regardless of the people's wishes. Following the lead of South Carolina, which seceded on November 17, 1860, eleven days after the election, the slave states began to quit the Union. In a few months, eleven of them had taken this action, including South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee in the order named. On February 4, 1861, the six states that had by then seceded met in Montgomery, Alabama, formed the Confederate States of America, and elected Jefferson Davis, a planter, as its president. This was all a far-reaching coup d'état, and it took place before Lincoln had even assumed office on March 4, 1861, and while the government remained in the hands of President Buchanan, a tool of the southern planters. On April 12, 1861, the rebels fired on Fort Sumter near Charleston, South Carolina, and the war began.

The aim of the planters, as Marx pointed out at the time, was not merely to separate their several states from the Union and to set up in business for themselves. They were waging "a war of conquest for the extension and perpetuation of slavery." They hoped to win the war and to reorganize the bulk of the country on the basis of slavery. "What the slaveholders, therefore, call the South," said Marx, "embraces more than three-quarters of the territory hitherto comprised by the Union."¹⁷ This grandiose plan of conquest collapsed, however, when the border states, where slavery played less of an economic role, refused to go along with the seceding south.

To meet the test of war, the greater potential strength was overwhelmingly on the side of the north. The eleven states of the Confederacy faced the twenty-three states that remained in the Federal Union. In the south there was a population of about 9 million, about 4 million of whom were slaves who had to be watched and guarded; whereas, in the north there were 22 million people. The white population in the north outnumbered that of the south about four to one. The total enlistments during the war were 2,898,000 for the Union armies and 1,300,000 for the Confederate forces. Over 40,000 soldiers in the northern forces were citizens of Canada. Nearly all of the iron, steel, textile, and munitions industries of the United States were in the north, and likewise, two-thirds of the nation's bank capital. The north also had an almost complete monopoly of the science and skilled labor required to furnish the sinews of war. "When Lincoln was inaugurated, the capital invested in industries, railways, commerce, and city property exceeded in dollars and cents the value of all the farms and plantations between the Atlantic and the Pacific—a fact announcing at last the triumph of industry over agriculture."¹⁸ In 1859, of a national production of \$2,818,000,000, 75 percent was in the north; and of the national

wealth, the north had roughly eleven billion dollars and the south five billion.¹⁹

James Allen says: "Lincoln found himself at the head of a coalition, which included the industrialists, the overwhelming section of the free farmers, various sectors of the middle classes, and the Negroes. This coalition, expressed politically in the new-born Republican Party, also had the support of organized labor during the period of the Civil War."²⁰ Lincoln's war coalition comprised the great majority of the people of the north, although throughout the war there remained a strong "Copperhead" minority, the basis of which was a considerable group of proslavery capitalists, economically tied up with the planters. In the south it is certain that less than half of the whites favored secession and actively wanted the continuation of Negro slavery. This lack of a broad mass base for the planters explains the desperate character of their policies in the war and during the Reconstruction period.²¹

Although Lincoln had vastly the greater strength in men and material resources behind him he hesitated for nearly eighteen months on the question of emancipating the slaves. He considered the preservation of the Union to be the all-decisive question, with slavery a secondary matter. He remained largely on the defensive in the face of the Confederacy's aggressive attacks, before he struck the major revolutionary blow, the freeing of the slaves. This he did after long and heavy pressure from the Radicals—Sumner, Stevens, Phillips, and others. This blow was the key to winning the war. Personally, Lincoln was against slavery. "I am naturally anti-slavery," he said some time before issuing the Emancipation Proclamation. "If slavery is not wrong, then nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel, and yet I have never understood that the presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling."²²

Lincoln's hesitations reflected the vacillations of the capitalist class. Karl Marx, whose articles in the New York *Daily Tribune* and the Vienna *Presse* constituted the profoundest analysis of the whole revolutionary Civil War situation, sharply criticized Lincoln for his political timidity in not freeing the Negroes and using them as soldiers. This hesitation, Marx declared in 1861, "has smitten the Union government with incurable weakness since the beginning of the war, driven it to half measures, forced it to dissemble away the principle of the war and to spare the foe's most vulnerable spot, the root of the evil, slavery itself."²³ Lincoln was eventually forced by the needs of the war and the pressure of the left to free the Negroes, issuing his epoch-making Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862, to go into effect the following January 1. It was greeted widely in the north with popular demonstrations. Lincoln's action liberated 4 million Negro slaves, without compen-

sation for the 3 billion dollars loss to their arrogant masters. In January of 1865, Congress adopted the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, later endorsed by the states, expressly prohibiting slavery in the United States.

The basic shift in government policy away from a simple effort to preserve the Union and to contain slavery within specified territorial limits, to the outright abolition of slavery, put the war on a new basis. It now became truly a revolutionary struggle. The outcome from then on, although the Union forces were still to suffer heavy reverses, was inevitable. There is no need to review here the long and bloody struggle. Suffice it to say that on April 9, 1865, after the fall of the Confederate capital, Richmond, General Lee surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox, and the war was over. Five days later Lincoln was assassinated in Ford's theater in Washington by John Wilkes Booth, a tool of the planters.

The Civil War, lasting four years and costing at least a million lives, civilian and military, was the most extensive war ever fought on the soil of the New World. It took all this blood to prove to the planters in a revolutionary way that human beings in America could no longer be bought and sold, worked and killed at will to serve the profit of parasitic landowners. While the war strengthened the economic and political position of the capitalist class, it also removed one of the great historical barriers to the advance of the working class, chattel slavery, a fact which Marx and Engels brought out in their writings on the Civil War.

The Negro People in the Civil War

The Negro people rose to the occasion of the Civil War, despite slander to the contrary. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation especially turned them into a powerful rebellious force behind the Confederate lines. During the war 500,000 Negroes fled the plantations, seriously disrupting production. Others spied on the Confederates and brought the information to the northern lines. The heroic Harriet Tubman not only conducted slaves to freedom through the Underground Railroad and led armed attacks against Confederate troops, but she collected vital military information as well. Actually, the military intelligence service depended almost entirely upon Negroes. There were more slave insurrections (and slave strikes) than ever, and harassing bands of runaway slaves cooperated with the Union armies. Chaplain A. M. Gibert of Kentucky reported: "This war has been full of records of Negro activity in our behalf. Negro guides have piloted our forces; Negro sympathy cared for our prisoners escaping from the enemy. Negro hands have made for us naval captures. Negro spies have brought us valuable information. The Negroes of the south have been in sympathy with us from the beginning, and have always hailed the approach of our flag with the wildest demonstrations of joy."²⁴ These rebellious activities

of the Negroes forced the Confederate authorities to divert at least 100,000 men of their scanty armed forces to intimidate the slaves.

The Negroes, when given the opportunity by the hesitating Lincoln government to serve in the Union Army, after August 1862, quickly proved themselves to be first-class soldiers. And how could it be otherwise with a people coming from an Africa so full of courageous warrior traditions? General Rufus Saxton, on March 4, 1863, said, "In every action the Negro troops have behaved with the utmost bravery."²⁵ The enlistment of Negro soldiers by the north marked a turning point in the war. Attempts to impress the Negroes into the Confederate army, on the other hand, failed dismally. It has been well said that "No Negro ever fired a shot for the Confederacy." In 1864, 186,017 Negroes were serving as soldiers in the Union army, with about 134,000 coming from the seceding states of the south. A total of some 37,000 Negro officers and soldiers gave their lives during the war. This was 35 per cent higher than the death rate among white troops.²⁶ The northern military authorities had the meanness to pay the Negro soldiers only \$7 per month, while white soldiers got \$13. There were also large numbers of Negroes in the northern navy.

A basic slander against the Negro people is that their freedom was handed them—but the facts show that they fought resolutely for it. No one has stated more correctly or eloquently than Herbert Aptheker the part played by the Negro people in the long struggle for freedom, leading up to and during the Civil War. "The American Negroes never let the world forget their oppression and enslavement. They purchased their freedom where possible, they killed themselves, they cut off their fingers and hands, they refused to work and were tortured. They fled to swamps and congregated and waged war, they fled to havens of liberty, to invading armies, to the Indians, to the Canadians, to the Dutch, to the French, to the Spaniards and Mexicans, and to the Northern states, and there they went from door to door seeking money wherewith to purchase the freedom of their parents or wives or children. They went from city to city, did these Negroes—Douglass, Still, Allen, Hall, Steward, Lane, Bibb, Northrup, Truth, Tubman, Walker, Garnet, Remond, Purvis, and a thousand more—explaining, describing, pleading, warning, agitating. They wrote pamphlets and letters and books, telling of the plight of their people, and urging reform or rebellion. They plotted or rebelled, alone or with the poor whites, time and time again; and the corpses of the martyrs were barely cold before others sprang forward to give their lives' blood to the struggle—Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, and scores upon scores of plain Catos, Gabriels, Jacks, Arthurs, Toms, Peters, Sams, Tonys, Patricks, Greens, Copelands."²⁷

The Workers in the Civil War

The working class played a decisive role in the abolition of slavery in the United States. During the decade prior to the Civil War, however, the workers, immature, not enough developed politically, and almost entirely unorganized, did not understand the basic need to abolish slavery. The class was generally afflicted with the current bourgeois conception, shared also by Lincoln, that slavery should and could be contained within territorial limits. Foner says: "At first it was slow to act, because of the hostility of many Abolitionist leaders toward working class demands, because of affiliation with the Democratic Party, because of fears that emancipation of the slaves would increase competition in the labor market."²⁸ But when the southern rebellion actually took place, labor rallied overwhelmingly behind Lincoln to preserve the Union, and it also quickly came to support the demand for Negro emancipation.

W. H. Sylvis, the outstanding trade unionist of the period, had voted for Stephen Douglas in 1860, but, among other labor leaders, he led in mobilizing the workers for the war. Many shops and unions responded en masse to Lincoln's call for volunteers. Negro workers were especially responsive. "B. A. Gould's *Investigation in the Military and Anthropological Statistics of American Soldiers*, published in 1869 . . . states that of every 1,000 soldiers in the Union Army, 421 . . . belonged to the working class. The number . . . for those engaged in agriculture was 487."²⁹ The well-to-do bought themselves out of the service by paying \$300 apiece. It was basically against this latter outrageous provision that the "draft riots" in northern cities were directed, not against the war itself. In the great New York riot of July 13, 1863, about 1,000 were killed and injured. T. V. Powderly, head of the Knights of Labor, was correct when, years later, he said: "It is true that men in other walks of life enlisted and did good service in the Union cause, but the great bulk of the army was made up of working men."³⁰ Upon many occasions Lincoln showed his appreciation of labor's vital participation in the prewar fight against the slavers and also in the Civil War itself.

The communist and socialist movement also played an important part in winning the war. Many organizations of revolutionary immigrant workers joined the federal army in a body. Active communist workers, such as Joseph Weydemeyer, August Willich, Robert Rosa, Fritz Jacobi, and others, held commissions and important responsibilities in the Union Army. In England the revolutionary workers, under the direct leadership of Marx and Engels, also made a vital contribution toward the north's victory. Undoubtedly it was the position of the English working class, under the leadership of Marx and Engels, that prevented the reactionaries from throwing England into the war on the side of the Confederacy.

Marx and Engels were keenly aware of the fundamental connection between the fight for Negro emancipation and the interests of the working class as a whole. In 1861 Marx said: "The present struggle between the South and North is, therefore, nothing but a struggle between two social systems, between the system of slavery and the system of free labor. The struggle has broken out because the two systems can no longer live peacefully side by side on the North American continent. It can only be ended by the victory of one system or the other."³¹ Marx also said, "In the United States of North America, every independent movement of the workers was paralysed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."³²

The International Workingmen's Association, formed in September, 1864, and headed by Karl Marx, conducted a campaign throughout Europe in behalf of maintaining the Union and of Negro emancipation. Upon the victory of the north, the International sent Lincoln a letter of congratulation, to which he replied cordially. The great struggle turned out as Marx understood it would: the winning of the war and the abolition of slavery gave a powerful impetus to capitalism; and it likewise spurred on organized labor. The National Labor Union was formed in August 1866, and trade unionism spread rapidly throughout the north.

The victorious north proceeded to transform the defeated south to suit its purposes. This policy the northern capitalists realized for many years after the Civil War, by firmly controlling the federal government, by adopting tariff, tax, railroad, and other legislation discriminating against the south, by limiting the extent and character of southern industrialization, by using the south's political representatives as puppets, and by assisting the Jim Crow system to become firmly established in the south.

Southern industry is predominantly owned by northern Wall Street interests. The Morgan associates control the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, Virginia Bridge Company, Commonwealth and Southern Company, Southern Railroad, Universal Atlas Cement Company, and a host of other big plants and concerns in the south. The Rockefeller oil companies have a vast petroleum setup and they own 17,000,000 acres of the south's choicest oil lands. The du Ponts possess rayon, nylon, plastic, and chemical plants throughout the south. Many other key plants in the lumber, textile, tobacco, auto, paper, fertilizer, meat-packing and other industries also belong to the northern monopolists.³³ These great concerns dominate southern life, exploit the masses of the people, and siphon off billions of dollars yearly for the northern profitmongers. Many of them sank their first roots in the south following the Civil War. They are major exploiters and Jim Crow oppressors of the Negro people.

The Revolution of 1861-65

The overthrow of the slaveowners' rule was a revolution; for it basically altered the economy of the nation and transferred the political power from one class to another. It was also a bourgeois revolution, because it shattered the feudalistic planter regime and made industrial capitalism dominant. And, finally, it was a bourgeois-democratic revolution, because control in its main drive was the abolition of slavery, and also because the Negro people, the small farmers, and the working class were decisive elements in carrying the Civil War through to victory. Lenin, in 1918, speaking to the American working class referred to "the greatest, world-historic, progressive and revolutionary significance of the American Civil War of 1861-65!"³⁴

To realize completely the potentialities of this bourgeois-democratic revolution, certain basic postwar tasks, as Allen says, were necessary. "The issues were clearly projected: confiscation of the landed estates for the benefit of the landless, disfranchisement of the land barons, and Negro suffrage. These were the chief economic and political steps demanded by the revolution. Anything short of the fulfillment of these minimum requirements would eventually lead to the victory of reaction."³⁵

During the Reconstruction period following the war, the Negro people, with the limited means at their disposal, exercising great initiative, took up the—to them—new tasks of citizenship. Realizing the need of the hour, in numerous places they seized land and were later evicted from it only with great difficulty. They also took an active interest in political action; and soon the reorganized southern state legislatures contained large groups of Negro representatives. There were also many Negroes elected as Lieutenant-Governors, as Congressmen, etc. The legislation passed by the Reconstruction state governments was very advanced in its political character. During the immediate postwar period the Radical Republicans held a majority in Congress, and they were disposed to grant extensive citizenship rights to the Negroes, but they did not rise to the height of breaking up the plantations and giving the land to the Negroes, nor did the organized labor movement of the time understand the necessity for this basic measure.

The triumphant northern capitalists feared to have really emancipated Negroes. They had accomplished their major purposes when they had whipped the planters militarily, taken the federal government out of their hands, and placed economic fetters upon the south. They were entirely unsympathetic to the Negroes' clear-sighted demands for "forty acres and a mule" and for full citizenship rights. The northern capitalists did not want a body of prosperous Negro farmers and workers. They also did not want before the eyes of their exploited workers in the north the inspiring example of a full-fledged bourgeois-democratic revolution in the south. They were quite content to have the planters, with their power clipped, retain control

of the big estates. They wanted, too, to keep the Negroes in the most exploited condition possible short of actual slavery for the profit of the northern industrialists no less than that of the southern planters.

Therefore, the northern industrialists cynically betrayed their Negro war allies. They brushed aside, too, Stevens, Douglass, Sumner, Phillips, and others of the Radical Republicans who wanted to expropriate the planters and to set the Negroes really free by giving them land, votes, and civil rights. In 1877, after the capitalist tools, Presidents Johnson and Grant, had completed the "Reconstruction Program," the northern industrialists had the federal troops withdrawn from the south. In 1872, they also amnestied the leaders of the Confederacy, restoring them to full rights. All this gave a green light to the planters who, after a bestial orgy of terrorism through the Ku Klux Klan, succeeded in reimposing their tyranny over the Negroes. The erstwhile emancipated slaves were thus pressed down to a state of sharecropping peonage, United States style. Ever since then, their economic exploitation, political disfranchisement, social ostracism, and barbarous lynching have been a disgrace to the civilized world. Reaction triumphed over the revolution begun in 1861.

To justify all this treachery and reaction against the Negro people, the spokesmen of both northern and southern capitalism have never ceased to pour out a bitter flood of invectives and misrepresentation against the events and leaders of the Reconstruction period, thus slandering the fine achievements of Negro legislators, the soundness of their revolutionary program, and the gallant fight made by Stevens and other Radical Republicans. It is one of the worst campaigns of distortions in all United States history.

Negro Emancipation in Brazil

Brazil was the last country in the western hemisphere to abolish human chattel slavery. That nation finally took its place among the other anti-slavery nations on May 13, 1888, when it set free its Negro slaves. Thus, at long last, there came to fruition in Brazil the demand for emancipation first put forth by the famous Tiradentes in his revolutionary program of 1789.

Slavery was especially deeply entrenched in Brazilian economy and political life. For nearly four centuries the whole economic system of the country had been based on slavery. The big plantations and the tropical crops produced for export lent themselves very readily to the slave system. Sugar was the main crop throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Cotton culture was also important on the big plantations. Coffee, brought in from Portugal in the middle of the eighteenth century, was not widely cultivated until almost a hundred years later. Other tropical crops—rice, manioc, indigo, etc.—along with extensive cattle-raising, made up the balance of the agricultural economy. Gold and diamond mining,

although very considerable in eighteenth-century Brazil, never acquired the decisive importance there that mining did in some of the Spanish colonies. All these productive activities in Brazil were carried on with slave labor.

In Brazil the big landowner had solid political control. He lived (and still does) like a petty potentate. On his gigantic plantation, the fazendeiro "had meat, bread, wine, the cereals which furnished his sustenance; wool or cotton to clothe him; peanut oil or wax to furnish him light; wood and tile to protect him from the inclemencies of the weather; arms to defend himself. He lacked nothing. He could challenge the world." He did as he pleased with his armies of slaves. The government and the military were his tools. And the Church, which he owned and controlled, gave its blessing to his whole barbarous system of exploitation. The powerful British influence in Brazil was also pro-slavery.

Under such favorable conditions slavery was able to survive unduly long. The planters were so strong that they were able to divorce Brazil from Portugal and with the help of England set up a monarchy in Brazil in 1822, without the violent revolution which shook the Spanish and other colonies to their foundations. The planters were also able, in 1889, to make a bloodless transition from the outworn monarchy to the brand-new republic, which they proceeded similarly to control. The lack of revolutionary struggle exempted many reactionary institutions in Brazil, including slavery, from shattering assault.

Nevertheless, the planters could not save slavery in Brazil. The slave economy became more and more out of place. In Brazil itself the system was the subject of growing attack. The revolutionary intellectuals were sharply opposed to slavery, and so was the weak but growing merchant capitalist class. But in particular the Negroes themselves, after the period of national independence began, were busily tearing the slave system to pieces and making it unworkable. The slaves revolted in many areas; they ran away from the plantations, and those who were already free set up brotherhoods and raised funds to buy other Negroes out of slavery. The freed Negroes were leaders in many phases of Brazilian life. Negro leaders like Jose Patrocinio, the famous writer, carried on vigorous antislavery agitation. Emancipation sentiment grew rapidly on all sides. Some planters, convinced that slavery had outlived its time and was doomed, even set their slaves free. And, says Crow: "When the army and the police were sent to recapture the fugitives [slaves] for their owners, they gave only half-hearted assistance."

The freeing of the Negro slaves, first in Haiti, and later in the Spanish colonies, in connection with their revolutions for national independence early in the nineteenth century, greatly increased the demand for Negro emancipation in Brazil. In 1828, therefore, the slave trade was legally

abolished, although this measure did not actually go into effect until 1850. The Civil War in the United States, setting free millions of Negroes, gave another big impetus to the abolition movement in Brazil.

In 1871, the demand for Negro freedom in Brazil had grown so great that even the conservative government then in power passed the Rio Branca "Freedom-of-the-Womb" law, by which all children born of slave mothers after the date of the law's passage were declared free. By that time the slave system was disintegrating so rapidly that the number of slaves in Brazil had declined to 1,700,000, a decrease of about 50 per cent in thirty years. In 1885 came another law, adopted under heavy mass pressure, which freed all slaves sixty years of age or older. The Brazilian people were now building up toward the overthrow of the emperor Dom Pedro II and the monarchical system in 1889. In the midst of this revolutionary movement, in May 1888, final Negro emancipation was proclaimed. The Parliament burst into wild enthusiasm when the law setting the slaves free was adopted by an overwhelming majority. By this time the number of slaves had declined to about 700,000, or about one-fifth their number in 1840. No compensation was given the landholders, who set their loss at \$200 million. So hated has slavery become that all official records of it were publicly destroyed, a fact which students of the question have never since ceased to deplore.

The freed Brazilian slaves on the land were transformed for the most part into peons, as had happened in all the former Spanish colonies and in the United States. But the Brazilian freedmen never had to undergo the shameful political and social indignities that were thrust upon the emancipated slaves in the United States by the Jim Crow system. "After the emancipation of the slaves," says Ramos, "the Negro has participated fully in the social and family life of Brazil. No law prohibited such participation or the exercise of any legitimate function of the citizen."³⁸ By the Brazilian action, at long last, after over four hundred years of oppression, misery, and suffering, the Negroes of the Americas finally were free of the chains of chattel slavery. A big obstacle was thereby removed from the peoples' path toward happiness and progress in the western hemisphere.

18. REVOLUTIONS AND DICTATORS IN LATIN AMERICA

The many "revolutions" and dictatorships that have marked the history of Latin American countries since the wars of independence have grown out of the fundamental political instability in these countries. The rule of the big landowners has been traditionally shaky in the face of the developing industrialization. But the capitalist class, because of its weak economic base, has lacked the political strength and revolutionary spirit to overthrow the latifundists. The general result has been instability, marked by many revolts and civil wars. Sometimes these originated through reactionary offensives by the landowners, and frequently from the revolutionary initiative of the toiling masses.

Faced with barbaric living and working conditions and denied almost every semblance of freedom, the masses of the Latin American peoples—the workers, peasants, and intellectuals—have long been essentially revolutionary. Sections of the smaller capitalists have also often displayed revolutionary tendencies. Over the years these masses have striven to break the power of the big, feudal-minded landlords and to fulfill for themselves the main task of the bourgeois revolution which began, but was not completed, in the independence struggles of 1810-26. Down to about the beginning of the twentieth century these movements were led chiefly by petty-bourgeois groups, with the peasants doing most of the fighting. After that time the workers began to play a more leading role. As for the capitalists, enmeshed with the landowners, tied up with the imperialists, and afraid of the proletariat, they became less and less a revolutionary force.

Time and again, the Latin American masses have directed revolutionary attacks against the deeply entrenched landowning exploiters. And because the peoples were largely bereft of democratic channels of expression, these struggles, even when they rested upon questions of a secondary order, have very often grown into armed revolts. Frequently, too, sections of the armies, made up principally of peasants, joined with the people in these revolts. By far the majority of the many revolts, however, after scoring partial gains for the people and whittling down the land monopoly here and there, failed to achieve their major revolutionary objective, this objective being, consciously or unconsciously, the overthrow of the big landowners altogether.

The relative failure of such armed struggles was the result primarily of

the political immaturity of the revolutionary classes—their lack of adequate organization, trained leadership, and clear programs—due to the weak state of industrial development. Only in Mexico, in the revolution of 1910, did the toiling masses actually break through in their revolutionary struggle and register solid blows against the landowners. This frequent recurrence of armed revolts, often resulting in failure, has been a major factor in developing what is known in Latin America as caudilloism.* This is primarily a system of rule by reactionary dictators, who come to power through force and violence and rule by the same means, although some of the caudillos, at the outset, have been liberals.

During the hundred and twenty-five years since the end of their wars for independence, the Latin American countries, more particularly the former Spanish colonies, have experienced a great many "revolutions" and dictatorships, with Brazil developing its own characteristic type of dictator. There have been literally hundreds of armed uprisings in the Spanish-speaking lands, out of which have arisen men-on-horseback, or caudillos. These caudillos, usually reactionaries, ruled tyrannically over their countries for longer or shorter periods. "Dictators have been so numerous that the history of these countries is to a large extent the biography of these imperious personalities."¹ This caudilloism is a specifically Latin American phenomenon which has no counterpart elsewhere.

A few indications will show how widespread and persistent is the caudilloist development. For the first seventy-five years after independence was established, Uruguay was in a turmoil of chaos and caudilloism. Bolivia had sixty "revolutions" in seventy-four years; Venezuela fifty uprisings in seventy years, Panama fifty-four in fifty years; Colombia had twenty-seven civil wars in its first seventy years; Ecuador changed its government thirteen times between 1931 and 1945, and many times before that; Paraguay has had over one hundred revolts since it became an independent country; the Central American countries have also had scores of revolts and men-on-horseback; Peru has had over fifty presidents during the first hundred years of its existence;² and "of the seventy-two Mexican governments during the nineteenth century only twelve had had a seemingly legal origin."³

The Latin American dictators have been fluent constitution writers, and incredible numbers of such documents have been turned out during the stormy years since the wars of independence. Thus, taking a few examples: Venezuela has rewritten its constitution fifteen times in a hundred years, Ecuador has had thirteen constitutions, Bolivia ten, while Brazil has had four constitutions since 1889. After 1810, the twenty Latin American nations, all told, have had no less than 125 constitutions. Bolivar once said about their general tendency, "Constitutions are waste paper, elections are combats, lib-

* The literal translation of the Spanish word caudillo is leader.

erty is anarchy."⁴ "Nowhere are constitutions more elaborate—or less observed."⁵

The Early Dictators

The trend towards caudilloist dictatorship in the Spanish American countries became marked even during the revolutionary wars for independence. It was in wartime that Simon Bolivar, the "Liberator of the North," an outstanding advocate of strong centralized government, became dictator of Great Colombia (Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela), and also of Peru and Bolivia. Jose San Martin, the "Liberator of the South," another adherent of a strong executive, was also a wartime dictator of Peru, preceding Bolivar's term in office there.

Neither Bolivar nor San Martin looked upon their positions of dictators as a mere wartime emergency measure. On the contrary, both considered such dictatorship as the only possible form of government for the Latin American countries in the chaotic war and postwar conditions. Bolivar, in his famous Jamaica letter of 1815, said that "a system of government by the masses, far from being good for us, would bring ruin upon us."⁶ He proposed a strong centralized government, with the President a virtual dictator, the government supervised by a group of censors, and the number of voters closely restricted to those well-to-do groups considered qualified to vote. San Martin was even more of a centralizer. A monarchist, he, like other leaders, feared the revolutionary spirit of the masses. Both Bolivar and San Martin expressed disillusionment with democracy. San Martin suddenly resigned his activities in Peru and left for Europe, there to pine away in pessimism, and Bolivar, with his great prestige soon worn out, said toward the time of his death, at the early age of 47, that in his work he had merely "plowed the sea."

With the successful end of the wars for independence, the leaders of the Latin American revolution became, for the most part, the heads of the various newly set-up governments, usually as military dictators. The situation in Spanish America after the war was chaotic. The great colonial system, once Spain's coercive influence was removed, tended to fly apart. In the wild frontier conditions, with transportation and communications systems virtually nonexistent and with hardly a trace of government anywhere, isolationist and decentralizing tendencies flourished. Consequently, caudillos, military adventurers, waged desperate struggles against each other for power. Speaking of the fierceness of these struggles in the early postwar years in Argentina, Crow says: "Every region was under a caudillo, and every caudillo was a law unto himself. Bloody regional wars had become the norm of everyday life. Fierce Gaucho herdsmen armed with lances, bolos, and knives, charged at each other like packs of tigers. All who were captured had their throats slit from ear to ear as if they were wild cattle. If a caudillo

was taken, his head was cut off and displayed on a pole in the nearest town.”⁷

Out of this welter of struggle, which went on nearly everywhere throughout revolutionary Spanish-speaking America, the generals, or other veterans of the liberation wars, came to the fore and took charge as dictators, some ruling benevolently, others barbarically. Sometimes these leaders were duly elected, but often they simply seized power by insurrection. Once in office, they usually disregarded the existing constitutions (mostly copied after that of the United States, but sometimes after France, Greece and Rome) or rewrote them to suit their convenience. Generally, they reduced the legislative bodies to a yes-man status.

A few of these military dictators will indicate their general type. In Mexico, General Iturbide, who headed, if he did not lead, the Mexican liberation revolution, had himself declared emperor in 1822. He was executed in 1824. A few years later, about 1834, General Santa Anna took over and ruled Mexico intermittently until 1855, when he had to flee the country. In Argentina, a confused internal struggle followed the end of the revolutionary war. Out of this arose General Juan Manuel de Rosas, one of the most noted of all Latin American dictators. After one term as president, he was re-elected head of the government in 1835. He hung onto power until 1852, when he was violently overthrown. Rosas maintained himself in control largely with the aid of an all-pervasive secret police, and is said to have assassinated and executed at least 25,000 of his opponents. Neighboring Uruguay, in this period, also had its due share of dictators, among them postwar military presidents and leaders such as Artigas and Rivera. Chile likewise had various revolutionary military dictators. Bernardo O’Higgins, the “father” of Chile, with the title of Supreme Dictator, ruled that country during the war until 1823, when he was forced to resign. O’Higgins was followed by a string of Chilean dictators, the most noted of whom in this period was Diego Portales. The latter ruled from 1830 to 1837, when he faced a firing squad. Paraguay came out of the revolutionary wars with the notorious Jose Gaspar Rodriguez Francia, called “El Supremo,” at its head. Francia clung to power for twenty-six years, from 1814 to 1840. He was the first of three noted dictators, who ruled Paraguay consecutively for sixty years. In Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela, during this postwar period, there was a veritable rash of military dictators, mostly generals of the revolutionary armies. Among the more noted of these northern autocrats were General Paez (he wanted to make Bolivar king), who ruled Venezuela for thirty years; Generals Sucre and Santander of Bolivia; General Salazar of Guatemala; General Flores of Ecuador; and General Santa Cruz of Peru. In the Spanish-French island of Santo Domingo (Haiti), as we have noted, the revolutionary generals Dessalines, Christophe, Pétion, Boyer, Soulouque, and others set themselves

up successfully as emperors, kings, and dictators for several decades after 1804.

Some of the above-mentioned caudillos were either liberals, or had liberal streaks in their policies. Thus, Artigas of Uruguay and O'Higgins of Chile were patriots and their governments contained elements of democracy. A few of the dictators fought the entrenched army cliques, while others came to grips with the Church. In the latter category was the noted Dr. Francia who ruled Paraguay for over a quarter of a century. Francia fought tenaciously against the Vatican church controls, for which he was violently denounced by the Church all over the world. Most of the caudillos, however, whatever might have been their support originally among the masses, either were from the outset or eventually became full-fledged reactionaries.

The Second Crop of Dictators

"Bolivar's lieutenants dominated life in the southern continent for nearly half a century."⁸ The plague of dictators, with their coups d'état and tyranny, did not, however, die out in the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America with the end of the long drawn-out military dictatorships following the revolutionary wars of 1810-26. After the epoch of the dictatorships of the "revolutionary" generals, there were periods in various countries—Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Colombia, Costa Rica, for instance—when the governments were regularly elected and functioned in line with the respective national constitutions. But the men-on-horseback were never far in the background. Between the middle and the end of the last century, even though the dictatorships of the "revolutionary" generals gradually disappeared from the political scene, new tyrants—some of the worst in the history of the Americas—held violent, undemocratic sway. All the countries of Spanish America were afflicted with these caudillos. Let us mention a few of the more outstanding among the scores of dictators who strutted and paraded through this period.

During these decades Paraguay produced two notorious dictators—Lopez, father and son—who ruled the country with an iron hand (after Francia) between 1845 and 1870, the son bringing the country to ruin in the terrible war of 1865-70. Throughout the same period Argentina also had many civil wars and uprisings and was dominated by a number of dictators and "strong presidents," among them Urquiza, 1852-61, and Mitre, 1861-68. From the revolutionary wars to the end of the century Uruguay was afflicted with a whole row of "revolutions" and petty dictators. One of the most outstanding of these was Venancio Flores, who dominated the country, save for short interruptions, from 1853 to 1868. After 1903 a relatively orderly period set in and lasted for a generation in Uruguay. Chile also produced a number of the typical dictators between the revolutionary wars and the end of the

century. Two of these were Montt and Balmaceda in the 'fifties and 'eighties. In Bolivia one of the most notorious of all the dictators was Mariano Melgarejo. He ranks, for barbaric tyranny, along with Rosas and the two Lopez. He seized power by an uprising, held Bolivia in his criminal grip from 1864 to 1871, and died by assassination.

In the northern part of South America there were also numerous dictators and "revolutions" during this period. One of the most famous of the many tyrants produced by Ecuador was Garcia Moreno. Duly elected at the beginning of his rule, this man was a self-elected president almost continuously from 1861 to 1875. Like many other despots he was a strong champion of the church. He hung onto office by strong-arm methods until he was assassinated. Among Colombia's many dictators before the end of the century may be mentioned General Mosquera, who seized power and held it from 1861 until 1867. A liberal, he was one of the few dictators who fell foul of the Church, suppressing the Jesuits and closing the monasteries. Peru's history in these times was also a succession of dictators, one of the most outstanding of whom was Ramon Castillo, who ran the country, either as president or unofficial boss, from 1844 to 1860. Venezuela also had its share of dictators. Among them, Guzman Blanco dominated the country from 1873 to 1888. After him, in 1892, came Joaquin Crespo for six years, and then the notorious Cipriano Castro for nine years.

During these same decades, Central America was also especially prolific in "revolutions" and dictators. The history of Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Panama, Guatemala, and Costa Rica is filled with the records of men who grabbed power by violence and then proceeded to cling to it until they were either assassinated or thrown out by another "revolution." Typical of such rulers was Rafael Carrera, absolute ruler of Guatemala from 1838 to 1865. An arch-reactionary, Carrera seized power and finally had himself elected for life. Strangely, he died in bed. All the Central American countries were cursed with dictators of Carrera's type. And Mexico, too, produced, among others, one of the most noted of all the dictators, Porfirio Diaz. Diaz grabbed power in 1876 by armed violence. With the exception of the period between 1880 and 1884, he ruled Mexico for thirty-four years, until 1911—the longest term in office of any Latin American dictator. He was eliminated the way he came in, by insurrection. We will come back to this particular despot in our later chapter on the Mexican Revolution.

Dictators in the Present Period

Modern dictators in Latin America after 1900 have two marked characteristics which set them off from their earlier prototypes: Most of these latter dictators, including those in Brazil, are, first, more or less definitely puppets of United States or British imperialism, and second, they all display

decidedly fascist tendencies. As we shall deal with these aspects of the situation extensively in later chapters, let us, therefore, confine ourselves here merely to listing some of the typical dictators of the period of imperialism and fascist trends, so that we can draw some general conclusions from the whole broad phenomenon of the Latin American "revolutions" and dictators, from caudilloism in general.

Many historians of Latin America have contended, especially since about 1935, that the period of dictators and violent seizure of power was practically over in Latin America and that various of the more important countries had finally settled down to regimes of constitutional democracy. Particularly singled out as immune to caudilloism were the "white" countries of Latin America, namely Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, and the more "democratic" of the countries, including the three just mentioned, plus Colombia, Costa Rica, and a few others. But obviously these calculations were wrong. The Latin American countries generally, including the "white" and "democratic" ones, still live under the coup d'état-dictator menace, with its later and especially sinister admixture of imperialist puppetism and fascism.

Central America and the Caribbean area have been prolific in late years in the production of this new, imperialist-instigated type of "revolution" and dictator. In 1903, Panama, under direct stimulation by the United States, had a "revolution" which brought to the fore its puppet, Manuel Amador Guerrero. That country has had nearly three score of such uprisings in the past half century. Another dictator puppet of British and United States imperialism was Juan Vicente Gomez, who ruled Venezuela from 1908 to 1935. Gomez used to hang up his political enemies on meat hooks. He amassed a personal fortune of \$30 million in oil graft, and was the biggest landowner in the hemisphere. In the Central American lands, sneeringly called "banana republics" by Yankee imperialists, United States-sponsored puppet dictators, one after another, have held the center of the stage. Haiti had seven presidents in the period of 1910-15, with many more to follow in subsequent years. The Dominican Republic produced the bloody monster General Trujillo, who has basked in United States favor, from 1930 down to date. And Cuba had its General Machado, a "liberal" tool of United States imperialism, who came to power as a result of the "revolution" of 1924. He fed his political enemies to the sharks of Havana harbor, until he was overthrown in 1933 by an armed uprising.

In the southern part of South America, in countries that were now supposed to be immune to caudilloism, many sinister dictators have recently come to power. Argentina, presumably a solidly democratic country, gave birth to the reactionary dictator, Jose Evaristo Uriburu, in 1930. And now in that country there rules the ultra-menacing dictator of them all, General Juan Peron. In Chile, too, another country supposed to have passed beyond

caudilloism, the administration of its current President Gabriel Gonzales Videla, has displayed serious dictatorial, imperialist-puppet, and fascist tendencies. Brazil, likewise, within the past fifteen years has produced two fascist-minded dictators, Getulio Vargas and Enrico Gaspar Dutra.

During 1948, there have also been "revolutions" producing the usual crop of dictators in many Latin American countries, including Costa Rica, Peru, El Salvador, Venezuela, and Colombia. Paraguay has had no less than seven revolts in the past thirteen months. And even as this chapter is being written, Panama has had three presidents within one week. Other Latin American countries are also obviously threatened with similar developments.

The Meaning of Caudilloism

To grasp the real significance of the caudilloism that has been such a marked feature of Latin American political life since the days of the wars for national liberation, two major facts must be understood. The first of these is that most of the violent seizures of power by dictators, commonly called "revolutions," have not been genuine revolutions. A revolution is not merely a violent change of government personnel; it is an overturn involving a basic alteration in the economic mode of production and a fundamental shift in class relationships.

The Americas have had several basic social overturns that correspond with this definition of a revolution. These were the revolutionary changes in the aboriginal Indian economy brought about by the conquest; namely, the breaking down of primitive communalism and the thrusting of the Indian peoples into an alien capitalist-feudal regime. Then there was the series of national liberation struggles from 1776 to 1837, the whole hemispheric revolution, in which the American colonies broke away from control by Spain, Portugal, France, England, and other European powers. Next, there was the United States Civil War of 1861-1865, a true revolution, which shattered the economic plantation system and transferred political power from the southern slave holders to the northern industrialists. And finally there was the revolution in Mexico, beginning in 1910, which brought about basic economic and political shifts in that country.

The great bulk of the hundreds of uprisings and coups d'état in Latin American history, however, have not been revolutions at all, as they did not bring about fundamental economic and political changes. That is to say, they did not abolish the dominant system of big landownership. The latifundists readily survived such "revolutions," and thrived on them. Many of the innumerable conquests of power by this or that "strong man" were simply "palace revolutions," seizures of the state apparatus by rival cliques of army officers who were in no way hostile to the ruling landowners. Others

were the result of quarrels between different categories of landowners, like that between the coffee growers and cattle ranchers in Brazil in 1930.

A great many, if not most of these uprisings, nevertheless, had their beginnings in genuine mass revolt movements of the people. They may be called "aborted revolutions," real attacks against the landlord's regime that were frustrated and betrayed by the caudillos, or men-on-horseback. Time and again in Spanish Latin American history, the unorganized workers, peasants and middle classes, masses who hold high the right of revolution, have spontaneously risen in a revolutionary spirit, only to have their movements thwarted and aborted by this or that opportunistic dictator, full of demagogic promises, whom they had put at the head of the government they established. Often, however, even though such rebellious movements did not achieve their full revolutionary goals, they did result in many substantial reforms. One example among many was the overthrow of the Cuban dictator Machado in 1933. This violent uprising did not break the power of the Cuban landlords and Yankee imperialists, but it did bring about the general eight-hour day, the consolidation of much progressive legislation in the Constitution of 1940, and also the abrogation of the Platt Amendment, a legal device which gave the United States the right to interfere in Cuba's internal affairs. Another characteristic example was that of Ramon Castillo, dictator of Peru from 1844 to 1860. Although later a conservative, he proclaimed the emancipation of the Negro slaves and the abolition of the feudal-like tribute paid by the Indians—in order to appease the revolutionary masses who had thrust him into power.

Besides realizing that the "revolutions" in Latin America often, if not mostly, begin as genuine revolts on the part of the masses, we must grasp another reality if we are to understand this phenomenon of caudilloism. That is, the Latin American dictators, who have kept cropping up so strongly, are not merely strong individuals, men-on-horseback, who are able to seize political power in the midst of crises. They have a class significance, and they can only be understood in this real sense. They constitute a class weapon by which the ruling landowners maintain themselves in power. They are part of the larger class pattern of the dictatorship of the great land barons.

The big landowners, faced by uprisings of the toiling masses, time and again have fastened upon these threatening movements dictators of their own choosing, or else they have corrupted the leaders raised up by the revolutionary peoples. In actual fact, a large number of the Latin American dictators have come to power under such circumstances. Many of the very worst of the caudillos, even the infamous Rosas of Argentina, Diaz of Mexico, and Machado of Cuba, started out as "liberals" or "radicals," making all sorts of promises to the people, none or few of which they ever kept. Their caudillos' mouths have always been full of the word "revolution." It is not

only the fascist-like Perons and Vargas of our times who engaged in such demagogy. Aspiring Latin American dictators, from the days of Rosas and Francia a century ago, have all been adept at misleading their peoples grandiloquently with glittering promises of reform and revolution.

Sometimes under severe mass pressure, the dictators have allowed lesser reforms to go through; but, in the end, with rare exceptions these caudillos, both "liberals" and conservatives, have turned out to be obedient servants and coworkers of the landlords. Duggan remarks on this point, "Although many of the military caudillos were of lowly origin they were no menace to the landowners; those who stayed in power long enough amassed wealth and became landowners themselves."⁹ Thus, through the device of caudilloism, many genuinely revolutionary movements of the Latin American peoples have been sloughed off or aborted by opportunistic demagogues into fake "revolutions," which basically changed nothing. Mariagetui says that "during the period of military caudillage instead of the urban demos being strengthened, the latifundist aristocracy entrenched itself."

As we have remarked earlier, the fundamental cause of caudilloism in Latin America has been the industrial backwardness of these countries, with the consequent lack of a strong, well-organized working class led by its own political party. The situation in Latin America is objectively revolutionary and the toiling masses are also revolutionary—but the revolutionary masses still lack adequate organization and program. These conditions are rapidly changing, however, with the recent growth of the Communist parties and the Latin American Confederation of Labor.

On the basis of the foregoing evidences, caudilloism arises from a fundamental lack of democracy in the Latin American countries. Everywhere violent suppression of the democratic aspirations of the masses has always been customary. Neither in the European background of the Latin American countries, nor in these countries themselves, has there been any real tradition or practice of democracy. Trade unionism has always had to fight desperately for its very life, and important strikes have usually been shot out of existence or otherwise violently repressed. Parliamentary democracy, such as it is, has also been a sham, whether through the wholesale disfranchisement of the masses by property and literacy qualifications, or by the reduction of the national congresses to mere gatherings of puppets of the landowner-controlled dictators. Under these harsh conditions the workers and other disinherited masses have frequently been left no alternative but violent struggle against the autocratic governments, even over minor questions. The caudillos have then stepped in to destroy their movements.

The tremendous influence of the church and the army in the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America has also been a prolific breeder of caudilloism. The church, a big landowner and highly authoritarian in its

makeup, has nearly always found itself on the side of the reactionary caudillos. And the army, also a strongly centralized body and dictatorial in its methods, has produced most of the caudillos from its own ranks. Historically, many of the uprisings in Latin America have been military putsches, and the bulk of the emerging dictators have been army generals.

The history of Spanish Latin America has been an oscillation of power between conservative and liberal parties. It has worked out as a sort of two-party system of political control, roughly analogous to that prevailing in the United States. Although some of the dictators, who usually styled themselves "Pacificators," "Protectors of the Laws," "Regenerators," "Liberators," and the like, occasionally made minor concessions to the rebellious masses, the basic interests of the landowners, like those of the capitalists in the United States under their two-party system, have remained protected, whichever side was in. The one outstanding exception is Mexico, where the rebellious masses, in 1910, did succeed in launching a genuine revolution.

Liberalism has been particularly futile in Latin America, because of the weakness of the working class, the middle classes, and the national capitalists. A classical example of this futility was given by the well-known liberal, Jose Batlle y Ordóñez, who headed the government of Uruguay in the first two decades of this century. Batlle y Ordóñez introduced many reforms: he stimulated industrialization, brought about the separation of Church and State, and wrote much advanced social legislation; but as Arismendi says, he left untouched the basic problems of the land and of imperialist domination.¹⁰ The same thing could be said of Rivadavia, Sarmiento and Irygoyen of Argentina, of Balmeceña and Alessandri of Chile, and of scores of other noted liberals all over Latin America: they kept their hands off the "holy of holies," the big landowning system, save to a certain extent, under heavy mass pressure, in revolutionary Mexico. Characteristically, when Castillo abolished Peruvian slavery and serfdom officially, he did not disturb the latifundists in their basic control of the land, with the result that the Negroes and Indians remained in deep exploitation and political oppression.

"According to Marx, the state is the organ of class *domination*, the organ of oppression of one class by another. Its aim is the creation of 'order' which legalizes and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the collisions between the classes."¹¹ In line with this principle, historically caudilloism, in both its "liberal" and reactionary varieties, has been a part of the governmental system used by the big Latin American landowners since the abolition of colonial status, to perpetuate their class rule through their state. The hundreds of demagogic caudillos who have strutted the stage of Latin American history actually amount to but so many maintainers of the oppressive power of the big latifundists at the expense of the rest of the nations.

In Spanish-speaking America especially the landlords have resorted to

caudilloism, with its rash of "revolutions" and dictators, because they have not been able, as the ruling class, to set up such firm social controls as would enable them to nip in the bud all revolutionary uprisings. This is why mass struggles in these countries over minor issues have many times resulted in the overthrow of governments, whereas they would not have had such results in other parts of the western hemisphere, like the United States or Canada, where the ruling class is more firmly in the saddle.

The capitalist class, middle classes, and working class, in the Spanish-speaking countries are relatively weak, due to the lack of industrialization and of small-scale farming. These classes have not been able finally to overthrow the rule of the big landlords, but they have challenged it upon many occasions. The usual result, so far, has been caudilloism, with its "revolutions" and dictators; but this, of course, is historically only a passing phenomenon. It is silly to ascribe caudilloism, as many bourgeois writers do, to tropical climates or to the "fiery temperament" of Latin Americans.

Brazilian Ruling Class Method of Control

The working class, peasants, and middle class in Brazil are revolutionary—and for the same general reasons that these classes in the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America are also essentially revolutionary. Many capitalists also, in a limited way, challenge the dictatorial rule of the big landowning class and support certain demands of the masses. This is because, in Brazil, as in the former colonies of Spain, the bourgeois revolution has not yet accomplished its major task of breaking the power of the great feudal landowners who dominate the country. Consequently, serious mass struggles in Brazil, even around minor questions, as is the case in Spanish America, also tend to develop into armed fights to overthrow the regime.

Nevertheless, caudilloism of the type so prevalent in the Spanish-speaking lands of Latin America, has not played such a vital role in Brazilian history. This is primarily because the landowners of Brazil have been more firmly in control of that country than is the case elsewhere in Latin America. The slavery-plantation system that existed for centuries in Brazil entrenched the landowners more solidly than did the peonage system that prevailed in most of Spanish America. Thus, when Brazil became independent of Portugal in 1822, the big fazendeiros, with their slave system and immense plantations, managed to preserve the monarchy, which afterward lasted for sixty-seven years. Under this Brazilian monarchy, the slave-owners continued, with pretty much the same methods of autocratic social control that had existed for three hundred years under the colonial system. All tendencies towards opposition were squeezed out or crushed. There was consequently little of the caudilloism, with its endless revolutions and military dictators, so rampant at the time in most of Spanish-speaking Latin America.

The dictatorship of the Brazilian landowners was successful without the techniques of typical caudilloism. This is but another way of saying that industrialization, with its revolutionary working class, was weak in Brazil.

After the Brazilian monarchy was overthrown in 1889, however, there was caudilloism in the following years, but the landowners succeeded in again establishing solidly their rule under the republic. In doing this especially they utilized the governmental device of the legally "strong executive." Whether army officers or civilians, all the presidents of Brazil have been virtually constitutional dictators who have always ruled in the interest of the big landowners. Of this autocratic set-up, Manchester says: "That oligarchy was composed of a cultured aristocracy of wealth, still based on the possession of land but open also to the new industrial and merchant magnates. It was this element which has furnished the stabilizing influence in the social and political development of Brazil since independence; and it is from and by this element that the dictatorial executives of the Republic have been chosen."¹²

In recent decades, however, the smoothly operating dictatorship of the Brazilian landowners has been running into numerous snags. Consequently, the phenomenon of caudilloism has been developing in Brazil in sharp forms. This new development has been caused primarily by the considerable growth of industry, with its consequent expansion of the capitalist, middle, and working classes in that country, which tends to upset the controls of the dominating landowners. Further factors disturbing the earlier political stability of the landowners' regime, are the growing interference of United States imperialism, the development of fascist tendencies in ruling circles, and the all-around disruptive effects of the world crisis of capitalism. The general consequence in Brazil since 1920 has been a number of army-barrack revolts and aborted revolutionary struggles of the masses, quite along the characteristic lines of the caudilloism so well known elsewhere in Latin America, but with a new fascist imperialist element. The upshot is the rise of such dictators as Vargas and Dutra. With their "corporative state" and violent repression of the working class, these two are as nearly fascist as anything the rest of Latin America has ever produced.

Capitalist Dictatorship in the United States

Caudilloism, as it exists in the Spanish-speaking American countries, has played very little part in the history of the United States, because industrialization is far more advanced and the bourgeois revolution has been much more completely fulfilled. The workers in the United States are not revolutionary in the sense that Latin American workers are. They have no major perspective of fulfilling the bourgeois revolution, and they have not yet acquired the perspective of the socialist revolution. They face many heavy

democratic tasks—the establishment of Negro rights, the fight against the monopolies and fascism, the struggle for peace, etc.—but they do not as yet, in the main, look beyond the confines of the capitalist system. From the very foundation of the republic the ruling classes, strong and well developed politically, have not found it necessary to use the man-on-horseback technique of keeping the increasingly rebellious, if not revolutionary, workers in subjection to their system in general. The rulers have even been able to tolerate a certain amount of democracy, without considering every move of the masses for improved conditions to be a revolt requiring such extreme counter-revolutionary measures of repression as are common in Latin America. This situation is also generally true of the capitalists in Canada.

At the beginning of the republic, the United States was governed by a loose alliance of sprouting northern industrialists and southern plantation owners. Although these classes together were firmly in control of the country, theirs was a very uneasy alliance, with a constant struggle for power going on between the rival planters and industrialists. The never-ending fight led upon various occasions to actual threats of movements to break up the Union, first by one class and then the other, according to which class felt itself the aggrieved party in a given situation. The eighty-years' struggle culminated in the Civil War of 1861-65, in which the industrialists smashed the planters and made themselves complete masters of the whole country.

The powerful and deeply entrenched capitalist class rules the United States through a limited form of bourgeois democracy. In this class democracy, as the *Communist Manifesto* points out, "The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." The capitalists of the United States have not found it necessary (at least, not yet) to stifle outright the parliamentary democracy, trade union organization, and the other democratic institutions that large masses of workers, poorer farmers, and city middle classes have fought for so militantly. Instead, their historic policy has been to blunt, limit and distort these democratic institutions and thus to prevent them from menacing or threatening the capitalists' rule to any degree. But, as striking workers have learned at great cost on thousands of occasions, the arrogant capitalists of the United States never hesitate openly to use the armed power of the state against the working class when they deem their basic interests as employers to be in any way seriously threatened. Caudilloism is latent in all systems of human exploitation.

The capitalists of the United States have developed and historically used a host of means to maintain their class dictatorship, short of employing the caudillo system of Latin America. Their political method of "checks and balances" is a clever device for balking and paralyzing the democratic will

of the people, and their twoparty system has operated to prevent the organization of a people's party and to keep down almost to zero the representation of workers and Negroes in the federal, state, and local legislatures. The capitalists also have developed a huge propaganda apparatus in their schools, churches, press, radio, motion pictures, and now television—institutions which ceaselessly ding-dong into the minds of the people the alleged virtues of capitalism. The most potent of all the capitalist weapons of this character are their ideological and other controls over the top leaders of the labor movement. These "lieutenants of the capitalist class," endlessly slobbering over "free enterprise," may always be depended upon to use their powerful influence to try to shield the capitalists from serious attacks by the workers. With such strong controls in hand, the capitalists of the United States have not yet needed the man-on-horseback of Latin America.

This is the historical record in the United States; but at present the situation is changing basically. With capitalism all over the world sinking into its general crisis, growing more and more unstable both economically and politically and with the question of establishing socialism becoming constantly more urgent everywhere, the general tendency of big capitalists is to develop more and more towards drastic controls. An important feature of this is the new fascist caudilloism (Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, *et al.*), used to repress the movements of the increasingly revolutionary workers and toiling masses within a given country. In the United States the capitalists are striving toward fascism by many devious means. Among them is a pronounced tendency to strengthen the executive at the expense of the legislative branch of government. The most striking of many recent examples of this was President Truman's plunging the country into the crucial Korean war without first asking the sanction of Congress. In such trends is to be discerned in embryo the fascist-caudilloist tendency which is such a marked feature in many capitalist countries. In this general respect it will be remembered how, in the great economic crisis of 1929-33, when the capitalist class of the United States fearing for its dominant position, bourgeois spokesmen cried out for the abolition of democracy and the creation of a dictator to save their class rule. The discussion of the whole ominous development towards fascism belongs, however, to a later stage of this outline history.

19. THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

In the century following the wars of independence the oppressed toiling masses of Latin America delivered many heavy attacks against their oppressors. This wide struggle reached its highest expression in the Mexican Revolution, which has ever since remained an inspiration to the downtrodden of Latin America. It was an agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution, the most successful assault yet delivered against the allied big landowners, reactionary capitalists, and foreign imperialists.

The Mexican Revolution, which began in 1910, had as its forerunner the Reform movement of 1855-72. The latter hard struggle was led by the great Mexican democrat, Benito Juarez, an Indian whom Gruening calls "the foremost individual of any race that Mexico has produced."¹ Juarez, in the tradition of the martyred revolutionary leaders, Hidalgo and Morelos, took the leading part in drafting the famous Constitution of 1857 and also the reform laws of 1859. These documents provided for the separation of the Church and State, the seizure and sale of big landed estates, state control of education, the abolition of special clerical and army courts, the suppression of the religious orders, the establishment of civil marriage and birth registration, and various other important reforms. Juarez became president in 1858. He primarily represented the middle classes, and was the first Indian to head the Mexican people since the last Aztec "emperor," Cuauhtemoc, almost 350 years before.

At the time of the mid-century Reform movement the Catholic Church, as had long been the case, owned most of the real property in Mexico. The French Abbé Testory stated that its various sources of income "gave the Clergy every year a revenue greater by far than that of the State itself."² The Church rallied all the reactionary forces against Juarez, with the result that for three years the country was wracked by the "War of Reform," one of the hardest-fought and bloodiest civil wars in Latin American history. Finally, the liberal forces beat the conservatives, and Juarez returned triumphantly to Mexico City in 1860. Hardly was this devastating war ended, however, when another began. England, France, and Spain, which were all fishing for opportunities to grab control in Latin America, under the pretext of getting reparations for damages, seized Mexico. French troops entered the country in 1862, displaced the Juarez government, and in 1864,

upon the specific invitation of the Church, put Archduke Maximilian, a French puppet, upon the "throne" as Emperor of Mexico. All this provoked further long and sanguinary warfare, out of which the indomitable Juarez emerged victorious. In 1867 he recaptured Mexico City and had Maximilian executed by a firing squad.

It is significant that these heavy struggles against reactionary clericalism and its allies were carried on by Catholic leaders and rank-and-filers. In this connection Lombardo Toledano says: "Who made the Revolution of Independence? The Mexicans, the Catholic Mexicans. Who led in the separation of the Church and the State? Who guaranteed liberty of conscience? Who, if not the authors of the Constitution of 1857? Benito Juarez was a believer, a Catholic, and the masses who followed him . . . were Catholics also."³ The Church claimed that Mexico was 99 percent Catholic.

Juarez died suddenly in 1872 of a heart attack. With the country ruined by two hard wars provoked by the reactionary forces against his liberal program, Juarez had had no real opportunity to put his policies into effect. He nevertheless accomplished a monumental work by attacking head-on the big landowners and all their allies. His reforms, and more, were destined to come to fruition in the far-reaching Mexican Revolution about two generations later on.

The Diaz Regime

Porfirio Diaz, an Indian general who had served under Juarez in the War of Reform and in the fight against the French invaders, seized the presidency of Mexico in 1876. From then on until 1911, save for the term of 1880-84, when he had a puppet in the office, Diaz remained president and master of the country. It was the longest term of office ever achieved by any Latin American dictator. Diaz, like many another autocrat, made a show of liberalism at the outset of his reign, shouting much about democracy and glibly promising to return the land to the Indians. But this demagogy petered out and Diaz quickly revealed himself as the willing agent of both the domestic and foreign reactionaries who were seeking to colonialize and further enslave Mexico. His long rule was a veritable disaster for the Mexican people.

Mexico is a country about one-fourth as large as the United States. In 1910 it had some 15 million people. Of these, more than eight million were Mestizos; about six million Indians; and approximately 1,150,000 whites. The Indians speak 51 separate languages and dialects, there being 29 linguistic stocks in Mexico and Central America. Among the more important tribes are the Aztecs, Mayas, Zapotecans, Tlaxcalans, Yaquis, Mixes, Huicholes, and Tarascans. In 1910 some 77 per cent of the population worked in agriculture, and 7 per cent were employed in the mines.

Only 10 per cent of the land in Mexico is arable, as compared with 50 per cent in the United States, the rest being rugged mountains, bleak deserts, and steaming jungles.

The dictator Diaz kept open house for the latifundists, so far as the public lands were concerned. He handed out big estates for little or nothing to the active supporters of his regime. He virtually gave away 135 million acres of the people's land, or about 27 per cent of the total land surface of Mexico. Many of the resulting haciendas were fabulous in extent. Four individuals in Lower California got 30 million acres; one received 12 million acres in the northeast; and another was presented with 17 million acres in Chihuahua in the north. Ninety-six million acres, nearly one-fifth of the area of the republic, was given to seventeen individuals.⁴ By 1910 nearly half of Mexico belonged to three thousand families. One per cent of the rural families owned 85 per cent of the land. All told, there were only 834 hacendados (big landowners) in all Mexico.

Diaz was also lavish in granting privileges to the Church as such, throwing Juarez' anticlerical reforms out of the window. The Church largely regained the special position it had lost at the time of the reform. It took over again its monopoly of education and, in spite of the Constitution, was, in fact, the State Church of Mexico. The clergy, like the lay latifundists and the army leaders, virtually formed a state within the state, largely making their own laws. Under the Church's educational tutelage about 85 per cent of the people were illiterate.

Diaz likewise gave a royal welcome to the foreign imperialists, especially those from the United States, who were aiming to rob and exploit Mexico. It was a heyday for capitalist investors looking for cheap raw materials and slave labor. Capital poured in from the United States in a flood and the mouthpieces of Wall Street sang the praise of Diaz as one of the greatest political leaders of modern times. The general result was that by 1910 United States investments had run up swiftly to \$1,058,000,000, while the total of invested Mexican capital amounted to only about three-fourths of that figure—\$793 million. The great bulk of the mines, smelters, oil fields, railroads, and other decisive resources and industries were in the hands of United States and British imperialists. Profits from industry in Mexico were among the highest in the world.

On the other hand, while Diaz spread the wealth of Mexico freely before the landowners, clerics, imperialists, and, of course, their military tools, he wielded an iron fist so far as the masses of the people were concerned. Ninety-five percent of all rural Mexican families were landless in 1910, and there was little left of the public domain. The agricultural workers were virtual slaves, working for fifteen to twenty cents per day, the same wage that their forefathers had received a century or two ago, although the

cost of living had gone up from 200 to 500 per cent in the meantime. Workers in industry, toiling twelve to fourteen hours daily, were in a similar state of barbaric impoverishment and exploitation.

Every show of opposition by the people was brutally repressed. There were no trade unions, no co-operatives, and no opposition political parties. Diaz, with his state apparatus, ruled supreme. When the workers dared to strike the troops shot them down en masse. In the Cananea copper mine strike of 1906, twenty workers were butchered, and in Rio Blanco, in 1907, textile workers striking against the thirteen-hour day, were massacred, two-hundred men, women and children being killed. Political dissenters were either assassinated or thrown into filthy jails, there to rot. "He [Diaz] kept a large and dark prison filled with political opponents or journalists who had refused to stop criticizing his government," says Crow. "Their feet dangled in water and slime; they never saw the sun. Slowly they wasted to death or went crazy. It was not a wholesome thing to oppose Diaz."⁵

This was the Mexico of Porfirio Diaz. It was a paradise for the exploiters and social parasites of every sort; but it was a real hell for the toiling masses. Potentially a rich country, Mexico actually was one of the most poverty-stricken and oppressed lands in the world, a tragic monument to capitalist greed. No wonder the whole shameful business exploded sky high in revolution.

Revolution and Counter-Revolution

Although the Diaz regime appeared imposingly strong, it collapsed at the first revolutionary shock, because of the widespread spirit of revolt among the people. The millions of oppressed peasants were potentially revolutionary, and so were the industrial workers. The city middle classes were profoundly discontented. The national capitalists also chafed under the heavy rule of the big landowners. In the army there was considerable disaffection, too, at the prevalent rotten system of favoritism. Even in the ranks of the latifundists and clergy there were malcontents against the corrupt Diaz system. It needed only a solid blow to shatter the whole house of cards.

The blow came in 1910, when Francisco Madero, a wealthy landowner, announced that he would run for president against Diaz. But Diaz brushed Madero's candidacy aside and, although 85 years old, he elected himself president for another term, his seventh. In October of that year Madero took the field against Diaz, calling upon the people to revolt. Enough supported him so that he was able to push over the senile and tottering Diaz structure. Madero and his army entered Mexico City triumphantly. Diaz resigned hastily on May 24, 1911, and fled the country to Europe,

where he died. Thus ended the most notorious dictator in this hemisphere's history.

A basic weakness of the Mexican Revolution was its lack of preparation. Before the blow was actually struck, the revolutionary movement, because of repressive conditions, had no organization, no program, and no leadership. There were no trade unions and no workers' parties. It has been said that "there was no Lenin in Mexico."

In the several years before 1910 there had been some scattered guerrilla fighting and agitation by anarchist and socialist groups, especially by the well-known Magon brothers. The capitalist National Liberal Party was weak and had no clear political line, and the Communist Party was still a decade off in the future. As a result, there existed only hazy ideas among the leaders of the masses as to what the revolution should accomplish and how to bring it about.

The Mexican Revolution was an agrarian revolution, in that its main blow was struck against latifundism. But the liberal President Madero had little understanding or sympathy for basic land reform. He believed that about all that it was necessary for Mexico to do was to introduce more democracy into civil life. Consequently, he did practically nothing on the vital matter of the land. In his less than two years in office he therefore, frittered away the great mass enthusiasm which had welcomed his victory over Diaz. Madero made another basic, and for him fatal, mistake. This was his failure to clean out the supporters of the old Diaz regime, who were deeply entrenched in the government, the army, the industries, the Church, and other key institutions. Instead, he talked glibly of "national reconciliation."

The inevitable happened. In February 1913, General Victoriano Huerta, chief-of-staff of Madero's army, and formerly a Diaz general, revolted. He was supported by the united forces of reaction—latifundists, Church hierarchy, imperialists, and all, who had managed, under Madero's liberalism, to pull their forces together again following the disastrous collapse of the Diaz dictatorship. After a bloody struggle, Huerta conquered Mexico City and captured Madero. He then had the ex-president assassinated, while presumably taking him to prison for safety.

Ordinarily, according to the pattern of dozens of "revolutions" that had preceded it in Latin America, the Mexican Revolution should have collapsed after this sanguinary victory of the counterrevolution. But this time it was different. With the slowly advancing industrialization there had been growing up in Mexico a young but vigorous working class, new middle classes in the cities, and a small capitalist class. As events showed, these classes, together with the peasants and agricultural workers (mostly Indians and Mestizos), were strong enough to maintain a solid revolutionary

struggle. Therefore, the revolution could not be "aborted," as so many armed struggles of the people had been in earlier years. On the contrary, the seizure of power by the reactionary Huerta set the country aflame with revolutionary fighting spirit. For once the reactionary caudillo failed in his class role.

Quickly, a people's army sprang into existence, led by Emiliano Zapata in the south and Francisco ("Pancho") Villa, Obregon, Carranza, and others in the north. Many bloody battles ensued. With the wholehearted support of the masses of the people, the armies of the Constitutionalists, as the revolutionary forces called themselves, succeeded in battering down Huerta after a desperate fight. Result: Huerta resigned the presidency and fled the country in July 1914. He had lasted for about seventeen months. General Venustiano Carranza became president. Carranza, who had taken an active part in the revolution, was like Madero a landowner, who for fourteen years had sat as a senator in Diaz' rubber-stamp congress without displaying the slightest sign of liberalism.

One of the major developments in the warfare against the Huerta counterrevolution was that for the first time the workers took part in the struggle in a general, organized form as a class. This was in the "Red Battalions," formed in 1914 by the Casa del Obrero Mundial (House of the Workers of the World). This body, a preliminary national labor center, was organized under Madero in 1913, but had later been suppressed by Huerta. "In some places the enthusiasm was so great that the workers had to be urged to send only a selected number for military service, instead of closing workshops and factories and going *en masse*, as they wished to do."⁶ Later on, the Syndicalists who had organized the Casa del Obrero Mundial played a reactionary role by allowing themselves to be used by Carranza against Zapata and Villa.

Shaping the Revolutionary Program

The revolution was now four years old, yet its program was still vague, especially on the question of the land. But Emiliano Zapata, a Mestizo sharecropper and illiterate, was courageously writing that part of the program with his army of Indians and Mestizos in the south. His program, as stated in his Plan of Ayala of 1911, was simple—to break up the big estates and give the land to the peasants. "Land and liberty" was his cry. Zapata fought against Diaz, Madero, Huerta, Carranza, Obregon—always with his land program to the fore. "Rebels of the south," he declared, "it is better to die on your feet than to live on your knees." A very able general and extremely popular leader, Zapata by 1913 controlled six states of the south, with his main center in Morelos. He was treacherously assassinated on April 10, 1919. Tannenbaum says of Zapata: "From the day he rose in

rebellion to the day he was killed, he never surrendered, never was defeated, never stopped fighting."⁷ Zapata was the very symbol of the revolution—the fighting, indomitable peasant, determined to have the land at any cost, despite every open enemy and tricky pseudorevolutionary politician. Zapata was one of the greatest leaders produced by the revolution.

"Pancho" Villa was an illiterate farmer who fought ably for the land with his army in the north, in the region of Chihuahua. While not so steadfast nor clear-sighted as Zapata, Villa was a brave and able revolutionary fighter, until he, too, in 1923, was cold-bloodedly murdered. Villa expropriated the hacendados as he went along, dividing up their lands among the peasants. It was he who confiscated the gigantic 17 million-acre estate of the Terrazzos family in northern Mexico. John Reed, who was a correspondent with Villa's 40,000-man army, was full of praise for that general's political integrity and military ability. He said that militarily Villa was "the greatest leader Mexico has ever had. His method of fighting is astonishingly like Napoleon's."⁸

Meanwhile, as Zapata and Villa were framing the land program of the revolution on the battlefield in the midst of their armed Indian and Mestizo peasants, the workers in the industries were also getting into action, and writing its labor program. Save during the period of the reactionary Huerta, 1913-14, when the labor movement was repressed, the trade unions were growing and many successful strikes had taken place. The working class was beginning to march.

In 1917, a national government convention was held and a constitution for Mexico was drafted. It was a very difficult time for the revolution, as Zapata was fighting against Carranza in the south and a desperate struggle between Carranza and Villa had just concluded with the latter's defeat. At the convention, the more radical forces of General Obregon, a liberal ranchowner, outvoted those of the more conservative President Carranza. The labor movement was still weak, however, and it had only two representatives at this very important convention. The gathering finally produced a document which, written as it was before the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, was by far the most democratic constitution then in existence. At last the revolution, after seven years' of struggle, had produced a concrete, written program.

On the vital land question, the new Constitution, in its famous Article 27, among other important provisions, declared: (1) that the nation is the basic owner of the land, water, and mineral resources; (2) that the nation has the right to restrict or expropriate private property; (3) that only Mexicans have the right to hold ownership in lands, waters, and minerals; (4) that churches may not hold or administer or make loans on real property; (5) that stock companies may not hold land; (6) that communal bodies

may hold land; (7) that the nation shall recover the public lands and waters alienated under the Diaz regime; (8) and most important, that necessary measures shall be taken to divide large landed estates, to develop small land holdings, to establish new centers of rural population, and generally to encourage and protect agriculture.⁹

On the labor question, the Constitution, in its no less well-known Article 123, provided: (1) that the right of trade union organization be fully recognized; (2) that there be established the eight-hour day, six-day week, with seven hours for night work; (3) a minimum wage, with double pay for overtime; (4) rest periods and other limitations on the work of women and children; (5) abolition of token money and company stores (the notorious *tienda de raya*) and abolition of feudal debt practices; (6) arbitration and conciliation of labor disputes; (7) that the employers be required to furnish adequate workers' housing and schooling for workers' children, and also be responsible for protection against accidents and occupational diseases in their enterprises. Many of these provisions also applied to agricultural workers.¹⁰

As for general political reforms, the Constitution of 1917 largely reaffirmed and developed the Constitution of 1857, written by Juarez. It provided for the separation of Church and State; for political suffrage, but not for women; for the right of political organization and democratic activities; for the expansion of the school system and a fight against illiteracy; for the organization of the co-operative movement; for the advancement of the public health, and various other reforms.

This was a bourgeois-democratic Constitution, notwithstanding the fact that many of the leaders referred to it in a general way as a socialist program. Although it granted many democratic rights to the peasants and workers and placed various restrictions upon the capitalists and landowners, particularly the latter, the Constitution did not seek to abolish capitalism and to establish socialism. The history of the revolution after 1917 (and before then, for that matter) is mostly the record of the strivings of the Mexican masses to bring to reality the democratic program of their Constitution of 1917.

The Fight for Program Fulfillment

President Carranza had no intention of carrying out the radical provisions of the 1917 Constitution, which had been forced upon him by the pressure of the workers and peasants. Nor did he do so. He tried to amend and weaken Articles 27 and 123, and he sabotaged the distribution of land. During his whole five years in office only about 500,000 acres of land were distributed to the peasants. He also combated organized labor, executing several labor leaders who refused to obey his arbitrary orders. He revived

and applied to strikers a law of 1862, which stigmatized revolutionists as outlaws. Carranza also tolerated many open reactionaries in his government, and it was he who had Zapata assassinated. He wound up by trying to dictate his presidential successor in the elections of 1921. In 1920, however, General Alvaro Obregon, formerly a rancher, revolted and carried the masses with him. Carranza was soon defeated and killed.

During the bitter civil wars of this period, there was a woeful lack of solidarity between the revolutionary workers and peasants. Zapata and Villa, the main peasant leaders, had no "labor planks" in their agrarian programs, and on the other hand organized labor was very weak on the question of the land. The result was that these potential allies, workers and peasants, often needlessly found themselves arrayed against each other in the complex and bitter armed struggles. Of this deplorable situation, Pedrueza says, "Again the lack of class consciousness led the workers to bear arms against their exploited brothers in the fields."¹¹ During this period of fierce fighting, although Mexico City was occupied several times by the Zapatistas and Villistas, Villa's army was practically destroyed, in 1915.

Obregon, a left-liberal, established for four years a "business" administration. He improved the government apparatus and reorganized the army. Under his regime, the trade unions grew rapidly, especially the Confederacion Regional Obrero Mexicana (C.R.O.M.). This national trade union center had been founded in 1918 and in 1927 it reached an estimated total of 2,200,000 members. But Obregon was also a tardy executive in granting land to the peasants, only some three million acres being distributed during his term. Consequently, "Thirteen years after the Revolution began, less than 2 per cent of the haciendas held 58.2 per cent of the area."¹²

At the end of Obregon's term in 1924, Plutarco Elias Calles was elected, with Obregon's support. But just before Calles' election, Adolfo de la Huerta led a futile insurrection against Calles. Calles, a former school teacher and a left-liberal, established a "constructive administration" for four years. He distributed about 7,500,000 acres of land to the peasants. He also worked with organized labor. Luis N. Morones, head the C.R.O.M., became a member of his cabinet. Morones, who was closely connected with the Gompers clique in the United States, had played an important part in the establishment of the Mexican labor movement. But by now he had grown rich and was thoroughly corrupted politically, to the great detriment of the C.R.O.M.. Meanwhile, the C.R.O.M. had organized the Labor Party, which supported Calles. Calles, in 1926-27, had to put down an armed revolt of the Catholics. The church had publicly repudiated the 1917 Constitution and menaced with excommunication all peasants who accepted the expropriated land. Its leaders openly advocated armed insurrection. Calles replied

by nationalizing the church's property. The ensuing revolt was crushed after severe fighting.

Calles was followed, in 1928, by the re-election of General Obregon. But Obregon had hardly taken office when he was assassinated by a Catholic agent, Leon Toral. Portes Gil was then chosen provisional president to serve until the elections in November, 1929. Meanwhile, he had to suppress another Catholic revolt, which for two months affected half a dozen states. Ortiz Rubio, an engineer, won the eventual election. But he resigned, sick, in 1932, and was succeeded by General Abelardo Rodriguez.

During all the years since the beginning of the revolution, the church has lined up with the reactionaries. Tannenbaum says: "The Mexican Church sided with the Diaz regime, was hostile to Madero, proved friendly to Huerta, and later opposed the Constitution of 1917. Finally it found itself publicly proclaiming that it could not obey those articles of the Constitution which affected the life of the Church."¹³

The Cardenas Regime

General Lazaro Cardenas, a Mestizo, who had once been a printer, was elected president in July 1934. A veteran of the revolutionary wars, he was supported by the bulk of the nation—by many capitalists, by the city middle classes, and especially by the labor movement, the peasant organizations, and the left forces generally. He was opposed by the Golden Shirts and assorted fascist organizations, by the Catholic Church, the landowners, and other reactionaries. He had the overwhelming majority of the people behind him. His party, the National Revolutionary Party, was organized in 1929 in Queretaro, the place where the "Emperor" Maximilian had been shot sixty years before. Cardenas represented basically the interests of the middle classes and the national capitalists.

Cardenas went into office at the time when the fight against fascism and reaction in general was on a rapid upswing all over the world. His regime was contemporaneous with Roosevelt's New Deal in the United States. Under the strong pressure of the Mexican workers and peasants, Cardenas carried out a program of radical reforms, his Six-Year Plan. This plan Cardenas described as a "co-operative system tending toward socialism." Cardenas' major achievement was the distribution of land to the peasant communities of Indians and Mestizos. He was the first president to undertake this key task seriously. During his six years in office, he distributed some 45 million acres of land, or more than twice as much as the total granted by all previous presidents since the beginning of the revolution. Cardenas also set up the National Bank for Ejido Credits, to help the peasants. He encouraged the peasants to organize, and within a few years their organization, the Confederacion Nacional Campesino, claimed three million members,

with families totaling 12 million persons, or a big majority of the entire population of Mexico.

The Cardenas administration made numerous concessions to organized labor. The C.R.O.M. fell into disrepute among the workers, however, during these years, because of the corrupt Morones leadership. Consequently it split, and this split in 1936 gave birth to the Confederacion de Trabajadores de Mexico (C.T.M.). The new labor organization was founded under the leadership of Vicente Lombardo Toledano, a brilliant, young, left-wing intellectual; and by 1940 it announced that it had a membership of 1,471,000.¹⁴ The C.T.M., working closely with Cardenas, followed an active program of reforms and struggle. Under this labor pressure, Cardenas revamped and strengthened the National Labor Code, and he turned the railroads and oil wells over to worker management after his government had nationalized these industries. He did not hesitate to use troops, however, to break a threatened railroad strike in 1936.

Cardenas, in the most progressive administration since the revolution began, gave a big impetus to the building of schools and the cause of education generally. "By 1940," Wilgus says: "Mexico had some 22,000 schools, with about 2,000,000 pupils and 45,000 teachers, as compared to 1910, when there were 600 schools with 70,000 pupils."¹⁵ Cardenas also stimulated the growth of co-operatives. Under his regime, women voted for the first time in Mexico, in primary elections. In 1935, Calles, Cardenas' erstwhile friend, returned to Mexico from abroad to develop an anti-Cardenas movement. But Cardenas packed off Calles and his labor tool, Morones, by airplane to the United States, there to stay.

Among the most important acts of the Cardenas regime were the nationalization of the national system of (chiefly foreign-owned) railroads in 1937, and also the nationalization in 1938 of the oil fields owned by United States and British capitalists. This was a dramatic assertion of the sovereignty of Mexico and the rights of the Mexican people. Twenty years before the Constitution had provided authorization for such action, but none of the presidents had ventured to put these constitutional clauses into effect. The seized oil properties, variously valued at from \$100 to \$500 million, had paid average dividends to their absentee owners of 18 per cent in 1935, and their seizure was a big loss to the imperialists. Their nationalization was directly caused by the stiff-necked refusal of the United States and British owners to meet the demands of the oil workers, although these demands were endorsed by the Mexican government and the Supreme Court of Mexico. The long and sharp international controversy over the oil nationalization was partially adjusted in 1941 by the payment of \$35,525,000, minus deductions, to the American companies.

Under a recent constitutional amendment presidents of Mexico could

serve only six years; therefore, despite his great popularity, Cardenas was not eligible for another term. He was followed by General Avila Camacho (1940-46), a big landowner, and Miguel Aleman, who is still in office at this writing. These administrations have pushed government policy far to the right, undermining many of the victories won by the workers and peasants in long years of revolutionary struggle. They have weakened the ejido system of communal landholding, and President Aleman is now reopening the doors for the old type of imperialist investments in Mexico.

Wilgus thus estimates the work of Camacho: He "restored to the Church a good deal of its lost influence, reformed the judiciary, and took other measures of a conservative character."¹⁶ Dionisio Encina, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Mexico, thus characterized the present Aleman government: "The dominant influences in the government are those of the bankers, big businessmen, and landowners, who are capitulating before imperialism, striving to liquidate agrarian reform and the progressive principles of the Federal Labor Laws, and are allied with the worst reactionaries."¹⁷ President Aleman, the representative of these reactionary groups, has become a tool of Yankee imperialism, in very much the same way as Dutra of Brazil and Videla of Chile.

United States Interference in Mexico

From the outset of the revolution in 1910, United States policy in Mexico was one of intimidation and intervention. The imperialists running the government in Washington assumed that the Mexican Revolution was their private business, and that it was a menace to be defeated in their interests. In this respect the policies of Presidents Taft, Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover were practically identical. As for those of Roosevelt and Truman, we shall discuss them later in another chapter.

Porfirio Diaz was a perfect agent for the Yankee imperialists, and it was a great blow to them when the Mexican people threw him out. So the former began to plot immediately against his mildly liberal successor, Madero. When the latter's government fell in February 1913, it was largely, if not mainly, due to the open opposition of Taft's Ambassador Henry I. Wilson, which included money, propaganda, and even arms. Indeed Huerta, who overthrew Madero, was practically "nominated" in the United States Embassy offices. Such making and unmaking of presidents in Latin American countries was, of course, only a routine chore in the life of United States diplomats.

But the new Mexican president, Huerta, who followed Madero, did not sit well with the new United States president, Wilson, and the latter openly resolved to get rid of him also—Huerta was too closely connected with British oil interests. President Wilson refused to recognize Huerta's government,

arrogantly announcing that "I am going to teach the South American Republics to elect good men." Wilson declared that "If General Huerta does not retire by force of circumstances it will become the duty of the United States to use less peaceful means to put him out."¹⁸ It was in this dictatorial spirit that Wilson, seizing upon a small quarrel involving a few United States soldiers in Tampico, invaded Mexico and took over Vera Cruz in April 1914. The original incident, which should have been merely a minor diplomatic matter, almost led to a war with Mexico. It was finally referred to arbitration by Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (the beginning of the A.B.C. alliance). Huerta quit the presidency in July of the same year.

President Wilson's invasion of northern Mexico in March 1916, in pursuit of Villa, was equally arrogant. The latter had an unrelenting hatred of all the Yankee interlopers. Villa, it is true, had raided Columbus, New Mexico; but United States troops had also crossed into Mexican territory upon many previous occasions. Moreover Mexicans were being openly murdered along the United States border and nothing was being done about it. At most, the Villa incident should have been the occasion of a protest to the Carranza government. But Wilson did not like Carranza any more than he did Villa. He was opposed to Carranza because the latter refused to accept Wilson's dictation on various political steps that must be taken in Mexico as the price of United States recognition. And Wilson was against Villa primarily because Villa refused to become a United States pawn in the fight against Carranza. Under Wilson's administration, which lasted through the most acute years of the Mexican Revolution, there was constant meddling in the life of Mexico. In Washington at the time there was open talk of seizing Lower California and even of "taking over" all of Mexico.¹⁹

The presidents who followed Wilson also exerted constant pressure against the Mexican Revolution. For example, the imperialists of the north did not like Articles 27 and 123 of the Mexican Constitution, dealing with questions of land and labor; and they insolently demanded that these articles be amended to suit themselves. Doheny and other oil magnates declared they would disregard these constitutional provisions, and they did. Secretary Hughes of Harding's cabinet, in 1921, also tried to blackjack President Obregon into accepting Wall Street's dictation in return for United States recognition. At this time, says Gruening, "counting on United States Government backing, American oil companies in Mexico refused to abide by Mexican government decrees, refused to pay taxes, and labor troubles in the oil fields precipitated the sending of United States warships. Conflict is inevitable, warned *The Nation* for July, 1921."²⁰ Popular resistance in the United States against the government's reactionary Mexican policy, as well as the firm stand of Mexico, prevented an outbreak of hostilities.

The Republican President Harding was no less arrogant toward Mexico

than the Democratic president Wilson. Hughes, Harding's Secretary of State, even had the insolence to demand of President Obregon that he permit the United States to supervise Mexican elections, that all radicals should be deported from the country, that notwithstanding Mexican law to the contrary, concessions granted to United States concerns by Diaz should be considered valid, and that various other prerogatives and favored conditions be granted to United States citizens and interests in Mexico.

During these years the A. F. of L. leaders, true to their traditional policies of supporting the line of United States imperialism, also meddled in Mexican affairs. Their idea of "helping the Mexican people" was to strengthen the hand of the corrupt Morones and the clique of labor fakers gathered about him. Samuel Gompers, president of the A. F. of L., died in 1924, on his way back from Mexico.

So it went through the years, with constant United States interference in the struggling Mexican Revolution. This included Franklin D. Roosevelt's attempt, in 1938, to stall President Cardenas' nationalization program by cutting regular United States purchases of Mexican silver. This vital step almost caused a financial panic in Mexico. "Two days later it [the United States government] demanded that the United States oil companies be paid for the property seized, although not denying the right of seizure."²¹

Naturally, such United States pressures, continued over many years, seriously slowed up the progress of the Mexican Revolution. Writing in 1933, Gruening said: "There is no doubt that fear of American intervention has prevented even an attempt at general confiscation of the large estates."²²

On the whole, however, Mexico did put up a strong defense of its national sovereignty. Its bold assertion of the right to manage its own affairs, despite constant menaces from its very powerful imperialist neighbor to the north, did much to infuse all the nations of Latin America with a new sense of dignity and strength.

An Evaluation of the Revolution

The Mexican Revolution, as we have seen, was not a socialist revolution. It was directed against feudalism and imperialism, not against the capitalist system as a whole. The Mexican Communist Party declared in 1947, "The Mexican Revolution is a bourgeois-democratic, agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution."²³ The revolution did not solve the basic problems of the Mexican people. The worker still has to slave for starvation wages and the peasant is still poverty-stricken. Although the big hacienda was officially outlawed, the basic agrarian question remains unresolved. The 57 million acres returned to the peasants is less than half of the 135 million acres that Diaz stole from them. About one-third of the soil is still in the hands of big landlords; and the ejidos, or peasant communities, control only about

one-half of the land. Over one million peasants, poor and exploited, possess no land at all. In the villages the usurers continue to charge from 200 to 400 per cent interest yearly for loans.²⁴ "Industry is very little developed, being confined to the petroleum, mining, and food industries, and the beginning of a textile industry. Most manufactured goods are imported from the United States and sold at very high prices. The population lives in great destitution. According to information published by the Department of National Economy, half of the people eat no bread, wear no shoes, and sleep on bare floors."²⁵ About 80 per cent of the mining and 50 per cent of the ore refining are American-owned. "Almost half of the country's steel requirements... must be imported in spite of the rapid development of rich iron-ore and coal deposits. Heavy and precision machinery is almost entirely of foreign manufacture."²⁶ Capitalist profits range from 10 to 30 per cent, and the land reform is weakened by a regrowth of big estates.²⁷ The government is controlled by a coalition of landlords and capitalists, and the threat of United States imperialism hangs over the country like a storm cloud.

The revolution also has not left the Mexican people's organizations in good shape. The trade unions are weakened with dissension. Whereas in 1947 there were five national trade union centers (which was four too many), now there are nine; and the peasants' organizations are "pulverized."²⁸ The new Popular Party, launched under the leadership of Lombardo Toledano, has not shown real strength. And the Communist Party is still a relatively small organization.

The greatest weakness of the Mexican Revolution, from the very start, was the fact that the working class did not assume the leading role. As late as 1917, seven years after the revolution began, there were only 30,000 trade unionists in the country.²⁹ The basic leadership of the revolution always rested in the hands of liberal capitalist-landlord and middle class elements, although the working class and peasantry furnished the main fighting forces for the struggle. The non-working class leadership slowed the revolution on all fronts, prevented it from realizing its limited program, and also diverted the revolution from its potentially anticapitalist trends, especially as the working class lacked a powerful party of its own. A stronger Communist Party could have led the Mexican people to shatter imperialism and the latifundia system; it could also have laid the basis for an eventual solid advance along the road toward socialism.

The Communist Party, formed in 1919, played a most important part in building the trade unions and peasant organizations and in generally giving energy to the struggle. The Communist Party of Mexico was mainly responsible for the formation of the Confederacion General de Trabajadores (C.G.T.) in 1920, which built up a membership of 350,000. The party also organized the first national peasant organization, the Liga Nacional

Campesina, which exerted a big influence in the agricultural areas. The party led the national strike of several hundred thousand peasants in 1922. It led, too, in forming the Confederacion Sindical Unitaria in 1929, which had 250,000 members. In 1929, the party was forced into illegality by the Portes Gil government where it remained for several years. In 1935 the party was also a prime mover in forming the Confederacion de Trabajadores de Mexico (C.T.M.), and it was an important factor, as well, in launching the present Union General de Obreros y Campesinos de Mexico (U.G.O.C.M.). Yet, coming late upon the scene as it did, in 1919, almost a decade after the beginning of the revolution, the Communist Party was unable to develop the necessary strength and prestige to give effective leadership to the whole revolutionary movement.

Over twenty years ago, the Communist International pointed out the general orientation and basic weakness of the Mexican Revolution. It then stated, "The Mexican Revolution, which began as a revolutionary peasant struggle for land against the landowners and the Church, at the same time to a certain degree assumed the character of a mass struggle against American and British imperialism, and led to the formation of a government of the petty bourgeoisie, which endeavored to keep itself in power by means of concessions to the big landowners and to North American imperialism."³⁰

A sufficiently powerful Communist Party would have changed the whole picture of the Mexican Revolution. How a Communist Party works in a revolutionary situation was well illustrated by the way the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in November 1917, acted on the matter of the land. The land question stalled the Mexican Revolution for twenty-five years and never has been fully solved, with many big estates still escaping confiscation, and the peasants still remaining without land. The Russian Bolsheviks, on the contrary, cut right to the heart of the land question immediately after they took state power. "That same night [of the very next day after the seizure of political power] the Second Congress of Soviets adopted the Decree on Land, which proclaimed that 'Landlord ownership of land is abolished forthwith without compensation.' . . . By this decree the peasantry received from the October Socialist Revolution over 150,000,000 dessiatins (over 400,000,000 acres) of land that had formerly belonged to the landlords, the bourgeoisie, the tsar's family, the monasteries and the churches."³¹ This was the kind of clear program and resolute working class leadership that was lacking in the Mexican Revolution. One of the very greatest lessons taught by the historic Mexican struggle was the fundamental necessity for a strong Communist Party, one that would have enabled the Mexican people to realize the full revolutionary potentialities of their great struggle.

Despite its many shortcomings, however, the Mexican Revolution registered major achievements. It seriously weakened, even if it did not destroy

outright, the deadly system of big landholdings. It also seriously challenged the right of foreign imperialists to own the industries and dominate the political life of Mexico. It pared down the economic and political prerogatives of the Church. It won many economic concessions for the workers and wrote extensive social security laws into the statute books. It gave a real impetus to the co-operative movement and to the education of the masses. More vitally important among all its achievements was the birth of the Mexican trade union movement, as well as the powerful influence it gave to the Communist Party. It likewise gave the Indian and Mestizo peasants their first experience with mass organization and struggle. And after agonizing failures on the question, the revolution finally succeeded in achieving a working alliance between the peasants and the industrial workers. This was a revolutionary development of the greatest importance. The revolution gave the Indian and Mestizo masses, not only in Mexico, but all over Latin America, a new sense of strength, dignity, and national consciousness.

Still another vital achievement of the Mexican Revolution was its real programmatic contribution toward the solution of the land question by its emphasis upon the ejido, or village commune. The ejido, closely resembling the primitive *calpulli* of the old Aztec society, is a system by which the village, while conditionally allotting plots of the village landholdings to each family, frequently cultivates the land collectively. In this arrangement is the germ of an ultimately collectivized agriculture. Throughout the revolution the Indians showed the effectiveness of the ejido by stubbornly clinging to it despite all sorts of reformers who wanted to make the Indians into private landowners. The ejido, while by no means providing a full answer to the land question under capitalism in the "Indian countries" of Latin America, is a livable form of agricultural co-operative that should be included in all the progressive land programs.* A major trouble with the ejido in Mexico is that the village communities have never been provided with adequate funds, machinery, fertilizer, and technical education. Besides feeling the whole brunt of organized reaction, the ejido has constantly had to combat the petty bourgeois reformers, who, as Simpson says, instead of appreciating the basic qualities of this type of organization, look upon them "in the nature of temporary expedients, bridges over which certain [backward] groups were eventually to pass to private property."³² The ejido is being sabotaged by the present Mexican government in its reactionary efforts once more to take the land away from the Indians.

The most valuable of all the results of the revolution was the tremendous experience it gave to the Mexican people—for that matter, to all the peoples

* Several of the "Indian countries" of Central and South America—Guatemala, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia, etc.—possess numerous Indian communities, relics of the pre-conquest Indian regimes, similar to those existing in Mexico.

of the hemisphere. It demonstrated the great revolutionary power of the workers and peasants, and it pointed out the road to the needed agrarian revolution. To paraphrase what Lenin said of the relationship between the Revolutions of 1905 and 1917 in Russia, the Mexican Revolution was a dress rehearsal of a still greater revolution in the future. This eventual revolution will not have petty bourgeois leaders at its head; it will be led by the working class and the Communist Party, and instead of stopping short while still in the capitalist jungle, it will lay the basis for resolutely pressing along the road to socialism.

20. PEOPLE'S AND WORKING CLASS STRUGGLES IN THE UNITED STATES

The general period between the wars of American independence (1776-1837) and World War I (1914-1918) were years of rapid growth and expansion of capitalism on a world scale. The industrial revolution speeded up and industrialization spread swiftly through Western and Central Europe, the United States, and Canada. The capitalist class everywhere consolidated its power. The bourgeois Revolution of 1848, centering in France and Germany, but widely affecting all Europe and the Americas, dealt a heavy blow to feudal remnants. During this general period the capitalists organized various modern European states—Germany, Italy, Austria, and others—to the accompaniment of numerous national wars. With the colonization of Africa and Asia proceeding apace, the imperialist powers divided the world among themselves and capitalism became the dominant world system.

But as world capitalism grew, so also did the great democratic and revolutionary forces destined eventually to end capitalism and to establish socialism. The issuing of *The Communist Manifesto* in 1848 by Marx and Engels, the establishment of the International Workingmen's Association (First International) in London in 1864, the growth of Social-Democratic parties, and eventually their left wings, in all the capitalist countries, the setting up of the Second International in Paris in 1889, the huge expansion of trade unions throughout the capitalist world—these were high points in the growth of the revolutionary forces of the international working class. This growth of labor's hosts was accompanied by a rising tempo of struggle, by thousands of strikes and political struggles, in all parts of the capitalist world. And, most significant of all these widening and deepening class battles were the revolutionary Paris Commune of 1871 and the Russian Revolution of 1905, forerunners of the great Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

Stirrings of the masses among the colonial peoples could be observed in the beginnings of the great national liberation movement which has become such a decisive political force in the present world situation. Among the major developments in this respect were the Indian Mutiny of 1857, the Taiping Rebellion (China) of 1864, the Boxer Rebellion (China) of 1900, the Mexican Revolution of 1910, and the Chinese Revolution of 1911.

As elsewhere in the world, the progress of the ruthless capitalist class in the United States to national domination encountered persistent and solid

resistance from other classes. This resistance, which appeared right after the 1776 Revolution, has continued and grown ever since. It has been based primarily upon domestic conditions—a people's fight against exploitation and oppression—but is also always greatly influenced by the course of the class struggle in other parts of the world.

The Revolution of 1776, as we have seen, was led by a combination of industrialists and planters, with the poorer farmers, wage workers, and small craftsmen doing most of the fighting. No sooner was the Revolutionary War concluded in 1783, however, when the industrialists made a bold bid to by-pass their erstwhile planter allies and the masses of the people and to take over the government wholly for themselves. This led to the first crucial collision, in the from-then-on unending class struggle, between the industrialists' forces led by Alexander Hamilton and the agrarian forces led by Thomas Jefferson. Armed expressions by the poor farmers in this sharpening struggle were the Shays' Rebellion in 1786 and Fries' Rebellion in 1799, as well as the so-called Whiskey Rebellion, also in 1799. These latter marked the beginning of struggles by the people, independent of liberal bourgeois and planter domination.

The basic issue in this first general post-war struggle, which came to a head in the election of Jefferson, was the counter-revolutionary attempt by the reactionary Federalist merchants and industrialists behind Hamilton, in addition to their efforts to maneuver the planters out of control, to strip the masses of the people of the democratic rights they had won by the revolution. The agrarian forces, mostly the small farmers, supported by the bulk of the young working class, fought to defend and extend these rights. There were also some liberal merchants and industrialists in the Jefferson camp. The planters had a divided allegiance, many of the largest slaveholders, antagonistic toward all democracy, opposing Jefferson, while others, sensing that their basic enemies were the industrialists, supported him. The whole aim of all the planters was to preserve and defend slavery.

The big struggle turned around many issues. Hamilton, who privately had advocated a monarchy instead of a republic, fought for a reactionary, highly centralized form of government, while Jefferson's Republican-Democratic Party was for a decentralized type of regime. Hamilton was largely responsible for the passage of the notorious Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798-1800, under which eighteen newspaper editors were sent to jail. Jefferson fought for a democratic interpretation of the Constitution and of the Bill of Rights. As it developed, the fight involved the character of the new Constitution, the creation of a national debt, tariffs, and many other issues. The agrarian forces won control of the government in 1800 by the election of Jefferson, and they maintained it without a break until 1824. As yet, the

question of slavery, although growing tenser, had not become the all-decisive national issue.

The persisting struggle between the industrialists and the essentially agrarian forces reached a second big crisis in the sharp controversy over the United States Bank in the middle 1820's. Through the bank the capitalists, with many allies among the big planters, hoped to establish solid financial control of the country. Andrew Jackson successfully led the fight of the agrarian and allied forces against the bank; he was elected president, after a fierce struggle, in 1828. Jackson had especially heavy backing from the smaller farmers and the workers in the south, west, and north. Many merchants and small manufacturers were also among his forces. There were large numbers, too, of slaveowners who were Jackson supporters, but the majority of the planters were in the Whig Party and they backed the reactionary John Quincy Adams for president. The Beards say that "the richest planters of the Old South preferred him to Jackson, even if they had little love for a New England Puritan himself."¹ Jackson finally succeeded in knocking out the bank which was then the symbol of capitalist aggression against the people.

The third great collision between the ever struggling industrialist and agrarian forces came in the Civil War of 1861-65. By 1856 slavery became the decisive national issue and brought about a radical realignment of class forces and political parties. The old Whig Party, to which many big slaveowners as well as northern industrialists had long been affiliated, collapsed. Earlier the slaveowners, after Jackson went out of office in 1836, took over the Democratic Party completely and made it the party of slavery. With the government in their hands, they were conducting a vigorous campaign to extend slavery all over the west. This violent proslavery drive alienated the western and northern small farmers, who wanted to "contain" slavery and to utilize the west for free homestead land. Consequently, these farmers broke their two-generation allegiance to the Democratic Party, and, together with the northern workers and capitalists, launched the Republican Party, which elected Lincoln in 1860. The ensuing Civil War smashed the backbone of the planters' power and started the industrialists soaring toward conquest of the whole country.

The fourth heavy crisis in the struggle between the industrialist and agrarian forces came during the 1870-1900 period. The industrialists, now strong and dominant, had the farmers in a vise. Controlling the government, they protected their own profits with high tariffs, leaving the farmers fully exposed to world competition. The new feature in this situation was the early growth of the monopolies. The trusts charged the farmers extravagant railroad freight rates; they soaked them for the machinery and other supplies they had to buy; they rigged the markets so that the farmers

had to sell for bare production costs, or lower, and they caught the farmers in the tight net of mortgages and tenancy. Poverty stalked the vast wheat and corn areas of the Middle West. The organized workers, now progressing rapidly with the building of the trade unions and feeling the heavier pressure of the trusts, also played a considerable role in the movement which bore more the character of a farmer-labor movement type than the earlier agrarian movements under Jackson and Jefferson. Numbers of small business men, in the grip of the trusts, also participated.

The great economic crisis of 1873, paralyzing industry and slashing agricultural prices, set the western farmers to organizing the Farmers' Grange, Farmers' Alliance, and other bodies. The Greenback Party, a farmer party, with cheap money as its major objective, was born in 1875 and it polled a million votes in 1878.² The People's Party was formed in 1892, after the Greenback Party collapsed; it stood on a program of the free coinage of silver and a general antimonopoly line. It was very strong among the farmers of the west and south, including particularly the Negro sharecroppers. In the elections of 1892, the People's Party, with General Weaver as its candidate, polled 1,027,529 votes and carried several western states.

In 1896, under the pressure of the deep economic crisis which began in 1893, the People's Party, against the advice of most of its best leaders, joined with the Democratic Party in putting up William Jennings Bryan as their joint candidate for president. Bryan made a vigorous campaign, but was overwhelmingly defeated, after a ferocious attack by the massed forces of big capital; he polled less than the combined votes of the Democratic and People's Party in 1892. The center of this campaign was the demand for the free coinage of silver and a general curbing of the monopolies. Bryan ran again for president on the Democratic ticket a couple of times, but as for the People's Party, demoralized by the fusion, it did not long survive the 1896 election. By 1900 it had disappeared.³ The generation of struggle culminated in the election of the reactionary candidate, William McKinley, in 1896, a big victory for monopoly capital.

The year 1912 was another high point in the growing struggle of the people against the arrogant industrialists. The trusts had made tremendous headway in the previous twenty years and the big capitalists had tightened their grip on the government. The farmers in the Middle West, long the active enemies of big business, were in a great ferment; many small businessmen and city professionals, under the heavy pressure of the trusts, were also deeply stirred politically; the Negro people faced an atrocious regime of Jim Crow oppression; and the workers, enduring ruthless exploitation from the monopolies, were more militant, better organized, and more aggressive than ever before. The major characteristic of this situation was the strong emergence of the Socialist Party, under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs.

In the earlier people's struggles under Jefferson, Jackson, and Bryan the aim had been to remove some of the worst abuses under capitalism, but now the awakening working class was beginning to challenge the existence of the capitalist system.

The Republican demagogue and reactionary, Theodore Roosevelt, largely diverted and disorganized this growing people's movement by launching in 1912 his Progressive (Bull Moose) Party. Roosevelt's major aims, as a champion of the monopolies, were to check the growth of the Socialist Party and the trade unions, to keep the two-party system intact, and to secure control of the Republican Party for the group of big capitalists which he represented. After a demagogic reformist campaign, Roosevelt polled 4,126,000 votes in the 1912 election, but his Progressive Party disintegrated soon afterward.

The general result of the class struggles in the United States since the Revolution was a steady strengthening of the position of the capitalist class. The agrarian forces under Jefferson and Jackson did, for a time, check the industrialists' predatory course; but at most their efforts were no more than a check. The latter's march toward complete rule by their class was speeded up after the defeat of the planters in the Civil War. The defeat of the populist movement in the 1890's further strengthened the position of monopoly capital as the ruling force in the United States. But this was only one side of the picture; as we shall see, the potentially revolutionary forces of the working class also made decisive progress during this long period.

An Evaluation of Popular Leaders

Despite their having considerable planter support, Jefferson and Jackson, the outstanding champions of bourgeois democracy at a time when capitalism as a system was still progressive, drew their main strength from the small farmers, handicraftsmen, and wage workers. They struggled against the reactionary industrialists, monarchists, and foreign oppressors and contended for a democratic system of capitalist society, based primarily upon the small farmers. Jefferson in particular dreaded the development of an industrial society on the English pattern, with its big proletariat and sharpening class struggle. Both Jefferson and Jackson, as liberal representatives of the planters, were blind to the rights of the Negroes, neither one making a major issue of Negro slavery. Also, neither of them gave any real protection to the Indians from the land-grabbers. Both of these democratic leaders drew down upon their heads heavy bolts of lightning from the forces of reaction. Jefferson, besides being denounced as an agent of revolutionary France, "was daily smeared with charges of being an atheist, a leveler, an agrarian, an anarchist, a democrat, a demagogue—all synonyms for criminality in the Federalist camp." Jackson was similarly excoriated as "a usurer, an

adulterer, a gambler, a cock-fighter, a brawler, a drunkard, and a murderer."⁴

Lincoln, although he was historically the leader of the capitalist class, and especially the representative of the liberal wing of the industrialists in the revolution against the slave-plantation owners of the south, was himself fundamentally an agrarian, a frontiersman. His main base, too, was among the small farmers. Lincoln also leaned upon the workers. He was once a hired laborer himself, and he never lost sight of this fact.⁵ He declared that "Labor is prior to and independent of capital," that "Capital is only the fruit of labor; and could not have existed if labor had not first existed," and that "Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration."⁶ Lincoln was an outstanding democrat within the limits of the capitalist system, along with his forerunners, Jefferson and Jackson. He wrote the epoch-making Emancipation Proclamation, which set free four million Negroes, and he signed the Homestead Act of 1862, which ultimately made available vast stretches of land in the west to small farmers and workers who wanted farms. Lincoln always had a friendly, helping hand for the labor movement against the avaricious exploitation of big capital. Like Jefferson and Jackson, however, he had a blind spot so far as the Indians were concerned, and he did not expropriate the slaveowners' plantations and give the land to the Negroes, for fear of the effects of this revolutionary measure upon capitalist property relations in general. Like other spokesmen of the people, Lincoln also was the target of the most violent abuse, not the least of this coming from the very capitalist class which he was then leading to overwhelming victory. It is one of the ironies of history that the big capitalists of today, who are the supreme enemies of all democracy, can, although with tongue in cheek, cite the name of this great people's leader as the champion of their class.

Bryan, in his support of capitalism, was also fundamentally an agrarian democrat. While bowing to the democracy of the farmers and workers in his radical-sounding slogans, he mainly represented the more well-to-do farmer elements of the West, Middle West, and South. He also was heavily influenced, even controlled, by the powerful capitalist silver-mining interests of the Rocky Mountain states. He was suspicious and stood aloof from the working class. His notorious stand in the Scopes anti-evolution trial in Tennessee illustrated his illiberalism. Bryan, however, was luridly denounced by the spokesmen of Wall Street big business as a dangerous revolutionist.

What distinguished Debs from the Bryans, Lincolns, Jacksons, and Jeffersons who had preceded him, was that whereas they were all advocates of the capitalist system, he spoke in behalf of the working class and made a socialist challenge to the existing capitalist order of society. He represented the reality that capitalism had now become decadent and that the fight for democracy had to have a socialist content. Although Debs finally failed to

live up to the logic of his position by not becoming a Communist after the Russian Revolution, nevertheless, in 1912 he represented the most advanced section of the working class in the struggle against the capitalist system.

Early Struggles of the Workers

Besides actively participating in all the above-mentioned people's struggles, since the American Revolution, the wage workers conducted many independent class activities of their own, especially on the industrial field. The general period we are now discussing, from the Revolutionary War to World War I, was filled with innumerable sharp and significant working class fights against the greedy and and ruthless capitalists. Obviously, only the barest outline of the more important of these class struggles can be indicated here.

Coming out of the Revolution, the employers proceeded on the assumption that they were entitled to go on ruthlessly exploiting the workers as they had done in colonial days and as the planters were continuing to do with their Negro slaves. The employers' conception was that the workers had no democratic rights whatever, that they were only a somewhat different kind of slave and should work from early morning until late at night for a wage barely enough to keep body and soul together. This greed and arrogance was quite in line with universal capitalist "principles." But the workers had other ideas. The Revolution meant much more to them than simply separation from England. Above all, it implied a drastic improvement in their economic conditions and political rights. Strikes had already occurred in colonial days and primitive unions had been formed; these tendencies toward class organization and struggle sharply increased after the Revolution. The workers, as they became transformed from independent handicraftsmen to real wage workers by the development of industry, began to build trade unions and to fight.

The first real upsurge of unionism came in the 1825-37 period. Kirkland says: "From 1830 until 1837 the nation was in the grip of one of the most extravagant eras of exploitation and expansion in its history. Labor organization spawned prodigiously."⁷ Trade unions multiplied among the printers, building workers, shoe workers, textile workers, bakers, tailors, seamen, longshoremen, carters, etc. In 1834, two thirds of the mechanics in New York were said to belong to trade unions. The first central trades council was established in New York in 1833, and it was soon followed by other local councils in various cities. Many excellent labor papers were established. "The first trade union journal in the world was the *Mechanics' Free Press*, published in Philadelphia from 1828 to 1831, antedating by two years any similar English periodical."⁸ Five separate crafts set up limited national unions and in 1834, the National Trades Union, the first national labor

federation in the United States, was formed. The movement also had its political arm; effective local labor parties were organized in New York, Philadelphia, and elsewhere. These parties, ardently Jeffersonian, backed Jackson, particularly after 1832, and the unions operated in the democratic climate created by Jackson's victory over capitalist reaction.⁹

The young and vigorous labor movement conducted many effective strikes against the prevalent starvation wages and excessively long hours. What the workers faced regarding wages in these days may be judged from the situation of Dennis Rier, of Newburyport, a textile worker, who signed up himself and seven of his family, including six small children, all of whom were to work for a total of \$15.16 per week. And as for hours, take the typical case of Hannah Borden, "who went to the mills and had her looms working at five o'clock; she took one hour off for breakfast at 7:30; worked from 8:30 until noon, when she allowed half an hour for dinner, and then worked until 7:30 in the evening, all in all, she tended looms thirteen hours a day." The large numbers of children in the mills worked as long as the adults, eleven to fourteen hours per day.

The unions raised wages and in many places won the ten-hour workday. They also fought resolutely for a whole series of other urgent demands, for the beginnings of safety provisions in the shops, for limitations on child labor, for abolition of imprisonment for debt, for universal manhood suffrage, for a public school system to educate the people, for free land, etc. Against hostile court decisions, they established the right to organize and strike by militantly practicing that right. Labor was beginning to assert its class role vigorously. In 1836 there were an estimated 300,000 trade unionists. But the great crisis and panic of 1837 put a severe check upon this promising young labor movement. With the industries paralyzed and tens of thousands of workers unemployed, nearly all of the young unions, together with their journals, collapsed. The workers had yet to learn how to hold their unions together during economic crisis.

The National Labor Union

The later pre-Civil War decades were marked by a gradual emergence of trade unionism, with occasional setbacks caused by recurring economic crises. With the rapid growth of industry, the extension of the railroads, and the development of the national market, it was inevitable that the workers should form solid local unions, with central bodies and national unions. In 1850 the printers formed a national union, followed by the stone cutters in 1853; the hat finishers in 1854; the iron molders in 1855; and the machinists and blacksmiths in 1859. The discovery of gold in California in 1849 sent the cost of living soaring by depreciating the dollar, and this,

too, impelled the workers to struggle for better wages. By 1860, the ten-hour day had been won in many industries.

The big economic crisis of 1857 again shattered most of the unions, but during the Civil War they quickly recovered and reached new heights of development. The labor press also took solid root again. By now, too, the trade unions had begun to establish the eight-hour day in some trades, and a general agitation was on foot for the shorter workday. "In November, 1865, there were 61 trades organized, with approximately 300 unions."¹⁰ There were 32 national unions, with an estimated 300,000 members.

The trade unions, as we have seen, took an active part in the Civil War. Many workers, however, in the preceding decades had been affected by the fear that if the Negroes were freed, the employers would use them as cheap labor to beat down the wages of the white workers. The hostility of most of the Abolitionist leaders to the trade unions did much to crystallize this basically wrong idea among the workers. Instrumental in clarifying the workers on the question of slavery were the early Communists and Socialists, notably the Communist Joseph Weydemeyer, a coworker of Marx and Engels, who came to the United States in 1851. In 1856 the bulk of the trade unions supported the Republican ticket, and in 1860 they rallied overwhelmingly behind Lincoln. "In the great coalition formed to prevent the expansion of slavery, labor was an important and in some respects a decisive factor."¹¹

In 1864, the Industrial Assembly, in another attempt at a general national federation of labor, was organized, but it proved abortive. In 1866, however, the workers' pressure for national organization being very great, the unions came together again in Baltimore and founded the National Labor Union. Fifty-nine unions, with some 60,000 members, plus many eight-hour leagues, sent delegates. The main leader of the National Labor Union was William H. Sylvis, an iron-molder and one of the truly outstanding figures in the whole history of the United States labor movement.

The National Labor Union was much influenced by the revolutionary International Workingmen's Association, formed under the leadership of Karl Marx two years previously in London. This body had numerous sections in the United States. The National Labor Union, at its 1870 convention, declared "its adherence to the principles of the International Workingmen's Association and expects to join said association in a short time."¹² The National Labor Union sent delegates to the International Workingmen's Association, but never actually affiliated with it. Marx joyously hailed the formation and early activities of this national labor organization.

The National Labor Union registered many advances for the workers in organization and ideology. Of its many achievements, "it was among

the first organizations in the world to raise the question of equal pay for equal work for women and to place them in positions of leadership. It was the first American national labor federation to welcome Negro delegates. . . . It assisted in the launching of a number of state labor parties and of the first National Labor Party in the history of the American labor movement." Sylvis expressed the advanced spirit of his historic federation when he declared, "The cause of all these evils is the *wages system*. . . . We must adopt a system which will *divide* the profits of labor among those who produce them."¹³ Sylvis suddenly died in 1869.

The National Labor Union perished in 1872, its affiliated unions having largely withdrawn from it during the previous year, finding that it no longer effectively defended the economic interests of the workers. The chief reason for its demise was that its leaders had got lost in the Greenback, cheap money movement of the time and had forgotten the working class tasks of the organization. It was not that they engaged too much in politics, as the enemies of working class political action still assert vehemently, using the National Labor Union as a "horrible example" of the labor movement in politics; but that they engaged in the wrong kind—petty bourgeois political action. As early as 1870, in a letter to Karl Marx, F. A. Sorge, United States Secretary of the I.W.A., declared: "The National Labor Union which had such brilliant prospects in the beginning of its career, was poisoned by Greenbackism and is slowly but surely dying."¹⁴

The Knights of Labor

After the Civil War, with the political power fully in their hands and a seemingly endless perspective of economic development before them, the big capitalists developed a ruthless attitude toward the working class and trade unionism. Theirs was a policy of violent opposition to all attempts by the workers to improve or defend their living standards. The workers replied with militant struggle. Consequently, for two full generations the United States was the scene of many bloody, desperately fought strikes, quite without parallel currently in any other industrial country. At times these struggles over economic questions almost reached the pitch of civil war. The advancing capitalist class, drunk on unprecedented profits and power, was resolved not to allow the workers to interfere with its greedy feast.

One of the first of these major post-Civil War labor struggles was that of the Pennsylvania anthracite coal miners in the "long strike" of 1874-75. The strike was beaten and the union destroyed by militia and company gunmen. Afterward ten of the leaders, denounced as "Molly Maguires," were executed, and seventeen others were given long prison sentences. Next came the great railroad strike of 1877. This, the first national strike in

United States history, cost the lives of at least fifty workers and others in the armed battles that took place in main railroad centers from coast to coast. Then there was the fierce strike of the Homestead steel workers in 1892, also against a wage cut. The employers turned this into a small-scale war, in which ten people died. The big nation-wide eight-hour day strike of 1886 characteristically culminated violently in the legal lynching of six working class leaders in Chicago's Haymarket by the boss-controlled state authorities. The great Pullman-American Railway Union strike of 1894, led by Eugene V. Debs, was violently broken by federal troops, court injunctions, and the arrest of the strike leadership. During the 1890's, the many strikes of the metal miners in the Rocky Mountain states, of whom Bill Haywood was the outstanding leader, also became minor civil wars in which scores perished. Likewise, in the fiercely fought Chicago teamster strike of 1905, twenty-one men were killed and four hundred wounded. Similarly, the attempts of the miners' union to organize the West Virginia miners in the early 1910's were also violently opposed by the operators, and scores died in the ensuing desperate strikes. Then there were the fierce struggles of the structural iron workers, which resulted in the famous MacNamara dynamite case of this period. And in 1914, in Ludlow, Colorado, fourteen men, women, and children were butchered by Rockefeller company gunmen. The 1919 steel strike cost twenty-three dead and hundreds injured. In the employers' sustained offensive against the workers, dozens of other bloody strikes, costing hundreds of workers' lives all told, took place continuously, right on down to the beginning of the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933.

During this long reign of terror, the employers built up a whole series of violent antiunion methods. On the eve of World War I, this system included ruthlessly aggressive employers' associations, shops and factories built as forts and armed with big arsenals, elaborate plant spy networks, savage blacklists of militant workers, discharge for union membership, armies of gunmen and professional strikebreakers, company unionism, the antiunion ("open") shop, court injunctions against strikers, the use of troops against strikes, the violent suppression of basic civil rights, the frame-up and imprisonment or execution of working class leaders, etc. This whole antiunion system became progressively worse with the growth of the monopolies. And all this, at a time when the capitalists of western Europe were generally recognizing the trade unions and dealing with them.

The Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor was born in 1869, as this long-continued and violent antiunion offensive of the employers was getting under way after the capitalists' big victory in the Civil War. The old National Labor Union had not yet disappeared from the scene. The new national organization was conceived by Uriah S. Stephens, a

Philadelphia garment cutter. At first the Knights of Labor was limited to garment workers, but it was gradually expanded into a general organization, and aimed at taking in the great body of the working class. It did not successfully branch out on a national scale until the short-lived International Labor Union, organized in 1878, had failed. The Knights of Labor was a conglomeration of craft unions and mixed assemblies of various categories of workers. One of its strong points was that it admitted Negroes into its ranks. The organization laid big stress on independent working class political action and distributive co-operation.

At its inception, the Knights of Labor was based upon secrecy. It swore in its members and it used an elaborate ritual. The organization did not make its name known officially until 1881, a dozen years after its foundation and it was commonly referred to by workers as the "Five Stars." This blanket of secrecy was primarily a device to shield the workers from antiunion persecution by the employers. The young Railroad Brotherhoods and other labor organizations of the time followed a more or less similar course of secrecy.

The Knights of Labor, despite its customary official deprecation of strike action, nevertheless had a militant policy at first. It carried through many strikes, often successfully, particularly after it had embarked upon a program of publicity. L. V. Powderly was elected Grand Master Workman in 1881. Foner gives the following figures on the Knights of Labor's growth. "In 1878 the Order had 9,287 members; in 1879, 20,151 . . . in 1883, 51,914. Its period of greatest growth was during 1885-86 when more than 600,000 joined."¹⁵ After the great eight-hour day strike of 1886, which Powderly opposed, the Knights of Labor rapidly declined in strength. In 1890 it had only 100,000 members, and it had already lost the general leadership of the workers to the newly organized American Federation of Labor.

The leaders of the Knights of Labor at first expressed the militancy and growing revolutionary spirit characteristic of the workers of those times. Stephens, the founder of the order, strongly advocated the organization of the whole working class, unskilled, Negroes, women, and all. And although Stephens was not a Marxist, he nevertheless believed that the basic objective of the order was "the complete emancipation of the wealth producers from the thralldom and loss of wage slavery." Powderly, the later leader of the order, spoke in radical terms at the outset of his leadership. He declared, "Give us the earth and all that it can produce."¹⁶

But Powderly's radicalism was only skin deep. His basic answer to the big offensive of the employers was for the workers to surrender and to accept such crumbs as might fall from the rich man's table. Powderly eventually became the outstanding labor reactionary of his time. He even betrayed the great eight-hour day strike in 1886, which had actually grown

largely out of the militant policy pursued earlier by the Knights of Labor itself, and he callously refused to intercede on behalf of Parsons, Spies, Fischer, and the other Chicago labor leaders who were about to be executed as a result of the Haymarket bomb. Powderly's treachery was particularly disastrous to the Knights of Labor, which aspired to be a broad class organization and which necessarily had to have a fighting policy. His surrender was a basic cause of the decline of the Knights, and it was also a sinister warning of the danger in the class-collaboration, harmony-of-interest-of-capital-and-labor policies that have since wrought so much havoc in the labor movement of the United States.

The American Federation of Labor

The A. F. of L. was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in November, 1881. Present were 107 delegates, claiming to represent more than 500,000 workers. The organizations represented were mostly those of skilled workers, including 46 local assemblies of the Knights of Labor. The new organization was christened The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, which remained its name until 1886, when it was changed to the American Federation of Labor. Samuel Gompers, a cigar worker, born in London, was the outstanding figure at the founding of the organization.

The A. F. of L. stagnated for its first five years. Then the leadership, in desperation and under heavy mass pressure, proceeded to capitalize on the long and extensive eight-hour-day agitation of the Knights of Labor, by calling a general strike for May 1, 1886, for the eight-hour day. This historic strike, which gave birth to international May Day, was a success—at least 350,000 workers struck, and large numbers of them won their demands, especially in the building trades. The strike gave the A. F. of L. national labor leadership, and it virtually ruined the prestige of the K. of L., whose leader, Powderly, openly sabotaged the strike.¹⁷

At first, the A. F. of L., like other unions of this period, was militant, even sympathetic to socialism. But soon the Gompers leadership, like Powderly of the K. of L., and P. M. Arthur of the Locomotive Engineers, resolved upon meeting the big and violent offensive of the employers with a policy of class collaboration, or, in other words, working class subordination. They gave up the traditional fighting line of the early trade unions and accepted whatever they could servilely wheedle out of the bosses. This policy constituted a gross betrayal of the working class into the hands of the capitalist enemy. From then on, even down to our own day, the Gompers machine and its present remnants, have lived upon this sell-out of the working class.

The A. F. of L. was born on the verge of the era of the great monopolies

and imperialism. As a national organization it started out by fulfilling an actively progressive role, but under Gompers it soon became the main base of the labor aristocracy and bureaucracy who were corrupted by imperialism at the expense of oppressed peoples abroad, the unskilled and unorganized masses at home, and of the Negro people.

The Gompers betrayal of labor, raised to a profession by the conservative trade union bureaucrats, had many ramifications. The Gompers leaders dropped all advocacy of socialism and became ardent defenders of capitalism. Gompers, like many of these early leaders, had once called himself a socialist. He said in 1887, "I believe with the most advanced thinkers as to ultimate ends, including the abolition of the wage-system."¹⁸ He often boasted that he had learned German so as to be able to read Marx's *Capital* in the original. But the Gompers leaders soon came to repudiate all such revolutionary sentiments. They openly accepted capitalist wage slavery as the inescapable fate of the working class. They became fanatical antisocialists; they militantly advocated unity of interest between workers and employers; they joined up with the notorious National Civic Federation, which Wall Street interests had organized to devitalize organized labor. All this was a long stride backward from the radicalism of the earlier National Labor Union and Knights of Labor, but it made Gompers and his bureaucrat cronies the labor heroes of the bosses and the capitalist press.

Basing themselves on the skilled workers, the Gompers leaders fought aggressively against the mass, class-based unionism that had characterized the National Labor Union and Knights of Labor. They concentrated upon craft unionism, with from fifteen to twenty independent craft unions each in such industries as railroad, building, metal, food, clothing, printing, etc.—and with each union going its own way regardless of the rest. Union scabbing became the settled A. F. of L. practice, one section of the unions in a particular industry habitually staying at work while the others struck. Literally hundreds of strikes were lost by such treachery to working class interests. In line with their policy of cultivating the skilled workers at the expense of the rest of the working class, these Gompers bureaucrats refused point blank in many unions to permit the unskilled and semiskilled workers to join. They also generally barred women from the skilled-trades unions. They even came to formal agreements with employers not to organize industries where groups of unskilled and women workers predominated, and they callously sabotaged organizing campaigns initiated by the left wing. The A. F. of L. leaders continued this idiotic craft system of organization for many years, and do so even today, long after trustified and highly specialized mass production industries have virtually obliterated craft lines and made such craft unions virtually powerless.

The general abandonment of working class interests by the Gompers

leaders involved the specific betrayal of the Negro workers. The National Labor Union and the Knights of Labor, although they had many shortcomings in this matter, nevertheless did admit Negroes, and they definitely contemplated organizing the large number of Negro wage workers, especially in the South, into their unions. But the A. F. of L. leaders, always catering to the splitting and crippling tactics of the bosses, systematically excluded Negroes from their craft unions. Literally dozens of A. F. of L. unions specifically denied the right of the Negroes to belong to their ranks, although there were a number of honorable exceptions, including the United Mine Workers. Many craft unions, especially in the railroads, still have "male, white" clauses in their constitutions. Of all the crimes committed by the corrupt A. F. of L. leadership against the working class, this barring of the Negro workers from the benefits of trade unionism was the most disgraceful and degrading. Naturally, being animated by such reactionary policies, the A. F. of L. leaders also made no fight to bring civil rights to the Negroes, or to protect them from Jim Crow and the monstrous terror of lynching.

In their sabotage of the economic interests of the working class and the Negro people, to curry favor with the militant capitalists, the Gompers leaders also made it a special point to oppose the various forms of social insurance, particularly state old age pensions, health insurance, and unemployment relief and insurance. Even as late as the A. F. of L. convention of 1930, President Green, a remnant of the old Gompers machine, fought against unemployment insurance, although at the time about 10 million workers were jobless, on the grounds that "the dole" was beneath the dignity of the workers and that it would undermine trade unionism and destroy "the American way of life."

Another major plank in Gompersism's platform of surrender was the prevention of independent political action by the workers. These reactionary labor leaders, decade after decade, used their powerful influence effectively to prevent the establishment of a labor or people's party and to keep the workers tied to the two major capitalist parties. This, too, was a long step backward from the National Labor Union and the Knights of Labor, both of which favored the workers going into politics on a class basis.

A slavish endorsement of United States foreign policy was still another aspect of the general surrender policy of the A. F. of L. top leadership. This attitude was to have serious consequences on a world scale during World War I, and also in the post-World War II campaigns of militant United States imperialism throughout the world.

The general A. F. of L. policy of capitulation before the aggressive capitalist class, based on the acceptance of a slave perspective for the workers, plunged the Gompers leaders into the very depths of political and

ideological corruption. They fought against every progressive political or trade union measure; they sold out strikes for cash; they peddled "strike insurance" to the employers; they accepted money for endorsing capitalist political candidates; they rifled the union treasuries; they abolished union democracy and ruled by gangster tactics; they fought deadly gun battles with each other for union control; they looked upon the trade unions as legitimate prey for their boundless greed. Many of them became wealthy from these depredations. The Gompers regime, working hand in hand with the employers, represented the lowest-grade leadership suffered currently by any labor movement in the world. Of course, there were many honest and progressive A. F. of L. leaders, but they were distinctly in the minority and did not shape the organization's main policies.¹⁰

Naturally, the trade union movement and the working class fight generally suffered heavily because of this employer-dominated Gompers leadership. It was a deadly hindrance, injuring the workers' living standards and seriously handicapping organized labor politically, organizationally, and ideologically. The wonder was that the trade union movement could survive at all with such corrupt leadership, which was long a scandal among labor men and women all over the world. The general result was that on the eve of World War I, the A. F. of L., after 33 years of "effort," had organized into its ramshackle craft unions only 2,020,611 members, or hardly 10 per cent of the immense body of organizable wage workers in the United States. Politically, too, the working class remained thoroughly disorganized. This Gompers sell-out policy was to have further serious consequences in World War I and long afterward, as we shall see later.

The Socialist Movement

Socialism, in utopian form, developed extensively in the United States from the 1820's up to the Civil War, in the shape of numerous cooperative communities—New Harmony, Brook Farm, Icaria, and others—based upon the ideas of Owen, Fourier, and St. Simon. But these essentially middle class movements did not win any considerable support from the workers. Marxian scientific socialism struck firm roots during the 1850's. At first it was confined mostly to immigrant workers, principally Germans; but in the succeeding decades it increasingly appealed to the most advanced native-born workers as providing the answer both to their immediate class problems and to their hopes for ultimate emancipation.

From Civil War days the socialists, as their basic political task, strove to organize the workers into trade unions to fight against the ruthless and aggressive capitalists. They were active in the National Labor Union, in the Knights of Labor, and in the establishment of the American Federation of Labor. They were the heart and fighting spirit of all these organizations,

and they stood in the forefront of every strike and progressive political movement. Their influence extended far and wide beyond their relatively small numbers. Successively, the major Socialist political organizations were: first the Communist Club of New York, organized in 1852 by F. A. Sorge; and then, the sections of the International Workingmen's Association, also led by Sorge from the time of that organization's founding in 1867 until its formal dissolution in 1876. Hillquit stresses the pioneer influence of the First International: "The history of the Socialist movement in the United States during the period immediately following the Civil War was closely linked with the career of the European International Workingmen's Association."²⁰

After the end of the I.W.A., the main center of Socialist organization in the United States was the Workingmen's Party, which lasted from 1876 to 1877, when it changed its name to the Socialist Labor Party, a party eventually to be dominated by Daniel De Leon. Next came the Socialist Party, which was founded in 1900-01 under the leadership of Morris Hillquit and Eugene V. Debs. The party made rapid progress, reaching its maximum strength in 1912, with about 110,000 members, 897,000 votes for Debs, and a press consisting of five English and eight foreign language dailies, three-hundred weeklies, and twelve monthlies.²¹ The party in 1910 sent Victor Berger and in 1915 Meyer London, to Congress.

The budding socialist movement collided with the Powderly-Arthur-Gompers policy of surrendering the workers to unbridled exploitation by the ultra-aggressive capitalists. For the generation before World War I, the Socialist workers fought progressively for such policies as class solidarity in strikes, a political party of the working class, trade union democracy, industrial unionism, honest union leadership, the education of the workers to class consciousness, and a socialist perspective for society.

The socialist movement, however, was not united in this fight. It had its Right and Left wings. The division between Right and Left dated back to the old quarrel between Marxists and Lassalleans in the 1860's and 1870's, over the relative value of trade union and political action among other matters. The basic issue was whether or not the Socialist Party was to have a petty bourgeois or a proletarian leadership and policy. The differences between Right and Left sharpened and multiplied as the years went by, embracing such issues as the control of the party by middle class intellectuals, tendencies of the right wing to cater to Gompersism through neutrality in strikes, by playing down of the issue of industrial unionism, and by generally abandoning the program of revolutionary struggle for socialism. The growing antagonisms led to a series of party splits—that of 1900 away from the S.L.P., the Pacific Coast S.P. split in 1909, the national split and the expul-

sion of Bill Haywood in 1912, and, finally, the general split of 1919, which resulted in the formation of the Communist Party.²²

Meanwhile, Left-wing trade unionists, repelled by the sickening atmosphere of class treachery and reaction in A. F. of L. leading circles, decided on the formation of new, progressive, and socialist industrial unions. Early examples of this tendency toward dual unionism were the American Railway Union, formed by Debs in 1893, and the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, formed by De Leon in 1895 and designed to include all industries. In the ensuing years many other such new industrial unions were launched in individual industries, with more or less clearly stated socialist programs. The most ambitious project of this character was the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World in Chicago in 1905, with the active support of Debs, De Leon, and Haywood.

During the next fifteen years the I.W.W. conducted many big strikes and heroic free speech fights. But it did not succeed in its objective of creating a new labor movement. Its maximum membership, which it reached in 1917, was about 130,000 members. The I.W.W. failed for a variety of reasons—because of its antipolitical stand (it early fell under the influence of anarcho-sindicalism); its reckless use of the general strike weapon; dual unionism, its policy of drawing militant workers out of the old craft unions; its wrong handling of the religious question; and its attempt to make the acceptance of a revolutionary perspective a tacit requirement for trade union membership. The I.W.W. lost its effectiveness during the 1920's, after scores of its leaders had been jailed for long terms for anti-war activities. In this same period general left-wing trade union and political leadership passed to the hands of the Communists.

The policy of dual unionism, which received its most notable expression in the I.W.W., was one of the most serious mistakes made by the left wing in the United States. Its general effect was to isolate the best trade union fighters from the mass unions and to leave these organizations to the uncontested control of the Gompersites. Lenin called this policy "an unpardonable blunder." The Communists, coming to the leadership of the left, soon put an end to this infantile practice.

The Right-wing Socialists continued their activities within the A. F. of L. unions with a mild reform policy. Up to the big split of 1912, the Socialist bloc inside the A. F. of L. grew rapidly, however, due to the left elements. The Socialists eventually came to lead the coal miners, painters, machinists, and several other unions. In the A. F. of L. convention of 1912 the Socialist candidate for A. F. of L. President, Max Hayes, a printer, polled 5,073 against 11,974 for Gompers. After the Party split in that year, however, Socialist strength in the A. F. of L. declined rapidly, both organizationally and ideologically. Finally, during World War I and the years

immediately following it, the Right-wing Socialist trade unionists virtually capitulated to the Gompersites, merged with them, and became practically indistinguishable from them.

The Socialist forces had not been able to defeat the corrupt Gompers trade union leadership. The general result was that, as the world approached the great catastrophe of the first World War, the United States capitalists, arrogant and imperialist, had a relatively free hand in exploiting their workers. Arrayed against them was a working class, militant and potentially very strong, but confused ideologically, with poorly organized trade unions, with no broad mass political party of its own, and with the most reactionary labor leadership in the world fastened upon its neck—a leadership which was one of the capitalists' most potent means for disorganizing and exploiting the working class. But this capitalist strength and proletarian weakness were more apparent than real. The great Russian Revolution was soon to dramatize the utter rottenness of the capitalist system and the revolutionary potentialities of the working class and its allies all over the world, including those in the United States.

In its long struggle between the War of Independence and World War I the working class of the United States had built considerable economic class organization, displayed an indomitable fighting spirit, and developed a strong class instinct. But it lagged far behind the working class in Europe with regard to the adoption of a socialist perspective for society. This was primarily because of the better economic and political conditions prevailing in the United States. In the highly favorable situation for the development of capitalism, the workers had managed, by intense struggle, to wring substantial economic and political concessions from the employers. Under the intense exploitation to which they were subjected they had developed a strong fighting spirit, but not class consciousness. Except in the case of the more advanced elements, they had not yet come to realize that only in socialism could they really achieve emancipation. This class outlook, in fact, still awaits today its maturing as a result of the deeper involvement of the United States in the developing general crisis of capitalism.

In the United States the capitalist strength and proletarian weakness, upon the outbreak of World War I, however, was more apparent than real. The great Russian Revolution was soon to dramatize the utter rottenness of the capitalist system and the revolutionary potentialities of the working class and its allies all over the world, including those in the United States.

21. A CENTURY OF DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE

In Chapter 10 we saw that the great hemispheric bourgeois revolution *cf.* 1776-1837, while dealing heavy blows against the remnants of feudalism and greatly strengthening the budding capitalist system, nevertheless failed to achieve the most basic democratic reforms urgently required by the toiling millions in the score of young nations. We have seen, too, in succeeding chapters, that the democratic masses of these peoples have ever since conducted resolute struggles, often reaching the point of revolutionary intensity, for the fulfillment of these democratic needs. We have also outlined some of the major aspects of these struggles. The purpose of the present chapter is to sum up briefly the general results of this broad hemispheric democratic struggle as a whole, from the conclusion of the Wars for Independence down to, roughly, the period of World War I. We have chosen World War I as a convenient review point, because from then on, in a deeply changed world situation, with the beginning of the general crisis of the capitalist system, the class struggle in the New World, as elsewhere, takes on new forms and new significance.

Land, Slavery, and Peonage

The fight for land—the battle against the latifundists—has been at the center of the great class struggles that raged between the Wars of Independence and World War I. The United States Civil War, the Mexican Revolution, and the dozens of aborted revolutions in various Latin American countries have all turned around the general issue of the people versus the hacienda-plantation system. While the people have scored some major successes, this great fight for land has not gone too well for the forces of democracy. In Latin America, where the land question has always been most basic, the big landowners for the most part still retain their great estates intact and also are in command of the political situation. In the Haitian and Mexican revolutions real break-throughs were scored, and the masses got possession of much of the land. But these successes were not great enough to have a decisive effect upon the main land issue throughout Latin America. Generally, the democratic forces have lacked a determined land policy and a good organization, based solidly upon the principles of expropriation and confiscation of the huge landed estates.

In the United States and Canada the democratic forces also scored some important, and generally quite decisive victories on the land question. With the Homestead laws, won after long struggle, they kept immense stretches of the new land out of the hands of prospective land monopolists and thus created a large body of democratic-minded small farmers. This development, besides facilitating the growth of capitalism by preventing society from falling under the paralyzing influence of big landowners, also greatly strengthened the base of democracy. But the capitalists, both in Canada and the United States, were much too stupid and greedy politically to realize the benefit of the Homestead laws to themselves. They have never been friends of the small-landholding program. They did not have the progressive outlook that would lead them to breaking up the big southern plantations after the Civil War and dividing the land among the freed Negroes.

The biggest democratic victory in this period, however, was the abolition of chattel slavery throughout the western hemisphere, a development which was closely related to the land question. There were great limitations to this victory, it is true, inasmuch as everywhere the Negroes, instead of being fully freed (capitalist style), were neatly shifted over into peonage, which meant half-slavery. Nevertheless, the emancipation of the Negro slaves was a tremendous achievement, one which took (counting Haiti) two great revolutionary wars to accomplish. It was of world importance and constituted the heaviest blow struck against feudalism and for human freedom in the history of the New World.

Tied up with the fight for the land and against slavery has also been the fight against peonage. This infamous system, as we have remarked earlier, has been the historical successor to chattel slavery. Both the Indians and the Negroes, when emancipated from chattel slavery, became peons—primarily because the land question was not solved. Throughout the past century, in the scores of revolutionary uprisings in Latin America, the question of peonage was fundamenatly involved. But little was accomplished toward abolishing it. Almost universally, throughout Latin America, this system of serfdom prevailed, until the Mexican Revolution of 1910 struck like a bolt of lightning. This revolution not only greatly weakened peonage in Mexico but it dealt this system a heavy blow in all the affected countries. However, the big landowners elsewhere were able to withstand the blows of the Mexican Revolution and they still continue with their slave-like system of peonage.

R. H. Behrendt estimates (*America Indigena*, July, 1950) that, outside of Mexico, about one-half of the Indians of all Latin America are still virtually serfs upon large plantations or haciendas. This form of enslavement has different names in the several countries—peonaje in Mexico, terraje in

Colombia, concertaje in Ecuador, ponguaje in Bolivia, and inquilinaje in Chile. But everywhere, as Behrendt points out, it is essentially the same. The great mass of the Negro toilers in the western hemisphere are about equally badly off, the majority of them working under various types of peonage in the several countries of the Americas.

The United States, which boasts so loudly of its democracy, still has within its confines several millions of virtual peons, both Negro and white, in the sharecroppers and agricultural workers of the South. The failure, during the Civil War period, to break up the slaveowners' big plantations and to distribute the land among the freed slaves, was responsible for the creation of the huge mass of Negro peons, with all the agony and shame of discrimination, persecution, poverty, and lynching that have followed.

Living and Working Conditions

One of the basic objectives of the innumerable strikes, political struggles, and revolutionary upheavals of the past century throughout the Americas has been the improvement of the living and working conditions of the toiling masses. And it has not met with too great success, particularly in the Latin American countries. In a later chapter, we will deal in detail with the present shocking social conditions throughout Latin America, with the widespread chronic mass malnutrition and sickness. Here we shall confine ourselves to giving only a general indication of conditions prevailing at the time of World War I. Suffice it to say that although the scattering of unions in Argentina, Chile, Cuba, and one or two other Latin American countries had by that time succeeded in winning some concessions for small groups of skilled workers in the industries, the bulk of the workers in the cities and towns worked virtually at starvation levels. Their economic condition represented little or no advance over colonial days. Every attempt they made to improve their deplorable situation through trade unions and strikes was met by even more savage reprisals than was the case in the United States.

As for the workers on the land, who with their families made up about three-fifths of the Latin American nations, they were even worse off than their fathers in the colonial period. They lived in much more destructive poverty than the Indians before the arrival of the conquistadors. Gruening gives some figures on working conditions in Mexico on the eve of the revolution, which can serve to illustrate the prevailing situation in Latin America. Since independence, the Mexican land workers' income had remained practically stationary, although living costs had climbed. After citing an economist who claimed that the price of corn, the chief staple food of the people, was up 400 per cent and that wages had increased only 50 per cent since the wars of independence, Gruening says: "Still another

economist asserts that agricultural wages (in Mexico) remained stationary in the century preceding 1910, while food staples rose 300 per cent. These studies are approximate. . . . They lead to the irrefutable conclusion that the field laborer was decidedly worse off economically after a century of national independence."¹

In the United States and Canada, where industrialization was much further advanced and where the trade unions had already conducted vigorous struggles for many decades, the economic position of the mass of the toilers was not so desperate. Nevertheless, the majority of the people in both of these northern countries were living below the level officially declared to be the minimum for the maintenance of health at the time of World War I.

The hours of labor, which had also been the object of bitter struggle everywhere during this period, had somewhat improved over colonial days, but not very much. In Latin America, just before World War I, the eight-hour day was a rarity won by only a very small minority of skilled workers. The masses continued to toil from ten to twelve hours a day in industry, and even longer on the land. General eight-hour laws were a thing of the future, something to hope for. In the United States, too, long hours of work in field and factory were the rule. The eight-hour day prevailed only in government shops and in such skilled occupations as the building and the printing trades, and in some parts in the coal-mining industry. But the great bulk of the industrial workers, not to mention the agricultural workers, still worked the ten-hour day and usually six days a week. Prior to World War I in some industries, notably in steel and on the railroads, the twelve-hour day, or even longer, was still the rule. Many industries even had the seven-day week. Similar conditions prevailed in Canada. In both of these countries, as in Latin America, a general application of the eight-hour rule was still a victory to be won.

Throughout this long period between the Independence War and World War I, workers in industry, on the land, and in transportation were almost destitute of provisions to protect their lives and health while on the job. As a consequence, endless millions were sickened by needless occupational diseases, were worked virtually to death by the speedup in the industries, or were ground to pieces by machinery without safeguards. In this respect, the United States capitalists were far and away the worst offenders. Their shops and mills and railroads and mines were (and still are) literal slaughterhouses. They criminally destroyed vast numbers of workers, who were callously sacrificed to swell the huge profits of the owners. In 1907, says Kirkland, "the fatalities in coal mining were 3,242; in 1925 they were 2,230. . . . The United States has the worst record of all important coal-mining countries. Railroading is the second most dangerous occupation:

in 1907, 4,534 employees were killed; in 1925, 1,594. When the total calculations of industrial accidents were made in 1913, the annual fatalities were placed at 25,000 and injuries involving . . . disability numbered 700,000. This was warfare. These deaths in industry were just over half the battle deaths of the American army in 1917 and 1918."²

Social security provisions—that is, laws to provide the workers and their families with some financial income in the event of unemployment, sickness, accident or death—were also few and far between in the western hemisphere before World War I. The big capitalists and landowners, who amply shielded themselves by their great wealth and organizations against every personal financial contingency, spared no effort and struggle to prevent their workers from securing even the minimum of protection. In the event the breadwinner was incapacitated by joblessness, accident, or ill health, the worker's family faced the bitter alternative of semistarvation, the poorhouse, crime, and the scattering of the family. In this respect, the "free" wage workers were worse off than actual chattel slaves, who usually were given some small measure of shelter by their masters when they were no longer able to work. The capitalists and landowners of the Americas, including the fabulously rich magnates in the United States, felt no obligation whatever towards their aged, sick, and impoverished workers.

Democratic Rights

Many of the most determined struggles in the history of the Americas have been the battles of oppressed minorities (or even majorities in the case of the Indians) against various systems of discrimination. The most persistent of these has been the ceaseless struggle of the Negro people (and a growing number of white allies) ever since their emancipation from slavery in 1861-65, against the infamous Jim Crow laws in the United States. This struggle against entrenched injustice, which is still going on with rising intensity and of which we shall speak more later, was taking on real momentum by World War I.

The right to work—job protection—has always been another most urgent democratic demand of the workers. It is only a mockery of democracy when a worker has to depend upon a capitalist's whim for a chance to earn a living. The periodic loss of his job through unemployment or from the arbitrary actions of the employer is one of the most terrifying hazards of the wage worker. Consequently, in all their struggles for better conditions, the workers, by one device or another, have sought to abolish or at least to mitigate this monstrous evil. The employers, on the other hand, are equally resolved to retain the arbitrary power to deny the workers the guaranteed right to a job, as this gives them a tremendous disciplinary power. As Marx pointed out, the existence of an army of unemployed is

one of the fundamental requirements of the employers, in order to cow the workers who do have jobs. The only time the employers are interested in the right to work is during strikes, when they grow lyrical over the sacred "right" of scabs to take the jobs of strikers.

Under capitalism, the workers can enjoy no real right to work. However, there are a number of defenses that they can erect around their jobs—strong union controls, seniority system, unemployment insurance, and the like. But, historically, up to, the World War I, the workers throughout this hemisphere had almost nothing of such protection. So far as any freedom in the matter of jobs was concerned, it all rested with the employers, who hired and fired as they pleased. In this period, only a very few skilled workers and those employed under government systems of "civil service" enjoyed any degree of job protection.

The right to organize trade unions and to strike was also a major issue in thousands of strikes throughout the western hemisphere during the whole period we are now reviewing. At the end of the colonial era the workers generally, including those in the United States and Canada, were only a few degrees better off than serfs, or wards of their employers. The employers freely took upon themselves the right to organize in associations, but they arrogantly denied a similar right to the workers. Trade unions were everywhere illegal and strikes were held to be conspiracies in restraint of trade. But by going ahead nevertheless, by organizing and striking despite the menace of courts and jails, the workers everywhere established more or less the right to be trade unionists.

At the time of World War I, however, this union right was still a very tenuous one (and it continues to be such in many Latin American countries). By then, the struggles of the workers had forced the courts and legislatures pretty generally throughout the hemisphere to give at least a measure of formal sanction to the workers' right to organize and strike. But this paper legal right was largely, if not entirely negated, by arbitrary refusals of Latin American dictators and United States courts and government officials to allow the workers to practice the right to organize in unions. Moreover, the employers everywhere, taking the law into their own hands, used the most violent means to prevent unionization and to defeat strikes. We have already seen how this repeatedly provoked almost civil war conditions in the United States; but in Latin America, as we shall observe later in some detail, employer terrorism against the unions was, and continues to be, even more savage. Consequently, by the time of World War I, trade unionism had secured only a shaky toe-hold in the western hemisphere, no more than four million workers or less than five per cent of all workers on both continents being organized.

The right to vote—manhood suffrage—which was formally granted

to the body of citizens everywhere in the constitutions of the American republics, was also a big source of struggle throughout the period between the wars of independence and World War I. From the very establishment of the republics in this hemisphere, the ruling classes of capitalists and landowners, while carefully safeguarding their own right to vote, have done all in their power to limit the franchise rights of the producing masses. To this end they have employed a wide variety of means—property qualifications, literacy tests, minority and color bars, poll taxes, sex differences, direct economic and political pressures, and plain terrorism. By such devices, they have disfranchised, and still continue to do so, vast masses of citizens who are theoretically entitled to vote under the law.

Innumerable struggles have been conducted during this long period to break down these various bars disqualifying working class and farmer voters. But success was only partial. In Latin America, where illiteracy runs up to 75 percent or more in some countries, the literacy test still remains a potent means for keeping democratic-minded voters away from the polls. For example, Duggan says this device disfranchises two-thirds of the adult population in Bolivia, Guatemala, and Venezuela.³ In the United States, although property qualifications, as a condition for voting and holding political office, were broken down during the first half-century after the revolution, other potent devices still remain in effect and disfranchise vast sections of the working masses. The crudest and most notorious of these is the poll tax, which takes the vote away from millions of poor Negroes and whites in the south. But more insidious and more effective than poll taxes, literacy tests, and the like in disfranchising masses of voters is the fact that in all the countries of the western hemisphere the newspapers, the radio, and the other major means of public information are overwhelmingly in the hands of the exploiting classes, who skillfully use the vast powers of these means to confuse, and thereby negate, the votes of millions of citizens on the real issues at stake.

The Right to Education

The right to education, which means the right to think, has also been one of the major points in the programs of the workers and other toilers in all the great revolutions throughout the world, since the days of the bourgeois revolutions in the United States and France in the eighteenth century. The revolutionary masses have always understood that the realization of their economic and political goals depended directly upon their ability to clear their minds of age-old, cultivated superstitions and ignorance, and to refresh their thinking capacities with real facts and scientific understanding. Therefore, all genuine reform and revolutionary movements have at the same time been burning crusades for mass education. By the same

token, the reactionary classes have always understood just as clearly that their only real hope to maintain their class rule and exploitation depended upon their ability to keep enthralled the minds of their chattel slaves, peons, and wage workers. And so they have gone to every extreme to hold the people in an ignorance which is an indispensable part of their system of exploitation.

During the century approximately that passed between the wars of independence and World War I, the masses of toilers throughout the Americas, the many millions of slaves and semislaves in the shops and mines and fields and forests, have powerfully felt the revolutionary urge to conquer the means for mass education. And they have written this basic demand into all their main programs. The fight for enlightenment has long been one of the most marked features of the democratic struggles in all the countries of the western hemisphere.

The exploiting classes of the Americas, like those of the rest of the world, have always conducted a stubborn fight against this profound educational movement of the masses. The southern plantation owners made it a crime punishable by heavy penalties to teach slaves to read and write. The reactionary clerics know that only so long as they can keep the masses in ignorance, even by such terrifying weapons as the Inquisition, can they get the people to accept their superstitions and miracles. The peon drivers also realize that the maintenance of their form of servitude depends upon cultivating mass ignorance, and they have always been inveterate enemies of education for the people. And the capitalists, too, although their need for workers with at least a minimum of education has been imperative, have always been so fearful of an intellectually awakened working class that they have chronically opposed even the most elementary forms of workers' education. In the United States and Canada, workers are generally subjected to a form of education which is capitalist propaganda in effect.

What education the toilers of shop and mine and factory in this hemisphere have been able to secure for themselves, therefore, has been primarily due to their own efforts and against the resistance of the reactionary ruling classes. These toilers have indeed won some notable victories in this long fight for education. But one tragic witness to the only partial success of their struggle is the appalling mass illiteracy in nearly all the Latin American countries.

One of the greatest and most successful of the many struggles of the masses for the right to education was that of the working class in the United States. It is to the undying glory of the early trade unions in the United States, during the 1830's and 1840's, that they were the pioneer fighters and the main force in laying the foundations of the public school system.

This they accomplished in the face of determined opposition of reactionary employers, who not only feared an enlightened working class, but also dreaded the loss of their child laborers if they were sent off to school. Commons says: "In 1833 (when the country had about 13,500,000 inhabitants) it was estimated that in the entire United States 1,000,000 children between the ages of five and fifteen were not in any school. . . . The next year the number of illiterate children in the United States was placed at 1,250,000."⁴ The establishment of the public schools was a real democratic victory, despite the fact that the ruling class has since been able to distort the entire educational system, from primary schools to universities, into an instrument for maintaining their capitalist system. The experience in Canada has been much the same. That country delegated the control of education to the provinces in 1867; education is free in all the provinces except predominantly Catholic Quebec.

Another striking manifestation of the toilers' irresistible demand for education was, as we have seen, the big public school movement which unfolded during the Mexican Revolution. There the struggle for books became almost as intense as the struggle for land itself—the two phases going together. The major accomplishment of the Mexican Revolution in this general respect was to take the school system away from the Catholic Church and to put it under the control of the government. This is a most fundamental step, for there can be no real education of the people, even in the most elementary sense, so long as their public schools are in the hands of clerics, regardless of sect. In the bulk of the other Latin American countries, however, the people have as yet not succeeded in divorcing their public school system from the church. This is the main task in developing a real, popular educational program.

The Progress of Woman

One of the major democratic advances during the general period we are considering was made by womankind. Her progress has been economic, political, and social. But at best it was agonizingly slow. Woman only gradually emerges from beneath the mountain of handicaps loaded upon her through the ages, by the feudal and capitalist exploiters, by the church, and by shortsighted members of the male sex generally.

Woman's most important advance in the Americas, down to our own day, has been as an industrial and professional worker. She has broken her way into many callings hitherto closed to her, making the greatest progress in the United States and Canada. But in both of these countries, she still has to contend with innumerable obstacles and difficulties. Women are also becoming a great factor in industry in Latin America. This is graphically illustrated in Argentina, where 75 percent of the workers in textile, 85

percent in garment industry, 40 percent in the packing houses, and 30 percent in metal shops, are women. Of a total of 700,000 people employed in Argentine industry, 300,000 are women.⁵ In 1942, women made up 30 percent of the workers in industry in Brazil.⁶ In the United States, in 1948, 27 percent of all workers were women.⁷ In some of these countries, however, --Mexico, for example--women are even barred legally from entering certain occupations.

The employers, whether in fields, factories, mines, offices, or school-rooms, have always taken advantage of woman's historically suppressed position by forcing her to work for lower wages than the men workers. The trade unions everywhere have therefore made it one of the major points in their programs to establish equal pay for equal work for both sexes. In Mexico, Brazil, Cuba, and Chile, this principle was written into the national constitutions. But relatively little has been accomplished throughout the hemisphere in enforcing this vital reform, save in the case of certain strongly organized industries in the United States. In general, all over Latin America, women work for from one-third to one-half the wages of the men. And the non-white women workers are even worse off.

Some progress has been made in developing special legislation for women, providing minimums of maternity protection and giving them equal rights in holding property, and securing a divorce. The law books of Latin America, as well as those of the United States, are liberally sprinkled with such legislation, but the trouble is that for the most part these laws are not enforced unless they are actively supported by powerful trade unions and women's organizations.

The American republics, the United States along with the others, were slow to grant women even the meager right of suffrage accorded male workers under the capitalist system. At the time of World War I in not a single American nation did women have the right to vote. Nor did they get this right short of a long and hard struggle against entrenched cupidity and prejudice. Canada and the United States, after a bitter fight, led the way in this important reform. The first women's rights convention in the United States was held in Seneca Falls, New York, in July 1848. The movement, supported by such pioneers as Margaret Fuller, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, etc., correctly realized the relation between the emancipation of women and the freeing of the Negro slaves; hence, the militant women for suffrage and other women's rights also became active workers in the great Abolition movement of the time. And their fight for women's rights made them as hated as the Abolitionists. Illustrating the spirit of reaction towards them, Parrington says, "Freedom for black slaves was one thing, but freedom for

women—the loosening of social convention—suggested terrifying eventualities like free love and the disruption of the family.”⁸

The United States granted women the vote through the Nineteenth Constitutional Amendment, ratified August 26, 1920. In Canada, women got the vote province by province, from 1916 (Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan) to 1940 (Quebec).⁹ Other countries in the western hemisphere conceded the vote to women as follows: Ecuador (1929), Brazil (1932), Uruguay (1932), Cuba (1934), El Salvador (1939), Dominican Republic (1942), Guatemala (1945), Panama (1946), Venezuela (1947), Argentina (1947), Chile (1949). Peru (1933), Bolivia (1945), and Mexico (1946) have either provincial or local women’s suffrage.¹⁰ In remaining Latin American countries—Costa Rica, Haiti, Honduras, etc.—women are not permitted to vote.

Religious Freedom

In the Latin American countries the fight for religious liberty—that is, the right to practice any religion one chooses, or none at all—has always been a major part of the general struggle for freedom. There it has primarily taken the form, since independence, of a struggle to separate Church and State—concretely to disestablish the Catholic Church, which, since the earliest colonial days, has claimed and usually enjoyed a religious monopoly in these countries. A similar fight also took place in the United States, but a decisive victory was won at the very start when the Constitution definitely separated the Church (in this case mostly the Protestant church) from the State. It is only in recent years that the issue is being revived again by the insistent and too successful claims of the Catholic Church for federal and state subsidies to its parochial schools, and by the demands of the Protestant clergy that religious teaching be injected into the public schools of the United States. In Canada, Church and State have not been fully separated in most of the provinces and not at all in French Quebec.

The struggle in the Latin American countries to separate the Church from the State has been a long and bitter one. Sometimes, as we have seen in the case of Mexico, it has risen to the pitch of civil war. Nearly everywhere in these countries it has remained a sharp and basic issue down to this very day. The tide of battle has turned back and forth, first one side getting the best of it and then the other. The Latin American peoples who have fought this fight to curb the reactionary pressures of the Catholic Church are themselves predominantly Catholic, there being only about 2,000,000 professed Protestants and some 500,000 Jews throughout Latin America.

In all the Latin American countries, upon the establishment of national independence from Spain and Brazil during the first quarter of the nine-

teenth century, the Catholic Church was allowed to keep its official status as the State Church, much as it had done during the three-hundred-year colonial period. But, as we have seen in Chapter X, there was a major clash between the Catholic hierarchy and the revolutionary governments over the question of "patronage," or Church controls. The republican governments wanted to continue exercising these Church controls which the kings had done in colonial days. The Church balked. It demanded not only that it should be the State Church, as it had been during the colonial period, but that it should be given a new status entirely free of state control. The Church wanted to look only to Rome for general guidance and discipline. Thus, its aim was to set itself up as quite independent of governments,¹¹ getting its policies from a foreign source.

The fundamentally anti-democratic and rebellious attitude of the Church threw it sharply and repeatedly into collision with the republican governments in nearly all the Latin American countries. The general quarrel over its status was further intensified by the fact that the Church, as the biggest landowner and holder of property generally, was in itself a major source of political reaction and was always to be found on the side, if it was not the main instigator, of every big movement against democratic progress. The Church was a prolific source of caudilloism and was the chief force behind many reactionary coups d'état and tyrannical dictatorships. Inevitably, the liberal-democratic forces of the Catholic peoples of Latin America, although they were resolved upon being very tolerant politically toward the Church at the outset, found themselves everywhere compelled to fight to cut off its subsidies and to reduce its other special privileges.

Through many decades a sort of historical seesaw over the Church developed in Latin American politics. When the liberal parties secured political control, they often brought pressure to bear against the Church, restraining or abolishing its educational monopoly, requiring it to pay its due share of taxes, or even confiscating all or part of its huge landholdings. On the other hand, when the forces of conservatism held the political power, which was most of the time, in all the Latin American countries, they would proceed to restore to the Church its economic privileges and monopolistic dictatorship over the religious beliefs of the people.

As the situation now stands, all twenty of the Latin American republics have clauses in their constitutions guaranteeing at least formal religious freedom, and eleven of them have more or less separated the Church from the State.¹² The nations that have formally disestablished the Church, wholly or in part, are: Argentina, Mexico, Chile, Cuba, Brazil, Uruguay, Ecuador, Guatemala, Panama, Costa Rica, and El Salvador. In Colombia, Paraguay, Peru, Honduras, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Venezuela, Haiti, and the

Dominican Republic, the Church has retained a greater or lesser degree of official standing.¹³ There are many types and degrees of Church-State relationships, and they are in a constant state of flux.

With the rise of fascism, the forces of reaction in Latin America are everywhere striving to make the Catholic Church, distinctly fascist in its orientation, once more the established Church. Thus, in Argentina and Brazil, countries that had more or less formally disestablished the Church, dictators Peron and Dutra are now systematically according the Church more and more official political standing. From a historical standpoint, nevertheless, the general tendency in Latin America is toward the separation of Church and State. This is one of the basic and irresistible trends in the democracy gradually developing in Latin America.

The Sum of the Struggle

During more than a century between the revolutionary wars and World War I, the period that we are here summing up, the masses generally fought to improve their conditions of life within the framework of the feudal-capitalist system. They did not strive to overthrow capitalism as such, and to establish socialism. Even in the high points of the Haitian, Mexican, and United States (Civil War) revolutions, the struggle of the peoples remained within the scope of the broad bourgeois (capitalist) revolution. Nevertheless, in the Latin American countries, and in the case of the Civil War in the United States as well, the peoples have fought a revolutionary fight, in the sense that they battled to destroy the still strong forces of the feudal-minded big landowners. Historically, during this long period of intense struggle, theirs was a fight to carry through the bourgeois-democratic revolution, of which the agrarian revolution is a basic part.

This general period was also one of a developing revolutionary role on the part of the proletariat, resulting from the expansion of industry, the growth of the working class, and the spread of Marxist principles. In the earlier revolutions in the western hemisphere, such as those that established the national independence of the former English, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies, the workers occupied but a minor position; and in some countries where industry was negligible, they had hardly any role at all. But at the end of more than a century of struggle, the workers were leading or playing a vital role not only in every genuinely revolutionary movement, but also in every struggle for important reforms.

By the same token, this period marked the end of the revolutionary role of the capitalist class. The capitalists exercised, for example, a decisive and constructive influence in the 1776 and 1861 revolutions in the United States as in various other struggles. But today, everywhere, they are the main source of reaction and of counter-revolution. They systematically

betray their countries for the sake of their greedy class interests. Even in the semi-colonial countries of Latin America, the capitalists are no longer the revolutionary leaders of their peoples. Only a segment may still be depended upon to fight the latifundists and foreign imperialists, even for the most elementary national interests. During this period in question, the peasants and middle classes displayed great revolutionary initiative in various countries; but now, in every revolutionary situation, they stand second to the working class, which had already reached a position of general revolutionary leadership by World War I.

During the long period of struggle between the wars of independence and World War I, the peoples of the western hemisphere won many and important democratic victories, as we have seen. By and large, however, the economic standards of the toilers of the hemisphere as a whole grew not better, but worse. And real political democracy, in which the rights and interests of the masses of the people are guarded, was not established. On the contrary, the basic problems of capitalism and of the people tended constantly to become more complex and more urgent. And indeed, there can be no real freedom and prosperity for the peoples under capitalism. Only socialism, which fundamentally solves for the people the basic questions of land, industry, education, living standards, racial discrimination, and political controls, can finally liquidate these problems, which have so long plagued the masses throughout the Americas. The greatest and most significant of all the progress made by the peoples of the western hemisphere during this long period were the abolition of chattel slavery, the laying of the economic and political foundations of the labor movement, and the beginnings of a socialist class consciousness among the workers.

BOOK THREE

FROM CAPITALISM

TO SOCIALISM

22. WORLD WAR I AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLES

The first World War had far-reaching economic, political, and social consequences in all the capitalist countries of the New World. This great blood bath was the result of sharpening contradictions within the framework of the capitalist system. It was the natural consequence of the laws of growth and decay of capitalism. It was a dramatic demonstration of the fact that capitalism had plunged into an incurable general crisis.

Capitalism has at its base a fundamental contradiction: it carries on production socially while the means of production—the industries, land, banks, and transportation systems—are owned individually. This brings about the collision between the workers and capitalists over wages, working conditions, various other issues and, eventually the control of society. Out of this basic contradiction between the social mode of production and the private mode of expropriation flows a whole series of other destructive contradictions. Among these are the antagonisms between the unplanned production and limited markets of capitalism, between competing groups of capitalists in industry, finance, and trade, between the capitalist states and the peoples in the colonial and semicolonial countries, and between rival capitalist powers striving to capture markets, raw materials, and strategic positions.

In the earlier stages of capitalist history, the period of competitive capitalism, the capitalist system managed to develop in an upward spiral, although with much creaking and lost motion from all these inherent contradictions. It was true that the anarchy of capitalist production brought about periodic, crippling economic crises, that there were many serious strikes of workers against their gouging employers, that big capitalists ruthlessly devoured smaller ones, that colonial uprisings against the imperialists occasionally took place, and that destructive wars between competing capitalist powers were frequent. Nevertheless, capitalism, although at the cost of endless human misery, kept growing and spreading throughout the world.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, however, a radical change took place within the capitalist system. As Lenin made clear, and as we pointed out in Chapter 14, monopoly capitalist imperialism developed in all the major capitalist states. As a result, all the antagonisms and con-

traditions within the framework of capitalism eventually were greatly sharpened. These violently clashing forces finally reached the point where they began to undermine and weaken the capitalist system itself. They began to put fetters on production, and the rate of capitalist expansion was heavily declining. World War I marked the beginning of this general crisis of capitalism, of the present era of wars and revolutions, of the birth of world socialism.

In this current period of imperialism, which, as Lenin says, is the final stage of capitalism, anarchic capitalist production creates world-sweeping economic crises, far worse than the typical cyclical crises of earlier years. The erstwhile strikes of workers for minor concessions grow into major economic and political class struggles, threatening the very life of capitalism. The expanding monopolies develop into a great octopus, dominating, paralyzing, and crippling the economic system in every direction. The once comparatively easily suppressed uprisings of primitively armed peoples spread and deepen into broad, irresistible colonial liberation revolutions. The erstwhile national wars between capitalist powers become great, all-embracing world-wide holocausts of death and destruction for a redivision of the world. These intense capitalist antagonisms, vastly sharpened under monopoly and imperialism, basically undermine the existing capitalist order. Unlike its earlier stages, world capitalism cannot develop in the face of these ever-increasing contradictions, but falls victim to their constantly heavier impact. This is the general crisis of capitalism—history's signal that the capitalist system of society has outrun its progressive course and has become reactionary. It is also the signal that capitalism is being replaced by the socialist system which, born during World War I, is irresistibly extending its scope.

The World War I Slaughter

World War I was a terrific explosion of one of the most basic contradictions of the capitalist system; namely, the fundamental rivalry between the various capitalist imperialist powers for control of the markets, resources, peoples, and territories of the world. It was a major expression of the developing general crisis of capitalism. In this light, the immediate cause of the war was to be explained by the working of Lenin's famous law of the uneven development of capitalism. That is, the various capitalist countries do not all develop at an even pace, but grow at widely differing tempos. As a result, periodically, their uneven development and consequent varying degrees of industrial power require violent readjustments of their economic and political relationships. World War I was this kind of power readjustment, and therefore, was a natural result of the operation of the laws of the capitalist system.

Great Britain, long the leading capitalist power and the first one to reach the stage of imperialism, had grabbed the bulk of the world's colonies in the decades prior to 1900. Lenin pointed out that in 1914 that country held 33,500,000 square kilometers of colonial territory, as against 17,400,000 for Russia, 10,600,000 for France, 2,900,000 for Germany, and 300,000 for the United States.¹ This one-sided division of the world, from an imperialist standpoint, had long since grown obsolete, as exemplified by the basic fact that whereas in the period from 1890 to 1913 the annual production of pig iron in England had increased but from 7,900,000 to 10,200,000 tons, that of Germany had leaped from 4,600,000 to 19,200,000 tons.² Steel production in the United States had reached 23,513,000 tons by 1914. The growth of the rest of the national production was equally disproportionate in these countries.

During the decades before 1914 Germany had therefore become more powerful than England, both industrially and militarily. Consequently, in the spirit characteristic of imperialist piracy, the profit-hungry German capitalists could not tolerate a situation wherein Great Britain held such immense colonies and Germany so few. They, too, wanted their "place in the sun," as they expressed it. So the world had to be redivided to suit them. The fact that many millions of people would perish in the barbaric process weighed nothing in the minds of the German imperialists, any more than it did in those of their also guilty British imperialist counterparts. Before the war finally came to a head, it had been brewing for about ten years, in quarrels over North Africa, the Middle East, the Balkans, the Dardanelles, and other key areas, as Europe teetered from one political crisis to another. Finally, the shooting in Serbia of a royal parasite, Archduke Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria, in June 1914, proved to be the spark that set the world ablaze in the most terrible holocaust of human destruction it had ever known.

The line-up of powers in this imperialist global conflict was on the one side, the Entente, consisting of Russia, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Rumania, Serbia, Belgium, Greece, Portugal, Montenegro, and eventually the United States and several Latin American states; and on the other side, the Central Powers—the alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. The odds were tremendously in favor of the Entente, which had six times as many people, twice as many soldiers, and several times as much industrial capacity as the Central Powers. Finally, in the fierce struggle, the Entente wore down the Central Powers, but only after twice nearly losing the war—at its very beginning and in its final year.

This great war lasted from July 28, 1914, to November 11, 1918. According to official statistics, the total number of soldiers mobilized on both sides was 65,038,810. Of these, 8,538,315 were killed, 21,219,452 were wounded,

and 7,350,919 were listed as missing or taken prisoner.³ These figures do not include the many other millions of civilians who died because of the war. United States military losses in the war amounted to 130,274 killed and 203,460 wounded.⁴ The total property loss was incalculable, but a general figure was arrived at of almost \$338 billion for all the countries involved,⁵ an estimate which, doubtless, by no means covered the full destruction.

The vast mass murder of World War I fitted right in with the jungle ethics of capitalism. What mattered a score or two millions of lives sacrificed on the altar of capitalist profits? The imperialist World War I was waged under hypocritical slogans of justification. Each of the predatory governments told its people that it had been forced unwillingly into the war and that it was fighting inescapably in the national defense. The special contribution of United States imperialists in this respect was President Wilson's lying slogan that the war was one "to make the world safe for democracy." The churches on both sides blessed the war, covered the wholesale slaughter with a mantle of Christian duty, and solemnly assured the various peoples that God was fighting on their side. All the capitalist powers, as parts of the predatory imperialist system, were guilty for the war.

It was, of course, vital to the imperialists that the working classes of the various countries should be made to support the war. So they made them many promises, as well as stuffing their ears with lying propaganda. Thus, postwar England, to hear Lloyd George tell it, was to be made "a country fit for heroes to live in." In the United States, too, if the people would but give everything to win the war, there would be boundless democracy and well-being after the victory. The Social-Democratic political and labor leaders of the world, who always get their major political ideas from the mouths of the capitalists of their respective countries, eagerly believed and propagated these imperialist lies. Forgetting all about socialism, they therefore herded millions of people into the war. Only the Russian Bolsheviks opposed the war consistently, with the left-wing socialists in many countries also offering varying degrees of resistance. But the opponents of the war were not strong enough to prevent its outbreak and continuation.

The Economic Effects of World War I Upon Latin America and Canada

The imperialist slaughter in Europe from 1914 to 1918 gave a strong impetus to industrial development throughout the Americas, especially in Canada and the United States. In Latin America the war also brought about a considerable development of the lighter industries. This development became possible because nearly all trade with Europe was cut off by the

German submarines, because the various imperialist pressures hitherto hamstringing Latin American industry were at least partially relaxed, and because, in the face of the urgent local demand for manufactured commodities, the traditional anti-industrial tendencies of the big landowners and the church had to yield a bit temporarily. This in no sense, however, implied that the basic character of the countries' economies, producing staple products and raw materials under strong imperialist controls, had been changed. On the contrary, the war, in the long run, intensified these controls and limitations.

Economic statistics on Latin America for this period are few and unreliable, but it is clear that there was a considerable growth of the light industries, during the war and immediately afterward, particularly in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Mexico. Crow says, "The process of industrialization has been the most marked tendency in Latin American life since the period of World War I."⁶ And Wythe and his associates call attention to the strong impetus which the war gave to the development of general manufacturing, textiles, lumber, mining, petroleum, pharmaceuticals, and other industries,⁷ particularly in Brazil. The fact that Latin America, like the United States and Canada, escaped the ravages of the war, made these developments possible.

But, at most, all this was only a modest industrial beginning. During the years after the war, Latin America again fell into comparative industrial stagnation, once the anti-industrializing influences of the landowners and imperialists got into full operation again. It even lost some of the industrial gains it had won during the war. But such industrial expansion as was made in the war period was doubly important, inasmuch as it led to a corresponding growth of the working class, urban middle classes, and capitalist class, along with a strengthening of the democratic currents in these countries. Whenever the workers in these countries organized and struck, however, they were met with the most savage and bloody attacks from the employers, the landowners, and the governments.

Eight Latin American nations—Brazil, Costa Rica, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama—actually entered the war against Germany. Only Brazil and Cuba, however, sent military forces, chiefly aviators and medical personnel. As for the other countries, Peru, Uruguay, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, and Ecuador broke off diplomatic relations with Germany, while Argentina, Paraguay, El Salvador, and Venezuela remained neutral. Participation in the eventual Versailles peace conferences brought the Latin American countries, for the first time, into the broad arena of world politics. The war also gave a blood transfusion to the anemic Pan-American Union.

Canada, on the other hand, was an active, important, and full-scale

military participant in the war. Its troops especially played an important role in the sanguinary struggles around Ypres, Vimy Ridge, and Paeschendaele, in Belgium. The extent of Canada's aviation effort may be gauged from the fact that that country had a dozen aviators who topped the record of 26 planes shot down by the star United States "ace," Eddie Rickenbacker.⁸

"The war of 1914-18 speeded up the development of all phases of capitalist economy in Canada,"⁹ according to Tim Buck. The voracious wartime demand for raw materials and war munitions was a tremendous spur to the mining, metal, lumber, and other basic industries. By the end of the war, Canada was not only shipping huge quantities of wheat and other vital commodities to the United States and Europe, and fully equipping its own large armies, but it was also furnishing about one-third of the shells being fired by the British armies. After the end of the war Canada's industrial experience was very like that of the United States—the country went into a period of industrial boom, which lasted pretty much through the 1920's. The consumption of coal increased from 33,334,940 tons in 1914 to 63,065,170 tons in 1929, and the production of paper pulp from 853,689 tons in 1917 to 3,197,149 tons in 1929.¹⁰ Then came the economic smash-up.

The United States and World War I

During the fifteen years between the Spanish-American War and World War I, the United States had continued its rapid pace of development, delayed only temporarily by the crisis of 1907. In this period it had far outstripped Great Britain and Germany in economic strength. It was, therefore, profoundly interested in all the reshifts of imperialist power relationship that were taking place. It had already come to look upon itself as the most powerful of all the capitalist countries.

The United States did not enter the war, however, until April 16, 1917, more than two-and-one-half years after the butchery began. The reason for this delay was twofold. First, the peace-loving people of the United States were opposed to participation in the brutal struggle and, second, the capitalists found it very satisfactory to themselves financially to stay out of the war and produce munitions for the warring powers. From the standpoint of profits, the Wilson government's policy of "neutrality" was perfect for the domestic employers. Their capitalist rivals in Europe were destroying each other, while the United States capitalists were selling them at fabulous profits the munitions with which to murder one another.

How cynically the United States ruling class looked upon this war was well illustrated by a cablegram by W. H. Page, ambassador to England, to President Wilson one month before the United States entered the war, which read: "It is not improbable that the only way of maintaining our

present pre-eminent trade position and averting a panic is by declaring war on Germany." Thus the United States entered the war, the government, with the help of the A. F. of L. leaders, surmounting the widespread mass opposition to the war.

The capitalists in the United States made the most of their golden opportunity in the war. Never was there such an orgy of profit-making as in the United States during the years of World War I. Millionaires sprouted on all sides, like the noxious weeds that they are. The Beards say: "Between 1914 and 1919, the number of persons in the United States returning taxable incomes ranging from \$30,000 to \$40,000 a year increased from 6,000 to 15,400 and the number returning between \$50,000 and \$100,000 per annum rose from 5,000 to 13,000, in round figures. Reckoning as millionaires all persons reporting \$30,000 a year or more in 1919 . . . there were 42,554 millionaires in America at the close of the war for democracy."¹¹

But this capitalist wartime profit bonanza, under the slogan of neutrality, could not go on forever. There was a grave danger that seriously weakened France and England might lose the war, and Russia was already out of it. It was thinkable to the aspiring United States imperialists that they could live in the same world with declining Great Britain as the "war victor," yet it would never do to have the war won by rising, vigorous German imperialism. So convenient pretexts were found to plunge the United States into the war. With millions of fresh soldiers in the field on the allied side, Germany was soon beaten to her knees.

Industry in the United States boomed and soared as a result of the great blood transfusion of the war, both during the war itself and in the postwar period. When the war began in 1914 the general economic system was in a serious depression, with the steel industry working at only fifty per cent of capacity and the other industries crippled correspondingly. But the rich red blood of war, which United States capitalism drank down greedily, quickly overcame all that malaise. Soon the industries were humming and growing at a rapid rate. For example, the United States merchant marine, despite heavy losses from German submarines during the war years, leaped from 1,066,000 tons in 1914 to 11,077,000 tons in 1919.

The great wartime industrial boom was followed by a decade of feverish postwar development, save for the short but sharp crisis of 1921, in which five and a half million unemployed workers walked the streets. Thus, United States industry in the postwar period flourished on the basis of the war and its aftermath. First, during the war itself, there were the mountains of munitions and general war supplies to be produced; and second, later on there were the war damages to Europe's industries and cities to be repaired; and then there were the war-created shortages in commodity supplies to be replaced. A perfect situation for United States capitalism to function and

grow in, and it made the most of it. World War I was the making of the United States industrially for these years; that is, until the entire situation blew up in October 1929.

During this whole war and postwar period the United States, relatively uninjured by the hostilities, fattened on the disaster that was ruining world capitalism. From 1913 to 1929 industrial production in the United States increased by seventy per cent, *while Britain's decreased by one per cent.*¹² "By 1928 the total volume of [U. S.] production exceeded the production of the whole of Europe."¹³ The output of steel leaped from 23,513,030 tons of steel ingots and castings in 1914 to 56,433,473 tons in 1929.¹⁴ Production of passenger automobiles went from 895,930 in 1915 to 4,587,400 in 1929, and trucks from 74,000 to 771,000.¹⁵ The production of petroleum climbed from 265,763 barrels in 1914 to 1,005,598 barrels in 1929.¹⁶ Not only did production as a whole grow, but it was also greatly cheapened per man-hour. For example, the same number of steel workers produced 53 per cent more steel in 1925 than they did in 1914, and from 1919 to 1923, although the production of comparable standardized articles increased by 50 per cent, the number of workers employed in making them was actually two per cent less in the latter year.¹⁷ Monopoly also flourished like a bay tree in these years.

The industrial boom of the 1920's, however, was not uniform. Agriculture was "sick" all the way through from 1919 on, the prices of farm products ranging from 25 per cent to 50 per cent below what they had been during the war years, and with the situation steadily worsening. Coal mining, textiles, and garment-making were also "sick" industries, all of them suffering from a high degree of unemployment. But the industrial system as a whole boomed along, and there seemed to be no end to the jubilee of capitalist speculation and profit-making. However, the stimulus of war munitions, war repairs, and war shortages finally came to an end—then came the great crash. The basic contradiction between the rapidly expanding producing and the restricted purchasing power of the masses caught up with the war-produced boom and there was a dramatic end to the "prosperity."

The Post-War Drive Against Labor

At the end of World War I, the big monopolists held the United States within their grasp more firmly than ever, both industrially and politically. They controlled virtually the whole country and all its works. One percent of the people owned more than fifty percent of the wealth, and two-thirds of the people lived below government-set minimum standards for "health and decency."¹⁸ The capitalists completely dominated the government, they owned the two major political parties like so much private property,

the churches meekly blessed their wholesale robbery of the people, and the top leaders of organized labor were mouthy champions of the capitalist system. But even all this was not enough for the monopolists. With true capitalist greed they had to have still more; they wanted to strip the workers of even the few minor concessions they had won during the war.

So the big employers, powerfully organized in the National Association of Manufacturers and a host of other associations, began a wild attack against the workers and the trade union movement. Their slogan was the "American Plan," and their goal was to establish the open shop and company unions throughout industry. Consequently, during the years 1919-22 the unions were subjected to the fiercest assault in their entire history. Wages were slashed in all the industries, and unions fought for their lives everywhere. Great strikes raged in steel, meat-packing, lumber, railroads, textiles, building, marine transport, coal, printing, garment-making—wherever there were trade unions. All told, in these years, some 8 million workers took part in the many strikes.¹⁰

Cynically jettisoning all their glib wartime talk about national unity, the employers slashed at the working class. The government backed them up fully, using troops in many places to intimidate strikers, while the courts poured out a stream of antiunion, antistrike injunctions. The general result was the worst defeat ever suffered by organized labor in the United States, the unions losing over a million members and sinking back to prewar membership totals. In several basic industries—steel, meat-packing, lumber, automobile, etc.—the unions were wiped out altogether. In 1920, the A. F. of L. had 4,078,740 members; but in 1924 it had fallen to 2,865,799. The railroad unions suffered just as heavily.

The employers re-enforced their drive against the trade unions in industry with a similarly vicious political offensive. This was the general period of the notorious Palmer raids, with the deportation of hundreds of workers; the arrest of the whole upper leadership of the Communist Party; the growth of the Ku Klux Klan into an organization of several millions; the jailing of Debs, Ruthenberg, Mooney and Billings, Sacco and Vanzetti, and Bill Haywood and other I.W.W. leaders, as well as many more class war prisoners; and the passage of "criminal syndicalism" laws in states all over the country. All this was in line with the old-time frame-ups against the Chicago Anarchists in 1886, and of Moyer and Haywood in 1906. It was an orgy of reaction, as if the employers deliberately wanted to show their contempt for their erstwhile wartime slogan about "making the world safe for democracy."

Especially was the fury of reaction directed against the Negro people. "More than 70 Negroes were lynched during the first years of the post-war period. Ten Negro soldiers, several still in their uniforms, were

lynched. . . . Fourteen Negroes were burned publicly, eleven of whom were burned alive," writes J. H. Franklin.²⁰ In 1919 alone there were 25 "race riots" in various parts of the country. In Chicago, in July 1919, according to the (too low) official figures, 38 (25 Negroes, 13 whites) were killed and 537 injured. In July 1917, 40 Negroes and many whites were killed in East St. Louis, Illinois. In 1921, in Tulsa, Oklahoma, 21 Negroes and 9 whites were killed.²¹ Such figures do not include the hundreds of Negroes who were (and continue to be) shot down in the South in individual attacks by armed thugs.

The left-wing and progressive elements in the labor movement called upon the masses to reply to the employers' offensive with militant struggle. The most dynamic of these forces were the Communist Party and the Trade Union Educational League. The latter organization, a successor to the left-wing Syndicalist League (1912), and to the International Labor Union Educational League (1916), was formed in 1920. The aggressive campaign of the Left stiffened the workers' fighting line in strikes all over the country. They organized a sweeping mass movement in the trade unions for the amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial organizations, which secured the endorsement of a majority of all trade unionists in the United States. They rallied the Negro people and their allies against the lynchers, legal and illegal. They energetically pressed all over the nation for the organization of a national Farmer-Labor Party. They demanded United States recognition of the Soviet government. They backed the big Plumb Plan movement for the nationalization of the railroads. And it was chiefly as a result of these life-wing and progressive activities that Robert M. LaFollette ran as an independent candidate for President in 1924, polling about five million votes, not counting the many votes stolen from him.

But the top Gompersite leaders of the A. F. of L. wanted none of all this militant program. They had long ago, at the very foundation of the A. F. of L., accepted the rule of the capitalist class in perpetuity. They had no fight in them so far as defending the workers' interests was concerned. Theirs was a slave perspective for the working class. They wanted only to save their own lucrative union positions. They were dyed-in-the-wool advocates of the two (capitalist) party system. Their whole objective as labor leaders was to surrender to the militant employers, and to beat down all left-wing and progressive opposition to their union-smashing, wage-cutting program.

In the many big strikes of the period, these reactionary leaders, with a policy of "save himself, who can," shamefully betrayed the great labor battles. In dozens of instances one group of unions would deliberately stay at work while others were desperately striking against wage cuts and company unionism. Often the result was disaster for all. These reactionary

labor leaders also fought against the amalgamation movement in the unions, clinging desperately to their obsolete craft unionism; they callously abandoned the Negro people to the terrorism of the Ku Klux Klan; they sabotaged and destroyed the Farmer-Labor Party; they ditched the Plumb Plan and the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and with the help of the employers and the government, they expelled many thousands of militant workers from the unions and the industries. The general result of all this treachery to the working class was that the employers' offensive scored in full on the political as well as the industrial field. It was a happy period for the aggressive, open shop employers.

In line with their class betrayals of the great strikes and militant political movements of the workers during the early years after World War I, the A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhood leaders continued during the "boom" years of the later 1920's to subordinate completely the interests of the workers to those of the capitalists. Their surrender program was called "union-management cooperation," or the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (B.&O.) Plan. The substance of this intensified class collaboration scheme was to speed up the workers in industry and to undermine trade unionism. The union leaders' (also the employers') argument was that the more the workers produced, the more they would (automatically) get in wages. Their leaders even hired high-priced efficiency engineers for the unions, to organize the general speed-up.

The union bureaucrats during the 'twenties became deeply intoxicated with the employers' hectic slogans of the "boom" period. Full of "prosperity illusions," they shouted the glories of the "New Capitalism," with its mass production. "Not Marx, but Ford" pointed the way for the workers' welfare, they declared. They condemned the strike as an outmoded weapon of an earlier, more savage period. The class struggle was finished; henceforth all would be class collaboration and class peace. The labor leaders were tireless champions of the "Higher (no-strike) Strategy of Labor."²² They organized dozens of labor banks, and on all sides proclaimed the verity of Professor Carver's absurd theory that the workers were becoming capitalists through purchasing the bulk of the stock of industrial corporations.²³ In this swamp of class collaboration, the fighting morale of the labor movement sank almost to zero. The Socialists, as well as many progressive leaders, joined heartily in this orgy of class collaboration and became active leaders.

The other side of the reactionary bureaucrats' program was war to the knife against the Communists and other left-wingers who fought for a program of militant struggle. The reactionaries expelled thousands of left-wingers from the unions. In the New York needles trades alone 50,000 militant workers were expelled during the middle 1920's. This expulsion campaign led to the formation, in August 1929, in Cleveland, of the Trade

Union Unity League by the general forces in the Trade Union Educational League. The T.U.U.L., consisting mainly of expelled workers and workers from the basic, unorganized industries, conducted many strikes in steel, coal, textile, auto, agriculture, food, and other industries during the next several years. It reached a maximum strength of almost 125,000 members. The T.U.U.L., after conducting many strikes and much educational work among the masses, laying a good deal of the groundwork for the later C.I.O., dissolved itself in March 1935, to facilitate labor unity during the big organizing drives of that period.

The late 1920's was the "Golden Age" of United States capitalism. The whole bourgeois and Social-Democratic world turned with envy and admiration toward the United States, full of marvel at the wonders of capitalist mass production. They declared that a bright new path lay before humanity. No more would the people be harassed with the irksome poverty and devastating economic crises of the prewar years. Fordism would save the world. Truly, as President Hoover boasted, capitalism was about to abolish poverty, and there would soon be a chicken in every pot and a car in every garage for the workers. There was not a serious cloud in the bright sky. Only the few disgruntled and discredited Communists declared that the "prosperity" boom was just a house of cards built upon the ruin brought about by World War I. But who would listen to such incurable croakers? Then came October 1929! The ravages of this disaster we shall discuss in a later chapter.

The Advance of United States Imperialism

World War I played havoc with the world capitalist system. As Stalin said: "The imperialist war and its aftermath have intensified the decay of capitalism and disturbed its equilibrium. . . . We are now living in the epoch of wars and revolutions . . . capitalism no longer represents the sole and all-embracing system of world economy; . . . side by side with the capitalist system of economy there exists the socialist system, which is growing, which is flourishing, which is resisting the capitalist system, and which by the very fact of its existence is demonstrating the rottenness of capitalism and shaking its foundations."²⁴

But the war crisis greatly, if only temporarily, benefited United States capitalism. This is one of the great political contradictions of our times—the expansion of capitalism in the United States at the expense of capitalism in the rest of the world. As world capitalism has gone down as a general system, capitalism in the United States expands materially—but *only for the time being*. The general decay of other capitalist countries inevitably affects United States capitalism at its base. Like all other capitalist regimes, the United States is hopelessly enmeshed in the general crisis of capitalism.

During the war years and the boom decade following the war, all the imperialistic trends in the United States were emphasized. Monopoly capital greatly strengthened its position in nearly all the industries; the export of capital reached new heights; the United States became a vital arbiter of world trade, and it played a major part in dividing up the world in the Versailles peace at the end of the war. Although it did not become a member of the imperialist-dominated League of Nations founded at the conclusion of World War I, it had to do a great deal with running and ruining that organization from the outside. Canada and all the nations of Latin America, however, eventually affiliated with the League either temporarily or permanently.

One of the fundamental aspects of the greatly strengthened United States imperialism following World War I was its tightened grip upon the other countries of the western hemisphere. This was especially the case in Latin America. In the matter of trade, United States imperialism, during the war, when its strong British and German rivals were busy destroying each other, proceeded to take advantage of the situation by intrenching itself in the markets of many countries of Latin America. It both grabbed the trade and invaded the traditional investment fields of its absent rivals. Stuart says: "The first world war gave the United States a marvelous opportunity to seize the position long held by Great Britain as the leading trader with the South American Republics and we were not slow to take advantage of it. Between 1913 and 1920 the commerce of the United States with Latin America showed a gain of about 400 per cent."²⁵

"At the beginning of the war there was not one North American bank operating in South America. By the beginning of 1921 some 50 North American banks had branch banks in South America, with an equal number in the Caribbean section. Loans began to be floated in the United States. Whereas in 1913, not a single American vessel arrived at Buenos Aires, in 1919, 335 American vessels carrying 822,609 tons of freight visited the Argentine. In 1913 commerce between the United States and Latin America amounted to \$743,000,000. In 1919 it had grown to practically \$3,000,000,000."²⁶ In the postwar years Great Britain and Germany were able only partially to recoup these trade losses won for them by the United States throughout the war years.

During this quarter of the century there were thirty United States military interventions in Latin America. The United States not only made long strides toward establishing its economic control over all the countries to the south, but it also strengthened its political hegemony over them. These years were marked by many invasions of the sovereignty of the Latin American countries on the part of aggressive Yankee imperialists. As we have already seen in Chapter 16, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Guate-

mala, and Cuba, and other Latin American nations, endured this kind of imperialist intervention from the United States. One of the worst examples was Nicaragua, toward the end of this general period. In 1926 there was a liberal uprising in that country against the reactionary Chamorro government. United States marines eventually arbitrarily intervened, and this led to fighting between them and the revolutionary masses. In the ensuing bitter struggles General Cesar Augusto Sandino came to the front as the popular military leader. For five years Sandino conducted a heroic struggle in the jungles against the very much better equipped United States marines. Finally, unconquered, he agreed to a peace conference. Peace was signed, but shortly afterward, on February 2, 1934, Sandino was ambushed and shot. This great patriot, Wilgus says, "was killed by the American-trained national guardsmen."²⁷ Yankee responsibility was obvious.

In Canada, too, in this general war and postwar period, a similar development took place, with the United States greatly increasing its economic and political influence over that country. According to Kirkland: "By the outbreak of the World War America had invested \$700,000,000 in Canada, a sum only one-third of the British investments there. Then came a dizzy increase, for British sources of investment funds were dried up and the American dollar was for a time at a premium."²⁸ In 1930 this flood of United States investments in Canada reached a total of \$3,941 million, or considerably more than the British investments. These changed economic relationships with the United States and Great Britain also brought altered political relationships between Canada and these two powers. Just at the time when the United States, subtly but none the less effectively, was tightening its political bonds with Canada, Great Britain was loosening hers. As Tim Buck says, "Following the war there developed an almost universal demand that Canada's status and relationship to Britain should be re-defined."²⁹ This "redefinition" came at the Imperial Conference of 1926 where Canada was accorded greater autonomy within the framework of the British Commonwealth of Nations. This meant still fewer and less firm ties with Great Britain and a freer hand for the United States in Canada. Thus, not only in Latin America, but also in Canada, United States imperialism was tightening its grip. Wall Street was fastening its hold upon the whole New World.

World War I also greatly strengthened the imperialist position of the United States on a world scale. The great disaster brought down upon world capitalism by the war's ruin and devastation played right into the hands of the big monopolists of the United States. Like pawnbrokers, second-hand dealers, undertakers, and others who prosper the more the greater the social disaster of others, the Wall Street capitalists flourished at the expense of the war-created difficulties of capitalism in other countries.

The war transformed the United States from a debtor country into the world's richest creditor nation. It went into the war owing Europe \$4.5 billion, and it came out of it with Europe owing the United States some \$10 billion in war loans alone. From 1914 to 1929 the United States exported capital, for all purposes, in the tremendous amount of \$27 billion. From 1919 to 1930, United States foreign assets, exclusive of government debts, mounted from approximately \$7 billion to \$17 billion. During fifteen years, United States foreign assets increased at the rate of about \$700 million per year.³⁰

The great expansion of United States production and foreign loans during World War I and the postwar period left the United States by far the strongest capitalist country in the world. It was another drastic example of the workings of the law of the uneven development of capitalism. The economic center of world capitalism was definitely shifted from Europe to the United States. Consequently, the political influence of the United States, on a world scale, mounted rapidly. It heavily influenced the League of Nations from the outside, with its Dawes Plan, Young Plan, and other financial schemes during the postwar years. All of the big capitalist powers were up to their necks in debt to the United States, especially for war loans. That is, they were in debt until they brusquely repudiated the whole business during the great economic crisis of 1929-33. Great Britain, which for centuries had boasted of its financial stability, led the procession of repudiators by unceremoniously sloughing off its "adjusted" war debt of \$4.6 billion. This repudiation was a heavy blow to the world capitalist system.

World War I and its aftermath, although very deadly to other capitalist states, greatly enhanced the "prosperity" and the relative economic and political strength of United States capitalism. The United States, however, was not yet in a position to boldly assert its imperialist hegemony over the whole capitalist world. Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, and Japan, despite heavy war losses, were still comparatively strong and in a position to challenge such ambitions on the part of the United States. A further holocaust was needed—World War II, which was another product of the capitalist system—to knock all the other capitalist powers flat on their backs and to enrich the United States still more, in order to open the way for Wall Street's present bid for domination over capitalism and the entire world.

23. THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The Russian Revolution, like World War I, during which it was born, expressed the general crisis of the world capitalist system. As we have seen, it is characteristic of the present period of the general crisis of capitalism that the internal antagonisms of the capitalist system are more intense in character and can no longer be even temporarily surmounted by the rapidly expanding economy. These antagonisms now tend to produce profound crises, literally "explosions," which shatter and undermine the very structure of the capitalist system itself. World War I, the destructive effects of which world capitalism has never been able to overcome, was an "explosion" of the rivalries between the great imperialist powers. The Russian Revolution of November 7, 1917, grew out of an "explosion" of the economic and political antagonisms in Russia between the allied workers and peasants on one side and the allied capitalists and landowners on the other. The revolution, itself the product of one of the most fundamental contradictions within the capitalist system, in turn gave rise to an even greater contradiction, one which will eventually end capitalism itself; namely, the antagonism between the rising socialist world and the declining capitalist world.

The Russian Revolution cost the capitalist system the loss of one-sixth of the world's land surface. This was an irretrievable disaster to world capitalism and intensified its general crisis. The revolution would have cost capitalism the bulk of Europe also had it not been for the treachery of the German Social-Democrats. Decisive masses of the workers of Germany and of Central Europe generally were ready for socialism during the crisis after World War I. However, the right-wing Social-Democrats, who were only bourgeois reformers at most, did not want to establish socialism. Through their strongly entrenched leadership in the workers' unions, co-operatives, and political parties over most of Europe, and with the armed help of the capitalists, they were able to stem the tide of socialism and to suppress the revolutionary spirit of the masses. Upon the heads of these traitors to the working class and socialism, therefore, rests the primary responsibility for the fascism, economic crisis, and world war that humanity has since suffered.

As Stalin points out, the revolution took place in Russia because that country was the weakest link in world imperialism. "In 1917, the chain of the imperialist world front proved to be weaker in Russia than in the other

countries. It was there that the chain gave way and provided an outlet for the proletarian revolution. Why? Because in Russia, a great popular revolution was unfolding, and at its head marched the revolutionary proletariat, which had such an important ally as the vast mass of the peasantry who were oppressed and exploited by the landowners. Because the revolution there was opposed by such a hideous representative of imperialism as tsarism, which lacked all moral prestige and was deservedly hated by the whole population. The chain proved to be weaker in Russia, although that country was less developed in a capitalist sense than, say, England or America."¹ The Russian Revolution, because it took place in economically backward Russia, as Lenin foresaw, put an end to the theory, previously held by many Marxists, that the socialist revolution could come only in highly developed industrial countries. It thus opened up a whole new perspective for socialism. By the same token, the later experience of the Soviet Union in building socialism in one country has also dispelled the false theory that the revolution could succeed only if it occurs simultaneously in a number of countries.

It was World War I that brought the long-developing revolutionary situation to a head in Russia. "Millions of people had been killed in the war, or had died of wounds or from epidemics caused by war conditions. The bourgeoisie and landlords were making fortunes out of the war. But the workers and peasants were suffering hardship and privation. The war was undermining the economic life of Russia. Some fourteen million able-bodied men had been torn from economic pursuits and drafted into the army. Mills and factories were coming to a standstill. The crop area had diminished owing to a shortage of labor. The population and the soldiers at the front went hungry, barefoot and naked. The war was eating up the resources of the country. . . . The tsarist army had suffered defeat after defeat. . . . All this aroused hatred and anger against the tsarist government among the workers, peasants, soldiers, and intellectuals, fostered and intensified the revolutionary movement of the masses against the war and against tsarism, both in the rear and at the front, in the central and in the border regions. . . . Dissatisfaction also began to spread to the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie. . . ."²

Even these terrible conditions would not have produced a successful socialist revolution in Russia, however, had it not been for the presence of the powerful Communist Party, led by Lenin and Stalin. In Mexico, as we have seen, where the workers had no strong Communist Party, the revolution did not accomplish its most urgent democratic tasks, much less pass beyond the framework of capitalism. In post-World War I, Germany, too, where the Communist Party was weak and the Social-Democrats had the decisive mass leadership, the latter sidetracked the postwar revolutionary movement into the swamp of capitalist reaction.

The Anti-Soviet Campaign

The Russian Revolution, the most important political event in history—the birth of the new world system of socialism—produced from the outset far-reaching repercussions through the Americas, as it did in all other parts of the world. It gave a new glimpse of light and hope to the myriads of oppressed and exploited workers and peasants in all the countries of the western hemisphere from Canada to Argentina. Thenceforth, the lessons and inspiration of the Russian Revolution were fated to exercise an important influence upon the economic and political struggles of the oppressed masses everywhere in the New World.

The capitalists, landowners, and other reactionaries throughout the western hemisphere, as in the rest of the capitalist world, viewed the Russian Revolution with great alarm. They saw in it the handwriting on the wall for their social system. They feared the revolution's immediate effects upon the struggles of their exploited toilers, and they also dreaded its long-range revolutionary influence. Consequently, they launched a violent anti-Soviet campaign, which has continued with increasing virulence right down to these days.

The first great objective of this anti-Soviet drive has been to keep the facts of Soviet socialism from the workers and peasants. To this end the reactionaries created an orgy of slander and misrepresentation, altogether without a parallel in world history, about the Soviet Union. Red-baiting and Soviet-hating have become well-paid professions. All the countries of this hemisphere—Canada, Latin America, and the United States—are infested with professional vilifiers of socialism, "gangsters of the pen." But the United States is easily entitled to the palm for these parasites. In no other country has the anti-Soviet slander campaign reached such depths, attained more malignancy, or brought greater remuneration to its authors.

A second big objective of the anti-Sovietees, especially in the early years of the revolution, was to isolate the Soviet Union economically and politically from the rest of the world, to starve the revolution to death. All the American governments took part in this world-wide plot against the Soviet people. They rejected trade with the U.S.S.R. and they refused to accept its diplomats. They supported the infamous *cordon sanitaire* that the big powers drew around the U.S.S.R. during the early 1920's, in a futile effort to strangle that country's economic life.

Here again, the United States, completely ignoring its own revolutionary traditions, distinguished itself by its virulent anti-Soviet hatred, which was equaled only by Social-Democracy and the feudalistic world Catholic Church. The United States government refused to recognize the Soviet government until 1933, sixteen years after the revolution. Many of the other American governments, in the same spirit of hostility, did not establish relations with the

U.S.S.R. until World War II and the formation of the United Nations. Mexico recognized the U.S.S.R. in 1924; Uruguay in 1926; Colombia in 1935; Canada and Cuba in 1942; Nicaragua, Chile, and Costa Rica in 1944; Venezuela, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, and Guatemala in 1945; Argentina in 1946. The affiliated Latin American governments also took part in the reactionary maneuvers against the U.S.S.R. in the League of Nations, and it was upon a motion by Argentina, during the Finnish-Soviet war of 1939, that the U.S.S.R. was expelled from the League. Currently, a move is on foot in some Latin American countries to break off official relations with the U.S.S.R.

The third and ultimate objective of the capitalist anti-Soviet drive has always been to overthrow the Soviet government by military force. Most of the Latin American governments have been unable to do much to this end, except to carry on anti-Soviet war propaganda, but the United States government could and did do a great deal about it. While at the outset it was not the main leader of the anti-Soviet drive (that dubious honor being shared by Great Britain, France, and Germany), it has since the end of World War II become the chief mobilizer of the world capitalist forces against the U.S.S.R. In 1918-20, the Wilson administration sent United States troops into the Soviet Union, along with a dozen other hostile countries trying to overthrow the new socialist government. United States reactionaries were also active in trying to provoke a general anti-Soviet war during the Finnish conflict. They likewise cynically sabotaged co-operation with the U.S.S.R. during World War II, in the hope that Hitler's forces would so butcher the Red Army as to make it virtually powerless after the war. And at the present time they are busily seeking to organize the capitalist world for an all-out atomic war against the Soviet Union.

The U.S.S.R., however, has managed to surmount and defeat all these hostile campaigns and attacks. It has gone ahead, building up its strength and scoring victories in the economic, political, cultural, and military fields that would be quite impossible for any capitalist country, until today the Soviet regime is unquestionably the most solidly established and progressive of any in the world. In other chapters we give details of the astounding Soviet advance.

The Development of the Communist Movement

One of the greatest events in the period following World War I and the Russian Revolution, and closely connected with them both, was the growth of the world Communist movement. During the years of these important events Communist parties sprang up in almost every important country. This world development received its first general organized expression in the Communist International, formed in Moscow, in March 1919, with the great

Lenin as its leader. Future historians will register the advent of the world Communist movement as one of the most important political events in our whole era.

Like other parts of the capitalist world, the countries of the Americas were deeply affected by this vast new Communist movement. Although generally in the western hemisphere the sharply revolutionary, anti-capitalist situation prevailing over most of Europe did not exist, nevertheless Communist parties developed in nearly all the American countries, primarily on the basis of their domestic situations. Everywhere the need of the working class for Marxist-Leninist leadership in their daily struggles was urgent. Nearly all the newly formed parties affiliated with the Communist International. Their birth was viewed with fear and hatred by the landlord-capitalist-clerical-imperialist reactionaries, and they had to confront heavy opposition and persecution.

The Communist parties of the western hemisphere, like those of the Old World, were not created, as such, by the Russian Revolution. Rather, they grew out of actual conditions in their respective nations and were matured by the experiences of the great Russian Revolution in establishing socialism. In nearly all the countries of the western hemisphere there had long been Social-Democratic parties and syndicalist organizations, which purported to defend the workers' daily interests and to lead the working class on to emancipation; it was primarily out of these organizations, especially the Socialist parties, that the Communist movement evolved.

In the Social-Democratic parties of the Americas over many years left-wing groups of militant fighters had been growing up. Historically, these left-wing groups dated back as far as the days of the American branches of the International Workingmen's Association, led by Karl Marx, in the 1860's and 1870's. In the decade before World War I the left-wing militants were increasingly disillusioned by the opportunist policies of the middle class leadership of the most of the Socialist parties. In thousands of strikes and political movements, and in long years of propaganda work, the opportunist leaders of these parties had demonstrated that they were not only unwilling and incapable of leading the workers to socialism, but that they could not and would not defend even the everyday needs and demands of the workers, the farmers, the Negro and Indian peoples, and the rest of the exploited masses. Hence, the history of the Socialist parties of the Americas is full of struggles and splits between the fighting left wing and the opportunist right wing of these organizations.

The events around World War I and the Russian Revolution brought this right-left struggle in the Socialist parties of the western hemisphere to its decisive climax, a split all along the line. The war and the revolution, the basic lessons of which Lenin made brilliantly clear, matured the developing

ideology of the left wingers. In making the first break in the walls of capitalism, the Russian Revolution and its great Communist Party had at the same time expanded Marxism, in this period of imperialism, to include the necessary general theories, programs, strategy, and tactics for the conduct throughout the world of the fight for the people's daily demands, for the defeat of capitalism and the establishment of socialism. Of course, all these theories, programs, etc., require adaptation to the specific conditions in the respective countries and are in no sense blueprints.

The final break between the left and right wings of the Socialist parties began to develop definitely throughout the hemisphere during World War I. Everywhere the right-wing leadership had followed their respective capitalist classes into the imperialist war and tried to drag the working classes after them. The left wing, more or less in line with Lenin's general position, everywhere took a stand against the war and sought to counter it with a struggle against capitalism and for socialism. The victory in Russia was the supreme justification of the correctness of Lenin's program.

The pro-capitalist right wing and the pro-socialist left wing could no longer live within the same political parties. The right opportunists carried their treacherous policy, which they had long been developing in their respective countries, to its logical end—betrayal of socialism on a world scale, by supporting the war and combating the Russian Revolution. Under these ultimate provocations, the left wing, with equal iron logic, developed its opposition to the right wing to the final point of splitting away from the decadent Socialist parties. The history of the Communist movement in the Americas, as elsewhere, by showing the native base of communism, demonstrates the mendacity of the constantly repeated statements that the Communist parties are but arms of the Soviet government, created to support its foreign policies. On the contrary, the Communist parties have their roots in decades of national struggles before the time of the Russian Revolution, and they were all built to meet the imperative needs of their respective working classes and nations. The Communist parties are native-born in all the American countries. Communism, animated by the scientific theories of Marx and Lenin, is indigenous to the New World, even as it is to Europe, Asia, Africa, and everywhere else.

The Formation of the Communist Parties

Within the limits of this outline history it is, of course, impossible to detail the history and activities of the many Communist parties in the western hemisphere, or even to evaluate their work and that of their leaders. The best that can be done, therefore, is to sketch the course of the parties' general development, noting in passing occasional outstanding individuals and specific situations.

The Communist Party of Argentina was formed in January 1918, following a split in the Socialist Party. As far back as 1912, a definite left wing had been developing in that party, representing the revolutionary opposition to the opportunist policies of the top leadership. Through many years the collision between the fighters on the left and the opportunists on the right had grown ever sharper. It came to a climax around the national and international political issues raised by World War I. Just as the tension in the party over the war had about reached the breaking point in the latter part of 1917, the Russian Revolution began. The consequent intensified struggle within the party over this great new issue led to a parting of the ways. The new left party that was formed was called the International Socialist Party. It eventually became the Communist Party. Chief leaders in this key party since its inception have been Victorio Codovilla, Rodolfo Ghioldi, and Arnedo Alvarez.³ The party history lists Augusto Kuhn as the party's founder.

In Brazil the course of development for the Communist Party was somewhat different, although the main forces and issues involved were basically the same. Due to repressive political and backward economic conditions in that country, the Socialist Party did not come into existence in Brazil as a definite national organization until 1916, about a generation later than was the case in Argentina and Chile. It was a left organization, and in the war years its left sentiments became more marked. In 1921 it voted to affiliate with the Communist International, after which it developed as the Communist Party of Brazil. The outstanding leader of this party is the well-known Luis Carlos Prestes, whose famous march with his troops, after a defeated peoples' uprising, some 15,000 miles through the Brazilian jungles during the years 1924-27, as well as his many years as a political prisoner, have given him an almost legendary reputation in Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America.⁴ Other well-known party leaders are Roberto Morena, Arruda Camara, Pedro Romar, and Jorge Armando.

The origin of the Communist Party of Chile, like that of Argentina and many other countries, dates back to left-wing activity within the Socialist Party, or the Democratic Party, as the first Marxist party was originally called in Chile. As early as 1912, the left wing of this party, outraged at the opportunist policies of the dominant leadership, broke away and formed a new organization, named the Socialist Labor Party. In 1922 this party, changing its name to the Communist Party, joined the Communist International. The outstanding figures in the foundation of the Communist Party of Chile were the well-known revolutionary fighters, Louis E. Recabarren, and Elias Laferte. Galo Gonzales Diaz is the present general secretary.

The Communist Party of Cuba had its early roots in Marxist groups

within the old Popular (Socialist) Party. This party had been organized in 1900, shortly after the Spanish-Cuban-American War. Communist groups were formed at the beginning of the Russian Revolution. The Communist Party was created as a separate organization in August 1925. In 1940, after a long period of illegality, the Communist Party combined with the Revolutionary Union to form the Partido Revolucionaria Comunista. The party now calls itself the People's Socialist Party. Its two principal founders were Julio Antonio Mella, murdered in 1929 by Machado's gunmen, and Carlos Balino. Its present outstanding leaders are Blas Roca, general secretary, and Juan Marinello, president.⁵

The Communist Party of Mexico was born in the midst of the Mexican Revolution, and throughout its existence it has been devoted to the furtherance of that historic struggle. The party was formed in 1919 following a split in the Socialist Party. It exercised a strong influence in the trade union movement and also in the many peasants' organizations. Its chief founders, among others, were Manuel Diaz Ramirez and Jose Allen. Its present general secretary is Dionisio Encina.

The Communist Party of Puerto Rico was founded in September 1934. The party was dissolved in April 1944 under the influence of Browder's revisionism, but was reconstituted in March 1946. Its lifelong struggle has been waged against the ruthless oppression of the Puerto Rican people by United States imperialism. Its president is Cesar Andreu Iglesias, and its general secretary Juan Santos Rivera.

The Communist Party of Uruguay was organized in 1920, when the Socialist Party of that country decided to change its name and to affiliate with the Communist International. Its general secretary is Eugenio Gomez. This party enjoys a strong following in the trade unions and has long played an important role in the political life of its country. From 1942 to 1946 the party doubled its vote in the elections.

The Communist Party of Peru dates from 1929. Its founder was the well-known Jose Carlos Mariategui, the outstanding Marxist of Latin America in his time. Mariategui, who especially pioneered on the Indian question, died in April, 1930. The Peruvian party has spent most of its existence underground. It held its first open convention in 1942, and for a few years thereafter had a legal status. It is now underground. Among its outstanding leaders are Jorge del Prado, Francisco Perez, and Victor Gallardo.

The Communist Party of Bolivia was organized in the late 1920's, and was long torn with internal dissensions. In 1945 there emerged the Left Revolutionary Party, led by Jose Antonio Arze, in which the Communists participated. In the 1946 elections this party won seats for 36 deputies and four senators. The Communist Party of Colombia was established in 1930. Gilbert Vieira and Regueros Peralta are its leaders. The party has suffered

from several splits. The Communist Party of Ecuador was founded in 1926, as the Socialist Party, and it affiliated with the Communist International in 1928. Most of its life has been spent underground. Its general secretary is Ricardo Paredes. It was a leading force in the democratic insurrection in 1944. The Paraguayan Communist Party, formed during the 1930's, has been illegal throughout almost its entire existence. Among its principal founders and leaders were Obdulio Barthe (now in prison, condemned to death) and Alberto Candia (assassinated in 1949).

The Communist Party of Venezuela was organized in 1931. It remained in illegality for ten years. The party played a leading role in the many hard struggles of the oil workers. Because of legal restrictions, the party for a time functioned through the Union Popular Venezuela. For a couple of years in the middle 1940's the party was split into three groups over Browder's revisionism. It was reunited, however, in 1946. The party has been outlawed in the current wave of reaction throughout Latin America. Among its chief founders and present top leaders are Juan Fuenmayor, Gustavo Machado, and R. Farias.

The Communist Party of Costa Rica, known since 1943 as the Popular Vanguard Party, was organized about 1930. One of its founders was Romulo Betancourt, one-time president of Venezuela, but then in exile. The party's trade union influence is strong, and it is also generally a powerful political force. Arnaldo Ferrito and Manuel Mora are its leading figures. The Guatemalan Communist Party, formed in June, 1950, has as its secretary Jose Manuel Fortuny. In Nicaragua there is a death penalty for Communist activities, yet there is a small Communist Party. In Panama the Communist organization is known as the People's Party, with Hugo Victor as secretary. Most of these Central American Communist parties date from the middle 1930's. The Communists of the Dominican Republic formed the Popular Socialist Party in 1945. Its secretary, Frederico Valdez, was murdered in January, 1950, by dictator Trujillo's gunmen. In that country Communist activities are punishable with death. The Marxists of Haiti are united under the name of the Popular Vanguard Party, with several of their leaders now in jail.

All told, at the present writing, there are some eighteen Communist parties in the Latin American countries. This far exceeds the number ever attained by the Socialist International. The Communist parties of Latin America have no formal organization among themselves, but upon a number of occasions they have held joint conferences of a general character in order to deal with urgent situations.

In the cases of the foregoing Communist parties it is to be observed that they stemmed directly from Socialist parties. This was also true of the Communist parties of Canada and the United States. At the same time the best, most revolutionary elements from the syndicalist labor organizations

in all these countries also tended to rally to the new Communist parties. The Communist parties, like powerful magnets, attracted the most advanced and best developed sections of the working class, regardless of affiliations.

The Communist Party of Canada was formed in the summer of 1920, as two parties, much like the party of the United States. Outlawed at its birth, under the War Measures Act, it was reorganized in 1921 as the Workers Party of Canada. Like practically all other Communist parties of the western hemisphere, it had its origin in the left wing of the Socialist Party of North America and of the Social-Democratic Party. Generally these two Canadian Socialist parties were narrow sectarian bodies. The Workers Party eventually changed its name to the Communist Party, and in 1940 the party was renamed and reorganized into the Labor Progressive Party of Canada, which is the present body.⁸ From its inception, the party's outstanding leader has been Tim Buck.

The Communist Party of the United States was also formed during the period of World War I and the Russian Revolution. Behind it, too, was a long record of left-wing activity within the Socialist Party, highlighted by the splits of 1909 and 1912. The fight between the left wing, whose chief leader was Charles E. Ruthenberg, and the right wing under Morris Hillquit's leadership came to a head in 1917, when the United States entered the war. The final split came in September 1919, in Chicago, after the right wing, in a desperate effort to hold onto the party machinery, expelled the left majority of the party. Of the three outstanding Socialist leaders at that time—Eugene V. Debs remained with the Socialist Party, Daniel De Leon stayed with the old Socialist Labor Party, and William D. Haywood, leader of the famous Western Federation of Miners, became a member of the Communist Party. The Communist movement came into being in the shape of two separate parties, the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party, both of which were forced underground by the violent reaction of the period. The two Communist parties came together in 1920 and in December 1921, jointly, with other left Marxist groups, unified the Communist forces under the name of the Workers Party which later resumed the name, Communist Party. From May 1944 to July 1945, the period of Browder revisionism, the party was known as the Communist Political Association. William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis are, respectively, the national chairman and general secretary of the Communist Party.

In examining the development of the left-wing in the United States during the formation of the Communist Party, Alexander Bittelman gives an authentic analysis of the ideological growth in left-wing circles generally all over the world, including the western hemisphere, as a result of the great lessons of World War I and the Russian Revolution. He says: "The formative period in the history of our party appears as a development from

Left Socialism to Communism. The essence of this development consisted in this, that the left wing of the Socialist Party (1918-1919) was gradually freeing itself from vacillation between reformism and ultra-left radicalism by means of an ever-closer approach to the position of Marxism-Leninism."⁷

The Communist parties of the Americas live and function in a capitalist environment; therefore they are subject to powerful ideological as well as political pressures from the big capitalist propaganda machinery of the government, schools, church, newspapers, controlled labor leaders, and the like. Hence, they must keep up a constant fight against these alien influences and educate their members in the principles of Marxism-Leninism. This struggle for ideological development has been continuous since the organization of the Communist movement.

The various Communist parties of the western hemisphere, as part of their general campaign to educate the working class, have waged ceaseless warfare against many poisonous elements of bourgeois ideology that have infiltrated their own ranks. Among these hostile influences, as the parties have met them, may be listed (*a*) dual unionism, antiparlamentarism, revolutionary phrasemongering, and other sectarian influences which tended to isolate the Marxists from the masses; (*b*) counterrevolutionary Trotskyism, which has become a spearhead of the reactionary forces striving to overthrow the Soviet Union and to demoralize the labor movement; (*c*) Lovestoneism (Bukharinism) which is right, Social-Democratic abandonment of Marxism and surrender to the capitalists; (*d*) white chauvinism, which is support of the brutal suppression of the Negro, Indian, and other non-white peoples; (*e*) Browderism, which is American imperialism parading as Marxism-Leninism and is akin to Titoism; (*f*) cosmopolitanism, which is a subtle acceptance of capitalist culture and imperialist ideology.

At the present time, with the world sharply divided into democratic-socialist and imperialist-capitalist camps, the principal ideological danger which the Communist parties have to fight against is an opportunist tendency to weaken ideologically before the drive of United States imperialism for world conquest. This surrender manifests itself particularly in the sense of bourgeois nationalism. Its worst form—akin to right Social-Democracy, Trotskyism, and fascism—is Titoism. Tito, of Yugoslavia, while loudly proclaiming that he is a Communist, has in fact betrayed the forces of world socialism and democracy and lined up with the imperialist camp. Consequently, Tito has become currently a favored capitalist hero.

The Communist Parties in Action

The Communist parties of the New World, have fought throughout their existence for the everyday economic and political needs of the workers and their peoples as a whole. In this struggle they have been animated by

the characteristic Communist qualities of energy, discipline, courage, self-criticism, flexibility of tactics, and steadfastness of principle inculcated in them by the great Lenin. They fight for the people's interests because they are flesh and blood of the people and experience all the people's woes and needs. Only a party that thus loyally defends the daily interests of the workers and the nation can hope eventually to lead its people to socialism.

The Communists everywhere, since the beginning of the movement, have been valiant fighters in defense of the workers' living standards. They have fought for higher wages, the shorter workday, and improved working conditions; for a thoroughgoing system of social security legislation; for mass education and health programs; against price gouges and for more equitable tax systems; for land for the peasants, and against every form of peonage. To enforce these demands they have spared no effort to build and unify the trade unions, workers' political parties, co-operatives, peasant bodies, and other organizations of the people.

The Communists, also, have always been indefatigable defenders of civil liberties and the democratic rights of the people. They are the relentless foes of fascism in all its stages and guises; they are untiring batlers against lynching and Jim Crow and are against every form of discrimination against Negroes, Indians, Catholics, Jews, the foreign-born, and all other peoples and minorities pertaining to race, sex, religion, or national origin. They are devoted defenders of the special rights of women, youth, and children. They are resolute opponents of clerical reaction, and in all the Latin American countries, they oppose the coup d'état policies of reaction and fight for the maintenance of the democratic processes. They are militant advocates of independent, working class political action.

In the sphere of international politics, the Communists vigorously combat imperialism, particularly Yankee imperialism. They are tireless advocates of peace, and at the same time were aggressive supporters of the anti-Hitler war. They stand for friendly collaboration among all the peoples of the western hemisphere and they work for peaceful, co-operative relations of the capitalist countries with the Soviet Union through the United Nations and otherwise. Active defenders of the national interests of their people, the Communists are at the same time true internationalists.

To carry out these programs of struggle the Communists use and have used the general policy of the people's front, particularly since 1935. That is, they co-operate, on the basis of the daily needs of the people, with all democratic groups—workers, peasants, intellectuals, Negroes, Indians, women, youth, and city middle classes. The form of the coalition movement varies according to specific national conditions. In the Latin American countries, especially upon the issue of the industrialization of these countries,

the Communists also collaborate with those sections of the national capitalists who may be willing to resist imperialist aggression.

While fighting for all the immediate interests of the working class and of the respective peoples, the Communists never lose sight of their program of ultimate socialism. They work for the complete abolition of capitalist exploitation of man by man. Although striving for every possible protection and extension of the people's gain under capitalism, they fully realize and continue to educate the masses to the great fact that only by ending capitalism and establishing socialism can real prosperity, democracy, and peace be established in the world.

All over the Americas, from Canada to Chile and Argentina, the Communist parties have met with severe persecution. They have frequently, if not generally, had to work under conditions of stark terrorism. Some of their leaders, too many even to list here, have been assassinated, and hundreds of them have been jailed for long periods. Many of the parties, most of those in Latin America, but also including those of Canada and the United States, have undergone long periods of illegality. The Communist Party of Cuba, for example, prior to 1938, was illegal for thirteen years, the Communist Party of Brazil became legal in 1945 (for a short while) after having been illegal since its foundation in 1921, and the Communist Party of Venezuela was illegal for the first fourteen years of its existence. The Communist parties of Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Colombia, and Central America have spent almost all their lives in illegality.

During the general period of the Good Neighbor policy and World War II there was some slackening of the persecution of the Communists; but now, after the war, the attempts to jail or murder Communist leaders and to drive the parties underground are more numerous and more vicious than ever, throughout the entire western hemisphere. The United States is setting the pace in this wave of anti-Communist oppression; not only by the pressure it is bringing against the Latin American governments to compel them to outlaw the national Communist parties, but in its own increasingly fascist methods of repression at home. As matters now stand, the Communist Party of the United States faces the Smith Act, which charges the party with advocating of force and violence and heavily penalizes its members, and also the McCarran-Kilgore-Mundt police state law, which not only undertakes to force the Communists to register as criminals, but also provides for their internment wholesale in concentration camps. The obvious aim of such fascist legislation is to outlaw the Communist Party and to paralyze the work of all other progressive organizations. The United States is now striving to induce all the Marshallized countries to take similar action.

Such drastic measures of repression cannot destroy the Communist

movement, which is based upon the most fundamental interests of the working class and the other great toiling masses. It is stupid to think that communism can be wiped out by force. This is proved, among other instances, by the long history of the Communist parties in Latin America which were forced into illegality by governmental repression. Uniformly the effect of this upon the parties has been to steel them and to strengthen their ties with the masses. A case in point is that of the illegalized Brazilian Communist Party. About this situation, W. H. Lawrence wrote in the *New York Times*, "Despite the undoubted great power of the Roman Catholic Church, with its threat of excommunication, and the combined efforts of the Army and the political police, the Communists still have a well-kit underground organization of perhaps 40,000 to 50,000 card-carrying members and untold thousands of sympathizers. Although the principal party leaders, including the legendary Luis Carlos Prestes, have been forced into hiding, the party, even though illegal, still manages to print more than twenty newspapers throughout Brazil."⁸ Several months after this statement was made, another *Times* correspondent, in commenting upon the great activity of the Communists in the national elections in Brazil, stated: "Everything so far goes to prove that the core of Communist voting strength in Brazil cannot possibly be eliminated by putting the party outside the law."

Communist Party Strength

Communist strength in this hemisphere, as elsewhere, cannot be measured even approximately by statistics, whether of the number of party members or of voters of Communist tickets in political elections. Perhaps the strongest testimonial to the power of communism is the psychopathic fear that the capitalists have of it. The Communist parties' strength runs far beyond all formal measurements. It is to be found in many quarters and in many manifestations. One very concrete expression of it, however, is the high percentage of Communists to be found in the leadership of trade unions with free elections—a tribute to their superlative qualities as trade unionists. The extensive communist influence among the Negro people is another significant indication of basic communist strength. Wherever the class struggle is the most complicated and difficult there the communist influence will be the greatest.

The Communist parties of Latin America grew rapidly during the war and post-war period. On the eve of the war their total membership did not exceed 100,000, but a couple of years after its end they numbered well on to half a million. In 1945, for example, the Communist Party in Brazil had but 4,000 members, but three years later it had about 35 times that many.

The Communist Party of Uruguay increased its membership five times over during the war, the Communist Party of Peru ten times, etc.

At the British Empire Communist conference, held in London early in 1947, was presented a table containing a list of the Communist Parties of the world, with their respective memberships. The following are the American parties, with their approximate number of members, as listed at that time:⁹

Argentina	30,000	Mexico	25,000
Brazil	130,000	Nicaragua	500
Canada	23,000	Panama	500
Chile	50,000	Paraguay	8,000
Colombia	10,000	Peru	35,000
Costa Rica	20,000	Puerto Rico	1,200
Cuba	20,000	United States	74,000
Ecuador	2,500	Uruguay	15,000
Haiti	500	Santo Domingo	2,000
Martinique	200	Venezuela	20,000

This would give a general Communist Party membership in the Americas of some 467,400. The London table also showed a total of 72 Communist members in the various Latin American parliaments, the most important group being Chile, 20; Brazil, 17; Cuba, 12; Costa Rica, 6; and Uruguay, 6. Since this table was published the Communist parties of Brazil, Chile, Panama, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Bolivia, and Peru have been outlawed, and the legal status of several more of the parties has become very precarious, including that of the United States. The foregoing statistics in membership, however, are not too exact—the Cuban Communist Party, for example, having some 156,000 members registered under the law, of whom 30,000 are “militants.”

Votes in national elections also do not show the full Communist strength, what with women not voting in many American countries, with large masses of toilers disfranchised by literacy tests, poll taxes, and other devices, and with Communists, in united front movements, often supporting candidates on the lists of other parties than their own. Thus, in the United States, the Communist Party in recent national elections gave tacit endorsement (1936) or open support to Roosevelt (in the elections of 1940 and 1944) and Wallace (1948). W. H. Lawrence has the following to say about Communist voting strength in Latin America: “It can be estimated conservatively that the Communists, as of today, would poll from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 votes if the twenty Latin-American republics were to have free elections, in which, it is estimated, approximately 20,000,000 persons might participate.”¹⁰

Approximate present national votes of the Communist parties, as reported from various sources, are as follows: Argentina, 100,000; Brazil, 800,000 (about 15 per cent of the total vote); Cuba, 195,947; Chile, 56,000; Costa Rica, 17,000 (of 100,000 votes cast); Colombia, 24,000 (of 800,000); Ecuador, 10,000 (est.); Haiti, 2,500 (est.); Mexico, 40,000 (est.); Nicaragua, 7,500 (est.); Panama, 5,000 (est.); Paraguay, 8,000 (est., of 150,000 votes); Peru, 100,000 (est.); Uruguay, 29,000; Venezuela, 50,000; Canada, 34,000; United States, 150,000. In many of the Latin American countries reactionary dictatorships prevail, with little or no popular voting; therefore, in these countries the potential Communist vote can be only roughly estimated.

The real strength of the Communist parties in the Americas, as well as in the rest of the world, is to be found in their sterling qualities. It lies in their clear understanding of social evolution, flowing from their grasp of the principles of Marxism-Leninism; in their organic composition, made up as it is of the most advanced elements of the working class and its allies; in their matchless discipline and tireless energy; in their unbreakable bonds with the toiling masses, due to their loyal defense of the latter's interests; in their militant fighting spirit, bred of their knowledge that they are fighting victoriously on the side of history; in their knowledge that they are in the front ranks of the forces making for a new and free social order. These are some of the elements that make of the Communists a growing force everywhere; that strike terror in the hearts of exploiters all over the world; that make the Communist parties of the Americas, as elsewhere, invincible and indestructible in the face of every hardship visited upon them by the desperate and dying capitalist system.

24. HEMISPHERIC SYNDICALISM AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

The labor movement of the three Americas has experienced all the major ideological tendencies prevalent in other parts of the world, namely syndicalism, social-democracy, and communism. Naturally, however, these trends have displayed certain differences from those prevailing in Europe or elsewhere. These variations have been caused by specific American conditions, by the different environments under which the American class struggle has developed.

The Syndicalist Tendency

Syndicalism, or more properly speaking, anarcho-syndicalism, is, as its name indicates, a fusion of anarchism and trade unionism. It has played an important role in labor's ranks in many parts of the western hemisphere, from Canada to Argentina. Where anarchism passed beyond the realms of petty bourgeois cafe romanticism and workers became interested in its doctrines, the latter invariably sought to apply these ideas through the trade unions. Thus was created the once militant type of trade unionism known as "syndicalism." It was characterized by major stress upon the general strike, by antiparlamentarism, by radical antichurchism, by decentralized forms of union organization, by a reliance upon spontaneous action rather than upon carefully planned, disciplined mass struggle, and by a perspective of a new workers' society which would be controlled and operated by the labor unions.

A major source of origin for the syndicalist movement in the New World was the large number of immigrant workers from the Latin countries of Europe—Spain, Portugal, Italy, and France. In all these countries owing to the relatively undeveloped state of industry and to conditions of general worker disfranchisement, there developed strong traditions of anarchism, dating back to the preachments of Michael Bakunin at the time of the International Workingmen's Association, and in later years to such men as Alexander Kropotkin. Inevitably, however, as the trade unions began to grow in these European countries and the anarchist workers joined them, these workers developed into characteristic anarcho-syndicalists, or syndicalists, as the tendency came generally to be called in Anglo-Saxon countries. In all these Latin countries, notably France and Italy, the syndicalist tendency came to dominate the labor movement from about 1900

until World War I. Immigrant workers coming to the Americas from the Latin countries of Europe, therefore, brought their syndicalist conceptions with them and applied them vigorously in the young and expanding labor movements of the western hemisphere.

Besides this immigrant source, the strong syndicalist trends that developed in various parts of the western hemisphere also had distinctively American roots. Most important in this respect was the lack of large-scale modern industry in many countries and localities, particularly in Latin America, where syndicalism became a very strong factor. Under such conditions, the workers, therefore, lacking the discipline that workers get in industry, were naturally inclined toward syndicalist ideas of decentralization and spontaneity. Another major domestic cause of syndicalism was the widespread disfranchisement of millions of workers all through the Americas by literacy tests, poll taxes, residential qualifications, and the like, conditions which predisposed them to the "direct action" ideas of syndicalism rather than to systematic political action. Still another factor producing syndicalism was the general and extreme corruption of the political life throughout the hemisphere, which tended to convince the workers that it was useless to expect any relief by working through the existing corrupt governments. Then there was the universally reactionary role of the Church, which was a prolific breeder of the syndicalist antireligious crusade. And, finally, there was the rank opportunism of the petty-bourgeois leaders of the Socialist Party (lawyers, preachers, doctors, shopkeepers, etc.), which repelled and disgusted the more militant-minded workers and, before the advent of the Communist parties, tended to drive them away from organized political action and into syndicalism.

Syndicalist Labor Organizations

There is no country in the western hemisphere where syndicalists were not at one time or another a considerable factor in the labor movement. Usually they set up independent trade unions under their own leadership, since they had a strong sectarian aversion to affiliation with broad trade unions representing all the ideological trends within the working class. In a number of Latin American countries syndicalist immigrant workers were pioneers in establishing the trade unions. In its early stages, the American syndicalist movement displayed great aggressiveness and revolutionary fervor; but in its later phases, its period of decay, it was afflicted with redbaiting and other reactionary features characteristic of the Social-Democratic parties of these times, also in decay.

In the early trade unions of Argentina, Spanish and Italian anarchists were active, from the 1890's on. They organized the Workers Federation of Argentina (F.O.R.A.) in 1890, which preceded the formation of the

Marxist-led General Union of Workers (U.G.T.), organized in 1903.¹ The F.O.R.A. was an important organization in the Argentine labor movement for many years, in 1926 claiming as many as 250,000 workers.² It still exists in a weakened state. In Uruguay, next door neighbor of Argentina, the syndicalists also early exercised a big influence in the labor movement. They formed the Workers Federation of Uruguay (F.O.R.U.), the first national labor center in that country, and one which was for a long time decisively important.³ Across the towering Andes, too, in Chile, the syndicalists were early at work and long a powerful tendency in the labor movement. In the various groupings and organizations of Chile's syndicalists, there were some 9,000 I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World) members in 1919.⁴ They also organized the General Confederation of Labor in 1932, which a few years later had 6,000 members. Brazil, too, was a stronghold of anarchism and syndicalism in Latin America; as late as 1917 an anarchist group called a general strike in that country.⁵ In Cuba, Peru, Venezuela, and other Latin American countries, the syndicalists and anarchists were important factors, particularly in the early period of the labor movement.

During the Mexican Revolution, the anarchists, and later the anarcho-syndicalists, exercised a very considerable influence. The most outstanding precursors of the revolution, in fact, were the two Magon brothers who were anarchists. Early in the Mexican Revolution, the I.W.W. of the United States became interested in its progress. Mexican immigrants to the United States who had joined the I.W.W. and then returned to Mexico were very active in the young Mexican labor movement. Their influence was, generally, a confusing one. They did, however, participate aggressively in the Casa del Obrero Mundial, and, in 1916, they were instrumental in launching the pioneer Confederation of Labor of Mexico (C.T.R.M.).⁶ The reformist Mexican Workers Federation (C.R.O.M.), led by Louis Morones, was organized in 1918. In 1936, the Syndicalist organization, now called the General Confederation of Workers (C.G.T.), claimed 270,000 members.⁷ The C.G.T. of Mexico, like the I.W.W. and various other syndicalist organizations throughout the western hemisphere, was affiliated to the so-called Berlin international, the International Workingmen's Association, which was a belated attempt to take over the tradition of the old First International, led by Karl Marx.

As far back as 1886, in the United States, the Haymarket anarchists and others displayed definite syndicalist trends. The most important syndicalist organization in the United States and Canada, however, the Industrial Workers of the World, was founded in Chicago in 1905. It was also one of the strongest syndicalist unions in the whole western hemisphere. The I.W.W. conducted many militant strikes (Lawrence, Mass., Paterson,

N. J., McKees Rocks, Little Falls, etc.) and also many big free-speech fights (Spokane, Washington, San Diego, California, etc.). It reached its highest point of membership, about 150,000, during World War I, after which the organization began rapidly to decline.

The I.W.W. was originally founded by Socialists, chief among whom were Eugene V. Debs, Daniel De Leon, and William D. Haywood. Although in later years the claim was made by I.W.W. leaders and others that its program of revolutionary unionism dated back to the anarchist wing of the First International,⁸ in reality the I.W.W. became a syndicalist organization chiefly on the basis of specific conditions in the United States. It was only later that it became decisively affected by European anarchist influences. Especially important in shaping the syndicalism of the I.W.W. was the disfranchised condition of the homeless "floating workers" of the west and of the noncitizen immigrant workers in the east. These workers, without the vote, readily turned to syndicalist conceptions of "direct action." The I.W.W. was also largely a revolt against the extreme corruption of the Gompers leadership in the A. F. of L. and the class opportunism of the petty-bourgeois leaders of the Socialist Party. It finally became a full-fledged syndicalist organization with a program of anti-parliamentarism, anti-clericalism, and anti-stateism.

In 1909, the I.W.W. was said to have some 10,000 members in Canada.⁹ It undoubtedly provided a powerful stimulus for the separate semisyndicalist One Big Union of Canada, which was born in the Canadian west in 1919 and was the leading force in the Trades and Labor Assembly general strike of 1919 in Winnipeg. The One Big Union reached about 50,000 members in 1920 before petering out as a labor union. The I.W.W., in line with its grandiloquent title, reached out to countries besides the United States, having branches in several Latin American countries as well as administrations in Australia and South Africa.

The Decline of Anarcho-Syndicalism

In the Americas (and this is also the case in Europe) the syndicalist tendency is definitely a dying one. Everywhere in the western hemisphere the syndicalist organizations have greatly decreased in importance, or disappeared altogether. In all the countries the Marxist-led unions, as well as those headed by Social-Democrats and capitalist-minded conservatives, have grown, but the general syndicalist tendency has declined considerably all over. The anarcho-syndicalist organizations in Argentina and Uruguay, with only a small fraction of their former members, are no longer a decisive factor in the labor movements of these countries, nor are they so in Cuba, Peru, and elsewhere. The Mexican C.G.T. now has only a few thousand members and little influence. The remnants of the once-strong syndicalist

movement in Latin America now consist mostly of old immigrant workers from the Latin countries of Europe. And in the United States and Canada the once very active I.W.W. has vanished from the scene of labor struggle.

The causes for the catastrophic decay of syndicalism in the New World have been various and fundamental. The growth of modern industry in the many American countries resulted in a growing discipline in the workers' ranks and made them less reliant upon petty-bourgeois syndicalist ideas of spontaneity. The concurrent growth, too, of big mass trade unions was fatal to the syndicalist conceptions of decentralization and antileadership principles. And most important, the immense expansion of political consciousness, organization, and activity among the workers after World War I and the Russian Revolution sounded the death knell of syndicalist anti-parliamentarianism. The revolutionary workers rejected, too, the folly of the characteristic syndicalist dual union tactic of standing aloof from conservatively led trade unions, and they realized that their task was to become members of such unions in order to educate members of these unions to class consciousness. The workers, too, learned the folly of the crude syndicalist anti-clericalism, with its "No God, No Master" slogans in strikes (Lawrence, Mass., in 1912), and they have adopted more effective methods of fighting clerical reaction.

Very important, too, in this general respect was the influence of the Russian Revolution. This great event, by clearly outlining the workers' path from capitalism to socialism, irretrievably shattered syndicalist conceptions of securing power simply through general strike action, and it also exploded the syndicalist perspective of operating the industries of the new society through the trade unions. Closely connected with this development was the ensuing growth of the Communist parties, which everywhere attracted the best fighting elements from the syndicalist organizations. This stripped the latter of their heart and brain and spirit. Lenin's writings were especially disastrous to the illusions of syndicalism. The general result of all these influences has been that the once-important syndicalist trend in the labor movement of the western hemisphere has just about perished. And as syndicalism has gone down, it has degenerated into violent red-baiting and Soviet-hating, and it has nothing in common with the real interests of the working class.

Social-Democracy in Latin America

Even as the Americas have had much experience with anarcho-syndicalism, so have they, on a far larger scale, also had to deal with the Social-Democratic tendency in the labor movement. Long before the turn of the century there were individual socialists and even some organized socialist groups in various countries of Latin America. These were occasionally the

result of the influence of the old First International, which had circles and followers in many American countries, from Canada to Chile. Emile Daumas, for example, a refugee from the Paris Commune of 1871, formed a branch of the First International in Argentina.¹⁰ Similar steps were taken in other Latin American lands. Frequently, too, such socialist groups developed from the later slow percolation of Marxist literature into these countries.

The Second International, from its foundation in 1889 to its break-up during World War I, during which time it was under the control of opportunist leadership for the most part, paid little attention to establishing Socialist parties in Latin America. The basic reasons for this were two: First, since the industrial development of the Latin American countries was comparatively small, there were but meager contingents of the labor aristocracy and petty bourgeois elements upon which the Social-Democracy primarily bases its activities. And, second, the Second International, whose leaders shared the imperialistic ideas of the capitalists of their respective countries, consequently confined their activities mainly to the metropolitan countries of Europe, thus abandoning the toiling masses in the colonial and semicolonial countries, including Latin America, to the mercies of the imperialist exploiters. The Second International was primarily a European, not a world movement. It was only with the organization of the Third, Communist, International in 1919 that the socialist movement became world-wide, penetrating deeply into China, India, Indonesia, Latin America, and other non-industrialized countries.

Consequently the Social-Democratic movement never got a solid foothold in Latin America. The strongest Socialist Party in this whole area was in Argentina, where the socialist immigrant workers built up a considerable organization, beginning in 1896. This Socialist Party, which later experienced several splits, polled as high as 119,723 votes in the 1940 elections, when it elected five deputies and one senator. It is now confined largely to Buenos Aires and its influence in the labor movement has greatly declined. The Socialist Party in Chile goes back even further, dating its lineage from the Democratic Party, founded in 1877. This party, too, experienced left-wing splits. The present Socialist Party was founded in 1933. It recently split again into three groups. In 1937 it elected fifteen deputies and four senators. In Puerto Rico the Socialist Party had considerable strength during the 1920's.

That about tells the story organizationally of the more important of the typical Social-Democratic parties in Latin America. Besides those mentioned, there were also small Socialist parties or groups in Brazil, Venezuela, Ecuador, Uruguay, Cuba, Peru, Panama, and one or two other countries, but these either went over years ago to the Communists or else vegetated with

no great influence. In Mexico there has been a sort of intermittent Socialist Party, which was started in 1917, but it exercised practically no influence on the course of the Mexican Revolution, nor does it today. The Mexican Social-Democrats are pretty much scattered throughout other mass organizations. The Social-Democrat Alexander, in a recent survey of Socialist parties in Latin America, does not bother to mention Mexico at all. Between the two world wars only two Latin American parties were affiliated with the Second International, those of Argentina and Uruguay.¹¹ In 1946, an all-American Socialist Party conference was held in Santiago, Chile, but parties were present from only four countries, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Ecuador.

In the Americas the role of Social-Democracy has been the same as in the rest of the world. In its early stages it was the most conscious party of the proletariat, but with the decay of capitalism, right-wing Social-Democracy, after splitting with the truly Socialist left-wing elements, has played more and more openly the role of the party of capitalism in the ranks of the working class. Throughout the western hemisphere, as elsewhere, right-wing Social-Democracy has finally degenerated to the point where it is now in the forefront of the attempt of United States imperialism to save world capitalism (and Wall Street profits) in a war against the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies.

The Aprista Movement of Peru

The Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (A.P.R.A.) of Peru, now called the Peoples Party, was founded in 1924 by Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, a journalist. It is a specifically Latin American variation of Social-Democracy. De la Torre was first active politically in the student movement of 1919. He presents his program, or did originally, as an adaptation of Marxism to Latin American conditions. Lenin's Marxism applies only to Europe, he argued.¹² He aimed, he said, eventually at establishing socialism, which could only be achieved after an indefinite and presumably very long period of capitalism in Latin America. In the meantime his party advocated anti-imperialism, land reform, industrialization, nationalization of certain industries, a general customs union in South America, internationalization of the Panama Canal, and other reforms. Haya de la Torre made a special appeal to the Indians and the Indian traditions with his "Indo-Americanism." He proposed an alliance of all the "Indian countries" of Latin America. It was one of his major contentions that the revolution in Latin America must be led by the middle class, upon which he based his party; the working class, he said, being too undeveloped for the task. This was one of the basic "lessons," he declared, of the Mexican Revolution.

Present-day Peru, homeland of A.P.R.A., is potentially highly revolu-

tionary. The latifundia system of big landholdings is solidly entrenched, Catholic Church influence is enormous, big United States corporations dominate the mining industry, the workers' wages are among the lowest in Latin America, and the peasants work under actual peonage conditions, the worst in all the Latin American countries. Some 86 per cent of the peasants are landless.¹³ The United States controls 24 per cent of Peru's sugar production, 80 per cent of its petroleum, and 100 per cent of its mineral output. Great Britain possesses the railroads and other important industries.¹⁴ The Italians and Germans also own a good deal of the economy. Peru is a country nearly as large as Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico combined. Of its approximately eight million people, about 70 per cent work on the land. The country possesses rich mineral deposits—copper, gold, silver, petroleum, coal, etc. About 60 per cent of the people are Indians, 30 per cent Mestizos, and 10 per cent whites.

The deeply oppressed and impoverished Indian and Mestizo masses responded readily to the A.P.R.A.'s agitation, not only in Peru but also in Bolivia, Ecuador, Venezuela, and other "Indian countries" of South America. So much so that beginning in 1931, that party has more than once commanded a majority of the popular vote throughout Peru. In the earlier, more militant stages of A.P.R.A. the Communists worked with it. In 1945, a combination of several parties, of which the A.P.R.A. was the backbone, won the election. Haya de la Torre could have headed the government, but he refused to insist upon the post. Bustamante, a "liberal" and the democratic front candidate, became president, with an A.P.R.A. majority in both houses of congress.¹⁵ Bustamante later broke with the Apristas and forced them out of the government. At the present time, with Peru in the grip of the reactionary Odría dictatorship, A.P.R.A. is illegal and its leaders are underground or in exile. For the past two years, de la Torre, hounded by the Peruvian police, has been given sanctuary in the Colombian embassy at Lima, Peru.

The sum and substance of all this is that the A.P.R.A., for a dozen years at least, had the support of the majority of the people of Peru; yet it failed to drive through with its announced program. Consequently, Peru remains as ever sunk in a morass of poverty and reaction. The middle class leaders of the A.P.R.A., afraid of the revolutionary spirit of the Peruvian masses, have never dared to come to grips with the big Peruvian landowners and the foreign imperialists. It is the bankruptcy of Haya de la Torre's theory of the leading revolutionary role of the petty bourgeoisie. Peru is a potentially revolutionary Mexico that has never come to fruition.

Although the A.P.R.A.'s policy, according to Haya de la Torre, was supposed to be more effectively revolutionary than Lenin's line in the semi-colonial countries, it has not only failed to lead the willing Peruvian masses

into revolution against the big landowners and imperialists, but recently it has actually sunk to the level of an agency of United States imperialism. It has gone the way of Social-Democratic parties everywhere in the west. The erstwhile "revolutionary" Haya de la Torre himself is now one of the most virulent redbaiters and Soviet-haters in Latin America. He has largely dropped his chatter about anti-imperialism, and, with him, socialism sinks farther and farther into the "dim remotely." Like Browder, he holds that Yankee imperialism is progressive. De la Torre has become a crony of the imperialists. He was invited by Rockefeller to come to the United States. He has degenerated into an ardent supporter of the whole Truman world program—Marshall Plan, Truman Doctrine, atomic diplomacy, "point four," the Korean war, and all, which is the logical climax of his whole political line.

The C.C.F. of Canada

Another important specific form of Social-Democracy in the western hemisphere is the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada. This organization was founded as a political party in Calgary, Alberta, in August 1932. Its basic program was laid down in the "Regina Manifesto" of July 1933. The C.C.F.'s principal founder was J. S. Woodsworth, M.P. and its present leader is M. J. Coldwell, M.P. The C.C.F. stands vaguely for a "co-operative commonwealth," based on production for use, not for profit. It is for the "socialization" of banking institutions and certain basic industries, also the transportation and communication systems. It makes no radical demands about the land, demanding only security of tenure for the farmer. It calls for a labor code for the workers and also various reforms in social insurance. It proposes that Canada become a member of the Pan-American Union. The C.C.F., while claiming to oppose monopoly, prefers a situation where a large part—official C.C.F. spokesmen say 80 percent—of Canada's economy shall be privately owned. As Mr. Coldwell has declared, the C.C.F. has no objection to profits if they are "reasonable."¹⁰

The C.C.F. is an end product of Social-Democracy in Canada. Social-Democratic organization in that country began with circles of Marxists formed during the period of the First International.¹⁷ The National Socialist Party was established in 1904. It experienced various split-offs, two offshoots being the Socialist Party of North America and the Social-Democratic Party of Canada. All these parties, as well as the various local labor parties that sprang from them, remained small and did not win a mass following among Canadian workers. They became particularly feeble after the split of 1920, which produced the Communist Party. The C.C.F., organized during the great economic crisis of 1929-33, represented a fresh start of Canadian Social Democracy upon a broader, more opportunistic program.

At first, the C.C.F. was a movement based upon farmers in the prairie states of the west but in 1943 it was endorsed by the Canadian Labor Congress, which urged its local unions to affiliate with the party. This extended its labor base.

The organizers of the C.C.F. have been animated by the belief that the Canadian workers and farmers would duplicate the achievements of their fellows in New Zealand, Australia, and Great Britain by electing a Canadian version of a labor government. In the national elections of 1945, the C.C.F. polled 832,661 votes, or sixteen per cent of the total vote, and its leaders counted on winning a majority in the near future. The C.C.F. controlled the government in Saskatchewan province. But in the elections of 1949 its hopes were dashed, as the party polled only 782,321 votes, its seats in Parliament being reduced from 32 to 12.¹⁸ The influence of United States capital in Canada was boldly used against the C.C.F. in the election, as these monopolists did not relish the prospect of having even a pseudo-socialist government on their northern borders.

The C.C.F., with its petty bourgeois leadership, has the "third force" orientation characteristic of Social-Democratic movements in this hemisphere and elsewhere. Although speaking loudly against imperialism, particularly United States imperialism, the C.C.F. leaders are tailing along with the war-making, "world conquest" line laid down by Wall Street and its Truman government. They are bitter enemies of the Soviet Union and are aggressive supporters of the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Pact, Truman's Arms Aid program, the Korean war, and all the other essential aspects of Washington's foreign policy. They also support the policy of the St. Laurent government, which is turning Canada into a raw-material hinterland for the United States monopolies. The general result of the C.C.F.'s opportunist program is to weaken the struggle of the workers and farmers in Canada and still further to undermine Canadian national independence in the face of the powerful aggression of the United States imperialism.

Social-Democracy in the United States

In Chapter 20 we traced the development of the Socialist Party in the United States up to World War I. The split-off of the left wing in 1919, and the formation of the Communist Party, as a result of that war and the Russian Revolution, greatly weakened the already weak Socialist Party, both organizationally and politically. Its membership dwindled rapidly and the party, no longer attacking the Gompersite trade union leaders, joined forces with them and became an ardent advocate of the notorious intensified speed-up and class collaboration movement of the 1920's. By the time of the economic crisis of 1929, the Socialist Party had become merely a small

sect, with a membership of about 6,000, as against its 118,045 members in 1912. Its vote of 262,805 in the elections of 1928 was hardly more than 25 per cent of its vote in 1920.¹⁹ The party had but little influence in the many struggles that took place during the big economic crisis and in the early years of the Roosevelt New Deal.

In April 1936, the Socialist Party, now a haven for Trotskyites, confused and torn with disruptive factionalism, was again split wide open. The seceding right wing organized the Social Democratic Federation in May 1937. After this split, the Socialist Party proper vegetated under the muddled leadership of the sectarian-liberal Norman Thomas, with apparently only one object of existence—to fight the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. In November 1949, its leaders announced that henceforth the Socialist Party would put up no more political candidates but would confine itself to “educational work,” an action later reversed in convention. The party has now amalgamated with the liberal democrats, misnamed “Socialists,” of the Social Democratic Federation.

Meanwhile, the Social Democratic Federation also lingered along, after the 1936 secession from the Socialist Party, full of bitter redbaiting and Soviet-hating. As an organization it was impotent. Finally, however, in May 1944, the labor leaders belonging to the S.D.F. organized a split in the American Labor Party of New York State (to which the S.D.F. was affiliated), and out of the broken-off section founded the Liberal Party. This party, violently anti-Marxist, anti-Soviet, and anti-Communist, began to fix its politics at once with Tammany Hall and the Republicans state machine. The S.D.F. leaders, encouraged by their successes, in January 1947, launched the A.D.A., or Americans for Democratic Action, on a national scale.

The A.D.A. represents the fusion between right Social Democracy and bourgeois liberalism. It is backed by such political figures as David Dubinsky, Walter Reuther, Eleanor Roosevelt, James Carey, Chester Bowles, and Harvey Brown. As a “liberal” organization, it is an all-out supporter of the Truman program, with its violent anti-Sovietism, militarization, labor demagoguery, and war policies. The A.D.A. aims at more definitely crystallizing the “third force” in the United States, and its strategic objective is to capture the Democratic Party. There is nothing Marxist about the organization, not even in pretense. In the New York mayoralty election of 1949, the A.D.A. and the Liberal Party supported the Republican Newbold Morris, who was also the candidate of the reactionary Governor Dewey. In the Democratic National Convention of 1948, when Truman’s fortunes were at a low ebb, the A.D.A. demanded the nomination of the jingoist General Dwight D. Eisenhower. In the 1948 presidential campaign it violently opposed the Progressive Party candidate, Henry A. Wallace.

The A.D.A., a blood brother of the A.P.R.A. of Peru and the C.C.F. of Canada, all of which are specific American types of degenerated Social-Democracy, is tightly controlled by the little group of right-wing Social-Democratic labor officials and businessmen grouped about the *New Leader* and the *Daily Forward* in New York City. Its definition of liberalism includes even Benjamin Gitlow and Max Eastman, renegades, government witnesses against Communists, and open supporters of the National Association of Manufacturers. Naturally, these A.D.A. people hail with glee Tito's betrayal of socialism in Yugoslavia. Thus, while the Thomas "left wing" of the old Socialist Party dries up and blows away, its Dubinsky right wing sinks deeper into the swamp of pseudoliberalism—Truman brand. This is the fate of the Socialist Party which was launched with such high hopes half a century ago, in 1901, by Debs and other revolutionary fighters.

Social-Democracy and the Trade Union Bureaucracy

Orthodox Social-Democracy, as represented by the right and "left" wings of the Socialist Party, however, is only one section of Social-Democracy as a whole in the United States. The other section, and historically the most important one, is made up of the conservative types of leaders who stand at the helm of the A. F. of L., the C.I.O., and the Railroad Brotherhoods, and who have headed the major labor organizations in the United States for two full generations.

It is true, of course, that these bureaucrats, unlike the classical type of Social-Democrats, openly support and advocate the capitalist system. They are bourgeois reformists and do not put forth even demagogic slogans of socialism. This is because the working class in the United States has not yet developed class consciousness and a socialist perspective. But these labor leaders are basically Social-Democrats none the less. The role of a William Green in the United States, in blunting the struggles of the workers and in generally protecting the basic interests of the national bourgeoisie, is politically identical with the avowed Social-Democrat, Ernest Bevin in Great Britain. A generation ago, before British imperialism had begun to decline and before the working class developed a socialist perspective, the trade union leaders in England were also propagating procapitalist slogans. To attempt to draw a fundamental line of division between Green, Murray, Woll, *et al.*, and Social-Democrats is tantamount to arguing that there is virtually no Social-Democracy in the United States, which is an absurd proposition.

As United States capitalism went on developing—in its earlier decades because of its rich resources and in later years largely because it has profited basically from the two world wars—the right-wing Social-Democrats gradually surrendered to the blatant demagogy of the capitalists. In the period

of its foundation, most of the A. F. of L. leaders were socialists, or sympathizers, as we have seen earlier; but they soon yielded to growing capitalist pressures and became open advocates of the capitalist system. During the past generation the orthodox Social-Democrats, those who make a pretense of Marxism, have gone the same way of ideological and political surrender to capitalism. Although 35 years ago one-third of the delegates to the A. F. of L. conventions were avowed advocates of socialism, in today's A. F. of L. conventions—and the same is also true of the C.I.O., United Mine Workers, and Railroad Brotherhoods—not a single delegate, save the Communists and left Socialists, will be found to venture even a word in support of socialism.

The primitive, Gompersite, procapitalist demagogy has completely defeated the erstwhile pseudo socialist agitation of the right-wing Social-Democrats. The leaders of the one-time Social-Democratic opposition in the labor movement have utterly capitulated, politically as well as ideologically. The present-day Social-Democratic leaders in the trade unions have never a thing to say for socialism. Nor have they any program for the Negro people, for independent working class political action, or for improved conditions of the workers, that set themselves off from the traditionally reactionary section of the trade union bureaucracy. Today there are only minor differences among the Greens, Reuthers, Murrays, Wolls, Dubinskys, and Rieves. They are all advocates of the capitalist system—"progressive capitalism," they call it—and their leader is that champion of Wall Street, President Truman. This consolidation of the Gompersites and the right-wing Social-Democratic leaders is the expression in the United States of the world-wide bankruptcy of Social-Democracy.²⁰

Political offshoots of decadent Social-Democracy are the Socialist Labor Party and the Trotskyites. The former is a dry-as-dust pseudo-Marxist sect which goes on the assumption that nothing important has been said or done since Daniel De Leon died a generation ago. And the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, split into two small warring groups, have no purpose in life but to assail the Communist Party and to stimulate the anti-Soviet campaign. Their only stronghold in Latin America is in Bolivia, where they have succeeded in winning a few seats in Parliament. Now there are the Tito supporters, who range from Trotskyites to the most reactionary spokesmen of Wall Street in the press and on the radio.

Communists, Syndicalists, and Social-Democrats

All over the world, as the capitalist system goes more and more into decline and as the forces of socialism increase in strength, the leadership of the workers' and peoples' organizations and their everyday struggles in the capitalist and colonial countries tends to pass into the hands of the forces

of working class unity, headed by the Communists. This unity embraces Communists, left Social-Democrats, and militant workers generally. This is particularly the case where the leadership of the trade unions is concerned. The influence of the old-time anarcho-syndicalist and Social-Democratic movements tends to decline with the decline of the capitalist system itself.

The shift of the workers and the people away from traditional Social-Democratic leadership is a decisive sign of the deepening general crisis of capitalism and of the corresponding bankruptcy of Social-Democracy. In Europe, generally, and notably in France and Italy, where right-wing Social-Democracy has especially exposed its treacherous role, the Communists have become the outstanding leaders of the trade unions. This is particularly the case, too, in the new labor movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the Far East. In the young World Federation of Trade Unions the increased strength of Communists, left Socialists, and fighting progressive elements in the leadership marks a vast change over the situation in the days of the old International Federation of Trade Unions (which expired four years ago) when the Social-Democrats almost completely dominated the labor movement.

The shift from right Social-Democratic to left leadership, which is a world trend, is also taking place in the countries of the western hemisphere, although not to such a marked degree as in the more revolutionary situations elsewhere. Whereas traditionally the labor movement in Latin America was led for many years chiefly by syndicalists and right Social-Democrats, it has now passed predominantly into the hands of the left—Communists, left Social-Democrats, and "Independent Marxists." Even in Argentina and Chile, the only strongholds orthodox Social-Democracy has left in Latin America, the Communists are now much stronger than the Social-Democrats. The Latin American Confederation of Labor reflects this left orientation of the workers of Latin America.

In the United States and Canada there has also been a definite trend to the left in the labor movement during recent years. Because these countries are not so critically situated, however, this trend is not so sharp as in other parts of the western hemisphere. The chief expression of the leftward trend of the workers in these northern countries has been expressed in the Congress of Industrial Organizations (C.I.O.). In building this big organization, which until the past couple of years exercised a powerful progressive role in the labor movement of the whole hemisphere, the Communists took a decisive part. As the countries of the New World, including the United States and Canada, feel more sharply the effects of the deepening world crisis, the current leftward trend of the labor movement will become more marked. The syndicalist tendency is about dead, and Social-Democracy, although still a strong force, is rotting and degenerating. The future belongs to the Communists and other left-wing fighters.

25. THE GREAT ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE RISE OF FASCISM

World War I (1914-18) and the Russian Revolution (1917), as we have seen, were both products and intensifiers of the general crisis of capitalism. The war was a devastating explosion of the contradiction of interests between the rival groups of imperialist powers, and the revolution was an epoch-making explosion of the fundamental contradiction between the needs of the toiling masses and the greed of their capitalist exploiters. Both world-shaking events did irreparable damage to the capitalist system. After this, and related to it, came another major disaster to capitalism, also a product of the ever-worsening general capitalist crisis; namely, the deep, world-wide economic smash-up that began in 1929.

This great economic crisis was also an explosion of an inner contradiction of the capitalist system, raised to the breaking point by the complex of forces irresistibly leading to the downfall of capitalism. The economic crisis was specifically the contradiction between the expanding productive power of the workers and the restricted consuming power of the capitalist market. It was a crisis of relative overproduction. This does not signify, however, that the workers produced more than the people as a whole could consume; on the contrary, it means that, owing to the profit-robbing system of the capitalists, the exploited masses could not buy back what they had produced so abundantly. Thus, although multitudes all over the world were famished for the necessities of life, the capitalist industrial machine virtually came to a standstill, the markets glutted with commodities that the impoverished and robbed masses lacked the means to purchase. It was the idiocy and tragedy of capitalism raised to the ultimate degree.

Capitalism, during its three hundred years of sanguinary history, had experienced many cyclical economic crises, which in their time had brought hunger and misery and unemployment to the working class. But the capitalist system had never before known anything comparable to this crisis. This was a cyclical crisis of a special character, an economic holocaust, which did irreparable damage to the very structure of the capitalist system. It was the general crisis of capitalism expressing itself in another deadly form. Such a profound economic collapse must and did have far-reaching political consequences.

The Economic Crisis in the United States

The economic crisis began in the United States, presumably the strongest sector of world capitalism. All through the "boom" period of the 1920's, the Communists had warned of an inevitable cyclical crisis, but when it burst in October 1929, it came as a crushing surprise to the capitalists and their economists. For these people, drunk on the previous "prosperity," which was based mainly on repairing the damages and filling the shortages created by World War I, had been shouting to the world that the United States, with its "new capitalism," had developed an economic system which was immune to crises and "hard times." United States capitalism had matured, so they said, and President Hoover boasted¹ that the abolition of unemployment and poverty was near at hand.

The economic crisis broke out first in the United States because there the conflict between the producing and consuming powers of the workers was the sharpest. The great monopolists, with their mass production methods, their intense speed-up of the workers, and their artificially maintained high prices and low wage levels, were sowing the whirlwind by widening the already fatally wide gap between what the workers could produce and what they could buy. The expanding gulf between the workers' producing and consuming powers was dramatically illustrated by the fact that whereas during the boom years 1923 to 1929, industrial production as a whole increased by 20 per cent, the total number of wage workers decreased by 7.6 per cent.

The leaders of the A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhoods directly contributed to the factors making for crisis by their support of the employers' speed-up program. Signs of the coming crisis were not lacking. Even at the height of the "boom," during the 1920's, according to the Brookings Institution, 19 per cent of United States plant capacity was idle. And Al Smith, Democratic Presidential candidate during the 1928 election campaign, produced figures to show that there were then five million workers unemployed. Besides, agriculture, ever since 1920, had been in a deepening crisis of overproduction. The inevitable crash came when, with the war shortages filled and repair work finished, the commodity markets reached the saturation point toward the latter half of 1929. The economic smash-up was tragic proof of the correctness of Marxist economic principles and forecasts.

The lightning bolt struck on October 24, 1929. The New York Stock Exchange went into a wild panic when stocks began to tumble. On the first day the frantic sales reached 12,800,000 shares, and five days later they rose to 16 million. The index value of stocks fell from 216 in September 1929, to 34 in January 1932. According to the Brookings Institution, approximately \$160 billion of (paper) national wealth vanished within 36 months. Some 5,761 banks, with \$5 billion in deposits,² failed during the four years of

deepest crisis, and by the spring of 1933 the doors of every bank in the country were closed tight. Behind this unprecedented financial crisis was a growing collapse of industry. During the crisis years the production of coal declined 41.7 per cent, iron 79.4 per cent, steel 76 per cent, autos 80 per cent, and other industries accordingly. Barnes says that in the crisis, "The value of the industrial output dropped from about 70 billion dollars to slightly more than 31 billion."³

Agriculture was hit no less hard than industry by the crisis. The bottom fell out of prices for farm products, while the trusts held up the prices of agricultural machinery, fertilizer, and other things the farmers had to buy. Agriculture had never recovered from the crisis of 1920-21, and now things got much worse. Wheat, which had sold for over one dollar a bushel during the war, collapsed to 25 cents, corn to 10 cents, and cotton to five cents. "The financial returns from the fields of America in 1932 were only half those in 1929" (when agriculture had already been deeply depressed). "Between 1928 and 1932 a billion dollars in mortgages was liquidated through foreclosures, bankruptcies, and forced sales."⁴

To meet the crisis, the monopolists used the time-honored capitalist method of shoving its burden onto the backs of the workers. In following out this line, they threw millions of workers out of jobs, the total figure by March 1933 being 17 million unemployed, without counting the many millions more who were working part-time. There was no social insurance system, and the unemployed, completely cut off from all income, faced actual starvation. The wages of those still employed were mercilessly slashed, wage cuts averaging from 35 to 40 per cent.⁵ Barnes states that during the crisis the total wages paid decreased from \$11.5 billion per year to five billions. Millions of workers were forced below the hunger level, and many perished from actual starvation. Hundreds of thousands had their homes foreclosed, vast numbers beat their way aimlessly back and forth on the railroads, and in every city there were ramshackle Hoovervilles, housing tens of thousands of homeless men, women, and children in dug-outs and tin-can shacks. The worst sufferers of all were the Negroes who, always the lowest paid, experienced about twice the average rate of unemployment. Here was the famous United States capitalism—its boasted high living standards gone once the war stimulus behind them was ended, its vast industrial machine paralyzed for the same reason, while the people starved and froze and went without shelter.

The World-Wide Economic Crisis

The economic crisis, which began in the supposedly crisis-proof United States, quickly spread through the western hemisphere and the whole capitalist world. Canada had much the same experience as the United States.

Its industry was paralyzed, and its agriculture sank into the lowest depths it had ever known. The national income was cut in half, and in the wild Stock Exchange panics in October and November 1929, five billion dollars in security values went up in smoke. Over a million Canadian workers were callously tossed out to sink or swim, with no income whatsoever.

In Latin America the ravages of the economic storm were even more severe. Most of these countries depended upon mining or the production of one or two major agricultural commodities for export. Since these products were especially vulnerable in the world market, such countries went into deep economic crisis when world trade plunged into the abyss of the great breakdown. The exports of Chile and Bolivia dropped off 80 per cent, those of Cuba 70 per cent, and other countries accordingly. "Between 1929 and 1932 the dollar value of the exports of the twenty republics fell 64.3 per cent."⁶ The Latin American workers and peasants, already half-starved, were forced deeper and deeper into the pit of destitution. Holmes says of Chile, "In 1931 the bottom fell out of the copper market. The entire economy was dislocated. Commerce stagnated; manufacturing was effected; men were thrown out of work and went on hunger marches in the principal cities; imports went hurtling down after exports."⁷ In all the Latin American countries a similar picture of ruin was presented, with the collapse of the markets for sugar, coffee, rubber, cotton, fruits, sisal, metal ores, and other major exports of these lands.

The great economic storm, generated in the main stronghold of world capitalism, the United States, also knocked flat the other "strong" capitalist countries of the world. As Eaton sums it up: "Between 1929 and 1932 the industrial production of the capitalist world fell by almost 45 percent. In America industrial production dropped to below half the pre-crisis level; in Germany by 45 percent, in England [which had been already depressed] by almost 25 percent. . . . The crisis lasted longer than any previous crisis. Prices fell by almost a third in each of the major industrial countries. . . . Foreign trade collapsed throughout the capitalist world; the total volume of world exports (expressed in pre-crisis gold dollars) fell from \$33 billion in 1928 to \$12 billion in 1933."⁸ Many countries went off the gold standard and the international financial situation was in chaos. There were about 17,000,000 unemployed in the United States in 1933; 8,000,000 in Germany;⁹ 4,000,000 in England, and more millions in France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Poland, and many other countries. The world total of jobless in this period, including colonial countries, has been estimated to be 40 million. The agrarian phase of the crisis also impoverished tens of millions of peasants.

Following World War I, world capitalism acquired a certain temporary and partial stabilization when it had succeeded, with the help of the Social-

Democrats, in checking the revolution for the time being everywhere except in the Soviet Union. There was even an industrial boom in some countries, notably the United States. But the great economic crisis of 1929-33 rudely shattered this stabilization, as Stalin had forewarned; it undermined the sick capitalist system still further and opened the door to profound economic and political changes.

The Soviet Union Immune to the Crisis

One of the most dramatic and significant facts of this tragic period was that while all the capitalist countries were prostrated by the great crisis, the Soviet Union remained unharmed. It went right ahead building its industries and agriculture—and at a speed that had never been achieved in any country of capitalism, even in that system's best days. In 1928, shortly before the capitalist crisis began, the Soviet government had launched its first Five-Year Plan. This was greeted with guffaws by world capitalism, whose experts sneered that the Soviet people could not complete such an ambitious project in fifty years, much less in five. But all through the crisis the Soviet government continued with its Five-Year Plan—actually completing it in four years, while world capitalism lay economically prostrate. “. . . In this same period industrial output in the U.S.S.R. more than doubled, amounting in 1933 to 201 percent of the 1929 output. This was but an additional proof of the superiority of the socialist economic system over the capitalist economic system. It showed that the country of socialism is the only country in the world which is exempt from economic crisis.”¹⁰

Here was the capitalist system wallowing about helplessly in its deep crisis, while, on the other hand, the new socialist system was free of crisis. This great reality was a historic demonstration of the superiority of socialism over capitalism. Socialism had paved the way for the permanent abolition of mass unemployment. Nor was the meaning of this fact lost upon humanity. All through the Americas, as in the rest of the world, the standing of capitalism sank rapidly and the prestige of Soviet socialism soared correspondingly. The campaign of lies against the U.S.S.R. had received a body blow. It was the first real challenge that the new socialist system, emerging from fifteen years of imperialist war, civil war, capitalist blockade, and economic reconstruction, had been able to make to the dominant world capitalist system. This striking victory was a forerunner of other such victories soon to come and also of the ultimate triumph of socialism over capitalism in every respect.

Mass Resistance in the United States and Canada

It had always been the practice of the capitalists the world over, in their recurring cyclical crises, to thrust the burden of the crisis upon the workers. That is, they would throw the jobless workers out on the streets to starve for months and years, until at long last, by the slow operation of the economic laws of capitalism, the surplus of productive power would be wasted or destroyed, the crisis would be gradually overcome, and industry would begin to pick up again. In line with this barbarous practice, when the great crisis began, there were no provisions for unemployment insurance or relief in any country of the Americas. From one end of the western hemisphere to the other, the ruling class assumed that the workers would somehow struggle through the crisis on the basis of their own slender resources, as they had done in previous crises. After all, it was a matter of no consequence to the profit-grabbers if many of the workers died. But this time it did not work out as usual. The great economic crisis, both in the Americas and in Europe, produced political consequences of profound importance.

In the United States President Hoover, tacitly or actively supported by Congress, followed the characteristic policy of letting the workers starve while subsidizing the employers. His Reconstruction Finance Corporation, into which hundreds of millions were poured, gave first aid to the banks, railroads, and big industrial companies. The Farm Board absorbed other millions in an effort to bolster up the big farms. But there was nothing for the working man from the federal government. Relief was reduced to a local charity basis. Hoover worked on the theory that if the capitalist corporations were kept going by subsidies, the benefits would "trickle down" to the workers. He violently opposed every suggestion of unemployment insurance, and filled the air with Pollyanna propaganda that prosperity was "just around the corner." Meanwhile the crisis grew rapidly worse, with banks collapsing, industry shutting down, and unemployment increasing by leaps and bounds.

In this critical situation the responsibility for giving leadership to the distressed masses reacted principally upon the A.F. of L., especially as the workers in the United States had no mass political party. But the A.F. of L. leaders proved utterly incapable of meeting this responsibility. They were imbued with much the same capitalist ideas as Hoover. Like him they were dazed because the magic capitalist "prosperity" of the 1920's had vanished; like him also they expected, from day to day, a return of "good times"; and like him, finally, they considered the mass demand for unemployment insurance a Moscow plot and would have nothing to do with it. They even declared that unemployment relief and insurance would undermine the trade unions and destroy "the American way of life." Even as late as November 1931, after two years of the crisis, the convention of the A.F. of L. declared

that "Compulsory unemployment insurance legislation such as is now in effect in Great Britain and Germany would be unsuited to our economic and political requirements and is unsatisfactory to American workmen." It was not until its 1932 convention that the A.F. of L., under the heaviest pressure from the masses, finally, with great reluctance, gave formal endorsement to federal unemployment insurance.

With the A.F. of L. bureaucracy thus abdicating leadership, the responsibility for leading the workers' fight was met by the Communist parties although they had but a few thousand members at that time. In the United States, the Communist Party, the Trade Union Unity League, and the Unemployed Councils organized scores of huge unemployed movements. Among the most important of these were the great national demonstration of 1,250,000 unemployed in scores of cities on March 6, 1930, and the National Hunger Marches to Washington in 1931 and 1932. Their central demand was unemployment insurance and relief. The whole country had to recognize the Communists as the chief spokesmen for the famished unemployed. The left-led T.U.U.L. conducted many militant strikes against wage cuts, layoffs, and starvation conditions in the coal fields, textile mills, and steel and automobile plants. And it was the left-wing Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League that issued the call in the spring of 1932 for the famous Bonus March of veterans to Washington.

The government and the employers met the struggle of the unemployed, the workers, and the veterans with violence. Demonstrators and strikers were clubbed, gassed, and jailed all over the country. In Washington the veterans were driven out of their encampment by federal troops commanded by General Douglas MacArthur, with two killed and several injured. At an unemployed demonstration before the Detroit plant of the Ford Company, four were killed. As a result of the March 6, 1930, national demonstration, the Communist leaders, Robert Minor, Israel Amter, Harry Raymond, and William Z. Foster, were sent to the penitentiary for three-year indeterminate sentences. The Negroes were the special target of the widespread police brutality. This was the period of the infamous Scottsboro case, when the state of Alabama tried to rush nine Negro youths to the electric chair upon a framed-up charge of rape, and finally succeeded in giving several of them ferocious prison sentences.

In Canada, with the industrial system prostrated, the struggle of the hungry, unemployed masses was much the same as in the United States. The Mackenzie King and the later Bennett governments assumed no responsibility for feeding the unemployed. Mr. Bennett declared that unemployment insurance would destroy the "free institutions of Canada."¹¹ The Canadian A. F. of L. leaders were bankrupt, as in the United States, and the leadership of the unemployed masses fell to the small Communist Party and

Workers Unity League. They conducted many mass demonstrations, hunger marches, and strikes. As in the United States, these struggles forced some relief concessions from the local governments and made unemployment insurance a living issue, eventually to be translated into national legislation. In the midst of these struggles and the repressions, Tim Buck and several other Communist leaders were arrested in November 1931, and sent to Kingston penitentiary for five years on trumped-up charges of advocating force and violence and the revolutionary overthrow of the government. The Communist Party of Canada was outlawed; membership in it or support of its activities were made punishable by from two to twenty years' imprisonment. The party remained illegal until June 1936, when the law was repealed under mass pressure.

The great mass struggles of the unemployed during these crisis years, led by the Communists, were a major factor in preparing the big political upheavals that soon took place in the United States and Canada. Thus, in the 1932 elections, the people of the United States fired the reactionary Hoover and elected Franklin D. Roosevelt by an overwhelming majority. And in Canada, in August 1930, with no better choice than this before them, the Canadian people kicked out Prime Minister Mackenzie King and elected Richard B. Bennett, who was full of demagogic promises, declaring that he was going "to blast his way into the markets of the world." In both countries there opened up comparable periods of "the New Deal," of which more anon.

The Struggle in Latin America

In Latin America the economic crisis of 1929-33 hit the workers even harder than it did in Canada and the United States. Industry was prostrate, and many countries defaulted on their loans from the United States. Unemployment ran from 50 per cent to 75 per cent. Already at poverty levels of subsistence, the workers and peasants in the Latin American lands, given no relief whatever by the governments or the employers, were plunged into deepest destitution. The results were big political struggles in many of the countries. These took on much sharper forms than the movements in Canada and the United States, and they were forerunners of still greater struggles to come. The whole situation was potentially revolutionary.

Argentina was prostrated by the world economic crisis. The workers fought back, and there were many important strikes in this period, among them general strikes in San Francisco and Rosario. A Liberal, the octogenarian, Hipolyte Yrigoyen, headed the government at the time. Under heavy reactionary pressure, his administration not only failed to bring relief to the famished workers, but undertook to put down the workers' struggles by violence. Consequently Yrigoyen lost standing with the workers. "The

loss of prestige and the isolation that the second administration of Yrygoyen encountered was very great and there were very few sectors of the population disposed to defend him."¹² The powerful forces of reaction were able to capitalize upon this situation, and in September 1930, Jose Evarista Uriburu, a Conservative, seized the government. He made many glowing promises of reform, but he turned out to be a reactionary dictator. His regime was a stormy one.

The Communist Party Led the Masses

In Brazil the economic crisis also had sharp political consequences. That country had been in turmoil during the years preceding the crisis. In 1922 and 1924 there were unsuccessful revolts against the reactionary government; in the second of these fights, Luis Carlos Prestes came forward as a militant leader. It was out of this revolt that his famous march developed. The economic crisis of 1929 dealt Brazil a heavy blow and greatly intensified the mass discontent. Strikes multiplied. The ferment came to a head in 1930. Getulio Vargas, echoing the democratic, anti-imperialist slogans of the Communist Party, seized the government, after being robbed of the election. He offered to make the Communist leader, Prestes, his minister of war, but the latter refused. Vargas, who was a representative of the big cattlemen, as against the coffee growers who had previously controlled the government, quickly clamped down upon the rebellious masses and became a semi-fascist dictator.

Chile was also the scene of serious political struggles during the great economic crisis of 1929-33. About 60 per cent of the miners were unemployed; building was down 95 per cent, and exports had sunk to but 12 per cent of 1929. There were many strikes, and in 1931, the men of the Fleet revolted. The reactionary government of Carlos Ibanez failed to meet the desperate needs of the people. In the face of the boiling unrest in 1931, Ibanez resigned and fled the country. A few months afterward, in June 1932, Carlos Davila, a member of the Liberal Party, led a revolt and seized the presidency. Eight days later he too resigned, giving up what he called his "socialist" government. Colonel Marmaduke Grove, a Social-Democrat, then took over; but he too was overthrown three months afterwards by reactionary Colonel Arturo Merino Benitez. Eventually, in 1934, Arturo Alessandri, a Liberal, became president; and with industry picking up, the situation then calmed down temporarily. The Chilean Communist Party was at the heart of all these mass struggles.

Cuba, with its huge sugar industry in collapse, was also the scene of violent struggles during the period of the great economic crisis. The bloody dictator, General Machado, elected as a liberal reformer, had been president since 1925. Machado, as usual, tried to drown in blood the peoples' protests

against the disastrous economic situation. But this time he met more than his match. In August 1933, after a big general strike, led by the Communist Party, he was compelled to flee from Cuba. The mass movement resulted in many important political conquests by the people. It was a solid victory, the consequences of which are still felt in Cuba.

In various other Latin American countries there were also very sharp struggles during this economic crisis. In Peru, on the basis of the ruined economic situation, Colonel Luis M. Sanchez Cerro, a reactionary, seized power in August 1930. The mass discontent mounted, however, and in the elections of 1931, the APRA party clearly won; but its leader, Haya de la Torre, lacked the political initiative to take over the presidency from Cerro. In Mexico the economic crisis precipitated a whole series of strikes, and generally accelerated the tempo of the revolutionary struggle later under the Cardenas regime. In Colombia, a fierce strike of farm workers took place. And it was during this period that Sandino led his heroic fight in Nicaragua. In several other Central American countries, notably El Salvador in 1932, there were also mass uprisings, which were stamped out bloodily by the autocratic governments.

In all these Latin American struggles the young Communist parties took a decisive part. They were everywhere giving leadership to the starving and outraged masses of workers, students, and peasants—even more so than in Canada and the United States. The Social-Democratic parties were bankrupt. In many of the struggles the masses won important concessions, which we shall discuss in a later chapter. But the people were as yet too poorly organized to deliver truly shattering revolutionary blows against the feudal landowners, big capitalists, and foreign imperialists. Consequently, the great movement against the disastrous effects of the crisis was largely aborted in many countries as had happened so many times before, by glib-talking caudillos, full of promises to the people but barren of fulfillment. In Cuba, in 1933, the people came the nearest to realizing the revolutionary potentialities of the situation.

The Beginnings of World Fascism

Meanwhile, as these big class struggles were raging from one end of the western hemisphere to the other as a result of the devastating world economic crisis of 1929-33, the sinister fascist movement was getting strongly under way in Europe. This was a further sign of the decay of capitalism. Although roots of this movement were to be found in the attempts to overthrow the Russian Revolution and to put down the revolutionary uprisings in Germany and elsewhere during the immediate aftermath of World War I, it took clearest shape in Italy. In October 1920, Italian capitalism found itself in a most precarious situation. The country was economically

bankrupted by the war, and the militant workers, with red flags flying above hundreds of occupied factories, were ready to take over the country and to establish a socialist republic. But at this critical juncture the Italian Social-Democrats, as their brother opportunists had done in Germany a few years before, refused to carry through the revolution. They "settled" (sold out) for a few petty reforms. Consequently, the workers were thoroughly demoralized. At this critical situation, Benito Mussolini, a renegade Social-Democrat, struck with his gangs of newly organized fascist thugs. Backed by the employers and the government, these ruffians gravely weakened the workers' organizations, and on October 22 Mussolini took over the government itself. Italy became the first fascist state.

Fascism was the desperate reply of the big Italian imperialists to the revolutionary crisis in which their social system found itself. George Dimitrov defined fascism as "the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, and most imperialist elements of finance capital."¹³ Once in power, Mussolini's gangsters, agents of reactionary big business and monarchist circles, proceeded to destroy the workers' and peasants' trade unions, co-operatives, cultural societies, and political parties. They wiped out every semblance of parliamentary democracy. Their pseudo-intellectuals developed antidemocratic theories of rule by the "elite" (meaning the capitalists). They glorified war and became the most fanatical nationalists.

The big capitalists in other countries of Europe, frightened at the post-war crisis, took to fascism like ducks to water. They trembled for their badly shaking capitalist system, which had been dealt such terrific blows by World War I and the Russian Revolution, and their alarm was increased by the awakening, rebellious working class. Their turn toward fascism grew sharper, once their system was given another smashing blow by the great economic crisis of 1929.

The next big victory of spreading fascism, after Italy, was in Germany in 1933. That country had been shattered by the world economic crisis. Half of the workers were unemployed; the poorer peasants were bankrupt; small businessmen and craftsmen faced destruction. House-owners could not collect their rents. Banks crashed.¹⁴ The workers were in a revolutionary mood. Once again, however, the Social-Democrats blocked the revolution, as they had done in Germany in 1918 and in Italy during 1920. They refused to form a united front with the Communists for an all-out fight against Hitler, who had been rapidly building up the Nazi movement during the past few years. Instead, they joined forces with the reactionary General Von Hindenburg, who was supposed to be against fascism. But no sooner was this double-dealer in office than he appointed Hitler as his chancellor. The big capitalists and their Social-Democratic tools thus

handed over control of the great industrial state of Germany to Nazi fascism. Hitler then proceeded to consolidate his position by wiping out all the people's democratic industrial, political, and cultural organizations and institutions, even more drastically than Mussolini had done.

The victory of the Nazis in Germany gave a big push to fascism all over Europe. Everywhere the capitalist Jew-haters, Soviet-baiters, war-mongers, and blatant imperialists came to the fore. With fascism they hoped to save decaying capitalism. Soon a whole row of countries turned toward reaction: Besides Germany and Italy—Poland, Hungary, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, became fascist or semifascist states. Japan eventually became essentially fascist. And the ranks of the capitalists in the other countries of Europe and the world were filled with fascist conceptions and policies. The fascist and semi-fascist countries, embracing about 300 million people, formed the so-called anti-Comintern pact in November 1936. They were now well on the way with their fatal World War II attempt to conquer the world.

The Vatican went right along with this dreadful crusade. It turned naturally to fascist totalitarianism. Pope Pius XI stated in 1929, "Mussolini is a gift of Providence, a man free of the political prejudices of liberalism."¹⁵ The Catholic Church hierarchy demanded of fascism only that it be taken in as a full partner in the reactionary enterprise. The Catholic bishops of Germany, in 1936, declared: "Our leader, Hitler, with the help of God, will triumph in a work extraordinarily difficult." In the same vein, later in 1945 Pope Pius XII declared, "Franco is the favorite son of the Holy See and the most beloved of the chiefs of state."¹⁶

Fascism in the Americas

The fascist menace, which was spreading like a plague in a score of European lands, showed itself also in many countries of the Americas soon after Hitler's conquest of Germany. The Axis powers began a vigorous campaign to capture the western hemisphere, as part of their general plan to dominate the whole world. Hitler declared he would make Brazil into a new Germany, and Mussolini's chief newspaper mouthpiece, Virginio Gayda, said that "The Panama Canal is the frontier of fascism." The consulates of all the European fascist powers in Latin America became active propaganda centers. Germany, Japan, and Italy redoubled their trade drive in these countries. Germany, especially, built up a huge network of airways. Spain joined the Axis drive, with its reactionary slogan of the "Reconstruction of the Spanish Empire." The Catholic Church everywhere lent its support, hoping to repair its weakened fortunes in Latin America.

The general basis for these fascist operations was the large minorities

of nationals of the European fascist powers—800,000 Germans in Brazil;¹⁷ three million Italian-speaking people in Argentina, Uruguay, and southern Brazil; 400,000 Japanese in Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Brazil; and about four million Spanish and Portuguese in the former colonies of these nations. Consequently, there sprang up a network of fascist organizations—Falangistas, Accion Nationalistas, Nacistas, Integralistas, Sinarquistas, Legionnaires, and whatnot, in the various Latin American countries—a formidable, growing fifth column.

But Hitler, going far beyond the limits set by Gayda, did not halt at the Panama Canal. His agents also boldly busied themselves in Canada and the United States. In these countries the reactionary groups among the huge blocs of the foreign-born provided the main mass base. Thus in the prewar years widespread fascist organizations, the German-American Bund, the Sons of Italy, and a host of other groups among the Germans, Italians, Poles, Russians, Greeks, and various other national minorities, were either newly built up or developed out of old-time nationalist organizations.

These foreign-born groups of fascists were very dangerous, but far more menacing were the native-born fascist organizations and tendencies, which constituted the basic branch of the general fascist movement. This was true throughout the hemisphere. Thus the old-style dictators found very acceptable in Latin America the newfangled goon squads, one-man rule, superheated nationalism, antidemocracy, religious mysticism, and general contempt for Indians, Negroes, Jews, and the foreign-born—characteristic of fascism. In Brazil, dictator Vargas, in 1937, proceeded to set up a "corporative state," based on the Mussolini model.¹⁸ This was a radical departure from the traditional practices of the caudillos, who had previously always given at least lip service to democracy. In 1938, the Brazilian Integralistas tried by an armed revolt to overthrow Vargas and to establish an outright fascist regime.

In Chile, in 1935, the neofascist Gonzalez Ibanez tried, but failed, to overthrow the existing democratic government. In Bolivia also, early in 1929, the dictator General Busch proceeded to remodel the government of that country on the Nazi totalitarian pattern. In French Canada—Quebec province—where the big landlords and monopolists, reinforced by the Catholic hierarchy, ruled supreme, the Maurice Duplessis government was frankly fascistic.¹⁹ In Argentina, the first country of the Americas to have organized antiunion slugging squads, and with eight uniformed fascist outfits, the Uriburu reactionaries were preparing the way for the eventual fascist dictator Peron. In Mexico, in 1938, the arch-reactionary General Cedillo, backed by the fascists, failed in an armed attempt to destroy

Mexican democracy. In Central America, too, the perennial autocrats, in the pre-World War II years, began to strut and boast like so many pocket-edition Hitlers and Mussolinis. There were also distinct overtones of fascism in the extreme pro-Indian nationalism of the APRA in Peru.

In the United States the native fascist organizations during this period were also numerous, strong, and malignant. Huey Long, with his demagogic Share-the-Wealth movement, held Louisiana in his grip and had a huge following throughout the south.²⁰ Father Charles E. Coughlin, a Catholic priest, with his program of "Social Justice," raved weekly over the radio to an audience variously estimated at from 10 million to 60 million.²¹ The Black Legion, a murderous gang of hoodlums in the automobile-manufacturing areas, had a big following.²² The Ku Klux Klan re-extended its influence in the south; and a host of other native fascist groups sprang up, like mushrooms. This large mass fascist movement, making wildly demagogic promises to the masses, directed vicious attacks against the Negro people, Jews, Catholics, foreign-born, trade unions, and above all, of course, the Communists.

The most dangerous aspect of this big fascist development was the trend of big-business elements in the same direction, for they were thoroughly frightened by the economic crisis. This showed itself in many ways. The big Hearst papers were only the more blatant examples of a large, fascist-minded daily, weekly, and monthly press. In 1936, in an effort to prevent the re-election of President Roosevelt, the du Ponts launched the American Liberty League,²³ with Al Smith as its front-man. Every fascist grouping in the country rallied behind this organization, which was filled with a deep spirit of reaction. The America First Committee launched in September 1940, by Robert E. Wood, head of Montgomery Ward, and a group of big-business men, was even more fascistic in its program and supporters.²⁴ Charles A. Lindbergh, a Morgan stooge, was one of its most active agents. The American Legion, notoriously controlled by big business, was also a mainstay of militant reaction, many of its leaders being open supporters of Mussolini and affiliated with various fascist groups. In the United States Congress itself reaction was strong enough to set up the House Committee on Un-American Activities which, successively, under the leadership of the notorious Hamilton Fish, Martin Dies, and J. Parnell Thomas, brazenly encouraged and cultivated every fascist grouping and tendency in the country.

The United States and Canada, like the countries of Latin America, during the years between Hitler's rise in 1933 and the outbreak of World War II in 1939, faced a serious and dangerous threat of fascist reaction. All the countries of the western hemisphere were plagued with innumerable fascist "shirt" organizations—black, brown, green, gray, khaki, blue, gold,

silver, and white. These groups carried on the most sinister and demagogic agitation among the masses of the people, who were still shocked and bewildered by the ravages of the great world economic crisis. In some cases, in Latin America, as we have seen, the fascists were actually strong enough to carry through armed uprisings and to bring about the establishment of fascist governments. This big fascist movement, which constituted a malignant fifth column for the Hitler-Mussolini-Hirohito Axis, presented a deadly internal threat to the democratic liberties, such as they were, of all the American peoples. But, as we shall see, these peoples gave an effective reply to this fascist menace.

26. THE PEOPLE'S FRONT, THE NEW DEAL, AND THE GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY

The world fascist movement, which developed so rapidly during the 1930's, carried an acute threat to the people's democratic liberties, to their labor organizations, to their living standards, to their culture, to their national independence, and to their very lives. Fascism, signifying the breakdown of bourgeois democracy, was another major manifestation of the ever-deepening general crisis of capitalism, threatening the collapse of civilization itself.

The capitalist governments of the democracies of the west neither gave nor wanted to give leadership to halt the lethal fascist menace to democracy and peace. There were two basic reasons for this: First, the ruling capitalist classes in these countries were themselves convinced that capitalism could be saved by war and fascism; and, second, they hoped that the war which Hitler was obviously organizing would be directed toward the east, against the hated socialist republic, which they had been trying to destroy since November 1917, when it was founded.

In the profound crisis of civilization caused by the advance of fascism, and with the capitalist democratic governments and their right-wing Social-Democratic stooges unwilling even to try to beat back the movement, the Communist forces of the world led the way for harassed humanity. During the middle 1930's the Soviet Union, enormously grown in strength through the brilliant success of its Five-Year Plans, stepped into the center of the world arena and called upon the democratic peoples everywhere to unite against the malignant threat of fascism. In the League of Nations, through Maxim Litvinov, the Soviet government repeatedly proposed an international peace front of democratic nations to checkmate the Axis war preparations. This historic proposal, had it been adopted, would have strangled fascism before it got a real start and would have prevented the holocaust of World War II. Rising socialism thus proved its superiority over decadent capitalism by giving leadership to mankind in the most serious crisis it had ever known.

Meanwhile, in the various capitalist countries the Communists proposed the formation of people's front, antifascist governments. This famous policy was outlined by the Communist International at its Seventh Congress, in Moscow, July 1935. The proposed people's front governments were to be based on an antifascist alliance of Communist and Social-Democratic parties,

trade unions, farmers' organizations, and all other democratic groups willing to fight against fascism and war. The masses in many countries responded swiftly to this Communist world political leadership. In Spain, on February 8, 1936, a popular front government was elected, and on April 26 of the same year a people's front government was also elected in France, both in the face of violence of powerful fascist forces. In various other European countries also strong popular democratic movements developed. The people's front, both on an international and a national scale, obviously provided the means to destroy fascism and to preserve world peace. The masses accepted it far and wide.

The capitalist governments of the western democracies, however, refused to rally to the call of the Soviet Union for an international peace front. Instead, rotten with fascism themselves, they cynically rejected the Soviet Union's proposals for universal disarmament and proceeded to "appease" Hitler. Although possessing by far greater economic and military strength, they allowed Hitler to reoccupy the Ruhr and to invade Austria; they permitted Mussolini to overrun Ethiopia; they took no steps to halt Japan's invasion of China; they stood aside, refusing even to sell munitions to Republican Spain,* while the armies of Hitler and Mussolini cut that democratic government to pieces; and they finally capped their fatal policy of appeasement by selling out Czechoslovakia at the infamous Munich conference in September 1938. When World War II broke out on September 1, 1939, upon Hitler's invasion of Poland, it was the inevitable result of the whole profascist line of the western democracies. Their appeasement policy had strengthened the fascist beast until finally it leaped upon them.

President Roosevelt, a liberal who had the backing of the great democratic masses of the United States, based his pre-World War II policies on repelling the threat of German and Japanese imperialism against the world interests of United States imperialism. His own capitalist opinions and interests, as well as domestic reactionary forces within and without the government, were much too strong for his administration to adopt a true anti-fascist policy during the crucial prewar years. For big capitalism in the United States, like its brothers in Europe, undoubtedly wanted a fascist world. Of course Roosevelt made many ringing antifascist speeches. He proposed to "quarantine the aggressors," and he called upon the United States to arm itself against the rising fascist menace; but he nevertheless took no real antifascist action in his prewar foreign policies. He rejected, and thereby killed, the Soviet Union's urgent call for an international peace front; he capitulated to the Munich men; he supported the notorious "neutrality" policy, so fatal to the embattled Spanish Republic; he went along

* The war against the Spanish Republic began on July 17, 1936, with a fascist revolt in Morocco led by General Franco, and it lasted until the fall of Madrid, March 28, 1939.

with the plan of using the Finnish reactionaries to attack Russia; and he permitted the shipment of scrap iron to Japan for its war against China, almost up to the eve of Pearl Harbor.

The People's Front in Latin America

In the years immediately prior to World War II, the world-wide wave of antifascist struggle swept the western hemisphere from end to end. In several Latin American countries the great masses of the people supported the Communist policy of a people's front struggle against the fascist danger. Like the peoples of Europe, those of Latin America, in struggling against fascism, fought to defend their few but precious democratic liberties. In the five years before World War II, the big people's front fight was a decisive factor in checking the spread of fascism in these countries and in eventually winning support of their peoples for the great antifascist war which was already looming.

In Chile, in these pre-World War II days, the people's front policy scored its most important victory in Latin America. During the world economic crisis a few years before, as we have seen, Chile had found itself in a most serious situation. The workers were starving and the fascist movement was daily becoming more dangerous. The election of the liberal Arturo Alessandri in 1932 had eased the political situation somewhat; but during his presidential term the fascists made repeated efforts to overthrow his weak government, and Alessandri himself turned more and more toward the right. During this crisis, in 1934, the Communist Party of Chile proposed a united people's front of all the democratic parties to resist the menace of reaction. At first this appeal was ignored, but in 1938, with the situation highly dangerous, the Radicals, Socialists, and Communists finally came together for the elections of that year on a common program of urgent reforms. The joint ticket won the elections—220,892 for Cerda as against 213,000 for Ross.* Cerda became president, and Chile acquired the first people's front government in the western hemisphere. Undoubtedly, during the crucial prewar years, this democratic government kept Chile out of the hands of the fascists.

The democratic masses in Brazil, during this period, also played a strong part in the people's front struggle against fascism. The situation in that country on the eve of World War II was a most threatening one. The Vargas government was already semifascist, and the militant Integralistas were fighting to push it all the way into fascism. Economic conditions were very bad. In this situation, in 1935, under the leadership of the Communists, the National Liberation Alliance was formed, with Luis Carlos

* The small size of this vote in a country of over five million people was due to the fact that the bulk of the workers and peasants were disfranchised.

Prestes at its head. The Alliance was a broad united front of Communists, Socialists, students, trade unionists, professionals, and other democratic groups. Its program called for disbanding the fascists, for nationalization of foreign-owned enterprises, and for various progressive labor laws and social reforms. The Alliance made rapid headway. During its broad campaign, the aroused workers built a new national trade union center, many strikes took place, and important sections of the army went over to the people's front movement. In 1936, President Vargas, however, managed in a civil war to beat this people's movement. After fierce fighting, in which hundreds were killed and the workers held large sections of the country for several days, Vargas temporarily checked the Alliance. Thousands were arrested and tortured, Prestes was sentenced to sixteen years in prison, and later another thirty years were added to this savage sentence. The Brazilian government moved deeper into fascism.

In Argentina, the characteristic people's front antifascist struggle of the prewar years was also carried on. Bad economic conditions and the malignant growth of fascism evoked a deep movement of the masses for the formation of a people's front government. As Naft, writing in 1937, put it, "Before the election of March 1936, a more or less united front of all anti-fascist parties was established, largely due to the efforts of the Communists."¹ The right-wing Socialists, however, despite the broad mass sentiment for united antifascist action, were soon able to shatter the developing unity. They put up their own ticket in the 1938 elections. Inasmuch as they then had a strong mass following, this action enabled the conservative candidate, Roberto M. Ortiz, by the use of gross frauds, to carry the election by an announced, but false, vote of 1,094,000 to 815,000. The Socialist Party split because of this treason by its leaders. As World War II approached, reaction further entrenched itself in Argentina.

Cuba, in these immediate prewar years, was also the scene of important people's front struggles. Through the fall of Machado in the big struggles of 1933 reaction had suffered a big defeat, but it was by no means crushed. During the next few years, until the outbreak of the war, the Falange and other fascist and ultrareactionary organizations and forces kept trying to destroy Cuban democracy. They had the powerful support of United States and Canadian sugar and banking interests, as well as of the Church and other sections of domestic reaction. But the Cuban Communist Party, with its constant appeal to the democratic solidarity of the workers and the people, was a major force in checking the offensive of the reactionaries. In the many successful strikes and political struggles of this period the Communist Party of Cuba laid the basis which enabled it a few years later to become the strongest Communist Party, proportionately, in the whole western hemisphere. Juan Marinello and Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Com-

munists, became ministers without portfolio in the Batista government, which was following a liberal orientation.

In Mexico, the people's front movement showed itself particularly in the strong democratic support of President Cardenas. The Communist Party was a major factor in bringing about this general development. It was no accident, therefore, that the people's struggle in Mexico during Cardenas' regime, from 1934 to 1940, reached the highest point of intensity and achievement since the early days of the revolution. This was the time of the largest distribution of land, as well as of the nationalization of oil fields and railways. It was precisely the period of the broad western hemisphere and world pre-war united people's front struggle against fascism.

The antiwar, antifascist people's front struggle also developed in many other countries of Latin America. In Colombia, for example, it was so influential that on May 1, 1936, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Gilberto Vieira, reviewed the workers' demonstration from the same balcony with President Lopez, a Liberal. In Peru the Communists also went along for a time in a united front with the APRA during this general period, but right-winger Haya de la Torre found the means to break off such common action. There were also popular front movements in Venezuela, Nicaragua, Uruguay, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, and other countries, which registered varying degrees of influence.

One of the major aspects of antifascist struggle in this period was the mass support developed for the Spanish Republic against the attacks of the fascists. Like the Communists in Europe, the Communists of the Americas also were instrumental in sending large bodies of recruits to the International Brigades fighting in Spain. The United States thus sent three thousand volunteers and Canada 1,200. The heavy mortality among these fighters may be seen in the fact that over 1,800 of the Americans were killed, and half of the Canadian volunteers also died in Spain.

The New Deal in the United States

Economically speaking the New Deal was an attempt on the part of the Roosevelt government to pull the United States out of the great economic crisis of 1929-33. It also had direct relations with the pre-war antifascist struggle. When Franklin D. Roosevelt became president in March 1933, after being elected over Herbert Hoover the previous November by the biggest plurality in United States political history, the country was in a chaotic condition, as we have seen—with banks closed, factories shut down, farmers bankrupted, and some 17,000,000 workers jobless. Under heavy mass pressure from workers, farmers, middle classes, and small businessmen, Roosevelt, with the help of his "Brain Trust" of economists, quickly flooded Congress with remedial legislation. The Congressmen were

in such a panic that they hastened Roosevelt's bills into law so fast that the legislators hardly had time enough to read, much less understand, them. Congress had never before shown such wild speed.

Among the important laws thus rushed through during the prewar New Deal period were the Glass-Steagall Act, Banking Act, Truth-In-Securities Act, Securities Exchange Act, Home Owners' Refinancing Act, Tennessee Valley Authority Act, Rural Electrification Act, Rural Resettlement, Urban Housing Program, Agricultural Adjustment Act, National Industrial Recovery Act, Federal Emergency Relief Act, National Labor Relations Act, and various others. Roosevelt, by executive order, created a host of bureaus to carry out this ambitious program. To finance the New Deal, the government, during the prewar years, practiced deficit financing and added some \$16 billion to the national debt.

The specific economic purposes of this mass of legislation, briefly stated, were: (a) to reconstruct the shattered financial-banking system; (b) to rescue tottering business with big loans and subsidies; (c) to stimulate private capitalist investment; (d) to raise depressed prices by setting inflationary tendencies into operation; (e) to overcome the agricultural overproduction through acreage reduction and crop destruction; (f) to protect farm and home owners against mortgage foreclosure; (g) to create employment and stimulate mass buying power through establishing public works; (h) to provide a minimum of relief to the starving unemployed. Behind these measures, according to Varga, "The aim of the New Deal consisted first and foremost in holding the farmers and workers off from revolutionary mass action."²

There was nothing socialist or revolutionary about the New Deal program. The big capitalists were left in full control of the nation's banks, industries, and transportation systems. Nor was there the slightest interference with their sacred capitalist right to rob the workers of the products of their labor. The central aim of the whole New Deal was to strengthen capitalism, in which system Roosevelt was a stout believer. His purpose was to stimulate the normal recovery processes of that system during the economic crisis, and, if possible, to prevent the recurrence of industrial breakdowns. The general means to this end was to intensify state capitalism. The whole project fitted in with the ideas of the noted British economist, John Maynard Keynes.

The Roosevelt New Deal was something quite new in United States history. Previously, during the many cyclical crises of the past, the policy, or no-policy, of the government had been to stand aside and let the economic hurricanes blow themselves out. That is, eventually, after greater or lesser periods of industrial shutdown and acute mass distress, the glut of overproduction would be overcome by the paralysis of the productive forces

and the wasting, destruction, and consumption of the surplus commodities, and by the expansion of new markets. The capitalist system, gradually recovering, would then start toward the next phase of its economic cycle of boom and bust.

But this time, it did not work out that way. The great cyclical crisis of 1929-33, occurring within the framework of the general crisis of world capitalism, was too severe and the recuperative powers of capitalism too enfeebled for the accustomed recovery. The government, therefore, had to enter in with its stimulation-of-industry program, a development which strikingly emphasized the basically sick condition of the capitalist system.

By the beginning of 1933 industry and agriculture had undoubtedly passed the depth of the crisis and were heading, however weakly, toward a measure of recovery. This tendency was strengthened but little by the extensive "pump-priming" and blood transfusions of the score of billions of dollars that Roosevelt injected into the anemic economic system. During 1934 industry and agriculture began showing marked signs of recovery, industrial production at the end of that year being about 15 per cent above the low point of 1932, but still 20 per cent below the average for 1929. Yet the "depression of a special kind," as Stalin called it, stubbornly hung on. "Nonagricultural production—that is, the total volume of industrial production, mining, construction, transportation, and electric and gas utilities—was still five percent lower in 1939 than in 1929 despite an increase of over six million in the total available labor force and a large increase in the nation's population. Underutilization of capacity increased from 19 per cent of total capacity in 1929 to over 33 per cent in 1939. According to the official count, unemployment averaged 9.5 million that year."³

The New Deal Keynesian experiment obviously had failed to overcome the lingering, serious economic depression. This was dramatically illustrated when a new cyclical crisis began in 1937. Roosevelt made this worse when, under reactionary prodding, he cut relief expenditures for the unemployed from a monthly average of \$278 million in 1936 to \$96 million in 1937. The bottom dropped out of everything again, the economic decline being even more precipitous than in 1929. Production fell by about one-third. It was only when World War II broke upon humanity in the autumn of 1939 that United States industry got under way again in full blast. It took the blood of millions dying on the battlefields to restart the wheels of production—a tragic example of the unhealthy state of United States industry and of the parasitic nature of present-day world capitalism.

In Canada the "New Deal" got off to a false start. The reactionary Prime Minister Bennett, despite anathematizing of all organized relief for the masses, in 1934, under heavy mass pressure from the unemployed, suddenly reversed his political line and came out with a whole New Deal

program of his own. The parliamentary sessions of 1934 and 1935, says Creighton, "were crowded with the passage of a long series of social security laws, labour statutes, and economic control measures."⁴ However, Mr. Bennett's Tory party was defeated in the 1935 election by the Mackenzie King Liberals, and five of his major New Deal statutes were later declared unconstitutional, including the Minimum Wages Act, the Limitation of Hours of Work Act, the Weekly Rest in Industrial Undertakings Act, the Unemployment and Social Insurance Act, and the National Products Marketing Act. Bennett's defeat was a definite rejection by the Canadian people of a man and a party that had brazenly protected big capital while the people went hungry.

The MacKenzie King government, however, during the next decade had to adopt a whole series of "New Deal" measures of its own in an effort to bolster up the shaky Canadian capitalist system, including the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act (1935), Canadian Wheat Board Act (1935), Unemployment Insurance Act (1940), Family Allowance Act (1944), Agricultural Prices Support Act (1944), National Housing Act (1944), Industrial Development Bank Act (1944), and many others.⁵ The unemployed, from 1933 to 1939, were given a minimum of relief on a "federal-provincial-municipal" basis, each authority paying one-third. The Canadian workers, even worse off than those in the United States, had to starve through the long crisis and the ensuing "depression of a special kind" until the rich red blood of war, the indispensable food of capitalist profit-makers, as in the United States, put the Canadian industries back into operation.

The New Deal and Fascism

The monopoly capitalists of Germany, with Hitler as their political agent, succeeded in exploiting the great economic crisis to establish fascism in that country. In fascism they believed they had the means to ease the deadly menace to them of mass unemployment through an armaments program, to smash the trade unions, co-operatives, and political parties of the workers, to abolish parliamentary government and civil rights, to intensify the exploitation of the workers and vastly to increase their own profits, to crush small business out of existence, to militarize Germany from top to bottom, to destroy their imperialist rivals, and finally to make the German big capitalists the masters of the world. Many reactionaries and fascists of the United States, dazzled by Hitler's temporary success, strove to force the United States along the same path, to take the fascist way out of the crisis. Particularly after Hitler's seizure of Germany, which took place one month and four days before Roosevelt was first inaugurated in March 1933, these fascist-minded elements, with confused programs, cut loose with an active campaign to this end. This agitation embraced, to a greater or lesser degree,

the National Association of Manufacturers, the Hearst press and other reactionary papers, the Huey Long movement, the Coughlin Christian Front, the Un-American Activities Committee, the American Legion, the Liberty League, the America First Committee, and a score more of nation-wide ultrareactionary and fascist organizations.⁶ The central political objective of this widespread agitation, often suggested rather than clearly expressed, was the establishment of fascism in the United States.

The period between 1933 and 1941 was one of violence by the reactionaries. The Negroes, the main target of these activities, were shamefully harassed and persecuted. In 1936-37 alone sixteen Negroes were lynched. In the same two years 42 workers were killed in strikes and 18,000 were jailed, and troops were used in 39 instances against strikers.⁷ The unemployed were slugged and arrested all over the country. Foreign-born workers were persecuted and deported.

Behind all this reactionary agitation and violence certain powerful business interests definitely planned to establish fascism in the United States. This was made especially clear by at least two major developments. The first of these was the fact that the government plan of the National Industrial Recovery Act, providing for industrial codes, was based closely upon the general outlines of Mussolini's corporative state and was largely fascist in character. This dangerous and unworkable law, which was finally declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, originated with the reactionary United States Chamber of Commerce, a haven for many fascist-minded business men. The second major fascist development of this period was the attempt in 1934 by several prominent Wall Street bankers, including a member of the Morgan firm and a group of national officials of the American Legion, to induce General Smedley D. Butler⁸ to raise an army of 500,000 war veterans to march upon Washington. General Butler, at the time, exposed this sensational fascist plot when testifying before the McCormack-Dickstein Committee.

There were various reasons why the reactionaries did not succeed in establishing fascism in the United States. For one thing, American imperialism, economically stronger than German imperialism, still had financial resources with which to carry through the reforms of the New Deal. But the principal barrier to fascism was the active resistance of the workers and other democratic forces to the fascist trends, the years 1933-41 being a time of militant and successful democratic mass struggle. Another factor working against the growth of fascism was that there was no well-organized, highly disciplined Social-Democratic Party in the United States, with long years of socialist prestige, that could lure the workers into the fascist trap, as the notorious Social-Democratic support of Von Hindenburg did in Germany in the elections of 1932. On the contrary, the workers in the

United States, overriding the holdback efforts of their reactionary top union leaders, fought and beat down the fascist menace of the prewar years. This was the natural continuation of their previous struggles against bearing the burden of the crisis in 1929-32.

The Negro people were in the forefront of the many economic and political struggles of this period. Their fine militancy and spirit of organization constituted one of the most striking phenomena of recent United States political history. The extent of their activity may be judged from the fact that up to one million of them joined trade unions, and in Chicago, in February 1936, the left-led National Negro Congress held a convention at which 551 Negro organizations, with 3,300,000 members, were represented.⁹ They were determined to put an end to the monstrous Jim Crow system which in the last sixteen years of the nineteenth century had resulted in the lynching of 2500 Negroes.¹⁰

The youth, girls as well as boys, were also extremely active during this prewar period. Their general fight was concentrated around the National Youth Act, which was introduced into Congress but never passed. Their main center was the American Youth Congress, of which the Young Communist League was a leading affiliate. The Congress, made up of youth organizations of both sexes and of all the various religious and democratic groups, had a membership at its highest point in 1940 of about 5,500,000 members.¹¹

Democratic women, as never before in United States history, were also on the march politically during this period, countering the reactionary machinations of the monopoly capitalists. And so were large numbers of professional groups, rank and file war veterans, small-business men, and the poorer categories of the farmers. A remarkable movement launched in this period also was the big Townsend old-age pension campaign, involving several million older people.

The main masses of the working class went heavily into action throughout these crucial years. It was a time of big local and national industrial general strikes, of sit-down strikes, of huge organizing campaigns, of the birth of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and of a generally awakening political consciousness. The result was the organization of most of the basic industries and the unionization of 7,350,000 workers, all the trade unions together increasing in numbers from 3,144,300 in 1932 to 10,500,000 in 1941.¹²

All these related mass movements and democratic struggles received their major political expression in the unprecedented four-term elections of Roosevelt to the presidency—in 1932, 1936, 1940, and 1944.

During these big economic and political struggles the democratic masses made many real achievements. They established a new, high degree of unity

between Negro and white workers; they organized the trustified industries and shattered the capitalists' "open shop" policy; they weakened the employers' spy systems and organizations of plant gunmen; they broke up the company union movement; they dealt a blow at the use of injunctions in labor disputes; they wrote the beginnings of a social insurance program on the statute books; and they had a taste of political organization and victory in the Roosevelt elections—all of which added up to a decisive setback to the threatening fascist movement in the United States.

The New Deal had behind it a loose coalition of workers, farmers, Negroes, youth, professionals, small business men, and other democratic groups, as well as a section of capitalists. In this aspect its class composition resembled the Bryan and LaFollette movements of previous decades. It was not, however, properly speaking, a people's front. The workers were not its leaders, and it made no direct attack upon the entrenched position of monopoly capital. Nevertheless, the movement did bear a distinct and direct relationship to the current, antifascist people's fronts of Europe and Latin America.

In the big mass struggles of these pre-World War II years, the Communists, although relatively few in number, nevertheless played a very important part. They were the outstanding political leaders of the Negro people; they had a profound influence in the huge youth movement; and they were decisively effective in organizing the big industrial unions of the C.I.O., as Lewis, Murray, and other conservative leaders fully acknowledged at the time. The party made substantial increases in membership.

In Canada during the immediate prewar years the struggles of the workers against the rising fascist menace, which was sharpest in Quebec, were much akin to those in the United States. The workers, in many hard-fought struggles, built up the C.I.O. and A.F. of L., unionizing the basic industries. The youth, women, foreign-born, and other democratic groups showed a new militancy and political activity. And at the heart of the developing struggle were the tireless Communists, who enjoyed a proportionately higher degree of influence in the broad people's antifascist struggles in Canada than did the Communists in the United States.

The Role of Roosevelt

President Roosevelt, a wealthy man, represented the liberal section of the bourgeoisie. He was a firm exponent of capitalism, and all his policies were directed toward perpetuating that system. Charges by his capitalist enemies that he was a socialist are ridiculous. Roosevelt simply strove to save capitalism by removing some of its worst abuses. He was definitely opposed to anything that might possibly weaken the economic and political power of the monopolies. Under his leadership, state monopoly capitalism—the

integration of the monopolies with the state—made big progress. Although Roosevelt was against all proposals to nationalize industry, he linked capitalist monopoly with the state in many ways. During his term in office, monopoly capital prospered, making the greatest profits in its history. Between 1929 and 1934, annual profits, after taxes, increased from three to six and one-half billion dollars, and during the five war years, they amounted to a fabulous fifty-seven billions.¹³ The big corporations were also highly favored by Roosevelt in allotting war commissions, one hundred firms getting 75 per cent of all the munitions orders. The growth of monopoly went on at a very rapid rate, with the government's blessing, all through Roosevelt's terms in office. State capitalism was greatly strengthened during the Roosevelt regime.

While plugging holes in the rotting dike of capitalism with his reform measures, Roosevelt found it necessary to make some important concessions to the workers under their heavy mass pressure. In particular, he was responsible for Section 7 A of the National Industrial Recovery Act, which was later incorporated into the Wagner Act. This famous section provided that the workers had the right to organize into unions and to select representatives of their own choosing for collective bargaining. During the war Roosevelt also made a significant concession to the Negro people in the Fair Employment Practices Commission, which undertook to ease somewhat the severe job discrimination practiced against Negro workers. These concessions, no doubt, greatly facilitated the unionization of the workers in general and of the Negro workers in particular.

It was primarily because of these concessions to Negro and white labor that big capital came to hate Roosevelt so ruthlessly. In its deep spirit of reaction it was opposed to even these limited reforms. In the first two years of Roosevelt's regime, however, Wall Street supported his New Deal program pretty generally, including Section 7 A, which the big capitalists hoped would facilitate the growth of company unionism, not trade unionism. But when they realized the administration's favorable attitude toward organization in the basic industries, the big capitalists' opposition to Roosevelt grew to boundless proportions. For the remainder of his period in office, Roosevelt, with about ninety per cent of the capitalist press against him, became the most big-capitalist-hated man who ever occupied the White House. Even now as he lies in his grave, Roosevelt's Wall Street detractors are still frantically trying to destroy his democratic prestige among the people.

While as a liberal he favored trade unions, Roosevelt clearly acted then in the interest of the capitalist system by making the concessions he did to the workers and the Negro people. For if he had not made these concessions the masses, in view of their militant mood, would very probably have gone

much further to the left and wrung far more vital reforms from the employers and the government in open struggle. Another major result of Roosevelt's democratic concessions, a favorable result for capitalism, was that they kept the workers locked within the two-party system. Without such concessions undoubtedly a great new labor or people's party would have been born during the pre-World War II years, just after the big economic crisis. This would have been a blow to the capitalists. After all, Roosevelt set sharp limits to his concessions to the workers. In the democratic World War II the workers were justified in accepting posts in the war-time bourgeois government, but Roosevelt wanted no such close collaboration. Thus, in Great Britain during the war years even the Tory Prime Minister Churchill formed a coalition government with labor; yet in the United States the liberal President Roosevelt not only did not establish such a government jointly with labor, but he did not accept even one trade union leader into his cabinet during the entire thirteen years of his presidency. Nor did Roosevelt entrust a single labor leader with a responsible government wartime executive post, the most he ever gave to labor being third-line positions in an advisory capacity.

Roosevelt, contrary to Browder, Wallace, and other "left" and liberal apologists for American imperialism, did not establish a "progressive capitalism" in the United States. Under Roosevelt, inevitably, it remained the same monopoly capitalism, but with the monopolists even more entrenched. Capitalism, fundamentally in decay, cannot be made progressive by reforming it here and there. The whole system is rotting at the heart. The incurably reactionary character of United States capitalism is all too clearly to be seen in its post-World War II policies of fascism, war, and world domination.

Much as the monopoly capitalists hated and denounced Roosevelt, they have nevertheless retained virtually all of his economic reforms, with the notable exceptions of the unworkable National Industrial Recovery and Agricultural Adjustment Acts, both of which were knocked out by the Supreme Court. They conserved also the much criticized Tennessee Valley Authority (T.V.A.). It is significant that the principal measures which the Republican Eightieth Congress (1948) eliminated from the body of New Deal legislation were precisely Roosevelt's two main concessions to labor and the Negro people. That is, this reactionary Congress killed the Fair Employment Practices Commission by denying it operating funds, and it wiped out the Wagner Act by substituting for it the infamous Taft-Hartley (slave labor) Act.

The Good Neighbor Policy

When President Roosevelt first took office in March 1933, at the depth of the great economic crisis, political and economic relations between the United States and Latin America were tense. The peoples in the Latin American countries were extremely bitter toward the United States because of the arrogant attitude it had assumed in dealing with them and especially because of its many armed interventions in Nicaragua, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Mexico, and various other Latin American lands. Trade between the American countries had also tobogganed, United States exports to Latin America having fallen from \$911,749,000 in 1929 to \$194,486,000 in 1932, and loans from the United States also collapsing from \$175 million in 1929 to zero in 1932. To make matters more complicated, the United States had to face keen trade competition from a host of British, German, Japanese, and Italian capitalists.

Stuart thus outlined the situation prevailing in Latin America when Roosevelt became President in March 1933: "Mexico resented the exploitation of her oil wells and mineral resources by foreign corporations. . . . Cuba was becoming more and more restive under the Platt Amendment, which permitted legal intervention. . . . Nicaragua, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic were either occupied by Marines or had just seen them withdrawn. . . . Panama fretted under the canal treaty which gave the United States absolute control of the Canal Zone. . . . Venezuela's oil, Peru's meat industries, and Brazil's coffee were all controlled by or dependent upon United States markets."¹⁴

Obviously, a shift in United States imperialist policy in Latin America was absolutely necessary. Growing countries like Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Chile, Cuba, Venezuela, and Peru, full of strong national spirit as they were, could no longer be kicked about and treated as colonies, as they had been in the recent past by Presidents Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. The needed change in the imperialist economic and political methods of the United States came with President Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor" policy.

Roosevelt definitely put forward this general policy in his first inaugural address. He said: "In the field of world policy, I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself, and, because he does so, respects the rights of others." As implemented afterward in various Pan-American conferences, the Good Neighbor policy was supposed to develop the following major formal aspects: nonintervention of the United States in the internal affairs of Latin American countries, reciprocal trade agreements, the equality-of-nations principle, and the extension of United States technical aid to Latin America.

President Roosevelt proceeded to put his new policy into practice by liquidating some of the worst of the current infringements by the United

States upon the sovereign rights of the Latin American peoples; that is, by giving up its Platt Amendment in Cuba, abrogating its treaty right of using troops in Mexico, withdrawing its troops from Haiti after twenty years of occupation, and abandoning its "right" of intervention in Panama and the Dominican Republic, the latter country for many years having been arbitrarily occupied by United States troops. The United States, during the 1930's, also drew up a series of "reciprocal"¹⁵ trade agreements with Cuba, Brazil, Haiti, Colombia, Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Ecuador, and Venezuela. In addition, the Export-Import Bank was established to facilitate inter-American loans, and a number of United States commissions were set up with the avowed purpose of helping to improve health, education, and industrial conditions in Latin America.

Canada was not much affected directly by the Good Neighbor policy. In its case there was no need to curb arbitrary United States armed intervention; it also already had highly developed trade relations with the United States; and, of course, with its advanced industrial development, there was no place in its economy for United States technical commissions.

The Good Neighbor policy was hailed eagerly by the peoples of Latin America. They particularly welcomed its nonintervention feature as a victory over the barbaric, domineering attitude assumed by the United States for many years under the Monroe Doctrine. There were few, if any, democratic voices raised against the Good Neighbor policy. For the first time the meetings of the Pan-American Union took on a spirit of friendly co-operation. The only fly in the Yankee imperialist ointment was Argentina which, under the prodding of British imperialism, stubbornly refused to be beguiled by the blandishments of President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull.

Widely, in Latin America and elsewhere, the Good Neighbor policy was mistakenly conceived as an abandonment of imperialism by the United States. All of a sudden Yankee imperialism was supposed to have become progressive. Wallace, Browder, and others cultivated this illusion. But in reality, the Good Neighbor policy was simply a reformulation of the old imperialism in order for it to counter more effectively the growing nationalism and democratic spirit of the Latin American peoples, as well as to offset the increased imperialist competition. It was the adoption of more efficient methods of imperialist penetration. It constituted a system whereby the Latin American peoples had the semblance of national independence, but with the substance of general control remaining in the hands of the United States.

The Good Neighbor doctrines of the "equality of nations" and of non-intervention remained fictions. How, indeed, under capitalist conditions, could little Guatemala or Costa Rica be the equal either economically or politically of the big United States? The fact was, of course, that the United

States, all through the life of the Good Neighbor policy, wrote the basic program of the Pan-American Union, despite the opposition of British and German imperialism and the democratic demands of the Latin American peoples. It also intervened many times in the life of the Latin American countries, even though not as brutally, with actual troops, as it had done so often in previous years. Among such interference by the United States may be mentioned its resistance to the establishment of the Grau San Martin Government in Cuba after the fall of Machado in 1933, its backstage participation in the Gran Chaco war of 1932-35, its support to reactionary elements in Brazil in the Vargas coup of 1935-37, its promotion of the sending of arms to the fascist bandit Cedillo in Mexico in 1938, its cancellation of silver purchases from Mexico in 1938 in an attempt to wreck the nationalization program of the Cardenas government, its continuance of colonial policies in Puerto Rico—in Ponce, in March 1937, nineteen people were killed and one hundred wounded in a nationalist demonstration. It was in 1934, during the Good Neighbor policy, that Sandino was murdered in Nicaragua by American-trained national guardsmen. And Roosevelt remained on good diplomatic terms with such fascist dictators as Somoza of Nicaragua, Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, and Ubico of Guatemala.

The imperialist character of the economic side of the Good Neighbor policy was clearly demonstrated by the fact that it was the Roosevelt Administration that formulated and presented to the Latin American peoples early in 1945 the notoriously imperialistic Clayton Plan, a scheme designed to subordinate the whole economy of Latin America to Wall Street. Moreover, the much-boasted reciprocal trade agreements tended to "freeze" the existing colonial economic relationships of the Latin American countries with their big northern neighbor. Their aim was to keep the economies of these countries complementary to, not competitive with, the economy of the United States. Take, for example, the characteristic United States-Brazil agreement of 1935. The substance of this treaty was that in return for the United States admitting free of duty a lot of noncompetitive Brazilian tropical food products, Brazil, on its part, accepted free of duty, or at low tariff rates, major manufactured goods from the United States.¹⁰ In this instance, and in every other case wherever the reciprocal trade agreement policy went into effect, the general tendency was to stifle the development of local Latin American industries by exposing them directly to the crushing competition of the highly developed industries of the United States. It is a significant fact that during the Roosevelt period of reciprocal trade agreements the industrialization of Latin America made as little progress as it had done before the adoption of this imperialist economic program.

An important indication of the imperialist character of the Good Neighbor policy in general was that, despite its liberal facade, it received almost

unqualified support from the reactionaries in the United States. These elements, much as they hated Roosevelt, readily admitted that the Good Neighbor policy had greatly improved United States trade prospects and political prestige throughout most of Latin America at the expense of its imperialist competitors. The reactionaries were also wise enough to understand that the "liberalism" of the Good Neighbor policy was peculiarly adapted to the rising mood of class and national struggle among the Latin American peoples. During the fiercely-fought national election campaigns of 1936, 1940, and 1944, Roosevelt's domestic and foreign policies were violently criticized—that is, all except the Good Neighbor policy as applied in Latin America. Instead, reactionaries like Hoover and Dewey vied with each other in claiming the authorship of this successful imperialist policy.

Hardly had the Good Neighbor policy gone into effect, however, when it was called upon to perform a new and unexpected function; namely, to mobilize the peoples of Latin America against the war attempt of the fascist Axis powers to subdue the world, and especially to dominate the Latin American countries. In the fulfillment of this vital task the Good Neighbor policy was a most effective instrument. But of this war phase we shall speak more in the next chapter.

The Rising Tide of Antifascist Struggle

The decade following the world economic crisis of 1929-33 was one of broad and increasing mass struggle throughout the western hemisphere, as in the rest of the world. This struggle began to sharpen during the economic crisis, and its main aim was to protect the living standards of the workers and the masses of the people from the ravages of the great crisis. After 1934, however, with the rise of Hitler, the struggle reached a higher plane and a more intense pitch. Then it became an all-embracing political struggle against the menace of fascism: a battle to defend not only the living standards, but also the democratic organizations, free institutions, and national independence of the various peoples. Civilization itself was at stake in the expanding struggle.

During this historic period the struggle of the toiling masses of the Americas reached new heights of organization and activity. The Indians of Mexico, Peru, and elsewhere displayed a strong revolutionary spirit. The Negroes of Brazil and the United States stood in the very forefront of the class struggle. Women and young workers and students came forward in the fight as they had never done before. Negroes and whites, Catholics and Jews and Protestants, evidenced more co-operation against the common enemy than ever in history. Left Social-Democrats, Communists, farmers, and city middle class groups worked freely together. The workers, from one end of the western hemisphere to the other, built vast trade unions, far better in

size and structure than any of their previous achievements. All these awakening forces were further inspired and rallied by the Communist policy of the antifascist people's front in all its various forms and stages, from its incipient form in Roosevelt's New Deal to the maturer people's front of Chile. In these crucial years, even the various governments of the New World were compelled to display a spirit of collaboration. The Communist parties grew rapidly in many American countries.

All this added up to the response of the great working population and democratic masses of the Americas to the rising danger of world fascism. Their fight took on ever-increasing scope and intensity, reaching higher levels as the fascist menace grew. The struggle developed from the economic to the political, and it was finally to culminate militarily in the fierce test of World War II.

27. WORLD WAR II

World War II, like the first world war and the great economic crisis, was an expression of the ever-deepening general crisis of capitalism. It was, however, more complex than the preceding world war, which was a collision among the imperialist powers over the spoils of markets, resources, and territories. World War II was a just war, in that the peoples in this war crushed Hitlerism and saved the world from slavery. As far as the capitalists of Great Britain, France, the United States, Germany, Japan, Italy, etc., were concerned, it was a war among the imperialist nations for a redivision of the world as well as an attempt of capitalism in general to wipe out world socialism and democracy. World War II was a joint "explosion" of two of the most basic capitalist contradictions: that between the imperialist countries, and that between capitalism and socialism.

The war began as a murderous struggle for world mastery among the big capitalist imperialist powers. The chief aggressors were Germany, Japan, and Italy, which launched out upon a drive to conquer the world. The western democracies, as we have seen, had previously refused to join in with the Soviet Union's proposal to establish a world peace front to defeat the fascist aggressors. They strove instead to arrive at a bargain with Hitler to turn the Axis aggression against the U.S.S.R. This was the true meaning of the Munich Pact of September 29, 1938, and it also explains why Great Britain and France deliberately refused to come to an agreement with the Soviet Union in the early part of 1939. Had they not already signed an anti-Soviet war pact with Germany and Italy at Munich? Therefore, when the U.S.S.R., recognizing the futility of further bargaining with the hostile western powers, signed the Soviet-German ten-year nonaggression pact of August 24, 1939, and stepped out of the line of fire, the mutually hostile groups of capitalist powers flew at each other's throats. The war began September 1, 1939, with Hitler's invasion of Poland.

The imperialist rivalries among the capitalist powers were thus the fundamental cause of the war. But along with this factor in provoking the war was the determination of the monopoly capitalists, especially of the Axis powers, to wipe socialism and democracy from the face of the earth and to establish a system of world fascism in which they should be absolute masters. From the standpoint of fascist big business it was a war to destroy the basic liberties

of mankind, to wipe out the national independence of many countries, and even to destroy the very existence of the Jews and other peoples. The heroic resistance of the democratic nations of the world, especially the Soviet Union, to the onslaught and imposition of this barbarous fascism was what gave the war its fundamental character of a just war, of a great struggle of humanity to save itself from the worst system of slavery it had ever been threatened with in all its long history.

The Significance of World Fascism

World War II can be understood only when the basic significance of fascism is grasped. Fascism was (and still is) the fundamental answer of monopoly capital, of world imperialism, to the general crisis of capitalism. After the first world war, the Communists pointed out the existence of this general crisis and its significance in ushering in what Lenin called "the era of wars and revolutions."¹ But capitalist and Social-Democratic economists sneered at this Marxist analysis that capitalism was in general crisis and decay. The hard facts of the next few years, however, brought home to them with overwhelming force the truth of this Marxist analysis. Particularly the great world economic crisis of 1929-33 alarmed the capitalists into a fear that something was basically wrong with their social system. This fear has since grown into a deep conviction as a result of accumulating capitalistic difficulties—until the present time, when every literate spokesman for capitalism will admit, even if he does not know the reasons therefor, that the world capitalist system now finds itself in a very serious crisis.

Prior to the development of the general crisis of capitalism, with its resultant growth of socialism on the one hand and a more advanced decay of capitalist institutions on the other, the capitalists and their theoreticians did not feel that they were confronted with an acute threat to the life of their social system. They drifted along, robbing the workers, cutting each other's throats as competitors, waging one international war after another, and simply taking it for granted that capitalism was a sort of God-ordained system of society that must necessarily and spontaneously go on forever. But the development of the general crisis of capitalism and the challenge of world socialism rudely shook the monopoly capitalists out of this ideological complacency. They realized with a shock that their world system was in danger. Hence, their conscious acceptance of a fascist perspective, however much they may now mask this perspective in order to avert mass opposition. But this acceptance of fascism did not provide the chaotic capitalist system as such with an organized outlook. The growth of fascism was thus an aspect of the general crisis of capitalism. By their barbaric fascist system the monopolists believed they could overcome all the economic and political contradictions that were threatening to destroy capitalism and to create a socialist world.

The Social-Democrats and other supporters of capitalism analyzed fascism as constituting a strengthening of the capitalist system. This gross

error the Communists sharply combated, showing that fascism, itself a product of the general crisis of capitalism, was an expression of capitalist decay, and that it could only result in still further deepening all the capitalist contradictions. And so it all turned out in fact. Fascism, with its war threats and intolerable tyranny, stimulated many millions of toilers to struggle in people's front defense of their democratic liberties; it enormously intensified the rivalries among the imperialist powers, and it climaxed in World War II, which dealt a staggering blow to the already greatly weakened capitalist system.

The big capitalists of Germany, Italy, and Japan, the so-called "have-not" countries which were facing the capitalist crisis in its most acute forms, were the first to draw the fascist conclusion and to apply it in all its implications. But they were by no means the only ones. The big capitalists of France, Great Britain, and the United States also absorbed fascist ideas. They, too, saw in fascism the only acceptable way out of the capitalist crisis. This fascist conviction on their part explains why they appeased Hitler and his allies in the prewar years. They were quite ready to join with Hitler to establish a fascist world in which, they hoped, they would be no longer troubled with cyclical economic crises, with trade unions and Communist parties, and with the nightmare of socialism. Each of the imperialist powers hoped, too, that in setting up a fascist world it could eliminate the rivalry of other capitalist states.

Herein lies the fundamental reason why the fascist-minded monopolists of the western democracies did not come to an agreement with the Hitler group of fascists on reshaping the world to their liking; their respective powerful imperialist rivalries prevented such an agreement. They had no objections to Hitler's fascism, but his world aspirations were too much for them. The British, French, and American monopolists would have accepted fascism in itself, but they did not want a world in which the German capitalists would be the cocks-of-the-walk. In the new fascist world of which they dreamed, the British, French, and American big capitalists wanted to do the chief ruling and exploiting, even as they had been the bosses in the capitalist world that was dying. It was this failure of the fascist-minded big capitalists in the two groups of rival states to agree upon the division of power in the contemplated fascist world that precipitated World War II.

Politically, Prime Minister Chamberlain, the British architect of Munich, represented that section of the big capitalists of Britain who were so frightened at the general crisis of capitalism and the threat of socialism that they were willing to accept even the Hitler brand of a fascist world. On the other hand, Churchill's significance was not that he was the champion of democracy—he was always a hard-boiled Tory and had enthusiastically blessed Mussolini—but that he represented the dominant section of British big capital that

refused to play second fiddle to Hitler in the redivision and reshaping of the world.

The right-wing Social-Democrats, by their treason to the working class and socialism, were a major factor in facilitating the growth of fascism. They carried on a violent anti-Soviet campaign, which played into Hitler's hands; they rejected all united front collaboration with the Communist parties and the left-wing unions against the fascist tyrants. This whole policy of the so-called lesser evil led straight to collapse and surrender before the fascist aggression.

The Course of the War

Hitler directed his first offensive at the west instead of the east because he had concluded that the western democracies would be much easier pickings than the tougher Soviet Union. Nor was he deceived in this calculation. For nearly six months of a "phony war," following the surrender of Poland on September 27, 1939, the British, French, and American fascist-minded imperialists maneuvered with Hitler in an attempt to carry out the Munich policy by switching the "wrong war" among the capitalist powers into a "right war" of all the capitalist powers against the U.S.S.R. At the end of this period Hitler pushed the attack against the west by invading Denmark and Norway on April 9, 1940.

The German Wehrmacht at the outset had very easy going, despite the potentially greater strength of the western allies. It cut through the armies of Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Holland like a knife through so much soft cheese. This was primarily because the imperialist leaders of these countries had no heart for a fight against their fellow fascist, Hitler. They and their field generals callously betrayed the allied armies. In six weeks, by May 28, 1940, Hitler had smashed the "invincible" French army, driven the Low Countries out of the war, and forced the British army into the sea at Dunkirk on the French coast. The Nazis were now the masters of Europe, all the way from the English Channel to the Soviet border.

Hitler, with his western enemies flattened, now began to prepare for an attack against his major foe, the Soviet Union, which he had to defeat in order to break out of Europe with his armies. He could have invaded and beaten Great Britain at this time had he not feared that such an invasion would bring the Soviet Union into the war before he was ready to tackle it. After the bitter first World War experience he feared a two-front war. Britain had left its major armaments on the beaches of Dunkirk and would have been a relatively easy prey for the Nazis. It will be remembered that during these months the British were so hard up, even for hand arms, that appeals were made among the people of the United States, to gather up old revolvers and hunting guns for them. In 1942 Lord Halifax stated that

Hitler lost the war when he failed to attack disarmed England in the crucial months after Dunkirk.² And Hanson W. Baldwin declared that "the British in the summer of 1940 had less than one fully equipped division able to meet German invaders."³ Meanwhile, the Soviet Union, during the 23 months between the signing of the Soviet-German pact in August 1939, and Hitler's invasion of the U.S.S.R. on June 22, 1941, was busily strengthening its forces to meet the inevitable attack of the Nazi hordes. Very probably this "breathing spell" for the Soviet Union eventually won the war for the democratic nations.

At first the German army won important victories over the Soviet Red Army, although at a disastrous cost, as it later turned out. Hitler, by December 1941, had backed the Red Army up against the defenses of Moscow and Leningrad, and he shouted that the war was won. Nearly every military expert in the western democracies agreed with him that the U.S.S.R. was licked. This situation was the cue for Japan to act. On December 7, 1941, therefore, that country launched its criminal attack upon the United States at Pearl Harbor, and this was but the opening phase of its big drive through Asia during the next eighteen months. In addition to securing a big slice of China, this general offensive gave Japan control of Burma, Indonesia, Malaya, and Indo-China, and placed India in deadly peril. It brought the United States into the war, by the declaration of war by Japan on December 7, and by Germany and Italy on December 11, 1941.

The involvement of the U.S.S.R. gave the war those decisive qualities which were bound to bring victory for the embattled democratic peoples over the Hitlerites. First, it meant the defeat of the treacherous Munich policies in Allied ranks and provided the war with a firm antifascist leadership. Without Soviet participation, it would have been out of the question for British and United States imperialism, themselves heavily tainted with fascism and always ready to make a deal with Hitler, to fight an all-out war against fascism. Second, the entry of the U.S.S.R. furnished the war its decisive political strategy, for the national antifascist fronts in the many countries and the international alliances of the democracies were the wartime application of the people's front and the international peace front policies which the Communists had supported in the several prewar years. The antifascist unity, for which the Communists fought to prevent the war and to defeat fascism, was only achieved upon the actual outbreak of the war. Third, participation by the Soviet Union provided the war with its major fighting forces, for the U.S.S.R. was more decisive in winning the great struggle than either the United States or Great Britain, or both combined.

The entry of the U.S.S.R. into the war, therefore, put the conflict upon a solid democratic basis and assured the victory for the world's peoples. It firmly rallied the Communist movements and the great masses of the

peoples to the war. It was to further the unity for the war that on May 15, 1943, the Communist International was dissolved, many reactionary forces having falsely claimed that this organization interfered with the achievement of international unity in the war.

The great preponderance of the Axis strength was in Europe, and there the decisive war was fought out. Hitler not only had at his command the military power of Germany, Italy, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland, and Austria, but he also controlled the industrial strength of France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the other occupied countries, as well as that of the European "neutral" nations. The war effort of the U.S.S.R., brilliantly led by Stalin, smashed this gigantic military machine almost single-handed, although Hitler's forces vastly outnumbered the U.S.S.R. in manpower and outweighed it in industrial output.

The Russians received some outside help, of course. The United States sent lend-lease war supplies to Russia, but these amounted to only about 4 per cent of the yearly war production of the Soviet Union.⁴ The British and American air fleets also heavily bombarded German cities and industries—but it is now recognized on all sides that in spite of these air attacks, German war output kept on increasing right up to the very last weeks of the war. Then there were the British and American military expeditions in Africa and Italy in 1942-43—but these were minor operations at most, which hardly occupied more than 10 per cent of Hitler's troops. Besides, in guarding against the opening of a possible western front by Britain and the United States, Hitler had to keep troops in western Europe—but, as it turned out, there were never more than 750,000 of these troops, and among them were many second-line soldiers. More than offsetting the help received from Great Britain and the United States was the major fact that the U.S.S.R., all through the European phase of the war, was compelled to maintain an army of two million of its best soldiers on its Siberian borders to checkmate Japan. The Russians are justified by the facts when they assert that they defeated Hitler. This great reality is now conveniently lost sight of in the western capitalist countries in these times of cold war.

The smashing of the Wehrmacht by the Red Army was the most tremendous military operation ever accomplished. It was a brilliant demonstration of the immense power of the great socialist country. The defeat of Hitler's forces before Moscow in the winter of 1941 was called "the greatest achievement in all military history" by General Douglas MacArthur.⁵ The Moscow victory was followed by the even more gigantic Soviet victory at Stalingrad in the winter of 1942. The latter overwhelming success broke the backbone of the "invincible" German Wehrmacht, which had earlier knocked over the armies of Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, and Poland like ten-pins.

Then, for over two years, came the long Red Army offensive, which drove Hitler's forces before it 1,500 miles across occupied Russia, Poland, and Germany. Daily the press of the world hailed one victory after another of the Red Army. In this historic struggle the Soviet soldiers, as Winston Churchill then put it, "tore the guts out of the German armies." Hitler's retreat never halted until in May 1945 he had lost Berlin to the Russians, and he himself had finally committed suicide. When the United States and Great Britain, at long last, opened the western front on June 6, 1944, Hitler's armies had already been thoroughly licked by the Russians. What then remained to be done by the two western powers was essentially only a large-scale mopping-up operation. On May 9, 1945, the Germans, completely defeated, threw up the sponge.

The war in the Pacific against Japan was much more of a joint effort than the fighting in Europe against Germany. The United States, the U.S.S.R., and People's China, all were of decisive importance in the fight. After its first shattering defeat by the sneak Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the United States pulled itself together and, on the basis of its greater manpower and vastly superior industrial strength, gradually developed a powerful offensive. The combined air, naval, and army attack of the United States got underway about the middle of 1942, and it rolled on, administering increasingly severe defeats to the Japanese forces, until finally Japan surrendered on August 14, 1945. That country was already on the brink of defeat when the atom bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945.

The Soviet Union played a decisive part in the Asian theater of World War II. For one thing, it had forced Japan to keep about two million of its crack troops tied up along the Siberian border all through the war, and therefore unable to participate in the struggle against the United States. Besides, after the U.S.S.R. actively entered the war against Japan on August 5, 1945, it destroyed the big Kwantung Japanese army that had been facing it for so long. Moreover, by defeating Hitler in Europe, the U.S.S.R. had greatly facilitated the victory over Japan, which otherwise would have been far more difficult, if not impossible. As for Great Britain, it played no very important part in the war in the Pacific.

No estimate of the Pacific war can leave out of account the great services of the Chinese People's Army and guerilla forces led by the Communists. They tied up huge quantities of Japanese armies, bled Japan's economic strength, and inflicted large casualties upon that country's soldiery. As for the Nationalist armies led by Chiang Kai-shek, they were given huge quantities of arms by the United States, but they were more interested in deploying their armies against the Communists than against the Japanese.

The United States in the War

World War II involved the countries of the western hemisphere, and especially the United States, to a far greater degree than World War I had done. In the United States, as in other capitalist countries, two basic elements were involved in the war—namely, the democratic efforts of the masses of the people and the imperialistic policies of the capitalists.

The great majority of the people of the United States, like all other peoples, peace-loving and thoroughly sympathizing with the great world struggle against fascism, had earnestly desired to keep out of the war itself. They wanted to help, but they shrank from the thought of actual war. This is why they so strongly supported Roosevelt's policies of "neutrality," "arsenal of democracy," and "all means short of war." When the country was finally plunged into the war, however, by the attack upon Pearl Harbor, the people wholeheartedly took up the military struggle. They gave freely of their sons and daughters and of their material substance. The trade unions adopted all-out production and no-strike policies and loyally stuck by them all through the war, despite provocative employer actions. The people were in a fight to the finish against fascism.

This was the democratic, antifascist side of the war. The imperialistic, profascist side was to be seen in the policies of big capital as evinced by many major newspapers, reactionary spokesmen in Congress, and government policies. They looked upon the war, as monopoly capitalists always do, basically as a favorable means to advance their class interests at the cost of their own and other nations. They were always ready to betray the people's struggle when this would increase their own profits or strengthen the political position of their class. Their treason flowed along three major channels:

First, they utilized the war to enrich themselves at the expense of their own nation and of its allies. Thus, for example, they cynically refused to re-equip their plants for war production at the outset of the war until they had made sure of bonanza profit arrangements. They even conducted a sit-down strike of capital until the government met their usurious terms. Throughout the war also they applied the capitalist principle of "all the traffic will bear" in dealing with the people of the United States. The general result was, as we have previously indicated, that they fabulously enriched themselves from war profits. Fifty-seven billions in net profits during the war told its own sordid story of capitalist greed at the expense of the people.

Second, the monopolists of the United States maneuvered against their capitalist allies during the war. The policy of the Roosevelt government was based on a defense of the interests of United States imperialism. With the pattern of World War I before them, which had worked out so profitably for Wall Street, the reactionary monopolists' early desire to stay out of the actual military phase of World War II was based not upon the genuine anti-

war spirit of the masses, but upon a greedy hope that by remaining outside they would be able to let their imperialist rivals wear one another down, whereupon they would step in and take over world control. Nor were their calculations wholly wrong: England, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and other capitalist powers, literally ruined each other, while the United States emerged almost scatheless from the war, and vastly enriched.

Third, the cold-blooded Wall Street imperialists, while aiming to have the big capitalist powers knock each other out in the war so that Wall Street could then be boss, were also especially anxious to see the U.S.S.R. destroyed or seriously weakened. They particularly wanted to eliminate any possibility of that country being a powerful obstacle to their plans of post-war imperialist expansion. This was why they were instrumental in having such vital new weapons as the explosive R.D.X. (Canada), and the atom bomb (United States), kept from the Russians. It was why the opening of the Western Front in Europe was needlessly delayed for eighteen months, costing the Russians millions of additional casualties; it was why, also, the reactionaries all through the war, strove to have the main United States war effort directed against Japan, so that the U.S.S.R. would have to fight the gigantic Hitler war machine practically single-handed. And, finally, it was why, in allotting lend-lease supplies to the war allies, the U.S.S.R. got one third as much as Great Britain, although doing at least a dozen times as much actual fighting as that country.

The Wall Street capitalists did not go through World War II in an effort to destroy fascism, any more than they had considered World War I to be a war to make the world safe for democracy. In both wars they kept their own imperialist interests strictly to the fore. In World War II, the enemy they were directly fighting was not Nazism, but powerful, rival German imperialism, and especially the Soviet Union. Regarding fascism, they themselves were saturated with its poison and they did not want to see it destroyed in the war. They were ready at any time during the war to make a bargain with Hitler at the expense of the Soviet Union and the people of the United States. This explains the bitterness of their opposition to President Roosevelt's ultimatum of "unconditional surrender" to Nazi Germany.

Despite this treacherous attitude on the part of big capital, the people managed to keep the United States war policy directed in the main against the fascist coalition, and they co-operated with the other peoples in administering a smashing defeat to the Axis powers. As for President Roosevelt—as a liberal, he was opposed to fascism and sought the defeat of the Axis powers. He wanted to open up the western front much sooner than actually happened, but he vacillated and yielded to the delaying pressures of extreme reaction. It was largely his insistence, however, upon the fact that Europe was the

main theater of war that prevented the United States war effort from being directed even more exclusively away from Europe and against Japan. Although responsible for hiding the atom-bomb project from Russia, Roosevelt very probably expected to co-operate with that country in the postwar period. When asked in 1942 if he were confident that Russia, after the war, would work for peace, Roosevelt replied, "I always have been, personally."⁶ Nevertheless, as the representative of United States capitalism, President Roosevelt never lost sight of its imperialist interests during the war, and, from his liberal viewpoint, he protected them. His administration was basically responsible for the great strengthening of Wall Street imperialism that took place during the war at the expense of the people of the United States and of its war allies.

The United States armed forces during World War II had a peak strength as follows: Army, 8,300,000; Navy, 4,204,662; Marines, 599,693, or 13,104,355 in all. This figure compares with a total, all services included, of 4,609,190 in World War I. In World War II, of the total armed forces, 920,000 (8,600 officers) were Negroes⁷ and 284,000 women.⁸

The United States made a huge effort in the field of production. According to the War Production Board, the physical volume of production increased about 120 per cent between 1939 and 1944. As for the output of planes and other war equipment, according to Allen, "the United States produced at a rate approximately 'equal to the . . . combined total production of all our Allies and enemies.' . . . At the same time, and side-by-side with its war production, the United States was the only country which increased its output of peacetime goods. . . . Over \$25 billion of new plant and equipment was added to American industrial capacity, increasing the over-all capacity of industry by at least 40 per cent." The productivity of labor on war munitions, largely owing to the workers' intense support of the war, also greatly increased; for example, according to J. A. Krug, it went up 30 per cent to 35 per cent between December 1942 and April 1944.⁹

The Canadian War Effort

Canada, far more than is generally understood, was an important factor in World War II. A country with a population of 11½ million when the war began, its armed forces, at their highest point, in 1944, numbered 789,879, of whom 35,856 were women. Of these forces some 92,880 were in the navy, 474,000 in the army, and 192,999 in the air force. The Canadian armies fought principally in the European theater—in Italy and Africa, in the advance through Western Europe, and especially in the extensive air raids over Germany and occupied Europe. Canada declared war on Germany on September 10, 1939, nine days after the world war began.¹⁰

Canada also made a big contribution to the general war effort in the

shape of industrial production. Even as was the case in the first world war, Canadian production grew very rapidly under the stimulus of World War II. The output of steel jumped from 755,732 tons in 1939 to 1,662,537 tons in 1944. Taking 1937 production as 100, production by 1944 ran up to 221, or more than double.¹¹ Canada during the war became the world's second largest exporter. Together with its great output of foodstuffs, metals, and other products, it produced such heavy war needs as merchant ships, naval vessels, and warplanes up to 15-ton Lancaster bombers.

Canada also made a huge financial effort during the war. "The government, says Buck, "was able to spend for war purposes alone an amount equal to \$386 per year for every man, woman and child in the country, more than \$1,900 per year for every Canadian family."¹² In 1944 the government's income from personal taxes was 11½ times higher than in 1939. Canada during the war also made big loans and grants to embattled England, as well as to other powers. "Under Mutual Aid [lend-lease] agreements Canada provided close to \$2,000,000,000 in supplies directly to other United Nations. Previous financial aid to the United Kingdom had totalled about \$2,700,000,000."¹³ This was a much higher amount per capita than that extended to various allied powers by the United States through gifts and lend-lease. Canada, likewise, in the first few years after the war, has taken a large financial part in financial grants and loans to Europe. The \$2,011,000,000 that it sent, prorated according to population, would amount to a sum of about \$25 billion for the United States; whereas the United States, in the same period, through the Marshall Plan and other means, proportionally sent Europe less than half that amount, or \$11.5 billion.¹⁴

The Canadian war policy was essentially the same as that of the other participating capitalist countries. That is, the big monopolists sought to feather their own nests in the war, while the masses of the democratic Canadian people kept before their eyes constantly the imperative need to smash the fascist monster.

Latin America in the War

Hitler, as an important part of his plan of world conquest, hoped to seize Central and South America, with the help of his strong and carefully cultivated fascist fifth columns in the many countries of these areas. His schemes embraced the establishment of as many fascist dictatorships as possible in these lands, the destruction or incapacitating of the Panama Canal, the invasion of Brazil from Africa across the Atlantic, and the air bombardment of United States cities from Latin American bases. But these grandiose projects were wrecked upon the rock of the strong anti-fascist will of the Latin American peoples. The fight that these peoples, especially the workers, led by the Communist parties and the Latin American

Confederation of Workers (C.T.A.L.), had been waging against fascist-minded reaction before the war, was transformed into a victorious struggle in support of the war.

Under this heavy mass pressure many dictators in various parts of Latin America began to take on a democratic coloration, including such figures as Ubica of Guatemala; Medina and Lopez Contreras of Venezuela; Martinez of El Salvador; Penaranda and Villaroel of Bolivia; del Rio of Ecuador; Arias of Panama; Morinigo of Paraguay; Vargas of Brazil; Lescot of Haiti; Trujillo of the Dominican Republic; and Somoza of Nicaragua.

As a result of the strong democratic mass sentiment, Hitler's carefully developed fascist organizations had their teeth pulled, except in Argentina where the fascists remained strong and arrogant. The Peron group of colonels was at this time on its road to power, further intrenching itself by overthrowing the Castillo government in September 1943, and putting the fascist-minded Ramirez in power. The Argentine fascists, openly pursuing their goal of building a bloc of pro-Nazi states in South America, were also responsible for the successful fascist coup d'état in Bolivia, in December 1943, and for similar dangerous movements in Paraguay, Peru, and other countries. British imperialism undoubtedly was not unsympathetic to this plotting, hoping to make hay against its big rival, the United States.

The United States, early perceiving the menace to its interests in the fascist drive of German, Italian, and Japanese imperialism in Latin America, had begun to take counter measures even before the war. At the Montevideo (1933) and Lima (1938) meetings of the Pan-American Union, and the Panama (1939) and Havana (1940) meetings of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of all the American nations except Canada (at which gatherings the basis of the Good Neighbor policy was established), the groundwork was also laid, upon the initiative of the United States for a joint hemisphere defense against aggression, which obviously could come only from the Axis powers. An all-American policy of neutrality was decided upon, and a neutral belt several hundred miles wide was drawn around the hemisphere. In these preliminaries leading up to the war, Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy, by softening the hostility to Yankee imperialism among the Latin American peoples, paid very big dividends in the interests of the war in general and for those of United States imperialism in particular.

Within a month after the Pearl Harbor outrage of December 7, 1941, nine Caribbean nations—Cuba, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, and El Salvador—declared war upon the Axis powers. Mexico and Brazil followed suit during 1942. The rest of the Latin American countries, except Argentina, broke off diplomatic relations with the Axis powers during 1942-43, and early in

1945 they severally declared that they considered themselves in a state of war with one or all of the major fascist states. Finally, Argentina, very reluctantly and under great pressure from the masses of its people and the allied powers, at least formally, broke off relations with Germany in January 1945. Puerto Rico furnished 60,000 troops to the armies of the United States. Mexico and Brazil were the only other Latin American countries to contribute armed forces to the battlefronts, Mexico furnishing an air squadron to the Philippines, and Brazil sending a 50,000-man expedition to the Italian front.¹⁶ The latter forces eventually became part of the United States Fifth Army Corps.

Central and South America were military danger spots for the United States during the war, and it paid much attention to strengthening the defense of the whole area from an expected Nazi attack. Existing military bases in Panama, Cuba, and Puerto Rico were greatly strengthened, and new and powerful air and naval bases were established in Brazil, Peru, Ecuador, Chile, and other Latin American countries. During the war the United States had official missions in sixteen Latin American countries,¹⁶ largely running the military affairs of these nations. The United States also allotted \$262,762,000 in lend-lease supplies (mostly airplanes and war vessels) to the Latin American countries, excluding Argentina.¹⁷ The Latin American bases were supplemented by important military centers, established in deals with Canada and Great Britain, in Newfoundland, Canada, and the British West Indies. During the war the United States thus had the whole western hemisphere ringed about with a steel network of airplanes and warships.

Latin America's chief contribution to the war struggle against world fascism was economic. When the war began in September 1939, the first effect in Latin America, caused by the submarine menace, was practically to halt its trade with Europe. Therefore, "Latin America became more dependent than ever on the United States as the only remaining large-scale supplier. . . . In 1940, 52.9%, and in 1941, 62.1% of Latin America's imports were supplied by the United States compared with 33.9% in 1938."¹⁸ This trade bonanza for the United States was suddenly interrupted after Pearl Harbor, however, because of the war's urgent demands upon United States shipping. A critical economic situation set in all over Latin America.

With its supplies of many vital raw materials cut off by Japan's over-running of the Dutch East Indies and other important areas of the Far East, the United States was hard put to find shipping to secure war materials from Latin America. However, trade with that area was soon got underway again, and considerable industrial development was also brought about in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and a few other countries. The most important of these new industries was the Volta Redonda plant in Brazil,

with a capacity of 300,000 tons of steel yearly. "Between 1938 and 1947, the output of manufacturing industries in Latin America increased by between one-third and one-half above the prewar level."¹⁹ "Naturally, all this created a greater economic interdependence between the United States and Latin America than ever before. . . . For the whole of Latin America, the percentage of trade done with the United States rose from a pre-war one-third to more than one-half of the total."²⁰

Latin America's economic importance in the war was emphasized by the high percentage of indispensable materials purchased by the United States on a world basis that came from that area. Among such materials, the United States bought from Latin America—balsa wood, 100 per cent; kapok, 100 per cent; quinine (bark), 100 per cent; rotenone roots, 100 per cent; quartz crystals, 100 per cent; tanning materials, 90 per cent; copper, 83 per cent; sugar, 82 per cent; manila fiber, 78 per cent; vanadium, 77 per cent; flax, 68 per cent; mercury, 67 per cent; tin, 56 per cent; henequen, 56 per cent; tungsten, 49 per cent; mica, 48 per cent; and crude rubber, 43 per cent.²¹ On a world basis, the United States spent \$4,387,000,000 for war materials, of which over half, \$2,360,000,000, went to Latin America.

To facilitate all-American war co-operation, the Inter-American Defense Board, with representatives from the various countries, was set up. But this board, because of internal contradictions, played little part in the war. More authoritative were the specific advisory committees, such as the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee, the Inter-American Maritime Technical Commission, the Inter-American Coffee Board, and especially the Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics, headed by Nelson Rockefeller, the son of the multi-millionaire, John D. Rockefeller, Jr.²²

The Losses in the War

World War II was generally waged on a much larger scale than the first World War. More nations were involved, and the fighting ground extended over a far greater area. The first World War was confined almost exclusively to Europe, but World War II spread far and wide into Asia and Africa. On the side of the Axis powers in World War II were Germany, Japan, Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Austria, Finland, and Siam. The democracies, known eventually as the United Nations, consisted of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Canada, Australia, China, India, Brazil, Mexico, and 35 other countries. The officially neutral countries, largely pro-Axis in sentiment, were Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, Portugal, Afghanistan, and Saudi-Arabia. The total armed forces of the Axis powers amounted to 21,871,000 as against 49,038,900 for the democratic allies. The preponderance of population and

industrial strength was equally heavy on the side of the anti-Axis nations.

The deaths of soldiers and civilians in World War II, of which only incomplete records are to be had, far exceeded those of the first World War. Total dead in this latest mass holocaust were 15,687,876 soldiers and 12,500,000 civilians, as against known deaths of 8,538,615 in the first World War butchery. The figures for civilian deaths would probably be more accurate if they were doubled. The total of killed, missing, and wounded in World War II runs up to the enormous number, conservatively stated in official documents, of approximately 46 million.²³

The nations of the western hemisphere escaped relatively lightly from this wholesale murder, bred of imperialist greed. The casualties of the Latin American countries were comparatively small; Canada lost 92,493 in killed, wounded, and missing. The United States had total losses of 1,134,344. This compares with the huge losses of China, 3,178,063 (this estimate is much too low); Germany, 9,500,000; Japan, 6,463,957; Poland, 5,597,320; and the U.S.S.R., 12,000,000 to 15,000,000.* In the war Hitler deliberately destroyed over half the Jews in Europe, some six million.

The property losses in World War II also went far beyond those of the first World War. The highly developed air-bombing raids created a physical ruin incomparably greater than the professional destructionists had been able to accomplish in the war of a generation before. Europe was turned into a shambles, with cities and industries wrecked from one end of the continent to the other, and large sections of Northern Africa and Asia were similarly devastated. The western hemisphere, however, escaped this phase of the war's ruin. The total money cost of World War II as of March 10, 1946, for all the participants, has been estimated by the Bank of International Settlements at \$1,352 billion, or about four times the price of the first World War. The cost to the United States, up to June 30, 1946, without reckoning continuing expenses from the war of about \$15 billion yearly for pensions, hospital care, interest on the \$260 billion national debt, etc., was \$349,778,608,870, as against \$41,755,000,000 for World War I.²⁴ It has been estimated that World War II will eventually cost the United States no less than \$1300 billions.

* Great Britain, on the other hand, had only about one-fourth as many soldiers dead in World War II as in World War I, although it had high civilian casualties. (See F. Sternberg, *The Coming Crisis*, New York, 1947, p. 113.) France suffered only half as many soldier deaths as in World War I.

28. REVOLUTIONARY CONSEQUENCES OF WORLD WAR II

World War II, itself a result of the general crisis of the international capitalist system, in turn, with its widespread wrack and ruin, deepened that system's basic crisis still further. Its corroding effects upon world capitalism were all the more serious because the war came after a series of other disasters to capitalism, the most important of which were World War I, the Russian Revolution, and the great economic collapse of 1929-33.

John Eaton, British economist, describes the critical position of the capitalist system as follows: "The general crisis of capitalism is the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, the epoch when the internal contradictions of the capitalist system have sharpened so much that capitalism begins to break down, when it ceases to be the sole and all-embracing system and when its domination is undermined and finally shattered by the revolutionary working-class movement in the capitalist countries and by the anti-imperialist revolt in the colonial countries."¹ The aftermath of World War II shows more plainly than ever the double process described by Eaton; namely, the decay of the old capitalist world system and the resulting complex of class and national revolutionary struggles, on the one hand, and, on the other, the growing up of the new world system of socialism, pioneered and led by the Soviet Union.

The Decline of the Capitalist System

The breaking down of world capitalism is economic, political, and ideological, and it affects all the Americas, as well as the rest of the world. Aside from the material destruction and disruption of world trade brought about by world wars, the deep-seated economic manifestations of the intensifying general crisis of capitalism are many and serious in this postwar period. Whereas between 1890 and 1913 world industrial production increased by an average of 5.8 per cent per year, the average annual increase had fallen during the period of 1914-38 to but 1.5 per cent. There is also a growing tendency to shift from necessary to luxury production. The growth of mass unemployment upon an unprecedented scale, a tremendous increase of military expenditures during peace time, and a widespread decline of mass living standards in many countries are also some of the innumerable signs of the weakening and decay of capitalism.

One of the basic indications of capitalist decline is the sharpened trend toward state capitalism which appears in various ways all over the capitalist world. An aspect of this state capitalism is the spread of industrial nationalization in capitalist countries (Great Britain, France, Argentina, etc.). The basic effect of this nationalization has been the rescue by the state of bankrupt capitalist industries and the provision of government guarantees for capitalist profits. Another form is state subsidy of industry by various methods, in order to support commodity prices or to absorb surplus production ("New Deal" and "Fair Deal" in the United States, state "planning" in Brazil, Argentina, etc.). State capitalism also develops with the growth of monopoly and its close integration with the government in many forms. And there is also the growing fascist tendency of the "democratic" governments to control the trade unions and to restrict the civil liberties of the people (in United States, Canada, Latin America, Western Europe, Australia, etc.). The growth of huge national debts in the hands of bankers and monopolies is another example of the intertwining of business and government. The significance of all this is that the weakened industrial system, unable to go on as before, is now increasingly requiring far-reaching support and buttressing from the respective governments. The recent big growth of state capitalism is one of the sure signs of the correctness of Lenin's characterization of imperialism as "moribund capitalism."²

Another important aspect of the growing basic weakness of the capitalist system is the trend in all the leading capitalist countries toward a war economy. This is tied in with the general tendency toward state-monopoly capitalism. The present intense militarization has a twofold objective: first, to stimulate the fundamentally sick industries with munitions orders, and, second, to try to solve capitalism's multiplying problems, bred of its deepening general crisis, through a great war against the Soviet Union. All this, in addition to providing the capitalists with rich profits. A phase of the current war economy is the suicidal sabotage of trade between the capitalist world and socialist world. This general war trend is one of the most fundamental indications of the decay of world capitalism.

A further and especially deadly sign of the breaking down of world capitalism is the obvious weakening of the whole colonial system in this postwar period. Nearly all the countries of western Europe—Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal—were built and have largely lived upon the imperialist exploitation of the peoples of most of Asia and Africa. But now, in varying tempo, the colonial peoples are casting off their imperialist shackles and striking out on their own. This is an irreparable blow to the capitalism of western Europe. Lenin long ago indicated the seriousness of this development when he said: "Without the control of the extensive markets and vast fields of exploitation in

the colonies, the capitalist powers of Europe cannot maintain their existence even for a short time."³ In a desperate effort to hang onto their colonies, the United States and other capitalist powers are frantically supporting puppet regimes in Formosa, Korea, Indonesia, Malaya, etc., against the will of the overwhelming majority of their peoples.

Still another of many indications of the basic weakening of the capitalist system is the pronounced shift of the center of gravity of world capitalism to the United States. The United States, as we have seen, has long been absorbing the basic industrial production apparatus of the capitalist world. This trend was greatly speeded up by World War II. While the other capitalist countries were ruining their industries in the war, the United States was developing its industrial facilities at a feverish rate. It added to its plant \$25 billion worth of the most modern productive capacity, or more heavy industry than Germany had altogether at the outbreak of the war. The United States now possesses the great bulk of existing capitalist industrial productive power. Sternberg declares: "If productive capacity is fully utilized then her industrial production would be twice as large as that of the rest of the capitalist world."⁴ This tremendous industrial machine, built upon the disasters of other capitalist countries, gives the United States an enormous advantage over other nations in the ruthless struggle for the markets of the world. It thereby helps to make it impossible for the war-stricken capitalist countries to recover their footing. The preponderance of industry in the United States thus weakens the world capitalist system and it also exposes the United States economy to the most devastating crises of overproduction.

The United States, attaining a fictitious "prosperity" from its cannibalistic feast, is literally devouring the economies of the other capitalist countries, which have been injured by World War II and the cumulative effects of the general capitalist crisis. For a number of years now the United States has also been sucking up the gold reserves of the capitalist world of which, in 1949, it held 73 per cent. This process has gone so far that the world gold standard had to be abandoned; the international system of exchange has been wrecked, and all the currencies of the capitalist world have become slaves to the almighty dollar. The United States, by the same token, has now become the main reservoir of capital available for export. "American corporations, as a group, are rolling in money. In four postwar years, they have invested 60 billion dollars in new plant and equipment; they have increased other assets by 11 billion dollars; they have added 21 billion dollars to reserves for depreciation, and they still have 40 billion dollars in cash and government bonds on hand."⁵ United States industry is choking with a surplus of uninvested capital. It exported \$6.7 billion in

1949 and could have exported several billions more. Financially, the capitalist world is at the mercy of the Wall Street bloodsuckers.

The weakened and lopsided character of world capitalism has resulted in putting all the leading capitalist states—Great Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, Italy, etc.—on the United States dole, and all the rest of them—in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Europe—are also striving to get on that dole. So far, the United States has sent Europe about \$15 billion under the Marshall Plan, and Mr. Hoffman, formerly head of that plan, has told us (*New York Herald Tribune*, November 26, 1950) that we must continue non-military aid to Europe at the rate of \$3.5 billion for years to come—indefinitely. Besides, in the next three years, according to Mr. Hoffman, United States military aid to Europe will total \$13 billion. All these gigantic financial outlays are in the shape of “gifts,” as there is no possibility that the other bankrupt capitalist countries can ever pay them back. This one-sided situation is something quite new in the history of world capitalism.

Along with this world economic shift to the United States has also gone a corresponding shift in political power. Consequently, the United States, an imperialist country, ruled by ruthless finance capital, has, particularly since the end of World War II, established its domination, or hegemony, over the shaky capitalist world. Exploiting this unprecedented control, the United States is now drastically infringing in many respects upon the national independence of the other capitalist countries. Especially is it dominating the actions of the United Nations as such. This United States capitalist hegemony is definitely an expression of the general crisis of capitalism; for the other capitalist powers would never submit to it, even to the limited extent that they are now doing, were it not that they and the whole capitalist system are in a very bad way. United States hegemony, together with being a product of the general crisis, also operates to deepen greatly that crisis. This is because (a) it basically worsens the international economic situation, (b) it sharpens very much the antagonisms among the capitalist powers, (c) it provokes many new millions of workers all over the world to struggle against United States imperialism in defense of their menaced living standards, democratic liberties, national independence, and world peace, (d) it brings to an acute crisis the antagonism between the capitalist and socialist sectors of the world. These tensions could blow the Anglo-American war bloc to pieces. United States hegemony over the capitalist world does not cure the general crisis of capitalism, but makes it much worse.

The deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, particularly as a result of World War II, besides the foregoing economic and political effects, is also having profound ideological consequences. There is a wide and spreading pessimism about the future of the capitalist system. This loss of faith in capitalism exists not only among the toiling masses; it also

permeates the ranks of the capitalists. Never before has there been anything remotely approaching the present ideological confusion and even panic among the capitalist ruling classes and their spokesmen about the future of their social system.

After the first World War the hard-hit capitalist system was partially and temporarily stabilized. The spread of socialism was checked momentarily, and the most urgent economic problems of capitalism were bridged over for the time being. But there will be no such period of capitalist stabilization after World War II. The economic difficulties of capitalism are fundamental, and that system's political problems are insurmountable. The general crisis will continue to deepen catastrophically, zigzag fashion, for the capitalist system of the whole world.

The Spread of Democracy and Socialism

As we have previously remarked, the general crisis of capitalism operates in a twofold sense. That is, as that system breaks up, socialism comes increasingly into existence. One factor produces the other. As the sun of outworn capitalism sets, the sun of the new order, socialism, rises. The center of gravity of the economic and political world is rapidly shifting from capitalism to socialism.

World War II provoked a world-wide wave of democratic and revolutionary struggle. This differs from the similar mass upheaval after the first World War in this respect: Whereas those early struggles had their starting point in popular opposition to the war and its imperialist objectives, the struggles in the period after World War II grew in harmony with the war and have as their aim the full realization of the aims for which the democratic peoples fought and won the war.

The most decisive aspect of the gigantic growth of democracy and socialism in this postwar period of World War II lies in the enormous increase in strength and political prestige of the Soviet Union. The imperialists hoped and plotted that World War II would either wipe out the U.S.S.R. altogether or would so weaken it as to make it no longer a serious factor. And, indeed, the war losses of the U.S.S.R. were staggering. In addition to twelve to fifteen million war casualties, if not more, the occupied and ruined Soviet territory contained 40 per cent of the population of the U.S.S.R., 58 per cent of its iron, and 63 per cent of its coal. Besides, 70,000 towns and villages were razed and 31,850 of the larger industrial plants looted or destroyed; six million houses and other buildings were demolished; 50 per cent of its railroads were wrecked; seven million horses and seventeen million cattle were stolen or killed; thousands of collective farms were pillaged; and hundreds of cities and towns were completely wiped out—the total property losses running to 679 billion rubles or approximately \$128

billion, without counting the many billions more spent by the government in conducting the war.

These losses, in both human beings and property, were greater than those of all the rest of the allies in Europe combined. Any capitalist country would have been crushed beneath their weight and compelled to abandon the struggle. But not only was the Soviet Union able to withstand these losses during the war and to carry the struggle on to complete victory, it has also made a postwar recovery that has amazed the world. All this is because of the vastly greater inherent strength of socialism. While the capitalist countries of western Europe, spoon-fed with many billions of United States money, are still lingering in crisis with no prospect of real recovery, the U.S.S.R., without any United States financial assistance whatsoever, has not only overcome its wartime property losses, but is pressing forward with a tremendous program of industrial development.

In 1949, with 103 per cent of the yearly program of the Five-Year Plan achieved, total Soviet industrial production reached 141 per cent of 1940, the best prewar year. In the first half of 1950 production was at the still higher rate of 170 per cent of 1940.⁶ Further swift advances are now being made in both agriculture and industry. Even American businessmen are compelled to admit Soviet industrial progress. "New capital investment in Russia is expected to increase by about 17 per cent a year, as total production expands. . . . Thus, in three years, the value of new investment may be 60 per cent higher than last year."⁷ These advances are only part of the Soviet's huge projects for the industrial application of atomic energy, the changing of the climate in vast dry areas of the country, etc. No capitalist country could ever undertake such gigantic plans for development. With its huge industrial achievements also comes a tremendous increase in the political prestige of the Soviet Union. Today, on the basis of its magnificent war record and its general socialist accomplishments, the U.S.S.R. has greatly strengthened its position in the world as the leader of the progressive forces of democracy and socialism, a power impregnable to capitalist attack.

The second big socialist advance, in the order of its development, during the aftermath of World War II, was the establishment of the whole series of People's Democracies in Central Europe—in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania (and in Yugoslavia, until it was betrayed into fascism by the reactionary Tito clique). These countries, with about one hundred million inhabitants, are now rapidly proceeding to the establishment of socialism. They also are making their swift industrial advance without benefit of financial loans from the United States. Industrial production (in November, 1950), reached 300 per cent in Bulgaria; Poland, 220 per cent; Hungary, 200 per cent; and Czechoslovakia, 150 per cent of

pre-war production. Living standards are 40 per cent higher in Hungary than in pre-war time, and in the other People's Democracies they have risen accordingly. Now comes the establishment of the People's Republic in the Eastern Zone of Germany. The loss of all these countries and peoples from the orbit of capitalism constitutes a body blow to that decadent system.

The revolutionary wave following World War II has also swept the Far East. All the major countries of that vast area—China, India, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Indo-China, Korea, the Philippines, and Siam—are participants, to one degree or another, in this vast fight for liberty, involving at least one billion people. The African colonies are also beginning to stir and will soon be the scene of militant mass liberation struggles.⁸ The basic trend of this immense political development is against imperialism and feudalistic capitalism and toward national independence and socialism. The great movement is animated fundamentally by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

The essence of the national liberation revolution in the Far East is that these peoples are smashing the industrial fetters placed upon them by imperialism. The imperialist powers, while using the huge countries of Asia as sources of raw materials, had successfully prevented their industrialization—beyond a few railroads, mines, textiles, and light industries. But now the colonial peoples, under the revolutionary impetus unleashed by World War II, are smashing through these economic restrictions and are determined to build great industrial systems of their own, as the basis for their people's well-being. This implies a colonial revolution for economic and political independence, which, in these times of decaying capitalism, must soon pass over into a socialist revolution. The whole vast development is a basic demonstration of the correctness of Marx's principle that when a system of society (as imperialism in the colonies) can no longer develop the productive forces, it is then swept away in revolution by a new social order. Communist influence everywhere in Asia is great.

The Chinese Revolution, led by the brilliant Marxist, Mao Tse-tung, and involving nearly half a billion people, is the true expression of the whole gigantic national liberation revolution now shaking the world. China shows the path that all the colonial and semicolonial peoples are taking. In the Chinese revolution the forces at work among the colonial peoples reach their highest, clearest, and most definite expression. The Chinese Revolution, next to the Russian Revolution, is the most important political event in history. And this great revolution is still only in its initial stages; the billion people of the Far East are just beginning to get under way. Asia is being swiftly lost to world capitalism. The world press is now full of the rapid economic and political progress now being made by the Chinese people.

The big postwar wave of mass political activity has also deeply affected the countries of western Europe. The workers have built powerful Communist parties and huge trade unions in nearly all the countries. They have conducted many big strikes and general political struggles, aimed at translating into the peace the antifascist victory won on the battlefields. A great wave of socialist sentiment swept across Europe, one of the effects of which was to bring the Labor Party to power in England in the elections of 1945. Among the great mass organizations formed during the early postwar period, with their main headquarters in Europe, were the World Federation of Trade Unions, with 66,700,000 members; the Women's International Democratic Federation with 81 million members; and the World Federation of Democratic Youth with 46 million members.

In all the big European mass movements, as well as those in Asia, the Communists have played a decisive, leading role. In the underground fight against Hitler the Communist parties of France, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc., won imperishable glory in their gallant struggles. The same was true of the Communist parties of China and other countries of the Far East. All these parties carried over their mass activities and struggles into the postwar period. They represent the new, healthy, regenerative forces of society, as against the decay and rotteness of capitalism.

Post-War Struggles in Latin America

The big mass movements following World War II, expressions of the general capitalist crisis and which in Europe and Asia reached the high point of far-reaching revolutions, were not without their repercussions in Latin America. The workers and other democratic forces in these countries endeavored, with the advent of peace, to realize locally the great democratic objectives for which the war had been fought. Here, again, the Communists were in the lead. Although these countries had not directly felt the pressure of fascist occupation, nor had they suffered big war losses in human life, nevertheless their people's movements were full of the spirit of revolt. They were directly aimed at breaking the power of the landlords, big capitalists, and foreign imperialists. The wartime inflation, which drastically reduced living standards, was a major contributing factor to the fighting mood of the masses. During the war and in the first years after the war the cost of living soared in Latin America, rising from one-hundred per cent in Uruguay to five-hundred per cent in Bolivia, while wages everywhere lagged far behind.

The postwar period in Latin America, particularly the first couple of years, was one of sharp struggle and advance by the democratic masses. In a number of countries there were very important people's front movements, and almost everywhere there was a great increase in trade union

organization and activity. The student youth movement also showed much vitality. After this initial period, however, reaction went over into an aggressive and violent offensive; but the account of this will be reserved for the following chapter. This postwar upheaval was the fourth general wave of struggle that had swept Latin America during the past generation, the previous three being in connection with World War I, the great economic crisis of 1929-33, and the rise of fascism during the latter 1930's.

Argentina, during the post-World War II years, was an important arena of this postwar struggle. Early in 1944 the Grupo de Oficiales Unidos (G.O.U.), in which Colonel Juan D. Peron was the leading figure, overthrew the Ramirez government and set up a "revolutionary" committee, or junta. The fascist-minded demagogue Peron, making glowing promises to the workers, assumed the presidency of Argentina and arrogantly submitted his name in the February 1946 elections. Over two thousand trade unionists were in prison, mostly in concentration camps in Tierra del Fuego, in the current fierce repression. The democratic forces rallied against Peron. Basically, upon the initiative of the Communist Party, a united front was formed, the Union Democratica. "The coalition of the Union Democratica besides uniting the Radical, Socialist, Progressive Democratic, and Communist parties, had the assistance of the independent unions, a part of the peasants' organizations, and the majority of the democratic intellectuals."⁹ The election was fiercely fought. The United States State Department also took a hand in it directly, trying to defeat Peron and to wrest Argentina away from the British orbit. But Peron, along with his fascist demagoguery of promises to the people, made big capital out of this foreign interference. The election results showed 54 per cent of the votes for Peron, as against 46 per cent for the Union Democratica. In this election the Communists polled nearly 100,000 votes.

In Brazil, the early postwar years brought a tremendous renaissance of the democratic forces of the people, particularly the working class. The outstanding leader was Luis Carlos Prestes, affectionately known to the masses in Brazil as "the Knight of Hope." When released from prison by mass pressure, in May 1945, after nine years of solitary confinement, Prestes was given a tremendous reception by the masses, as many as 500,000 people being present at some of his meetings. The Brazilian Communist Party, within a year, leaped up from a small underground organization to a party of 150,000 members, with seven daily papers.¹⁰ The trade unions, under Communist leadership, grew with great rapidity, soon reaching a membership figure of approximately 1,500,000. In the elections of November 1945, directed against the emerging dictator, General Enrico Gaspar Dutra, the Communists polled nearly 600,000 votes, or ten per cent of the total national vote. They elected fourteen representatives to the National Assembly

and one senator, Prestes. Dutra, the Conservative, carried the election. "Brazil's election of January, 1946, increased the Communist vote to 800,000," says the anti-Communist *Ebon*. "The Communist-supported Adhemar de Barros, later a reactionary, won the governorship of the State of Sao Paulo. In the capital of Rio de Janeiro, the Communists became the largest party and elected 18 out of 50 members to the City Council."¹¹ Then, in May 1947, reaction struck, and the Dutra government declared the Communist Party illegal.

Chile was also the scene of highly important struggles in the immediate postwar period. The people's front government elected in 1938 had successfully carried on its work, despite fierce employer resistance and constant disruptive tendencies from within on the part of the Social-Democrats. In repeated elections it had maintained the support of the people. The people's front government reached its apex in the elections of November 1946, in the groundswell of the popular upsurge following World War II. Gabriel Gonzales Videla (who later betrayed the people and outlawed the Communist Party), was elected by a 50,000 majority over his Conservative opponent. His majority, and six thousand plus, was given him by the Communist vote. The power of the mass movement was to be measured by the increased strength of the Communists, who won twenty seats in the House and Senate and, at the outset, had three members in Videla's cabinet.

Cuba also felt the full force of the postwar efforts of the workers to realize in peace the democratic aims of World War II. The strong People's Socialist Party, perhaps the best organized of the Communist parties of the western hemisphere, inspired and led the many economic and political struggles of this period. To a certain extent it collaborated with the Grau San Martin government; later, however, this government persecuted the Communists and left-wing trade unionists. *Ebon*, who hates Communists, had the following to say about this party: "Progress made by Cuba's Communists in recent years has been spectacular . . . the Communists doubled their voting strength during the war years: from 81,255 in 1942 to 124,619 in 1944, and 197,000 in 1946."¹² At that time, on the eve of the present reactionary offensive in Latin America, the Cuban Communist Party had three members in the Senate and nine in the House. Juan Marinello, president of the party, was vice-president of the Senate. Blas Roca, general secretary of the party, was a member of the House, and so was Lazaro Pena, head of the Cuban Confederation of Labor. There is no Social-Democratic Party in Cuba.

Many other Latin American countries had strong people's front movements in the early postwar period, with the Communists playing the central role in them. In Uruguay, in the elections of 1946, the Communist Party increased its vote from 15,000 in 1942 to 30,000, and elected one senator

and five members of the Chamber of Deputies, a sure sign of the way the wind was blowing in the River Plate area. In Peru, in the elections of 1945, during which the Communists played an important part, the aroused masses gave the APRA a majority of seats in the government, but that Social-Democratic organization failed to utilize its majority to force through significant reforms. In Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, and other lands, the peoples, following the war, made strong protests against existing bad conditions and carried through various important strikes and other mass actions.

One of the most important developments in Latin America during this period has been the rising demand of the people of Puerto Rico for national independence. For half a century, or ever since the Spanish-American War, the United States has ruled this little Caribbean island of about 2,300,000 inhabitants as a colony. Its people suffer the characteristic political and economic ills that afflict the other nations of Latin America. It is cursed with imperialist domination, land monopoly, high prices, low wages, mass unemployment, and widespread undernourishment and disease. A few years ago the Puerto Rican government budget of living costs called for a minimum income of \$1,240 per year per family but the actual income was only \$345. Fox shows that the per capita income in Puerto Rico is about one-half to one-third that of the poorest sections of the United States, such as Mississippi and Alabama,¹³ whereas the cost of food is 27 per cent higher than in the United States. The slums of San Juan are among the most terrible in the whole world. Over 500,000 Puerto Ricans are homeless, and 300,000 children are receiving no schooling—in a population of about 2,300,000.

Although the United States has conceded formal, if not real, independence to the peoples of Cuba and the Philippines, it clings tightly to its rigid colonial control over Puerto Rico, which it especially prizes as a great military base guarding the Panama Canal. Throughout the whole period of its occupation, despite repeated promises of relief, the United States has denied the Puerto Rican people even the semblance of real home rule. All the acts of that country's colonial legislature are subject to review and veto by the President of the United States, and the present move of Truman to concede Puerto Rico a "constitution" is similarly hollow. The sugar industry is dominated by the United States, which also controls the foreign trade and the small industries of the island.

The movement for independence in Puerto Rico has been growing, especially during the past dozen years, reaching a high point during the war and postwar periods. The great masses of the people want independence, but the Popular Democratic Party, led by Luis Munoz Marin, which still has the backing of a majority of the Puerto Rican people, confines itself, aside from vague independence demagoguery, to a program of mild reform

within the framework of subordination to the United States. Its leadership preys upon the fears of many that if Puerto Rico should become politically independent the country would be ruined economically through the loss of the United States sugar market. To meet this problem the recent bill sponsored by Vito Marcantonio in the U. S. Congress proposed to admit sugar into the United States from an independent Puerto Rico, while at the same time agreeing that the latter country could erect tariffs to protect and develop its weak industries from the destructive competition of the big monopolies of the United States. This is also the general line of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico. The mass movement for the island's independence has become so strong that as a concession the United States was forced, in 1947, to grant Puerto Rico the right to elect its own governor.

As this book goes to press, an armed uprising has just taken place (the latter part of October, 1950), in Puerto Rico, headed by the Nationalist Party. The rebels seized several towns and were defeated and their leader, Pedro Albizu Campos, arrested after a sharp struggle. Then came an attempt, on November 2, by Oscar Callazo and Griselio Torresola, to assassinate President Truman in Blair House, in Washington. This whole desperate action had its roots in the deplorable conditions prevailing in Puerto Rico which have been caused and maintained by Yankee imperialism. It indicates the explosive conditions generally in Latin America.

The Post-War Struggle in the United States and Canada

The postwar mass upheaval, which had such profound consequences in Europe and Asia, and to a lesser extent in Latin America, also evidenced itself in the United States and Canada. In both of these countries, at the end of the war, an extensive strike movement developed, both against the rising cost of living, and also because of a large accumulation of unsettled wartime grievances. The workers were definitely in a militant mood. "More than 4,650,000 workers were involved in [United States] strikes in 1946—the largest number in any year in American labor history."¹⁴ In 1947 and 1948 the strike wave subsided somewhat, the number of workers involved in strikes dropping to 2,170,000 and 1,960,000. Canada shared in the broad strike movement. The strikes in the two countries involved many national industries—coal, steel, auto, maritime, electrical, railroad, textile, garment, trucking, etc. In nearly every instance the strikes ended in substantial wage increases. As a result of these movements, the trade unions continued their wartime growth, membership rising from the total of 10,500,000 at the end of 1941 to some 16 million at the end of 1947. This figure includes nearly all of the 950,000 union members in Canada.

An outstanding manifestation of militancy among the masses in the postwar period was that shown by the Negro people. They demonstrated

great activity in the current strikes and organizing campaigns, as well as in the Progressive Party in the elections of 1948. One of the most striking of their many current struggles is the right-to-vote campaign in the South. This is one of the numerous blows being struck against the infamous Jim Crow system. In 1940 only 211,000 Negroes could vote in the South, but in 1949 the number was increased to 750,000, and it is constantly rising. The Negroes and their white allies have made the question of the rights of the Negro people a burning national issue. Their struggle forced President Truman to produce his "civil rights" program, even if it could not compel him to fight for this program to enact legislation. The fight for Negro rights has been greatly strengthened by the powerful criticism that has come from the U.S.S.R., China, India, Latin America, and other countries of the barbaric treatment of the Negro people in the United States. Jim Crow is a heavy millstone hanging about the neck of United States foreign policy.

Besides these extensive wage movements, union building campaigns, and struggles for Negro rights, there have been other postwar expressions of political militancy among the toiling masses of the United States and Canada. Of these, we may also mention the growth of the C.C.F. in Canada, the founding of the Progressive Party in the United States, and its 1948 election campaign. Important signs, too, of the prevailing spirit of militancy in the two countries were the participation of large numbers of young people's and women's groups in the newly formed gigantic youth and women's international organizations. Most significant also was the active part taken by the C.I.O., particularly on the initiative of Sidney Hillman and the pressure of that organization's strong left wing in establishing the new World Federation of Trade Unions in Paris, during September and October of 1945.

The early post-World War II struggles in the United States and Canada did not reach the point of revolutionary intensity that they did in other parts of the world. The main reason for this was because the workers in these two countries, although they experienced considerable economic difficulties during the war, did not suffer the bitter war hardships of the masses in Europe and Asia, or of those in Latin America. Their difficulties were not such as to throw them into an all-out battle against the capitalist system. Moreover, during the postwar period, in the midst of the United States-Canadian industrial boom, their conditions, although gradually deteriorating, were not so bad as to provoke desperate struggles.

Another major factor tending to soften the workers' blow against capitalist reaction in Canada and the United States in the postwar period was the complete betrayal by their trade union and political leaders, immediately upon the end of the war, of all the democratic purposes for which

the war had been fought. Hardly was Franklin D. Roosevelt dead (April 12, 1945) when his successor, President Truman, behind a facade of labor and liberal pretense, launched a vigorous drive of United States imperialism to conquer the war-stricken world. The bulk of the trade union and socialist leaders on both sides of the border promptly lined up behind Truman's blatantly imperialistic policies. Instead of taking up seriously the work of translating the war victory into a democratic peace, therefore, the workers of Canada and the United States found themselves thrust by their leaders into a fever of preparation for a new war—against their ally, the U.S.S.R.

This cynical betrayal of the war's objectives by the official leaders of labor, a betrayal which the workers of Canada and the United States experienced sooner and in greater strength than those of any other country, undoubtedly took much of the punch out of the postwar struggles of these workers. Unlike those lands where the postwar struggles took on a broad, anticapitalist character, both the United States and Canada lacked Communist parties strong enough to give real leadership to the masses in spite of the treachery of Social-Democrats, United States brand. In Canada and the United States the workers' interests suffered accordingly. In the early stages of the postwar period the Communist Party of the United States (as well as other parties in the western hemisphere), were weakened by the class collaboration of Earl Browder, the general secretary of the party. The substance of his theory was that American imperialism had become progressive. However, Browder's opportunism was combated, he was expelled in June 1945, and the party was quickly placed again on a sound Marxist-Leninist line.

The Two Worlds: Capitalism and Socialism

The aftermath of World War II finds the world's capitalist system in a very precarious and rapidly degenerating position. The cumulative effects of its general crisis during the past generation are having disastrous consequences for that system. Collectively, the successive blows of World War I, the Russian Revolution, the great economic crisis of 1929-33, the fascist plague, World War II, the revolution of the People's Democracies of Central Europe, and the Chinese Revolution, have had the decisive results of fundamentally crippling the capitalist system and of giving birth to a great new socialist system.

In consequence, there are now two worlds—a sick, decaying, capitalist world and a healthy, growing socialist world. The capitalist world is stricken in its heart and brain. Its financial and industrial systems have become chaotic; its once great empires—Britain, France, Germany, Japan, Italy—are either prostrate or decrepit; its colonial systems are in ruins, and its present

dominant colossus, the United States, has feet of clay. Moreover, its economists, philosophers, and political leaders are bankrupt and their ideology is full of confusion, hopelessness, and desperation. They are also steeped in fascist reaction. They know neither what causes the deep crisis of capitalism nor how to escape from it. The new socialist world, on the other hand, is vibrant and alive; it is animated with an irresistible spirit of democratic progress and achievement; its ideology, based on Marxist science, is sure and optimistic, and it looks forward confidently to the creation of a new world, a far better one than man has ever dreamed of before.

Historically, the meaning of all this is unmistakably clear. Capitalism has run its course and is in decay, while socialism is in the ascendant. The once dominant world capitalist system is rapidly passing away and the new socialist system is taking its place.

The decadent capitalist world still retains some formal control over the majority of the world's population, territory, and productive power. But this control daily becomes more shaky and unmanageable, as it rapidly crumbles away through the effects of the inner and outer contradictions of the capitalist system. Already the forces of democracy and socialism have won the leadership of some 800 million people, or one-third of the world's population, and also of about one-fourth of the world's territory. These peoples forces are growing constantly. Two of the three largest countries on earth—the U.S.S.R. and China—are, in the first case, socialist, and in the second, on the road to eventually becoming socialist. The whole Far East is seething with the new revolutionary spirit, and all the countries of hopelessly sick capitalist Europe have within their boundaries powerful, regenerative Communist and democratic movements to whom the future belongs. The world socialist forces are now undoubtedly stronger than those of capitalism. The balance of real strength has so far shifted from the old to the new system that should the capitalists manage, as they are now planning, to plunge their nations into war against the socialist world in an effort to solve their many problems, they would surely go down in catastrophic military and political defeat.

The capitalist apologists, ideologists and policy-makers, who are panicky and frantic, see even if they do not understand, the two-world situation now confronting them. Their whole policy, such as it is, is based upon the profitless effort of trying to turn back the wheels of history. They are seeking wildly to heal their incurably diseased capitalism and to wipe out the socialist world—a doubly impossible task. The threat to humanity is that the panic-stricken capitalists as a class, realizing that the course of world economics and politics is flowing inexorably against them, might succeed in their hopeless desperation in forcing humanity into their contemplated atomic-hydrogen-bomb war. The very existence of capitalism has now become a deadly menace to mankind.

29. THE UNITED STATES GRABS FOR THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

The capitalist moguls of Wall Street, animated by boundless greed and confronted by the terrifying world picture of the decline of capitalism and the rise of socialism, are proceeding upon the policy that their answer must be United States world domination, even at the cost of another frightful war. Their reasoning and plans for this grandiose project we shall deal with further along. Here only one major aspect of this immense imperialist scheme will be considered; namely, the attempt to impose the rule of United States monopoly capital from one end to the other of the western hemisphere.

From the foundation of the republic of the United States, as we have seen in previous chapters, there have always been adventurers and exploiters who have cast greedy eyes upon Canada to the north and Latin America to the south, dreaming and scheming for a great, all-hemisphere empire domination by the United States. Prior to the Civil War many slaveowners nursed such ambitious plans of conquest, and this was also the general idea behind the many aggressive acts against Latin America under the Monroe Doctrine. During the period of the Good Neighbor policy and World War II, it is true, these traditional expansionist tendencies, by then grown into full-fledged imperialist aims, were somewhat glossed over with a thin veneer of liberalism. Nevertheless, throughout these very years the United States moved steadily toward establishing its imperialist hegemony over the western hemisphere. And hardly had President Truman taken office in April 1945, than he cast aside the remaining liberal trappings of the Good Neighbor policy. He began to push more vigorously than ever, by economic, political, military, and cultural pressures, Wall Street's program for defeating its imperialist rivals, chiefly Great Britain, and for subjugating and turning the entire hemisphere into one vast "hinterland" for Yankee imperialism.

Imperialist Program of the United States

The economic section of this broad imperialist program for full conquest of the hemisphere, the "Clayton Plan," was presented to the Chapultepec, Mexico, conference of the American Republics in March 1945, while President Roosevelt was still alive and the war going on. The three major aspects of the Clayton Plan, grandiloquently called "the Economic Charter of the Americas," are "free trade," "free investment," and "free enterprise."

The "free trade" aspect of the "charter" calls for a mutual lowering of tariffs among the American nations. The general effect of this proposal would be to expose the weak industries of Latin America to the irresistible competition of the powerful and highly organized industries of the United States. It would prevent the further industrialization of Latin America and would cripple even those slim industries that these countries now have. It would also restrict the commerce between the various Latin American countries and would guarantee the United States the lion's share in Latin American trade in general. As a Yankee writer frankly said about ten years ago: "The South American market must be closed: it must become an exclusive United States trade area."¹ Although clamoring for "free trade" in Latin America, the United States freely makes cartel agreements against stronger competitors, such as prewar Germany, on a world scale.

The "free investment" aspect of the imperialist economic program would give the United States, the only American country with sufficiently large sums of capital for extensive foreign investment, the right to enter with its capital into the various countries virtually upon its own conditions, thus circumventing all the national laws designed to regulate foreign capital investment and to prevent the peoples from being stripped of their wealth for the benefit of absentee Yankee exploiters. Said a Cuban writer about this feature: "The Clayton Plan to prohibit the regulation of investments, to prevent the limitation of profits by taxation, to require 'protection' for investors, shows clearly that Latin America is regarded as a colony."²

The "free enterprise" aspect of the Clayton Plan would deny the peoples of Latin America the right to nationalize and thus keep in their own hands the basic resources and industries of their countries. It would compel them to put a halt to social progress and to subscribe to the antediluvian and disastrous conceptions of the National Association of Manufacturers in the United States. It is just another scheme to throw open the entire economic life of Latin America to unbridled exploitation by Wall Street monopolists.

Another important feature of the plan of Assistant Secretary of State W. L. Clayton, an authentic spokesman for Wall Street, would ostensibly provide for some sort of industrialization of Latin America, principally on the basis of loans from the United States. This project was later raised by President Truman in his inaugural address, on January 29, 1949, to the status of a world policy in his well-known "Point Four." The real objective of this "industrialization" is to continue, with further elaboration, the traditional colonial policy of establishing only such industries as will serve the interests, not of the people of Latin America, but of the United States capitalists. This rank imperialism is covered with a slobbering pretense of altruism. The Cuban Communist leader, Blas Roca, states a widely held Latin American estimate of this whole industrialization project when he says: "These words

are given the lie by the everyday practices in our countries which suffer the brutal imposition, the rapacious exploitation of United Fruit, Standard Oil, the Chase Bank, Bond and Share, of the North American monopolists and rulers."³ And in Mexico in 1947, the National Conference for Transferring Industry (employers and unions) said, "The Clayton plan . . . means nothing but a plan for world domination and for the abolition of competition and freedom. The role which the United States plays in it is that of a metropolitan country, while the other countries are in the position of satellite states."⁴

The military section of the United States plan for hemispheric domination receives its major expression in the arms-standardization project submitted to the other American nations by the United States in October 1945, through the Inter-American Defense Board. According to this ambitious scheme, all the American countries would standardize "the materiel of all units of the various armed forces and of the facilities for its production." There should also be measures to insure joint systems of compulsory service, officer training, etc., with exchanges of military officers and students.⁵ The only possible result of such a plan, if put into effect, would be to place the entire military machine of the western hemisphere in the hands of the United States. One Latin American writer declared: "The armed forces of the twenty Central and South American countries would lose their national character and become units of the great army and powerful Yankee fleet. The necessities of national defense would subordinate themselves to the international objectives of the Yankee power strategy."⁶ And Lombardc Toledano writes: "An immediate aim of that strategy is to isolate the whole American continent from the rest of the world and to keep its territory and resources at the sole command of Washington."⁷ This monster of militarism was conjured up on the basis of propagating the absurd assumption that Soviet Russia was about to attack the Americas.

The political section of the Yankee imperialist program, while not formally written into documentary form, like the economic, military, and cultural parts, is none the less definite and drastic. It consists of crushing Latin American democracy, of forcing the various governments to the right, and of bringing them all directly under United States control. To accomplish all this would require especially the weakening or destruction of the Communist parties, the splitting of the national trade union movements, and the wrecking of the Latin American Confederation of Labor (C.T.A.L.). And this disrupted work would necessitate the further corruption and domestication of the various types of Social Democracy in Latin America and the United States.

The cultural section of the imperialist program, in brief, involves "selling" the political line of United States imperialism to the Latin Amer-

icans, and Canadians, by the same general demagogic methods used to sell it to the people of the United States—namely, that it is necessary to western hemisphere defense and to the democracy and general welfare of all the peoples.

The spearhead in exposing and combating these moves of Yankee imperialism are the Communist parties and the C.T.A.L. unions. Codovilla, the Argentine Communist leader, succinctly sums up the whole grandiose scheme of United States imperialist aggrandizement as follows: "The well-known theory of the 'American century' has its expression in the countries of Latin America in the following form: in the imposition of so-called 'American democracy' (which is antidemocratic, anti-Communist, anti-Soviet and which tends to establish reactionary governments and to liquidate truly democratic regimes); of the 'American economic system' (which demands open doors for unilateral monopolistic expansion of American commerce and finances); of 'American culture' (which imposes its literature, art, cinema, and English language upon all); of the 'American military strategy and tactics' (which demand the uniformity of the armies and military equipment of the continent under the hegemony of the Yankee army); of the 'American foreign policy' (which demands the help en bloc of the countries of Latin America to the Yankee exterior policy and the aggressive attitude of North America against the peoples who resist its impositions.") The slogan of the movement, says Codovilla, is "America for the Americans (of the North)."⁸

The lessons of Greece, China, and Korea prove clearly that the United States is quite prepared, if need be, to back up its general program of subjugating the western hemisphere with active armed intervention. There can be no doubt that other nations in this hemisphere, particularly in Latin America, will have to face an armed force when the time comes for them democratically to throw out the Yankee puppets now controlling their countries. This is the sinister significance of the Truman Doctrine in Latin America.

The Economic Offensive

Although the economic position of United States capital in Latin America has been strengthened since the beginning of World War II, the economic section of Wall Street's post-war efforts to subjugate Latin America has not been completely successful. This is because of Latin American resistance, British opposition, and Yankee greed and excessive world commitments. So far, the much-heralded "Economic Charter of the Americas" has remained only partially operative.

In the realm of trade: During the bonanza conditions of the war, with boundless markets and with European competition wiped out, United States-

Latin American trade flourished, but in the postwar period it is running into difficulties. Because the Yankee businessmen insist upon selling much and buying little, Latin America has been virtually milked dry of its financial reserves, built up in the lush war and early postwar years. Davila points out that in 1947 Latin America had an unfavorable trade balance of over two billion dollars with the United States.⁹ The years 1948-49 presented a similar picture, except that, with an acute dollar famine, the Latin American countries have had to cut drastically their imports from the United States. Yankee businessmen gloomily complain that their sales to Latin America have dropped off over a billion dollars in the past two years from \$3,858,000,000 in 1947 to \$2,834,000,000 (estimated) in 1949.¹⁰ Typically, "the United States' share of the Brazilian market has declined from 61 per cent in 1944 to approximately 42 per cent at this time."¹¹ The picture in other countries is similar. American businessmen are hoping that the Korean war boom will reverse these unfavorable trends.

The Latin Americans are not rushing to slash their protective tariffs to admit the flood of Yankee goods, as the framers of the Clayton Plan had hoped. Instead, they are protesting vigorously against Yankee dumping. Besides, British competition has again become a serious trade factor for the United States to reckon with. It has become an especially formidable competitor since the devaluation of the pound. Canada is also growing into an active invader of Latin American markets, selling six times as much to Latin American countries in 1948 as she did in 1938. And the Bonn government of Western Germany is now busily engaged in trying to win back Germany's extensive prewar markets in Latin America.

In the sphere of capital investments, also, things are not prospering too well for the United States capitalists in Latin America. In Argentina, Mexico, Chile, Brazil, and other countries, the aggressive Yankee capitalists, in the face of strong popular resistance, are not finding it an easy task to batter down the devices which the various peoples have adopted to protect themselves against ruthless imperialist investors. These include such measures as nationalization of basic resources, limitation of profits of foreign enterprises, requirements that a majority of the stock of foreign companies be owned by the nationals of the respective countries, etc. The big national capitalists in such situations are quite willing to betray the interests of their peoples, but they are greedy enough when it comes to securing their own class interests.

Although making considerable investments there, Wall Street, relatively speaking, is not now sending its maximum of capital into Latin America. "Point Four" is still very much in the blueprint stage so far as Latin America is concerned. One reason for the relative dearth of money for Latin America is the United States' tremendous commitments in other parts of the world

through the Marshall Plan and its various other militaristic schemes and wars. Moreover, the Wall Street barons are trying financially to starve the Latin American nations into conceding them a freer hand in exploiting the various peoples. From the end of the war until November 1948, Latin America received \$686 million in United States loans and credits, as against \$26.5 billions for Europe and \$3.5 billions for Asia. Recently new loans to Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and other countries, as well as heavy private investments in Venezuelan oil, have raised the figure for Latin America above the one billion mark.

During the past three years, the Yankee capitalists, in fact, have been facing a minor sort of revolt by the financiers and bourgeois politicians of Latin America. These people are willing to accept United States money under almost any shameful conditions, but faced by a rising sentiment against Yankee imperialism in their countries, they have been protesting against the United States policy for concentrating its financial power in other parts of the world and of "neglecting" Latin America. They have made the inter-America conferences since the war's end ring with such complaints. In order to circumvent this opposition, particularly in the Pan-American Union, the United States has reverted to its old policy of dealing with the individual states, which alone are unable to make effective resistance to the Yankee invaders. The recent Uruguay-United States treaty, which Lombardo Toledano called an abdication of Uruguayan sovereignty, shows where such a policy leads.

The Militarization Offensive

During the war and since, the United States has made considerable progress in securing military domination over Latin America. Among its many projects to this end, it has pushed almost to completion the great 15,000-mile Pan-American military highway, which runs from Fairbanks, Alaska, to Buenos Aires, Argentina. American Airways, of which General Marshall is a prominent director, has also built an elaborate air network, providing potential United States military bases, all over Latin America. United States concerns, at the expense of Great Britain, are also winning munitions orders for Latin American armies; and United States missions and other pressures are controlling the officer corps of the various armies in these countries. Also, the entire network of committees, set up by the Pan-American Union for various purposes, is controlled by the United States and is used by it to further its program of economic, political, military, and cultural aggression.

An important step towards United States military domination of the western hemisphere was the adoption of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance by the score of republics at their meeting in Rio de Janeiro in 1947. This agreement, which has since been endorsed by Uruguay,

Argentina, and other countries, calls for united action on the basis of a two-thirds vote in the event of "aggression" against any one of them, and puts a strong weapon in the hands of the United States, which dominates the Organization of American States (P.A.U.). The treaty is directed against the Soviet Union and under its terms the new Left governments in this hemisphere could be condemned as indirect aggression on the part of the Russians and thus made subject to repressive action by the other American governments.

But the grandiose arms-standardization plan, designed to give full control of all the Latin American armies to the United States, has made slower progress, its arrogant and openly imperialist character being a bit too much for all but the most servile tools of Yankee imperialism in the countries of Central and South America. The opposition of the masses to it is far-reaching and intense. Lombardo Toledano states that "this 'Truman Plan' was rejected by the majority of the Latin American representatives at the Bogota conference"¹² of the Pan-American Union in 1948. The Korean war, however, is giving new life to this aggressive scheme.

Although the widespread United States campaign of war propaganda throughout Latin America (carried on to militarize the countries under the flimsy pretext of hemisphere defense against the U.S.S.R.) is generally supported by government heads and bourgeois politicians, it is also meeting powerful mass hostility. The various strong Communist parties and the Latin American Confederation of Labor (C.T.A.L.) in particular are cultivating this widespread mass sentiment for peace and resistance to war. In September 1949, Latin American peace sentiment manifested itself in a gigantic peace conference in Mexico City, called upon the initiative of the C.T.A.L., to which came representatives from millions of peace-loving people in nearly every country of the western hemisphere. This has been followed by similar demonstrations in various countries, and by the development of huge mass support for the Stockholm peace pledge. The peoples of Latin America are opposed to the projected Yankee war.

The general cultural offensive of Yankee imperialism in Latin America, upon which many millions of dollars are being spent through various means of publicity, is fundamentally a failure. During the period of Roosevelt's liberal presidency the people of the Latin American countries began to hope that, at last, the "Colossus of the North" was going to live in fraternal and domestic relationships with the other lands of the hemisphere. They greeted the Good Neighbor policy with warm enthusiasm. But their illusions were later rudely shattered by President Truman's crude redevelopment of "dollar diplomacy." Consequently, at the present time, there is among the masses in Latin America a stronger, more widespread, and clear-sighted opposition to Yankee imperialism than ever before.

The Political Offensive

Yankee imperialism, in Latin America, has been most successful in its political offensive since the end of the war. It has been largely responsible for unleashing throughout this whole territory a wave of reaction with a distinctly fascist character. The United States has been responsible for driving various governments to the right, and in the recent coups d'état in Costa Rica, Peru, Venezuela, El Salvador, Guatemala, Colombia, Paraguay, and Bolivia, it has had a definite hand. Characteristically, says a correspondent, "The government [of Guatemala] maintains that the company [United Fruit] has been behind the twenty-seven attempted revolutions since 1945."¹³ More and more the dictators in Latin America are becoming puppets of the United States. Moreover, the United States has been responsible for outlawing the Communist parties and trade unions in a dozen countries, and also in developing a partial split in the Latin American Confederation of Labor.

Luis Prestes of Brazil points out that "the present military coups on the South American continent . . . unlike the old classic 'revolutions' in Central and South America—armed clashes between oligarchic bands, supported by one or another imperialism in the quarrel for power—bear the unmistakable imprint of the dominant North American imperialism . . . their object is to replace these [weak] governments with military-police dictatorships which would secure, in the hinterland of North American imperialism, the 'order' necessary for unleashing a new war."¹⁴

Yankee imperialism is using a whole bag of economical and political tricks to strengthen its grip in Latin America; among them, stifling trade between the Latin American countries and the Soviet Union, laying obstacles to trade among the various Latin American nations themselves and creating bad blood, even war tension, between various governments, setting Brazil against Argentina, Chile against Argentina, etc.

Wall Street's Latin American allies in this work of political reaction are the big landowners and capitalists, the clerical hierarchy, and the various fascist groups. Potent assistants, too, are the so-called "third force" elements—the Socialist parties of Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina, the A.P.R.A. of Peru, the Autenticos of Cuba, the Liberals of Colombia, the Democrats of Venezuela, the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. leaders of the United States, and various Trotskyites, Titoites, and other "lefts" who hold the theory that the way to progress and well-being for the workers and peasants is by supporting the war program of United States imperialism.

Chile presents a characteristic example of how Wall Street's agents of reaction are working in Latin America. As we have seen, President Gonzales Videla was elected in 1946 by the Popular Front, backed by most of Chile's 300,000 workers. So, when he approached Washington for a badly needed

\$50 million loan he was told that he could have it only on the condition that he curb the militant Chilean Federation of Labor and force the Communists out of his cabinet. Whereupon, Videla, with the help of open fascist reaction, plus the Social-Democrats, proceeded to do just that. Consequently, since August 1947, a veritable stage of siege has existed in Chile. The Communists have been expelled from the government and their party illegalized; a split of the Federation of Labor was engineered by the Social-Democrat, Bernardo Ibanez, with the backing of the A.F. of L. of the United States; strikes were ruthlessly smashed, and several thousand labor leaders and militants jailed for long terms at the instigation of United States business interests. Videla got his loan with which he is now building the United States-controlled steel plant at Talcahuano. Chile has become virtually a puppet of the United States, both economically and politically. In 1949, that country got 48.5 per cent of its imports from, and sent 54.2 per cent of its exports to, the United States. Galo Gonzales Diaz, general secretary of the Communist party states in the publication, *For A Lasting Peace*, Sept. 8, 1950, that "The American imperialists are tightening their grip in all spheres: in economy, public health, the film industry, the press, education, radio, in the armed forces, and so on." The real rulers of the country are the du Ponts and Guggenheims, the Anaconda Copper Company, and the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, who control the nation's mines and chemical industries and resources.

Brazil provides another glaring example of drastic Yankee imperialist intervention. Faced with a growing economic crisis that was marked by raging inflation and the bleeding of the country's financial reserves by the one-way trade policy of the United States, President Dutra, like Videla of Chile, came to Washington hat in hand for a loan. He, too, got his instructions, along with promises of financial help. The results in Brazil: "Since 1947 the Dutra Government has been increasingly heading towards an open imperialist dictatorship. The outlawing of the Communist Party and Communist Youth League was followed by the prohibition of the Confederation of Labor, the annulling of the mandates of the Communist members of Parliament, arrests and lynchings of leaders of the workers and intelligentsia, raids on domestic newspapers, dismissal from office of democratically minded civil servants, opening fire at public meetings, laws directed against the press and the popular movement, the abolition of the right to strike, and finally the launching of the odious trial of Prestes, the Communist leader, and of seventeen members of the Central Committee of the [Communist] Party."¹⁵ A reward of \$50,000 is now offered for Prestes, dead or alive. The fascist Dutra, of course, got his loan and with it the warm blessing of Washington. Prestes thus describes the present Yankee domination in his country: "The key economic positions of Brazil are in the hands of U.S. monopolies. Through the medium of foreign military missions, the armed forces have

fallen into the hands of the U.S. command which thus controls all Brazilian military, naval, and air bases. The preparations for war against the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies, and the peoples of Asia fighting for their national liberation, are intensifying. The fascization of Brazil is also being speeded up."¹⁶ The newly elected president, Vargas, is continuing these reactionary policies.

In Cuba, too, reactionary United States pressure is being drastically exerted. The erstwhile "progressive" Grau San Martin government proved itself a willing tool of Wall Street. In April 1948, Blas Roca declared that "The Grau government has defrauded the hopes that the masses put in it."¹⁷ Its successor, the Socarros regime, is equally reactionary. In obedience to the dictates of Washington and the big national reactionaries, the Cuban government for the past three years has been conducting a growing reign of terror. Over one hundred labor leaders have been cold-bloodedly assassinated, including Jesus Menendez, Aracelio Iglesias, Fernandez Roig, and Amancio Rodriguez. The government, after engineering a split in the Cuban Federation of Labor with the help of A.F. of L. agents, has established a fascist-like government control over the labor unions. All of these steps have encountered strong resistance from the well-organized and disciplined Cuban workers. The government has suppressed the Communist organ, *Hoy*, and is also trying, but has not yet succeeded, in outlawing the strong Popular Socialist (Communist) Party.

In various other countries similar Yankee pressure, allied with domestic reaction, is being exerted. In vitally strategic Venezuela, where the United States has investments of almost one billion dollars and whose 75 million ton yearly oil production is controlled by United States and British oil companies, the liberal Gallegos government was overthrown in November 1948, and a stooge of the Yankee oil interests, Delgado Chalbaud, was put in office and the Communist Party outlawed.* "The actual, but, of course, unofficial leader of the coup was Colonel Adams, the United States military attache."¹⁸ In Mexico, United States pressure is forcing the Aleman government toward liquidation of the agrarian reform and castration of the Federal Labor Law.¹⁹ Uruguay, with its recent agreement in 1949, accepting the essence of the Clayton Plan, has virtually become a United States satellite state.²⁰ In Paraguay, upon United States instigation, a veritable terror exists. In Nicaragua, in March 1947, General Somoza, a tool of the United States State Department, seized power. And behind the spectacular uprising in Bogota, Colombia, in April 1948, were the characteristic maneuvers of Wall Street agents. In Central America, as never before, the various dictators are taking their orders from Washington. The half-dozen countries in this area are little better than colonies of the United States. All over Latin America,

* Chalbaud was assassinated during an uprising in November, 1950.

thanks to United States policy, the fascists, discredited by the war, are crawling out of their holes and once more becoming a real menace.

The Advance Upon Argentina

Argentina is about one-third the size of the United States and is the second biggest nation in Latin America. It is largely a plains country, and its vast cattle-grazing lands compare with any in the world. With a generally temperate climate, its principal products are cattle, sheep, wheat, corn, cotton, sugar, fruits. The country is short of known deposits of coal and iron, but possesses extensive water power and many of the most important raw materials. It is the most industrialized country of Latin America, in 1941 having 57,940 industrial establishments (a figure considerably increased since then) and 852,154 workers. Its industrial system, however, typically distorted by restrictive imperialist investment policies, is still closely bound up with agriculture; the principal industries being meat refrigeration (it possesses the largest plant in the world), flour milling, textiles, sugar refining, dairy products, wine-making, etc. Its railroads, 22,835 miles in extent, are the most elaborate in Latin America, two of them crossing the lofty Andes into Chile. Of the approximately seventeen million people of Argentina, about one-fifth live in Buenos Aires, the biggest city in Latin America. Nearly all the industry of Argentina is concentrated in the capital. It is much as though New York contained thirty million people and had the bulk of the industries of the United States.

Argentina has long been a fertile field for foreign investments, especially British. England shipped coal and manufactured products to Argentina and bought the latter's meat, hides, wool, and wheat. Almost one-half of Britain's total investments in Latin America have been in Argentina. The British led all other imperialists in this area, but now they have been outstripped by the pushing Yankee imperialists. In 1929, at their peak, British investments in Argentina totaled \$2014 million, as against \$770 million from the United States. During the world economic crisis and World War II, however, Great Britain was compelled to dispose of more than half her holdings in Argentina; so that the investment score between the two big imperialist powers now stands: Great Britain, \$698 million; United States, \$1.2 billion. "All these facts, and many others indicate that an important part of the great private capitals of Argentina and some other European enterprises have allied themselves, or seek to ally themselves with Yankee imperialism, thus forming a powerful capitalist constellation which has enormously increased the importance of Yankee imperialism in Argentina.... This reveals that Wall Street, for the first time in history, has become the world financial center with the greatest investments in our country."²¹

British influence has long been powerful and arrogant in Argentine

political life. Britishers have boldly referred to Argentina as their "best colony" and they have treated it almost as a subordinate part of their empire. Traditionally, in the meetings of the Pan-American Union and in trade wars throughout Latin America, the British have used Argentina as their strong weapon against their rival Yankee competitor. One of their moves in this respect was the setting up, in 1915, of the short-lived A-B-C alliance of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. After the rise of Hitler, the Germans, who had considerable investments in Argentina (\$250 million in 1939), began also successfully to challenge British political domination of the country. The reactionary capitalist leaders of Argentina, themselves fascist-minded, struck a bargain with Hitler and Mussolini, and during the pre-war years Argentina became the main base in their campaign for the projected conquest of Latin America.

But the national industrial bourgeoisie in Argentina has gradually grown monopolistically strong over the years. A hundred years ago the wealthy men of Argentina were almost exclusively cattle and sheep raisers, but a study of the highest incomes of Argentina in 1941 reveals that "of the one hundred persons paying the most income tax, ten were estancieros [land owners], four were cereal brokers, and thirty-five were manufacturers and industrialists." The two highest tax payers were textile mill owners, and the third highest was a metallurgist.²² The new industrial bourgeoisie and the old landowning class have been closely interlocked through marriage and cross investments in land and industry.

Especially after Colonel Juan Domingo Peron came to power in 1944, this greatly strengthened bourgeoisie began to develop imperialist ambitions of its own. The lush prosperity of wartime gave Peron's government a flood of money with which he was able to buy back the railroads (£150 million) and telephone system (\$100 million), as well as local gas and transport companies, from the British and Yankees and also to make loans to various countries. Among these were Chile, Bolivia, Spain, France, Italy, and Romania. He launched an ambitious five-year plan (1947-52) and proposed to establish a "greater Argentina," which was to become the dominant power in all Latin America. Said the boastful Argentine dictator, "We shall eventually control South America. We shall begin by forming alliances. We already have Bolivia and Paraguay. We shall bring Chile within our sphere. Uruguay will not be difficult because she is dependent upon us economically. Then these five united nations, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay, will also easily attract Brazil. When Brazil falls, the Continent will be ours."²³ Meanwhile, the workers and peasants in Argentina struggled along on below-subsistence wages and incomes.

It was with this ambitious imperialist scheme in mind that Peron, with covert British support during the war and afterward, began busily plotting

in all the surrounding countries. He had a hand in every reactionary putsch, even as far to the north as Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, and Costa Rica. Peron's arrogance became such that the United States State Department, on the basis of its greatly increased economic strength in Argentina, and under sharp prodding from Sumner Welles,²⁴ had to drop its policy of head-on collision with the Argentine dictator and it began to maneuver to take him into camp as it has done with Dutra and Videla. The State Department wants to use Peron's great prestige among Latin American reactionaries as a successful demagogue to push forward the whole program of fascist reaction throughout the entire area. And Peron seems so receptive to such a role that the Argentine Communist leader Victorio Codovilla entitles one of his books, *Will Argentina Resist Yankee Imperialism?*

The prospect for United States success in this attempt to domesticate Peron has not appeared too unfavorable, as Argentina has fallen into a severe crisis with the end of the war. Its export trade has declined heavily, there is great unemployment, its gold reserves have fallen from \$1.2 billion in 1946 to \$200 million in 1949,²⁵ and it is caught in the usual dollar shortage trap of these days. Not only has Argentina's economic position been weakened, but its international political position as well. Its two powerful imperialist "allies," Great Britain and Germany, are not what they used to be; whereas its big antagonist, the United States, has become the dominant world capitalist power. Moreover, neighboring Uruguay, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, and Brazil, instead of becoming the hoped-for Argentine satellites, are tending to fall more and more under the political domination of the United States. To sum up the general situation regarding Argentina: Yankee imperialism is gradually and systematically infringing upon that country's economic and political life, while British imperialism is stubbornly defending its own interests in what has so long been its major stronghold in Latin America. Peron has already declared that in the event of a new war, Argentina "will be on the side of the United States of America."²⁶ In June 1950, his government endorsed the infamous mobilization plans of Yankee imperialism²⁷ and Argentina now is getting a \$125 million United States loan through the Export-Import Bank—facts which tell their own story of Yankee success in that country.²⁸

The Growing Absorption of Canada

Canada, with about 13,000,000 people, is an imperialist country, a land of monopoly capital. Tim Buck writes, "By 1946 there were no less than 35 corporations in Canada with assets of more than \$100 million each. Of the 35, only 15 had assets of less than \$200 million each. Eight had assets of between \$200 million and \$300 million each. Seven had assets of between \$300 million and \$1000 million, five had assets of more than one, but less

than two billion dollars, and two reported assets of more than two billion dollars each. The aggregate value of the assets reported by these 35 Canadian corporations was over \$19 billion. Truly our national economy is dominated by a few monopolistic giants."²⁹ Four big banks control more than one-half of the entire national economy. Canada has some 33,000 manufacturing plants, which for efficiency compare with those in the United States. Their production covers practically all the light and heavy industries.

Canada displays its imperialist character in its active policy of foreign investment. One and a quarter billion dollars of Canadian money is invested in the United States. As we have seen in Chapter 27, Canada during the war and postwar period sent \$4.7 billion to Europe in various forms of co-operation and aid. One of the most important fields of Canadian investment is in Latin America, notably in Brazil and Cuba. According to L. B. Pearson, "in the face of present world economic difficulties, there has been since 1939 a ten-fold increase in the total value of our trade with the nations of this area [Latin America] of the world."³⁰

Of course, ruthless United States capitalists do not propose to tolerate serious imperialist rivalry from Canada. It is a historic fact that expansionists and imperialists in the United States have always looked with covetous eyes upon that country. They tried to take Canada by armed force in the wars against England in 1776 and 1812, and their pressure against Canada was so great following the Civil War of 1861-65 that England was forced to grant that country dominion status as a measure to hold it in the empire. Now, with more vigor than ever, the predatory forces in the United States are pressing to absorb Canada, and their efforts are more successful than they have ever been before. Canada is being drawn more and more into the orbit of the United States economically, politically, militarily, culturally, and the same may also be said, to a lesser degree, of Australia. Thus the United States is actually disintegrating the British Empire.

United States capitalist interests now have more than six billion dollars invested in Canada, or as much as they have in all of Latin America. They own two thousand branch plants in Canada, about thirty per cent of all Canadian manufacturing industry being either owned or controlled by capitalists of the United States.³¹ United States financial interests in Canada far exceed those of Great Britain, which, under pressure of the war, had to dispose of large amounts of its Canadian holdings. These British investments in Canada now amount to \$1,650 million, as against \$2,766 million at their peak in 1930. To make Canada's economic relationship with the United States more precarious for Canada, that country has an unfortunate trade balance. Thus, in 1949, Canada imported about two billion dollars' worth of goods from the United States, but exported to her only about one billion dollars' worth. At present, United States investors are also drawing

\$275 million in profits from Canada.³² This situation creates an acute dollar shortage for Canada, which is highly disadvantageous for its dealings with the United States. The Korean war boom has eased somewhat this basically unfavorable situation in Canada.

The dependent economic relationship of Canada to the United States has its inevitable political effects. Gradually Canada is severing its few remaining direct political ties with Great Britain and establishing new ties with the United States. A sentiment is also developing in Canada for actual union with the United States. "All these developments make it look casually to a visiting American as if Canada were cutting loose completely from Britain, maybe even getting ready to join the United States."³³ This annexionist sentiment is re-echoed in the United States, the *Wall Street Journal* of June 4, 1950, carrying a strong argument for the union of Canada with the United States.

Speaking of the so-called Abbott Plan of the King government, which aimed to concentrate upon the production of raw materials in order not to confront United States competition, Tim Buck declared: "The inevitable economic and political results of such a relationship would be to undermine the political sovereignty of Canada's people."³⁴ And Howard Green, M.P., stated: "It shows an amazing subservience to the United States. One would think Canada was a subject country. No Canadian government since Confederation has gone so far to take orders from another country."³⁵ The question of defending its national independence from the inroads of United States imperialism has now become a living issue in Canada.

Militarily, the imperialists of the United States are pushing their offensive against Canada even more aggressively than their economic and political campaigns. During the war, the jingoist Lindbergh expressed the characteristic militarist position in the United States by protesting that Canada had no right to go to war without first securing the permission of the United States. In a military sense, Canada is now fully tied to the chariot of aggressive United States imperialism. The U.S.-Canada Joint Defense Board of war times has been continued, a standardization-of-arms agreement has been entered into, and elaborate military activities—"Operation Sweet Briar"—are being carried out in Canada on a large scale, ostensibly to counter a mythical invasion by the Russians through Alaska. To all intents and purposes, Canada is now practically occupied by the armed forces of the United States.

Canada, as is well-known, has long been subject to a heavy barrage of "culture" from the United States, in the shape of books, newspapers, music, radio, motion pictures, lectures, etc. Since the end of the war this culture campaign has been sharply stepped up. Its central purpose is to enlist the Canadian people in Wall Street's futile drive to conquer the world. Says Tim

Buck, "Two-thirds of every bit of reading matter available in this country is stamped 'Printed in U.S.A.'"³⁰ It is no exaggeration to say that now, after this long-continued campaign, the everyday cultural life of Canada resembles that of the United States far more than it does that of the "mother country," Great Britain.

The Hemisphere Hinterland

Although, as we see, Wall Street is by no means having things all its own way in its attempt to dominate the western hemisphere, nevertheless, since the beginning of World War II, it has succeeded in building up a dangerous degree of control over Latin America and Canada. It dictates the price of coffee in Brazil, sugar in Cuba, bananas in Central America, coffee in Chile, and so on, and nearly everywhere it dominates the governments. This economic and political control, because of the great potential strength of the United States, is much more subtle and pervasive than would appear on the surface in the case of specific relations between the United States and any given country. Actually the United States is the economic, political, and military boss of the western hemisphere. This domination is an important base of the United States' hegemony over the capitalist world.

The semblance of national independence possessed by the various semi-colonial governments of Latin America tends to create illusions among certain sections of the people and to slow up their national liberation movements. The situation provides a striking example of the types of subtle imperialist controls which Lenin warned against in the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920. Lenin pointed out how "the imperialist powers, aided by the privileged classes of the subject countries, in creating under the mask of political independence various governments and state institutions which are in reality completely dependent upon them economically, financially, and in a military sense."

United States control is clearly to be seen in the sessions of the Pan-American Union, which, in Bogota, Colombia in May 1948, was reorganized and renamed the "Organization of American States." This body, however much its Latin American members may complain and balk, is taking its general political line, in both important domestic and world affairs, from the representatives of the United States. Wall Street domination of the western hemisphere is also to be seen in the activities of the Latin American delegates in the United Nations. There, on questions of major world importance—such as those dealing with the U.S.S.R., China, and Korea—the western hemisphere nations follow the line of Wall Street and almost always act as a bloc. On lesser questions they sometimes take independent positions. Canada, for example, also follows the United States orientation in world affairs far more than it does that of Great Britain.

Wall Street's drive to conquer the western hemisphere has been greatly facilitated by the weakened position of the rival imperialist states as far as Latin America is concerned. France, once a powerful influence in Latin America, has been virtually eliminated as an imperialist power. Germany, Italy, and Japan, also formerly vital factors in Latin America, are also now either decimated or vastly reduced in influence. Germany, prior to 1914, had made great progress imperialistically in Latin America, but World War I wiped it out. During the period after this war Germany again rose as a powerful rival to United States and British imperialism in Latin America, but World War II, once again, ruined its imperialistic hold. And Great Britain, herself, is also distinctly a declining factor in the economic and political life of Latin America and Canada. Thus, according to Wythe, British investments at the end of the 1920's amounted to five billion dollars,³⁷ whereas, now, after heavy liquidation of securities during the great economic crisis and World War II, these investments have declined to \$1,569,019,486.³⁸ Britain's political domination has similarly declined. United States investments, on the other hand, despite the economic crisis of 1929-33 and World War II, rose from \$5.2 billion in 1930 to \$5.7 billion by the middle of 1948.³⁹ Since then this figure increased by one billion dollars, to about \$6.7 billion, at the end of 1949. Although the other imperialist powers continue as dangerous rivals, the United States has clearly become the big boss.

Although Great Britain has thus obviously declined in economic and political strength and influence in Argentina, Canada, and other parts of the western hemisphere, it can by no means be written off as a potent factor in the affairs of the New World. With the United States coming more and more into conflict with the peoples of Latin America and Canada, and with the increasing difficulties it is facing upon a world scale, the wily British imperialists will find many opportunities to advance their interests at the expense of the United States, opportunities which they will exploit to the limit.

Of the approximately \$18 billion of the grand total of United States foreign private investments, some \$12 billion, or two-thirds, are concentrated in the countries of the western hemisphere. These investments are highly profitable. The average rate of profit in Latin American investments in 1949 was 17.4 per cent. Perlo says, "The rate of profit on foreign investments was about twice the general average within the United States." Thus, typically, Standard Oil reports profits of 11 per cent in the United States and 33 per cent abroad in 1948; Firestone, 7 per cent in the United States and 27 per cent in foreign countries; Anaconda Copper, 5 per cent in the United States and 13 per cent abroad. Perlo estimates that in 1949 United States corporations wrung \$700 million superprofits out of Brazilian coffee and \$400 million out of Central American bananas.⁴⁰ These figures indicate the great profits

for which the game of imperialism is being played in Latin America. The political and military stakes are no less high.

A most dangerous aspect of the situation in the western hemisphere is the fact that the Social-Democrats and liberals throughout Latin America and Canada are betraying their countries into the hands of Wall Street. They are accepting as progressive the whole line of the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, "Point Four," the anti-Soviet hysteria, and the general war plan of United States big business. They are making this clear especially in the Korean war. What quarrels they may have with Wall Street about the application of these various imperialist schemes to their particular countries are secondary to the basic fact that they accept the main line of United States big capital's program, which aims at the subjugation of the western hemisphere and the world. As a companion piece to this treachery of the Social-Democrats in Latin America, those in the United States are also giving their hearty support to the whole conquest policy of Wall Street imperialists.

But, such as it is, United States control over the rest of the western hemisphere is nevertheless built on sand. It is nonsense to believe that the peoples of Americas will long endure the economic crisis and political reaction that United States imperialism is now thrusting upon them. Nor can they be held in subjection by the economic, political, military, and cultural pressures. The situation in the western hemisphere is highly explosive, especially in Latin America. Here the same basic forces are at work that are producing the great national liberation movements of Asia. Already the post-war reactionary offensive of Yankee imperialism is beginning to get the inevitable answer from the Latin American peoples. The developing strike movement in Argentina, Chile, and other countries; the 1950 election struggles of the Communist Party in Brazil; and the spreading peace movement everywhere, particularly after the outbreak of the Korean war, all indicate the rebellious mood of the working class and of the great masses of the people throughout Latin America. Del Vayo puts his finger on the heart of the matter in this big area when he says: "In Latin America, too, a slow but formidable social revolution is brewing. Military coups can only delay it. The day it begins to gather momentum, Americans [in the United States] will be taken as much by surprise as they have been by developments in China."⁴¹

The Latin American revolution, like that in China, beginning as an agrarian, anti-imperialist movement, would not be long in orientating towards socialism. This would be an inevitable result of the deepening of the general crisis of world capitalism, as expressed in its Latin American sector.

30. WALL STREET'S DRIVE FOR WORLD DOMINATION

The big monopolists of the United States are looking beyond the conquest of the western hemisphere to the more ambitious goal of mastering the whole world. World domination, they assume, is the right of the United States as the strongest capitalist power. Theirs is a program of Anglo-Saxon superiority, as they would concede Great Britain the niggardly position of junior partner in their scheme of universal rule. To fool the gullible, the Wall Street monopolists and their publicity mouthpieces are as a rule very careful to hide their grandiose and sinister bid for world control behind a facade of euphonious statements about their historic duty to exercise "world moral leadership" and professions of a selfless desire to do good to the rest of the peoples of the world. But occasionally some of the more windy capitalist spokesmen let the cat out of the bag by expressing more or less clearly the predatory aims of United States imperialism.

In December 1945, President Truman, one of the more outspoken of the jingoes, made the eagle scream with: "Whether we like it or not, we must recognize that the victory which we have won has placed upon the American people the continuing burden of responsibility of world leadership." Downey, an "advisor" to the chairman of the General Motors Corporation, in the same vein, stated even more boldly: "The present war [World War II] is nothing but a fight for world control. It probably represents a series of wars, the first being the war of 1914-18. Until a strong combination emerges, Anglo-Saxon Axis, or what not, there will be no peace in the world. . . . The Anglo-Saxons are out to rule this world or get ruled."¹ Henry Luce, a frank imperialist, avers that it is our fate "to accept wholeheartedly our duty and our opportunity as the most powerful and vital nation in the world and in consequence to exert upon the world the full impact of our influence, for such purposes as we see fit and by such means as we see fit."² And Eric Johnston, booster-in-chief of United States capitalism, declares, "We will either organize the world or it will be organized against us."³ These are authentic voices of Wall Street.

During the past decades monopoly capital, which is the driving force of United States imperialism, has been growing rapidly and preparing for its present world-conquering role. Even before World War II the process of concentration in industry and finance had progressed so far that "four or

fewer firms controlled 75 per cent or more of the production of each of the industries which together produced more than one-third, by value, of all industrial products."⁴ This process of consolidation was greatly speeded up during World War II and in the early postwar period. Forty-eight corporations are now in the billion dollar class, with total assets of \$114 billion. Eight of these corporations have over \$4 billion each, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company topping the list with over \$8 billion in assets. The House of Morgan controls 46 corporations, with assets of almost \$31 billion,⁵ and the Morgan-First National Bank group controls assets of \$55.4 billions. Six big banks control 57 per cent of the nation's banking business.⁶ Eleven corporations employ 1,300,000 workers. Total United States foreign investments, government and private, at the end of 1949 had risen to over \$33 billion.⁷ This figure does not include the huge Marshall Plan and gifts and military loans. On October 23, 1950, the Senate-House Committee on Federal Expenditures announced that since V-J Day the United States government had expended the gigantic sum of \$42.5 billions upon foreign aid of all sorts. These are facts and figures of the richest and most powerful group of imperialists in the history of world capitalism.*

Four major factors, all growing out of the general crisis of capitalism, are now pushing the big capitalists of Wall Street into their present active program of world conquest. The first of these is the reality that the United States has become far and away the most powerful capitalist country in the world, and by virtue of this fact is insisting upon being the big boss of all countries. The superiority of the United States in financial, industrial, political, and military strength has become much more pronounced as a result of World War II, both absolutely and relatively in respect to the other capitalist nations. Whereas during the war the United States rapidly increased its own strength, its chief imperialist competitors—Great Britain, Germany, Japan, France, and Italy—were literally ruined by the wholesale destruction.

With vast sums of unused capital accumulation pressing for investment, with a national income of \$216.8 billion annually, and with a production of \$255.6 billion, about two-thirds that of the capitalist world, it is inevitable that the postwar United States, incomparably stronger than any other capitalist power, should drive toward domination over the peoples, natural resources, and commodity markets of the world. This is in the very nature of the capitalist beast. It is inconceivable that any capitalist nation, finding itself in the present relatively favorable position of the United States, should not make a bold try for world mastery, which is precisely what the United States is now doing.

The second factor, also economic, which is pushing the United States

* In estimating these financial figures it must be borne in mind that the dollar of 1950 is worth only 57 cents as against the dollar of 1940.

toward war, is the ever-sharpening contradiction between productive forces and shrinking markets. This raises before capitalism in this country the horrible specter of a great economic crisis, even more terrible than that of 1929-33. War was the means which finally pulled capitalism out of that economic holocaust and war, the bourgeois leaders believe, by furnishing limitless markets, is the only way to avert or postpone the next crisis.

The third major factor—political—driving Wall Street in its campaign for world supremacy is the acute alarm the rulers of the country feel over the obvious breaking down of the capitalist system all over the world and the tremendous growth of world democracy and socialism during recent years, particularly the increased strength of the U.S.S.R., the birth of the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, and the historic victory of the new Chinese People's Republic. Wall Street's foreign policy has failed miserably to halt socialism. The monopolists, like the capitalists of other countries, are frightened in their bones by the menace that all this presents to their world systems. Hence, as a great imperialist power and the leader of international capitalism, the monopoly-controlled United States, as part of its program of world domination, is setting out to overwhelm and crush world democracy and socialism, even at the cost of another great world war. And the more alarmed the capitalists become, the greater grows the war danger. Wall Street, in planning another world war, hopes insanely that it may emerge from the slaughter as the undisputed ruler of the world.

The fourth basic consideration driving Wall Street to attempt world conquest is its strong fear that world capitalism is falling to pieces in the face of developing socialism and that the only way to preserve it is for the United States to take charge of the whole system and to reorganize it essentially upon a fascist basis.

The general result of these capitalist pressures has been to split the world into two great camps: the war camp, led by aggressive United States imperialism; and the peace camp, led by the Soviet Union and made up of all peace-loving forces and nations.

Policies of Imperialist Aggression

The United States has an elaborate program in its drive for conquest. In its campaign to subordinate the capitalist part of the world, it is especially applying its overwhelming industrial and financial power. With the Marshall Plan and its intensive trade drive, the United States is practically breaking down the tariffs and stealing the trade of other countries. It ruthlessly penetrates their markets, while maintaining its own intact. The Marshall Plan threatens the independence of Great Britain, France, and all the other European countries to which it is applied. The inevitable result of this is to upset international trade and to make world capitalism still

more vulnerable to the general crisis. In 1948, United States exports, totaling \$12.5 billion, were almost double the value of its imports. "The United States sells much more abroad than it buys. The gap last year ran to \$5.5 billion."⁸ Menzshinsky states that in their trade relations with the United States, the seventeen West European countries showed an aggregate trade deficit of \$5.9 billion in 1946, \$8.6 million in 1947, and \$7.5 billion in 1948."⁹ In this very one-sided trading situation Latin America and Canada have a deficit of \$1.5 billion. A major consequence of this most unhealthy situation is an acute dollar famine, which brings virtually all of the capitalist nations as beggars to the doors of the United States. The general result of these pressures, as we have seen, is that the United States has established for itself a position of dominance or hegemony, however shaky, over the capitalist world.

In its attempt to defeat the U.S.S.R. and the other countries of the socialist and democratic world, however, the United States puts its main stress not upon economic means (which it knows to be futile in this case), but upon military pressures. To this end, in an effort to overawe the socialist world, the United States has built up at home a tremendous war machine, the like of which it has never before known in peacetime. A drive for universal military service, \$15 billion military budget (tripled in the Korean war), a vast army, navy, and air force, atom bombs and projected hydrogen bombs, bacteriological bombs and guided missiles—and all these are accompanied by an intensive campaign of ultrajingoistic war propaganda. The peacetime military budget of 1950 is thirty times as large as that of 1938. The United States has spent \$100 billions in the cold war. This huge military machine has its war bases all over the capitalist world, the present-day theory of United States "defense" being that its airplanes must be able to atom bomb any part of the world at an hour's notice. "Today you can stick a pin anywhere on the map and prick an American general or admiral," says Marion.¹⁰ This great United States war machine, while frankly aimed against the U.S.S.R., also conveniently serves to intimidate the capitalist world.

The Truman Doctrine is an important aspect of Wall Street's military program for world conquest. It is the system of developing civil war wherever possible in all those countries which are striving to develop socialism. Greece and China, and now Korea so far have been the principal victims of this civil war policy, but the plan is to make a much wider use of it. The Truman Doctrine of civil war is the idea behind the many treason plots that are constantly being cooked up against the New Democracies of Eastern Europe. The imperialists have also let it be distinctly known that they are quite prepared to launch civil wars in France and Italy, should the peoples in these countries show any signs of giving power to the Communists

or to a people's front. The agents of the State Department even wishfully dream of starting an antisocialist civil war in the Soviet Union, with their many attempts to "speak to the Russian people" behind the back of the Soviet government.

As this book is ready to go to press, the war situation in Korea has developed. Here is a clear case of United States aggression, organized through the puppet Rhee government of South Korea. It shows the maturing of Wall Street's plan of world conquest. When the crisis began, the United States swiftly rushed armed forces to the scene without making any attempt to mediate the situation. President Truman confronted the United Nations and the people of the United States with a *fait accompli*. By this action the United States government was committed to a third world war. Meanwhile Wall Street is making feverish efforts to further arm all capitalist countries and to plunge them into the Korean war. If peace can finally be established and a great war prevented, it will only be because of the basic peace policy of the U.S.S.R. and China and their work to prevent the spread of the Korean war to other parts of Asia and the world, as Wall Street wants.

The Marshall Plan, presented to the world as a project for the rehabilitation of war-torn Europe, is fundamentally designed to arm and mobilize the European capitalist countries for an all-out war against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe. Now a Marshall Plan for Asia is being prepared. This can only be an American version of Japan's notorious "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." The Marshall Plan is not an economic recovery program as alleged. Actually, the funds allotted by the United States to the European Marshall Plan countries are less than the latter are spending for military expenses made necessary by Wall Street's synthetic war scare against the U.S.S.R. "The annual allocation for so-called 'assistance' under the Marshall Plan to the Western European countries amounts to approximately 4000 million dollars . . . at the same time the main Marshallized countries, under the pressure of the United States, are spending over 6000 million dollars annually in armaments, and a riot of militarism."¹¹ The Atlantic Pact, West European Union, and the steel cartel project of France and Germany are all parts of this general militaristic offensive against the U.S.S.R.

President Truman's "Point Four" program is also primarily an attempt to extend and tighten United States monopolist grip upon the undeveloped colonial and semicolonial countries. It is thus a major economic and political weapon, along with the Marshall Plan, for fastening United States imperialist control upon the whole capitalist world. "Point Four," however, is still largely in its early stages. The strategy of its promoters is first to popularize the project with vague generalities and then, once the grandiose

scheme is "sold" to the United States public and to the nations concerned, the program will be greatly enlarged upon in the sense of the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine, with huge appropriations by the government—that is, if the war drive does not absorb all the United States resources. It will also be accompanied by a big drive for foreign loans by private capitalists, on terms dictated by the United States. Secretary of State Acheson knocked on the head the idea that "Point Four" is a program for industrializing backward areas when he declared, "I think there is a pretty widely held idea that we are going to build large mills, mines and factories for these undeveloped peoples. This is not true."¹²

The "Point Four" phase of the imperialist program of world conquest has especial fascination for renegade Communists, confused Liberals, and degenerate Social-Democrats. Thus it was that Earl Browder, following the Teheran conference at the end of 1944, came forward with his fantastic popularization of Roosevelt's idea of United States industrializing the backward areas of the world. Henry Wallace, an ardent believer in "progressive capitalism," is also a particularly active supporter of this general scheme of "Point Four." And now Walter Reuther, in line with Social-Democrats everywhere, has advanced his absurd proposals that during the next one hundred years the United States should expend one trillion dollars for "Point Four" purposes.¹³ With monopoly capital rule prevailing in the United States, all such schemes could have no other purpose or result than the strengthening internationally of United States imperialism.

Allies of United States Imperialism

In their anti-Soviet alliance of capitalist forces bent on world conquest and war, the Wall Street imperialists are receiving the co-operation of three major ideological currents. Firstly, there are the fascists. Throughout the world, fascist individuals and groups of all sorts are to be found in the anti-Communist crusade headed by United States imperialism. This is because, first, the fascists everywhere fully understand that the Communists are their mortal and inveterate enemies, and, second, they also realize that the fight of capitalist reaction, led by Wall Street, is their fight, and they therefore are joining it. The representatives of the State Department are cultivating these fascist groups everywhere as a matter of policy. Thus, in Germany the United States agents are definitely bringing the Nazis back into positions of economic and political power. In France and Italy also every fascist knows by experience that the United States is his friend, and the same is true in every other European country. As for Spain, the Franco government has definitely been saved from being overthrown by United States support and is to be brought into the United Nations. In Asia, too, fascists and reactionaries generally rally to the agents of the United States

like iron to a magnet. In Latin America all the fascist-minded dictators are solidly in the anti-Soviet camp, led by Wall Street. And in the United States, of course, every fascist force, actual and potential, is pushing for United States expansionism. The fascist movement, internationally striving to recover after the deadly blow of World War II, is a vital section of the Wall Street warmongers' camp.

A second big ideological-political group within the broad reactionary camp of Wall Street is the Catholic Church hierarchy. The United States imperialists are trying to transform their contemplated war against the U.S.S.R. into a "holy war," to enlist upon their side all the fires of religious fanaticism. To this end they are endeavoring, in all countries, to secure the active support of the churches. The Catholic Church is their most militant co-operator. This church, besides having to defend, against advancing democracy and socialism, its huge land and other property interests, has a further reason in opposing socialism—it knows that its hoary religious dogmas are threatened by the advance of Marxist science. The Catholic Church is in the deepest crisis of its whole history, a difficult position which is definitely related to the general crisis of the capitalist system. Hence, the Vatican has become an active leader in the world camp of capitalist reaction and war.

The Catholic Church is going all out to save capitalism; in some countries it has even gone so far as to use its once-dreaded weapon of excommunication against all those of its adherents who refuse to follow its political dictation. This terroristic means has failed dismally, however, in such countries as Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania, where the Catholic masses disregard it. The church has managed, nevertheless, to build up leading political parties in France, Italy, Germany, Belgium, and Austria. The church in Europe has proved to be one of the strongest supports of dying capitalism. This Vatican church policy of participating openly in political struggles in defense of capitalism is, however, an act of desperation—a course that is bound to react heavily against the church by involving its dogmas in the discredit attached to its reactionary support of decaying capitalism.

The Vatican, in revolutionary Europe, is now posing as the great champion of world democracy. But this is simply trimming its sails to the prevalent radical spirit of the working class. In reality, the Church is striving for a system of clerical fascism, and this is where its whole policy leads. The Vatican's political conceptions were, or are, expressed by such regimes as those of Franco in Spain, Mussolini in Italy, Pétain in France, Salazar in Portugal, Dollfuss in Austria, de Gaulle in France, Duplessis in French Canada, Dutra in Brazil, and Peron in Argentina—all of them clerical fascist outfits which have, or had, the Vatican's warmest blessings.

The Catholic Church, which now feels itself slipping in Europe, is striving to build up its forces in the Americas. The United States has become the church's major financial base and one of its main political supports. Latin America is also one of its strongest political pillars. The appointment of the group of Cardinals for the Americas early in 1946, which raised the representation of the New World up to 12 out of 69 in the College of Cardinals, is a part of the Vatican's new orientation toward the western hemisphere.

The third major, and the most important, ideological-political ally of United States imperialism in its program of war against the U.S.S.R., is the right-wing Social-Democracy of the world. In all the capitalist and colonial countries, the Social-Democratic parties are now closely aligned with the interests and policies of United States big business. This is true of those in the lands of the western hemisphere, as well as the rest of world. Indeed, the Socialists are among the most virulent of all the warmongers against the Soviet Union. To this end they unhesitatingly sell out both the immediate interests and the ultimate goal of socialism of their respective peoples. The conservative trade union leaders of the United States belong in this general category with the right-wing Social-Democrats, but we shall deal more with them further along.

The right-wing Socialists are attempting to cover their reactionary alliance with capitalism with the pretext that they form part of a "third force," a force supposedly of democratic moderation between the reaction of the extreme right and the radicalism of the extreme left. But this pretext will not stand examination. Social-Democracy is part of the world reactionary camp. In Great Britain, under the "third force" Labor government, the capitalists have made the biggest profits in their history. And during the recent election the Tories stated that, if elected, they would continue the phony nationalization of the banks, transport, and coal industries that the Labor government had started. It is significant also that in the same British elections, on the broad questions of foreign policy the Social-Democrats leading the Labor government were in complete agreement with the Tories led by the rabid warmonger, Winston Churchill. Their failure to break with the Tory war policies and to defend the issue of peace was the decisive reason why the Laborites did not sweep the recent national election. The so-called "third force" of the Social-Democrats is only a demagogic trick which enables them to stay conveniently in the war camp of their reactionary friends, the British capitalists and the United States imperialists, and thereby to hide their treachery from their working class followers. But of this question of the "third force," more in our concluding chapter.

The line-up of the right-wing Social-Democrats in the camp of capitalism and war at this crucial juncture is quite in harmony with their

role throughout the history of the last half-century of class struggle. The right-wing Social-Democrats—the Attlees, Blums, Saragats, Schumachers, and Thomases, of Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, and the United States—are not Socialists at all. Their program of the gradual growth of capitalism into socialism simply means the indefinite maintenance of the capitalist system. Nowhere has socialism ever been achieved through the Social-Democratic policy of “gradualism.” And the opportunist Socialists have characteristically fought violently against every real effort by the working class and its allies to establish socialism by revolution—whether it be in Russia, Germany, Italy, the Balkans, China, or elsewhere. Hence, it is fully logical at this critical moment of history, when the forces of socialism and democracy are under all-out fire from crisis-stricken, desperate world capitalism, that the Social-Democrats should act as participants and leaders in the counterrevolutionary camp of world capitalism.

The Failure of Wall Street's World Offensive

The United States is visibly failing in its grandiose plan of seizing control of world capitalism, of rehabilitating it, and meanwhile, of obliterating world democracy and socialism. This is true despite the fact that the United States is now ruthlessly bossing about the various capitalist countries, most of whom are now on its dole, and also notwithstanding the fact that it has, from the outset, dominated the United Nations. That organization born in April 1945, in San Francisco, came into existence bearing the peace hopes of humanity, which felt that at last the peoples of the world had an international body representative of all nations and capable of maintaining world peace. But these hopes have already been largely shattered. For hardly was the United Nations formed when the United States built up a closely controlled majority of votes in it, made up of states seeking its financial favors, and began to use the United Nations virtually as a political-military alliance in its own imperialist interests. By the action early in November 1950, through which the rule of unanimity in the Security Council was virtually abolished, the United Nations has fallen even more completely under the control of the United States.

But even if the United States, so far as the United Nations is concerned, is already the master of the capitalist world, its control rests upon no solid foundation, because world capitalism is falling to pieces. The capitalist system is hopelessly in crisis, and this crisis cannot be and is not being mended by the efforts of United States imperialism. Things are going from bad to worse for capitalism, notwithstanding the lavish financial outlays of its Wall Street masters.

Under the pressure of United States arrogance and aggression, the antagonisms among the capitalist powers and especially against the United

States, are sharpening and could reach an explosion point. Among the chief contentions among the capitalist imperialists are: (a) the intensified struggle of all the capitalist countries for world markets, (b) the tussle between the dollar and sterling blocs for financial supremacy, (c) the growing hostility between the United States and Great Britain over oil in Venezuela and the Near East, (d) the opposition of Great Britain to the United States-sponsored Schuman (steel) plan of France and Germany, (e) the French and German resistance to the rearmament of Germany, (f) the sharp disputes of the several powers over Korea, Formosa, and the admission of China into the United Nations, (g) the struggle of Great Britain to prevent United States penetration of its colonies, semi-colonies, and dominions, (h) the resistance of the European states against the haste with which the United States is attempting to make them rearm and to plunge into war, (i) the widespread opposition to the efforts of the United States to rehabilitate Franco Spain and to bring it into the United Nations.

Not only in the capitalist states, but also in the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies huge masses of the common people all over the world are becoming deeply aroused by the aggressive policies of the United States. The reservoir of goodwill for the United States, which Wendell Wilkie said he found in many countries in his world trek, has now virtually evaporated. Under Wall Street's imperialist leadership, the United States has come to be the most hated and feared country in the world.

United States hegemony over the capitalist world is in no sense a fulfillment of Kautsky's one-time dream of a constructive, peaceful "ultra-imperialism," or of Bukharin's later fantasy of an "organized capitalism," or of the still later "progressive capitalism" nonsense of Henry Wallace. It is likewise no sign of the "exceptional" character of United States capitalism, nor is it any indication of the strengthening of world capitalism. Contrary to all these illusions, United States capitalist hegemony marks another long step in the decay and decline of the world capitalist system.

Europe, the home of the capitalist system, largely stripped of the vast colonial system upon which it lived, is in a crisis bordering on chaos. The various European capitalist countries are in decay and confusion. Despite the aid of postwar blood transfusions from the United States to the tune of about thirty billion dollars through the Marshall Plan loans and gifts, these countries have with difficulty managed to improve their production, mass living standards have sunk, and they have by no means extricated themselves from their crisis. Their market problems are insoluble and they will doubtless have to remain indefinitely on the dole of the United States. With their former big colonial markets gone or seriously shrunk and with their trade to Eastern Europe and Asia reduced to a minimum, these countries are already beginning to suffer mass unemployment, which

is bound eventually to get worse. The capitalist rulers of Europe, with United States help and leadership, are quite unable to find any basic measures to remedy this critical situation. They, too, turn to the fatal illusion of war. Among many other ills, the janglings among the capitalist powers are also getting sharper. The sick British empire, menaced by the dominant position of the United States, loses no occasion to knife its big imperialist rival. France and Germany, despite their steel "agreements," are inveterate rivals. And the rest of the capitalist countries, in absurd and suicidal competition with each other, are alarmed at the growth of democracy and socialism in the eastern section of the continent. Capitalist Europe is bankrupt, and all the wealth and industrial power of the United States cannot put it back on its feet again.

Asia presents another striking picture of capitalist inability to cure its system's ills, even with extensive help from the United States. Wall Street's three major fields of operation in Asia were China, Japan, and Korea. Its failure in China has reverberated around the world, and as to results in the other two countries, newspaper correspondent Allen Raymond says succinctly: "Only U. S. troops and food keep Communists from seizing the government in Japan." And he also says that, "Once the American props are withdrawn, South Korea will fall beneath the weight of Communist Asia."¹⁴ In the break-up of colonial Asia, efforts are now being made, with Wall Street "assistance," to build new capitalist states in India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, and elsewhere. But these capitalist states are all stillborn. They are tottering about, unable to gain a foothold. Capitalism, dying in Europe, the place of its birth, will never be able to re-establish itself in Asia notwithstanding all of Wall Street's troops and dollars. The capitalist system in the Far East, no less than in Europe, is in basic and incurable crisis.

The loss of China (which forecasts the eventual loss of all Asia) by the imperialists is a tremendous blow to the world capitalist system in general and to United States imperialism in particular. By the same token, it is an enormous gain for world democracy and socialism. "The collapse of American policy in China . . . amounts to more than the loss of the \$6000 million dollars invested in the interventionist gamble. America has lost, irreparably, the vast Chinese market and colonial domination of a country of immense natural and human resources which Wall Street had come to regard as part of its Asiatic empire."¹⁵

Under United States tutelage, European capitalism, with Asia just about lost to its control, is turning in desperation to Africa, there to build a big colonial system. But this, too, is a hopeless project. Even before the new colonial schemes are getting well underway, signs of inevitable colonial revolt are multiplying in North, Central, and South Africa. The crisis that has hit capitalism in colonial Asia will not remain absent from colonial

Africa. The only part of the world where capitalism under Wall Street leadership seems, on the surface at least, to have international matters somewhat in hand is in Latin America. And there, as we have seen, the whole situation is a smoldering volcano.

By the same token, if the United States, in its bid for world mastery, is failing to pull the decrepit capitalist system together again, it is failing even more dismally in the other phase of its program—to roll back and destroy world democracy and socialism. Indeed, its very effort to stifle socialism is actually serving to stimulate that world movement's growth. Undoubtedly the heavy intimidation to which the U.S.S.R. has been subjected by the capitalist governments in the United Nations has steeled that country, strengthened its morale, and raised its political prestige among the peoples of the world. Facing a hard-boiled majority in the United Nations, which is armed with the tremendous menace of the atom-bomb, the U.S.S.R. has been compelled to make the very best of all its strength, which it has done to the dismay of its enemies. Despite its huge war losses, it has been able to stand up successfully against the powerful United States and, in so doing, to strengthen itself enormously—a symbol of its victory in this respect being its production of the atom-bomb.

In the Far East, too, the attempt of the United States and its imperialist allies—Great Britain, France, and Holland—to slug the revolution out of existence has actually resulted in fortifying it, particularly in China. The great liberation movement is not to be turned from its historic course by Wall Street money and troops. The open support by United States forces of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek government, with men, money, guns, and ships, antagonized the Chinese people (and incidentally indirectly provided them with modern arms) and was a major cause for Chiang's ultimate downfall. More than that, the support given to this reactionary warlord has served to discredit the United States far and wide in Asia as an imperialist enemy of oppressed people. The Korean aggression by the United States will have the same ultimate effect. Such policies add fire to the great colonial revolution of national liberation. The United States is engaged in a historical impossibility in trying to stamp out this great revolution.

In the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe intimidation has produced a similar negative result. That is, this interference has speeded up, rather than hindered the cause of democracy and socialism. In Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, and Albania, the general experience was the same. When the war came to an end, these various peoples set up coalition governments of all the forces that had fought against Hitler. Anglo-American agents, however, assailed these governments, trying to drive the Communists out of them and to place reactionaries at their head. The general consequence was just the opposite of the

effect desired, namely to precipitate situations in which the forces of the right were completely defeated and the march towards socialism greatly hastened. Only in Yugoslavia has the counterrevolutionary policy of the United States succeeded for the time being by enlisting the renegade Tito in Wall Street's camp.

Western Europe is the only important section of the world where the United States imperialists can plausibly claim any degree of success in withstanding even temporarily the advance of socialism—unless we may add sick Latin America. In Europe, with many billions of dollars in gifts, and especially with the support of the right-wing Social-Democrats, Wall Street's agents were able to force the Communists out of the governments of France and Italy and also to bring about splits in the labor movements of various countries. But these are only Pyrrhic victories at most. Had the Social-Democrats stood with the Communists after the war, all Europe would have been well on the way toward socialism by now. But from all this it would be absurd to conclude that socialism in Europe has been defeated. The mass illusions created by the Marshall Plan are evaporating with the obvious failure of that scheme. Europe will soon again be rolling along stronger than ever toward socialism, as the crisis of capitalism on that continent inevitably grows deeper.

In striking a historical balance of the world situation in these critical years of the early postwar period, two basic facts stand out with unmistakable clarity and sharpness. First, the United States and its junior partner, Great Britain, are not succeeding in overcoming the general crisis of capitalism; and second, they have also been unable to halt the progress of world socialism. On the contrary, capitalism is sinking deeper into crisis and the growth of socialism goes at an ever-faster tempo.

The Danger of Fascism

The drive of United States imperialism for world domination raises again the danger of fascism in the world. As we have seen in Chapter 27, the big capitalists, as their answer to the general crisis of capitalism, beginning at the time of the Russian Revolution, developed the perspective of fascism internationally. That is, they worked out an assumption, pretty clearly expressed in theoretical and political form, that to save capitalism they would have to destroy the workers' trade unions, political parties, co-operatives, and also every trace of political democracy, at the same time placing all the economic and political power in the hands of big monopoly capital. This was the open terrorist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which would undertake by force to keep an obsolete social system in existence in the face of all opposing and disintegrating forces. This general fascist conception became the conviction of the monopolists not only of

Germany, Japan, and Italy, but also those of Great Britain, France, the United States, and other countries, as we have previously indicated.

The big capitalists of the United States, in making their bid for world mastery, still cling to this fascist answer to the general crisis of capitalism. They are not so foolish as to believe that capitalism, as is, can pull itself out of its crisis. They believe it will take ruthless fascist policies to make it work again. This is the significance of their alignment with fascist groups in all capitalist countries and especially of their support of numerous measures and movements of a distinctly fascist character in the United States, including the Taft-Hartley Labor Act, the loyalty tests for government and industrial employees, the disgraceful actions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the growth of anti-Negro, anti-Jewish movements, the recently adopted McCarran-Mundt-Nixon police state thought-control law to outlaw the Communist Party and other progressive groups and the railroading of Communist leaders to prison. Especially sinister is the rapid development of a huge national secret police, the F.B.I. Long strides have been made toward turning the United States into a police state. The general fascist trend in all these situations is unmistakable and it is being greatly speeded up by pressures of the aggression in Korea. It all demonstrates the correctness of Lenin's analysis that imperialism means violence and extreme reaction in the methods of bourgeois rule.

In its bid for world domination Wall Street imperialism is following the general Nazi model. Hitler aimed at turning Germany into a great industrial metropolis, dominated by imperialist monopolists, with the rest of the countries either agricultural in their economies, or with industries confined to a secondary character, subordinate to the big German industrial center. The Wall Street monopolists of the United States are now proceeding precisely along this line, except that they have succeeded in concentrating a larger proportion of the world's industry in the United States and rendered the other capitalist countries far more dependent economically than Hitler ever achieved with Nazi Germany.

The desperate capitalist belief that they can reorganize and hold the world safely on the basis of fascism is a great illusion. In reality fascism, itself a product of the general crisis of capitalism, can only result, with its policies of monopolization and violent repression, in sharpening all the domestic and international contradictions of the capitalist system and rendering them even more explosive. Fascism cannot save capitalism, but only hastens its destruction.

At the present time the big imperialists of the world, under Wall Street leadership, are seeking to reorganize fascism, its forces, and its program, after the tremendous military and ideological defeat it suffered in World War II. This is the underlying significance of the move to the right, of the

governments in Great Britain, Western Europe, the United States, and Latin America since the end of the war. But the fascism that they are striving to create, particularly in the United States, is different, superficially, from the Hitler-Mussolini brand. The new style fascism does not glorify war, as Der Fuehrer and Il Duce did; instead it wears a hypocritical mask of peace; it does not condemn democracy in principle, but pretends to be the great defender of democracy; it does not appear as the champion of a so-called revolution, but militantly expounds the present capitalist order. It translates Hitler's crude herrenvolk principle into subtle suggestions of Anglo-American supremacy. This new garb of the postwar type of fascism makes this plague all the more insidious and dangerous.

Fascism is already definitely a danger again in the United States, France, Germany, Italy, and many other countries, especially including those of Latin America. This danger grows greater, the more intense the cold war becomes. The right Social-Democrats and reactionary trade union leaders, who are such ardent supporters of the cold war, are lending aid and support to fascism. The fascist snake was scotched but not killed in World War II. Hitler's spirit still walks the earth in the hysterical anti-Communist crusade now carried on by the agents of Wall Street.

The Threat of War

Wall Street's imperialist drive also creates afresh the danger of a world war. This is the supreme danger of our times. The war menace grows out of monopoly's attempt to master the world, plus its inherent fascist orientation. These two tendencies inevitably go together—fascism and war. Through its tremendous publicity apparatus, Wall Street is undertaking to place the blame for the present war tension upon the Soviet Union. But this is just so much camouflage to obscure its own predatory designs.

Socialism is growing rapidly in many parts of the world; but this is in no sense an offensive on the part of the Soviet Union, least of all a military offensive. Nor does it imply the inevitability of war. On the contrary, the more socialism spreads the stronger become the forces for peace. The socialist movements which are now so powerful in Eastern Europe, China, and other parts of the world are not part of some general war plan, but are the inevitable products of the breakdown of capitalism, of the general crisis of the capitalist system. The Soviet Union, the first and strongest of the new socialist countries, has a tremendous prestige in, and is the leader of, this world movement; but to ascribe the immense socialist developments of this generation to Soviet plotting, to the work of so-called Russian agents, is the greatest political idiocy of all the current capitalist stupidities.

The U.S.S.R., like all socialist countries, is an inveterate enemy of war. Its whole social structure prevents the growth of a war-making force in its

own country. It holds firmly to the policy that it is quite possible for capitalism and socialism to live peacefully together in the same world, even though one is a declining and the other a rising social system. Lenin made this clear many years ago, and Stalin has reiterated it repeatedly. The whole foreign policy of the Soviet Union is based upon this assumption of a possible enduring peace. The United States can have a practical, democratic settlement with the U.S.S.R. any time it so desires.

But the big monopoly capitalists of Wall Street do not want peace; they want war. They hold that war is the only way to carry through their program of world conquest and fascism. Moreover, their unhealthy industries would collapse overnight into an eventual great economic depression if they were deprived of their present blood transfusion of huge, highly profitable armament orders. This is why they are hailing with delight the new flood of munitions production caused by the Korean war. The capitalists not only do not want peace, but they dread the very idea of it. Any lessening of the tension between the U.S.S.R. and the United States is sufficient to send stocks tobogganing in Wall Street, and any worsening of the international situation makes them skyrocket again.

The failure of United States foreign policy greatly increases the danger of war by making the imperialists desperate and ready to grasp at any reckless military aggression in an attempt to solve their impossible problems. As Suslov says: "Historical experience teaches that the more hopeless the position of imperialist reaction, the more it rages, the more danger of military adventures on its part."¹⁶ It is precisely this element of desperation, bred of the growing collapse of world capitalism, that makes the drive of United States imperialism so very threatening. On the other hand, when the United States wins occasional successes in its impossible push for world conquest—as in Greece, the Berlin "blockade," and Korea—this, too, has a dangerous effect for it stimulates the imperialists into making new aggressions. The only way the expansionism of Wall Street can be brought to an end is when it encounters an irresistible democratic opposition both at home and abroad.

It is certain that the United States capitalists would have already launched a war against the U.S.S.R. if they had believed they could win it. But their generals probably did not believe that the atom bomb is a decisive military weapon. Indeed, Stalin told them this long ago. They were afraid—and their major publicity figures openly said so in the press and on the radio—that if atom bombs were dropped upon the U.S.S.R. the result would be the immediate occupation of all Europe and perhaps most of Asia by the Red Army, as well as the desolation of American cities by an atomic war. Hence, the advocates of a "preventive" war have not dared to go through with it. Those who believe that such fanatics would not

blast the U.S.S.R. with atom bombs if they could do so safely have only to look back to Hiroshima and Nagasaki, where these frightful bombs were dropped ruthlessly upon an already defeated enemy—as a notification to the U.S.S.R. that the United States possessed the bomb.

The Wall Street warmongers, despite the anti-war resistance and peace sentiment of the various peoples, despite the sturdy defense of the U.S.S.R. against all war provocateurs, and despite the loss of their much-prized atom-bomb monopoly, are clinging more desperately than ever to their aggressive military preparations and provocations. They cannot give up their war perspective, as it is in the very fiber of their entire fascist program of world conquest. They must head towards war although even their own ideologists tell them that it is folly to do so. To abandon their war orientation would mean at the same time to give up their insane dream of world mastery and to throw overboard all hopes of saving the capitalist system in the face of developing socialism. They would rather risk ruin in war. At present the militarists in the United States are nursing the hope that by rearming and strengthening capitalist Europe and Japan (both impossible projects) and with a new "monopoly" of the hydrogen bomb, they will finally find themselves in a position effectively to strike their much-desired mortal blow against the U.S.S.R. The Korean aggression by Wall Street's agents shows to what reckless extremes their war desperation leads them, and it also points up the sharp possibility of a third world war. This whole program of destruction has nothing in common with the interests of the peace-loving people of the United States and the world.

Wall Street's war plan is all a wild and hopeless capitalist nightmare. Socialism cannot possibly be defeated by military (or any other) means. If the desperate Wall Street adventurers should succeed in plunging the world into a new war, this war, while deluging humanity in a welter of horrible and needless slaughter, would surely sound the death knell for the capitalist system everywhere. Country for country, and man for man, the socialist world is more powerful militarily than decadent capitalism. Moreover the great socialist waves of revolt that came after World Wars I and II would be relatively small in comparison with the socialist flood that would overwhelm the whole capitalist system after an atomic World War III. The danger of war is growing, but so is the strength of the democratic and socialist forces, which already have the power to prevent war if they will but act in concert. The great task of the peace-loving peoples of the world, therefore, and especially those of the United States, is to restrain and make impotent the war-making maniacs, who have their chief headquarters in the corporation offices of Wall Street, and to prevent them from forcing the world into a new blood bath in a frantic effort to save and revive doomed world capitalism under United States control.

31. WEALTH AND POVERTY IN THE AMERICAS

During the more than four and a half centuries that have elapsed since Columbus landed in the West Indies the people of the Americas have been ruthlessly robbed and oppressed by parasitical landowners, capitalists, and their innumerable hangers-on. These groups, who have so cynically lived off the labor of the people, ransacking the natural wealth of the hemisphere as they went along, have always been utterly devoid of conscience or any sense of social responsibility. They have had only one objective—to gain wealth; and to the god of riches they have coldbloodedly sacrificed millions of men, women, and children, condemning whole generations of the people to frustrated lives and early graves.

With matchless insolence and endless corruption, the exploiters have grabbed everything in sight as their personal property, on the general principle that to the victor belong the spoils. They have seized upon the land, the mineral resources, and the industries, even though they had nothing whatever to do with their creation or development. In their boundless greed, they would also have monopolized the air and water, had they but found any way to do so.

To exploit the toilers, the parasite owners of the land and the industries have employed every known system of human servitude and oppression. Chattel slavery, peonage slavery, wage slavery—these have all been, or are being, used in many types and varieties. To maintain these systems of exploitation, the owners have shot and jailed innumerable rebellious workers, and they have also set up some of the most outrageous political dictatorships in modern history. When these tyrannies have collapsed under the blows of the rebellious peoples, the exploiters have erected pseudodemocracies—that type of capitalist order in which the exploiters control the political machinery and the people are given the illusion of freedom. Throughout the whole history of this vicious system of economic exploitation and political oppression, the exploiters have systematically stuffed the toilers' minds with religious superstition, to induce them to accept their present miserable lot in the illusory hope of gaining a paradise beyond the grave. The worst sufferers in all this robbery and abuse in the western hemisphere were and still are the Indians and the Negroes.

The general consequences of these four and a half centuries of ex-

ploitation and subjugation are devastating in their brutality. Marx, in one of his most famous passages, points out that under the present capitalist system of society "along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation."¹ The general social situation in the western hemisphere, with its extremes of wealth such as history never knew before, and its mass poverty that reaches the depths of actual starvation, provides a vivid demonstration of Marx's statement.

Future generations of free peoples will find hard to believe the sad picture presented by the current realities of life in this hemisphere, with its poles of great wealth and of mass destitution. This situation is the inevitable result of a state of society in which one class, the handful of parasitic rulers, robs and oppresses the producers at will, under a cover of legality provided by their government and of morality provided by their Church. The one good thing about the whole situation is, as Marx also remarked in the foregoing passage, that there is a Nemesis produced by all this exploitation and struggle, a militant and growing working class which becomes ultimately the grave-digger of capitalism. This revolutionary working class is rapidly developing throughout the Americas.

The Tragedy of Latin America

Latin America, with its population of about 150,000,000, has a total land area of 20,028,000 square kilometers.* It thus has some sixteen per cent of the world's people. Its population density of seven inhabitants per square kilometer is one of the smallest in the world for a large area, only Australia and Africa having a lower figure.² Latin America, with a scientific agriculture and rounded out industry and by a proper use of its natural resources (see Chapter 1), could easily maintain several times its relatively sparse population at incomparably higher living levels than at present. If it is not doing so, this is because the entire area is infested with parasitic landlords and capitalists, whose whole semicolonial social system tends to stifle the economy and to depress drastically the living standards of the masses. The fact that the total national income of all the countries of Latin America is only about one-twelfth that of the industrially more developed United States is a crime against these peoples.

In previous chapters we have pointed out how big landlordism and capitalist imperialism tend to choke the industry and agriculture of Latin America. This is the basic reason why there is such terrible mass malnutrition today in this vast, potentially prosperous region. The big landowners not only cut down the food supply of the people by their system of mono-

* A kilometer is 0.62 of a mile.

culture (production of a single crop for export), but they deliberately ignore food-raising possibilities. Common sights in Latin America, in areas where great masses are without proper food, are whole stretches of good land, owned by domestic or foreign absentee landlords, lying uncultivated. The potential food supply is further cut into by antediluvian farming methods, which, among other bad effects, are leading to wholesale erosion of the soil. Planters of tobacco, sugar, cotton, coffee, bananas, etc., have done irreparable harm in this respect. Vogt points out, "Over most of the Southern continent soil erosion is all but universal on cultivated lands."³ Duggan says that up to 35 per cent of the productive land of Latin America has already been damaged or ruined.

Sergeyev remarks of Cuba, "As a result of the rule of foreign trusts and their Cuban auxiliaries, this country of rich soil and favorable climate, with a population of 5,000,000 in an area larger than Hungary, cannot feed itself and must import large quantities of flour, rice and other cereals, meat fats, tinned goods, and even dried fruit from the United States."⁴ And this state of affairs is characteristic of Latin American conditions.

The wealth and luxury of "South American millionaires," who have grown rich by robbing the workers, are proverbial. These useless people, a relative handful, control two-thirds of all Latin America's real resources. They clutter up the fashionable resorts all over the world, lavishly wasting the wealth wrung from the blood of workers and peasants in their home countries. Or they live in barbaric splendor on their big plantations and estates. It is these cliques who own Latin America and run its governments. Twenty-five families own most of the wealth of Peru that has not been grabbed up by the foreign imperialists. F. Bombe, an Argentine capitalist who died recently, was one of the richest men in the world; and F. Matarazzo of Brazil, reputedly the biggest industrialist in Latin America, holds many of Brazil's most vital industries in his insatiable grasp.

Fifty Argentine families own one-sixth of the land, more than twelve million acres, in the rich province of Buenos Aires, where the best land costs as much as \$400 per acre. Many of these estates date far back. Since the revolution some 250,000,000 acres of land have been given to 1800 families. Foreign companies also hold vast stretches of Argentine land, typical among them the Forestal Company (Anglo-Yankee) with three million acres, and the Waldron Wood Company (British) with six million acres in Patagonia, Tierra del Fuego, and Southern Chile. The value of land in Argentina has gone up many times over since a hundred years ago, when many of the latifundists got their estates. The great landholding families—Anchorenas, Hirschs, Menendez-Behertys, Doderos, Mirandas, Alzagas, Unzues, Lynches, Duggans,* etc.—also possess billions of pesos invested in banks, shipping, and

* The Irish have played an important part in the economic and political life of Argentina, Chile, and other Latin American countries.

varied industries. The Bembergs are said to have a family fortune of at least one billion pesos. The capitalist-landowners own and run the country.⁵ Similar small rich groups of exploiters dominate the life of all the other countries of Latin America.

The perfect specimen of a capitalist, grown rich from the blood and death of countless workers, was the notorious Simon I. Patino, the so-called tin king of Bolivia. This man, reputedly worth at least five hundred million dollars, owned the bulk of Bolivia's famous tin mines, as well as important tin properties in Malaya.⁶ Patino, whose workers slaved at literally starvation wages, owned enormous and fantastic palaces in Bolivia, some of which he had never even seen. Hundreds of his workers were shot down in strikes, and tens of thousands of them worked themselves to death in his mines. An influential figure in European and United States capitalist circles, Patino did not visit Bolivia for over twenty years before he died not long ago. Elsewhere we deal with some of the barbaric repressions of workers' strikes in the mines of this exploiter. Often these struggles were veritable civil wars, with all the power of the state turned against the predominantly Indian miners.

The Latin American countries are a rich field for labor exploitation, as a few general facts will indicate. "An analysis of the published balance sheets of 256 corporations in the state of Sao Paulo [Brazil] showed that the median rate of net profits to invested capital was 34.4%." Twenty-five of these companies made 100 per cent profit, and the great firm of Matarozzo made 90 per cent on its paid-up capital in the one-year period of 1946-47.⁷ "The profits of the Itala-Chilena Insurance Company reached 68% of its invested capital [in 1948]; the Ferix Chilena, 50.2% . . . in 1948 the net profits of the Banco de Chile reached 49,500,000 pesos, that is, 50% of the capital invested."⁸ In the course of these years the Swift Company in Uruguay made a profit of \$7,277,533—though its capital amounted only to \$6,875,000.⁹ In Argentina, "the declared profits of 19% of the largest textile mills ran to 400 million pesos. [An Argentine peso was then worth about 25 cents, U. S. currency.] Five packing concerns netted 160,000,000 pesos." Besides, in 1948 alone, the Argentine government paid out 400,000,000 pesos to the meat packers, big cattle interests, and transport companies, for mythical potential losses from the Anglo-Argentine trade agreement.¹⁰ "Net earnings of \$58,852,364 for 1949, reported yesterday by the United Fruit Company, were the second largest in its fifty-year history," says the *New York Times* in February 1950. "The Azucarera Vertientes Camguy de Cuba netted . . . in 1949 a 30.8% return on every share of stock."¹¹ And so it goes all over Latin America, with the toiling masses, and the countries in which they live, being bled to death by the big landowning and capitalist interests.

Impoverished, Starved, Sick Masses

The exploitation of the workers and peasants is so intense in Latin America that the latter, in huge masses, have been driven far below the minimum standard for healthy existence. As a general consequence, impoverishment menaces the very lives of whole peoples. George Soule and his associates, in their shocking studies, do not overstate the tragic conditions among the Latin American toilers when they declare that "Two-thirds, if not more, of the Latin American population are physically undernourished, to the point of actual starvation in some regions."¹² And Quintanilla cries out that "The naked truth is that of the one hundred twenty-six million Latin Americans, certainly *no fewer than eighty-five million are actually starving.*"¹³

Conditions are worst among the peasants and workers on the land, just where one might think it easiest to get at least enough to eat. These land toilers are mainly Indians and Negroes and their descendants, the Mestizos and Mulattoes. But the industrial workers are not a great deal better off. Wages of the latter run from one-tenth to one-third of what they are in the United States and Canada. "A Latin American worker is paid 50 cents to \$1 a day as compared with \$3 to \$10 a day in the United States."¹⁴ Since the war real wages, and general living standards with them, have deteriorated sharply, owing to the rapid rise in the cost of living because of the inflation prevalent throughout Latin America.

Wythe, a conservative economist, says that in Argentina, where the wage scale "is higher than in any other South American country except Venezuela" . . . the average monthly earning of industrial workers in Buenos Aires in 1938 was 109 pesos (about \$36) for wage earners and 240 pesos (about \$80) for salaried employees."¹⁵ In 1943 the Argentine National Labor Department established a minimum budget of 147 pesos monthly for a family of five, but the average monthly wage of a city laborer was only 78 pesos, and an agricultural peon received about 50 pesos.¹⁶ Since then wages have increased considerably, but the cost of living has gone up much more. The *Boletin de Economia* of Buenos Aires, July, 1950, says of declining real wages in Argentina that a metal worker in 1950 has to work 319 hours in order to buy the same things that he could get for 230 work hours in 1943. Wythe, writing in 1945 of wage conditions in Brazil says: "Wages are in general low. The average monthly income of common labor at Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, is about \$15.50, while that of a mechanic is \$28.75. In Brazilian offices \$50 to \$60 a month is considered a very good salary for a clerk or an English-Portuguese stenographer." Regarding Mexico, Wythe states that, "Workers in manufacturing and other mechanized industries (mining, smelting, oil-fields and refineries, railways and utilities) in 1939 received an average of about \$1.00 (U. S. currency) per

working day, according to data published by the industrial census of 1940."¹⁷ Since 1941, said Encina at the 1950 convention of the Mexican Communist Party, the value of the peso has fallen by thirty per cent, but the total amount of the money wages paid to the workers has remained the same, or even slightly less. Bolivian tin miners are paid 25 to 50 cents per day, and Guatemalan farm workers about the same. United States and Canadian concerns, as well as British, French and Italian, take full advantage of these starvation wage conditions in Latin America and use their power to force them still lower.

The C.T.A.L., at its regional conference in Montevideo, March, 1950, prepared material for the following table of monthly wages and cost of living in the six countries represented at the conference. They are typical of Latin American conditions generally.

<i>Country</i>	<i>Worker's wages</i>	<i>Family living cost</i>
Paraguay	150 guaranies	290 guaranies
Bolivia	2000 bolivianos	4000 bolivianos
Brazil	1000 cruzeiros	4000 cruzeiros
Chile	2400 pesos	4000 pesos
Argentina	500 pesos*	1150 pesos
Uruguay	100 pesos	300 pesos
Ecuador	750 sucres	1200 sucres

Puerto Rico provides a graphic example of Yankee imperialist exploitation and pauperization. In that country, after half a century of United States rule, the average hourly wage in manufacturing is only 45 cents, or less than one-third that paid in the United States, and 70 per cent of Puerto Rican families receive only 30 per cent of the Island's total income.¹⁸ The sugar worker toils four months per year for \$5.50 per week,¹⁹ and in 1947 tobacco workers were paid 12 cents per hour. The *New York Herald Tribune* warns that any abrupt improvement in Puerto Rico's wages would deliver a death blow to that country's industrialization program. No wonder Vogt calls Puerto Rico "one of the most miserable areas in the world."

The extreme inadequacy of these typical wages of Latin American workers is made all the clearer when we realize that the cost of living in the various countries is often as high as, or even higher than in the United States. For example, Galarza says that a Bolivian miner would have to work five hundred days to buy an ordinary suit of clothes. Other commodities run proportionately as high. Conditions everywhere have been seriously worsened, owing to the postwar rise in prices, with wages remaining about

* Later this general monthly average for Argentina was corrected (*C.T.A.L. News*, July 5, 1950) as much too high, typical wages being, in pesos: metal 443, longshore 440, textile 364, food 425, meat packing 300, and sugar plantations 132.

stationary. The following instance holds good more or less for all of Latin America. Tannenbaum says of Mexico that "In real wages workers . . . were receiving 83.6 per cent of their 1939 earnings by May 1945. Rural income, as expressed in real wages (with 1929 as a base), had fallen from 119 per cent in 1934 to 62 per cent in 1944."²⁰ Now the conditions are much worse. Galarza states that in all Latin America "it is doubtful whether even the best organized workers were earning at the end of 1947 one-half of the real wages they were paid in 1938."²¹

With such miserable incomes, great masses of the workers on the land and in the cities actually cannot get enough to eat. The Third International Conference on Nutrition, held in Buenos Aires in 1939, declared: "The American continent is undergoing a veritable tragedy owing to the undernourishment which affects without exception all of the countries of Latin America. A very important section of the American world does not manage to eat the minimum food required for the conservation of life and for a normal yield of human labor."²² "We do nothing well," the Brazilian sociologist Afranio Peixota has said, "because our people are living in a perpetual state of malnutrition." Dr. Josue de Castroe [also speaking of Brazil] says: "Our workers' diet is of the worst quality, being inadequate in every respect. The only worse diet conceivable is that of eating nothing."²³

In Cuba the intake of an average individual, according to a study of 1,100 wage-earning families, was but 915 calories, "which is far below the mark of 'desperate malnutrition' on the League of Nations scale. . . . The rural Venezuelan eats, on the average, about one-quarter the amount of food which a normal European immigrant would require. . . . Puerto Rico is the Caribbean section probably most affected by undernourishment."²⁴ Every country of Latin America presents a similar picture, with vast sections of the working population struggling along against starvation and living upon calory and vitamin intakes altogether inadequate to maintain health and vigor.

The low wages of the Latin American toilers besides forcing these workers onto semistarvation diets, also compel them to get along under horrible housing conditions. The rural communities in large parts of Latin America are squalid and miserable, and the big cities are splotched with some of the worst slums in the world. Travelers are shocked at the horrible workers' quarters in Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Mexico City, Santiago, Lima, San Juan, and other places. According to studies by Soule and his associates there was an average of five persons per room in workers' houses in Santiago (Chile); one-half of the workers in Buenos Aires live in one-room dwellings, while in Montevideo the number runs to two-thirds; and "the ultimate in poor sanitation, with its sequel of all kinds of contaminating diseases, is probably found in Mexico."²⁵

Soule and his group also give an example of the miserable conditions under which agricultural workers live—in Argentina, one of the best-off of the Latin American countries—as follows: “The dwellings are so primitive that they provide but the merest refuge, entirely inadequate for human habitation. Just a framework of four sticks, the roof thatched with grass and mud, and only piled up branches serve as walls. In this ‘house’ the worker and his family seek shelter for the night, whipped by rains and bitten by frosts, sleeping on straw mats or old sacks. They lack the most elementary sanitary facilities. The water they drink is stagnant and dirty, and comes from the reservoirs used by the animals or from tanks which transport it from the neighboring railroad station.”²⁶

Mass illiteracy goes hand-in-hand with these terrible economic conditions throughout Latin America. Neither the State, the Church, nor the employers are interested in educating the people. In at least eleven of the Latin American countries 50 per cent or more of the population is illiterate. Chile has an illiteracy rate of 24 per cent, Mexico 40 per cent, Honduras 82 per cent, Bolivia 85 per cent, and Haiti 90 per cent.²⁷ Argentina’s rate is low, 15 per cent, largely owing to the heavy immigration from Europe. A study in Buenos Aires a few years ago showed that thirty thousand children stayed away from school because of undernourishment and also that five thousand children had practically no food at all. There are 70 million illiterates in Latin America and 50 million more who have had only two or three years of schooling.²⁸ The shocking figures of illiteracy in Latin America compare with a rate of 4.5 per cent in Canada and the United States.

The most terrible aspects of the low wage standards in Latin America are their disastrous effects upon the people’s health. The well-known Brazilian scientist, Miguel Pereira, once said, “Brazil is an immense hospital,”²⁹ and he could have applied this remark to the rest of Latin America. The toiling masses are literally saturated with diseases, bred of poverty, illiteracy, and unsanitary conditions—tuberculosis, malaria, syphilis, gonorrhoea, dysentery, trachoma, onchocerciasis, typhoid, intestinal parasites, meningitis, yaws, hookworm, beriberi, pinto, jungle fever, and many others. All of these diseases are especially devastating among the undernourished people. “One-half of the Latin American population,” say Soule and associates, “are suffering from infectious or deficiency diseases.” They point out further: “In Peru 95 per cent of the people between 17 and 20 years are infected with tuberculosis.” In a certain city of Chile tuberculosis infection was 100 per cent among the workers, and in Puerto Rico the tuberculosis rate is 10 times as high as in North Carolina. Malaria, a killer throughout all Latin America, takes 80,000 lives yearly in Brazil, sickens half of the population in Ecuador, and is a “national calamity” in Paraguay. “Syphilis is ram-

pant in many Latin American urban and rural areas." Typhoid is a menace in various regions, and yellow fever still infests the Amazon basin. In Bolivia 98 per cent of the people suffer from intestinal parasites. Rickets and dental caries are widespread.³⁰

The medical and hospital services to combat this sea of sickness are utterly inadequate. On the average, in the Latin American countries, there are only from one-tenth to one-fourth as many doctors as there are in the United States. From 1932 through 1936, in Mexico in "towns of 10,000 or fewer, 86.32 per cent of the people had died without any medical diagnosis and . . . in the entire Republic during that period 60.8 per cent of the deaths were *without doctor's diagnosis*, and only 39.2 per cent had medical certificates."³¹ In Paraguay, a country of about 1,500,000, there were only 109 doctors a few years ago, and 93 of these were in the capital city Asuncion. The people in many countries lack the small sums necessary to buy quinine for the most elementary treatment of malaria, and the governments, although squandering money for military expenditures, refuse to provide the ten cents per head necessary to exterminate yellow fever altogether.

In contrast with their present shocking sick condition, the Indians of Latin America, as elsewhere, were remarkably free from disease prior to the arrival of the white man, and so were the Negroes when brought from Africa. Freyre says of the Brazilian Indians, "Lery emphasizes the great physical vigor of the aborigines, in felling enormous trees and carrying them to the ships on their bare backs. Gabriel Soares describes them as individuals 'well made and well set up'; Cardian stresses their swiftness and endurance on long journeys afoot, and the Portuguese who first surprised them naked and naive, on the shores discovered by Pedro Alvarez, speak with enthusiasm of their robustness, health, and comeliness."³² But feudal-capitalism soon put an end to this state of health and strength of the Indians and Negroes.

The end result of all the poverty, starvation, and sickness in Latin America is an extremely high death rate. The annual death rate in the United States is 11 per 1,000, whereas that of Latin America is 23 per 1,000. Infant mortality—48 per thousand in the United States—ranges up to 163 per 1,000 in Colombia.³³ In the United States life expectancy at birth is about 63 years, but in Latin America it runs to as low as 32 years in Peru. "In Rio de Janeiro more than one-half of the men who reach working age die before they are 29."³⁴ Conditions are equally devastating in other Latin American countries.

This is the horrifying picture of living conditions for the toiling masses in semi-colonial Latin America. And these conditions are growing worse. Real wages are sinking, and destitution is on the increase. Skeleton social security laws have been established in many countries, but they do not even faintly meet the vast need. Considerable progress has been made in recent

years in checking such deadly contagious diseases as small pox, bubonic plague, and yellow fever (because otherwise the wealthy also might die from them), but the many diseases related directly to poverty rage right on. The lowered living standards of the great masses of the people, intensified by recent big rises in living costs, have now reached the critical point: another world economic crisis could well reduce them to the stage of a world catastrophe.

Concentrated Wealth in the United States

In accordance with the capitalist hog-principle of grab what you can, the great bulk of the wealth of the United States has passed into the hands of relatively few people. The United States is the land of great fortunes, such as the world has never known before. It is not easy, however, to learn the exact holdings of the individual capitalist moguls. Formerly, they boasted from the housetops of their fabulous wealth and flaunted their riotous revelries in the newspapers. But now these matters have been made into top-secret stuff—to avoid popular hostility and to circumvent income and inheritance taxes. How many of the supercapitalists belong in the hundred million- and billion-dollar class is, therefore, largely a matter of speculation. The Temporary National Economic Committee, of the 76th Congress, however, singled out thirteen family groups—Ford, du Pont, Rockefeller, Mellon, McCormick, Hartford, Harkness, Duke, Pew, Pitcairn, Clark, Reynolds, and Kress, as controlling no less than \$50 billion in properties of all kinds.³⁵ In 1940, twenty large commercial banks held \$39 billion. Such are the real rulers of the United States.

The process of the concentration of wealth is continuing with ever greater rapidity. "The 200 largest non-financial corporations now own about 65 percent of all non-financial corporate assets compared with 50 percent in 1929."³⁶ And the big fish continue to devour the little ones. "Merger activity, the Federal Trade Commission said, had 'turned sharply upward' with the end of the war, and in the final quarter of 1947 more mergers and acquisitions were reported than in any later period since 1930, with the exception of 1945."³⁷ This monopolization includes banks, newspapers, radio stations, and other vital sectors of the economy. The United States industrial system, and the government with it, are now tightly in the control of the big monopolies.

The capitalists are reaping rich harvests from their monopolistic ownership. During the fifty-five months of World War II, after taxes, the corporations "made" \$52 billion in profits.³⁸ For the average profit rate reported in the 35-year period 1909-1944, we get a figure of 11 percent instead of the reported one of 7 percent.³⁹ In 1948 and 1949, profits after taxes amounted respectively to \$21 and \$17 billion, the latter figure being \$6 billion above the

wartime peak and more than double the profits reaped in the boom year of 1929.⁴⁰ In the third quarter of 1950, under the stimulus of the Korean war, profits are at the level of \$24 billion annually after taxes, and are climbing still higher. Current average profits average 8.4 per cent for corporations with assets of \$1,000 to \$249,000, to 13.6 per cent for corporations of \$100 million or over.⁴¹

In 1948 the total number of corporations in the United States, with assets of \$116 billion,⁴² made net profits of over \$21 billion. The big monopolists got most of this tremendous bleed-off from the production of the workers. During the 1920's Carver wrote that the workers were buying up a majority of the stocks of United States corporations.⁴³ Capitalist spokesmen still like to peddle this fantastic nonsense. Actually, however, only a very small number of people own the corporations and reap their huge profits. "Even if we count most of the 'other proprietors, managers, and officials' [listed by the 1940 Census] as in the capitalist class and some of the wholesale and retail dealers and farm owners, we would find that the total [of capitalists] would be probably under 5 per cent and certainly under 10 per cent of the total in all occupational groups."⁴⁴ Only one million families in the United States have yearly incomes of \$10,000 or over.⁴⁵ About ten thousand persons owned one-half of all the corporate stock in the country. "The Federal Reserve Bulletin (October, 1949) shows that 'a ridiculously small number of Americans have translated their belief in the American system into the ownership of equities in American industry.'⁴⁶ That is, "only 8 per cent of all the income groups owned any stock whatever, and more than half (53 per cent) valued their holdings at less than \$1000, and only about 1 per cent had stockholdings of \$100,000 or over."⁴⁷ This tiny group of stockholders continually drew down about fifty per cent of all dividends. The handful of rich monopolists also receive most of the many other billions that are extracted from the people through the various devices of interest and rent.

Exploitation and Poverty for the Workers

Despite the huge industrial output of the United States, large masses of the people lack the basic necessities of life. The nationally recognized "commonly accepted standard of living" budget of the Heller Committee called for a minimum annual income of \$4,000 at September 1949 prices. Yet, says the *New York Times*, "In 1948, the most prosperous year in the history of the country, nearly 10 million families had cash incomes of \$2,000 a year or less."⁴⁸ According to the Federal Reserve Board, 73 per cent of the people in 1947 received less than the Heller budget. Actually 94 per cent of the unskilled workers get less than the budget, 59 per cent of the farmers are below it. This means widespread privation. "Real wages of employed

workers in manufacturing industries of the United States were about 12 per cent lower in 1949 than five years before in 1944."⁴⁹ The Labor Research Association states, "We must amend Franklin D. Roosevelt's statement about 'one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished,' to read at least 'two-thirds of a nation.'"⁵⁰

The workers of the United States are receiving a smaller and smaller percentage of the wealth they produce. On the basis of recognized governmental statistics, and taking into consideration questions of output, wages, prices, and other factors during this period, the Labor Research Association points out the following development: In general manufacturing industry, taking the workers' status in 1899 as 100, this status had fallen to 75 in 1946. Characteristically, the General Motors Corporation, after cutting wages two cents per hour, announced net profits of \$656,434,232 for 1949, a record figure and an increase of 49 per cent over 1948. During the 1950 election campaign, Harold E. Stassen, an authoritative voice of Wall Street, stated (*New York Times*, November 5) that, whereas during the past five years the purchasing power of the dollar has fallen by 44 per cent, the wages of the workers in general have gone up only 30 per cent.

One of the worst features of the situation in the United States is the slim protection which the government offers to the workers. Unemployment is a scourge of United States industry. "Of the 22 years between the wars, a total of 10 years were depression years . . . at most there were half a dozen fairly good years."⁵¹ Accidents and occupational diseases are also notoriously high in United States industry. In 1948, 16,000 workers were killed and about 1,960,000 were injured; about ninety per cent of which could have been prevented. Yet the federal social insurance laws against these terrible hazards are, in their skinflint provisions, an insult to the working class. The U.S.S.R. and many European countries are far ahead of the United States in furnishing protection for their workers in sickness, unemployment, accident, and old age.

As always in capitalist countries, women are greatly discriminated against in United States industry. In 1948, the census shows, 17,272,000, or 29 per cent of the total "gainfully employed," were women. The wages of men in manufacturing industries in 1948 averaged \$54.54, whereas women's wages averaged but \$42.13. Legislation to protect women in industry is sketchy and inadequate. The census report of October 1948, showed that 2,301,000 boys and girls from fourteen to seventeen years old were employed, of whom 717,000 were fifteen or less.

During the war, agriculture, like United States industry in general, went into a boom, pulling temporarily out of its many years of devastating crisis. With the warring countries clamoring for food, prices went up and farm income with them. The farm mortgage debt dropped from \$6.5 billion

in 1941 to \$5.6 billion in 1944, and farm tenancy fell from 42 per cent in 1935 to about 38 per cent in 1945. But the advantages of the high prices, as well as of the various government price supports, went mostly to the small minority of rich farmers. The earnings of five thousand big farmers grossed incomes in 1944 of \$100,000 and more, while four million median and small farmers have cash incomes of only \$600 or less per year. The big farmers are the core of the ten per cent of the farmers who own seventy per cent of all farmer bank deposits, and also of the thirty per cent of the farmers who receive 65.4 per cent of all farm income.⁵² That the smaller farmers did not share much of the boom was dramatized by the fact that fifty per cent of them have admitted that they own no war bonds. As for the three million agricultural workers, they shared the boom even less; their wages remained at about fifty per cent of the wage level of industrial workers, while their hours were about 25 per cent longer.

The basically unhealthy state of agriculture in the United States was shown again just prior to the Korean war, when farming, like industry, was rapidly slipping into a crisis. Huge surpluses of wheat, cotton, potatoes, eggs, and other farm staples were either being destroyed or were piling up and threatening the entire price structure. Farm incomes were again on the decline, while tenancy and farm mortgages were on the increase. In the long run—from 1880 to 1936—tenancy increased from 25.6 per cent to 42.1 per cent, and whereas, in 1910 farms of over one thousand acres made up only 19 per cent of the total, in 1936 they constituted 29.4 per cent. Although hundreds of millions are starving in many parts of the world, the Truman government was developing policies of food destruction and crop restriction. Capitalist agriculture in the United States, like its blood brother, capitalist industry, can no longer “prosper” without the dreadful, artificial stimulus of war.

The Negro People—Exploited of the Exploited

United States capitalism most deeply of all robs, exploits, and oppresses the fifteen million Negro people. The Negro workers are the last to be hired and the first to be fired in the industries. Characteristically, unemployment during 1929-33 in many cities hit the Negro workers twice as hard as it did the whites—for example, in Detroit, Negroes unemployed, 60 per cent—whites, 32 per cent; Houston, Negroes 35 per cent—whites, 18 per cent.⁵³ Prior to Korea too, with unemployment rapidly increasing, the Negroes, who have relatively few seniority rights in industry, were furnishing far more than their proportion of the jobless.

Wage rates for Negroes are much lower than for white workers. Frazier sums up the postwar situation thus: “In 1946, in the urban and rural non-farm areas of the country as a whole, the median income of non-white

families was \$1,834 in comparison with \$3,094 for white families... In the North Central states the median incomes of non-white and white families were \$2,273 and \$3,023 respectively and in the West \$2,659 and \$3,152 respectively. On the other hand, in the South the median incomes of non-white families was \$1,527 as compared with \$2,709 for white families."⁵⁴ These figures indicate why the Negroes live in such deep poverty and why the death rate runs half again as high for them as it does for white people. The figures also expose the basic economic-profit reason why the employers practice their barbaric system of Jim Crow discrimination persecution against the Negro people.

Negroes are systematically barred from the best-paying jobs and professions by government, employers, colleges, and some trade unions. Their lot is to do the hardest and worst-paid work. The W.F.T.U. gives a few typical examples from Washington, which John Pittman calls "the Jim Crow capital of the world."⁵⁵ In skilled trades in the capital the percentages of white workers are: boilermakers 100 per cent, telegraph operators 99.4 per cent, metal workers 97.6 per cent, printing trades 96.6 per cent, stenographers 99 per cent. On the other hand, in the unskilled jobs the situation is reversed, with the Negroes furnishing 91.9 per cent of the laborers, 74 per cent of the domestic workers. Of the total number of workers in the United States in 1943, only three per cent of the skilled were Negroes, although the latter constituted 10 per cent of the population.⁵⁶ The Negro percentages in the professions are even lower than in the skilled trades. Thus, of some 430,000 college and university graduates in 1948, only 8,513 were Negroes.⁵⁷ Of 75,000 dentists in the United States in 1949, only 1,650 were Negroes, and only 4,000 or two per cent of the 201,000 doctors are Negroes.⁵⁸

Housing conditions are worst of all among the Negro people. The latter are forced by the Jim Crow system to live in filthy, decrepit ghettos, all over the country, in the north as well as the south. Typical of the disastrous overcrowding is the following. "... in the Black Belt of Chicago where Negroes were living 90,000 per square mile as compared with 20,000 whites per square mile in an adjacent area, the Negro death rate for tuberculosis was more than five times the rate for whites in 1940-1941."⁵⁹ Nationally, the life expectancy for male Negroes is but 56.06 years as against 64.44 for male whites.⁶⁰

Nationally, the country was shocked in 1949 by the senatorial investigation of Washington's notorious Negro slums. Within sight of the capitol, only a few blocks away, "The courts and alleys are full of rows of ramshackle privies, some with slats broken out and doors that don't close, sitting in the garbage-cluttered backyards, emitting a horrible stench. The slum dwellings occupied by Negroes mostly, have neither steam heat nor running water. Kerosene lamps and candles provide light; coal stoves provide heat—for those who can afford to buy coal. In the yards, there are water spigots, one to half

a dozen families."⁶¹ In these unspeakable shacks as many as ten or twelve people were found living in a single room.

The Negroes on the farms are as badly off as those in the cities, if not worse. "Among the farming population, the Negro farmers stand at the lowest rung of the social ladder. In the South [where two-thirds of the Negroes live] the proportion of Negro tenant farmers to the total number of farmers rose from 35 per cent in 1940 to 41 per cent in 1945, and the proportion of sharecroppers from 55 per cent to 62 per cent respectively."⁶² These sharecroppers furnish the bulk of the four million farmers receiving less than \$600 per year, which is a starvation figure. Bound by a feudal-like debt system and terrorized by armed gangs of whites, they live the life of semipeons.

The Negroes are also systematically starved for education, particularly in the south, where school segregation is almost universal. This discrimination is vividly illustrated by the fact that, "In terms of current expense per pupil in average daily attendance during the year 1939-40, the southern states spent \$58.69 on each white child as compared with \$18.82 on each Negro child."⁶³ And as for higher education, the discrimination is even more pronounced. "During 1935-36, the thirty-four white and Negro land-grant colleges in the seventeen southern states received, from all sources, about \$55,000,000. Of this amount, about \$4,400,000 (8 per cent) went to the seventeen Negro institutions. Whereas the average white college received nearly \$3,000,000 the average Negro college received slightly more than \$260,000."⁶⁴

Impoverished Minority Groups

The half-million Indians, after being stripped of the lands of the continent, have been forced into narrow, barren reservations, where they live in the midst of poverty, ignorance, and sickness which constitute a national scandal. Characteristic conditions were revealed at the conference of nineteen southwest tribes held in Phoenix, Arizona, in April 1949: "One out of four children of the Papago Indians of Arizona dies during the first year of life. The life expectancy is seventeen years. There is more typhoid in the Navajo Reservation than in the entire State of New York. Seventy-five per cent of the Navajo children receive no formal education. The Navajo family, consisting of five persons, has been subsisting on a \$250 annual income. Only two per cent of the 64,000 Navajos are qualified for skilled work."⁶⁵ And so it is with other tribes; among the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma the annual income is as low as \$54 per family.

These shocking economic and social conditions are accompanied by vicious racial discrimination. "It is true that there are many towns and cities in the United States where an Indian cannot be served in most restaurants

and stores, cannot register at the leading hotel, cannot rent a home in some sections of town. . . . In these same areas Indians are usually not welcome in the churches, their children are not wanted in the public schools. They also suffer discrimination in the kind of jobs that are open to them, and are the first to be laid off in times of slack employment."⁶⁶ In many states inter-marriage between Indians and whites is forbidden. In Idaho, a few months ago, "four Indian boys were given sentences of fourteen years each for stealing sheep,"⁶⁷ while the government crook, J. Parnell Thomas, former head of the notorious House Committee on Un-American Activities, who stole many thousands of dollars, was let off with less than nine months in jail.

Still another large section of the United States population leads a life comparable to the abominations inflicted upon the Negroes and Indians. This is the Mexican national minority of three million or more in the southwest, whose conditions we have described in Chapter 12. Then there are the many Negroes among the two and one-third million Puerto Ricans (see Chapter 28), whose wretched economic conditions are a scandal throughout the western hemisphere. Besides, there are other important persecuted minorities, including about 600,000 Filipinos, Chinese, Japanese, and Malaysians on the United States mainland; and 400,000 Japanese, Hawaiians, Koreans, and Filipinos, who make up two-thirds of the population of Hawaii. The general economic conditions of all these groups are about on a par with those of the Negroes. The United States treats its approximately twenty million nonwhite citizens with crass injustice and brutality.

The Two Extremes in Canada

The division of the national wealth and income in Canada proceeds upon the same capitalist principles as in the United States—a handful have grabbed much, and the many possess very little. Tim Buck lists sixteen big bankers and industrialists—Wilson, Angus, Stewart, Smith, Cross, Sise, Coleman, McMasters, Gordon, Murrin, Dawes, Duncan, MacMillan, Edwards, Murdoch and Sellars, who "dominate considerably more than half of our national economy." These exploiters own or control the most important banks, railroads, manufacturing plants, and mines of Canada, and with them the government. Their gross profits in 1947 were three times their profits in 1938. Less than two per cent of the Canadian people received fourteen per cent of the national income. "Incomes received as return upon investments in 1947 totalled \$2,318,000,000," Buck states further. "It constituted no less than 21 per cent of all the money income received by the people of Canada. Divided equally among the 2,525,299 families in this country it would have added \$917 to the earned income of every family."⁶⁸

Of course, the workers of Canada under capitalist conditions work for the barest living, or less. In October 1948, "Average salaries and wages for

all industries in Canada were \$42.77 per week, and average wages in manufacturing alone, \$40.68, at a time when a careful independent pricing of the city worker's family budget of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated its cost for Toronto, a fairly typical Canadian city, at \$72.98 per week."⁶⁹ In French Canada (Quebec) wages run about fifteen per cent less than the general average for the whole country. Women are also sharply discriminated against in Canadian industries, as elsewhere in the western hemisphere. In 1940—and the ratio has not changed substantially since—the average weekly wage for a male worker in Canada was \$24.78, and only \$13.49 for a woman worker.⁷⁰ Such low wage rates in Canada, as in the United States, force the working masses into dire conditions of poverty, ignorance, and ill-health.

Obviously, the conditions of the toiling masses in Canada and the United States are not so bad as those throughout Latin America. This is because capitalism has developed in these two nations (which constitute an economic bloc) under much more favorable conditions than in the Latin American countries. Both Canada and the United States have built up their industrial systems on broad lands, rich in natural resources, and with a minimum of crippling hang-overs from feudalism. Both countries, too, escaped the ravages of the two world wars, actually growing rich on these devastating conflicts. They have parasitically built their own economies at the expense of the other peoples of the world. This more favorable position of capitalism in Canada and the United States has enabled the workers to wring more concessions from the exploiters than has been the case in the less-developed countries of Latin America.

But the so-called prosperity of the workers in the capitalist United States and Canada is only a temporary phenomenon, due for a collapse. Both of these countries are subject to the general laws of the capitalist system and they cannot long escape the full force of the breakdown of that world order, the general crisis of capitalism. For the past ten years the economies of the two countries have been kept going largely on war munitions orders, repairing the damages, and filling commodity shortages caused by the war, but prior to Korea, despite huge expenditures for war preparations, an economic crisis of overproduction (while masses go hungry) was developing in both Canada and the United States. President Truman's talk about abolishing poverty, under capitalism, like Hoover's similar blather twenty-odd years ago, is just so much demagogy. The terrible days of 1929-33 gave only an indication of what the general crisis of capitalism will be like in these countries, as elsewhere in the world, unless the workers and their allies put an end to this outworn system.

32. THE LATIN AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

The trade unions are a vital factor in the life and history of Latin America. They have played an increasingly important role in the struggle of the workers and the peoples in general against starvation living conditions and against all types of landowner, industrialist, clerical, and foreign imperialist oppression. They are solid champions of democracy and peace, of national development, of final emancipation from capitalism. In the great struggles looming ahead the unions will be of even more decisive significance.

The first steps toward labor organization in Latin America, as in other countries, were through the formation of mutual benefit societies—for sickness, old age, and death. These societies dated as far back as a century ago. Because of strong widespread political reaction, the weak development of industry, and the inexperience of the workers, substantial trade union movements could not be built in those early times. The workers, however, occasionally engaged in big strikes, which were usually drowned in blood by the reactionary employers and governments.

Occasionally craft unions of printers, bricklayers, carpenters, carters, bakers, tailors, and other trades were to be found in some countries (Argentina, Chile, etc.) far back into the middle years of the nineteenth century. Thus, in Montevideo, Uruguay, even as early as 1809 Negro stevedores were said to have a sort of union, a group which "raised wages excessively."¹ It was not, however, until the beginning of the present century that the unions were able to become well established and to form permanent local and national federations. Many of the latter combinations were temporary in character at first, and their names were legion. Trade unions grew along with the expansion of industry throughout many of the Latin American countries. Immigrant workers from Europe played a big part in developing Latin American unionism.

The beginnings of the trade union movement in Latin America, prior to the formation of the C.T.A.L. in 1938, date as follows in the various countries:²

Argentina	1890	Federacion Obrera de la Republica Argentina (F.O.R.A.)
	1902	Union General del Trabajo (U.G.T.)
Bolivia	1912	Federacion Obrera Internacional

Brazil	1929	Confederacion General de los Trabajadores del Brasil
Chile	1909	Federacion Obrera de Chile (F.O. CH.)
Colombia	1937	Confederacion de Trabajadores de Colombia
Cuba	1890	Tabacaleros y Trabajadores del Puerto
		Hermandad Ferroviaria de Cuba
	1925	Federacion Cubana del Trabajo
Dominican Republic	1928	Federacion de Sindicatos de la Republica Dominicana
Ecuador	1922	Confederacion de Sindicatos Obreros
El Salvador	1914	Confederacion de Obreros de El Salvador
Guatemala	1927	Federacion Obrera de Guatamala para la Proteccion Legal del Trabajo
Honduras	1929	Federacion Obrera Hondruena
Mexico	1906	Gran Circulo de Obreros Libres
	1912	Casa del Obrero Mundial
	1918	Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana
Nicaragua	1924	Obrerismo Organizado de Nicaragua
Panama	1936	Federacion Obrera de Panama
Paraguay	1936	Confederacion Nacional de Trabajadores de Paraguay
Peru	1884	Confederacion de Artesanos Union Universal
	1925	Confederacion Obrera Ferrocarrilera
Uruguay	1917	Federacion Regional Obrera del Uruguay
Venezuela	1928	Federacion Obrera de Venezuela.

Struggles of the Workers

The trade unions of Latin America have a heroic record of struggle in the face of the most violent opposition from the state, the employers, and the landowners. Their honor roll is replete with the names of innumerable workers shot down and jailed in their dauntless fight to secure the necessities of life for themselves and the families from the parasitic elements who were exploiting them. In Montevideo, in 1928, the delegates at the congress of the Confederacion Sindical Latino Americano, an inter-American labor organization, rose in tribute to the thousands of martyrs of the labor movement. Among those listed in the resolution were several thousand workers killed in the Chilean strikes of 1907; 1,500 workers shot down during the "Tragic Week" in Buenos Aires, in January 1919; 2,000 massacred during the strikes in Patagonia in June 1921; 3,000 workers butchered in the Chilean nitrate

strike of June 1925, on the pretext that it was a "Soviet uprising;" 500 killed in demonstrations in Guayaquil, Ecuador, in November 1925; and 1,500 banana strikers killed on the responsibility of the United Fruit Company in Colombia, in December 1928.³

To this list of tragic slaughters of workers could be added many more, large and small, that have taken place since. Among them have been the massacre of 160 workers (with hundreds more injured and arrested) who were on strike against Standard Oil in Peru, in 1931; in El Salvador, in 1932, a strike of coffee workers was transformed into a wholesale massacre, and workers, peasants, and students estimated at from 10,000 to 30,000, were cold-bloodedly slaughtered by the government; in December 1942, in the Patino Bolivia tin mines, 400 striking miners were brutally murdered; in 1946, during a general protest strike in Chile ten workers were killed, 94 wounded, and 36 leaders arrested; in Bolivia again (Patino-Rockefeller), in the miners' strike of June 1949, some 75 miners were killed, and in that of May 1950, 20 strikers were killed and 100 injured. Supreme contempt for human life was also shown in the massacre of October 1931, when Dictator Trujillo, a favorite of Washington, deliberately butchered 10,000 Haitian agricultural workers who had merely come across the border of the Dominican Republic looking for employment. Upon numerous other occasions, by police and soldier attacks and by cold-blooded individual assassinations, thousands more Latin American strikers and trade unionists have been murdered over the years.⁴

The industrialists and landowners of Latin America, like those of the United States, while freely building up strong organizations of their own, violently resisted the attempts of the workers of factories and fields to unite in trade unions. But with indomitable courage and persistence, and despite such slaughters as the foregoing, the workers gradually succeeded in laying the basis of solid labor unions pretty much throughout Latin America. They also forced the enactment of the right of organization into the laws and constitutions of many countries, at least in elementary forms. These legislative formulations are based, for the most part, on the French labor law framed by Waldeck-Rousseau, half a century ago. Brazil led the list in recognizing the right to unionization, in 1907. "The mentioned Brazilian labor law was the first especially enacted legislation written in America in relation to the organization of trade unions."⁵ The labor section of the Mexican Constitution, written in 1917, and providing for labor's organization, was in its time the most advanced in the world. In the ensuing years, up to the beginning of fascist trends in Latin America in the 1930's, the legislative protection of the right to organization, under the workers' pressure, was gradually being improved in the Latin American countries.

In most of Latin America, the unions are required to register with the

government. Likewise, in a number of the countries—Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Venezuela—the law regulates collective bargaining in detail. “Unfortunately, there are no general statistics available, giving definite figures to show the actual scope of collective agreements in the different countries and different industries.”⁶ The bulk of the workers in the Latin American unions, as in all semicolonial countries, consists of those employed in mining, railroads, textiles, maritime, building, printing, public service, and agriculture. Unlike the unions in the United States and Canada, the workers in general manufacturing industries, because of the lack of industrialization in Latin America, play a minor role.

Early Inter-American Labor Organizations

From their inception the trade union movements of the various countries of Latin America displayed a high spirit of co-operation with each other, both organizationally and in strike action. As early as 1909, the syndicalist unions of Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, Brazil, and Peru held a conference in Buenos Aires. But the first attempt to gather all the unions everywhere into one definite international organization was that of the reactionary Pan American Federation of Labor (C.O.P.A.). This organization was launched by the American Federation of Labor at Laredo, Texas, in 1918. It held five conventions. The sixth was scheduled for Havana in 1930, but this turned out to be a fiasco, because the Cuban and other important unions withdrew in protest against the A.F. of L.’s support of the U.S. State Department’s effort to collect foreign debts in Cuba by political pressure. The Latin American unionists at the convention were also outraged by other cynical examples of the A.F. of L.’s support of the State Department’s aggressive imperialist policies. At its height in 1928, the C.O.P.A. affiliate included organizations from the United States, Mexico, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Peru, Ecuador, Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. The unions of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay, however, never joined it. The C.O.P.A. lingered along on paper for several years after 1930.

The Pan American Federation of Labor was a brazen attempt on the part of United States imperialism, through its labor lieutenants in the A.F. of L., to seize control of the Latin American labor movement and use it to break the growing anti-imperialist resistance of the Latin American peoples. The organization conducted no struggles whatsoever on behalf of the workers of Latin America. The Argentine unions, upon refusing to affiliate with it, stated that the C.O.P.A. was “one of the means by which the Secretary of State of the United States wants to extend its influence,” and in this imperialist sense the organization came to be generally known and hated by trade unionists throughout Latin America.

During this general period an important international organization, to which the Latin American unions gave much support, was the All-American Anti-Imperialist League. It was organized in 1924, upon the initiative of the Mexican Communist Party, and had its main headquarters in Mexico City. The League was led principally by Communists, and for several years it conducted an aggressive struggle throughout Latin America against the penetration of United States imperialism. It sharply opposed the C.O.P.A. and supported the formation of unions everywhere.

The first real Latin American general organization of trade unions, however, was the Confederacion Sindical Latino Americano (C.S.L.A.), founded in Montevideo in May 1928. In the same year, the short-lived Continental Association of Workers (syndicalist in tendency) was formed in Buenos Aires. The revolutionary C.S.L.A. was established by the Red International of Labor Unions (R.I.L.U.), toward which the former adopted fraternal relations. The C.S.L.A. existed until the middle of 1936, when it dissolved itself in favor of the larger movement then developing for a new organization, which eventually formed the Latin American Confederation of Labor (C.T.A.L.). At its first congress, the C.S.L.A. claimed that some one million workers were represented. These included the major trade union centers of Mexico, Colombia, Cuba, Uruguay, Ecuador, Peru, Guatemala, Venezuela, El Salvador, Brazil, Argentina, Costa Rica, and Paraguay. Chile's unions joined shortly afterward. Delegates from the United States' Trade Union Educational League were also present. Miguel Contreras was elected Secretary General.⁷

The C.S.L.A. represented a big step forward for trade unionism in Latin America. Following a Marxist policy, it sounded a clear note of class struggle. Its main leadership was Communist. During its seven years of life the C.S.L.A. did a vast amount of organizing work in many countries, and its leaders and organizations conducted numerous hard-fought strikes. It aroused the workers against the dangers of United States imperialism and its labor agency, the C.O.P.A. In the early thirties the organization militantly took up the struggle against fascism and war. The C.S.L.A. raised the unions of Latin America to a new high level of understanding, strength, and action. It laid the groundwork for the later C.T.A.L.

During the lifetime of the C.S.L.A. an ineffectual attempt was made to launch in rivalry another general, but conservative, Latin American labor organization. This was in Santiago, Chile, May 1, 1932, when a group of union leaders from Bolivia, Guatemala, Paraguay, Colombia, Peru, Mexico, Argentina, and Chile, met and set up the Centro Internacional Obrero de Solidaridad Latinoamericano.⁸ But nothing further came of this movement.

Formation of the Latin American Confederation of Labor

The Confederacion de Trabajadores de America Latina (C.T.A.L.) was formed in Mexico City in September 1938. The constituent congress was called by the Confederacion Trabajadores de Mexico (C.T.M.), of which Vicente Lombardo Toledano was the head. Present at the congress were delegates from the leading labor organizations all over Latin America, with the exception of Brazil, where the trade unions were illegal. The countries represented were Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Colombia, Paraguay, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Peru, Ecuador, Uruguay, and Cuba. Also attending this constituent congress were fraternal delegations from the C.I.O. of the United States and the labor movements of Canada and Great Britain. The C.T.A.L. has held three additional congresses: In Mexico City, 1941; in Cali, Colombia, 1944; and in Mexico City, 1948. Ever since the founding of the C.T.A.L. Lombardo Toledano has been its general secretary. The membership of the C.T.A.L. has been estimated at some four millions.

The only available official, published figures of the C.T.A.L.'s membership are those submitted to its congress in Cali in 1944,⁹ which do not, however, include the big Brazilian unions, which named delegates to the congress. These totals have been substantially reduced since the end of the war by splits and defections in several countries:

<i>Organizations</i>	<i>Membership</i>
General Confederation of Labor of Argentina	250,000
Federation of Bolivian Workers	25,000
Confederation of Chilean Workers	400,000
Confederation of Colombian Workers	200,000
Confederation of Costa Rican Workers	40,000
Confederation of Cuban Workers	500,000
Confederation of Dominican Labor	10,000
Confederation of Ecuadorian Workers	150,000
Confederation of Mexican Workers	1,300,000
Organizing Committee of the Confederation of Nicaraguan Workers	10,000
Federation of Trade Unions of Panama	1,000
Paraguayan Workers' Council	50,000
Confederation of Peruvian Workers	300,000
Uruguayan General Federation of Workers	40,000
Venezuelan workers' organizations in process of organizing a Confederation of Venezuelan Workers	40,000

Available statistics as to the total number of wage workers in Latin America are both fragmentary and unreliable. Regarding the aggregate number of union members in these countries, the *Directory of International*

Trade Union Organizations and National Federations of Trade Unions (I.L.O., Geneva), in 1950, publishes returns from 34 national trade union federations in Latin America, giving a total of 6,800,000 members. In this figure are included a few state-controlled unions. On the other hand, 13 national federations, including some important ones, made no returns at all.

After the C.T.A.L. was organized, it functioned everywhere in Latin America as a vital force, throughout the great prewar and wartime struggles against fascism. Its foundations were laid during the period when the workers, awakening to the danger of world fascism, rose with a new, militant spirit of antifascist struggle in Latin America as in other parts of the world. The period of establishment of the C.T.A.L. was the time of the People's Front victory in Chile, and of powerful mass people's movements in Brazil, Cuba, Argentina, and other Latin American countries. The Mexican Revolution also had reached a new high point of achievement during the Cardenas regime. In the United States and Canada, millions of workers, just emerging from the hardships of the great economic crisis and also conscious of the growing danger of fascism, were carrying through the historic series of strikes, organizing campaigns, and political struggles that resulted in the foundation of the C.I.O. and in greatly strengthening the A.F. of L. The organization of the C.T.A.L. in 1938 was evidence of the great strength of the epoch-making antifascist movement in Latin America.

The crystallization of the C.T.A.L. represented a tremendous victory for working class solidarity in Latin America. Previously in the various countries there had been only a scattering of trade union centers without any general organization, save to a limited degree in the old C.S.L.A. The different unions had syndicalist, Social-Democratic, or Communist leadership, with a few Catholic unions in Mexico, Costa Rica, and other countries. Among these numerous unions and federations there was little solidarity and often outright hostility. But the fight against fascism impelled them largely to bridge over their ideological differences and to form a common front in the C.T.A.L. Except for some lesser organizations here and there, the great body of Latin American trade unions joined the new international movement. Subsequent events showed that many reactionary Social-Democratic trade union leaders were opposed to the C.T.A.L., but at the time they could not resist the mass pressure and were swept into it. The foundation of the C.T.A.L. was the biggest single trade union step forward ever taken by the working class of Latin America.

During this whole period, under C.T.A.L. influence, the trade unions throughout Latin America experienced an unprecedented growth. There are no available statistical tables to give this growth accurately, but in nearly all the countries, except those under reactionary tyrannies, the workers widely extended their labor organizations. In some of the countries the percentage

of organized workers far exceeded that prevailing in the United States and Canada. Thus, for example, in Cuba, in 1949, of a total of 900,000 workers 557,000, or about 60 per cent, were in the unions. This is double the United States percentage. Chile also has a very high level of union organization.

The advent of the C.T.A.L. not only marked an epoch in the history of organized labor in Latin America, but it also had world importance. For the first time the millions of oppressed toilers in Latin America began to take a major part in the global struggle of the workers. The C.T.A.L. was a prominent factor in the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions in May 1945, and has been ever since an important element in the W.F.T.U. The C.T.A.L., although unaffiliated, has also exercised much progressive influence upon the International Labor Organization, a remnant of the old League of Nations.

Working Class Trade Unionism

Historically, the trade unions of the United States have been largely imbued with craft conceptions; that is, each union has gone its own way without regard for the welfare of the rest. But the trade unions of Latin America traditionally have had much more of a genuine class outlook and have been far more imbued with class-consciousness. This is because in Latin America the labor aristocracy of relatively high-paid skilled workers, the basis of craft unionism, is comparatively small; also, owing to the semi-colonial character of the economy, the labor movement, even when making small demands, always finds itself in more or less of a life-and-death struggle. The C.T.A.L., by its fighting policy and educational program, has greatly strengthened the class-consciousness, organization, and program of the Latin American labor movement.

As a general working class organization, the C.T.A.L. has undertaken to defend the interests of all the workers, not just a favored section. Ever since its foundation, it has paid special attention to the needs of women workers, striving to eliminate the gross inequalities in wages and the harmful working conditions to which women have been traditionally subjected throughout Latin America. The C.T.A.L. and its affiliated national unions are especially youth-conscious. The youth of Latin America are playing an increasingly important political role, especially in Brazil, Cuba, Venezuela, Peru, El Salvador, and Chile. The C.T.A.L. gave strong support to the Congress of Democratic Youth of Latin America held in Mexico City in 1948.

The C.T.A.L. unions, in line with their class character, are also quick to fight against any discrimination practiced against the Negroes. The Latin American unions have never disgraced themselves with the reactionary race prejudice that stains the records of so many unions in the United States. Negroes not only freely belong to all the unions throughout Latin America,

but everywhere they occupy major positions of leadership. Characteristically, the head of the powerful Cuban labor movement, Lazaro Pena, is a Negro. Many union leaders in Brazil are Negroes. By the same token, the C.T.A.L. and its unions are alert defenders of economic interests and political rights of the Indians, who make up such a large percentage of the working population of many Latin American countries. In 1944, the C.T.A.L. scheduled a hemisphere-wide congress of Indians, to develop their program and organization.

One expression of the fact that class unionism is dominant in Latin America is the relatively minor role played by the craft form of organization. Ever since it was organized seventy years ago, the craft union, with its lack of solidarity toward other unions particularly during strikes, has predominated in the A.F. of L. of the United States, and even the conservative industrial unions of the C.I.O. display many of the characteristic anti-working class hangovers of the old A.F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhood craft unions. In Latin America, however, although there are many craft unions, the industrial union with a class outlook and class solidarity, has long prevailed, and even among the craft unions there is a strong spirit of class solidarity.

Another major expression of the characteristic class unionism of Latin America is the frequency of general strikes. In the United States and Canada such complete strikes as Seattle (1919), Winnipeg (1919), and San Francisco (1934) have been comparatively rare. They have developed only in situations of extraordinary class struggle tension, when the workers got control and defied their conservative national leaders. But in Latin America general strikes are common. Almost every country of Latin America, from Cuba and Mexico to Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, has had such all-out strikes upon many occasions.

The class character of trade unionism in Latin America is also demonstrated by the unions' attitude towards political action. In the United States, the traditional political policy of the A.F. of L. is the Gompers line of "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies." This method has worked out in practice to tie the trade unions to the two major capitalist parties, to corrupt the union leadership, to check the development of class-consciousness among the workers, and to sabotage the building of working class political parties. The C.I.O. also continues to follow in the main, this crippling Gompers policy. Generally, however, the great bulk of democratically controlled unions of Latin America have long since been committed to a policy of independent working class political action. Traditionally they have supported the Social-Democratic and Communist parties, which often co-operate on a coalition, or united front, basis with the other parties and groups endorsing all or part of their anti-imperialist programs. A partial

exception to this pretty general rule is found in the trade unions of Mexico which, ever since the early days of the revolution, have largely followed the line not of building an independent working class party (both the Communist and Social-Democratic parties have always been small in Mexico), but of supporting broad left parties, made up of workers, peasants, petty-bourgeoisie, and some capitalists. Frequently these parties and unions have accepted subsidies from the government which has a distinctly corrupting influence upon Mexican organized labor. During the pioneer stages of the trade union movement in most of the Latin American countries there were strong syndicalist antipolitical tendencies, for reasons previously explained; but these trends are now greatly diminished.

A further expression of the class character of Latin American trade unionism is its almost universal anticapitalist outlook. These trade unions fight not only for the abolition of feudal remnants and the fulfillment of the bourgeois-democratic revolution by the break-up of the big landed estates, the abolition of peonage, the establishment of elementary civil rights and better living conditions for the workers under capitalism; but they also contemplate, in more or less definite form, the eventual establishment of socialism. Few are the labor leaders (save in situations like Peron's Argentina) who, as is almost universal in the A.F. of L., C.I.O., Railroad Brotherhoods, United Mine Workers, and other unions in the United States, venture openly to advocate the support and continuation of the capitalist system. The ideological development of the workers and the labor movement generally in Latin America has been through anarcho-syndicalism and Social-Democracy to communism.

The C.T.A.L. itself formulates the proletarian revolutionary aspirations of the Latin American working class only in a very generalized form. Its constitution says: "The manual and intellectual workers of Latin America declare that the social regimes now prevailing in most of the countries of the earth should be substituted by a regime of justice based on the abolition of exploitation of man by man."¹⁰ Lombardo Toledano, general secretary of the C.T.A.L., when asked his personal political convictions, declared, "I am a Marxist without a party."¹¹

The Communists have played an important part in forming and developing the C.T.A.L. Naturally this has been so, inasmuch as they are a strong force all through the Latin-American labor movement. It is not surprising, therefore, that, in line with the approved Hitler technique of red-baiting, reactionaries of various stripes in Latin America are denouncing the C.T.A.L. as a Communist organization, as the product of a Moscow plot. But these futile attempts to characterize as an artificial creation this great mass movement of Latin America workers against their oppressors are just so many more examples of capitalists' efforts to hide from themselves and from others

the deep class and national roots of the present great working class struggles and organizations throughout the world.

The Work of the C.T.A.L.

The advent of the C.T.A.L. gave a strong stimulus to trade unionism throughout Latin America. Hundreds of new organizations sprang up in the current glowing spirit of organization, unity, and struggle. New national centers were set up, and movements to unify labor in various countries got in operation. Among the new national organizations dating from this period are the Confederation of Workers of Nicaragua, Trade Union Federation of Workers of Panama, Confederation of Workers of Cuba, Confederation of Workers of Guatemala, Confederation of Workers of Ecuador, General Union of Workers of Uruguay, Confederation of Workers of Brazil, Puerto Rican Confederation of Workers, Confederation of Peruvian Workers, Confederation of Workers of Venezuela, Confederation of Workers of Costa Rica, and Confederation of Workers of the Dominican Republic.¹² The founding of the C.T.A.L. marked a veritable renaissance of the Latin American labor movement.

During the dozen years of the life of the C.T.A.L., the various unions of Latin America have conducted a host of hard-fought strikes to defend and improve the living standards of the workers. Some of the more important of these we have already noted. It has been literally a fight against advancing mass starvation in nearly all the countries. Over the whole period, despite the many strikes and owing to the economic and political reasons we have previously stated, there has been a decline in real wages generally. This is due to the rapidly worsening economic situation throughout all of Latin America. One of the constructive results of labor's many hard struggles has been an almost universal extension of the legal eight-hour day among industrial workers. The first eight-hour law in Latin America was passed in Uruguay in 1915; but now, especially during the past ten years, almost every country of Latin America has adopted similar legislation. For this, great credit belongs to the C.T.A.L. and also to the very active Communist parties.

Another constructive result of the workers' struggles during recent years under the C.T.A.L. leadership has been the building up of an elaborate system of social insurance throughout Latin America. Uruguay, in 1919, was also the pioneer in this type of legislation; but under the pressure of the advancing labor movement, practically all the other countries have since formulated systems of pensions for unemployment, sickness, and old age. The prescribed rates of insurance in the various countries are, however, much too low, and also too often the laws are not enforced. Of the labor laws that have been recently enacted in different parts of Latin America, many have related to the protection of women and children in industry. Generally agri-

cultural workers are not covered by such legislation. The strengthening of labor laws in Latin America is a direct consequence of the recent big growth of the trade unions and Communist parties. More social security legislation has been enacted since 1940 than in all previous years put together.¹³ In 1942, under the pressure of organized labor, the first Inter-American Conference on Social Security was held in Santiago, Chile, and worked out a minimum program.¹⁴ Minimum wage laws have been enacted under C.T.A.L. pressure, in a number of Latin American countries.

One of the major and continuous fights of the C.T.A.L., its affiliated unions, and the Communist parties has been directed against the big land-owning system, which is a curse all over Latin America. The C.T.A.L. places high on its program of action the break-up of the latifundias and proposes the distribution of adequate land, with necessary funds, fertilizers, machinery, etc., to the peasants and the agricultural workers. "The semi-feudal structure that characterizes the major part of the countries of Latin America, based on the monopoly of the land and the concentration of agriculture in the hands of a small privileged group, makes general economic progress impossible and, especially, the development of the national industry."¹⁵ The C.T.A.L. also fights to improve the wages, working conditions, and political rights of the agricultural workers, who are virtually serfs in most of the countries. The workers on the land find it even more difficult than industrial workers to organize in Latin America. Consequently, for the most part they are still unorganized and without protection from the unions and labor legislation. Some of the fiercest struggles and revolts in the history of Latin America, however, have been those of agricultural workers on the sugar, tobacco, banana, coffee, and other plantations.

The C.T.A.L. is a militant fighter for industrialization as the foundation of all social progress. It proposes that the industries, basic and diversified, shall be planfully developed by the various Latin American governments. Preferably this should be done with national capital, but if foreign capital comes in, it is to be systematically regulated so as to bring about a proper development of the national economy, to prevent stripping the countries of their resources, to guard against destructive exploitation of the workers and violations of the labor laws, and to avoid infringements upon the national independence of the various countries. The C.T.A.L. demands the nationalization of certain industries. These include "electricity, oil, iron and steel, chemicals, lead and copper, transportation, merchant marine, and others now in the hands of foreign capital."¹⁶ The C.T.A.L. provides for the careful husbanding of national resources, it advocates a system of tariffs to prevent dumping, and it has outlined plans for the development of trade between the countries of Latin America and the rest of the world.¹⁷ The C.T.A.L. roundly condemns the attempts of the imperialists to break down

the tariff barriers of the Latin American countries and to force their production into a semicolonial pattern. The C.T.A.L. co-operates with those employers, who accept its general line of industrial development.

All over Latin America and throughout its existence the C.T.A.L. has fought stubbornly against the coup d'état methods of the reactionaries and for the maintenance and development of democracy. This has brought its unions into head-on collision with the Perons, Dutras, Videlas, and other fascist-minded dictators now infesting Latin America. They strongly demand no interference by the state in trade union affairs.¹⁸ The C.T.A.L. sharply criticizes the reactionary hierarchs of the Catholic Church, who are behind every reactionary movement in Latin America. These union leaders make such criticism boldly, notwithstanding the fact that the Church claims the fealty of almost all the people of Latin America.

The relentless struggle for democracy by the trade unions and other working class organizations in Latin America received its highest expression in the fight against fascism during the latter 1930's and in World War II. As pointed out in a previous chapter, the dictators of the Axis powers had definitely calculated to grab control of most of Latin America before they came to grips with their main enemies. But they failed to accomplish this, and a very great deal of the credit therefor is due to the C.T.A.L. and its unions. During the crucial years of the eve of World War II a vital battle for democracy was fought out in the broad areas of Latin America and it was won by the masses of the people, with the organized workers of the C.T.A.L. and the Communist parties at their head.

The C.T.A.L. was also a powerful force in mobilizing the peoples of Latin America against fascism in the fundamental clash of World War II. It declared, "The peoples who are struggling against Nazi-fascism . . . constitute the advance guard of the world struggle for civilization and peace . . . The C.T.A.L. decides to co-operate by all means possible with the governments and peoples who today are the vanguard of the great historical battle against Nazi-fascism . . . the present war against the totalitarian regimes is the war of the Latin American people."¹⁹ The C.T.A.L. lived up to the spirit of this resolution throughout the war, vigorously combating all the local fifth column enemies of victory in the war and uniting the peoples to support the historic struggle. One of the measures taken by the C.T.A.L. unions to speed the key matter of production was a no-strike pledge for war-time, a pledge which they loyally fulfilled. Characteristically, however, the employers in all the countries, busily profiteering on the war, took advantage of the workers' patriotism by jacking up prices and keeping wages down.

Besides defending the interests of the workers, the C.T.A.L. unions no less militantly defend those of their nations as a whole. In this patriotic spirit Lombardo Toledano declared: "We are the legitimate heirs of the great

heroes of our continent; of Hidalgo, of Morelos, of Juarez, of Bolivar, Marti, San Martin, O'Higgins, and Morozan."²⁰ In following the spirit of these revolutionary forefathers, the C.T.A.L., during these postwar times, inevitably finds itself in sharp conflict with the machinations of the aggressive Yankee "Colossus of the North." In defense of its own peoples' welfare, peace, and national independence, the C.T.A.L. has found it necessary to condemn and oppose the Clayton economic plan for the enslavement of Latin America, the Truman arms-standardization plan for the military domination of the hemisphere, the Marshall Plan for the subjugation of Europe, atom-bomb diplomacy, the Korean war and the whole war program of militant United States monopoly capital.

The Attempt to Destroy the C.T.A.L.

Wall Street imperialism, in stepping up its postwar drive to subjugate all of Latin America, finds the C.T.A.L. a formidable obstacle to its plans. This is because that organization, together with the Communist parties of the various countries, has raised the labor movement of Latin America to the highest level of ideological unity, economic strength, and political influence in its history. The unions have grown into a great force for defending the economic standards, political liberties, and national independence of the peoples against the imperialist exploiters and oppressors. Therefore, Wall Street holds that the C.T.A.L., like the Communist parties and other progressive organizations, must be destroyed and its constituent unions crippled or wiped out. And those it cannot destroy, it wants to take over and control, even as has been done under different conditions with the Canadian labor movement.

Immediately upon the conclusion of World War II, therefore, the State Department opened an attack upon the progressive labor organizations of Latin America. To begin with, it informed the sordid political leaders of the Latin American governments, who were all clamoring for shares in the Marshall Plan slush pot, that if they were to have loans and gifts, they must wage relentless war upon the trade unions and Communist parties in their respective countries. The general result of this policy, as we have remarked in Chapter 29, has been a reign of terror, with wholesale assassinations and jailings of workers' leaders in Cuba, Chile, Brazil, and elsewhere. In many of the countries the C.T.A.L. unions have been declared illegal or driven underground by terroristic methods.

Obviously, however, this heavy assault by the governments and the employers against the drilled and steeled unions of Latin America, veterans of innumerable fierce struggles, was not in itself enough to smash them. They also had to be attacked from within and so disrupted if possible. To accomplish this, the State Department put to work its agents, members of the

top leadership of the trade union movement of the United States, which means the dominant labor officials. With them were assembled all the quisling and traitor elements in the Latin American labor movement. Henceforth, these groups became part and parcel of the general drive to conquer Latin America for United States big business and its war program, their task being the special one of breaking down democracy's trade union bulwarks, the C.T.A.L. and the Communist parties.

The top leaders of the A.F. of L. were the first of the union officialdom to go into action on this filthy job. They looked back nostalgically to the days of the old Pan American Federation of Labor (C.O.P.A.), when they tried to get the unions of the whole hemisphere within their grasp. Hoping, therefore, to profit from their failures of the past, with the help of Wall Street they have launched a new C.O.P.A., the Inter-American Confederation of Workers (C.I.T.), for which they laid the basis at a general conference held in Lima, Peru, in January 1948. This action, designed to split and wreck the Latin American labor movement, was carried out in accordance with specific decisions by the A.F. of L. conventions of 1946, 1947, and 1948, and under the general direction of the United States State Department. In August 1948, the C.T.A.L. called upon its affiliated unions to withdraw from the International Labor Organization on the grounds that that body, too, was aiding the C.I.T. split.

The methods used by the A.F. of L. (State Department) agents in trying to destroy the C.T.A.L. are those of union-smashers and strikebreakers. Gathering together their disruptive forces within a given national union or national center, they proceed to split them away and to set up new organizations. This has been their line in many Latin American countries. Thenceforth, they unite their forces with the reactionary governments and the employers in the most shameless attempts to break the strikes and organizations of the C.T.A.L. unions. All this union splitting is done under the Hitlerite slogan of a crusade against communism and in the name of the "cold war." This situation puts a premium upon general political reaction and upon the antilabor drive now spreading all over Latin America. The A.F. of L. leaders share the major responsibility with the State Department for the many murders of union leaders that have recently taken place in Cuba, Chile, and other countries.

The State Department-A.F. of L. leaders immediately in charge of this union-busting campaign in behalf of United States imperialism are such notorious misleaders of labor as Matthew Woll and David Dubinsky of the A.F. of L. Executive Council. Serafino Romualdi is their chief field agent in Latin America. Romualdi, a member of David Dubinsky's organization, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, was a government official in the Office of Strategic Services during the war. His collaborators in the

various Latin American countries are right-wing Social Democrats, syndicalists, Trotskyites, Titoists, and a variety of disgruntled elements, reactionary labor politicians, employers' agents, and fascists. Bernardo Ibanez, president of the C.I.T. and an anti-Communist Social-Democrat of Chile, was formerly a member of the C.T.A.L. Executive.

Inasmuch as it has the financial and political support of the A.F. of L. and the State Department, the C.I.T. is meeting with staunch resistance from the workers of Latin America. They smell it for the imperialist instrument that it is. This is why the State Department and the A.F. of L. leaders are planning to reorganize it in Mexico City, in January, 1951, as the Latin American section of the right wing international federation, the I.C.F.T.U. The C.I.T. leaders, playing upon lingering Roosevelt sentiment among the Latin American workers, are trying to palm off Truman's war program as the Good Neighbor policy, which still has some repute in Latin America. The mass opposition to Yankee imperialism is so strong as to find some expression even among the hand-picked leaders and delegates of the C.I.T. Thus, at that body's founding conference in Lima, a motion was adopted, against the votes of the A.F. of L. delegation, condemning "the imperialist manifestations of the United States economic policy." Later on, in discussing results of the second convention of the C.I.T., held in Havana, September, 1949, Romualdi declared: "I do not hesitate to report that U.S.-Latin American policy fared badly. The dominant feeling was that the United States is acting with excessive friendliness toward the dictatorial governments of Latin America."²¹

The precise extent of the split in Latin America at the present time is difficult to measure accurately, since no definite figures are available. It is clear, however, that the majority of the workers are remaining loyal to the C.T.A.L. and are refusing to walk into the A.F. of L.'s imperialist trap. Nevertheless, a grave injury has been done to trade unionism throughout Latin America. The C.I.T. leaders, straining their imagination severely, at their Havana meeting claimed that 14,000,000 workers were represented. This figure, utterly fantastic so far as Latin America is concerned, included the 9,000,000 members of the A.F. of L., Machinists, and Railroad unions of the United States and of the Trades and Labor Assembly (A.F. of L.) of Canada, all of which were heavily represented. The Latin American labor delegation itself consisted of a thin scattering of unions and split-offs, plus a number of would-be labor leaders from Cuba, Peru, Venezuela, Chile, Mexico, Costa Rica, Haiti, etc. The A.F. of L. leaders spent over a million dollars to get this scare-crow outfit together. None of the larger national labor union centers of Latin America was represented. Those delegates who did come to the convention from the Latin American countries were overwhelmingly outnumbered, so far as the strength of their unions was con-

cerned, by representation from the trade unions of the United States and Canada.

At the Milan Congress of the W.F.T.U., in 1949, Lombardo Toledano optimistically declared that the Inter-American Confederation of Labor is "entirely without importance."²² At the C.T.A.L. Conference in Montevideo in March 1950, in enumerating the countries where splits of the labor movement have occurred, either through reactionary state coups d'état or by disruption from within, or both, the resolution on this question listed Venezuela, Costa Rica, Paraguay, Cuba, Chile, and other countries. Mexico, Colombia, Panama, and Peru also suffer more or less from splits.

At present the United States State Department is throwing in fresh forces to aid the Latin American dictators, the employers, and the A.F. of L. leaders in their combined assaults upon the C.T.A.L. These new forces are the Murrays, Reuthers, Careys, *et al.*, in the leadership of the C.I.O. They are supposed to lend a left-progressive coloration to the union-smashing. The attack by the latter leaders represents a complete reversal of C.T.A.L.-C.I.O. relationships. From the foundation of both the C.I.O. and the C.T.A.L., the two organizations were close friends and collaborators; so much so that when the A.F. of L. first announced its intention a few years ago of launching a new Latin American labor movement, the C.I.O. leadership sharply denounced it as a criminal enterprise,²³ which it was and is.

Now, however, with the cold war sharpening up on a world scale and with Wall Street's need to dominate Latin America grown imperative, the State Department has called upon the C.I.O. leaders, who are ardent supporters of President Truman's imperialist foreign policies, to take a hand in the attempt to crush the C.T.A.L. Nothing loath, the C.I.O. top officials, ignoring all past friendship and co-operation and betraying the interests of the whole American labor movement, are busily trying to split the C.T.A.L. and to disperse its national affiliates, with the announced intention of launching still another international labor center for Latin America. All these C.I.O. union-wrecking activities are water on the dam of the reactionary C.I.T. and Yankee imperialism. The aim evidently is to build this long discredited C.O.P.A. into an all-American section of the new International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the recent split-off from the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Further Yankee imperialist assistance in the attack on the C.T.A.L., on the Communist parties, and on the forces of peace and democracy generally in Latin America is supposed to be provided by the so-called Inter-American Conference for Democracy and Freedom, launched in Havana in May 1950, under the auspices of the United States State Department and several Latin American governments—Chile, Uruguay, Costa Rica, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. This conference was attended by C.I.T. leaders, Truman political hacks,

Social-Democrats, and Trotskyites. The conference set up a general headquarters in Montevideo.

Another attack upon the C.T.A.L. and militant trade unionism in Latin America originated recently in Argentina. The General Confederation of Labor of that country, which is controlled by the reactionary Peron government, is now seeking to organize a fascist-type federation of Latin American trade unions. It is striving to establish contacts with state-controlled unions in Peru, Brazil, and other countries with reactionary regimes. The growth of such a movement is a natural consequence of the split created in the Latin American labor movements by the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. leaders.

The attack upon the C.T.A.L. has been intensified by the outbreak of President Truman's war in Korea. For the C.T.A.L., true to its character as a genuinely proletarian movement, has condemned this war as a "colonial adventure of Yankee imperialism."²⁴ The C.I.T., of course, and all the other labor agencies of American imperialism in Latin America are supporting the war.

The activities of the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. in attempting to break up the C.T.A.L. gives a green light to fascist-minded political reaction in Latin America. The conservative trade union leaders in the United States have a long record of betrayal of the workers in colonial and semicolonial countries all over the world; but this betrayal in Latin America is perhaps the worst. It has already done grave damage to democracy in those countries. It is one of the outstanding examples, in the current cold war world, of the treachery and stupidity of so-called labor leaders in attempting to destroy the best trade union organizations in the world at the behest of the war-plotting capitalist monopolists. But this vicious assault will not succeed. The C.T.A.L. and its unions are much too well rooted in the economic and political needs of the workers and nations of Latin America to be destroyed by the tools of Yankee imperialism. The pressure of the decaying world capitalist system upon mass living conditions and political liberties in Latin America is so great and compelling that the workers in these countries must and will have militant and progressive unions of the type of the C.T.A.L.

As for Wall Street's hope of destroying the Communist parties of Latin America, which is closely linked with its present ruthless campaign against the C.T.A.L.—that is altogether an infantile fancy. The Latin American Communist parties are indestructible. What the forces of United States imperialism and domestic reaction—politicians, labor leaders, clerics and all—are really doing in the countries of Latin America with their current policies of force and violence against the workers, their living standards and their organizations, is sowing the seeds of an eventual whirlwind of mass revolt, much as they did in China and as they are doing in many other parts of the world.

33. THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

In Chapter 20 we brought the outline history of the labor movement of the States down to World War I—to the beginning of the general crisis of the world capitalist system. In this chapter our task is to show how organized labor in the United States has reacted since then to the central economic-political process of our times—the breaking down of world capitalism and the rise of world socialism. It is the record of a labor movement dominated by a reactionary top bureaucracy, essentially a continuation of the old Gompers regime, openly supporting the capitalist system and faithfully following the major policies of the monopoly capitalists in their desperate efforts to save doomed capitalism and to destroy advancing socialism.

The reactionary leaders of the trade unions, whose basic ideology is akin to that of the National Association of Manufacturers, have done immeasurable harm to the labor movement. Historically, as bourgeois labor reformists they have constituted a primitive, undeveloped type of Social-Democracy. They are the labor arm of United States imperialism. Because of the non-revolutionary ideology of United States workers, they have not, therefore, felt the need, as in the case of European Social-Democratic reformists, to make a pretense of fighting for socialism. "Labor lieutenants of capital in the ranks of the working classes," with policies of class collaboration (which signify the subordination of the working class to the capitalist class), they have systematically sabotaged every move to strengthen the workers ideologically and as a fighting force. During the 35 years since World War I, the labor movement of the United States has made great progress; but this has been achieved not because of its enormously highly paid leaders, but in spite of them.

The constructive leadership of the workers throughout this period has come from the left and progressive sections of the labor movement, of which the Communist Party is the heart. As for the Social-Democratic trade union leaders, as we have pointed out in earlier chapters, they have long since abandoned all opposition to the ruling trade union bureaucracy. They have merged with them both ideologically and organizationally, no longer having any program that sets them apart from the bourgeois reformist union leaders. Both groups are now open defenders of capitalism and its two-party system.

The pro-capitalist leaders have been able to rule the labor movement for

all these years because they have as their base a large body of relatively highly paid skilled workers, the labor aristocracy. Lenin said that employers, swollen with profits, find it "quite *possible to bribe* the labor leaders and the upper stratum of the labor aristocracy. And the capitalists of the 'advanced' countries are bribing them; they bribe them in a thousand different ways, direct and indirect, overt and covert."¹ What Lenin says here, and what Engels pointed out many years earlier, about these corrupting influences, applies with manifold force to United States imperialism, which has reaped such fabulous profits from the two world wars. Wall Street monopolists are now systematically corrupting the labor aristocracy and their leaders on a scale never dreamed of in any other capitalist country. Many of the conservative union leaders have become real capitalists in fact as well as in ideology. The trade union treasuries have also grown fat in the general capitalist "prosperity," and the union leaders are dabbling in all sorts of capitalist enterprises. Some of the richer unions are the International Ladies Garment Workers, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, the United Mine Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Teamsters Union, and the United Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The total assets of the major unions run up to at least a couple of hundred million dollars. This poisonous material and ideological capitalist corruption of sections of the workers has a crippling effect upon the struggles of the entire working class.

A.F. of L. Policy Toward World War I and the Russian Revolution

The A.F. of L. top leaders, as loyal servitors of capitalism, unquestioningly support all wars, just or unjust, declared by the capitalist class and its government. Hence they actively backed the imperialist World War I, the product of a decaying capitalist system, once the capitalists decided to throw the United States into it. That it was not a popular war among the workers, however, was evidenced by the powerful antiwar movement developed in many places by the left wing of the Socialist Party. The strength of this antiwar movement was shown by the significant fact that when President Samuel Gompers of the A.F. of L. called a general conference on March 12, 1917, to line up the trade unions for the war, many unions refused to attend, among them the United Mine Workers, the International Typographical Union, Ladies Garment Workers' Union, the Western Federation of Miners, and several others. John P. White, president of the U.M.W.A., said, "I find little sentiment among the working people in favor of this terrible war."²

The unpopularity of World War I among the masses was further attested by the fact that the workers, disregarding all efforts of their leaders, the bosses, and the government to tie them down with a no-strike pledge (an

agreement which, however, they willingly made during the antifascist World War II), struck freely for higher wages and better conditions throughout the war. But the government threw Eugene V. Debs, Charles E. Ruthenberg, and other antiwar fighters into jail, and the A.F. of L. leaders, backed up by the government, broke through the workers' opposition and committed the labor movement to the war. Little did the monopolists and their labor leader agents realize then that the world bloodbath into which they were so blithely forcing the masses, would do such irreparable injury to their beloved capitalism. It was the beginning of the end for the world capitalist system.

The victorious Russian Revolution, another evidence of the breaking down of world capitalism, sent a thrill of joy through the working class of all countries, with the establishment of the Soviet government in November 1917, in the middle of World War I. But it awakened no glad response in the hearts of the Gompers, Greens, Wolls, Hutchesons, and other bureaucrats who held the fort for capitalism within the Executive Council of the A.F. of L. Always faithful to the employers, from the very start they took a position of unrelenting hostility toward the first socialist republic. With a capitalist instinct as unerring as that of the United States Steel Corporation, they realized that the birth of the new workers' regime was a great disaster for their beloved capitalism.

In the many years since then the A.F. of L. leaders in the top brackets have been inveterate in their bitter hatred of the U.S.S.R. Just as they rallied to the support of their imperialist masters in World War I, so, also, they joined forces with them in their relentless struggle against living socialism. Hardly any capitalist forces anywhere in the world have been more persistent and venomous in their anti-Soviet attitude throughout the years than the A.F. of L. leaders. In their ranks there has always been a warm welcome for every red-baiter, gangster-of-the-pen, Communist renegade, or anyone else willing to pour out the vilest of slanders against the Soviet government. And now, in the present days of cold war, the A.F. of L. leaders are in the front rank of the warmongers. Commenting on a recent statement of the A.F. of L. Executive Council, a bourgeois reporter accurately stated that the Council "virtually advocated a war against Russia."³

The A.F. of L. and the Great Economic Crisis

After World War I and the Russian Revolution, the next great development in the deepening general crisis of capitalism was the big world economic crisis of 1929-33. This event caught the A.F. of L. leaders completely off-guard and it abashed them no less than it did the capitalists themselves. Of course, the conservative union leaders had not the slightest inkling of what a basic disaster this was for capitalism, but it made them mortally afraid. During the several boom years in the 1920's, prior to the great crisis, the

A.F. of L. bureaucrats had lived in a fool's paradise and had done their best to have the workers join them there ideologically. They shared and propagated all the current capitalist illusions that capitalism in the United States had "matured," and cyclical crises were things of the past. Only the Communists and left-wing unions warned of the coming crisis and urged the workers to defend their living standards. The bankruptcy of the A.F. of L. leaders became all the more obvious during the crisis itself when, repeating the words of their capitalist masters, they declared that the introduction of unemployment relief and insurance would be a disaster to the labor movement and the working class. They reacted to the crisis essentially as the capitalists did, by trying to throw its burden upon the workers. It was the Communists, not the high-paid A.F. of L. leaders, who led the many great unemployment demonstrations and struggles of the workers during the crisis years.

The election of the liberal Roosevelt towards the end of the crisis, in November 1932, by the spontaneous action of the harassed and aroused masses of the people, was a godsend to the confused and bewildered A.F. of L. leaders. They fastened eagerly onto the new President's coattails. Here was a bourgeois leader, amidst the general capitalist confusion, who evidently knew where he was going; whereas their old-time capitalist friends who used to transmit instructions to them from Wall Street, down through such organizations as the National Civic Federation and the Chamber of Commerce, were as confounded and programless as were the A.F. of L. leaders themselves. The bankrupt "labor leaders" had next to nothing to do with formulating the ensuing maze of New Deal legislation with which President Roosevelt deluged the country during his first term of office. Roosevelt was trying to patch together again the badly shaken capitalist system after its latest blow from the economic crisis. This was enough for the A.F. of L. leaders, so they followed sheeplike after him. They had not the faintest notion of coming forward with a real working class program, nor of leading in the direction of socialism.

The Unionization of the Basic Industries

A fundamental political question which the deepening general crisis of capitalism put on labor's agenda in the United States was the organization of the almost completely unorganized basic, trustified industries. Ever since the growth of the trusts in the nineties and especially after the defeat of the Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin Workers in the heroic Homestead strike in 1892, the A.F. of L., with its corrupt leaders and antiquated system of craft unionism, had proved quite unable to organize the masses of workers in these industries. Intent only upon protecting their own positions and narrow craft controls, the A.F. of L. leaders had stubbornly refused to adopt the in-

dispensable policy of industrial unionism. Having corrupt alliances with the employers, they also aggressively sabotaged all efforts from the left to organize these workers.

During World War I, with the tremendous demand for labor power and with the workers in a militant mood, the bulk of workers in the trustified industries could readily have been unionized by the industrial federation of crafts type of organization, but the A.F. of L. leaders also had no liking for this form of unionism. They actually agreed with the employers not to organize the "open shop" industries during wartime, and they cynically betrayed the big organizing campaigns that were carried through in steel, meat-packing and other trustified industries by rank-and-file left-wingers and progressives. For example, it was directly their fault that the big, left-led organizing campaign and strike of the steel workers in 1918-20 did not succeed. The success of this key strike would have resulted in organizing the basic industries far and wide.

But the devastating economic smashup of 1929-33, the extreme severity of which was caused by the deepening general crisis of world capitalism, raised the question of organizing the basic industries so imperatively that even the top A.F. of L. leadership could no longer prevent it. Along with the big political movement that swept Roosevelt into office, the workers in all the industries, actively stimulated by the Communists, developed a powerful drive for unionization, beginning early in 1933. The unions started to grow all along the line, and many important strikes took place.

At the Atlantic City convention of the A.F. of L. in 1935, under the leadership of John L. Lewis, president of the U.M.W.A., a resolution, in tune with the opportunities before the labor movement at that time, was introduced proposing the organization of the workers of the unorganized trustified industries into industrial unions. The motion was defeated by a convention vote of 18,464 to 10,897. The dominant craft union leaders, animated by a desire to preserve their high-paid official jobs, were quite willing to see the big industries remain unorganized rather than abandon their jurisdictional craft union "rights" over these workers.

Undismayed by the criminal stupidity and betrayal of the official Green clique, Lewis and his associates formed the Committee for Industrial Organization in November 1935, consisting of representatives of eight A.F. of L. unions: the United Mine Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies Garment Workers, the United Textile Workers, the International Typographical Union, the Oilfield, Gaswell and Refining Workers, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and the Hat and Cap-Makers. These eight unions in the C.I.O., representing about a million workers, at once set to work organizing the workers of the trustified, unorganized industries into the A.F. of L.

In January 1936, however, the A.F. of L. Executive Council condemned the C.I.O. as dualistic and demanded its dissolution. The C.I.O. leaders rejected this order. At the Tampa convention of the A.F. of L. in November 1936, therefore, the collection of high union officials who made up that body "suspended" (i.e., expelled) the C.I.O. unions, which constituted forty per cent of the entire membership of the A.F. of L. The corrupt Green clique actually split the national labor movement rather than allow the formation of industrial unions in the trustified industries, the only possible means by which they could be organized. It was a supreme example of characteristic Gompers misleadership.

The workers, ripe for unionism, responded in millions to the well-organized campaigns of the C.I.O. in steel, auto, and other industries. Not only the C.I.O. unions, but also the old A.F. of L. and independent unions all grew feverishly in the huge movement. Many strikes raged. The "open shop" fortress of monopoly capital in the trustified industries was successfully invaded, and key sections of the national economy, for half a century completely closed against unions, were organized. The notorious spy system, gunman control, and company unionism of the employers were dealt a shattering blow. In the spring of 1933, when the big organizing movement began to get under way, the total union membership in the United States amounted to 3,144,300, but by 1948, as the movement reached its high point, approximately 16 million (out of some 50 million organizable workers) were in the unions. Of these, about six million belonged to the C.I.O. and over seven million to the A.F. of L.⁴ The rest were in independent unions.

One key reason for the success of the organizing campaigns of the C.I.O. was the alliance, in the drive, of the progressives and left-wing forces in the labor movement against the sabotaging right-wing leadership. Scores of Communists were on the organizing staffs in the various campaigns in the trustified industries. They furnished life and vigor to the whole body of organizing work.

The modern labor movement of the United States was born during these years. It had been created in the teeth of the opposition of the reactionary top leaders of the A.F. of L., which is the only way any substantial progress has ever been achieved in the labor movement of the United States. These misleaders of the workers fought against the launching of the C.I.O. organizing campaign; they opposed it at every step of its progress; and, shamelessly, they let it be known that when, as they expected, the employers broke up the C.I.O. in the postwar economic crisis, they would help them and then absorb the remnants of the industrial unions into their craft unions. But the stability of the C.I.O. unions eventually frustrated these treacherous plans and expectations.

Organized Labor and the Negro People

The struggle for Negro rights, long sabotaged by the A.F. of L. leaders, was another basic issue that was largely sharpened and matured in the United States by the cumulative effects of the deepening world crisis of capitalism. That is, it was intensified by World War I, which caused over one million Negroes to migrate to the north between 1916 and 1923; by the Russian Revolution, which gave United States Negroes a revealing glimpse of human equality; by the great economic crisis of 1929-33, which imperatively raised the whole question of the Negroes' status as workers and citizens; by the big organization campaigns of the 1930's, which precipitated in decisive form the relationships of the Negro workers to the trade unions; by World War II, which still further sharpened the whole general question of the Negroes' position in American life. And in these days of cold war the widespread discrimination against the Negroes in the United States has become an acute issue throughout the colonial world. This ripening of the Negro question is one of the many profound political effects that the deepening general crisis of capitalism is having upon the United States.

On this most vital issue, too, the conservative labor leaders have always acted in the reactionary spirit of their masters, the employers. Since its foundation in 1881, the A.F. of L. has discriminated disgracefully against Negro workers. Many of its unions have consistently barred Negroes from membership by constitutional clauses, while numerous others have kept them out as a matter of practice.⁵ An outstanding exception was the United Mine Workers. The railroad unions have long been a hotbed of Jim Crow—even the American Railway Union, headed by Eugene V. Debs, excluded Negroes from its membership.⁶ Actually, for many years the only way Negro workers could get work in many industries and crafts was by acting as strikebreakers.

At this late date, eight A.F. of L. unions—Machinists, Airline Pilots, Commercial Telegraphers, Railway Telegraphers, Masters, Mates and Pilots, Railway Mail Clerks, Switchmen, and Wire Weavers—still specifically exclude Negroes, while five others, also A.F. of L.—Asbestos Workers, Electrical Workers, Flint Glass Workers, Granite Cutters, and Plumbers and Steamfitters—bar them in practice. Besides, seven unaffiliated unions, mostly on the railroads, also keep out Negroes.⁷

The A.F. of L. and railroad unions, besides refusing Negroes the protection of organization, have also traditionally banned them from jobs in various industries, prevented their learning skilled trades, and exposed them to the fullest blasts of unemployment. The Railroad Brotherhoods, in the aggressive campaign to drive the Negroes out of the railroad service, during the period of 1910-40, cut down the number of Negro firemen from 6.8 per cent to 5 per cent and of trainmen from 4.1 per cent to 2.5 per

cent. Between 1931 and 1934, in this bitter job struggle in the lower Mississippi Valley, ten Negro firemen were killed and 21 wounded.⁸ During the Roosevelt regime, these Jim Crow A.F. of L. and railroad unions cynically evaded or openly violated the decisions of the President's Fair Employment Practices Commission on discrimination against Negroes in industry.

The A.F. of L.'s class betrayal of the Negro workers, continued for two generations, has definitely been of great service to the labor-exploiting employers and Jim Crowers. By isolating the Negro workers and treating them as pariahs not entitled to skilled work and the rights of trade unionism, the A.F. of L. leaders contributed directly to the monstrous wage and job discrimination, social ostracism, ghetto-like segregation, race riots, and lynching, to which the Negro people have been so long subjected. This anti-Negro practice constitutes the most shameful page in the history of the United States labor movement. The Communist Party, which, since its foundation in 1919, has made the battle for Negro rights a central point in its program, has always carried on a relentless struggle against the Jim Crow policy of the A.F. of L.

The C.I.O., founded in 1935, took a more fraternal and enlightened attitude than the A.F. of L. toward the Negro people, its affiliated unions freely admitting Negro workers into their ranks and giving them a measure of protection. This "new relation of the Negro to the labor unions"⁹ was mainly due to the influence of the relentless fight on this issue by the Communists who, together with other progressive forces, were in direct leadership of about one-fifth of all the C.I.O.'s national union membership, as well as being very influential in its various city and state industrial councils. The general result of these more proletarian policies was that by 1948 some 800,000 Negroes had become members of the C.I.O., A.F. of L., and independent unions.

Continuing discrimination against Negroes in conservative unions, however, is exemplified by the lack of these workers in the leadership of these unions. This is particularly marked in the composition of their national boards. Thus the Teamsters, Carpenters, and Electrical Workers (A.F. of L.), Steel Workers and Auto Workers (C.I.O.), and Machinists and Coal Miners (independent), embracing all told about 4,800,000 members, include in their ranks some 350,000 Negro workers, but they have no Negro representatives whatever on their national executive committees. This situation is characteristic of the conservative unions generally in both A.F. of L. and C.I.O., except in a few cases, mostly where the left wing has or has had influence. In left-wing unions, on the other hand, Negroes are nearly always to be found on the national boards. Examples, all C.I.O.: Fur and Leather, four; Food and Tobacco, four; Public Workers, four; Marine Cooks, four; Longshoremen, two; Office Workers, three; Farm Equipment, three; Mine,

Mill and Smelter, one; etc. The A.F. of L. Longshoremens also have four Negro board members. In no unions, except those of almost exclusive Negro membership, do the Negroes hold the office of national president.

The basic significance of the unionization of the Negro workers is that it helps to heal the boss-created economic and political breach between white and Negro workers. This is a gain of tremendous importance for the labor movement, which is the reason why the employers and their lackeys in the top ranks of the union leadership have always fought so persistently to keep Negroes out of the trade unions.

Independent Working Class Political Action

One of the great historical tasks of the United States working class is to organize its own political party, in conjunction with its allies, the Negro people, poorer farmers, and other democratic groups. Such a party obviously has to be based on the trade unions. The capitalists have spared no effort to prevent the unions from taking this step and to keep the workers locked within their deadly two-party system and thus scattered within the two capitalist parties. In this endeavor, which has been all too successful, they have had the full support of the conservative trade union leadership, from the establishment of the A.F. of L. down to the present period.

Since World War I, under the influence of the heavy national and international pressures generated by the general crisis of capitalism, the question of independent political action by the workers has continued to grow increasingly acute. It came to a climax in the national election campaign of 1924, when Robert M. LaFollette, backed officially by almost the whole labor movement and most of the farmer organizations, ran as an independent candidate, polling 4,826,382 votes. The reluctant A.F. of L. leaders, under the powerful mass pressure of the workers, were compelled to endorse La Follette, but they eventually succeeded in preventing the big movement behind him from crystallizing into a definite party.

The later unionization of the many millions of workers in the basic industries, plus the ideological and political growth of the workers during the Roosevelt regime, made the creation of a great independent party of workers and other democratic groups all the more feasible, necessary, and urgent. Such a party would have strengthened, not weakened, the fight against fascism in the Roosevelt period. But the heavily entrenched labor leadership—A.F. of L., C.I.O., and independent—wanted none of it. They were rigid enemies of working class political action. They, therefore, proposed no organized political coalition with Roosevelt; they did not even demand labor members in his cabinet; instead, they clung stubbornly to the traditional Gompers policy of calling upon the workers to support the policies and candidates of the two capitalist parties. The very idea of an inde-

pendent role being played by the workers was as repugnant to these misleaders of labor as it was to the bosses themselves.

The end of World War II and the opening up of the cold war presented the labor movement with the urgent need to fight for the preservation of peace, and renewed the burning necessity for it to crystallize its forces politically. Henry A. Wallace, former Vice-President of the United States, during the election campaign of 1948 was actively supported by Communists and progressives in this big struggle, in labor's effort to unite politically. The Progressive Party was launched in Philadelphia in July 1948. But again, the top labor leadership, firmly allied with the capitalists around their imperialist program, violently opposed and checked the third-party movement. Wallace and Senator Glen H. Taylor, the vice-presidential candidate, polled 1,157,100 votes. Organized labor threw away its huge vote on the two reactionary presidential candidates, Truman and Dewey.

Since the period of World War I and the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism, the workers in the United States have crashed through the employer-established reactionary domination of their unions on two major issues—first, in the basic matter of the organization of the trustified, "open shop" industries; and second, in the fundamental issue of unionizing the Negro workers. They have not yet, however, succeeded in organizing their own mass party and in smashing the boss-serving two-party system, which for many years has been tightly maintained by their conservative union leaders. But this development, fundamental to the progress of the working class, must take place in the not-too-distant future, as the class struggle constantly sharpens in the United States and on an international scale. Labor and its allies will have their own party.

Wall Street's Labor Imperialists

The decisive leadership of both the A.F. of L. and C.I.O., active supporters of capitalism as they are, are as imperialist-minded as any group of Wall Street bankers. They consider themselves and the trade unions to be an organic part of the capitalist system. It is entirely in line with their whole history that they should line up with Wall Street's self-appointed task of meeting the basic problems presented by the general crisis of capitalism by trying to overthrow world socialism and to rejuvenate senile world capitalism. As labor lieutenants of big capital, they are soldiers in the latter's forces, engaged in the hopeless job of establishing world domination for Wall Street. Nor are they a bit appalled at the prospect that the capitalists' drive for this objective would entail another terrible world war. In these dangerous times many people are protesting against the possible use of atom-bombs and hydrogen bombs, but the conservative trade union

leaders are not among these protesters. They are in the front ranks of the most reckless warmongers.

The top leaders of the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. have become a definite part of the war-diplomatic apparatus of the United States State Department. Their special function in the big war machine being built up is to break the peace will of the masses and to subordinate the workers to the dictates of the war-makers. They are striving to do this by peddling the imperialist propaganda among the masses, dressed up in workers' language, and by cracking down on all groups within union ranks who dare to speak out against the war program of Wall Street. They are among the most virulent of all red-baiters. They have long been friends and official supporters of the infamous House Committee on Un-American Activities. Their efforts are especially directed against the Communists, who are everywhere the most clear-sighted and resolute defenders of peace.

Wall Street realizes that if it is to surmount the strong mass resistance to the war which it is preparing, it must cripple or break up the Communist parties and Communist-led trade unions here and abroad. That is, the labor movement must be split in the United States and all over the world, especially in its most advanced and progressive sections. The big capitalists have assigned this criminal work to their willing labor lieutenants—trade union leaders and Social-Democratic politicians—who, in order to accomplish their appointed task, do not hesitate to descend to the lowest levels of strikebreaking and union-wrecking. Never before has the world's labor movement experienced such cynical treachery from its supposed leaders. In Chapter 31, we have seen how this union-wrecking conspiracy is being carried out against the Latin American Confederation of Labor; now let us observe its operation in the C.I.O. and the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Splitting the C.I.O.

In building the C.I.O., throughout the New Deal period and during World War II, a dozen years in all, the Communists and the Philip Murray group (led in its earlier stages by John L. Lewis) worked freely together. The Murray leadership, under the pressure of the great current mass struggles, timidly followed a progressive line. The Communists furnished, directly or indirectly, the bulk of the progressive policies and the main driving force of the organization. The general result of this collaboration was that the C.I.O. grew and flourished. It organized the basic industries, unionized large numbers of Negro workers, had a sound foreign policy, constituted the progressive vanguard of the labor movement, and became a powerful political influence. The C.I.O. in this period represented the highest stage in trade unionism yet reached by the working class in the United States.

After the war, however, this Communist-progressive bloc was deliberately broken up by Murray and Company, to the sad detriment of the C.I.O. When Wall Street launched its big postwar drive to smash socialism and to rule the world, it called upon all its capitalist forces to rally "to fight Communism"; the Murray group, who are open advocates of capitalism, and who before the New Deal had a typically conservative record, decided to go along. Concretely, they endorsed the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine, and the rest of the war program. Like the A.F. of L. leaders, they joined Wall Street's war front. This action in 1948 completely destroyed the old Communist-progressive bloc. The Murray forces became even more violent red-baiters than the leaders of the A.F. of L.

A big factor in this treachery of the Murray leadership was the pressure of the Catholic hierarchy. In recent years, the Catholic leaders have been building a strong organization, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (A.C.T.U.), throughout the labor movement and especially within the C.I.O. The reactionary spirit of this organization was exemplified by its main spokesman, James Carey, general secretary of the C.I.O., who insolently declared recently at a meeting with employer forces at the Hotel Astor in New York, that, "in the last war, we joined with the Communists to fight the fascists. In another war, we will join with the fascists to defeat the communists."¹⁰

The capitalist policy in this crucial cold war period demands that the conservatives directly split the labor movement everywhere in order "to get rid of the Communists," and the Murray group has subscribed to this ruinous proposition. They deliberately began to expel and split a dozen left-progressive unions, including the United Electrical, Radio and Machine, Fur and Leather, Longshoremen, Marine Cooks and Stewards, Food and Tobacco, Farm Equipment Workers, Public Workers, Office Workers, Furniture Workers, Fishermen, Mine, Mill and Smelter, and Communications Workers, with a total of some 800,000 members. They also revoked the charters of several left-led city and state industrial councils. They started this split at the C.I.O. Cleveland convention, in November 1949, by expelling the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, with 500,000 members, and by turning its C.I.O. charter over to a group led by the fascist-minded Carey. Since then, the other left national unions have been ousted, one by one, and strikebreaking and raiding campaigns are directed against them.

The reason put forward by Murray for this monstrous blow against the working class was that the left and progressive unions had opposed the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact, that they failed to endorse President Truman for re-election, and that they criticized the leaders of the C.I.O. and their policies. Expulsion on such grounds had been unheard of pre-

viously in the labor movement of the United States; the national unions, in both the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. had always enjoyed full autonomy in political matters and were quite free to criticize the general union officialdom.

The C.I.O. is already feeling disastrous effects from this criminal split. Whereas the organization in 1948 had a membership of about 6,000,000, it is now considerably below 4,000,000.¹¹ This figure compares unfavorably with 7,241,290 members in the A.F. of L., with which body, only a couple of years before, the C.I.O. was about on a par numerically. Worse than the C.I.O.'s decline in membership, however, is its loss of progressive, fighting spirit. It can no longer be called the vanguard of the trade union movement. Its fight against the Taft-Hartley law has been feeble; its southern organizing campaign ("without the help of the reds") was abandoned; its fight on the wage question is timid and compromising; it has retreated on the vital Negro question; and its erstwhile trade union democracy has been liquidated. In many respects the C.I.O. leaders have become even more conservative than those of the A.F. of L. Such is the price this once splendid organization is now paying because of the servility of its leaders to the war program of big business.

Splitting the W.F.T.U.

The formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions, in February 1945, was one of the great democratic achievements during and after World War II. (See Chapter 28.) This gigantic labor organization, consisting of 66,700,000 workers in 65 countries,¹² was a powerful expression of the determination of the world's toilers to realize a democratic peace. It was a vast united front of labor—of Communists, left-wing Socialists, Catholics, and nonparty trade unionists. Every major labor organization center in the world joined it except the A.F. of L. It constituted incomparably the largest and broadest international organization of labor ever created.

United States imperialism, launching its postwar drive for world conquest, of necessity had to try to shatter this great pillar of world democracy. This obviously could not be done by a frontal attack, so it would have to be broken from within. The A.F. of L. leaders were commissioned to do the job. This splitting of the W.F.T.U., together with the disruption of the C.I.O. and the C.T.A.L., are all co-ordinated parts of Wall Street's project of undermining the world's labor movement in general, as a prerequisite for carrying through its program of fascism and war.

Wall Street's Marshall Plan was the splitting issue in the W.F.T.U. World labor was given the alternative of either accepting this enslaving proposition or of being smashed. The infamous campaign of disruption was begun by creating splits in the Italian and French labor movements during the strikes of 1948. The A.F. of L. and C.I.O. had two representatives in

Europe, Irving Brown and James Carey, who dished out money lavishly to union-splitters, called upon the workers to disobey their unions' strike decisions, and worked hand in hand with the employers, governments, and right-wing Social-Democrats to break the current big strikes and split the unions. In Italy they broke off ten to fifteen per cent of the workers from the General Confederation of Labor, and in France they got about the same percentage to quit the C.G.T.—in the 1949 shop elections the C.G.T. elected 70 per cent of the delegates while the split-off Force Ouvrière, the Christian unions, and the splinter groups together elected but 30 per cent.¹³ The attempts to destroy the two vital labor movements of Italy and France failed.

The next step in this international conspiracy against world organized labor was the withdrawal, early in 1949, of the C.I.O., as well as the British and Dutch unions, from the W.F.T.U. This split was carried out directly under the prodding of the A.F. of L. and the supervision of the U. S. State Department. The charge was that the W.F.T.U. would not support the Marshall Plan. Finally, scaring up all their forces, the splitters called a general congress in London, in November 1949. The United States and Canada had 21 delegates present—A.F. of L., C.I.O., United Mine Workers, and Christian Unions. The congress launched the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.). The formation of this new body was hailed with glee by reactionary capitalist forces all over the world.

One of the first results of the formation of the I.C.F.T.U. was the launching of a drive by the forces behind United States imperialism to cripple and control the labor movements of the Far East. The trade unions of China, India, Japan, and the other big countries of Asia are powerful barriers to the conquest program of Wall Street, hence they must be controlled or destroyed. The attack upon them is part of the world anti-union pattern of United States imperialism, as we have seen in the cases of the C.I.O., the European unions, the C.T.A.L. of Latin America, and the W.F.T.U. on the world scale. With the aid of United States financial appropriations and State Department personnel, the A.F. of L. leadership, the chief labor arm of Wall Street, has been charged with the main responsibility of carrying out this work of treachery and union-smashing.

The I.C.F.T.U. claims 50 million members,¹⁴ but this is a gross exaggeration; its maximum strength is not over 30 million, consisting mainly of the big unions of the U. S. and Great Britain. As for the W.F.T.U., it numbers about 78 million.¹⁵ The reason the W.F.T.U. could stand the shock of the split without showing any loss over its figures of four years before was because of the huge increases in membership of its affiliated unions in the meantime, in the New Democracies of Central Europe, in Eastern Germany, and in China and other Far Eastern lands. The pro-

gressive W.F.T.U. retains the affiliation of the big majority of the workers in Europe, in Latin America, and in Asia. Significantly the W.F.T.U. is strong and the I.C.F.T.U. weak in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. On the world scale, the W.F.T.U. has the support of more than two-thirds of all organized workers. This favorable relationship of forces for the W.F.T.U. marks the profound advance that labor has made in recent years. It is the first time since the days of the International Workingmen's Association of eighty years ago that the right-wing Social-Democrats and labor reactionaries have found themselves definitely in a minority in the organized labor movement of the world.

The A.F. of L. is absolute boss of the strike-breaking I.C.F.T.U. Its imperialist record fits it for this task. The C.I.O. is in an especially unhappy position in the new international, as it has had to become a satellite organization of the A.F. of L. In doing this, the C.I.O. leaders had to swallow the defense they once used to make against A.F. of L. charges that the W.F.T.U. was "Russian-dominated."¹⁶ But Mr. Murray has managed to devour the sorry mess. He cynically betrayed his friends and policies in the C.T.A.L. and C.I.O., so why not also in the W.F.T.U.? If service to Wall Street's war program demands subordination to the A.F. of L. leadership at home and abroad, so be it, he reasons.

The I.C.F.T.U. is an imperialist-controlled, scab, prowar international. It is an arm of the U.S. State Department, which ordered the A.F. of L. to organize and run it. William Green and half of the A.F. of L. Executive Board were in London to take over the new-born organization. The I.C.F.T.U.'s purpose is to try to break the strikes, weaken the unions, and combat the peace movements of the world's workers—in short to clear the way for aggressive United States imperialism. Its appearance is a further sign of the domination of Wall Street over the governments of Europe and their lackey labor leaders. C.I.O. secretary Carey, in stating that he was prepared to fight generally beside fascists to accomplish his war purposes, accurately expressed the program of the new international. The I.C.F.T.U. will not be long in discrediting itself thoroughly in the eyes of the world's workers.

By the same token that the Wall Street imperialists are calling upon the conservative labor leaders to split away from the left, so also are they demanding stronger organization of the right-wing itself. Thus, we have Philip Murray's scheme, announced in April 1950, for a unification of the C.I.O., A.F. of L., and independent unions. Such "unity" would mean the swallowing of the once-progressive C.I.O. by the reactionary A.F. of L. The purpose of the kind of unity Green and Murray contemplate is not to create a more powerful fighting organization for the workers, but to bring these workers more firmly under the control of Wall Street imperialism through its top labor agents. Contrary to such reactionary schemes, when real labor

unity comes, it must be accompanied by a democratization of the trade unions and a renovation of their hidebound leadership. In the meantime, there is an urgent need for united labor action by the workers against the splitting tactics and war policies of their reactionary leaders and the employers.

The Canadian Trade Union Movement

The trade union movement in Canada has developed under conditions roughly similar to those in the United States. Canada is a great, broad, rich land, with few feudal hangovers, save in Catholic Quebec. It has a characteristic frontier tradition. Constituting essentially an industrial bloc with the United States, especially since World War I, Canada has experienced many similar economic developments. The two countries have largely shared the same economic slumps and booms; they have both been dominated by the same type of big combinations of capital, with their "open shop" company unionism, welfare trickery, blacklists, gunmen, and stubborn resistance to trade unionism. Both countries have also "prospered" greatly from the two world wars. The two lands have a very similar type of labor aristocracy. Cultural conditions in Canada also are much like those in the United States. It is surprising, therefore, that trade unionism in Canada resembles more closely that south of the border than it does that of Great Britain. In Canada, however, the employer-created savagery in the class struggle has never reached quite the ferocity that it has in the United States, nor have the union leaders generally become quite so rottenly corrupted.

The first Canadian union, the Printers, dates back to 1827. The Stone Cutters and other crafts were formed a couple of decades later. During the 1850's and 1860's, there was a big growth of labor unionism. The Canadian Labor Union, confined mostly to Ontario, was organized in 1873. The Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, the first real national organization of trade unions, was established in 1886. It embraced all unions, Knights of Labor, A.F. of L., and independent at that time, rather on the model of the British Trade Union Congress than of the then new A.F. of L. The Canadian Federation of Labor, a rival of the Trades and Labor Congress, was organized in 1902, but it did not live long. Another important organization was the Provincial Workmen's Association of Nova Scotia, which existed for many years. Meanwhile, in Quebec, Catholic unions grew up and eventually formed the Federation of Catholic Workers of Canada.¹⁷ The Canadian Congress of Labor was established by the C.I.O. during the latter's formation years.

By 1918 the total number of trade unionists in Canada reached 248,887. During the New Deal and World War II period labor unionism in Canada grew rapidly, as in the United States, and for much the same reasons. The number of union members jumped from 322,477 in 1936 to 950,000 in 1949.

Of these, some 400,000 were affiliated to the Trades and Labor Congress, 350,000 to the Canadian Congress of Labor, and 90,000 to the National Catholic Syndicates (Quebec).¹⁸

The left wing has always been very influential in the Canadian unions. The Socialists were early an important labor factor. The I.W.W. during its first ten years (1905-15) also had an extensive following in western Canada. In 1919, and for several years thereafter, the One Big Union, centering in Winnipeg, was a dominant influence among the unions of central and western Canada. Since the middle twenties the Communists have led the left wing, with a strong influence in many parts of the labor movement. During the early thirties the Communists supported the independent Workers Unity League, which was much akin to the left-wing Trade Union Unity League in the United States.

The Canadian trade union movement is remarkable in that its local unions, members of the various international unions, are overwhelmingly affiliated to the big trade union centers of a foreign country, the United States. This is true of locals in the A.F. of L., C.I.O., Railroad Brotherhoods, United Mine Workers, Machinists, etc. This tendency toward affiliation with United States unions began almost at the dawn of the Canadian labor movement. As early as 1850, the national unions of Great Britain were competing for control of the new labor movement then opening up in Canada; but the United States unions, although coming into Canada somewhat later than the English, soon got the best of the competition, gradually ousting the British unions. By 1910, of a total of 1,752 local unions in Canada, 1,520 were affiliates of United States "internationals."

The Typographical Union, Molders, Locomotive Engineers, Knights of St. Crispin (shoe workers), and various others invaded Canada during the sixties. In the eighties and nineties the Knights of Labor was also active in that country. The A.F. of L., from its very foundation, paid so much attention to Canada that its original name, during 1881-86, was the Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. The Canadian affiliates are the reason why national unions in the United States have all called themselves "internationals." In its turn, the C.I.O., during the 1930's, also invaded Canada, duly establishing its locals, city centrals, and national unions there. Throughout all these decades there has been much resistance to this "Americanization" of the Canadian labor movement, and many independent Canadian unions have been established. But the leaders of the United States unions have boldly smashed these Canadian unions and dissenters—Communists and others—denouncing them as interlopers, and insisting upon their own right, although living in another country, to organize and dominate the Canadian working class.

This crass determination of United States labor leaders to control

Canadian labor was shown as early as 1900, when Frank Morrison, secretary of the A.F. of L., stated that it was the policy of the A.F. of L. to give the Canadian Trades and Labor Assembly the status of a state federation of labor. This statement brought strong protests from Canadian labor leaders. Consequently, the A.F. of L. invaders had to retreat a step and grant the Trades and Labor Assembly the right to take in all local unions in Canada, regardless of their national affiliates, while the Assembly itself was to be only a fraternal affiliate of the A.F. of L. Nevertheless, with their strong control over the Canadian local unions through the United States "internationals," the A.F. of L. leaders (and later also those of the C.I.O.) eventually succeeded in reducing the Canadian trade union movement pretty much to the status of a satellite of the United States. Morrison's policy prevailed after all.

Domination by the reactionary leaders of the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. has done grave injury to the Canadian labor movement. These autocrats insolently undertake to tell the Canadian workers, citizens of a different country, just how they shall form their unions, when they shall or shall not strike, whom they may elect as officers or delegates to union conventions, what political parties they may belong to, and so on. How contemptuously they order the Canadian labor leaders about was typically illustrated recently when the A.F. of L. bosses brusquely commanded the timorous Canadian officials to purge their unions of "reds." Arrogantly declared the A.F. of L. nabobs: "We call upon the leadership of all our affiliates in Canada and the officers of the Trades and Labor Congress for vigorous action to eliminate every vestige of Communist influence and control in the affairs of the Trades and Labor Congress."¹⁹

The A.F. of L.-C.I.O.-Railroad union domination of the Canadian labor unions is a direct infringement upon that country's national sovereignty. This bossing of Canadian trade unions is part, and a most important part, of the general pattern of the United States imperialism for ruling and eventually absorbing Canada. The reactionary top leaders of the United States trade unions are quite aware of this fact and are proceeding accordingly. They are trying to control the Canadian labor movement with the same imperialist designs in mind that they had in building their scab International Confederation of Workers (C.I.T.) in Latin America and in constructing, on a world scale, their strikebreaking International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

To break the grip of the reactionary United States labor leaders upon the Canadian trade union movement is indispensable if Canada is to regain her national independence in general. To shatter this reactionary United States labor influence is also indispensable for the future course of the labor movements of Latin America and of many other parts of the world. The A.F. of L.-C.I.O. bureaucrats have become a distinct menace to the labor movement and the peace and democracy of the world.

34. THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

Since Columbus' epic discovery over four and a half centuries ago, the peoples of every race,* clime, and country have participated in populating the New World. In the main, however, these peoples fall within three broad ethnic groups: Indians, Negroes, and Caucasians or "whites." They hail from three great land divisions of the earth: America, Africa, and Europe. They are people of varying colors—roughly red, black, and white—and they have behind them vastly differing backgrounds of language, history, religion, general culture, and degrees of social development.

The Indians, supposedly of Asian origin, were, of course, the first Americans. They consisted of 1,700 or more tribes, with that many different languages and dialects, and also widely varying cultures. As variously estimated, the Indians numbered from 14 million to 40 million in Columbus' time. The Negroes, like the Indians divided into many tribes, languages, and religions, came from various parts of Africa, an estimated 15 million of them being brought as slaves to this hemisphere. The whites arrived from every section of Europe. All told, since the discovery, disregarding those who later returned to their native lands—some 60 million Europeans have immigrated to the Americas, of whom about 40 million came to the United States; six million to Canada; 5,500,000 to Argentina, and 5,250,000 to Brazil.¹ Probably two million would cover the white immigrants to the Americas from parts of the world other than Europe and Africa.

The whites came to the New World as conquerors. The ruling classes among them established their control over the Indians and then brought in the Negroes as slaves. They also enslaved the bulk of the early white immigrants. During the ensuing centuries, as we have also seen, the Indians and Negroes have succeeded in casting off the shackles of chattel slavery and softening somewhat the current barbaric peonage; but they still remain enslaved. They form the overwhelming mass of peon agricultural workers, impoverished farmers, and unskilled workers throughout the New World. The western hemisphere is dominated from end to end, not by a ruling white "race," but a small oligarchy of five to ten per cent of the population,

* There is no scientific basis for the term "race." In this book, therefore, it is used for want of a better term, only in the most general sense, as virtually an equivalent for "ethnic group."

rich capitalists and landlords, nearly all white, who recklessly and greedily exploit the whole toiling population of all colors.

The present numerical strength, on a hemisphere basis, of the three great ethnic groups—"red," "black," and "white"—is difficult to determine with accuracy. There are no clear-cut lines of racial demarcation. Not only do the three groups tend to merge with each other, but questions of class status and race prejudice also enter in to complicate the matter. Consequently, to decide whether a person is an Indian, a Negro, or a white is pretty much a matter of local custom. Who is a Negro, for example, is determined upon a quite different basis in prejudice-free Brazil than in the prejudice-ridden United States. As for who is an Indian—Lorimer says: "In Mexico, Peru, or Brazil, an Indian is a person who lives as an Indian, without regard to alleged purity of ancestry. Similarly, a person of pure Indian descent who has abandoned Indian behavior thereby becomes in social and political respects, white."² Another authority declares: "In Bolivia a man ceases to be an Indian and becomes a Mestizo by a change of clothes, ceases to be a Mestizo and passes to the upper class of whites by acquisition of land."³ And Ortiz states: "When a visitor in Pernambuco, Brazil, remarked that the mayor of the city was a mulatto, the local man replied: 'He was, but he no longer is. The captain mayor cannot be a mulatto.'⁴ The United States and Canadian governments necessarily follow similar rule-of-thumb ways of determining who is white, Indian, or Negro. There is no definite racial characterization in any of these categories. There is one big difference between the practices of the United States and those of Latin America. Whereas in Latin American custom, wealth, marriage, or social position break the color line even though the person is not by ancestry a white person, in the United States the color of the skin is all-decisive, a person being classed as a Negro who is of as little as one thirty-second of African descent or even less. This reflects the deeper white chauvinism in the United States.

Nevertheless, there are certain general estimates as to the comparative numbers of the three broad ethnic groups. Not too reliable, these figures would give, on the basis of 321 million people in the hemisphere, about 45 million Negroes and Mulattoes; 30 million Indians; 30 million Mestizos, and 215 million whites.⁵ Jones says that "Well over one-half of the population of Latin America has some trace of Indian background." Barclay estimates that 68 per cent of the inhabitants of Latin America are nonwhite. The above totals, for what they are worth, would give the ethnic groups roughly about the following percentages for the western hemisphere: Indians and Mestizos 20 per cent; Negroes and Mulattoes, 14 per cent; and whites, 66 per cent.

The Indians and Mestizos, in their greatest masses, are located chiefly in the row of Pacific Coast countries stretching from Mexico to Chile. The

Negroes are to be found mainly in three big areas: the United States, 15 million; Brazil, 13 million; and the West Indies and Caribbean countries, 12 million. The whites have their biggest concentrations in the United States, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, countries which have received the heaviest streams of immigration from Europe.

The International Labor Office publishes the following statistics, based upon the work of the well-known "Indianist," Prof. R. F. Behrendt, as to the numerical strength of the Indians and Mestizos in the various Latin American countries:⁶

<i>Country</i>	<i>Percentage</i>		<i>Country</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	
	<i>Indians</i>	<i>Mestizos</i>		<i>Indians</i>	<i>Mestizos</i>
Argentina	2	10	Guatemala	65	31
Bolivia	55	37	Haiti	0	0
Brazil	2	18	Honduras	9	85
Colombia	15	40	Mexico	45	45
Costa Rica	4	20	Nicaragua	5	70
Cuba	0	5	Panama	8	61
Chile	5	65	Paraguay	5	92
Dom. Republic	0	0	Peru	55	36
Ecuador	70	20	Uruguay	2	12
El Salvador	10	77	Venezuela	10	70

The United States and Canada each have less than one per cent of Indians and Mestizos, and the percentages in the various West Indian islands are also almost negligible.

From the foregoing table it would appear that the mainly Indian countries are Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Peru; while the predominantly Mestizo countries are Colombia, Chile, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Panama, and Venezuela. The predominantly Negro and Mulatto countries are Haiti, Martinique, Jamaica, and various other West Indian islands, where they average from 75 to 90 per cent of the populations. In Brazil the 80 per cent of the population other than the Indians and Mestizos is probably about equally divided between whites and Negroes-Mulattoes. All these estimates are only roughly approximate, statisticians differing very widely on the question in nearly every country.

The foregoing percentages are probably much too low for the nonwhite groups. This is because in Latin American countries the census-takers and statisticians usually deliberately "whiten" the population statistics, and in large numbers of cases, individuals faced by race prejudice conceal their Indian or Negro ancestry. Thus the nonwhite population of Cuba is said to be much greater in reality than it is in the official statistics. Brazilian figures are even more heavily "whitened." Chile also gives a total of but five per

cent for Indians, but the well-known ethnologist, Alexander Lipshutz, states that it is a Mestizo nation. In the United States it is estimated that there are five to eight million people of part-Negro ancestry who "pass" as whites.⁷

The three broad ethnic groups of the Americas have all grown, and continue to grow, rapidly. Despite shocking economic conditions, the Indians and Mestizos are now probably at least four times as numerous as the Indians were at the time of the discovery and the total number of Negroes and Mulattoes is at present not less than three times the number of Negroes who were brought to the western hemisphere as forced immigrants. And the whites also now number some three and one-half times the total number of white immigrants. In Latin America, which is predominantly Indian and Negro, the population is increasing faster than in any other major world area, it is doubling every forty years, and at the present rate of increase it will reach 373 millions by the year 2000.

National Integration Tendencies

Historically, powerful tendencies have been constantly at work toward assimilating and amalgamating the various national groups that make up the population of the western hemisphere. In this general respect, among the whites there have been marked trends to absorb the various national minorities from Europe into the main stream of the general white population, by intermarriage and otherwise. This trend among the whites is as well defined in the United States and Canada as it is in Latin America. National prejudices and discrimination upon the part of the native-born, however, slow up this assimilation process with regard to many white groups, among whom are Finns, Italians, Germans, Scandinavians, and also the Irish. Among the hindering forces are strong tendencies upon the part of the various minorities to preserve their national characteristics. Thus the Slav and Jewish groups are not as deeply assimilated as the earlier English and Scottish groups.

Among the various Negro peoples powerful integrating tendencies also exist. Under the long and heavy pressure of slavery, the great bulk of the tribal lines of the African background were wiped out among the slaves, especially in the United States. In Brazil and the West Indies, however, many of the old tribal heritages still remain, although in vestigial forms.

Among the large number of Indian tribes, constituting the Indian people as a whole, certain slow consolidating trends can also be observed, but these are not as sharp as they are among the white and Negro groups. The old Indian wars having long since died out, the Indian tribal neighbors, formerly traditional enemies, have generally developed a much more friendly attitude toward each other, and intermarriage between them is becoming more common. They are also developing intertribal political organizations and move-

ments on a national and even hemisphere-wide scale. All these are unifying forces. An example of such an organization, in the United States, is the National Congress of American Indians.

Also at work are amalgamating tendencies among the three great ethnic groups, as well as within them. Thus, between Negroes and Indians there have long been strong trends toward mutual group assimilation. They have displayed relatively little racial antagonism toward each other. Throughout the slavery period in Brazil and the United States, for example, it was a widely prevalent practice for runaway Negro slaves to settle among the Indians and to intermarry with them. The progeny of Negro-Indian marriages, called *Zambos* in Spanish,* although numerous in Latin America, are usually grouped statistically under the heading of either *Mulattoes* or *Mestizos*.

Between the whites, and the Indians and Negroes, powerful trends toward racial amalgamation have also existed for centuries. In many of the countries this racial amalgamation is far advanced, as in Mexico and Argentina, where former Negro minorities have been completely absorbed. Eloquent testimony to this tendency is the fact of the millions of *Mestizos* and *Mulattoes* in the western hemisphere. This racial intermingling was especially marked in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies from their very beginning. The early white discoverers and conquerors freely took Indian and Negro women for their wives and concubines and lived with them openly. All this was quite in line with traditional practices in Spain and Portugal, where the people of these countries had for many generations intermarried with the dark Moorish people who, highly developed culturally, had conquered the Iberian Peninsula many centuries before. Says Freyre: "The noble families in Portugal, as in Spain, that absorbed the blood of the Arab or the Moor, were innumerable."⁸ Portuguese royalty, says Pierson, also joined with the Moors in marriage. Indeed, for a thousand years before Ferdinand and Isabella, wave after wave of invaders, mostly from Africa, swept across the Iberian Peninsula, mixing with the local populations and leaving indelible traces in their physical make-up and national customs. Calderon lists among these invaders: Semites, Berbers, Arabs, Copts, Touaregs, Syrians, Celts, Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Franks, Swabians, Vandals and Goths. He speaks of Spain as being "half African and half Germanic."⁹

The political and clerical rulers of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies endorsed the marital mingling of races. Crow points out: "The Crown and Church both supported this race-mixing on a moral basis, that is, they encouraged and protected marriages between whites and Indians. An early

* Under the Spanish colonial system there were sixteen legal classifications of racial mixture by marriage.—(*Latin America*, p. 23, Americana Corporation.)

[Spanish, 1514] law stated explicitly the state's wish 'that Indian men and women should enjoy complete freedom to marry whomsoever they might desire, either aborigines or Spaniards, and that no impediment should be put in their way.'¹⁰ From the beginning, therefore, large numbers of Mestizos and Mulattoes formed important sections of Spanish and Portuguese colonial society. Speaking of present-day Brazil, Freyre says: "Race mixture continues in Brazil, especially among the laboring classes and the petite bourgeoisie, but reaching through its most suave forms the middle class also and even the old Brazilian aristocracy."¹¹ The same applies to the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America. In colonial French Quebec there was also much intermingling of whites and Indians, at least among the common people, as the large number of Métis, famous in Canadian frontier history, eloquently proves. The French, in their West Indies colonies, differing from the Spanish and Portuguese, maintained a sharp, if only official, color line against the Negroes.

A very different situation has prevailed, however, in the United States from the earliest days of the old English colonies down to the present time. The English colonists, most often religious bluenoses and hypocrites, brought their womenfolk with them, which the early Spanish and Portuguese did not often do. The male colonists made, nevertheless, many alliances with Indian and Negro women, but they usually did it surreptitiously and did not recognize as their children the results of these alliances. Hypocritically they frowned on intermarriages. Consequently, all through the Indian period, the numerous "squawmen" were sneered at as outcasts on the frontier. Also, throughout the long term of Negro slavery, for a white planter in the United States to marry a Negro woman was practically unheard of. The rigid prohibition of intermarriage, especially between whites and Negroes, has persisted down to our own days, such marriages still being illegal in thirty states. This general situation has prevented in the United States the high rate of amalgamation that is such a marked feature of Latin American life.

A famous exception to this attitude of white chauvinism in colonial days was the marriage of John Rolfe and Pocahontas, daughter of Powhattan, in the early period of the Jamestown colony. The English colonial aristocrats, however, turned up their noses at this marriage. The local Indian chiefs, on the other hand, eager for friendly relations with the whites, offered to give others of their daughters in marriage to the settlers, and they were deeply offended when their proposition was rejected—none too gently—by the race-conceited leaders of the colony. That there was, however, much intermingling of whites and Indians among the English is indicated by Bolton, who states that "in the Chickasaw nation in 1792 a fourth of the one thousand heads of Indian families were white men, mainly English."¹²

National Stability and Development

While strong tendencies toward amalgamation and assimilation exist within and between the three great ethnic groups of Indians, Negroes, and whites, powerful currents tend to create strong nations and national minorities out of the general population of the western hemisphere and also to maintain broad racial lines and discriminations.

The 22 countries of the western hemisphere, as we have seen earlier, although still young historically, are definitely nations and are becoming constantly more mature. There are, however, strong tendencies among the half-dozen countries of Central America to federate closely or to consolidate. We have also seen that three of the young American nations have reached the point of becoming imperialist states—Argentina, which is striving to dominate South America; Canada, strengthening its financial hold in Cuba, Brazil, and other Latin American countries; and the United States, seeking to grab not only all of the western hemisphere but also to master the entire world.

Two national developments of major importance in the western hemisphere are the growth of large, well-defined minorities of Mexicans and French in the United States and Canada. The Mexican minority in the southwestern part of the United States numbers up to three million.¹³ This strongly marked national minority grew as a result of the Mexican War of 1846-48 and because of recent immigration from Mexico. The French minority in Canada, a definitely matured nation, has behind it a history of some four hundred years. It numbers about 3,500,000 people and, since the conquest of Quebec by England in 1759, it has been in the position of an oppressed nation. Ryerson says of French Canada at present: "The position of the French Canadians is that of a nation which has won the essentials of political equality within the Canadian Federal state, but which, heavily handicapped by vestiges of the feudal past, suffers from serious . . . inequality in a whole number of spheres of life." He calls Quebec a land of "grinding poverty, disgraceful health conditions and a cultural black-out."¹⁴

Negro National Development

National developments among the Negro peoples of the western hemisphere are varied and complex. Throughout the Latin American countries, save in Haiti and other West Indian islands, where they form the great mass of the people, the Negroes are in the position of a national minority of varying numerical strength. They are discriminated against to a greater or lesser extent in various countries, although nowhere in Latin America does the discrimination even remotely approach the barbaric Jim Crow system of the United States. In the United States, a very special situation exists in that the Negro people have reached the stage of actually becoming a nation.

Stalin, the world's greatest expert on the national question, defines a nation as an "*historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture.*"¹⁵ The Negro people in the United States have achieved these basic national characteristics. Allen says: "Slavery contributed a common language, a common territory, a common historical background, and the beginnings of a common ideology, characterized chiefly by aspirations for freedom. In the period of capitalist development, unhindered by chattel slavery, the conditions arose which made it possible for the Negro people to develop more fully along the lines of nationhood. The Negroes were drawn more directly within the process of capitalism, thus evolving the class relationships characteristic of all modern nations. . . . The thorough segregation of the Negro prevented amalgamation with the white population and forced the Negro to develop as a distinct entity."¹⁶

The Negro people of the United States are, therefore, a nation within a nation. Haywood explains this complexity: "Within the borders of the United States, and under one jurisdiction, there exist, not one but two nations: a dominant white nation, with its Anglo-Saxon hierarchy, and its subject, black one." He points out further that "the Negro is American. He is the product of every social and economic struggle that has made America. But the Negro is a special kind of an American, to the extent that his oppression has set him apart from the dominant white nation. Under the pressure of these circumstances he has generated all the objective attributes of nationhood."¹⁷

The territorial basis of the Negro nation in the United States is the so-called Black Belt of the South. Again, citing Haywood: "The Black Belt shapes a crescent through twelve Southern states. Heading down from its eastern point in Virginia's Tidewater section, it cuts a strip through North Carolina, embraces nearly all of South Carolina, cuts into Florida, passes through lower and central Georgia and Alabama, engulfs Mississippi and the Louisiana delta, wedges into eastern Texas and Southwest Tennessee, and has its western anchor in Southern Arkansas." It is "an area girding the heart of the South, encompassing its central cotton-growing states and 180 counties in which the Negroes constitute more than half (50 to 85 per cent) of the population. From this core, the Black Belt Negro community overflows into 290 or more neighborhood counties, whose populations are from 30 to 50 per cent Negro. In the whole of this area . . . in a total of approximately 470 counties, live 5,000,000 Negroes." The Negroes here are overwhelmingly sharecroppers and agricultural workers, but, "among the Negro people of the area, there exist all class groupings peculiar to capitalism, which historically provided the basis for the emergence of modern nations."¹⁸

The Communist Party of the United States, ever since its inception, has

been a relentless foe of white chauvinism, and a tireless champion of the rights of the Negro people. Its appearance in the political arena represented a tremendous advance in this general respect. John Reed thus describes the policy of the Socialist Party on the Negro question, before the advent of the Communist Party: "The old Socialist Party did not seriously attempt to organize the Negroes. In some states, Negroes were not admitted to the party at all; in others, they were organized in separate branches, and in the Southern States, generally, the party constitutions forbade the use of party funds for propaganda among Negroes."¹⁹ In 1903, Debs opposed an attempt to clarify the Socialist Party position on the Negro question.²⁰

National Tendencies Among the Indians

National tendencies are also strong among the Indian peoples of this hemisphere. As we have seen earlier, the Indians, like the Negro peoples, have fought valiantly to preserve their way of life. For over four centuries they faced the overwhelmingly military and economic power of the white invaders. The latter sought not only to subjugate the Indians militarily and to enslave them economically, but also, in many countries, to exterminate them culturally and physically. In the United States and Canada, this campaign to destroy the Indians and their whole regime took the insidious form of wiping out all Indian institutions and of absorbing the remaining Indians physically into the white population. As the autocratic United States "Indian agents" brusquely stated the policy, their aim was "to make the Indian into a white man." This was the substance of the United States Indian Allotment Act of 1887. La Farge says: "From early times until about 1925 all (United States) Indian policy was predicated upon the concept of a dying culture and a dying race."²¹ "The prevailing thought was," said a prominent United States official, "that death and assimilation would soon obliterate the Indian and that his landholdings should be liquidated."²² As Harper points out that the Canadian policy, of the same stripe, was to get the Indians, "by degrees to abandon their original inheritance and to adopt the culture and the religion of the dominant race. The ultimate end is 'emancipation,' *i.e.*, the admission of the Indian people into full citizenship and their biological absorption."²³

The heavy impact of the invaders had revolutionary effects upon the social organizations of the Indians. It shattered their primitive economy, stripped them of their lands, and wrecked their culture; yet with marvelous courage and tenacity they have managed to hang onto a considerable part of their tribal institutions. At the All-America Indian Conference in Patzcuaro, Mexico, in 1940, the heroic struggle of the Indians of the western hemisphere was thus summed up: "There was no method of destruction that was not used against them, and all of them coped with all the methods of destruction;

legal proscription, administrative proscription, military slaughter, enslavement, encomienda, forced labor, peonage, confiscation of nearly all lands, forced dispersal, forced mass migration, forced religious conversions, religious persecution . . . the propaganda of scorn, catastrophic depopulation, which mowed down the native leadership and the repositories of tradition, bribery of leadership, and the intrusion of quisling governments by the exploiting powers. Indian group-life, Indian societies—outwore all this destruction.”

The Indian people are now showing strong national tendencies, particularly in those countries where they have great mass strength. Speaking of this new spirit of Indian nationalism, Gruening cites this significant fact of Mexico: “Today no statue to the conqueror [Cortez] may be found in all Mexico. Every attempt to erect one has been defeated. But on the Paseo de la Reforma, the capital’s leading thoroughfare, named after the first great revolt against the Hispanic dead hand, an imposing monument commemorates his victim, the last Aztec emperor, Cuauhtemoc.”²⁴ It was the Indians and the Mestizos who carried through the Mexican Revolution. It was also the Indians who were the basis of the recent big mass movements in Peru which were misled into defeat by the APRA, headed by the opportunist Haya de la Torre. Ecuador, Bolivia, and other predominantly Indian countries are also seething with strong movements among the Indian and Mestizo population. In the United States, Canada, Argentina, Uruguay, and other countries where the Indians constitute only very small minorities, such national tendencies are but weakly in evidence.

White Chauvinism

Race prejudice, white chauvinism, is an indispensable part of the ideology of human exploitation. It is a major method of securing superprofits in colonial and semicolonial countries. The white planter who exploits Negro and Indian slaves and peons, in order to justify and intensify this exploitation, inevitably builds up a whole system of propaganda to the effect that the “colored” peoples are inferior mentally and physically to the whites and that, therefore, by God’s will, they must forever remain the obedient servants of the white man. The capitalist imperialists have found it highly profitable to apply this reactionary system of cultivated chauvinism as a fundamental policy in building their great modern colonial empires, and also in the super-exploitation of the darker peoples who happen to be located in industrial countries. This white chauvinism, the ultraconceited contention that the whites are fundamentally superior to all other human beings, is one of the greatest of all ideological obstacles to mankind’s progress. Its highest, or lowest, expression is to be found in the race theories and practices of fascism.

The western hemisphere, like so many other parts of the capitalist world, is infected with reactionary white chauvinism. Its worst poison center is in

the United States. White chauvinism in this country harks back to the period of Negro chattel slavery. It was also practiced widely against the Indians at the time when it was necessary, in the process of robbing them of their lands, to develop a popular contempt and fury against them as inferior, insensate beings. The capitalists of our times continue vigorously to cultivate white chauvinism, of which the Negroes are the principal target. It serves to isolate the Negroes and to force them down to lower wage and income levels, and it has also tended to split and weaken the working class by driving a wedge between white and Negro workers. With the help of reactionary trade union leaders, this sinister chauvinism penetrates deeply into the ranks of the white workers. Even the Communist Party has to fight to keep its membership free of this insidious poison. Its distorted echo is also to be found in certain widespread color prejudices between Mulattoes and Negroes—a fact which has played an important political role in Haiti and elsewhere. White chauvinism—race hatred—has been, and still is, a question of hard cash to the big capitalists and landowners of the United States. Victor Perlo estimates that the exploiters in the United States, by forcing six million Negroes in the labor force down to far lower wage levels than white workers, reap at least three billion dollars yearly in superprofits.²⁵

There is also white chauvinism in Latin America. In 1904, Ayarragaray of Argentina was busily explaining (falsely) the reason for the evil conditions in Latin America on the basis of "race." He said: "Our political backwardness is and always has been simply a phenomenon of the psychology of race: a hybrid mind has been the source of creole: *i.e.*, hybrid, anarchy."²⁶ But nowhere in Latin America does racial discrimination reach the extreme virulence prevalent in the United States. The lesser degree of white chauvinism among the Latin American peoples is largely a result of the racial and national integration tendencies previously discussed. This persisted through the centuries of the colonial period. Moreover, in the Latin American countries slavery did not reach the depths of such complete denial of all human rights and personality to the slaves as it did in the United States. Much of the race prejudice that does exist among the Latin American peoples, for example, in Cuba, is due to the corrupting attitudes of white chauvinists (diplomats, tourists, and businessmen) from the United States. It is also bred from fascist trends. The spread of race prejudice is one of the most pronounced ideological consequences of the extension of the influence of United States imperialism. In this reactionary respect the United States is a shameful example for the whole world. This is, indeed, a grave disgrace to the land of Abraham Lincoln. It is also a fatal handicap to Wall Street in its efforts to subjugate the colonial (colored) peoples of the world.

There are many who take the position that there is no white chauvinism worth mentioning in Latin America. And there is much truth in the state-

ments that "Brazilians are free of color prejudice,"²⁷ and that "Negroes and Mulattoes in Brazil are granted rights that they are denied in the United States."²⁸ Tannenbaum points out that in Brazil, when slavery still existed, Negroes "achieved the dignity of president of the cabinet under the Emperor."²⁹ Also under the republic, in 1909-10, Nilo Pecanha, a man "of undoubted Negro ancestry," was President of Brazil. Williams correctly states that "the racial situation in the Caribbean is radically different from the racial situation in the United States and is thus rather incomprehensible to the native of the United States, black or white. . . . There is no overt legal discrimination. The islands know neither Jim Crow nor lynching; there are neither separate schools, separate theaters, separate restaurants, or special seats in public conveyances. . . . White, brown and black meet in the same churches. . . . Graves of whites, brown and blacks are seen side by side in the cemeteries."³⁰ Other Latin American countries present a like picture. Altogether, they are more civilized than the United States when dealing with racial questions.

Throughout Latin America, Negroes and Indians, and their Mulatto and Mestizo descendants, occupy high positions of influence and achievement. They are poets, painters, musicians, scientists, generals, political leaders. In Buenos Aires there is a statue to "El Negro Falucho," a famous hero in the wars of independence. It is also often stated that Bolivar was part Negro. Especially in Brazil, the Negroes have played a most important and acknowledged role in the development of the nation. Henrique Dias, one of the two national heroes in the crucial wars against the Dutch, was a Negro. The Negroes' swift rise from slavery to high levels of social accomplishment in that country, as elsewhere, is one of the epic events of modern times. Their recognition by the Brazilian people generally is enough to make the head spin of a hidebound "white supremacist" from the southern United States.

Nevertheless, white chauvinism does exist in Latin America, even in Brazil, where color discrimination is generally at a minimum. In Brazil, "Negroes and dark Mulattoes are effectively barred from some branches of government service and can hope to reach only the lower grades in others. Many hotels and clubs draw a sharp color line."³¹ Similar conditions are to be found in all other Latin American countries. As for Cuba, where United States influence is very strong, Blas Roca says, "The Negroes are discriminated against socially, economically, politically and culturally."³² In Canada, where there is only a very small Negro minority (which had its beginnings in the slaves who reached Canada via the "underground railroad" of pre-Civil War times), there is also considerable racial discrimination, but it does not attain such disgraceful depths as in the United States.

In analyzing such prejudice in Latin America (and other parts of the

world), Lipschutz presents what he calls "The Law of the Spectrum of Racial Colors." According to this capitalist "law," the peoples in the different communities—Negroes, Indians, whites—are graded socially in an ascending scale according to their degree of whiteness. Lipschutz says: "The master, in defense of his social privileges, now invokes the colors of the racial spectrum as a law, natural and implacable."³³ Professor D. Pierson of Chicago, on the basis of extensive studies in Brazil, shows in his book, *Negroes in Brazil*, that even in this comparatively liberal country in these matters there has developed a discriminatory scale of jobs, the better-paid and socially most acceptable work going predominantly to white people, while the hardest and worst-paid occupations, as they descend the economic scale, fall increasingly to the darker groups of the population. In the other Latin American countries, also, the darkest Indians and Negroes are to be found mostly at the bottom of the economic ladder.

This type of white chauvinism also applies very largely to legislative bodies in Latin American countries, the proportion of Negroes and Indians, and to a lesser degree also that of Mulattoes and Mestizos, being usually far lower than their respective percentages in the general population. In Cuba, for example, where Negroes make up about one-third of the nation numerically, there are only two members in the Senate of 54 and eleven in the House of 128 who consider themselves as Negroes.³⁴ The United States, of course, is far and away the worst offender of the whole hemisphere in this respect, there being only two Negroes in the House and Senate of 531 members, although Negroes constitute ten per cent of the general population.

Many of those in Latin America who deny the existence of white chauvinism in their countries, reduce the whole question of the depressed condition of the Indians and Negroes purely to one of economics. Such arguments are made by Lipschutz and Pierson, who contend that Negroes are discriminated against not on account of their color, but solely because of their class. Blas Roca says of such coverers-up of discrimination in his country: "There are those, in these times, who attempt to deny the existence in Cuba of discrimination against Negroes, to dissimulate it and to obscure it, in order to maintain it."³⁵

The rise of fascism provoked throughout the western hemisphere, as elsewhere in the world, a strong growth of racial prejudice, including venomous anti-Semitism. Latin America was by no means exempt. This deadly racial chauvinism was met in the Americas, however, not only by a general political attack from the Communists and other democratic forces, but a number of outstanding biologists, anthropologists, and ethnologists also came to grips with the fascist racists. Among these many scientists may be noted A. Ramos of Brazil, F. Ortiz of Cuba, A. Lipschutz of Chile, and the late Franz Boas of the United States. There are scores of others. This brilliant galaxy of

scientists, although not always finding the correct basic political answers to the people's problems, has completely shattered the pseudoscientific racial fantasies of the fascists.

The fascists characteristically seek to bolster their claims to social rule by alleging a racial superiority over other sections of the population. They argue that the "Aryans" are a pure "race," that they are superior mentally and otherwise to other "races," that Indians and Negroes are subhuman (and Jews also), that Mulattoes and Mestizos are degenerate mongrels, that workers are biologically inferior to capitalists, and the like. And they try to justify these absurd positions by weaving a vast tissue of fake-scientific biological arguments.

Boas, Ortiz, and others noted above, however, have torn these flimsy arguments to shreds, in profound and comprehensive scientific studies, dealing with every mental and physical, historical and social aspect of the human being. They have shown, as Boas puts it, that the argument of "The existence of any pure race with special endowments is a myth, as is the belief that there are races all of whose members are foredoomed to eternal inferiority." And that "there is not the slightest scientific proof that 'race' determines mentality, but there is overwhelming evidence that mentality is determined by tradition and culture."³⁶ Freyre, the Brazilian writer, who is by no means an ardent champion of the Negro people, says: "The testimony of anthropologists reveals to us traits in the Negro showing a mental capacity in no wise inferior to that of other races."³⁷ And Lipschutz, sharply dissecting the claims made by fascist racists that Jews, Indians, Mulattoes, Mestizos, and other groups are biologically inferior to "Aryans," quotes Darwin, regarding the Tierra del Fuegians, to the effect that "these savages are the equal of us in all that relates to intellectual faculties." Lipschutz sums up his own general conclusions as follows: "Neither the weight of the brain, the blood groups, or other biological and racial characters that distinguish one from the other among men serves to give to this or that group special types of culture. . . . All the arguments of social anthropology, analytical psychology, and physical anthropology are in favor of the concept that the species of *homo sapiens* represent a biological unity very uniform from the point of view of cultural evolution, in spite of all its multiform morphology."³⁸

These progressive scientists have placed very powerful weapons in the hands of the workers with which to combat the "white supremacists." Labor and its political allies must learn to use these weapons effectively. The fascists must be fought with every means and defeated on every field—economic, political, military, scientific.

Developing Culture in the New World

Naturally, the new civilizations of the western hemisphere are producing their own national and general types of culture, with a wide range of specific variations. To sketch even an outline of the origin and evolution of this immense development would require a large volume. Here all that can be done is to give only the barest indication of the general composition and course of development of these new American cultures.

The three great ethnic groups—the European, the African, and the Indian—have all made major contributions to the intellectual life of this hemisphere, and they are continuing to do so. The European cultural currents are, chiefly, English, Spanish, Portuguese, and French. The Spanish and Portuguese cultures, of course, had an early and profound effect upon the general mentality of Latin America. These two cultures, which were those of the conquistadores, gave the peoples of Latin America their chief languages, their basic religion, and their major source of entry to the knowledge and art of the world.

The French, besides their basic intellectual influence in Canada, have also exerted a big influence upon the development of general Latin American culture. This was especially the case after the colonies freed themselves from Spain and Portugal. It was long the regular thing for the wealthy and cultured among the ruling classes of Latin America to seek education in Paris, rather than in Madrid or Lisbon. Quintanilla says: "For nearly a century, the highest ambition of a cultured, well-to-do Latin American was to visit Paris and stay there as long as he could. At home we read and spoke French, ate and dressed French, lived and thought French."³⁹

The other great European cultural stream, the English, of course, is the one that has left its overwhelming stamp upon the life of Canada and the United States.

The Negro peoples have also exerted a strong cultural influence throughout the Americas. Wilkerson says of the basic African culture brought by the slaves: "The African homelands from which the original Negro Americans were torn by the slave trade had attained an advanced stage of cultural development prior to the European invasions. On the basis of an economy which included agriculture, the domestication of animals, gold and silver mining, cotton weaving and the smelting of iron, there had emerged a notable development of the arts. There was a rich and poetic folklore, and in some places a written literature. There was music, both instrumental and vocal. There was the dance. There were rock-painting, wood and metal sculpture, ivory and bone-carving, pottery, skillful surface decoration in line and color."⁴⁰ All these accomplishments the Negroes brought to the New World and impressed their influence upon its new cultures.

However, the transportation of the Negroes to the Americas had a

devastating effect upon their culture as a system, and largely shattered it. There are four basic reasons for this: First, the slaves being torn from their native lands and shifted to radically new environments, the life-giving roots of their culture were severed. In this respect the Negroes were even worse off than the Indians, who, at least, remained in their traditional lands. Second, the primitive communal culture of the Negro slaves was confronted in the New World with the dissolving pressure of the higher culture of feudal capitalism. Third, concerning the Negroes as well as the Indians, the masters everywhere came to understand that in order to facilitate the exploitation of their workers it was necessary to wipe out their indigenous culture. For Negro chattel slaves, like Indian peons, speaking only the master's language, worshipping his gods, and ignorant of their own traditions, were easier to keep in subjection. And, fourth, the disintegrating effects of these pressures upon the slaves' culture were accentuated by the fact that the Negroes, coming from widely spread areas in Africa and possessing different languages, religions, arts, and tribal traditions, were gravely handicapped in preserving their culture in the face of the dominant and aggressive culture of the ruling planter class.

Nevertheless, the Negroes, despite all this disintegrating pressure upon them, managed to retain much of their African cultural heritage, especially in Brazil and the West Indies. Even in the United States, where the thralldom of slavery pressed heavier than anywhere else upon the Negroes, there are many subtle African influences still existing among the Negro people, as Herskovits has so amply demonstrated in his book, *The Myth of the Negro Past*. In the historically short period of time since the abolition of slavery throughout the western hemisphere the Negroes have made spectacular cultural progress, to the growing dismay of "white supremacists." In every field of science, art, literature, drama, sport, they are leaders and have made outstanding contributions. Negroes have deeply affected music throughout the western hemisphere. In the United States the cultural achievements of the Negro people are well expressed through many great singers, actors, scientists, athletes, and political leaders. A striking symbol of Negro progress in the United States is Paul Robeson. Brazil and the West Indies are also especially rich in numerous outstanding Negro poets, novelists, musicians, economists, historians, and scientists, in thinkers and workers in every line of cultural endeavor. And behind them all is the subtle influence of the old-time African homeland.

Then there are also the great basic contributions of the Indian peoples to American culture generally. These peoples, although completely isolated from the broad Asiatic-African-European stream of human development, nevertheless had succeeded, centuries before Columbus arrived, in building up a science, art, and general intellectual life that remain a never-ending

wonder of the cultural world. High Maya and Inca civilizations flourished when France, England, and Germany were but a howling wilderness. The wanton shattering of these splendid Indian institutions and the destruction and theft of their precious historical records and art treasures by the ignorant, greedy, and bigoted European conquerors was one of the greatest cultural disasters of all history. The same ruthless spirit prevailed after the conquest, all through the colonial period, and during most of the life of the republics everywhere in the western hemisphere. The aim of the rulers has been, much as in the case of the Negroes, to wipe out the Indians' rich native culture and to force upon them the white man's slave class culture. But like African culture, the culture of the Indians has proved to be fundamentally indestructible. Despite every artificial obstacle, it has permeated deep and wide into the life of all the American nations. The United States is one of the least of the "Indian countries" in the western hemisphere, yet what a great gap there would be in its culture without the Indian element. In these later years there is a veritable Indian cultural renaissance taking place in all the "Indian countries" of Latin America; the remarkable development of mural painting in Mexico is only one of the most striking manifestations of this.

A common cultural handicap of all the nations of the Americas—white, black, and red—was that during the earlier stages of their national life the ruling classes strove by every possible means to force upon them the culture that the latter had brought with them from Europe. This policy was one of their many methods of sustaining their class rule. For centuries, throughout the period of colonialism and long after the establishment of the independent governments, the ruling class cultural life stemmed from the "mother" countries. They got their books, plays, music, and intellectual conceptions generally from Europe, and when their creative artists started to write and compose and paint on their own account, their works were invariably imitations of European life and letters. America was as a closed book to them. All the young American countries without exception suffered from this early cultural strangulation.

After the great colonial liberation revolution, and with the growth of national consciousness (this period varied in different countries), genuinely American cultures began to develop. The writers, artists, and other spokesmen of the young nations began to pay attention to the vital life and beautiful lands and peoples about them. This was indeed a second discovery of America. Nevertheless, the national culture of the new nations remained overwhelmingly bourgeois, of a ruling class character. Intellectuals under capitalism usually nurse illusions that they are free agents and that their cultural products are primarily the result of their individualism. But the ruling classes believe no such nonsense. They always use their culture and

its exponents as a powerful social weapon, as one of the most basic means for maintaining their class rule.

With the turn of the twentieth century, bringing a wide expansion of industry and a big development of the working class, new democratic schools of realistic culture began to take shape. This people's culture is turning its attention not to the time-worn defense of the rich rulers, but to the problems and welfare of the toiling masses. It has led to a growing appreciation of the role of folk art and of the African and Indian influences on the general American culture. The noted Cuban writer Marinello says of Latin American culture: "Marti is held generally, with the Cuban Julio del Casal, the Mexican Gutierrez Najera, and the Colombian Jose Ascension Silva, as the precursor of modernism, the Hispano-American literary current which culminated and blossomed with Ruben Dario."⁴¹

The highest expressions of the new democratic people's culture are the Marxist-Leninist scientists, writers, actors, musicians, and painters. They are the true voices of the people, the harbingers of swiftly oncoming world socialism. They are attacking the whole corrupt edifice of bourgeois culture, which is nothing more than a defense of the capitalist system. They are building up instead of a new, free, healthy people's culture of science and art and life. The numbers of these Marxist people's spokesmen are legion throughout the western hemisphere, and their regenerative and creative influence is rapidly on the rise.

As the capitalist world sinks deeper into its general crisis, the big capitalists and landlords everywhere have recourse more and more to the desperate and reactionary means of fascism in an effort to save their doomed system. One of the most malignant forms of this general menace is the monstrous propaganda which parades under the guise of fascist "culture." With its anti-Semitism, its white Aryan supremacy nightmares, its gross religious superstitions, its flagrant distortions of science, its prostitutions of art, its falsification of history, its glorification of terrorism and war, and its general medieval obscurantism, fascist "culture" is a violent menace to the whole intellectual life and well-being of humanity.⁴²

The Americas suffer aplenty from this fascist mind-poison of decaying capitalism. One of the worst of its many manifestations in Latin America is the so-called Hispanidad movement, the organized attempt all through the Spanish-speaking countries to fasten upon them the reactionary thinking of Franco Spain. This general movement got under way in the 1850's as an attempt to re-establish in the Americas Spanish culture that had been weakened by the colonial revolution. With the rise of fascism, the reactionaries seized upon the Hispanidad agitation and have made it into one of their chief ideological weapons.

The worst threat to the culture of the New World, however, comes from

the north, from the United States. In their pursuit of profit and in the ideological defense of their social system, the great capitalists of the United States have built up a monstrous caricature of culture. The schools and colleges are but so many propaganda institutions for turning out mental addicts of capitalism; the newspapers have no truth in them and are a shameful pretense of a free press; the motion pictures, radio, and television pour out an incredible slush of horror stories, murder "mysteries," racist prejudice, red-baiting, and general balderdash; the churches have a cynical contempt for their professed charitable principles and are to be found defending every capitalist exploitation and warmongering. And over the whole decaying cultural mess there is a lowering curtain of fascist-like thought control and intimidation of everyone who ventures to speak out against the war course of the imperialists or against their capitalist system.

As a key part of its drive to seize full control over the entire hemisphere (see Chapter 29), United States imperialism is pouring a veritable deluge of this cultural poison into the neighboring countries, south and north. This is part of the general imperialist apparatus for conquest. The aim of this cultural drive is to overwhelm the national cultures of these countries, to force all the national groups, whether Indian or Negro, Jewish, Italian, or Finnish, into a cultural straitjacket, to make the peoples accept the illusion that United States imperialism is beneficent, and to line them up as cannon fodder in Wall Street's attempt to subjugate the world. The language barrier may be some small protection for the nations of Latin America against the vast flood of decayed United States capitalist culture and militant imperialist propaganda that is now pouring into these countries, but English-speaking Canada, most of which has no language barrier at all, is exposed to the full stream of it.

35. URGENT HEMISPHERE PROBLEMS OF TODAY

In previous chapters we have outlined some of the many problems—economic, political, military, social—now weighing heavily upon the peoples of the Americas. These problems include a poverty which verges upon actual starvation among vast masses of the toiling population, the ruthless oppression of various national minorities, the threat to the national independence of many countries, and the looming menace of fascism and war. These evil conditions, inevitable products of the workings of the capitalist system, are all being greatly accentuated by the deepening general crisis of world capitalism. In this chapter let us review in outline form, the general ways in which the Communist parties, the advanced trade unions, and other democratic organizations of this hemisphere are striving to ameliorate and eventually to end these ever-worsening conditions.

The Question of National Independence

Basic among the problems of the bulk of the countries of the western hemisphere is the need to counter the threat to their national independence from the aggressive imperialism of the United States (see Chapter 29). A consolidated hegemony of the United States over the western hemisphere, as Wall Street plans it, would mean the reduction of the rest of the New World countries virtually to the status of colonies and the transformation of Latin America and Canada into a hinterland of the United States. This imperialist aggression must be resisted by all countries, including Canada, as a deadly danger. The peoples of this hemisphere are rapidly awakening to this menace, and everywhere the struggle against Yankee imperialism is on the increase.

A fundamental phase of this struggle for national independence is in the economic field. The various countries are striving to develop and defend their respective economies against imperialist trade attacks—but of all this we shall speak further along. Another dangerous thrust of United States imperialism against the independence of the other peoples is the so-called standardization of arms, which would put the whole military establishment of the western hemisphere under United States control. This ruthless imperialist project, now being widely resisted in Latin America, must be completely defeated.

A major field of political anti-imperialist opposition lies within the Organization of American States, formerly called the Pan-American Union. This is the case even though the O.A.S. itself is an imperialist instrument of the United States, and the maze of inter-American working committees that it has set up in recent years, such as the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, the Inter-American Development Commission, etc., are but so many imperialist tentacles. The so-called equality-of-states principle of this O.A.S. is purely fictitious—the United States bosses the whole organization from top to bottom. By the same token, the Latin American-Canadian bloc in the United Nations is controlled by the United States and is being used to further its own imperialist interests. It should surprise no one that this bloc supports Wall Street's Korean adventure. All this makes it imperative for the various other countries of the hemisphere, including Canada, to co-operate in the O.A.S., the U.N., and elsewhere to offset the ruthless pressure of Yankee imperialism. It is folly for the various countries to deal with the powerful United States one by one, and they are beginning to realize this fact. For all these countries to cut the present apron strings and to develop an independent, anti-imperialist policy in international affairs is of decisive importance both in their own national interests and for world peace.

Co-operation among the Latin American countries to resist United States aggression is imperative, but a United States of Latin America, a recurrent dream ever since the days of Bolivar, is impractical. Under present conditions, even if such an organization could be established, it would certainly be a reactionary force. This does not preclude, however, the possibility of the concerted action by the Latin American nations and Canada to protect their independence against imperialist incursions of Wall Street.

The Redistribution of the Land

The question of breaking up the big landholdings, particularly in Latin America, is one of the most urgent of all problems now confronting the peoples of the western hemisphere. Dependent upon the carrying through of this measure are the industrialization of the various landowner-dominated countries, the raising of living standards, and the strengthening of democracy. All the progressive organizations of Latin America put this question in the very forefront of their programs. "The liquidation of the semi-feudal forms of property and of exploitation of the land," Prestes says typically, "is indispensable to destroy the economic base of reaction and of fascism and correctly to assure the development and consolidation of democracy."¹ Latin America must have an agrarian revolution.

The democratic forces of Latin America need to drive through with this elementary task of liquidating the big feudalistic landed estates. So far,

save in the Haitian (1790) and Mexican (1910) revolutions, the various liberal governments that have held power from time to time in many Latin American countries during the past century have only dabbled with this life-and-death question. The industrialists refuse to attack the big landholdings; the job must be done primarily by the allied workers, peasants and middle classes. The objective of this movement has to be, as the Mexican Communist Party puts it, "The expropriation without indemnification, of the latifundias, and the free distribution of the land to the peasants and agricultural workers, assuring them the means to cultivate it."² The test of every movement in Latin America is the vigor with which it attacks the basic problem of breaking up the latifundia.

The redivision of the land of Latin America is closely bound up with the question of the rights of the Negroes and Indians, who form the bulk of the workers on the land. So far as the Negroes are concerned, for the immediate future, the system of landowning would probably work out pretty much upon an individual basis with certain co-operative features, as primitive African communal traditions are no longer very active among them. But with the Indians the situation is quite different; with them communal landholding traditions and practices are very much alive. The ejido, or communal land system, which has played such a big role in the Mexican Revolution, could also undoubtedly be widely applied in other "Indian" countries. But not exclusively; for even among the Indians, particularly those who have been born and bred on the big haciendas in the valleys and river bottoms, there is a trend toward individual ownership of the land. The ejido, as Behrendt describes it, is a system where, "while the ownership of the land is vested in the community, its cultivation and the use of its fruits are assigned to the individual families composing the community."³ In all the Latin American countries a high degree of co-operation must be established in the cultivation of the land.

The agrarian revolution in Latin America must go much further than the division of the big landholdings among the impoverished peasants and agricultural workers. These toilers must also be furnished with the necessary funds, machinery, animals, fertilizers, and technical education, to make their farming productive. This is true both of the ejidos and of the individually owned farms. The various national governments also, breaking with their traditional monoculture systems of producing single crops for export, must diversify their crops, so that their own people may produce enough to eat. Along with all this goes a strong need for elaborate irrigation systems. But even all these measures will amount to but little unless drastic steps are also taken to counteract the widespread erosion that is rapidly ruining the none-too-plentiful farm lands of Latin America.

The Industrialization of Latin America

"The economic problems of Latin America are numerous, complex, and profound, extending to all branches of national life."⁴ All progressive forces in that great area are agreed that the main immediate necessity in order to meet these economic problems is industrialization on a broad scale. Of course, small countries like Paraguay or Costa Rica cannot hope to become well-rounded out industrial countries with a full complement of modern industry; nevertheless, even they are capable of a far greater industrialization than their present one-sided agricultural economy. As for Latin America generally, there is no reason why, in terms of available resources, it cannot become a highly industrialized area—if not under capitalism, then certainly under socialism.

The industrialization of Latin America is a major political as well as an economic question. If the peoples of Latin America are to make any real progress toward industrialization, they must break the economic and political shackles not only of the domestic big landlords, but also of the foreign imperialists—Yankees, British, and others. They literally have to fight for the freedom to industrialize their economies. In order to transform their countries from semicolonies—markets and producers of raw materials for the imperialist powers—into independent economies, with their own steel mills, automobile plants, chemical works, and modern industrial equipment, the Latin American peoples must free themselves from the foreign and domestic reactionary political domination that is ruining them at present.

The Latin American Confederation of Labor lays down a 22-point program to advance Latin American industrialization, including full political and economic independence for every Latin American country, a planned economic development, elevation of the material and educational standards of the masses, control of foreign capital investments, foreign trade control, fixing of exchange rates, technical modernization of agriculture and industry, development of electrical, smelting, and chemical industries, modernization of transportation and communication, reformed credit system, tariff protection for worthwhile domestic industry, state price control, increased purchasing power for wage earners, protected selling prices for small farmers and peasants, social security systems, practical application of existing social legislation, incorporation of native Indian groups into the national economy, increased educational opportunities for youth, equality for women in all industries, child welfare laws, job opportunities for all, and state aid for small producers.⁵ At Havana, Lazaro Pena presented a similar ten-point program for Latin America in the name of the World Federation of Trade Unions.⁶ The Communist parties have all pioneered in presenting and supporting these demands—revolutionary for Latin America—which can be achieved only by

smashing the political power of the ruling landowner, big capitalist, and imperialist oligarchies.

Latin America is famished for capital for industrial development. Most of this capital, however, will have to come from its own resources. Any loans and investments that may be secured from abroad, particularly "Point Four" loans from the United States, will have to be strictly regulated (which is increasingly being done in Latin American countries) in regard to the industries to which the funds are applied, the amount and disposition of the profits, maintenance of wage and living conditions of the workers, etc. The Communist parties, trade unions, and other democratic organizations of Latin America have long since pointed out the grave menace of the "Clayton Plan," "Point Four," and other Yankee economic schemes. No more can the imperialists be allowed freely to exploit the peoples. Unless this exploitation is checked, the various five-year plans and similar projects in Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, Chile, etc., will mean little. Strict national regulation also needs to be extended to the so-called "national development corporations" (in Chile, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, etc.), which are chiefly under United States control, and supervision is likewise needed over the "mixed companies" that have been organized in Argentina, Brazil, and elsewhere, mainly with United States and national capital. Alberdi says of this latest device of the exploiters, "The present government [the Peron regime in Argentina] has orientated itself upon setting up mixed enterprises; that is to say, a type of company made up of state and private capital, national and international, under such conditions that . . . the state meets the losses and private capital gets the profits."⁷

To secure the ownership and control of their national resources and industries is a basic necessity for the Latin American countries seeking industrialization. It is an impossible situation when, as at present, these fundamental elements of production are mostly in the hands of foreign imperialists, who manage and exploit them pretty much as they please. This state of affairs was the reason for the wave of nationalization that swept Latin America during the 1930's, under the combined influence of the Mexican Revolution and the general struggle of the peoples against the economic crisis and fascism during that period. Thus Mexico nationalized its railroads, oil fields, and various agricultural enterprises; Brazil made provision for the progressive nationalization of mineral deposits, waterfalls, and other sources of power, banks, and insurance; and Argentina nationalized its railways, communications, telephones, and power plants. Other countries—Peru, Colombia, etc.—established varying degrees of government regulation and control.⁸ United States imperialism brought all its guns to bear to check this (to it) very dangerous trend. As we have seen, the C.T.A.L. and the Communist parties are now pressing for the nationalization of many basic industries.

Another indispensable condition for the industrialization of the Latin American countries is the development of trade practices conforming to their national interests. In this respect these nations need to build up stronger tariffs to protect their weak industries from ruthless United States competition; they have to strengthen the present feeble commerce among themselves and also to deal freely with the other countries of the world, including the U.S.S.R., China, and the new People's Democracies of Europe. All the foregoing trade tendencies are now growing in Latin America. The United States is trying to break them down with its one-sided reciprocal trade agreements policy, its attempt to starve out the Latin American countries financially by withholding loans, and its efforts through the notorious Clayton Plan (see Chapter 29) to establish a regime of "free competition" and "free enterprise" throughout Latin America.

In Chapter 15, dealing with the retarded economic development of Latin America, we have pointed out the very limited achievements of all the many plans, private and governmental, for the industrialization of Latin America, and also the main reasons for this general failure to build the industries of that vast area.

Improvement of Living Standards

The wretched living standards prevailing among at least two-thirds of the people of the western hemisphere, particularly in Latin America where destitution reaches the depths of international tragedy (see Chapter 31), constitutes one of the many crimes that are sentencing the capitalist system to death at the hands of the world's peoples. Characteristically, the spokesmen of decadent capitalism, in seeking to confuse the masses and to weaken their struggles for a better life, ascribe this poverty of the workers to everything but the true cause—the operation of the laws of capitalist society. Thus such capitalist ideologists as Vogt, in *The Road to Survival*, parade their pseudo-scientific Malthusian theories of overpopulation, exhaustion or insufficiency of national resources, and man's "innate destructiveness," to explain why the vast masses in Latin America and elsewhere are poverty-ridden and why they should accept their miserable life as inescapable.

There is no reason, however, save the greedy profit interests of capitalist-landowning exploiters, why in Latin America, even at the present low levels of productive capacity, every man, woman, and child should not have enough of good food, adequate clothing, and a comfortable place to live in. And with a sane, democratic society, equipped with adequate industry and scientific agriculture, living standards could be radically bettered. Even the Incas and Aztecs, without benefit of any modern productive means, managed to prevent any real destitution during their regimes, all inhabitants being assured of at least a healthful living. Destitution in the United States and

Canada especially, with the high productive capacities of these countries, is utterly unnecessary—a capitalist crime against the people. It is a bitter outrage, possible only under capitalism, to destroy commodity surpluses and to reduce food production, as at present, while millions are in want. The workers' and peasants' immediate answer to all this poverty and exploitation is direct, organized trade union and political struggle to compel the exploiters to concede at least a living to their peons and wage slaves. This fight for better living standards, the center of the class struggle, is increasingly on the agenda of the peoples from one end of the hemisphere to the other.

The grave health situation among the toiling masses, notably in Latin America, also presents a most urgent problem. The prevailing frightful conditions are due mainly to sheer poverty and destitution, bred of ruinous exploitation, and the principal remedy for them is adequate food, clothing, and shelter. Health conditions have now become so bad that immediate foreign medical assistance is imperative in some countries, at the very least to help improve elementary sanitary conditions and to fight the more prevalent and disastrous diseases. This assistance should come from the United Nations and should be directed entirely by the Latin American peoples themselves. The United States, which controls the O.A.S. (the erstwhile Pan-American Union) from top to bottom, cannot be relied upon to administer even medical assistance impartially, no matter how generous the impulses of the people in this country. Every institution that the United States sets up in Latin America, whatever its nature, inevitably becomes an instrument for Wall Street's imperialist penetration. As for the medical situation in the United States and Canada, national health programs in both of these countries have become imperative necessities, and the workers are now realizing this fact.

Another basic necessity for the workers and poor farmers throughout the western hemisphere is an adequate system of social insurance. Many laws are now on the books in the various countries—laws for unemployment, old age, sickness, accident, maternity, and other forms of insurance—but these are universally too narrow in their coverage and entirely too low in their benefits. This is true of the United States and Canada, as well as Latin America. In many instances also, such laws remain dead letters on the books. The workers all over the hemisphere are concentrating heavily upon this basic question of social insurance. This is a sure sign of rapidly waning mass faith in the capitalist system. The workers no longer believe that capitalism, with its intense exploitation, mass unemployment, and ruinous working conditions, offers a satisfactory means for the workers, out of their meager wages, to save against the inevitable hazards of their life and work. In the badly needed body of social legislation, key sections must also be especially devoted to the protection of women and youth from the current

vicious systems of exploitation expressly directed against them. Drastic steps must also be taken to eliminate the present shocking evil of illiteracy.

The workers of the United States have an especially heavy responsibility to support actively the workers and peasants of Latin America in their hard fight against the disastrous, employer-created economic conditions now engulfing them. This responsibility arises, not only out of the need for the international solidarity which is the heart of the world labor movement, but specifically out of the fact that United States imperialism is basically responsible for the impossible living conditions of the people of Latin America. Indeed, the postwar prosperity of the United States has been based largely upon the exploitation of Latin America and other undeveloped areas of the world. It is therefore incumbent upon the workers of the United States to devote close attention to all government policies relating to Latin America and, in their own basic interest, to help protect the interests of their class brothers and sisters in that big area. This the leaders of the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. are not doing. On the contrary, by backing the Clayton Plan, the Marshall Plan, "Point Four", the Korean war, and the other policies of Wall Street, they are actually participating in the imperialist looting of Latin America.

The Question of National Self-Determination

One of the major tasks confronting the peoples of the western hemisphere is to combat the flood of race and national prejudice—against the Jews, the Negroes, the Indians, the foreign-born, etc.—which fascist-minded reaction everywhere so actively cultivates. These antisocial trends constitute a basic threat to the democracy, peace, and well-being of all the American countries. It is, therefore, a fundamental necessity for the labor movement and its allies, in their own interests, to wipe out these poisonous Jim Crow practices in all their forms. Karl Marx, in his great wisdom, pointed out that "A people which enslaves another people forges its own chains."⁹

There must be full and equal citizenship established in all countries of the western hemisphere for all races, nationalities, and religions in the most complete sense—economic, political, social. The propagation of racial and national chauvinism should be condemned as a crime. The Cuban Constitutional Assembly in 1940, upon the proposal of the Communists, gave a good lead in this respect (one which, however, is not being followed up too well by the government), when it declared that "All Cubans are equal before the law. The Republic recognizes no privileges. All discrimination of sex, race, color, or class, or other affront to human dignity, is declared illegal and punishable."¹⁰

The national question in the western hemisphere is not fully resolved, however, by the defense of the national independence of the existing states and by the fight to establish the equal rights of all individuals within the

respective states. There also remains the question of the numerous oppressed peoples in various parts of the hemisphere, whose special status raises the general subject of their right to national self-determination. Let us deal here with some of the more important aspects of this major problem.

First, there are the peoples in the remaining colonies of the hemisphere, including the United States colonies of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands; the English island colonies of the Bahamas, Bermuda, Jamaica, etc.; the French island colonies of Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Pierre, etc.; the Dutch island colonies of Curacao, etc.; as well as British Honduras, and the British, French, and Dutch Guianas. These territories, containing some seven million people, should all be conceded their independence, and the Latin American states should guarantee their economic status. There should be no place in the Americas for remnants of the obsolete, condemned colonialism of the past.

Second, there are the 3,500,000 French people in Canada, comprising over one-quarter of the total population of that country. In the preceding chapter we have briefly outlined the position of this people. Although they were the original settlers of Canada and long constituted a majority of its population, the French Canadians have fallen into the position of an oppressed minority. In regard to their rights as a nation, Tim Buck, Canadian Communist leader, calls for "French-English unity in Canada on the basis of a joint English-French Canadian struggle for complete national equality of the French people now, under capitalism, as well as for the eventual conquest by the people of French Canada of the full right of national self-determination, including the right of secession if they should so desire."¹¹

Third, there are the Mexicans in the southwestern states of the United States, numbering some three millions or more. This national minority, as we pointed out in Chapter 12, dates back to the Mexican War of 1846-48, when the United States, upon defeating Mexico, stripped that country of over one-half of its territory. This was the greatest land robbery in the history of the hemisphere committed by one state against another, and it has permanently crippled Mexico. Furthermore, insult has been added to injury by treating the Mexican people in the conquered territories as second- or third-class citizens of the United States. In September 1950, the United States ceremonially returned to Mexico 69 battle flags captured from that country in 1847, but nothing was said, of course, about returning the land stolen in the same war.

The Treaty of Guadeloupe-Hidalgo in 1848, by which this monster land-grab was legalized, is nothing but a robbers' document, and its harsh terms have acquired no justification by the passage of a century. To make matters worse, the treaty provisions that the peoples of the ceded territories should enjoy all the rights of United States citizens have been grossly vio-

lated. This treaty, marking one of the most shameful episodes in United States history, should be canceled. The whole Mexican War settlement ought to be renegotiated and proper restitution—territorially, financially, or otherwise—made to Mexico proper and also to the Mexicans in the United States for the grave injuries done to them.

Fourth, there is the national question among the Negro peoples, who make up such large minorities in many American countries. If the Mulattoes are included, the Negro minorities total about 45 million. Everywhere they are more or less openly discriminated against—economically, politically, and socially. In Brazil, Cuba, and other Latin American lands, Negroes form a majority of the population over considerable stretches of territory. Generally insisting upon full rights of citizenship, these Negro minorities are working toward political integration with the peoples among whom they live. This national integration, as we have remarked in the previous chapter, has carried with it, historically, a considerable measure of actual racial amalgamation. In Latin America the Negro peoples, therefore, are not orienting toward the development of separate nationhood, although for a time the Communist Party of Cuba demanded self-determination for the Negroes of Oriente province where they constitute the majority of the population. There is great need for a hemisphere-wide conference of the various Negro peoples, at which they could evaluate their general position and work out their policies and course of action.

In the United States the situation of the Negro people is quite specific. As we pointed out in the previous chapter, two major factors have welded the Negro people essentially into a nation and have made the question of national self-determination a real one for them—their heavy oppression during slavery times and their ruthless persecution under the Jim Crow system of lynching, terrorism, segregation, and general discrimination since their emancipation. Only if the Negroes control the land they work and direct their own political fate can they hope to achieve maximum development as a people, in view of the hostile environment in the United States. Although the Negro people have not yet acquired full consciousness of their developing nationhood, the Communist Party, for the past twenty years, has emphasized the demand for self-determination. The party fights for complete freedom and equality for the Negro people in every respect—economic, political, and social—as United States citizens, and at the same time it insists upon their rights to self-determination, including the right to secession, should they desire to exercise it.

On this question, a Communist Party resolution declared in 1946: "In fighting for their equal rights, the Negro people are becoming more unified as a people. Their fight for liberation from oppression in the Black Belt—the area of Negro majority population—is a struggle for full nationhood, for

the Communist Party supplies new power to the Negro liberation movement and also advances the perspective of full freedom for the Negro people. This their rightful position of full equality as a nation. In recognizing the struggle for equal rights in the South as a movement towards full nationhood, understanding, growing out of a constant fight for Negro rights, strengthens white and Negro solidarity, based firmly on working class unity, and provides the program of permanent alliance between the Negro and white masses."¹²

Fifth, there are the many Indian peoples of the hemisphere, numbering, with Mestizos, about 60 million, from Alaska to Cape Horn. Where these peoples are concerned, the national question is even more complex than it is among the Negro peoples. The Indians, as a rule, form a majority in the specific areas in which their masses live; they have preserved, in a weakened state, many of their tribal institutions, and for over four hundred years they have conducted a brave struggle for independence. In several parts of the western hemisphere—Amazonia, Tierra del Fuego, etc.—Indian tribes still lead an almost independent existence. Obviously, the will and right of the Indian peoples to be free of alien domination are incontestable. The extent to which they may be accorded the right of political self-determination, however, would depend upon their numerical strength and organization and also the degree of their national aspirations. In a given country, in this respect, all the Indians would probably have to be dealt with as one general national group; for it would be absurd to think of according the right of full self-determination to each of the many tribes that exist throughout the western hemisphere. In the meantime, however, pending considerations of self-determination, the Indians should be granted every right of citizenship and every means of social advancement.

Like the Negro peons and sharecroppers, the Indians must especially be given adequate land and the modern means with which to work it. This is the key to an improvement of their living conditions. By the same token, both Negroes and Indians must be brought fully into the broad stream of industrialization—by getting them into the industries as workers and by establishing industries in their communities. Especially is the latter measure necessary for the Indians, who very frequently live in remote localities. One of the greatest triumphs of the Russian Revolution has been precisely the thorough industrialization of some of the most primitive peoples and areas in Asia, situated within the borders of the U.S.S.R.

The present widespread isolation of many tribes must be done away with and the Indians brought into the general current of national development. To do this will require the overcoming of considerable resistance by some of the chieftains, who have a special interest in maintaining the present Indian isolation. Generally throughout the Americas the Indian tribal organiza-

tions, after over four hundred years of oppression, no longer have their one-time vigor, nor do the chiefs possess the prestige they once enjoyed. It is quite a different situation from that in Africa, where the tribal organizations of the Negroes remain largely intact and their chieftains are still powerful. But in both situations the chiefs are often elements of reaction. The isolation of the Indians must be broken by the Indians themselves, for it sentences those involved in it to endless poverty, illiteracy, and backwardness.

The Communist Party of Chile, in its proposals for the popular front in 1940, outlined the following characteristic Communist policy towards the famous Araucanian Indians, who number about 100,000 persons: "It is necessary to struggle so that the Araucanians, brothers of ours, be considered in the double quality of peasants and of an oppressed national minority, and, in consequence, to obtain the dotation of lands to the Araucanian communities that have been victims of despoliation and that possess insufficient land, for the right of the Araucanians to develop culturally in their national language, and for the recognition of the authorities elected by the Araucanians, for the recognition of the juridical rights of the Araucanian communities, and the concession of credits for the development and sale of their products."¹³

The Brazilian Communist Party, in its manifesto of September, 1950, in addition to demanding the confiscation of big landed estates and the distribution of the land to the poor peasants and agricultural workers, proposes "Special aid to native tribes and the defense of their lands and the stimulation of their free and autonomous organizations." The Communist parties generally in the "Indian countries" of Latin America have similar programs.

At its 1950 convention the Communist Party of Mexico stated that "The Mexican nation should recognize and always respect the free right of self-determination of the indigenous natives."

For about a century following the Revolution of 1776, the United States government carried out a policy of dealing with the Indians as semi-independent peoples and of making "treaties" with them. The Indians, consequently, were not subject to the various states' laws. So ruled Chief Justice Marshall of the Supreme Court in 1832. In 1871, however, after the Indians had been robbed of the great bulk of their lands, the government stopped signing the fake treaties with them and began forcing them into reservations. In 1887, the Indian Allotment Act was passed. This law aimed to turn the Indians into individual land proprietors, to break up their tribal institutions, and to absorb them physically into the great mass of the white population. It was based on the chauvinist theory of "making the Indian into a white man." It was not until 1924 that the Indians were granted the right to vote. After the government's stupidly reactionary policy had further stripped the Indians of their lands and otherwise wrought havoc among them, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (the Indians' New Deal) was enacted.

This law took a somewhat new line, vaguely recognizing the Indians' right to their own culture and proposing to give them land and schools—promises, however, which have remained mostly on paper, as attested by the current exposures of wretched conditions among the Navajo and other southwestern Indians. The Indian peoples remain in deep poverty and national oppression in all their reservations throughout the United States, and also Canada.

The 1940, All-American Indian Conference, at Patzcuaro, Mexico, under the auspices of the Pan-American Union, was held under the general influence of the Good Neighbor policy and the heavy democratic mass pressure of that period. This Indian conference was followed by a similar one in Cuzco, Peru, in 1949. These Indian conferences, composed of official government representatives of many American nations, loosely recognized the right of the Indians to retain their native cultures; but they took no real steps to meet the Indians' basic needs for land, education, medical care, political equality, and full recognition of their tribal organizations. The governments did, however, establish April 19 as Indian Day throughout the Americas, an action which cost them nothing and brought no relief to the Indians.

There has been endless talk on behalf of the Indians by the various governments, but very little relief has been given them. This is because they refuse to deal constructively with the heart of the Indian problem, the land question. As Mariategui, the noted Peruvian Marxist, pointed out long ago, "they attempt to reduce it to a problem exclusively administrative, pedagogical, ethnical, or moral, in order to escape at any cost the economic plane."¹⁴ There is a great necessity for the holding of a hemisphere-wide rank and file conference of Indians, such as the C.T.A.L. has proposed repeatedly at its congresses, but which it has not yet carried out. Such a conference could for the first time clearly state the problems of the Indian peoples in the hemisphere and outline definite policies for their solution.

The lines of the ultimate full solution of all the foregoing national questions—in relation to the colonial island peoples, to the Canadian French, to the Mexican, Negro, and Indian national groups, and to all the nations that collectively make up the western hemisphere—is forecast by the present situation in the Soviet Union. In that revolutionary country, with exploitation of man by man and people by people completely abolished, the more than two score peoples who make up the great Soviet country live in friendship, harmony, and productive co-operation. This is the very antithesis of such imperialist-controlled groupings of nations as the O.A.S.; it is the practical socialist solution to one of the knottiest questions ever faced by society. It provides the final way out of the maze of national oppression and mutual national hostilities that, as elsewhere in the capitalist world,

are such a pronounced and harmful feature of the relations among the many peoples and nations of the New World.

The Menace of Fascism and War

The peoples of the Americas, like those of the rest of the world, are now faced with the burning threat of war, with its accompanying danger of fascism, and they most urgently need to combat this twin threat. This danger has become all the more acute with Wall Street's precipitation of war in Korea. And there is the growing menace, by the operation of the Truman Doctrine, of eventual United States armed intervention in Latin America.

This double menace of fascism and war presents itself even more insidiously now than it did on the eve of World War II. In those prewar years the big monopolists, through their stooge Hitlers and Mussolinis, were seizing control of various European governments and setting up fascist regimes, and the war perspective of these regimes was clear for all to understand. But at the present time, with the whole conception of fascism heavily discredited in the war, the imperialists are dressing up their ruthless campaign for war with all the trappings of democracy. This democracy makes their warmongering all the more slippery and dangerous. While preaching democracy, they are busily resurrecting the fascist spirit and organization all over the capitalist world, with an all too deadly success. In Germany, Italy, France, and several other European countries fascism, full of war spirit, is once more a vital political factor. This is also true in many countries of the Americas.

The peoples of this hemisphere, like those in the rest of the world, are basically opposed both to fascism and to war. They have demonstrated this upon innumerable occasions and in many ways. These peoples escaped lightly from casualties in World Wars I and II, but they know that if the world is plunged into a new war by Wall Street imperialism, their countries will be devastated, their economies ruined, and their hard-won liberties exposed to the plague of fascism. It would be folly to ignore, however, that large numbers of people, particularly in the United States and Canada, have been deeply deceived and taken in by the current hypocritical imperialist war propaganda. Great masses, including workers, have been made to believe the falsities (largely through the instrumentality of their corrupted trade union leaders) that the Soviet Union is waging a potentially military offensive and that the United States and other capitalist powers are on the defensive, protecting world peace and democracy. But this by no means indicates that these masses want war. Quite to the contrary, the overwhelming bulk of the peoples everywhere in the western hemisphere ardently desire peace.

The democratic masses have the power to halt the warmongers and also to reverse the present dangerous trends toward fascism. In the fight

for peace, the workers of the United States and Canada have very basic responsibilities in counteracting the deadly influence of their reactionary Social-Democratic leaders. These leaders are pumping the workers' minds full of boss-inspired war propaganda and lulling their natural resistance to war by assuring them of the continuance of the present fictitious "prosperity", which is built upon huge government munitions orders. With organized labor in the United States and Canada taking a firm stand for peace, the war and world conquest plans of Wall Street would be hopelessly stymied.

The democratic peoples of Latin America have great power and heavy responsibilities in the present tense world situation. A Latin America resolutely committed to peace would present an insuperable barrier to Yankee war aggression, whether directed against Latin American democratic countries or on a world scale against the U.S.S.R. and other democratic and socialist nations. The Latin American workers and their allies have not only to combat war and fascist-minded dictators of the stripe of Peron, Dutra, and Videla, who are the tools of Wall Street warmongers. Together with the C.T.A.L. they also have to be especially on the alert to smash the attempts of that ominous instrument of warlike Yankee imperialism, the Inter-American Confederation of Labor (C.I.T.), to establish itself among them.

It is a time, too, of historical responsibility for the Communist parties of the New World. With their Marxist-Leninist training and indomitable revolutionary fighting spirit, it is, above all, their great task to expose the many insidious lies of the fascist warmongers, agents of Wall Street imperialism, and, along with other democratic, peace-loving organizations, to lead in uniting the great masses of the western hemisphere into a solid force to maintain world peace.

National and International Unity

All the urgent struggles of the peoples of this hemisphere, as summarized above, must be fought out and won on the triple basis of national, inter-American, and world struggle. The issues we have enumerated—national independence, the redistribution of the land, the industrialization of Latin America, the improvement of mass living standards, national self-determination for oppressed peoples, fascism and war—are questions that demand a high degree of organization and struggle not only in the individual countries, but also on a western hemisphere and world scale. National and international solidarity is indispensable if victory is to be achieved.

Let us glance first at the struggles on the national level. During the past generation the workers of all the Americas, as we have seen in preceding chapters, have made great progress in class understanding, policy, and

organization. But they are still badly divided in all these respects in the face of their class enemies, who are powerful and ruthless. And they are confronting tremendous and ever more complicated problems.

During this period, in the fight for the aforementioned demands and policies, the most effective form of general political struggle in this hemisphere has been the people's front, an alliance of all the various democratic forces, led by the working class and supported by the trade unions and other mass organizations. In the United States, for example, besides fighting for united labor action among the many divergent unions and for independent working class political action, the Communist Party also advocates a democratic coalition—which is a form of the people's front—of the workers, the Negro people, poorer farmers, professionals, and small businessmen. In Latin America, because it is a semicolonial area, the common front of the democratic forces, as proposed by Communist parties, takes on a broader scope, including those sections of the bourgeoisie who are willing to resist imperialism and to defend the national independence and industrialization of their respective countries. The Brazilian Communist Party calls for a popular democratic government, based on "all sectors of the population, who participate effectively in the revolutionary struggle for national liberation." In Argentina, characteristically, this type of movement is called the Democratic and Anti-Imperialist Front for National and Social Liberation, and in Brazil, Mexico, and other countries it is the Democratic Front of National Liberation. These broad organizations are fighting for the progressive goals already indicated in this chapter and earlier.

Dimitrov said of this general united front policy: "When the scattered detachments, at the initiative of the Communists, join hands for the struggle against the common enemy, when the working class, marching as a unit, begins to act together with the peasantry, the lower middle classes, and all democratic elements, on the basis of the People's Front program, then the offensive of the fascist bourgeoisie is confronted with an insurmountable barrier. A force arises which can offer determined resistance to fascism, prevent it from coming to power in countries of bourgeois democracy, and overthrow its barbarous rule when it is already established."¹⁶

These powerful people's and democratic fronts are a continuation of the policy of unity followed by the Communists and the democratic mass organizations since the rise of fascism two decades ago. In previous chapters we have traced the development of this policy, during the struggle against fascism in the prewar years, during the war itself, and during the postwar period. At the present time, as previous chapters have described, the right-wing Social-Democrats and other misleaders of labor have badly sabotaged the people's front everywhere throughout the western hemisphere. But as the war and fascist danger again raises its head throughout the length and

breadth of the Americas and the rest of the world, the people's front takes on a new and added significance, especially in the key fight for peace. To meet this menace, the masses of workers and other democratic groups will forge a new people's unity, despite the holding-back efforts of reactionary leaders.

To operate effectively, the people's front must be under the general leadership of the working class and the workers must possess a powerful Communist Party. Only the workers can be depended upon to lead the peoples in their struggle against war-minded monopoly capital, whether in the imperialist countries or in the colonies and semicolonial countries. Among the enemies that constantly must be guarded against are pseudo-revolutionaries like Haya de la Torre, with his false notion that the petty bourgeoisie must lead the people's struggle, and Browder, with his treacherous theory that the leadership must rest with the "progressive" big capitalists of the United States. Such misleaders could only lead the workers into the same disastrous capitalist trap as the avowed right-wingers, Green, Romualdi, Murray, Carey, and Ibanez.

Second, on the inter-American scale, the workers and their allies also need strong organization and militant struggle in order to meet the problems that increasingly affect all the toilers in the western hemisphere. Such organization and struggle must likewise have a broad people's basis. To begin with, there must be close co-operation between the trade union centers of Latin America and those of the United States and Canada. This cannot be brought about, as the reactionary Inter-American Federation of Labor is doing, by trying to wreck the Latin American labor movement and to make the remnants into a subordinate section of the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. The proper relationship between the groups of unions of the United States, Canada, and Latin America must be one of voluntary co-operation on the basis of common peace and anti-imperialist interests, as the C.T.A.L. proposes; not of absorption of the Latin American and Canadian unions by Yankee labor autocrats, acting for United States imperialism.

Inter-American democratic co-operation must also involve all the democratic forces of the western hemisphere. A closer relationship in struggle among liberal, left-wing, and progressive people's organizations of all sorts is imperative in order to solve the basic problems outlined earlier in this chapter. A promising step in this direction, a few years ago, was the Council for Pan-American Democracy. Organized in 1938, this body, with headquarters in New York, did considerable work to acquaint the masses of the United States with the elementary problems of Latin America and to develop real co-operation with the peoples of that area in struggle against poverty and reaction. But it was only a small beginning. There is a grave necessity now for more such organizations and activities, and on a far greater scale,

among the host of democratic economic, political, and cultural movements in this hemisphere. The great Mexico City peace conference of September 1949, was an excellent example of this much-needed inter-American co-operation of the democratic peace forces. The score of American peoples must build up a great hemisphere-wide movement to offset the activities of the Organization of American States, which is nothing but an instrument of Yankee imperialism. The workers of the United States have a great responsibility to promote this hemisphere-wide solidarity, but under no circumstances should they undertake to dominate it.

As things now stand, the burden of carrying forward the organized inter-American struggle against Yankee imperialism and world reaction is being borne by workers and other democratic forces of Latin America. The labor movements of the United States and Canada, paralyzed by the stranglehold upon them of the imperialistic labor leadership, who are shameless creatures of Wall Street, are lagging far behind in the struggle against fascism and war.

Third, the peoples of the Americas must also participate actively in world democratic co-operation. The many great and urgent problems now afflicting the nations of the western hemisphere are closely akin to those undermining the whole capitalist world. This places before the people's organizations of the New World, and above all the trade unions, the imperative requirement that they play an active and constructive role in the international peace struggle of the democratic forces led by the Soviet Union and the Peoples Democracies of Europe and China. They should especially become active supporters of the World Peace Committee. As we have pointed out earlier, the C.T.A.L. of Latin America has risen to its primary international obligation by its affiliation with the W.F.T.U., and by its general peace and democratic activities in the international arena; but the leaders of the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. of the United States and Canada are playing a tragically splitting and reactionary role as the labor agents of Yankee imperialism. The peoples of the Americas must find the way to defeat all the betrayals of the Social-Democrats and to take their proper place in the vanguard of the struggle of the world's masses against the fascist reactionaries and warmongers for the maintenance of international peace.

The great fight for democracy and peace has to be waged upon the basis of the possibility and desirability of peaceful coexistence of socialist and capitalist powers in the same world. This is the key to world peace. The attempt of the Hoovers and Churchills to wreck the United Nations by transforming it into a military alliance against the U.S.S.R. must be defeated. There is no reason, save the aggressive designs of United States imperialism, why the United States cannot live in peace with the U.S.S.R.

A third world war is by no means inevitable. The fundamental interests of the peoples of the United States and the U.S.S.R. are harmonious. The democratic forces of the world are now strong enough to prevent the outbreak of war if they will but act in unity and make impotent the capitalist war profiteers and would-be world conquerors. The fate of the world depends upon the ability of the world's toilers to halt the Yankee war-mongers.

36. THE AMERICAS AND THE FUTURE

During the course of this book we have analyzed the development of the general crisis of capitalism, the deepening decay and breakdown of the world capitalist system. We have shown how these developments are caused by the ever-sharpening conflicts of antagonistic forces within the framework of capitalism—including clashes in interest between the workers and capitalists, between monopoly and small business, between the capitalist countries and the colonial lands, and among the capitalist powers themselves. Underlying all this is the great antagonism between the capitalist and socialist sectors of the world. All these collisions, which are steadily becoming sharper and more fatal to capitalism, grow out of the most fundamental of all capitalist contradictions: that between the social character of production and the private ownership of the means of production.

We have seen how the developing general crisis of capitalism has produced, on the one hand, a whole series of violent explosions within the framework of that system, including the two great world wars, the breakdown of capitalist democracy and the rise of fascism, the profound economic crisis of 1929-33, and the present acute international war tension. And on the other hand, we have seen how the capitalist crisis has also stimulated the tremendous growth of the world forces of democracy and socialism, including the epoch-making foundation of the Soviet Union, the establishment of the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, the consolidation of the People's Democratic Republic of Germany, the victory of the great Chinese People's Republic, the development of the big colonial liberation movements in Asia (and their beginnings, too, in Africa), the growth of democratic organizations and struggles in Latin America, and the enormous expansion of Communist parties, trade unions, and other socialist and democratic organizations in all parts of the world. The historical significance, as we have pointed out earlier, of this vast two-sided movement—the breaking down of capitalism and the rise of socialist countries and movements—is that the wornout capitalist system of society is passing from the world scene and is being replaced by the new and higher social stage of socialism. The speed of this profound historical change is ever on the increase.

We have also indicated, in previous chapters, how the powerful class of capitalists now controlling the United States is reacting to this revolu-

tionary world situation. Grown fat and rich on two world wars and through exploiting the difficulties of other crisis-stricken capitalist countries, the United States is trying to seize control of the whole world and reorganize it on a fascist basis in the interests of the capitalist class, concretely for the benefit of the monopolists of Wall Street. The specific aims of this imperialist drive are to subordinate the crazy structure of world capitalism to the United States through economic and political pressures, and to destroy the new socialist countries and People's Democracies by military action. This is Wall Street's cold-blooded program of war and fascism. It is a program which not only threatens the democratic liberties of every country in the world, including the United States, but also menaces all humanity with a frightful war, waged with atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs, bacteriological bombs, and other fearsome weapons of mass destruction.

Capitalism's Dismal Prospects for the Americas

Decaying capitalism, with the United States drive for world mastery, bodes ill for the peoples of the Americas, unless the latter break with capitalism and begin to work toward socialism. In Chapter 31 we reviewed the terrible conditions of poverty, illiteracy, sickness, and political oppression in which the great masses of the peoples of Latin America now find themselves as the result of the present social system. And so long as capitalism lasts, these conditions are bound to deteriorate with the growing decay of that system. All the great problems of the western hemisphere's peoples thus tend to become worse.

Latin America's prospects for developing strong industrialization, which is the necessary foundation of all modern progress and well-being, are constantly less promising under capitalism. For existing difficulties, which have produced the present miserable economic situation, are rapidly increasing. If the pressure of imperialism before the war was a paralyzing hindrance to the economic development of Latin America, after the war that menace has become all the more deadly, with the greatly increased drive of militant Yankee imperialism to transform Latin America completely into its colonial hinterland. Also, if Latin America, prior to World War II, had become a victim of world economic competition (in copper, nitrates, coffee, cocoa, sisal, rubber, etc.), now this competition, as Davila points out, has become much more severe with the growing development of the African colonies.¹ All this will make the Latin American peoples' fight for decent living conditions ever more difficult.

Latin America's democratic political prospects under capitalism are hardly more alluring. Since the end of the war, with the United States' active interference in the life of all these countries, on the side of the most

reactionary forces, the various peoples are getting only a taste of what Yankee imperialism has in store for them. The reactionary pressure in this direction is bound to increase. If it can have its way, Wall Street intends to wipe out Latin American freedom and independence, and to establish fascist regimes ruled by a set of its dictator puppets. It has already made a big start in this direction. From now on, the peoples of Latin America will have to conduct an even more vigorous struggle against the looming threat of fascist reaction.

Propaganda by Wall Street agents to the effect that the United States is an enemy of colonialism and is seeking to set up free and prosperous regimes in the undeveloped sections of the world is so much criminal nonsense. Just what the big Yankee monopolists have in mind for these areas is clearly manifested by the terrible colonial oppression which the United States is responsible for in Puerto Rico and in various other parts of Latin America. Wall Street's ruthless colonial policy of oppression is also exemplified by the contemptible reactionary puppets, the Chiang Kai-sheks, Bao Dais, Syngman Rhee, and the like that the State Department is backing all over the Far East.

Besides the growing menaces of poverty and enslavement, Latin America, immersed in a decaying capitalist system and attacked by a militant Yankee imperialism, will also face the deadly danger of another world war. This war, if the monopolists of Wall Street could succeed in breaking down the people's resistance and launching it, would physically devastate as well as economically ruin Latin America, along with many other world areas. Latin America could not hope to escape the ruinous destruction of such a war, as it did in the two previous world wars.

This is what the continued existence of capitalism has to offer the Latin American peoples—deepened poverty, increased tyranny, another world war. What the present rulers of the capitalist world—headquarters Wall Street—plan for Latin America is summed up by *Nueva Era*: "The Yankee imperialists consider Latin America as their private domain, as a convenient place for the investment of their capital, as a source of raw materials and cheap labor, as a hinterland from which they can extract at their will fuels, foodstuffs, colonial slaves, and cannonfodder."² The only final way out of this maze of exploitation and oppression is in the direction of socialism, a course which the peoples of Latin America, like those in other parts of the world, will surely take.

The workers and other toilers of the United States and Canada, while not so poverty-stricken and oppressed as those of semicolonial Latin America, nevertheless have nothing to look forward to but growing evils with the continuation of the capitalist system. In Chapter 31 we have seen that the great bulk of the workers in these two countries, shamelessly robbed by the capitalists, are now living below established standards necessary for

the maintenance of health. And even these inadequate living conditions are threatened with rapid deterioration from the worsening economic situation. To a large extent the peoples of Canada and the United States are dwelling in a sort of "fool's paradise." Their "prosperity" is a false one, being largely dependent upon a production deriving directly or indirectly from the wholesale destruction caused by the two great world wars, from the preparation for a new war, and from the exploitation of such colonial and semicolonial areas as Latin America, Asia, and Africa. As we have pointed out earlier, on the eve of the Korean war the economies of the United States and Canada were rapidly slipping into another deep economic crisis. In the long run appeals to war can only intensify this crisis. The continuation of the decaying capitalist system can have no other results economically in the two countries than the eventual precipitation of a crisis far more devastating even than the disastrous one of 1929-33. The workers in both countries remember vividly what a shattering effect that crisis had upon their "high living standards."

Decaying world capitalism, accompanied as it is by the drive of United States imperialism for world domination, inevitably gives rise to an ever-increasing attack upon the democratic liberties of the peoples of Canada and the United States, as well as those of Latin America. The fight against fascism is not a temporary fight, but one that will last until the peoples finally do away with capitalism. The trend of imperialist policy toward fascism is inevitable, although the victory of fascism is not. The big capitalists of the United States and Canada, faced with the constantly growing resistance of the workers and other democratic groups to worsening economic conditions and the militaristic imperialist adventures of the ruling capitalists, are bound to try to make use more and more of fascist methods of mass control and intimidation. For these two countries, as well as for the rest of the world, fascism is the basic answer of the big capitalists to their multiplying difficulties.

The continuation of the capitalist system also means confronting the peoples of the United States and Canada, as elsewhere, with the ever-present danger of war. War is inseparable from monopoly capitalism. The war danger, which flows from the very heart of monopoly capitalism, is an inevitable part of its inherent drive for imperialist conquest and expansion. This danger is made terribly manifest by the Korean conflict. The threat of another world war can be halted, but it can never be removed from the world until the peoples have abolished capitalism and established socialism. In their fight to prevent the threatened war, the peoples of Canada and the United States would do well to remember that for them this would be a very different war from the two world wars they have already lived through. These wars brought no great hardships to the masses of the two countries—

wages remained high, jobs were plentiful, and living standards were not impaired. But another war, such as Wall Street is trying to organize, besides surely being a lost war would also be utterly devastating to both Canada and the United States. Bourgeois military experts have told us that 40 million people would die in the United States in an atomic war.

The Impossibility of Rejuvenating World Capitalism

Capitalism, which in its early stages was an advance over the feudal system that preceded it historically, has become obsolete and is doomed to extinction. It has exhausted its progressive role and has become a shackle upon the development of human happiness and prosperity. Therefore, history is eliminating it and replacing it by the more advanced system of socialism, which will bring about a vast and universal development of the productive forces. This is the great process that gives meaning to all the wars, revolutions, and economic crises of the past 35 years, the period of the deepening general crisis of capitalism.

Naturally, the capitalists, who reap such fabulous riches from their private ownership of the social means of production and their ruthless exploitation of the workers, are trying desperately to save their beloved system. But they are whipping a dying horse. The time was when capitalism was full of vitality and spontaneous power. Marx and Engels said, "Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. . . . The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere."³

But these days of vibrant virility are gone forever for the senile capitalist system. The basic internal contradictions, to which the system is incurably a prey, have thoroughly undermined and weakened it. Now it is gasping to prolong its worse than useless life. All over Europe, its birthplace, capitalism is living upon shots-in-the-arm from the United States which, together with Canada, forms about the last remaining "healthy" sector of world capitalism. And as for Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the capitalist system is stillborn in most of these areas and will never amount to much. This is not to say, of course, that world capitalism, to save itself, would be incapable of waging a devastating war.

The effort of the United States to save, revitalize, and dominate world capitalism, as part of its program of world conquest, is doomed to failure for four basic reasons: The first is that the economic program of this imperialist drive will not work. To begin with, as we have seen in Chapter 30, the mainstay of this program, the Marshall Plan, has failed. Although billions of dollars have been poured into the decrepit capitalist economy of

Europe, this has in no sense solved the basic European problem of markets. Instead, unemployment is rapidly mounting all over that continent. Real wages in France and other continental capitalist countries are only about half as high as in pre-war times. Every economic expert worth his salt now admits that the Marshall Plan cannot rejuvenate European capitalism.

"The time has come," says *Business Week*, "to say that the Marshall Plan is not a success."⁴ The big drive of United States imperialism to monopolize world trade will make the failure of the Marshall Plan all the more complete. And as for the other phase of the foreign economic program, President Truman's "Point Four," the capitalists are spreading high hopes that this is the way to industrialize backward areas of the world, boost United States trade, and to revise world capitalism. But this plan, too, can be nothing but a failure. Its double proposal of exporting industrial "know-how" to the undeveloped areas and encouraging the investment of private capital there, could only result in flooding these territories with imperialist State Department agents and capitalist exploiters. The general effect would be to intensify one of the most fundamental diseases of the capitalist system—imperialism.

The second basic reason why Wall Street's attempt to save bankrupt world capitalism will not succeed is that its political line will not work. That is, the peoples of the world will never submit to the regime of domination and fascism that United States capitalism is trying to force upon them. They did not reject Hitler's yoke in order to put on Wall Street's. The Soviet Union, the People's Democracies, and the Chinese People's Republic can never be cornered into submission to United States big business. Nor is it possible to reverse the course of the vast national liberation movements now generating in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and to compel these peoples to put on new fetters of colonialism—Wall Street brand. It is idle also to think that the peoples of western Europe will surrender their independence and submit to the domestic fascist regimes that United States imperialism has in store for them. Even the capitalist states are more and more antagonistic toward the arbitrary hegemony that ruthless Yankee imperialism has fastened upon them since the end of World War II.

The third basic reason why Wall Street's attempt to preserve tottering world capitalism as its own controlled preserve is also bound to fail completely, is because its program of world conquest and capitalist rejuvenation through war is utterly unrealizable. Even if Wall Street could succeed in plunging the world into another war, this would surely be a lost war for the United States. Unlike in the first two wars, the peoples of Europe next time would not do the fighting and let the United States capitalists do the profit-making. Vast masses of the workers in these countries, led by the Communist parties, have already made it clear that they will never fight

against the Soviet Union. The United States, if forced into another world war by big business, for once would have to do its own fighting, even though the governments of other capitalist countries might formally endorse its war. It could not possibly win such a war, but would march into national disaster. Socialism is incomparably superior to capitalism not only economically but also militarily. Moreover, as we have seen earlier, the two world wars that have already taken place did irreparable harm to the world's capitalist system; a third world war would destroy it altogether, with the help of the revolutionary workers. Wall Street's war program would not lead to the conquest and rehabilitation of capitalism but to its destruction.

Truman's Futile "Managed Economy"

The final major reason why Wall Street's world attempt to revitalize capitalism on a fascist basis will not succeed is the decadent state of the great world base of capitalism in the United States. One of the big illusions now current is to the effect that somehow, in ways not explained, capitalism in the United States is fundamentally different from capitalism in other countries; that it is not subject to the disintegrating inner contradictions that are tearing capitalism to pieces in other lands; that it is immune to the general crisis of the world capitalist system. This is the theory of "American exceptionalism," the darling of bourgeois economists and confused liberals, and the main point of Social-Democrats and renegade Communists such as Jay Lovestone and Earl Browder.

But the monopoly capitalists of Wall Street are not themselves fooled by such propaganda of their agents among the masses. They realize quite clearly that capitalism in the United States is also being undermined, even if they do not understand precisely why, and they are taking a whole series of steps designed to shore up the system and to make it healthy again. In general, these economic measures follow the broad outlines of the theories of the noted British economist, the late Sir John Maynard Keynes.⁵ Keynesism is capitalist economics in the period of the general crisis of capitalism. It underlies the policies of the American, British, French, Latin American, and other capitalist governments. It is based mainly upon the theory that by cultivating government expenditures the gap between the producing and consuming powers of the masses can be bridged and economic crisis thus prevented. It is an attempt to save the capitalist system. Keynesism is championed by Social-Democrats, liberals, and the bulk of conservative capitalists under various program disguises. The Nazi fascists were especially enthusiastic supporters of Keynes.

The main aim of Keynesism in the United States is to prevent the recurrence of economic crises and to put capitalism upon an upward spiral of development, by huge government expenditures, mostly for munitions

production. It is a form of state monopoly capitalism. Keynesism formed the theoretical basis of Roosevelt's economic reforms. Truman's application of Keynesism has been called a "managed economy." While many capitalists disagree in principle with Keynes, they agree with him in practice, especially when this means highly profitable munitions contracts.

The Truman government has been spending some \$20 billion yearly for war preparations in the United States and abroad. This figure is now being hugely increased by the Korean war. The purpose of these gigantic war expenditures is twofold—besides preparing for the projected war against the Soviet Union, they are to give blood transfusions to the fundamentally sick industrial system. In this latter economic fact is to be found one of the most fundamental causes of the war danger. For every capitalist economist in the country being convinced that if the current war expenditures were seriously curtailed the United States economy would go into a sudden tail-spin, the logic of their position is that in order to keep the industries in operation there must be more and more munitions orders. The end of this vicious circle is another world war, unless the democratic masses of the people act to prevent it. The capitalist system of the United States, vastly over-expanded in a sick capitalist world, thus needs war to keep going. That is why the warmongers have hailed the Korean war so joyously. It is the Hitler thesis all over again.

The attempt of the Truman government to "manage the economy"—to prevent the development of an economic crisis through enormous war preparations—has visibly failed. Despite all the billions that were being poured out to make the United States into an armed camp, to establish its military bases all over the world, and to rearm the reactionaries of Europe and Asia, the industries of the United States, at the outbreak of the Korean war in the summer of 1950, were caught in the characteristic capitalist contradiction of producing more than the limited markets could absorb. The general consequence was that United States industrial system was sinking into an economic crisis of overproduction and was involving with it the economies of the rest of the capitalist world.

Production in the United States dropped from a rate of 199 in October 1948, to 163 in July 1949;⁶ by April 1950 over five million workers were totally unemployed and ten million more were working only part-time; export trade had fallen off from \$15.3 billion in 1947 to \$12.3 billion in 1949 and was expected to decline to \$10 billion by 1952;⁷ in 1949 farm income fell by 17 per cent from 1948 and by 22.4 per cent from 1947; there was a drop of 12 per cent in real wages of the workers between 1944 and 1949;⁸ and the national debt, already at the fantastic figure of \$260 billion, was being increased by many billions more. While capitalist profits rose by 35-50 per cent and continued at record heights, poverty, deep and devastating, spread like

a plague among the people, as the government reinstated the criminal policy of curtailing agricultural production and destroying mountains of unsalable foodstuffs.

With its policy of price supports, the government had, at a cost of \$3.5 billion, amassed gigantic and rapidly increasing surpluses of wheat, corn, cotton, tobacco, eggs, etc., an impossible situation economically.

The plunge of the United States into a deep crisis has been temporarily checked by the Korean war, with its resulting huge government outlays for war purposes. The drunken orgy of war production is on again. Although 2,500,000 workers are still unemployed, the number of "gainfully employed" (in September 1950) has shot up to 62,367,000, an all-time record figure. And the employers' profits have soared into the financial stratosphere. But this war-induced production spurt cannot possibly cure the basic weaknesses of capitalism. On the contrary, in the long run it is bound to deepen the eventual economic collapse and also to worsen in every respect the general crisis of capitalism.

The capitalists' inability to prevent a cyclical economic crisis by Keynesian policies of peacetime "pump priming" with public works and other government expenditures, which is the alleged basis of Truman's "managed economy," is all the more evident from a backward glance at the great economic crisis of 1929-33. At that time annual production in the United States was cut about in half—the loss in production yearly was more than \$40 billion. If the next crisis is proportionately as severe, and there is every reason to suppose that it will be, the drop in production (which is now double what it was in 1929) would amount very probably to \$100 billion or more per year. Obviously, no government "pump priming" program could fill such a monster "gap" as that, even if it included huge munitions production; it would take a full-scale war to put the industries back into operation. The capitalists are quite aware of that fact, and this is one of the most serious sources of the war danger. This explains their relief at the outbreak of the Korean war, with its mountains of war orders. That they would plunge the world into a third world war rather than face another crisis like that of the 1930's is unquestionable. But for them war would only be leaping from the frying pan into the fire.

The meaning of all this is inescapable. The Truman "managed economy" is not succeeding, and cannot succeed. Keynesism cannot cure, but can only worsen the general crisis of capitalism; it cannot overcome the fundamental economic contradictions tearing capitalism to pieces. The whole logic of Keynesian imperialist economics is war. Keynesism cannot resuscitate capitalism abroad, nor prevent it from collapsing in a devastating economic crisis at home in the United States. Such an eventual economic crisis in the United States will have a disastrously undermining effect upon the entire world

capitalist system. It is a dire perspective which makes the frightened monopolists and imperialists of Wall Street turn all the more frantically to the mirage of their fatal program. They hope that war against the U.S.S.R. and the new democratic people's republics of Europe and Asia and also the establishment of fascist regimes abroad and in the United States will solve all their steadily mounting, and totally insoluble, economic and political problems.

Betrayal by the "Third Force"

The right-wing Social-Democratic parties and trade union leaders of the world, plus various so-called liberal and Catholic leaders, are also engaged in their own special, but futile auxiliary attempt to save capitalism. They form the so-called "third force," which supposedly stands in between the fascists on the right and the Communists on the left (see Chapter 30). The Social-Democrats in this combination (who accept the Keynesian theory) claim that they are fighting for socialism; the "liberals" (also Keynesians) assert that they want "progressive capitalism;" and the Catholics, although saying little about their ultimate objectives, are obviously supporters of the clerical fascism of the Petain-Mussolini-Peron-Franco type. In reality the whole "third force" outfit boils down to a movement to preserve and revitalize the decadent capitalist system at the expense of the working class and other democratic forces.

The "third force" has controlled many governments in Europe during the postwar period—Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries, Austria, and Western Germany. In the Far East, the imperialist-supported governments of India, Pakistan, and Indonesia are "third force" regimes (and South Korea, Indo-China, and Japan also make pretenses of being a "third force"). But nowhere have these "third force" parties and governments, whatever their pretensions to reform or socialism, made any serious attacks upon the capitalist system or brought any substantial relief to the harassed masses. Hard experience in the postwar period has amply demonstrated that the "third force" combination is essentially a political expedient of the capitalists, especially under the leadership of United States monopoly capital, to halt the progress of socialism in Europe and to block the great national liberation revolutions now in progress throughout the world.

In the western hemisphere, among the organizations (or rather, their leaders) who subscribe to the "third force" trickery of pseudo reform and "progressivism" are the A.F. of L., C.I.O., and A.D.A. in the United States, the C.C.F. in Canada, the A.P.R.A. in Peru, the Social-Democratic parties generally, and the newly-organized strikebreaking Inter-American Confederation of Labor (C.I.T.). The dictatorial rulers of Argentina, Brazil, Chile,

Peru, Costa Rica, Cuba, etc., also more and more cover themselves with the hypocritical cloak of a "third force."

The "third force" is based on a lie. The world is divided not into three camps, but two: The camp of capitalist reaction, imperialism, and war is led by monopoly capital of the United States, and the camp of democracy, socialism, and peace is led by the Soviet Union. The "third force" is part and parcel of the world camp of reaction and war. Its leaders, regardless of any social demagoguery that they may spout, are procapitalist and they are striving by every desperate means to prolong the life of that bankrupt system by keeping the masses of workers tied to it. Behind the so-called "third force" stands the bulk of the capitalist class.

The purpose and effect of the "third force" is to betray the workers and their allies into the hands of their enemy, monopoly capital. In Great Britain, where the "third force" Labor government is in power, capitalism flourishes. Harold Wilson, president of the Board of Trade, said recently that private enterprise had "done much better under a Socialist government than it ever did under the Tories."¹⁰ But the classical example of where a "third force" type of policy leads was Germany during the period of the rise of Hitler. In the national elections of 1932, Social-Democracy there, with its policy of "the middle way," threw its support to the liberal (*sic*) General von Hindenburg "against" Hitler and elected the general. Whereupon von Hindenburg promptly made Hitler his chancellor and thus fascism was established in Germany. Today the "third force" all over the western capitalist world is carrying out a similar betrayal—fighting against the left, democratic, peace, socialist forces, while the monopolists systematically entrench themselves and prepare for war and fascism.

The real leader of the "third force" internationally is President Truman, an imperialist defender of capitalism. The Social-Democratic, Catholic, and liberal leaders all over the world are following his policies. They support his Marshall Plan, his Truman Doctrine, his "Point Four," his atom-bomb diplomacy, his Korean war, and his phony "welfare state"—which in reality is a war economy, or garrison state. All this they do under the false pretext that the Truman Administration is fighting for the reforms of the liberal Roosevelt regime and is a defender of world peace and "progressive capitalism."

Mr. Truman, the leader of the world "third force," is also the leader of Wall Street's main forces of reaction. He is the man, as President of the United States, through whom the monopolists are chiefly putting across their whole program of world fascism and war. This undeniable fact disposes of the assertion that Truman represents world democracy. A man cannot serve two masters—Wall Street and the people. Nor is Mr. Truman undertaking any such impossible feat. He is the champion of Wall Street, and he is

directly trying to make United States monopoly capital master of the world. Those who support the tricky "third force" policy are either themselves confused or are traitorous misleaders of labor.

The "third force" is a joint movement of Social-Democratic, liberal, and Catholic leaders, united with monopolistic reaction against socialism, with the reactionaries doing the main leading and policy-making. It is a key part of the international war camp. The whole reactionary combination is marching under the discredited Hitler banner of the crusade against Communism.

The right-wing Social-Democrats of the world are the mainstay of the "third force." Never in history were they more than a wordy brand of liberal, and they are now fighting openly to save capitalism from advancing socialism. Their pretenses of Marxism have collapsed in the urgent general crisis of the capitalist system, and they are rallying to the side where they basically belong—the side of capitalism. But of all the pseudo-Marxist defenders of capitalism, the supporters of the "third force," the palm in the United States goes to Earl Browder, renegade from communism. Mr. Browder even prostitutes Marxism so far as to designate the monopolists of Wall Street as "progressive," and argues that the role of United States imperialism in the world is one of peace, democracy, and colonial industrialization and liberation.¹⁰

The "third force" has nothing to offer the world but a perspective of rotting, disintegrating capitalism. Capitalism can never be made "progressive"; it is hopelessly reactionary. Mr. Henry Wallace is fooling the people, if not himself, when he sets a goal of "progressive capitalism." The "third force" concept confuses and compromises the workers' and peoples' daily struggles for relief from the heavy pressures of capitalism, and it also sabotages their fight for socialism. It is a stumbling block in the path of struggling humanity, and it tends to intensify and prolong the economic chaos, fascism, and war that are inseparably bound up with the very existence of the decadent capitalist system.

Socialism is the Basic Answer

The workers and the masses of the peoples throughout the Americas, as elsewhere in the world, will continue to fight militantly under capitalism for national independence, land, industrialization, better health and living standards, and against national chauvinism, fascism, and war. In Latin America the immediate goal of this struggle is the agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution. The toiling masses have the power, under the present social order, to alleviate many of the great problems confronting them, but they cannot fundamentally solve them so long as capitalism lasts. On the contrary, as world capitalism decays, the general tendency inevitably will be for all these problems to become basically worse. Capitalism, including the mythical

"progressive" brand dreamed of by Henry Wallace and others, cannot cure these evils. The peoples, led by the working class and the Communist Party, must apply the axe to the root of the whole trouble. They must finally abolish capitalism and establish socialism. Only then will victory perch upon their banners. The road to democracy and socialism for the working class and its allies in the present world situation lies through the struggle for peace, democracy, and national independence.

"Under socialism the decisive industries, the land, the banks, the transportation systems, and all other major means of production and distribution are in the hands of the people, and not of private capitalists. Production is carried on for social use instead of for private profit. The whole national economy is operated according to plan, not by chance, as under the competitive system of capitalism. The workers and their democratic allies, the farmers and professionals, control the government completely. This system of society, based upon science, abolishes the great contradictions with which capitalism is afflicted. . . . Socialism is the first phase of communism, and the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the transition from capitalism to socialism."¹¹ Under socialism the exploitation of man by man is abolished and the toiling masses are at last free. It is a society without classes of robbers and robbed.

Socialism radically solves the question of industrialization. In Latin America it will break the power of the landowners, national capitalists, and imperialists who are now preventing the development of industry. In the Soviet Union the tremendous growth of industry in the undeveloped areas inherited from old Russia and even among the nomadic peoples, shows the wonderful possibilities of socialism in this respect. Capitalism, as we have noted earlier, has proved totally incapable of bringing the blessings of steam, electricity, machinery, and general industrialization to the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the earth—in China, India, Africa, Latin America, and elsewhere. It has only partially industrialized the capitalist countries themselves. With its vested interests and monopoly ownership of outmoded methods of production, capitalism would be even less capable of giving the world's peoples the potential benefits of atomic energy. The U.S.S.R. will be the pioneer in using this great new power on a broad scale for peaceful purposes. World capitalism has become a barrier to the industrialization of the world, and this is the major reason why it is being eliminated by the world's peoples. It remains for socialism to break the fetters that capitalism has placed upon the industrialization of the many lands of the earth and to open the road to the fullest possible industrial and social development.

Socialism will also basically solve the land question that now hangs like a millstone about the necks of the peoples of Latin America. The peasants and agricultural workers will get the land, and the hacendados, the bane of

Latin America, will be no more. Although private ownership of small holdings may persist for a while, the workers on the land will eventually be organized into large-scale collective (co-operative) farms, and supplied with the necessary funds, animals, machinery, fertilizers, and technical education. Agricultural productivity in Latin America will soar, and mass hunger will be wiped out. The same general development will eventually take place in Canada and the United States. The task of combating erosion, deforestation, and the waste of natural resources, now such a menace throughout the Americas, will be undertaken seriously for the first time.

Socialism will enormously increase the productivity of the toilers in all countries: by the thorough organization of economic life on scientific principles; by eliminating economic crises and their huge waste of mass unemployment; by putting out of business the millions of capitalists, landowners, and speculators now sucking the lifeblood of the people; by doing away with the hordes of useless advertisers, real estate sharks, gamblers, criminals, charlatans, and crooks of various types who infest capitalism; by avoiding the terrible wastes of militarism and war. The entire advantage of all this vastly increased production flows to the producers. With no capitalists to rob them and to paralyze the industries and with production organized and planned scientifically, the prospect for an endless development of their well-being opens up before the workers. The health of the people also becomes a central objective and responsibility of the government. Socialism will profoundly improve the living standards of the masses of all the Americas in every respect.

Socialism will also introduce a new and higher era of democracy and of human dignity and freedom in the world. The "dictatorship of the proletariat," a Marxist term, means the rule of the working class in alliance with the peasants and other democratic groups. With the power of capitalist industrialists, landowners, and clerical reactionaries broken, for the first time the masses of the people will find a true democratic expression. Under socialism such dictators as now clutter up the scene in Latin America, as well as the monopolistic nabobs who dominate every phase of life in the United States and Canada, will be only a historical bad memory. In the great democratic upsurge created by socialism, the vast creative powers of women and the youth, now hopelessly hamstrung under capitalism, are also released. This new woman-power and youth-power are among the many great advantages over the capitalist world enjoyed by the Soviet Union.

Socialism is a system based on science. Religious superstition has no place in Marxism-Leninism. Popular education, the highest possible raising of the intellectual levels of the people, is one of socialism's major objectives. Mass illiteracy, now one of the greatest of all the curses inflicted upon Latin America by its feudal-capitalist system, will fade quickly under a socialist

regime. One of the profound achievements of the Soviet Union has been the education of its people out of the depths of illiteracy imposed by tsarism. Socialism would also put an end to the deluge of intellectual trash which the profit-mongers of the United States are pouring into the heads of the people. Socialism will also find the way to speed up the actual evolution of the human race to higher physical and intellectual levels.

Socialism provides the complete answer to the national question. With capitalist and imperialist pressures and antagonisms gone, the various nations are able to live in harmony together and to establish the closest working bonds with each other. Colonialism disappears completely. The Indian, Negro, French, and Mexican minorities, now abused and exploited in the Americas, will be accorded the fullest opportunity for complete national development. White chauvinism, race prejudice, will become a crime. The solution of the national question among the more than forty peoples inhabiting that vast country has been one of the greatest accomplishments of socialism in the U.S.S.R. Socialism will, for the first time, eventually bring about social unity. As Lenin says: "The aim of socialism is not only to abolish the present division of mankind into small states, and all-national isolation, not only to bring the nations closer to each other, but also to merge them."¹²

Socialism finally ends the twin menace of fascism and war. By eliminating the economic ownership and political domination of the big capitalists, socialism strikes a death blow to imperialism, with its inevitable striving for fascist dictatorship at home and world domination abroad. It will be a crowning achievement of socialism, once the capitalists are finally defeated, to put an end to that hoary monster, war. The slaughter of human beings for purposes of greed, which goes back through the centuries and has reached its most terrible development under decaying monopoly capitalism, will be ended forever by socialism.

The dying capitalist system, wracked by economic crises, fascism, and war, would drag humanity down with it to the depths of destitution, destruction, tyranny, and social ruin. This is its incurable trend in the present end-period of its decline and decay. Socialism is the basic corrective answer. It combines all that is sane, healthy and constructive in the world—intellectually, politically, socially. It is carrying the standard of progress for mankind. In line with history and social evolution, socialism is both inevitable and invincible. The sure victory of Socialism will shatter the destructive, degenerating tendencies of obsolete world capitalism and will place man on a new and endlessly rising plane of social development.

Victorious Socialism in the Soviet Union

Socialism is no longer merely a perspective of theoreticians; today it is a living reality in the world. As the world knows, its great testing ground for the past generation has been in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics; but the New Democracies of Eastern Europe and the great Chinese People's Republic have also recently become great centers of socialist development. The life and progress of all these countries is demonstrating beyond doubt the success of the new world social order, whose birth and growth is the greatest development of our times.

The Russian working class took power in November 1917, in the face of an immense campaign of capitalist defeatist propaganda and hostility. The Social-Democratic and other capitalist spokesmen had cried out all over the world that the numerically small working class could not win its way to power; that the workers could not operate the old industries or build new ones; that the huge masses of peasants would overthrow any socialist government; that socialism offered no incentive to production and that the people would starve; that religious feelings among the masses would drown out Marxism; that the workers could not defend the country against the hostile capitalist world—and a host of other “arguments” against socialism in general.

But the Soviet government, in its thirty-three years of life, has utterly refuted all these “reasons why socialism will not work.” It has demonstrated the success of socialism in the face of tremendous obstacles—including the low level of industrial development of prerevolutionary Russia, the medieval character of Russian agriculture, the two world wars that ravaged wide stretches of the country, an equally disastrous civil war, the armed foreign intervention from its former war allies, economic blockade, political isolation, an almost complete lack of capital, a dearth of technicians and industrial experience, a high level of illiteracy among the masses, the need to pioneer new forms of socialist economic organization, etc., etc. Not only has socialism in the Soviet Union been able to live, but it has also shown conclusively its vast superiority over capitalism. The U.S.S.R. is now moving gradually toward the introduction of communism.

In the decisive sphere of industry, Soviet socialism has especially demonstrated its superiority. It has completely eliminated the deadly cyclical economic crisis with its plague of mass unemployment. The problem of markets, which is the Achilles' heel of capitalism, does not exist in the Soviet Union. All through the great economic crisis of 1929-33, the industries of the Soviets blazed ahead, unaffected by the otherwise universal breakdown of industry (see Chapter 25). The Soviet Union's planned economy is so patently a great advance over the competitive chaos of capitalism that even the capitalists themselves try unavailingly to imitate it, with their many pseudo-five-

year plans in various countries. In the accumulation of capital—a basic indication of economic strength, the U.S.S.R. also outstrips the capitalist world. Varga says that, from 1925 to 1936, in the Soviet Union, “The yearly average of Socialist accumulation for this decade . . . amounted to 14.5 per cent, *three to ten times that of the capitalist countries.*”¹³ In the speed of its industrial development the U.S.S.R., despite all its special difficulties, has far surpassed any capitalist nation. In its recovery after the holocaust of World War II as well, the U.S.S.R. is again outdistancing all capitalist countries.

The Soviet Union is achieving its supreme aim of building up a solid industrial foundation of basic industry. This requires tremendous effort on the part of its people. At the same time, there has been a radical improvement in the living standards of the masses; real wages are steadily mounting, a splendid national health system has been built up, and the social insurance provisions in the U.S.S.R. are far and away superior to those anywhere else in the world. The future is full of promise for a swift increase in the people’s general well-being.

Today, with all their previous arguments against socialism exploded by history, the capitalists are reduced to the desperate expedients of trying to make the masses believe, first, that the U.S.S.R. is a “police” state, and, second, that it is an imperialist power threatening the peace of the world. As for the first charge, the U.S.S.R., as Lenin stated, is incomparably more democratic than any capitalist country. Its socialized industries, its classless society, its equality of nationalities, its general education of the people, its vast mass organizations of workers, peasants, and youth, and its broad Soviet political system are a thousand times more democratic than the clash of hostile class interests, with all their eternal blather, that passes for democracy in the capitalist countries. And as for the charge of imperialism against the U.S.S.R., that is just another capitalist slander. Imperialism originates in monopoly capitalist control of a given country, with all the grasping for markets, raw materials, and strategic advantages which this implies. There can be no imperialism in the U.S.S.R., because, with the country completely in the hands of the toiling population, no capitalists can exist there. The charge of imperialism against the U.S.S.R. on the part of capitalism’s spokesmen is an attempt, on the one hand, to explain away the significance of the spontaneous growth of revolutionary movements in all parts of the capitalist world and, on the other hand, to divert attention from the warlike drive of United States imperialism to master the world.

During World War II, the armies and peoples of the Soviet Union, by an unparalleled effort, almost singlehandedly beat back the Nazi hordes and saved the world from a long night of fascist tyranny. This vast achievement was symbolic of the manner in which socialism in general, with its forces everywhere among all the peoples, will ultimately save all civilization from

the barbaric and bloody chaos into which the decaying world capitalism, in its attempts to survive, would plunge humanity.

The Fight for Socialism

In conclusion, our task here is not to speculate on precisely how and when socialism will be established in the Americas, but rather to indicate the main course of the present, actual developments. Of one thing we may be very sure. The general crisis and decay of capitalism will continue, and at an accelerating pace, and its accompanying phenomenon, the growth of the forces of world democracy and socialism, will also go right on at an even faster rate. This double process of the breakdown of capitalism and the rise of socialism is not a smooth evolution, but a series of sudden revolutionary collapses and advances. Capitalism cannot possibly reverse this basic historic process. It cannot cure itself of its destructive internal contradictions, and it cannot destroy socialism. The big plan of United States imperialism to seize the world and to reorganize it upon a slave, fascist basis, with the United States as the all-decisive metropolitan center, will be short-lived. It will be broken against the rock of the peoples' resolute resistance. The world is irresistibly making its way to socialism.

The march toward socialism is a revolutionary march and, because of the different stages of industrial development and political history in Latin America and the United States, the route will not be precisely the same in these two areas. In Latin America the advance toward socialism will far outstrip the achievements of the Mexican Revolution of 1910. Embracing the great masses of workers, peasants, intellectuals, and the liberal sections of the bourgeoisie, it will deal a finishing blow to the landlords, big national industrialists, and foreign imperialists, which the Mexican Revolution did not do. As Mao Tse-tung wisely said a decade ago about China, whose revolution compares generally with that now developing in Latin America, "The present Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution is not the old-fashioned general bourgeois-democratic revolution. This kind of revolution is already out of date. It is a new special bourgeois-democratic revolution. This revolution is developing in China and in all the colonial and semi-colonial nations. We call this kind of revolution the new democracy. This revolution of the new democracy is a part of the world proletarian revolution."¹⁴ A democratic revolution of this new type, carrying within it an agrarian revolution, will constitute the Latin peoples' first long strides in the direction of socialism.

The United States, with its high degree of industrial development, is objectively ready for socialism. Its revolutionary pace, once its toiling masses embark definitely upon the road to socialism, will probably be much faster than that of Latin America. In their present fight for peace and for the

rights and well-being of the toiling masses, the working class and its allies will lay the basis for the struggle for socialism itself. This struggle in the United States may take its course through the people's front (as in France, Spain, Chile), or through the people's democracy (as in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, and Albania), or both; or it may proceed directly to set up a Socialist government (as the Russian working class did). The difference between a people's front and a people's democracy is that the former is still a bourgeois government, although a democratic one, whereas the latter is already a form of the proletarian dictatorship.

The Americas have experienced many revolutions, as we have seen. These have all been headed by the bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeoisie. But a basic characteristic of the revolution that is now taking shape throughout the world is that it is led by the working class. As Marx and Engels said: "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class."¹⁵ This leading role of the workers holds true all over the world, notwithstanding that in a given country the number of workers may be small in relation to the whole population. Thus, it was the workers, headed by Lenin and Stalin, who led in bringing about the decisive Russian Revolution despite their relative numerical weakness; the workers also led the revolutions in the peoples' democracies of Eastern Europe; and even in China, where there are only about three million modern, industrial workers in a population numbering about half a billion, they constitute the leading political force. So it will be in the United States, where there is an immense proletariat, and so also in Latin America, where the working class is proportionately not so strong.

But for the workers to lead these vast movements against capitalism, they must have powerful Communist parties at their head. The Communist Party, Lenin's "party of a new type," is the vanguard of the proletariat, of all the forces leading toward socialism. Lenin has said that without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement, nor can there be a real fight for socialism without the Communist Party. It is because the capitalists realize deeply the revolutionary role of the Communist Party that in all countries they single it out as their fundamental enemy and use every means at their command in a futile attempt to destroy it.

The way of the workers is the way of peace and democracy, but on the road to socialism they are bound to encounter and overcome violent resistance from the capitalist class. When we look back over the innumerable "revolutions" in Latin America concocted by the ruling class, and over the long record of violence of the ruthless capitalists of the United States, no other conclusion is possible. As Marx pointed out, no ruling class has ever given up its control of society without making the sharpest struggle of which it is capable. Least of all will the capitalist class of the United States do so. The weaker its

position becomes, as world capitalism falls into ruins, the more it will tend toward desperate measures to find a way out of its insoluble problems. But let world capitalism beware of the revolutionary peoples of the world, 500 million of whom have just expressed their unbreakable peace will by signing the famous Stockholm Peace Pledge.

As Gene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, says:

"We Communists are confident that the day will come when the majority of Americans will decide by their own free choice, on the basis of their own experience, and in harmony with their fundamental interests, to march forward along the road of social progress toward socialism—that is, to establish the common ownership of the national economy under a government of the people, led by the working class."¹⁸

A favorable situation for a real advance toward socialism by the workers and their allies could develop swiftly in the Americas. Latin America is in an explosive state, and profound revolutionary mass movements may be expected there before long. As for the United States, the last great stronghold of world capitalism, it, too, is by no means invulnerable to mass advances toward socialism. These movements might take shape quickly under certain circumstances—for instance a prolongation of the cold war, with a growing opposition by the people to Wall Street's program of fascism and war; the precipitation of a deep economic crisis that would compel the people to move forward; the gradual weakening of the position of United States imperialism through the growth of world socialism; or the outbreak of a third world war, which would be bound to precipitate revolutionary consequences.

Today the great majority of the workers in the United States, still having illusions about capitalism, have not yet developed a socialist outlook. But this lag, due to the comparatively more favorable position of United States capitalism, is only temporary in character. Such illusions will be worn away and destroyed by the increasing social problems bred of the growing general crisis of world capitalism, of which Yankee capitalism is an organic and dependent part. The working class of the United States, like that of all other countries, will not long delay in also taking the road to socialism.

The present world situation, of decaying capitalism and rising socialism, creates the conditions for the rapid expansion and united action of the people's democratic mass organizations necessary for the achievement of socialism. This basic fact is dramatically illustrated by the tremendous increase in strength of the trade unions and the women's and youth organizations since the end of World War II. The most significant aspect of this vast movement of solidarity has been the swift growth of many previously small Communist parties—in France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Germany,

Brazil, Chile, Cuba, etc.—into powerful mass parties. The “third force” split in labor’s ranks, engineered by the capitalists with the help of their right-wing Social-Democratic tools, will be but temporary—already this movement is beginning to crack in France, Italy, Belgium, and elsewhere. The revolutionary social pressures in these times of the breakdown of capitalism and of the advent of socialism are rapidly growing in the fight against a third world war.

Fifty years ago capitalism was triumphant throughout the world and the Communists were but a small minority among the huge ranks of the masses; but today capitalism is visibly rotting and the Communists are leading 800 million people into socialism. This is the way the world in general is going, and this is the route, too, of the peoples of the western hemisphere. The great historical process that has gone on in the Americas for more than four and a half centuries since Columbus landed in the West Indies does not lead to the fascist, Yankee-dominated world of Wall Street, but to the new free world of socialism.

GLOSSARY

MAPS

GLOSSARY

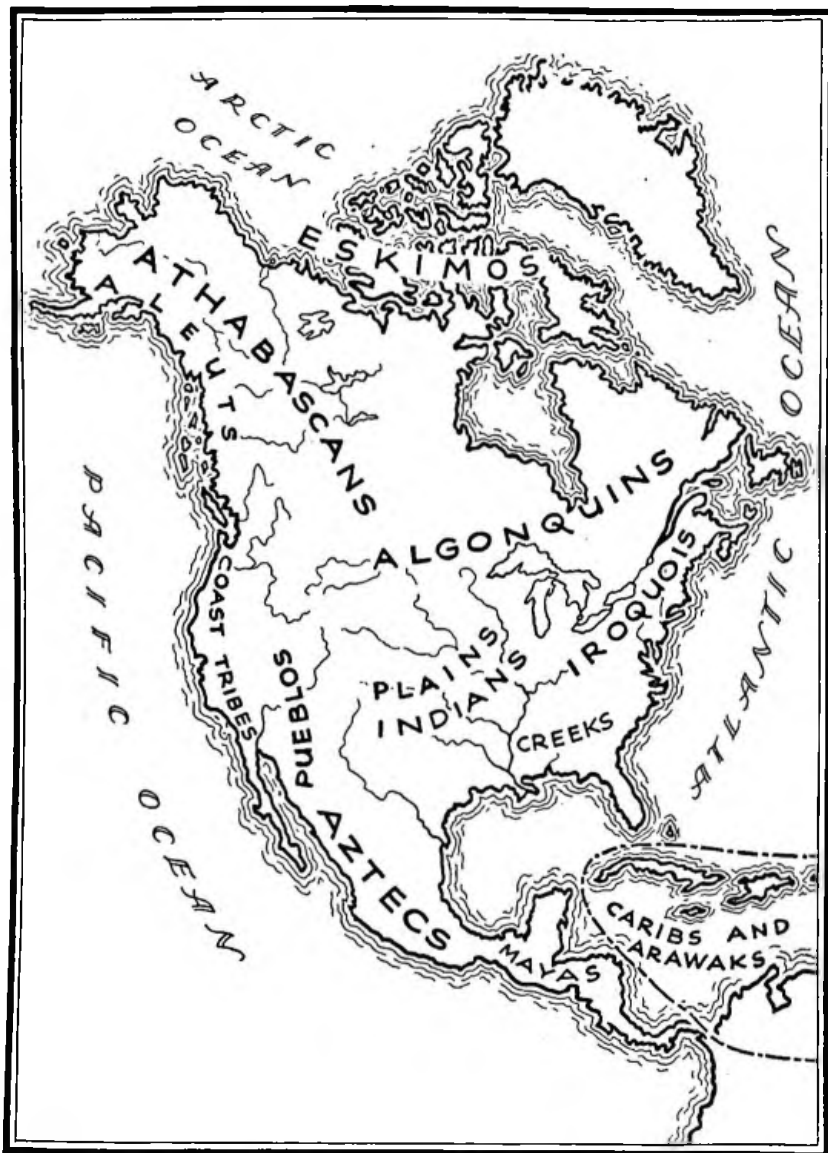
- ALTIPLANO.** High plateau lands, 8,000 to 15,000 feet elevation, in Bolivia and other Andean countries.
- ASIENTO.** Contract with individuals or companies to furnish Negro slaves to the Spanish colonies in America.
- ATLANTIS.** A legendary island in Greek mythology, supposedly in the Atlantic Ocean, but which sank.
- AUTO-DE FE.** Punishment or execution by fire.
- AYLLU.** Pre-conquest Inca clan or community in Peru.
- BANDERANTES.** Slave-hunting bands, out of Sao Paulo, Brazil.
- CABILDO.** Spanish colonial town council.
- CABILDO ABIERTO.** Open council meeting in a Spanish colonial town.
- CACIQUE.** Chief of an Indian clan or tribe in Mexico and the West Indies.
- CAFUSO.** A person, part Negro, part Indian in Brazil.
- CALPULLI.** Aztec Indian community in Mexico.
- CAMARA.** Town council in colonial Brazil.
- CAPITANIA.** Head of Portuguese administration which gave land grants to nobility in colonial Brazil.
- CAUDILLO.** Political or army leader; a political boss, dictator.
- CAUDILLAJE (OR CAUDILLOISM).** Political leadership or tyranny in Spanish-speaking America.
- CIUDAD.** The word for city in Spanish.
- COMUNEROS.** Early fighters for independence in Latin America.
- CONQUISTADOR.** Spanish or Portuguese conqueror of Latin American regions.
- CORTES.** National parliament in Spain.
- CORVEE.** Unpaid labor, especially on highways; a feudal practice.
- CREOLE (OR CRIOLLO).** American-born white person in Spanish, French, and Portuguese areas.
- CRISTEROS.** Catholic rebel in Mexico.
- CURA.** Spanish parish priest.
- DIEZMO.** Tithc.
- DONATARIO.** Noble colonial landowner in early Brazil.
- EJIDO.** Indian co-operative agricultural community in Mexico.
- ENCOMENDERO.** Possessor of an encomienda (*see*).
- ENCOMIENDA.** Large grant of land, with Indian serfs to work it, in Spanish colonial America.

- ESTANCIA.** Large semi-feudal estate in Argentina and other Spanish-speaking lands.
- FALANGISTA.** Fascist in Mexico, Cuba, and other Latin American countries.
- FAZENDA.** Large plantation in Brazil.
- FRIGORIFICO.** A meat-packing plant in Rio de la Plata region.
- FUERO.** Law of privileges, especially for clergy in Spanish colonies.
- GACHUPIN.** Spanish tyrannical master.
- GAUCHO.** Cowboy of Argentina and Rio de la Plata region.
- GRITO DE DOLORES.** "Cry of Dolores," proclamation by Hidalgo in Mexico, 1810.
- GRITO DO YPIRANGA.** "Cry of Ypiranga," Revolution proclamation in Brazil, 1822.
- HACIENDA.** Large estate in Mexico, and other Latin American countries.
- HACENDADOS.** Big landowners.
- HISPANIDAD.** Reactionary movement in Spanish America, seeking to cultivate the fascist culture of Franco Spain.
- INTEGRALISTA.** Brazilian fascist.
- INTENDENCIA.** Political division in Spanish colonies; the term is of French origin.
- JUNTA.** Conference, committee, or council; Spanish and Portuguese.
- LATIFUNDIA.** Large landed estates in Latin America.
- LATIFUNDIST.** Proprietor of a large landed estate.
- LLANERO.** Cowboy in Venezuela.
- LLANOS.** Flat, grassy plains with few trees.
- MAMELUCO.** Part white, part Indian person in Brazil.
- MAROONS (OR CIMARRONES).** Runaway Negro slaves, especially in the Caribbean countries.
- MESTIZO.** Part Indian, part white person in Spanish Latin America.
- METIS.** Part Indian, part French people in Canada.
- MITA.** Spanish system of forced labor, mainly in colonial Peruvian mining regions.
- MONOCULTURE.** Concentration upon the production of one or two main crops, primarily for export.
- MULATTO.** Part Negro, part white person in all American countries.
- NACISTA.** Chilean fascist.
- OBRAJE.** Workshop.
- PAMPAS.** Great grassy plains of Argentina and the region of the Rio de la Plata.
- PARTIDO.** Political party.
- PATRONAGE.** Spanish king's control over the Catholic Church in colonial times.
- PATROON.** Big landowner in Dutch colonies in areas of present-day New York and New Jersey.
- PAULISTAS.** Residents of Sao Paulo, Brazil.
- PENINSULAR.** Applies to anyone born on the Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal).
- PEON.** Poor agricultural worker in debt bondage; sharecropper; semi-serf; all over Latin America and the southern part of the United States.
- PEONAGE.** State of being a peon.

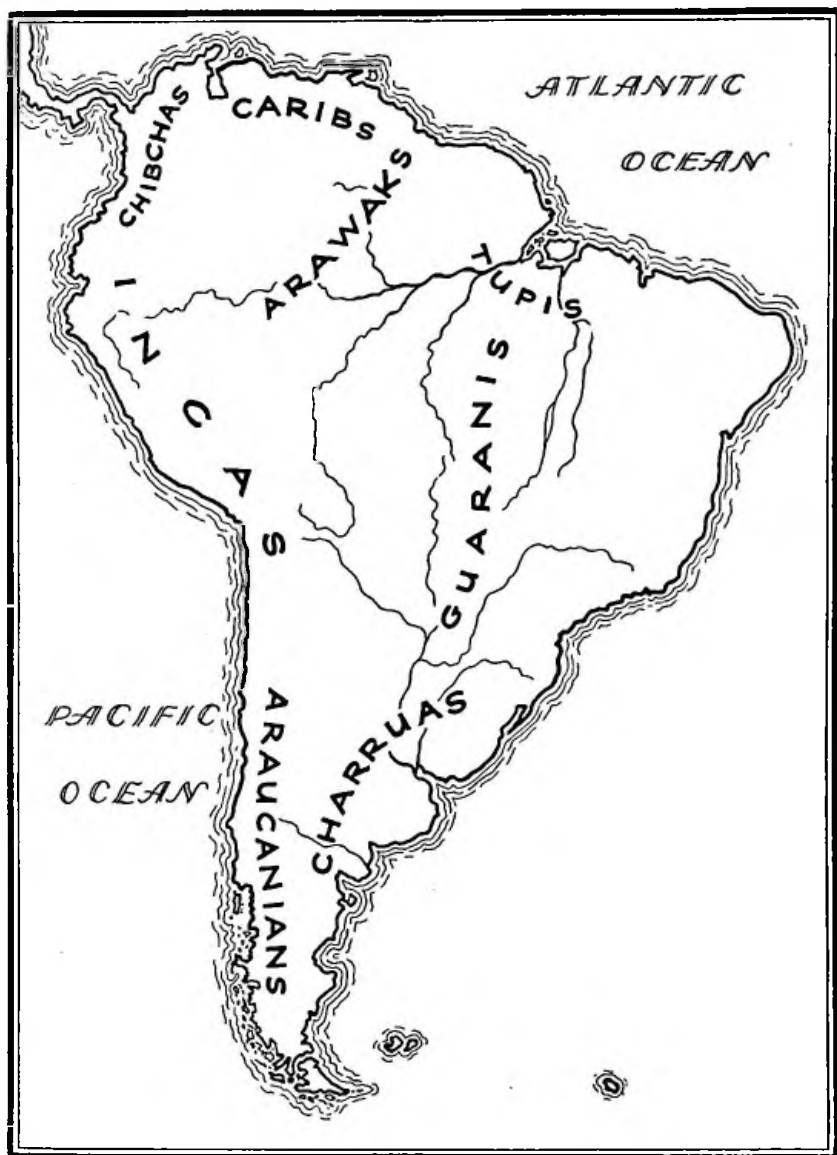
- PESO. Monetary unit in several Latin American countries; its exchange rate varies widely.
- QUECHUA. An Inca Indian, his language.
- QUILOMBO. A camp of runaway Negro slaves in Brazil.
- QUIPUS. Inca Indian device for recording events, keeping accounts, etc., in ancient Peru.
- REPARTIMIENTO. A system of dividing the land and enslaving the Indians in Spanish colonies.
- SACHEM. North American Indian chief.
- SEIGNEUR. French noble colonial land owner.
- SEIGNIORY. Land grant held by noble seigneur.
- SELVA. Forest, jungle, especially in Brazil.
- WAMPUM. Beads made of shells; used as money or ornaments by North American Indians.
- YERBA MATE. A tealike South American beverage made from the leaves of a species of holly.
- ZAMBO. Spanish name for a person who is part Indian and part Negro.



I. THE AMERICAS



2. PRINCIPAL INDIAN CULTURES, 1492 (APPROXIMATE)



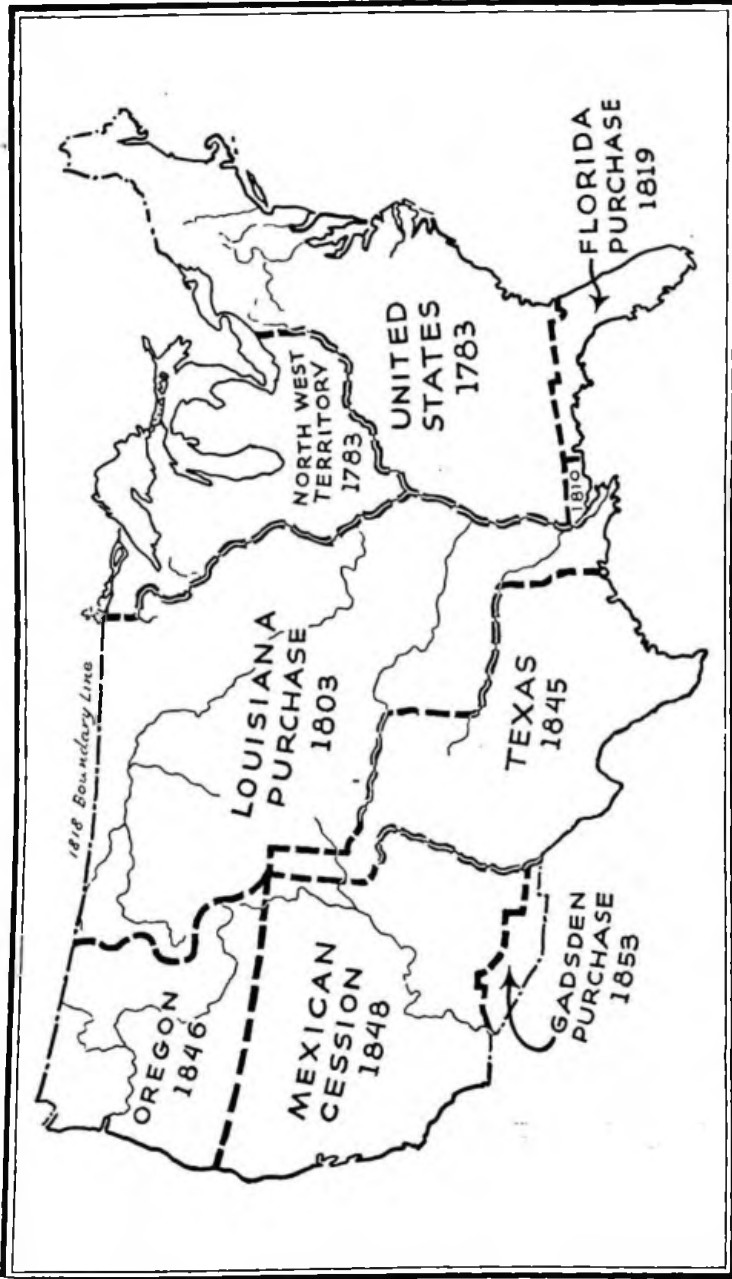
3. PRINCIPAL INDIAN CULTURES, 1492 (CONT.)



4. COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA, 1760



5. SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE COLONIES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD, 1810



6. TERRITORIAL EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES

Further acquisitions: Alaska, 1867; Guam, 1898; Hawaii, 1898; Philippines, 1898; Puerto Rico, 1898; Samoa, 1900; Virgin Islands, 1917

REFERENCE NOTES

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