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# NEW MASSES

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## YOU AND LATIN AMERICA

**A special issue on the eve of the Hemisphere Conference in  
Mexico City**

ARTICLES BY:

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# BETWEEN OURSELVES

ligion in the Soviet Union in **NEW MASSES** of last November 14.

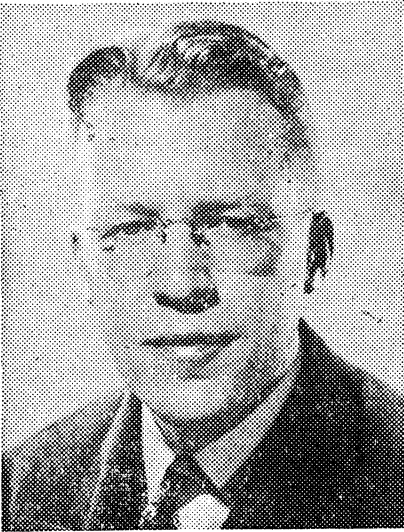
Mr. Browder, who has contributed frequently to these pages, is well known to our readers as the foremost Marxist in the western hemisphere. He is president of the Communist Political Association, and before that was for some fifteen years general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States. He has been active in the labor and progressive movement for more than thirty-five years and is the author of several books and numerous pamphlets. His two latest books, *Victory—and After* and *Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace*, have been widely discussed and have sold several hundred thousand copies.

Mr. Merrill, who has also contributed to NM, is president of the country's largest white collar union, the United Office and Professional Workers of America-CIO, and is a member of the CIO National Executive Board. In 1936 he was elected president of the AFL Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union. The following year he helped form the UOPWA, which he has headed since its inception.

Each of these columnists will have a free hand to write as he pleases, whether or not **NEW MASSES** agrees with his views. The first column, Mr. Merrill's, will appear in next week's issue. A. B. M.

**N**EW MASSES is happy to announce that it will publish regular monthly columns by Rev. William Howard Melish, Earl Browder and Lewis Merrill. We feel that the acquisition of these three men will make NM a more fruitful reading experience than ever.

Mr. Melish has at thirty-five won a name for himself as a leader among enlightened clergymen. Serving first as assistant rector of Christ Church, Cincinnati, he has since 1940 been associate rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity of Brooklyn. He is chairman of the Religious Committee of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; chairman of the International Justice and Goodwill Commission of the Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation; treasurer of the Army and Navy Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Long Island; and a vice-chairman of the state executive committee of the American Labor Party. Mr. Melish is a contributor to *The Churchman*, *The American Sociological Review*, *Digest and Review* and other publications. He wrote the article on the status of re-



Rev. William Howard Melish



Earl Browder



Lewis Merrill

## NEW MASSES

ESTABLISHED 1911

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## OUR JOB IN THIS HEMISPHERE

By **FREDERICK V. FIELD**

**O**N FEBRUARY 21 there will convene in Mexico City a special meeting of all the Foreign Ministers of the inter-American community, with the notable exceptions of those of fascist Argentina and the dictatorship of El Salvador. Principal items on the agenda will concern the transition from war to peace and the political and economic policies which should be carried forward in the western hemisphere for the common good. These subjects cannot be realistically discussed without facing the immediate problem of the fascism already planted in our midst and of the fascist pipeline which still carries Nazi poison to all sections of the hemisphere from Franco Spain. The problem of strengthening the democratic forces of Argentina against their fascist oppressors and the urgent question of breaking all contacts between this hemisphere and Madrid must, therefore, have a prominent place in the Mexico City discussions.

This issue of *NEW MASSES*, then, is designed to give readers the main outlines of western hemisphere relations on the eve of a most important meeting. The subjects of the articles which follow have been chosen with a view to illuminating what *NEW MASSES* editors regard as the most important problems and areas in inter-American affairs.

Among the most complex problems is Washington's Latin American policy. And it would serve a useful purpose to take a backward glance as the basis for understanding where we are and where we must go. Historically the two sections of the western hemisphere got off to a very different start. Both North and South America were colonized from across the Atlantic at about the same time. But there was an essential difference. The conquerors and settlers who established themselves south of the Rio Grande for the most part came from the Iberian Peninsula. They brought with them the feudal customs, the backwardness, the sharp class divisions of Spain and Portugal. The new lands were exploited on the pattern of the old, the Indian was forced into feudal peonage.

North America was settled in large part by emigrants from England, a nation already in the throes of the industrial revolution and historically far in advance of the Iberian Peninsula. Many aspects of feudalism had already been destroyed in England and its hold upon the life of that nation was being finally shattered. The merchant class was rapidly taking the place of the feudal lord, the artisan the place of the serf. In North America, moreover, in contrast to the southern half of the hemisphere, the Indians had failed to establish a high form of civilization. They retreated before the advance of the white man, and where they did not they were mostly exterminated. The Indian furnished no ready source of feudal labor.

That essential difference in the background and method of colonization between North and South America has never been overcome. The historical gap that existed between Spain and Portugal, on the one hand, and England, on the other, in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, has to this day left its mark in the relations between South and North America. The revolutionary movements by which the nations of the two continents achieved their political independence were fundamentally different in their character. Our Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century established a constitutional democracy which rapidly became an industrial power. In contrast, those who settled Central and South America established a form of political independence from Spain and Portugal in the first quarter

of the last century, but they have not yet rid themselves of the incubus of feudalism. They have not yet, therefore, truly achieved national independence. The relationship of all of Latin America to the United States is a semi-colonial one. The Latin countries, moreover, have a similar relationship to the industrial nations of Europe, conspicuously, Great Britain, and, before the war, Germany. They form a sort of large collective colony of the industrialized capitalist nations.

**I** DELIBERATELY make these points in broad, general terms. For it is essential for us to gain an historical perspective on the decisive questions of foreign policy which we now face. If we attempt to state the key problem of United States foreign policy in the western hemisphere in a single sentence it is this: It is to close the historical gap between us and our Latin American neighbors that has existed ever since the original period of colonization, which sharply differentiated our struggles for independence, and which today expresses itself in the relationship of mother country and colonies.

It is the same problem, again broadly speaking, we face in our relations to China, and it is the same problem the whole world faces in the necessity to liquidate the colonial system as such.

There was a long period when there was enough room in the world and enough leeway in world economics for the great capitalist nations deliberately to maintain in a backward condition sections of the world vastly larger than themselves in population and area. That time has now passed. A continuation of the old policies now spells the most serious trouble for the capitalist nations themselves. Only a conscious reversal of those policies can satisfy the new conditions in which we find ourselves.

Let us glance at a few facts about Latin America. Choosing somewhat at random from a large number of startling statements and comparisons made in a recently published volume by the National Planning Association (*Latin*



Edith Miller

*America in the Future World*, by George Soule, David Efron and Norman J. Ness), we find that: In Cuba, one of the principal sugar-producing areas of the world, "an hourly wage will buy only 2.070 kilograms of sugar, in contrast to 9.743 in the United States"; "in Colombia, where coffee is the leading agricultural crop, a wage earner has to work approximately four times as long as an American in the United States to be able to purchase the same amount of coffee"; "in Uruguay and Argentina—two of the leading cattle-breeding countries—the purchasing power of the wage-earning population in terms of milk is about half that of the United States," and "in Bolivia, Ecuador and the Dominican Republic it is approximately only one-tenth."

Two-thirds of the Latin Americans are undernourished "to the point of actual starvation in some regions." One-half suffer from infectious or deficiency diseases; two-thirds "suffer semi-feudal working conditions."

"It is no exaggeration to say that the largest sector of both the urban and the rural laboring population is wanting in the most elementary housing and sanitation necessities." A person born in the United States has a life expectancy of sixty-two years and five months; "if he were to be born and live in Latin America, his expectancy would range from a high of forty-seven years in the more fortunate areas to a low of less than thirty-two in Peru." In Rio de Janeiro if you should open a factory and hire one hundred workers who have just reached working age fifty of them would be dead before they reached the age of twenty-nine. In contrast to an infant death rate in the United States of 47.9 per thousand, that in Latin America ranges from 98.6 per thousand in Argentina to 267 per thousand in Bolivia. Similar indications of the miserable living conditions of the vast majority of the people of Latin America abound in every aspect of life. Why is this so?

I HAVE already suggested the original obstacle placed in the way of Latin American progress by the transplantation of Spanish and Portuguese backwardness to the South American colonies at the time of conquest. The feudal land monopolies then established have since become extended and solidified in the structure of the nations. Land monopoly has become the basis of political power. Up to recent times the role and power of the absentee landlord have been bol-

stered by and shared with the foreign imperialists. As is the case throughout the world where peoples have not yet been able to rid themselves of the incubus of feudalism, the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed the foreign trader and exploiter of raw materials becoming the partner of the most reactionary and backward native elements.

The domestic economies of all these Latin American nations is overwhelmingly dependent upon foreign trade; that foreign trade is dominated by a very few raw materials on the export side and by manufactured consumer goods on the import side. The trade between and among the twenty Latin American nations is startlingly underdeveloped; the trade of each is closely linked to the destiny of the United States or of a European power or both. Thus Latin America as a whole and each nation within it fails to play more than a passive role in world economics. All these countries are subject to the economic ups and downs of the large capitalist nations with whom they trade. They do not stand on their own feet; their destinies are not in their own hands.

In the past the influence of foreign investment has been to hold back the economic development of these countries, to support their most reactionary class, to deprive the inhabitants of their own resources and of the profits made from exploiting them. Under such conditions it is not surprising that the manufacturing industries of these nations are in their infancy, do not serve the capital or consuming needs of their people, who in any case have a very low purchasing power, and do not provide that relative security from abject dependence upon the great industrial nations which would come with a more rounded economy.

It is evident that closing the historic gap between us and our neighbors implies not only aiding the Latin American people to throw off the yoke of feudalism but also to liquidate the colonial ties which now bind them to us and which with feudalism form a dual obstacle to their development. How has United States' foreign policy helped in this task?

Because of lack of space we are compelled to omit from this issue an article on Latin America's industrialization problems by James S. Allen. It will appear next week.—The Editors.

In his book, *The Time For Decision*, Sumner Welles refers to President-elect Hoover's pre-inaugural tour of Latin America. Mr. Hoover failed in his purpose, says Mr. Welles, "because it was scarcely possible for people in the other American republics to believe that the policy of a President of the United States, who had served for eight years in the preceding cabinets, would be different from the policies of his predecessors." Contrast with that the same author's description of President Roosevelt's visit to Buenos Aires at the end of 1936. After telling of "the amazing reception" given the President in the streets, Mr. Welles writes: "Anyone with some experience in the psychology of crowds could tell that this welcome accorded to the President of the United States came from the heart and was in no small measure due to the fact that the Argentine masses, in their almost continuous shout of *Viva la democracia*, were applauding the man whom they regarded as the leading exponent of real democracy of that day. There could not have been a better demonstration of the change in popular sentiment created by the policies of the three previous years."

What had happened to create this remarkable change? In his inaugural address President Roosevelt had dedicated himself and the nation "to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors." Our Latin neighbors had many times before listened to high-sounding sentiments spoken by United States leaders; they knew there was no magic in words. But almost immediately President Roosevelt's words began to be translated into acts which gave our good neighbors concrete proof of the integrity of our intentions.

In the autumn of 1933, Secretary of State Hull signed at the Montevideo Seventh Pan-American Conference the Convention on the Rights and Duties of States, which among other things prohibits the intervention by any state "in the internal or external affairs of another." This was followed by the clearing up of messy political and diplomatic situations with several Central American and Caribbean nations, by the reciprocal trade program, by the establishment of the Export-Import Bank, which pitched in to help Latin nations and industrialists where private American capital was hesitant. Then came the potentially explosive expropriation of oil properties by the Mexican government, an act which under the guidance of



**"The Coal Seller,"** by the Mexican printmaker Jose Guadalupe Posada, the great people's artist of the 1870's. At a time when the great majority of Mexicans could not read, Posada spoke to the people in a language they could understand, and his prints were passed from hand to hand in the marketplaces. Among his fifteen thousand engravings were illustrations of popular ballads, songs, political tracts, passionate defenses of the people and their leaders, and simple scenes of daily lives, like the one above. He is honored today in Mexico as a great artist and great patriot.

President Roosevelt was handled in such a way as to cement rather than divide the people of Mexico and ourselves.

As fascism more and more engulfed the world the fruits of the previous years of Good Neighbor policy appeared in the form of a continental solidarity far stronger and more widespread than anything which had preceded it. In the successive consultative meetings of the American foreign ministers at Panama in 1939, at Havana in 1940, and then at Rio de Janeiro in January 1942, a firm anti-Axis unity was forged upon an anvil of mutual trust, confidence and need. It has been marred only by the treachery of the Argentine fascist government. Aside from that and from crises involving other countries which derived directly from that source of infection, the unified war effort of the entire hemisphere has risen to historic heights.

Not all events were favorable to the establishment of a better relation between the Latin Americans and ourselves. Foremost among the negative factors was, of course, the long period of appeasement and our tragic role in the Spanish war. The American people were, moreover, too often misrepresented in our legations and embassies throughout Latin America and in the special missions which traveled the southern continent with increasing frequency. As an example I can cite the extraordinary behavior of a State De-

partment official, William Roy Vallance, at the Inter-American Bar Association meeting in Mexico City last summer. His opposition to those who wished to censure the Argentine government caused one delegate to that conference to write: "It is well known that both in Washington and in many embassies in Latin America there are persons holding strategic positions who are either consciously or through ignorance retarding the development of the Good Neighbor policy by cooperating with fascist and reactionary groups."

There is also the notorious case of Mr. John Herling, in charge of the labor desk of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, who, despite his widely known and widely publicized efforts to sabotage the Latin American labor movement and the CIO's growing friendship to it, was kept in his post.

Even among those who have honestly endeavored to carry forward the Good Neighbor policy there has been a conspicuous tendency to spread friendship from the top down, ignoring any direct contact with or help to the overwhelming majority of Latin Americans belonging to the middle and lower strata of the population. Too little attention has been paid the genuinely democratic organizations of the people such as the Confederation of Latin American Workers (CTAL) and its constituent labor bodies in most of the Latin nations.

In analyzing the present situation in

the hemisphere, particularly as it relates to United States policy, and in looking to the immediate future, it is fortunate that there is now available a remarkably helpful exchange of opinions between two important leaders in the North and South. In Chapter VIII of his *Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace* Earl Browder pointed out three weaknesses in the Good Neighbor policy which have been favorable to Nazi intrigue. These are: (1) failure of the United States to offer convincing evidence of the permanence of its Good Neighbor policy; (2) failure of the United States to distinguish boldly between its friends and enemies in Latin America; and (3) the continued struggle between Britain and the United States for a preferred position in relation to Latin America's postwar markets, "a rivalry which confuses every issue and every alignment in Latin America."

There has recently been published, so far only in Spanish, an open letter to Mr. Browder commenting upon Chapter VIII of his book. It is written by Blas Roca, secretary of the Popular Socialist (formerly Communist) Party of Cuba, and is published under the title *Estados Unidos, Teheran y la America Latina (The United States, Teheran and Latin America)*. Within these two documents lies the whole framework upon which a constructive, clear-sighted United States policy can be built.

With respect to Mr. Browder's first point, Blas Roca says: "The Good Neighbor policy, which, having been notably successful in eliminating many of the old resentments against imperialist intervention, has not, so far, been able to offer our peoples a guarantee of liberty to develop economically. Until now, and particularly during the course of the war, the practical application of the Good Neighbor policy to the economic problems of Latin America has been at the mercy of reactionary influences within the State Department, and subservient to the interests of certain bad enterprises which have done everything possible to benefit from the situation, subjecting our peoples to the worst forms of exploitation." With respect to Cuba he points specifically to North American pressure against the development of a small Cuban merchant marine, against the development of manufacturing and processing industries, against the growth of Cuban trade with other Latin American nations, against the trade unions, as in the case of Nikaro Nickel, backed by United States diplomatic authorities.

# LABOR BELOW THE RIO GRANDE

By MARION BACHRACH

Regarding our failure to distinguish between friends and enemies, a point about which Blas Roca reports Cubans have been particularly aware, he writes that "she [the US] allows herself to be guided largely by anti-Communist, anti-labor prejudices." The rigid blockade placed by North American authorities upon the travel of Cuban Communists to the United States in contrast to the fact that "well known Falangists are granted every facility for going to and from the Latin American countries and the United States" is a concrete example.

On Mr. Browder's third point, the Anglo-American commercial conflict, Blas Roca points out that in such countries as Argentina, where British influence predominates, "the North Americans have had a better attitude toward the democratic labor movements, whereas in Cuba, where North American influences predominate, the British have shown a more comprehending attitude toward labor." He recommends, as the only solution to this rivalry, that both Great Britain and the United States "realize who are their friends, and, above all, that both powers should approve a joint program of economic collaboration now and in the postwar following lines laid down at Teheran."

The forthright political position which the United States has taken against Argentine fascism, the prevailing trend among businessmen and in the government favoring a program of Latin American industrialization, the important accumulation of political goodwill resulting from twelve years of the Good Neighbor policy—these are positive factors of the utmost importance. They have laid a foundation upon which the Mexico City meeting of the foreign ministers can unquestionably build. These favorable factors, however, must not be permitted to blind either our statesmen or our private citizens to the immense tasks which still lie ahead in the development of hemisphere foreign relations. The weaknesses exposed by the Browder-Blas Roca exchange must be rapidly eliminated. This will require coordinated improvements in all lines of policy, from political to economic, as well as a weeding out of incompetent personnel, and especially of those individuals in the diplomatic service whose record shows obvious disagreement with the direction of American policy. A matter of the greatest urgency is positive, immediate and decisive action to rid the hemisphere of its elaborate contacts with Hitler's agent, Franco.

FOUR million workers, organized in sixteen independent Latin American countries and the US colony of Puerto Rico, are joined together in the Confederation of Latin American Workers (CTAL). The only considerable group outside the CTAL is that of the 2,000,000 industrial workers of Brazil, prisoners of Vargas' state-controlled Labor Front. Founded in Mexico City in September 1938, the CTAL is about as old as our own CIO, for which it has always felt a special sense of kinship. These two young movements, the one national and representing the mass production workers of the world's greatest industrial power, the other international and composed of workers in semi-colonial nations, are now meeting together at the World Labor Congress in London.

Latin American labor has always been internationally minded. It has not only viewed Latin American problems whole, and combined to solve them, but it has looked beyond oceans as well as frontiers and seen the oneness of the world. The CTAL's president, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, is practiced in the ways of international labor diplomacy.

The CIO, participating for the first time in an international labor gathering of such scope, is finding the CTAL a powerful ally in London. The AFL Executive Council, whose blind reaction isolates half of American labor from the London meeting, already knows that the CTAL can prove a formidable foe. Matthew Woll, an AFL vice-president, and Lombardo Toledano first crossed swords at a meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU), when, as the representative of the Confederation of Mexican Workers, Lombardo led a vigorous pre-war fight for the admission of the Soviet trade unions to that body. Now the IFTU's schemes to circumvent the emergence of a new world trade union organization confront the solid opposition of Latin American labor. The existence of the

CIO and the Soviet trade unions has never been "recognized" by the IFTU. But Lombardo, as the accredited Mexican delegate to the IFTU meeting, spoke there for them as well as for all forward-looking labor groups.

The AFL's Robert Watt also had to contend with the Latin American labor leader during the meetings of the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization (ILO), held in London last month. Indeed, Lombardo can almost thank Mr. Watt for his election to that strategic ILO post. At the Philadelphia Conference of the ILO held in April 1944, Lombardo led the united labor delegates from Latin America in an unprecedented political battle to stigmatize the Argentine representative as a fascist. Watt was the Argentine's chief apologist. The ILO Conference characterized Argentina as a fascist state and, to Watt's chagrin, elected Lombardo for the first time to its governing body.

As this is written, ILO history seems to be repeating itself. At the London meeting, Lombardo spoke for the fighting trade unionists of the real Poland represented by the provisional government. Watt defended the trade union representative of the discredited Polish group in London. Lombardo joined with the Yugoslav delegate in demanding immediate admission to the ILO of the Soviet trade unions. And as the Red Army rushed on to Berlin, Watt presumed to say that American labor would shrug off Soviet labor's exclusion from the ILO with a cynical, "So what?"

While the CTAL delegates are attending the labor conference in London, the Foreign Ministers of their nations will be gathered in Mexico City. And there too, as we shall see, the influence of the CTAL will make itself felt. What, then, is this Latin American labor movement, which steps out so boldly on the world stage, and of which we in the United States know so little?

Our ignorance of it stems partly from

our habitual self-centered provincialism—of which even our trade unions are not altogether free—and even more from our general ignorance of those other Americas which exceed in area and almost equal in population our own section of the western hemisphere. When we in the United States think of “organized labor,” we think in terms of mass production and skilled crafts, in terms of our own unions which are the backbone and the creatures of the world’s most highly industrialized society. We think of a great Ford local, with its 80,000 members in a single plant, of the UE’s 600,000 dues-paying members, of the AFL machinists and teamsters. Looking backward, we think of the militant economic struggles—for an eight-hour day, for a living wage—and of the strikes through which auto and steel were organized and the right to union recognition won. And today we think of our unions’ newly awakened political consciousness, the no-strike pledge and labor’s magnificent contribution to winning the war, its part in the Roosevelt victory of November, its emergence as a spokesman for the nation as a whole.

THE differences between our own labor movement and that of Latin America arise primarily from the differences between a highly industrialized society and one in which semi-feudal and semi-colonial productive relationships predominate. Organized labor in Latin America is the often illiterate worker in the sugar cane fields and mills of Cuba and Puerto Rico, the meat packer or construction worker in Argentina, the miner of copper or nitrate in Chile and of tin in Bolivia, where he goes half naked and chews coca to deaden the pangs of his hunger. It is the Indian woman, Dolores Cucuango, who came down from the mountains of Ecuador to the CTAL Congress in Colombia, where in a mixture of Indian dialect and broken Spanish she told of her people’s striving for a better life. Latin American labor is the ragged *mestizo* you see padding barefoot along the sun-lit Paseo de la Reforma in Mexico City, dodging between the streamlined autos speeding past the modern apartment houses, his back bent under a library table and an easy chair he is delivering to some opulent customer.

And Latin American labor is also the teachers, the poets and artists, the employes of the state and national government. Its leaders—be they *mestizos*, Indians or Negroes—are the mayors of

cities, city councilmen, and, yes, members of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate of the Republic. For political activity is nothing new to the trade unions of Latin America. In the past, this has sometimes led to misunderstanding on the part of some of our labor leaders, who with raised eyebrows ask about per capita dues payments, contracts and wage increases, and chide their “backward” brothers for “mixing too much in politics” and “paying too little attention to pork chops.” Now that the labor movement of our own country is perforce learning that participation in political life is the only guarantee of pork chops, it should be easier to dissolve these misconceptions.

The worker in Latin America is even more worried about his next meal of beans and maize than is the worker in the United States about his pork chop dinner. An economic report adopted at the Cali Congress of the CTAL last December says, “A study of comparative real wages in twenty-one trades in Latin America and the United States, based on 1939 figures, disclosed that the purchasing power earned by a US worker for one hour’s work equalled that earned by nine Latin American workers representing respectively Argentina, Uruguay, Cuba, Colombia, Mexico, Costa Rica, Bolivia, Chile and Ecuador for the same working time.” This comparison, the report of the CTAL shows, holds true for domestic as well as for imported products.

This same report makes clear the CTAL’s basic approach to the economic problems of labor. Its foreword says, “All the gains won by Latin American labor from its employers have been inadequate, and often temporary, for the

economic development of Latin America is retarded not only by its feudal past but also by the harmful influences exercised in the modern era by foreign monopolies. For this reason Latin American labor considers one of its principle objectives to be the complete economic emancipation of all Latin America.”

AN UNDERSTANDING of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial world in which it lives is essential to an understanding of Latin American labor. In the United States these trade union brothers of ours are often labelled “Communists” and “Revolutionists” and it is assumed that they are anti-capitalist as well as anti-imperialist. It is true that they refer to themselves as “the working class” or “the proletariat.” But the very class-consciousness of which these terms are an expression long ago led them away from a narrow trade union position and made them speak and act in the interests of whole nations and of a whole continent. For theirs is no simple struggle between workers and bosses. Their real exploiters have usually been far away, in the City of London or Wall Street. And the victims of these super-bosses have included not only workers and peasants but native industrialists, local merchants and the nascent middle class, and all sections of the population except the feudal landlords. That is why the CTAL is able to say that its members “strive not only to achieve their class objectives but to hasten the national advancement of their respective countries.” National advancement means industrialization—without which it is idle to talk about higher wages or a better standard of living.

It is because the CTAL always had its eye on the goal of industrialization that it was able to understand the menace of fascism and grasp the new possibilities unfolded for the achievement of that goal by the war and the new international relationships it is producing. From the day of its foundation in 1938, the CTAL has never ceased to explain the nature of fascism and to lead the nations of its affiliates in the anti-fascist struggle. At its November 1941, congress in Mexico City, a month before the attack on Pearl Harbor, it anticipated the Rio Conference of Foreign Ministers, held a month after Pearl Harbor in January 1942, and outlined the main proposals adopted there for the defense of the hemisphere. Since that time it has consistently and vigorously fought every effort of native and for-



Vicente Lombardo Toledano

eign fifth columnists to confuse the issues of the war and so weaken national and hemisphere unity.

The battle has not been an easy one, and it has been made more difficult by Latin America's physical and psychological remoteness from the main theaters of the war. Thirteen Latin American countries have declared war on the Axis, largely as a result of the CTAL's activities and pressure. The others—with the exception of Argentina—have taken various measures to implement their rupture of trade and diplomatic relations with the common enemy. But, though the CTAL has from the beginning urged active military participation in the anti-Hitler fight, only Brazil has sent an expeditionary force abroad.

The war has demanded grim economic sacrifices from the Latin American people, laying the heaviest burdens of inflation and food shortages on the workers and peasants. But the fact that the enemy is far away and the sons of Latin America are not engaged in actual combat with him has made more difficult the CTAL's task of explaining the Axis' prime responsibility for all these hardships. Its propaganda has had to overcome the demagoguery of the fifth column, which exploits old grievances against British and US imperialism in an effort to lay the blame for the people's suffering on the Allies. In the face of these difficulties the CTAL has done a magnificent job. It adopted and has largely succeeded in keeping a no-strike pledge. It has maintained and increased production in the industries supplying essential war materials to the battlefronts. And in every country where it is permitted to function freely it has succeeded in uniting all patriotic sections of the population around a program of closer cooperation with the United Nations.

**T**HE CTAL has given much thought to the problems of the postwar. In its own words its program is outlined thus: "In collaboration with all forward-looking sections of the Latin American people, the CTAL plans to eliminate the vestiges of feudalism, to prevent any recurrence of imperialist restraint of Latin American progress, to advocate the entry of all progressive foreign capital, to speed up the processes of the Latin American industrial revolution, to raise the cultural and economic progress by the coordination of the interests and lawful rights of Latin America with those of the great industrial countries, and to do all in its power to assure that, with the political and military defeat of



fascism, the resulting peace be permanent, sincerely kept by the great powers who bore the weight of the fight against the Axis, so that national and international ideals of democratic progress may be fulfilled."

This postwar program was adopted in December, when the CTAL held its second Congress in the little town of Cali, Colombia. The Cali Congress, at which two CIO delegates who are also members of the CIO's Latin American Committee were present, answered many current doubts and questions about the CTAL. Is it just a paper organization, without real organizational strength in the countries of its affiliates? Despite all economic obstacles and problems of wartime travel, the workers of fourteen Latin American countries and of Puerto Rico succeeded in sending delegations to Cali. Among them was the underground trade union center of fascist Argentina. Some of the delegations were impressive in number: Ecuador, newly liberated from an oppressive reactionary regime by a popular revolution in which labor played a decisive role, sent three official delegates and twenty-one fraternal delegates. Changes taking place in Central America were reflected by the presence of delegations from Panama and Nicaragua, while the Costa Rican delegates brought the first message to be received from the newly estab-

lished labor movement of El Salvador, born in struggle against a bloody dictatorship. The new democratic government of Guatemala was hailed as an augury that that country, too, will soon have a free labor movement to affiliate with the CTAL. Fraternal delegates came from the resistance movement in Argentina, *Patria Libre*, and from the PIR, the people's party of Bolivia—proof that the democratic political movements look to the CTAL for help and leadership. "Paper" organizations do not raise funds and get priorities to send delegates on such long journeys.

**I**S THE CTAL a one-man show, with Vicente Lombardo Toledano acting the Bergen for a string of Charlie McCarthies? Lombardo's leadership was acclaimed at the Cali Congress, in words that should effectively dispel the hopes of the AFL Executive Council that he can be displaced by any well-financed conspiracies. The Cali Congress also revealed a new richness of secondary leadership and heard new voices speaking with authority. Among them were Pedro Saad, secretary of the CGT of Ecuador, member of the Chamber of Deputies; Bernardo de Jesus Leiva of Paraguay; Modesto Porto of Panama; and the new Chilean members of the CTAL executive committee, Juan Vargas Puebla and Juan Briones. The Congress gave organizational recognition to the maturity of its affiliates by adopting some significant changes in its Constitution. The old system of regional secretaries, exercising a tutelage necessary in the earlier stages of growth, was abandoned. Now the central labor body of each country enjoys full autonomy and accepts full responsibility for its national problems. A permanent secretariat of three was elected to work with Lombardo, establishing headquarters in Mexico City.

Is the CTAL a Communist, or Communist-dominated, organization? Lombardo himself is not a Communist. There are several Communists in the CTAL leadership and there were others among the delegates. There were also many Socialists and members of other popular democratic parties—Latin American labor, as we have seen, traditionally takes an active part in politics. There was no Red-baiting in Cali. The CTAL, while it is an independent labor organization owing allegiance to no political party, has reason to know that anti-Communism is the common disguise of all fifth columnists in Latin America—particularly of those who lead the



fight against friendship for the United States.

Is the CTAL anti-Catholic? The Cali Congress answered that provocative question with a clear resolution, presented by a special commission. It declared itself for freedom of worship, recognized the overwhelmingly Catholic sentiment of the Latin American peoples, and, while demanding that the Catholic clergy refrain from interfering in national politics, called on the Church for cooperation in strengthening national unity.

The realities which must be dealt with when the Foreign Ministers of the American republics meet next week in Mexico City were made clear at the Cali meeting. The postwar economic program, quoted above, fully expresses the aspirations of all progressive classes in the Latin American countries—and is in accord with the national interests of the United States. It will be interesting to see how closely it is paralleled by the resolutions adopted in Mexico City—and what steps are taken there to implement it.

Unhampered by the niceties of diplomatic usage, the CTAL dealt boldly with the hemisphere's worst political headache—the Nazi-fascist dictatorship in Argentina. The work stoppages and demonstrations in protest against Farrell-Peron, ordered at Cali and carried out on January 25 in six Latin American countries, were meant as a warning to the Foreign Ministers that appeasement of the Argentine GOU will not be tolerated. They have considerably strengthened the hands of Secretary of State Stettinius and of the most staunchly anti-fascist Latin American states.

New relationships between labor and industry, labor and government, were reported on by delegates to the Cali Congress and give promise of a developing national unity around democratic reforms in many Latin American countries. The warm messages of greeting sent to Cali by the presidents of Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Costa Rica and Chile symbolized Latin American labor's growing role in the unification of those countries. The presence of a delegate from Paraguay, where the labor movement has long been illegal, and the financial assistance given by the government of Panama to permit that country's delegates to attend, also reflect changes which will make themselves felt in Mexico City. For wherever the strength and influence of the CTAL's affiliates increase, those of the GOU must decline.

# ARGENTINA: HITLER'S OUTPOST

By LEONIDAS LABANCA

THE Argentine government is not only murdering the liberty and independence of its own people, but menaces the peace of the entire hemisphere. On the boldness with which the vanguard of the Argentine people act to put an end once and for all to the terrorist dictatorship of the Group of United Officers (GOU), and on the degree of determination with which the other American governments proceed against that dictatorship depends the stability of South America.

The process of reactionary politics initiated in Argentina by General Uriburu's military *coup d'état* in September 1930, which was destined to impede all economic, political, and social development, led through many stages of turbulence, climaxed by Colonel Peron's seizure of power. In the international field, Buenos Aires has backed the building of a predatory military force and seeks to create zones of influence as bulwarks against the infiltration of the democratic way of life. It now remains for the inter-American community to decide on a plan of unanimous action against Buenos Aires to carry out Secretary of State Stettinius' declaration: "We do not want fascism in this hemisphere."

Today, Buenos Aires is a refuge for all the rats fleeing from the sinking Axis ship. It serves as a meeting place for Franco's Falangist agents, Nazi and Japanese spies and saboteurs. It is an oasis for all those who would stay the course of history. The GOU's Nazi-military plans were described by Colonel Peron in a speech he made at the University of La Plata. There he called on Argentina to prepare herself for war. And that speech was followed by the appropriation of \$325,000,000 for new armament, in addition to the passage of a military service law covering everyone between the ages of twelve and fifty.

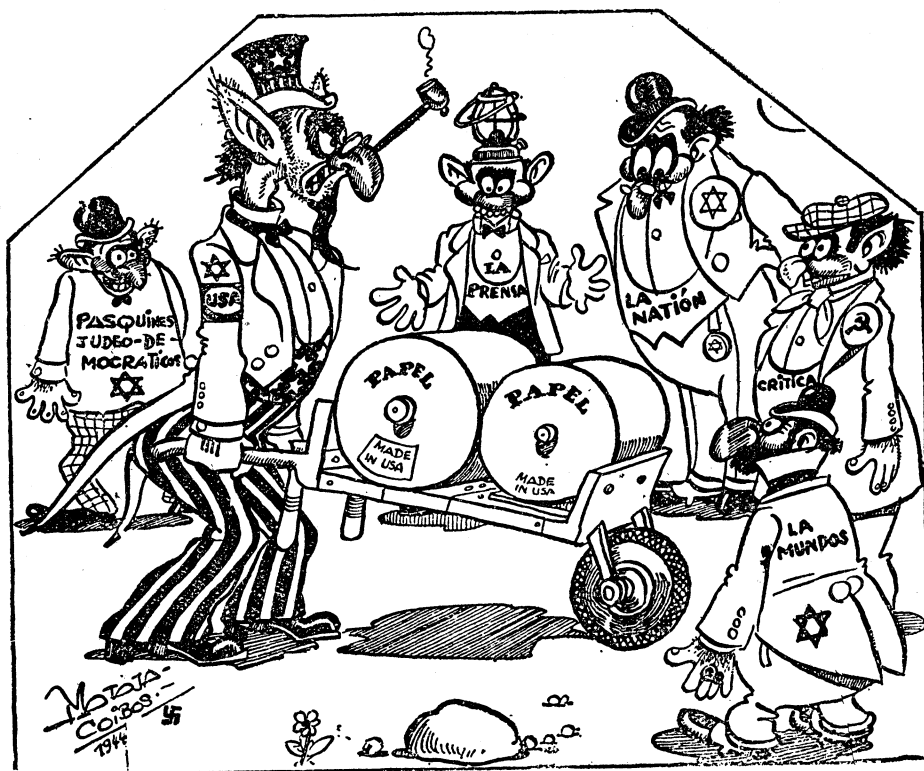
Franco's Falange has sent representatives to propound an "original" ideology to the GOU. They have been followed by commercial agents from Germany,

Italy and other European countries with huge sums of money to organize a new base for the operations of world fascism. Father Meinville, one of the intellectual leaders of the GOU, has said that "if, through sentimentality or cowardice we refuse to fight intrepidly, we shall have to live as slaves of a mad minority of Jews."

British reactionaries, in their struggle against United States influence, have also contributed their bit to the Argentine cesspool. The London *South American Journal*, for example, finds that the "reasons" against the progressive development of Argentine economy in particular, and that of Latin America in general, are to be found in the fact that industrialization signifies "the enslavement of the workers," and that Argentina would do better to preserve her status as an agricultural, cattle country, with her necessities furnished by the insuperable British industry whose products "will always be superior" to those of the deficient North American.



Uncle Sam (standing on an area labelled "Air Bases" and marked "Natives Prohibited" and pointing two guns labelled "Lend-lease") says: "Are you going to recognize as a comrade that South American [Argentina] who disinterestedly feeds us?" The chorus of replies is "No-o-o-o-o-!"—From the anti-Communist, anti-Semitic Buenos Aires paper, "Clarínada."



Uncle Sam is hauling paper for the democratic (hence anti-government) "La Prensa," "La Nation," "Critica," "La Mundos" and "Jewish Democratic Lpoons": "Here is paper for you to continue defending the four freedoms guaranteed by the Atlantic Charter: freedom to die, freedom to vote, freedom to think and freedom to criticize—and the first one to criticize me won't get any paper!" The cartoonist signs himself "Matajacoibos"—Jew-Killer. Also from "Clarinada" of Buenos Aires.

The effects on Argentina of this conglomeration of reactionary foreign influences are to be seen in the imprisonment and torture of thousands of Argentina's best patriots; in the exploitation of her workers; in the suppression of her democratic political parties and trade unions; in the total elimination of the most elementary rights, including freedom of worship; in the skyrocketing cost of living which makes it necessary for a worker to labor for three hours to obtain about two pounds of onions.

In the other countries of Latin America, the effects of Argentine fascism can be seen in the disturbances caused by GOU agents and in the pressure of Buenos Aires on Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay and Chile. Every fascist group in every country of the Americas finds in the Argentine pattern the perfect solution for solving local problems and for fighting the Yankees.

**T**HE policy of appeasing Argentina finds its spokesmen headed by Sumner Welles. They started by saying that "the pride of the Argentines must not be hurt" and they end by advising the recognition of the regime that has done more to humiliate Argentina than any other regime in her history. But the fallacy of the arguments in favor of ap-

peasement can be seen in the reaction of the Argentine people. All democratic political parties, either officially or through their representatives, have not only repudiated the GOU but have united to fight and destroy it. The Democratic National Party, the Civic Radical Union, the Progressive Democratic Party, the Socialist and Communist Parties (and these are all the parties of any national significance) are represented in the resistance movement known as *Patria Libre*. In Buenos Aires, with its 2,500,000 inhabitants, in the cities of Rosario, Cordoba, Tucuman, Santa Fe and Mendoza, there are local groups of *Patria Libre* working together against the dictatorship. In the whole country there are about 120 illegal newspapers, some of them published daily. The resistance movement has already formed a people's militia, whose job it is to defend the organizers and speakers at public meetings constantly held on the streets against the most brutal police terror.

*Patria Libre* represents more than a fusion of parties. It includes democrats from the Argentine army, the youth movement united in the great Union of Argentine Youth and the trade unions united under the United Workers Command. *Patria Libre* has a program that is becoming more and more the program

of all the Argentine people. The fascist regime has no support among the people and it has lost a great deal of its influence in the army. Its central support comes from a small group of landowners, speculators and usurers, Axis-controlled foreign firms, and a few companies managed by Munich-minded individuals from Allied countries. "The political awareness of Argentine labor," writes Victorio Codovilla, the distinguished Argentine anti-fascist, "together with the present international situation, have created conditions which assure the triumph of the people's uprising."

Just as the Argentine people understand the danger engulfing them, so do large sections of the peoples of the other nations of America. But there are still some governments which do not understand completely that what is now happening in Argentina might well occur in their countries, if the Argentine government is allowed to continue unchecked.

Dr. Julio Gonzales Iramain, one of the four leaders of the *Patria Libre*, which was formed in Montevideo, Uruguay, said recently that the Argentine people are not asking for material assistance from the rest of the Americas, but moral support. He argues that for self-defense other nations should carry out a policy of strictly isolating Buenos Aires.

The Argentine government has not been invited to attend the Mexico City conference of Foreign Ministers. This diplomatic rebuff has caused the end of the political career of General Orlando Peluffo, Argentina's Foreign Minister. Now Colonel Peron, who is said to have insisted on Peluffo's "resignation," will go to all lengths to prove the legality of the Argentine government to the rest of the world and thereby win the favor of the Mexico City meeting. His plan is to pretend a return to constitutional rule, to convene elections with himself as presidential candidate—one more farce in the many already played by the GOU. Men like Peron do not merit any democrat's confidence. The Argentine situation will not be changed by reshuffling generals and colonels, but only by a clean sweeping away of the entire present government, and the re-establishment of constitutional government in the hands of those democratic people who know how to administer it for the common good. The solution ultimately is in the hands of the Argentine people, and their chosen leaders. But it is the duty of the other governments to assist them in every way.

# VARGAS' DANGEROUS GAME

By FIQUEIRA CAMPOS

NO SINGLE Latin American country has contributed more to the defeat of the Axis than has Brazil. This fact, added to Brazil's traditional political and economic influence on the nations south of the Rio Grande, assures that country an important position in the world security organization projected at Dumbarton Oaks. But recent developments in Brazil clearly indicate that reactionary forces, still in control of the country, are attempting to thwart the realization of these bright prospects and to reverse, in peacetime, the course followed by Brazil in the war. The serious political crisis now sharpening is accompanied by all sorts of episodes typical of countries oppressed by dictatorial regimes.

Getulio Vargas, Brazil's president, and a group of anti-democratic militarists imposed the corporate-fascist state on the country on Nov. 10, 1937. The first phase of the people's struggle against this regime ended in a people's victory—the declaration of war against the Axis. The second phase of the struggle has just begun. Now its goal is to prevent the betrayal by Vargas of the democratic peace so ardently desired by the people.

Brazilians are fully justified in suspecting Vargas' easy and oft-repeated promises. One by one all the hopes of an "evolution" from dictatorship to democracy have crumbled in the past several years. Having gained power in 1930 through a revolution of undeniably liberal aims, Vargas fathered an anti-liberal *coup d'etat* as early as 1937. In 1941, fearing the consequences of concession to the people's demand for cooperation with the Allied nations, Vargas actually attempted to prepare the country to fight on the side of the Axis. And, although popular pressure prevented that betrayal and even forced the sending of an expeditionary force to Europe, Vargas in 1944 turned to new anti-democratic measures which reached their climax a few months ago, when the *Sociedade dos Amigos da America* (Society of Friends of America) was forcibly closed by the police.

After pretending to bow to demands for the formation of a government of national unity, Vargas eliminated from the government its few remaining democratic elements, replacing them with

notorious reactionaries. And finally, in a clever move designed to stifle the growing popular campaign for early, free and democratic elections, Vargas promised the people that the election would come. But when? After the war, and with the avowed purpose of "completing the existing institutions," i.e., the *Estado Novo* and its corporative-fascist constitution—that same constitution of which the constitutional lawyer Karl Loewenstein wrote in his book, *Brazil Under Vargas*: "If Brazil should one day be converted into a genuine fascist state it would not be necessary to alter or add anything to its present constitution."

But these fraudulent election promises so loudly voiced by Vargas are being courageously exposed by all strata of the population. Unable to express their concern openly—thanks to a censorship which Mr. Rolland Hall Sharp, the *Christian Science Monitor's* able correspondent, calls one of the most perfect in the world—the Brazilian people center their hopes and efforts in the National Democratic Union, through which the underground struggle for the recovery of their fundamental rights is carried on.

LOOKING at the period between the two Pan-American conferences called since the attack on Pearl Harbor, it is easy to see how the reactionary Brazilian forces have developed their conspiracy to win the battle of the peace. In January 1942, the Rio Conference of Foreign Ministers gave Brazil the opportunity to play one of the decisive roles of this war. Brazil's fifth column at that time maneuvered to prevent anything beyond a platonic declaration of Brazil's "moral solidarity" with the United States. But the people, mobilizing in the streets, the schools and the factories, demanded and won the practical and effective call for breaking relations with the Axis. And it was under the pressure of this popular enthusiasm that Oswaldo Aranha, Brazil's Foreign Minister, united the Americas against the "neutrality" policy of Ruiz Guinazu, then Foreign Minister of Argentina.

But Oswaldo Aranha will be absent when the Foreign Ministers meet again in Mexico City next week. In his place will be one of the most notorious pro-

fascists of the *Estado Novo*, Lourival Fontes, nicknamed the Goebbels of Brazil by the never overly-anti-fascist magazine, *Time*. Vargas gave Fontes, his former minister of propaganda and censorship, one of the most strategic diplomatic posts in Latin America when he made him Ambassador to Mexico. To pave the way for this appointment, the militarist group, led by Brazil's strong man, Gen. Gaspar Dutra, precipitated the resignation of Aranha and sabotaged his meeting with Roosevelt and Hull in August 1944. It was at this meeting that Aranha was scheduled to discuss the form of Brazil's participation in the new world security organization agreed on at Dumbarton Oaks.

These facts heighten the drama of the letter written by Aranha to a friend and recently made public. Recalling Vargas' once close friendship with the Axis, Aranha wrote: "If Germany were winning the war I would already have been shot, but from the front; as Germany is being defeated, I was stabbed, but from behind." The gravity of this charge invites comparison to the denunciation made by Lombardo Tolodano at the CTAL Congress held in Cali last December, when he said, "An alliance between the militarists of Brazil and Argentina is not improbable. Should it be formed it would bring a tremendous change in the politics of all Latin America and consequently in the political situation of the whole continent."

Thus the drama of Brazil in the first World War repeats itself. Then the feudal landlords who controlled the wealth and political power of the country mobilized all their resources. To prevent Brazil's freeing herself from a social regime modeled on those of the eighteenth century, they looked for support to foreign imperialisms, as Vargas does today.

In 1914 a typically colonial political and economic system still predominated in Brazil. Monoculture concentrated the national wealth—coffee—in the hands of a small group of latifundists. The oligarchies which controlled the twenty-one regional political parties were, in turn, dominated by the political parties of Sao Paulo and Minas Gerais, the two richest and most populous states. The comforts of civilization were known

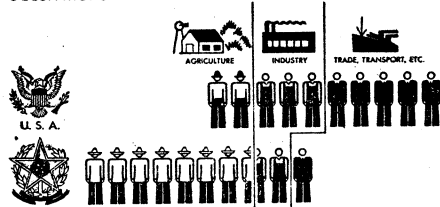


Chart from brochure on Brazil published by the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs shows the great proportion of agricultural workers in Brazil in comparison to the US. Each symbol represents ten percent of the total working population.

only to a small part of the urban, sea-board population, while the people of the interior suffered a primitive and miserable existence.

At the same time, the country had fallen under the complete domination of foreign capital. "The history of South American public debt is a chapter of British economic history. Two English banking dynasties dominated and still dominate the Atlantic coasts of South America." Thus wrote the chameleon-like J. F. Normano, in his classic *Brazil—A Study of Economic Types*, published in 1934 before Normano struck up his present great friendship with Vargas. One of these dynasties was Baring Brothers, which kept Argentina in its sphere; the other was the Rothschild Brothers, which took the lion's share—Brazil—with a seacoast stretching along more than two-thirds of the South Atlantic.

WORLD WAR I, suddenly depriving Brazil of its sources for manufactured goods, and of its markets for the products of field and mine, rocked the economy of a nation already sunk in colonial misery.

To survive, the country had to accelerate the process of industrialization, begun after the establishment of the Republic in 1889 with the adoption of a series of protective tariffs. On the other hand, the temporary disappearance of foreign competitors (the US at that time supplied barely 13.9 percent of Brazil's imports) revealed the existence of a domestic market whose monopoly was assured by the tariff wall.

Thus, from 1914 to 1919, 5,960 new factories were constructed in Brazil, raising the industrial production from \$75,000,000 to \$210,000,000. From that time on, the industrial expansion of the country continued. Twenty years later Brazil was supplying seventy percent of its own needs with the products of its own industry, which, with an output of a billion dollars,

had become the most advanced in Latin America. And when the second world war engulfed the country, Brazil's textile industry, which supplied South Africa, Argentina and other neighbors, accounted (1943) for fourteen percent of Brazil's total exports and the respectable sum of more than \$200,000,000.

The effects of the first world war on the country's agriculture were no less impressive. The collapse of the foreign coffee market stimulated the diversification of agriculture and the development of cattle raising. And the war also opened a new chapter in the history of foreign investments in Brazil. In 1921 "New York began to substitute for London in the economic life of Brazil and Wall Street took the place of Lombard Street," as Normano puts it. Between 1921 and 1927 the American firms Blair & Co. and Dillon, Read & Co. lent Brazil the substantial sum of \$176,500,000, destined for the electrification of railways and to pay the flotation debts. So rapid was the penetration of American capital in Brazil that in 1931 Sir Otto Niemeyer (sent to Brazil by the Rothschilds to advise on the financial stability of the country) reported that the US in a few years of operations had become the owner of thirty-five percent of the total Brazilian national debt, accumulated in the century of British loans.

There was an equally noticeable dislocation in direct investments. While US investments in Brazil before 1916 totaled scarcely \$50,000,000, they had increased to \$476,000,000 by 1936—in contrast to the \$1,414,000,000 invested by the British in more than 120 years. World War II accelerated this displacement of British by US capital. Since 1939 the Export-Import Bank has granted Brazil loans for the establishment of new industries.

Nor did the political life of the country escape being profoundly affected by the new industrial mentality which began to appear during World War I. Thus, in 1920, Brazil began a revolutionary cycle which culminated in the liberal revolution of 1930, which put a new industrial class in the dominant positions of political power previously held by the great landowners.

The emergence of a working class, the increased power of the urban merchants, and an influx of immigrants contributed still further to the decline of the political power of the landlords. In 1919 the movement "*reaco Republicana*"—roughly translatable as the "Republican Movement"—united the pro-

gressive industrial bourgeoisies, the petty bourgeoisie and the merchants, and important sections of the army, all of whom aspired to a fuller share in political affairs.

ALMOST simultaneously, a Brazilian Communist Party appeared in Rio, attracting many workers and intellectuals who were turning away from the anarchist traditions in which they had been nurtured. The starvation wages paid to workers led to the first strikes of the new-born trade unions, and the spirit of solidarity and organization spread among the workers.

The old colonial practice of falsifying votes and corrupting an electorate dependent on the dominant political party were the object of popular attack in those revolutions of 1922 and 1924 whose standard bearer was the Brazilian people's "Knight of Hope," Luis Carlos Prestes. And when the world economic crash came in 1929, rocking a national economy made especially vulnerable by coffee's seventy percent dominance of all export trade, it precipitated the greatest popular revolution in Brazil's history.

The victory of this movement gave the national industry new opportunities for progress and permitted the development of a new culture—a culture in which a true people's literature emerged and the study of sociology, philosophy and the applied sciences replaced the medieval education which had predominated since colonial times. Improvements were made in the new constitution, based on the democratic republican models of 1889 and brought up to date with modern labor laws and provisions, for the intensified development of the nation's resources.

Though all the resources of the colo-



Resources of Brazil.

nial reaction were marshaled to block these advances toward a regime more consistent with the economic conditions by the first world war, the Brazilian people successfully completed this cycle in the first authentically liberal phase of their history.

The appearance of Nazism in Germany and expansionist ambition in Japan, bringing the Axis powers into competition with British and US interests in the developing Brazilian markets, profoundly affected Brazil's transition to new democratic forms. At that time the majority of the big US industrialists underestimated the economic offensive launched by Hitler. Under their noses, Dr. Schacht's blocked mark plan guaranteed Germany first place among the suppliers of Brazilian needs, controlling twenty-five percent of its imports. By 1937 the US was relegated to second place.

The other Axis partner, Japan, which in 1912 had practically no trade with Brazil, had by 1938 taken fifth place among the countries importing Brazilian products—chiefly cotton. And after 1912 about 250,000 Japanese immigrants settled in the industrial center of Sao Paulo, and in the Amazon Valley which is the strategic zone nearest to the Panama Canal.

While laying their solid base in industry and agriculture, Germany and Japan used corruption and propaganda to infiltrate into the Brazilian army, where Gen. Goes Monteiro made them welcome. Vargas' right-hand man in the 1930 revolution, Goes Monteiro, later became the head of the extreme militarist group which was influenced by the myth of Prussian invincibility and Japanese efficiency.

Brazil's Green Shirts, the Integralist Party, was the main instrument for carrying forward the Axis' expansionist plans. The first fascist organization to appear in the country, it was armed and directed from Berlin and financed by the German Transatlantic Bank and by the biggest Germans firms in Brazil. Under the pretext of defending the nation from the "Communist Peril," the Integralistas attracted a substantial section of the clergy, some members of the rural aristocracy, and various big industrialists who had profited through the trade with Germany. Raising the provocative cry, "He who is not an Integralist is a Communist," the Nazi agents in Brazil prepared the way for the first dictatorship which the Brazilian people had known since their country became an independent nation.



**Luis Carlos Prestes, known all over Latin America as the "Knight of Hope" for his untiring anti-fascist activities, is a symbol of the unresolved contradictions in Brazil's role as one of the United Nations. Prestes has been in prison for his political activities since March 5, 1936. In spite of his unwavering anti-fascist record, and the fact that there are Brazilian troops fighting Hitler on the Italian front alongside British and Americans, and in spite of the many demonstrations in his behalf throughout Latin America, Prestes is not yet freed.**

But World War II did not follow the course which the frustrated founders of the corporate-fascist regime in Brazil counted on. Vargas' *Estado Novo* was torn by the contradictions to which semi-colonial countries are subject. Political prisoner of Europe, it was tied economically to the United States—which, besides being the largest customer of agricultural and mineral products of the country had again become the almost sole source of equipment, fuel and basic raw materials.

With the outbreak of the war, the democratic forces of the country quickly took advantage of this opportunity, throwing themselves into the fight against the economic and political in-

fluence of Germany and Japan. The new and vigorous Pan-American policy initiated by President Roosevelt, which was winning many friends in Brazil, aided and stimulated them. An example of this policy, symbolizing the reversal of the old imperialist policy of discouraging industrialization of Latin America—was the loan of \$50,000,000 for the building of Brazil's first modern steel mill. This permitted Brazil to free itself from the monopoly of the British-owned Itabira Iron Ore Co. When the attack on Pearl Harbor carried the war to American soil, the democratic forces were able to mobilize the whole Brazilian people and force Vargas to declare war on those who had inspired his own regime.

That historic moment gave Vargas his chance to show that he possessed the qualities of a real statesman and not merely the vulgar shrewdness of a little South American dictator. But Vargas was not a man of the people and could not follow the example of Batista in Cuba. In spite of Sumner Welles' absolutism in *Time for Decision*, Vargas is deep in the corruption which has enriched his numerous relatives. His personal ambitions, swollen by ten years of absolute power, and his association with the adventurers and speculators who flourish under a totalitarian regime, led him to betray the people and merge his destiny with that of reaction.

Today, two years after Brazil's entry into the war, the conspiracy of the *Estado Novo* reactionaries against the democratic peace desired by the people appears in clear outlines. Refusing amnesty to the many political prisoners, among whom are some of the most outstanding anti-fascists of Brazil, the reactionaries block the realization of national unity to strengthen the war effort. Prohibiting all freedom of press, speech and assembly, they prevent the psychological preparation of the people for the sacrifices demanded by the war. Denying the nation its fundamental rights and liberties, they weaken the morale of Brazil's Expeditionary Force. And finally, by refusing to take effective measures against the ever-rising cost of living or to impose taxes on excess war profits, they carry Brazil to the brink of the worst economic catastrophe in her history.

The defeatist atmosphere being fostered by Vargas at home goes hand in hand with his regime's collaboration with all the international intrigues to disrupt the anti-Hitler coalition led by the three great Allied powers. Hoping that Brazil

can one day repeat the miserable provocative role played by Portugal in the old League of Nations, Vargas persists in his violently anti-Soviet policy. When the Rural Society of Brazil, in its Agricultural Congress of 1943, openly demanded the reestablishment of relations with the Soviet Union, Vargas prohibited the publication of their resolution. And the *Brazil-Portugal*, pro-fascist paper of Vargas' brother, Viriato, launched a bitter anti-Russian campaign.

IT is true that Anglo-American competition for the postwar Brazilian market provides Vargas with the opportunity of playing the two allies against each other. But a true statesman and patriot would undersand that it is only through the dissolution of this rivalry that the real interests of Brazil, as well as those of Britain and the US, can be served.

The disguised, but definite, support which Vargas is giving to the fascist

GOU of Argentina puts the finishing touch on his anti-democratic conspiracy. Fearful of the consequences to his own regime flowing from the upsurge of democratic sentiment released by the war, Vargas has an obvious interest in the survival of Peron and the prevention of a contagious popular revolution in Argentina—just as Peron fears a democratic change in Brazil. For this reason alone the Brazilian press is prohibited from criticizing the GOU colonels and their Nazi-fascist government.

A fascist Argentine-Brazil bloc would be an obstacle difficult to remove from the path of true democracy in Latin America. And sooner or later US policy must find effective measures to prevent its formation. More open and unequivocal support for the democratic forces in Brazil is required, for they are valiantly combatting their domestic and international enemies, who happen also to be enemies of the United States. They take hope and courage from American vic-

tories on the war fronts, from the reelection of President Roosevelt, and from every evidence that the United Nations and its leading coalition will establish a lasting peace after victory. It is unfortunate that the Brazilian people should still have to suffer such confusion as that caused among them by the appointment of Adolph Berle as US ambassador to their country. When the entire press of Brazil launched its campaign for the sending of Henry Wallace to replace Jefferson Caffrey, it knew very well that it was asking the impossible. But it had no other way of expressing the devout hope of the Brazilian people that the United States would recognize their democratic aspirations by sending a true democrat as ambassador. The Brazilian people see and applaud the clear and positive main direction of US policy in Latin America. They would like to think that the day of all departures and deviations from that main direction has past.

# WHAT PUERTO RICANS WANT

By WILLIAM BRAUN

MANY of our Latin American neighbors still keep their fingers crossed when they applaud the Roosevelt administration's Good Neighbor policy. What guarantees have we, they ask, that it is no mere temporary expedient to be abandoned in time for new adventures in imperialist expansion? They are not overly impressed by sermons addressed to the British rulers of India. They look nearer home, and ask embarrassing questions about Puerto Rico.

On January 31 Rep. W. Sterling Cole (R., N.Y.) spoke for one hour in the House and gave Latin American fears plenty to feed upon. The ostensible target of Mr. Cole's diatribe was Rexford Guy Tugwell, appointed governor of Puerto Rico in August 1941, by President Roosevelt. But the proposals made by Cole show what he is really after. Governor Tugwell is to be removed. All labor and social legislation passed by the Puerto Rican legislature in the last four years is to be annulled. The Island's revenue from taxes on rum should be subject to congressional control, and its expenditure for the benefit of the Puerto Rican people prohibited. "But, sir," says Representa-

tative Cole, "this is not enough." Administration of Puerto Rican affairs is to be removed from the Department of Interior. Last year Mr. Cole explained how and why: Puerto Rico is to be placed under military control—as a measure necessary to defend the United States from Russian aggression. Now he seems to be somewhat altering that proposal, and in terms particularly alarming to Latin America. Mr. Cole calls for "a new federal office charged with responsibility for studying and administering the affairs of Puerto Rico and other dependencies, *including those which may come within the sphere of this country at the end of the war.*" (Emphasis mine—W.B.)

When the people of Puerto Rico went to the polls last November 7, they gave a thundering endorsement to the laws Mr. Cole wants to repeal, and by implication to Governor Tugwell who had approved those laws and administered them. The social and labor legislation, which Mr. Cole calls "a plan amazingly simple to have come from so complex a mind" as Rex Tugwell's, was initiated by the Popular Democratic Party under the leadership of Sen. Luis Munoz Marin. It includes meas-

ures for implementing the "500-acre law" (passed by the US Congress in 1900 but never enforced); and laws establishing a Water Resources Authority, Communications and Transportation Authorities, a Development Company, Development Bank, and Planning Board. Puerto Rican voters gave Popular Democratic candidates seventeen out of the nineteen Senate seats, thirty-seven out of the thirty-nine House seats, and the important office of Resident Commissioner in Washington—all by thumping majorities. In the face of these election results, Representative Cole had the gall to tell Congress that "the Island's own people are the ones who are fearful" of the program they have just endorsed.

THIS program is in fact neither "fascist" nor "Communist," as Mr. Cole alternately calls it. It is a sound program for preparing the Island, economically, socially and politically, to take its place in the world as a free and prosperous nation. The United States must foster such a transition, if it is to convince Latin America of the permanency of its Good Neighbor policy. Representative Cole's opposition to Puerto Rico's



COL.  
PERON

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"Rhumba," by Leopoldo Mendez.

progress leads naturally to his proposal for setting up a kind of Colonial Office, ready to handle new colonies "which may come within the sphere of this country at the end of the war."

THE current issue of *The Americas*, fortnightly publication of the Council for Pan American Democracy, correctly declares that "the question of the political status of Puerto Rico presses the 79th Congress for final solution." The unity achieved during the election campaign went beyond the economic program of the Popular Democratic Party. All sections of the population demonstrated their agreement that the colonial status must be ended, although the Populists wisely rejected every effort to divide their ranks by placing in issue the question of statehood vs. independence. Nevertheless, the waning influence of statehood tendencies was registered in the elections, for they were gathered mainly in the defeated coalition parties. Many Popular leaders, as well as the leaders of the *Confederacion General de Trabajadores* (CGT), the trade union federation, participated in the Second Pro-Independence Congress held last December.

That the independence movement has matured and is now facing the complex economic problems involved in planning for a new relation with the United States, was made clear at this Congress. Its resolutions included full support for the war and for the Popular Democratic program. It called on the newly elected Island legislature to consult the Puerto Rican people on political status, permitting them to express their will through a plebiscite to be held not later than December 1945. It called also for a legal and peaceful solution, to be ar-

rived at through mutual agreement with the United States.

The internal situation in Puerto Rico facilitates such a development, which is demanded by the logic of the war and of the new international relations growing out of it. A strong and unified trade union movement in the Island plays an active part in the coalition of democratic forces gathered in and around the Popular Democratic Party. The elections certainly demonstrated the Puerto Rican people's political maturity and ability to govern themselves. And the legislation which Representative Cole wants to annul makes at least a good start toward the economic stability (not to be confused with autarchy) on the basis of which Puerto Rico can hope to provide a decent standard of living for its two million inhabitants.

Puerto Rico is also fortunate in having as Resident Commissioner in Washington Jesus T. Pinero, who replaces the imperialists' defender, Bolivar Pa-

gan. Mr. Pinero is fully committed to the program of the Popular Party and understands the economic and political problems of his country. He has quietly begun to seek allies among the Roosevelt supporters in the House and will not permit the provocations of Representative Cole, or the Bell Committee of which Cole is a member, to go unanswered. Mr. Pinero is working closely with Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP, N.Y.), long Puerto Rico's unofficial "representative" in the House.

Representative Cole's speech should serve as a warning to the nation that reaction and imperialist enemies of the Good Neighbor policy are aware of the strategic use which can be made of the Puerto Rican issue in advancing their anti-national conspiracies.

The American people can respond to this challenge by supporting proposals soon to be made in Congress by Commissioner Pinero and Representative Marcantonio.



Woodcut by Leopoldo Mendez. Prints on this page from the collection of Augustin Velasquez Chavez and the Mexican Gallery of Art.



# NEXT TIME

A Short Story by MARY GARRISON

SHE always thought of him as the One-eyed Nazi from Frankfurt-am-Main. His name was Heinrich and he was young, blond and very Aryan-looking. Handsome, too, in spite of the glass eye, if a machine could be called handsome. The eye didn't detract from his appearance; it fitted in rather well, in fact. It was so like the real eye, cold, blue and glassy, that sometimes she forgot which was which and had to wait for him to look away and watch to see which one moved.

It was Saturday night at Delmonte's that she met him for the first time; back in that distorted nightmare world of Shanghai, 1937, which was the small beginning—like a dropped cigarette butt that became a forest fire.

You went to Delmonte's every Saturday night, getting in just before curfew and staying until dawn when the patrols went off the street and you could go home again. You went because the music was loud and you couldn't hear when the Japanese field piece over beyond Jessfield opened up with its terrifying, throaty cough. You couldn't see the long flashing arms of the searchlights from the ships on the river or the thin lines of tracer bullets streaking red and blue across the night sky.

But you could spend your money on bad liquor or clank it into the slot machines—spend it fast while it would still buy—there probably wouldn't be more where that came from. You tried not to care and, after awhile, perhaps about the third drink, you didn't—until the next day, at any rate.

He was always there at the bar shortly after eleven, very stiff and straight and sort of glassy all over like his eye. Always standing in the same place, in the same position, always a drink in front of him, always cold sober. Later she wondered if he ever got drunk. She supposed not. Like pouring drinks into a machine, it might rust or corrode, creak or stop running entirely, but it couldn't get maudlin or weep or stagger.

Every Saturday night she and Bobby came in and stood at the bar for their first drinks. Then Bobby would leave her, while she ordered their seconds, to go put coins in one of the slot machines. It was something of a ritual. You made little things important those days. They had to be important because the big

things were crumbling all around you.

So, in time, even the One-eyed Nazi from Frankfurt-am-Main became a ritual. She couldn't remember the first time they started talking. He must have spoken to her and she answered pleasantly, safe in the knowledge that you can speak pleasantly to a stranger late at night at a bar with Bobby just a few feet away.

But after awhile it was a regular thing to meet Heinrich and talk to him for five or ten minutes every Saturday night. He intrigued her at first and then he fascinated her. So she came back every Saturday, drawn back to that bar as to the cage of some strange animal in the zoo.

It fascinated her, too, to listen to him. She heard it all afterwards a million times, but at that time it was new to her and she listened. In a way it was funny, like a melodramatic movie, and very remote and unbelievable. But every once in awhile she felt a sort of creeping coldness along her spine. It reminded her of the first time she read *Dracula*: it wasn't true, it couldn't be true, it was just a story; but she left the light on all night and the door open into her mother's room.

He never even asked her name. He was so coldly impersonal he never seemed to notice that she was slim but rounded in a sheath of gold satin. He would greet her with, "Good evening, American," in his expressionless voice and start telling her things. He would make long pauses and even turn away from her as if he had forgotten her existence. Then he would turn back and tell her something else as if he had never stopped. It went on like that until Bobby came back from the slot machines to take her in to dance. Then the One-eyed Nazi would ask, "You will come again next Saturday, American?" and turn away without waiting for an answer. She wouldn't see him again the rest of the night.

The bar at Delmonte's was long and high, of old-fashioned, dark red mahogany, backed by a wall of misted mirrors. The ceiling was high, the walls barn-like, and the whole place not quite clean. It didn't have to be, business was so good. After the third drink you forgot that, too. But before the third drink you felt yourself in a world of hostile

riff-raff. The frustrated, predatory dregs of the earth gathered at Delmonte's and your lack of kinship with mankind alerted you to your almost naked insecurity. Beyond, in the ballroom, the lights were dimmer and the walls were softened with draperies. It could be any New York night club. But outside in the bar you felt that anything could happen and probably was happening—beyond in rooms where customers seldom set foot. It was a fitting place to have known Heinrich.

HE TOLD her everything in that queer toneless voice. The fantastic plans of a people who had never been top dog and felt their turn was due. There was a certain pride he took in enumerating the injustices the world had heaped on his people, much as a rich man would brag about his obscure, poverty-stricken beginnings. The road of the future was very clear to the One-eyed Nazi from Frankfurt-am-Main.

He spoke of his eye which he had lost training in the air force. To him it was not a personal disfigurement. It was a regrettable lack hampering his country much in the same manner, though on a smaller scale, as insufficient oil wells. Now he was in the Consulate. He grew a little vague there, not committing himself, but she gathered he did liaison work with the Japanese. There was no doubt where his interests, if not sympathies, lay. He spoke objectively, without passion, of the fighting going on around them but she felt, too, his sincere contempt for both sides.

And he spoke objectively, without passion, of the last war.

"It was a temporary defeat," he said. "We will not make the same mistakes next time. Next time we will win."

He had not changed his tone when he said it. He had not moved, or made a gesture, or laid any emphasis on the words, but they penetrated with more force than if he had shouted and she shivered as that little cold feeling crept along her spine.

Then for the first time he turned on her as a woman. Her hand was clutching the large, rounded edge of the bar. He put his hand over hers for a moment and pressed it hard. There was a cruel possessiveness in the gesture and he stopped just short of crushing her fingers. Those

## Equal Manhood

February 20 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the great Negro American, Frederick Douglass. On this occasion we are publishing two brief extracts from the new booklet of selections from his writings, edited by Dr. Philip S. Foner and issued by International Publishers. The first extract is from a letter to W. J. Wilson, never previously published. The second is from Douglass' speech, "Should the Negro Enlist in the Union Army?" delivered in Philadelphia, July 6, 1863.

THE lesson now flashed upon the attention of the American people, the lesson which they must learn, or neglect to do so at their own peril, is that "Equal Manhood means Equal Rights," and that further, that the American people must stand each for all and all for each, without respect to color or race. . . . I expect to see the colored people of this country enjoying the same freedom, voting at the same ballot-box, using the same cartridge-box, going to the same schools, attending the same churches, traveling in the same street cars, in the same railroad cars, on the same steamboats, proud of the same country, fighting the same foe, and enjoying the same peace and all its advantages. . . .

\* \* \*

I PROPOSE to look at the subject in a plain and practical commonsense light. There are obviously two views to be taken of such enlistments—a broad view and a narrow view. I am willing to take both, and consider both. The narrow view of this subject is that which respects the matter of dollars and cents. There are those among us who say they are in favor of taking a hand in the tremendous war, but they add they wish to do so on terms of equality with white men. They say if they enter the service, endure all hardships, perils and suffering—if they make bare their breasts, and with strong arms and courageous hearts confront rebel cannons, and wring victory from the jaws of death, they should have the same pay, the same rations, the same bounty, and the same favorable conditions every way afforded to other men.

I shall not oppose this view. There is something deep down in the soul of every man present which assents to the justice of the claim thus made and honors the manhood and self-respect which insists upon it. I say at once, in peace and in war, I am content with nothing for the black man short of equal and exact justice. The only question I have, and the point at which I differ from those who refuse to enlist, is whether the colored man is more likely to obtain justice and equality while refusing to assist in putting down this tremendous rebellion than he would be if he should promptly, generously and earnestly give his hand and heart to the salvation of the country in this its day of calamity and peril. Nothing can be more plain, nothing more certain than that the speediest and best possible way open to us to manhood, equal rights and elevation, is that we enter this service. For my own part, I hold that if the government of the United States offered nothing more, as an inducement to colored men to enlist, than bare subsistence and arms, considering the moral effect of compliance upon ourselves, it would be the wisest and best thing for us to enlist. There is something ennobling in the possession of arms, and we of all other people in the world stand in need of their ennobling influence.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

cold, blue eyes looked into her own and she had that same frightened feeling of not knowing which one was real. His voice was expressionless as ever.

"I will see you in New York," he said. "Good-bye, American."

That was the last time she saw him.

She went to Delmonte's the next Saturday night. She and Bobby went up to the bar and ordered their first drinks. Then Bobby went off to play the slot machines. She looked up and down the bar but Heinrich was not there. The bartender came over with the second

drinks. "Where is he?" she asked.

"Who?" asked the bartender.

"The One-eyed Nazi from Frankfurt-am-Main."

"Oh, him," said the bartender. "He went back to Germany last week on the *Scharnhorst*."

Bobby came up grinning, his hands loaded with coins. "Look," he said, "I hit the jackpot." Delmonte's seemed definitely less sinister. It was just an old barn of a place full of rather frantic people trying to have a good time.

IT WAS seven years later that she saw him again.

A young Lieutenant was showing her around. The barracks were bare and rather barn-like, as any army barracks. It gave her a strange feeling of repetition. Not as if she had ever been here before, but a recurrence of a mood. It was an alien sensation, a lack of kinship with mankind, an insecurity. It was vaguely familiar but she could not place it.

"These men," said the Lieutenant, "are mostly from Rommel's Afrika Korps. They are generally pretty well behaved but the coldest bunch of fish I ever ran into. They wouldn't talk to you even if you were allowed to."

He was a very young Lieutenant with a western drawl. He wore the puzzled look of a friendly man who could not understand mass unfriendliness. He was telling her about their routine and the Geneva regulations governing prisoners of war.

But she did not hear him. Her eyes had met a cold, blue, glassy pair that stared back at her impersonally, and suddenly she was back again at Delmonte's leaning on the big mahogany bar.

The prisoner had lost an arm. Strangely enough it evoked no pity in her. Amid the shock and confusion of her mind she had a fleeting, horrible thought that another one could be welded right onto him and you'd never know the difference. It would belong just as the glass eye had belonged.

She stepped towards the prisoner before the Lieutenant could stop her.

"You are Heinrich from Frankfurt-am-Main."

Those glassy, blue eyes looked right back at her, unrecognizing. He said no word.

Then she saw her mistake. It wasn't Heinrich. But the eyes were the eyes of all the Heinrichs. Looking into them she heard again the voice of the One-eyed Nazi from Frankfurt-am-Main. The

(Continued on page 27)

## Decisions in the Making

*NEW MASSES had already gone to press when the text of the Big Three announcement on the Crimea Conference was released. Full comment will appear in next week's issue.*

THE first communique to come from the Black Sea conference revealed the three transcendent problems which face the Allied leaders. There is Germany to finish off and prevent from ever again destroying the peace; there are the complex matters revolving around the liberated countries; and finally there is the need for building defenses against future aggression. The indivisibility of these tasks and the urgent need for fresh decisions reflect not only the final stages of the war in Europe but the fact that the common interest again overrides any divergence.

Teheran produced an agreement to agree. Without Teheran, without the bonds that were established there between the capitalist and socialist countries, the current messes on the Continent would be uncontrollable furies without the least possibility of being checked. The preponderant and overwhelming truth is that the process of creating freedom and stability is in itself very painful and hard and that we now have the essential pre-conditions for their attainment as a direct product of Teheran.

Also obvious, of course, is that the first Black Sea communique is a sharp and powerful retort to the divisions which Nazi propaganda, and not from Germany alone, sought to create in the grand alliance. Von Rundstedt's forces attempted to implement that propaganda with their push into Belgium. Immediately our own doomsday criers with their special sensitivity to Nazi needs demanded that American troops be withdrawn from Europe. When the German offensive flickered out and was hurled back, some commentators marched up and down their columns with the advice that we now proceed cautiously, husband our resources for a blow—perhaps next spring, perhaps next summer. But the Black Sea declaration now says clearly that there will be no respite. It is an answer which will send more German sheep stampeding down the

roads, hurrying away from what is inescapable. While the Nazi apparatus is being shaken to its last bolt and screw by the Red Army advance, the new coordinated attack from the Westwall and Oder will smash it completely.

During all this, witness the utterances of Thomas E. Dewey, who invoked the spirit of Lincoln last week in order to cut it down to his size. For those who are not cautious, or who have short memories, the New York governor's speech, dealing mostly with the current Allied meeting, will seem quite impressive. But it is of a piece with the new packaging technique which he and the others around him have adopted. The fact of the matter is that hardly ever again will they try a direct assault on international collaboration. It does not pay dividends at the polls. The new fashion among them, whether they be in the American Bankers Association or warm a seat in the Senate, is to talk just enough like the average American to defeat what the average American wants. Mr. Dewey spoke seemingly on behalf of nonpartisanship in the conduct of American foreign policy. He seemingly endorsed collective security. He seemingly supported the decisions being made at the Big Three meeting. And why not? Dewey, as a supporter of the Vandenberg plan, hopes that all decisions agreed on will be discarded, according to that plan, after the war. Happily, there were just enough slips in Dewey's speech to indicate the real direction of his mind. If he is so firmly convinced of the need for nonpartisanship, how does he explain his remark that "the clearest call for constructive action came from the Republican side of the aisle"? And it is in his attack on Mr. Roosevelt's domestic policies that Mr. Dewey reveals his real attitude toward the White House's foreign program. For there Dewey talks about economic "liberalism" in the same way which the arch-imperialist, Dr. Virgil Jordan of the National Industrial Conference Board, discusses it on behalf of the most hidebound monopolists in the country. It is a "liberalism" which would put the world in their back pockets, a world in which freedom

would exist only for them. No one should be confused by moralisms and high sounding sentimentalities. Even the devil can talk like a monk.

## How to Lose the War

SENATOR VANDENBERG's two speeches on foreign policy, the one on January 10 and the more recent one on February 5, have unfortunately tricked a lot of people because they have failed to read the whole of what he actually said. Under a facade of "internationalism" the Senator from Michigan has propounded a line of policy which, if adopted, would wreck the alliance of the United Nations. And that, of course, is precisely what this political colleague of Hoover and Dewey wants to do, but knowing that public opinion will not now tolerate a frontal attack on the war and on the plans for peace, Vandenberg employs an indirect approach designed to divert our attention from his true objective.

The essence of what Vandenberg has to say is that the Allied powers should at this time limit their cooperation to treaties whereby Germany and Japan will be demilitarized, leaving all other subjects, including particularly those many coalition policies which have developed since Teheran, for review after the war. At that time, the Senator makes it quite clear, many, if not most, of these joint actions will have to be repudiated. What is it he fears and wishes to repudiate? Basically it is the coalition itself. This also means the democratic coalitions in most of the liberated countries. It means the armistice agreements that have been signed with Germany's former allies. It means the boundary readjustments in Poland, Finland and elsewhere. It means the security organization whose foundation was laid at the Moscow and Teheran conferences and ninety percent of whose structure was erected at Dumbarton Oaks. All of these historic accomplishments Vandenberg would scrap.

Why? In his last speech the Senator let the cat out. He raises the question of what will happen if "one of our present allies has turned brute beast and proposes to assault civilization." Come, come, Mr. Vandenberg, why don't you call

upon Franco Spain, Argentina and Portugal to join with us in an alliance to protect ourselves against the Soviet Union? Surely the "Reds" have already worked 'out blueprints for the invasion of Michigan!

## **ABA Chaos**

**H**ARD on the heels of Senator Vandenberg's flanking drive against the spirit and the substance of Dumbarton Oaks comes a similar attack launched against Bretton Woods by the American Bankers Association (ABA). Rumbblings of this offensive were already audible at the recent Rye International Business Conference and during the presidential election campaign. The ABA proposes to retain the International Bank of Reconstruction with some modification and to reject the International Monetary Fund which would aid in stabilizing international currencies. In the modern world stabilized currency enables international trade to go on. When currencies begin fluctuating, trade drops with serious effects on the entire world economy.

Bretton Woods' sparkling achievement was an agreement among forty-four nations to help stabilize each other's currencies through the International Monetary Fund. It was a recognition of the fact that the world is one and that fiscal or economic paralysis in one country affects the welfare of all. The Monetary Fund is something like a world blood bank to which all forty-four nations contribute their share in order to assist each other in emergencies. On the basis of this enlightened agreement the International Bank of Reconstruction was created as an important supplementary measure further to stimulate world trade.

Now the ABA rejects the foundation on which the Bretton Woods plan was built. A New York *Times* editorial (February 5) defends the ABA position and reveals the motives behind it. The two chief objections to the Monetary Fund are that each subscribing country is entitled to credit as a matter of right and that there is no control over the policies of the borrower. This is indeed among the essential principles of the Bretton Woods agreement. It states specifically that "the fund shall not reject a requested change necessary to restore equilibrium (of currency) because of domestic, social or political policies of the country applying. . . ." The ABA people, not unlike Senator Vandenberg, want veto power not only over loans

but over the internal social and political systems and policies of the countries applying for loans. Theirs is a political hostility to the upsurge of democratic forces in the world which blinds them to the necessity of building a stable world economy in cooperation with such governments, for example, as Tito's in Yugoslavia.

There is also involved here the dangerous rivalry between British and American finance capital. The ABA leaders represent the forces of unbridled competition for world markets and investment of capital abroad. Conscious of the vast superiority of American resources, they spurn agreements with Britain and the rest of the world except on their own terms. That is the true measure of their so-called belief in international cooperation. Their agreement to retain the International Bank of Reconstruction does not represent a compromise. This bank undertakes to guarantee private loans to countries to which private bankers may hesitate to make loans directly. The rejection of the Monetary Fund would eliminate the protective measures and emergency aid the small countries would require and leave them entirely at the mercy of the private bankers.

## **World Labor Convenes**

**W**HEN the World Trade Union Congress opened in London last week there were present representatives from thirty-eight Allied nations, seven neutral states and ten international labor organizations. Others were expected later. But the AFL was not there. And even in the case of the AFL it would be more accurate to say that only its executive council was absent, for large sections of the AFL rank and file have made it abundantly clear that they considered themselves represented in spirit if not in person.

It is significant that the Congress convened at precisely the time that President Roosevelt, Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill were beginning their second conference. Both groups, in the Black Sea area and in London, were meeting with the same object: to exterminate the last vestiges of fascism and to build a world security organization. At London the keynote was struck by V. P. Kuznetsov, spokesman for 27,000,000 Soviet trade unionists, and one of the three Congress presidents, when he said that the defeat of Germany was only the first step in the

"long struggle to defeat the spirit of fascism throughout the world." And in endorsing that opinion, Reid Robinson, representing the CIO, called for worldwide unity of free trade unions, including all, excluding none."

As most NM readers know by now, we shall have special coverage of this historic Congress by our editor, Joseph North. We hope that his first dispatch will arrive in time for the next issue.

## **Manpower**

**P**ERHAPS it is just as well that the newspapers of our Allies are so pressed for space that they are probably publishing nothing about the current controversy over the enactment of limited national service as embodied in the May-Bailey bill. The peoples of Britain, Russia, France and the liberated countries would no doubt be amazed that at this late stage of the war it was still necessary to debate the desirability of such legislation.

NEW MASSES favored national service legislation when President Roosevelt first proposed it more than a year ago. We favored it again when he urged it in his message to Congress last month. We favored, despite its shortcomings, the May bill limiting national service to males between eighteen and forty-five when it was up before the House. We favor it even more if it is amended as proposed in the Senate Military Affairs Committee to place administration of the program under the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion rather than Selective Service. We believe such a measure is needed not only to speed war output and to enhance the morale of the armed forces, but also to make possible a planned, orderly conversion to peacetime production.

There is no overall labor shortage, but there are areas and plants where production is being hampered by insufficient manpower. Testifying before the Senate Military Affairs Committee last week, J. A. Krug, War Production Board chairman, declared that the "must" plants which are short of labor required 90,000 workers on December 1, but that this had grown to 178,000 by January 12, and that today it is between 250,000 and 300,000. Not a very great number in comparison with our total labor force, yet when occurring in key plants, these shortages are sufficient to slow up the flow of war equipment so urgently needed on our far-flung battlelines. The fact that the shortages are

not general means that the compulsory features of the May-Bailey bill would have to be applied in relatively few instances.

That the National Association of Manufacturers is fighting national service legislation tooth and nail is understandable. This outfit wants to protect the privilege of employers to hoard manpower, to utilize it wastefully, and in general to carry on production in the business-as-usual spirit. The opposition of the AFL Executive Council is also understandable in the light of the tory mentality and shrivelled patriotism of most of its members. But the failure of the CIO to adopt a positive attitude is less expected and more serious. To conceive the problem in terms of voluntary versus compulsory methods is to misconceive its essence. For the fact is that the passage of the May-Bailey bill with strengthening amendments would promote that planning and centralized organization of our war economy which

the CIO has advocated from the first.

## Un-American

KARL MUNDT, Republican representative from South Dakota, and one of the members of the reconstituted Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, would like to have "un-American" defined for him. He has asked some hundred Americans, a considerable number of whom Mr. Dies would not have spoken to and who in turn would not have spoken to Mr. Dies, to furnish him their definitions.

He didn't ask us, but we magnanimously ignore that oversight. To the gentleman from South Dakota we gladly proffer our ideas on the subject in the form of the following examples.

It is un-American to seek to frustrate the will of the American people. That will was clearly expressed in the last election, when the voters endorsed the present administration. To hamper the

administration in its attempt to strengthen itself by the addition to the cabinet of an effective and democratic figure like Henry Wallace is to attempt to block the will of the American people. The conspiracies against Wallace, therefore, in intent as well as in form, are un-American.

It is un-American to act against the national interest. Our national interest is committed to the success of the United Nations in the joint war and in the winning of a stable peace. Sniping at our allies is therefore un-American.

Our foundation as a nation was on the basis of the freedom and equality of all citizens. Therefore all discriminations against groups of American citizens such as the Jim Crowing of Negroes or the attempts to quota Jews and Catholics out of the professions, is un-American.

We could go on with other examples, but these should be sufficient to give Mr. Mundt the idea.



## FRONT LINES

by COLONEL T.

# A CERTAIN MR. BALDWIN

THERE is no telling in what phase the Battle of Berlin will be when this reaches the reader. As I write the Red Army is fighting for the last natural barrier before Berlin—the Oder, between Kuestrin and Fuerstenberg. But there are many artificial barriers between the Oder and the Brandenburger Thor. These will be defended with fierce determination by specially picked German troops.

As I pointed out last week, the Berlin fortified area is the milestone between organized and disorganized warfare on the part of the Germans. Its fall will write *finis* to the war in Europe, according to the books. The rest will be improvisation on the part of the enemy. Drawn-out, perhaps costly to us, but still—improvisation.

The refugees who fled to Berlin are now fleeing westward, accompanied by the denizens of Berlin itself. They know that only a few miles separate them from the Red Army, but that they still have a leeway of more than 300 miles between them and the forward-moving Anglo-American armies in the Aachen

salient. This flotsam of the Soviet offensive will have to get off the roads in order not to obstruct the Allied offensive when it gets under way. And get under way it will, any day now. Well, this is the last phase of the "regular war" on the continent.

Some Germans may console themselves with the idea that German troops more than three years ago were as close to Moscow as Soviet troops are to Berlin today. This is true, but Moscow had a hinterland of several thousand miles and Berlin has only a scant 280 miles of space behind it. Moscow had Leningrad, Kharkov, Rostov, Stalingrad, the Urals and all Siberia, while Berlin has only areas left which eat up raw materials, but do not produce them. Finally, Moscow had a soul which burned with wrath, while Berlin has but a solar plexus throbbing with fear. Moscow fought back during the first phase of the war, while Berlin will have to fight back during the last. Decidedly, the position of Berlin is vastly different in every respect from the position of Moscow three years ago.

The Nazis are at their road's end.

And this, by the way, is the title of a piece by Mr. Hanson W. Baldwin which appeared in the *New York Times* on February 7.

After watching Mr. Baldwin closely for the last several years (since the day he came out with his famous piece on how the Russian was not a natural as a soldier because he did not love and respect his weapons and even chopped wood with his bayonet) we are still at a loss to decide when he is at his worst—when he tries to be nice and poetic, or nasty and "coldly military." For three years Mr. Baldwin had been trying to tell the world that there was no better army than the German army. That the Red Army could not beat it. That the Germans always retreated of their free will because it was their "plan," etc. Mr. Baldwin carried this complex with him (on the map) from the Western Bug to the Dneiper, to the Don and to the Volga. He carried it back across the Donetz, the Desna and the Pripet, right through to the Vistula. The complex still clung to him when the distance between the Red army and the other Al-



Goebbels: "The German people must keep a cool head and victory will be ours."

lied armies and Berlin was about equal—roughly 300 miles.

And then something snapped. The distance remained the same on one side and began to decrease by leaps and bounds on the other. We mean—something snapped in Mr. Baldwin.

Explanations had to be found in a hurry. A ladder had to be found in order to climb off a rotten limb in a rush. Mr. Baldwin first tried the old Goebbels trick about the "orientalism" of the Russians. This was only another version of their "unpredictability," "mysteriousness," "the Dostoyevsky complex," the "dark Slavic soul," and whatnot.

The titanic scale of the battles in the East was being explained not by pointing to the size of the Soviet war effort and total mobilization but by hinting that the Russians were careless Asiatics. The implication was that they really did not worry whether they died or not because Orientals are fatalists, and all that sort

of thing. They really play with death. There is little doubt that after this "oriental piece" our unfortunate "expert" was showered with uncomplimentary literature. Mr. Baldwin, being a good sailor (two years at sea and still there, don't you know) veered to starboard, that is, still deeper onto the shoals of that dear old racial theory.

He wallows on those shoals in his recent piece, "Nazis at Road's End." The war between progress and fascism to Mr. Baldwin is nothing more than the old Teuton-Slav struggle. He sees only the formalistic link between the First, Second and Third Tannenberg, so to say. Such a link exists, of course, but there is more to this war against fascism than a simple struggle "for the land." Mr. Baldwin does not want the Russians to think. They are like an "inexorable fate" (that "orientalism" again, under a somewhat different guise).

In their days of victory the Germans

got only blackened land, "its farms despoiled by the muzhiks" (*sic!*). And as if conscious of his own *goujaterie*, Mr. Baldwin throws in a reference to "cities wasted in the proud retreat." He drags in the idea that the Germans fight on their own soil "not only for the ideology of Hitler, but—as the Russians fought (my emphasis) when the road led to the east—for the land." The object appears to be to put the Russians more or less on the same plane with the Germans who, according to Mr. Baldwin, have thus at their eleventh hour been raised to the moral level of our truly heroic allies.

Mr. Baldwin ends his article by pointing out again that the present "conflict at the Oder" is really nothing but the result of "surging tides of opposing national and racial ambitions" of which one is "strong, resurgent" and the other "weakened, but desperate."

There is not a word in the piece about the fight for the dignity of the common man, of a struggle for leading humanity out of the threat of a return to the Middle Ages to a better way of life. Not a word about the *community* of the struggle of all the United Nations. This is nothing but a Teuton-Slav affray. If so, we might ask Mr. Baldwin, what is America doing in this war? Or is it an implication of the idea that this is not as much our fight as it is that of the "Oriental *Muzhiks*"?

In 1945 Mr. Baldwin does not know the Soviet people any better than he knew their bayonets in 1937. They are not fatalists at all. Their attitude toward death is illustrated very well by the precept which one of their generals taught his men: "Yes, we are playing with death. All soldiers must. But we must play *chess* with death, not *heads-or-tails*." Isn't that the complete negation of fatalism?

**M**ORE than ever, in these days when the heads of the three greatest powers on earth meet to map the future, the fact is brought out that the Soviet Union, just like us, is not simply "fighting the Teuton," as Russia did 700 years ago, but is engaged in a struggle for the liberation of humanity from the very false ideas with which Mr. Baldwin is trying to poison his readers. The reader might ask me: why waste so much time on the pigmy of the *New York Times* when really great things are happening? The answer is simple: Baldwin is a pigmy as an individual, but he reflects the thought of reactionaries everywhere. And the battle is against them as it is against Hitler and his armies.



# KNOWING OUR NEIGHBORS

By SAMUEL PUTNAM

THAT we are entering upon a new phase of inter-American cultural relations, a phase that corresponds to a new period of world history, should be evident to any close observer of the scene. Old agencies, some of which did heroic pioneer work in their day (such as Hubert Herring's committee, active since 1928), are now closing down, the former Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Nelson Rockefeller, has entered the State Department, and there is in general a revamping of organizational set-ups and personnel that is not wholly to be explained on the basis of economy. It reflects rather, a consciousness that new times require new forms, that another chapter of our relations with our southern neighbors has drawn to a close and a fresh one is beginning.

There is not the space here, nor is it necessary, to review the early stages of cultural interchange between this country and the Latin American peoples. The long centuries of mutual ignorance; the sporadic and more or less accidental efforts at a *rapprochement* that were made at the end of the eighteenth and during the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century; the era of "Yankee imperialism" that followed, with the Pan American Union on the one hand endeavoring to foster a cultural entente while on the other hand the South American "modernistas" were leading a revolt against the "Colossus of the North." This is a story which the present writer wrote of for NEW MASSES' readers some years ago (see the issue for Jan. 28, 1941).

What has happened since the beginning of the present war, since 1940-1941, likewise need not be retold. We all remember the high-pressure "drive" in the field of cultural relations that was launched at that time, under the obvious spur of military necessity; for the furthering of hemisphere defense and the safeguarding of strategic resources. The character of a number of the projects was indicated by their names, as in the case of the Strategic Index of Latin America at Yale University, which is one of those that have been closed down. We remember, too, the sudden deluge of books on Latin America, many of them of a popular journalistic variety, filled with inaccuracies and dangerous misrepresentations and generalizations such as were calculated to give the specialist a special kind of nightmare.

Fortunately, however, this was but the froth on the surface of a deep-running current; for, drawn together by the life-and-death necessity of resisting the fascist aggressor, the peoples of the hemisphere, aside from all governmental prompting, were instinctively seeking a better cultural understanding. The froth soon blew away; the air-borne junketers, covering twenty republics in thirty days or so, came home; and North American publishers, after nibbling with extreme caution at Mr. Rockefeller's bait, decided that here was no new-found El Dorado likely to offer an *Anthony Adverse*, a *Gone With the Wind*, or a *Forever Amber*. Indeed, only two publishing houses, to this writer's

knowledge, have laid out long-range programs in this field. They are Farrar & Rinehart and Alfred A. Knopf, the former of which sponsors an annual Latin American prize literary contest, while the latter has an ambitious schedule for the publication of Brazilian and other works.

These houses are to be commended on their courage and foresight; if the "drive" accomplished nothing else in the publishing field, it at least has this to show. Meanwhile, a good part of the burden has been borne by the university presses, which are commonly hampered by a lack of distribution facilities. Thus, Dr. W. Rex Crawford's extremely important volume, *A Century of Latin American Thought*, after being turned down by the commercial firms, had to be brought out by Harvard University Press, while my translation of Euclides da Cunha's *Rebellion in the Backlands (Os Sertoes)*, thanks to the generosity of the Coordinator's office, found a publisher in the University of Chicago Press. The latter instance is an enlightening case in point; for within a week or two of publication the first edition sold out and the book went into its second printing.

In brief, it may be said that the first craze having subsided, the more intelligent section of the North American reading public is now settling down to the long and shamefully neglected task of becoming acquainted with the intellectual life of our hemisphere neighbors. This deeper and highly promising trend is indicated by the appearance of such studies as that by Dr. Crawford, by an anthology like *The Green Continent* of Dr. German Arciniegas, and by such compilations as Dudley Fitts' *Anthology of Contemporary Latin American Poetry*, the *Twelve Spanish American Poets* of H. R. Hays, Dr. Jefferson Rea Spell's newly published *Spanish American Fiction*, etc. It is quite a far throw, certainly, from books of this sort to Margaret Culkin Banning's *Salud—A Latin American Journal* or, even, John Gunther's *Inside Latin America*, well intentioned as these works may have been.

BOOKS, however, are but one aspect of the matter. Under the energetic encouragement and general direction of the Coordinator's office, many and varied activities have been carried on, with the Division of Intellectual Cooperation of the Pan American Union, the Cultural Relations Division of the State Department, the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America (chaired by Dr. Herring), and other agencies all working together with an efficiency and, on the whole, a lack of friction that one would hardly have believed possible, and which would not have been possible without a central coordinating agency and a capable individual at the head of it. No one was more critical of Mr. Rockefeller when he began his labors than I, and there is none now who will more readily admit that he has made an excellent job of it, one that fully justifies his inclusion in the State Department.

Mistakes have been made, there is no doubt of that, and some of them grave ones—particularly at the beginning, in extending invitations to politically reactionary personages for visits to this country as guests of our government; but it can be said that a real willingness to rectify these mistakes was evidenced, and they became fewer in number as time went on. Glancing over the list of scholars and men of letters who were enabled to come to the United States, a number of them to remain for an extended period, one is struck by the truly representative character of these visitors: men like Luis Alberto Sanchez, Gilberto Freyre, Erico Verissimo, German Arciniegas, and any number of others. Lecturing at our universities, writing books, absorbing our culture while bringing us their own, they have enriched our national life more than we realize. And for hundreds of college students they are making the dry bones of the Latin American seminar come alive. One of them, Erico Verissimo, the Brazilian novelist, has just published a book on the literature of his country which he wrote directly in English. The presence of such campus guests as these should do much to sustain the interest that now exists in the Latin American literatures and those indispensable tools, the Spanish and Portuguese languages.

This is merely to speak of the more distinguished ambassadors of good will; it is not to take into account the hundreds of exchange students, journalists, engineers, and others who have come and gone.

It goes without saying that, in the field of inter-American cultural relations, a good part of the spadework, the more or less thankless drudgery, has been performed by the rank-and-file scholar and translator, so to speak, like Lloyd Mallan of the Herring Committee, Dudley Poore, Donald Walsh, John Peale Bishop of the Coordinator's office, and many others. These laborers in the vineyard have been indefatigable in their efforts to bring Latin American literature to North American readers, to make it a vital and contemporary subject of interest for those approaching it for the first time. They have "sold" magazine editors on the idea of special issues and have generously provided the material for such numbers. *Poetry* for May 1943, gave its pages over to a Latin American issue, and a number of college and little magazines have done likewise.

Here also, of course, there have been mistakes. The selections have not always been as worthwhile as one could wish. There has been at times a little too much stress on the legendary "color" of Latin American life and not enough on its social and political aspects.

WHEN all is said, there can be no doubt that we North Americans have learned much regarding our *buenos vecinos*—though we yet have to learn to think in terms of *boa vizinhanca* as well, remembering that the Good Neighbor speaks Portuguese as well as Spanish! Many misconceptions, a number of them tinged with an unconscious chauvinism, are being shed. There is still, however, a vast deal of earnest, plodding work to be done. Here let us follow the biblical injunction by looking at the beam in our own eye, leaving it to our neighbor to discover the mote in his. What do the Latin Americans have a right to ask of us on the cultural plane?

In the past this commentator has found fault with certain importations—notably, with the Flores-Poore anthology, *Fiesta in November*, and Eduardo Mallea's *Bay of Silence*—as representing the upper class rather than the real people's



"Dance," by the Mexican artist Fernando Leal.

literature of the countries from which they come. There was a justness in this criticism, but, the point is, this old criterion is no longer broad enough to cover the case. In Latin America as elsewhere from now on, the basis of literary judgment must be, not class interest primarily (though this can never be forgotten, especially in semi-colonial countries), but rather, the needs and aspirations of the people as a whole, struggling for their rightful place in a new and brighter after-war world which they are determined to build.

Culturally, it means that we must cease to regard the Latin Americans as colonials, provincials. If there ever was an excuse for such an attitude, it assuredly does not exist today. Can we apply the term colonial or provincial to a culture that produces a poet such as Pablo Neruda? It would be safe to say that the major portion of the best poetry in the contemporary world is being written by our southern neighbors, and they have, in addition, a good half-dozen of the best living novelists.

To attain this dignity of cultural nationhood, as I like to call it, the Latin Americans must fight, as they are fighting at this moment, against the continuing powers of darkness, out of the dying world of yesterday. This is especially evident to me in my own specialized field, that of Brazilian literature, where at this fateful hour of the clock the battle-lines are to be seen clearly drawn between the forces of progress and those of reaction. Our duty as good neighbors is to align ourselves with the former against the latter; and the present highest function of those of us who are entrepreneurs in this domain is to bring to our fellow countrymen news of the battle, while doing all in our power to aid the standard-bearers of light. What is true of Brazil is true, to a greater or less degree, of every Latin American country. And this, I think, must for a time to come be our criterion in judging the literary production of Latin America—and in judging those whose task is to bring that product to us.



## How Nazis Were Made

THE PRIVATE LIFE OF THE MASTER RACE: *A Documentary Play*, by Bertolt Brecht. *English Version and an essay on the work of Brecht* by Eric Russell Bentley. *New Directions*. \$2.50.

THE few who are acquainted with the work of Bertolt Brecht rate it high. This is not a mere cult enthusiasm as is often the case with a writer known only within a small circle. Brecht remains comparatively unknown in America because his contributions are in poetry and in a form of the drama sharply at variance with Broadway conventions. In a more accessible medium Brecht would be generally recognized as one of the major writers of our time.

There being no prospect of an early and adequate translation of Brecht's verse, I will undertake no discussion of his unique contributions in poetry. I will merely recommend to the reader the comments by Mr. Bentley in the valuable essay with which he concludes his translation of *The Master Race*. Nor will I take up Brecht's interesting ideas for a new drama beyond their application in this notable play.

In Brecht's view the dramatist should not concern himself with painting portraits, but should analyze society. And he should get more from his audience than the trance through which the present plotted drama, with its magnet of suspense, carries that audience through the two hours of the average theater presentation.

Further, in place of the present unity of situation and gradual unfolding of plot, Brecht would have constant breaks and interruptions to allow the auditor no chance to sit back and surrender to mood or suspense. Instead he is to be kept continually wakeful and participating. For that purpose instead of the semi-hypnosis of sympathy and suspense the audience is to be kept charged with the tension created by the conflict between sympathy and what might be called estrangement, a sort of emotional distance to give perspective.

The most satisfactory definition is always the example. Taken as such, *The Private Life of the Master Race* is a useful definition of Brecht's new concepts of the theater. At least in the reading—and I am confident that, given a production, it will also prove so on the stage—it amply justifies Brecht's theses.

To begin with, *The Private Life of the Master Race* succeeds as social analysis. I can recall no recent social drama of comparable acuteness. It succeeds also

in its new method of sustaining audience interest. The interruptions of continuity which Brecht considers important prove to be stimulants, not irritants, and actually to engage a participating attention from the reader. Finally the conflict between sympathy and estrangement does create tension; and the tension is as effective in holding the reader as suspense.

Does this prove Brecht's contention that the older drama is dead and must make way for something new whose nature he seeks to evoke by his "experiments," as he terms them? I think not. It is the natural reaction of an innovator to think of his work as displacing old forms rather than as an addition to the old. To me Brecht's success is further proof that the drama, like the novel, is a resilient form, capable of wide variation.

As published, *The Private Life of the Master Race* is an acting version of a longer work, *The Tears and Miseries of the Third Reich*, whose twenty-eight scenes are here reduced to seventeen. They include such poignant family situations as the parting of a Jewish wife from her Aryan husband, "just for a few weeks," and the numb waiting and nervous speculation of parents of a Hitler Youth who has run out—perhaps to report some petulant remarks he has overheard. There is the biting irony of the meeting in prison of two bakers, one of whom was sentenced in 1934 for mixing bran in his bread dough and the other in 1936, for not mixing it in; and the tragic irony of the butcher who hung himself up as a window display, with "I voted for Hitler!" scrawled across a price list, dangling from his neck. There is the tense humor of the courtroom scene where a bewildered judge sits paralyzed trying to decide for whom to prostitute justice, since both sides in the case have connections in the local Nazi hierarchy; and the dangerous play of insinuation in the repartee between a Storm Trooper and a worker, with its marvelous anecdote of a way of turning a compulsion into a "voluntary" act.

The cumulative effect is enormous. Literally before our eyes the degeneration of a people as it occurs in its vital centers—the home, the courts, the factories—is laid bare. We see the strange process by which a comparatively advanced people were turned into Nazis. Here is social analysis done with the keenest psychological perceptions, a broad historical grasp, a deep poetic vision, a subtle dramatic sense.

The goal of death that the Hitlerian degeneration points to is given in the

recurrent symbol of the tank, its metallic roaring, and the solemn chanting of the crew. The effect is something like that of the chorus in the classical Greek drama, and it projects a similar aura of doom. *The Private Life of the Master Race* is what its title offers. It is to be hoped that many Americans will see this intimate face of fascism.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

## Founders of Democracy

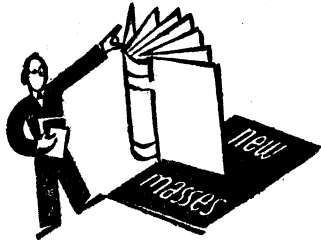
GEORGE WASHINGTON: *Selections from His Writings*, by Philip S. Foner. *International Paper* 25¢; *cloth* 85¢.

BASIC WRITINGS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Edited by Philip S. Foner*. *Wiley Book Co.* \$3.00.

THOUGH limited to a biographical sketch of only thirty-five pages supplemented by another sixty pages of well-selected excerpts from his writings, the first volume gives us the essential elements of Washington's advanced, though undeveloped, philosophy. Dr. Foner rejects both the gilded legends of the hero worshippers and the fixations on land deeds and bank accounts of the debunkers. The emphasis is upon Washington's devotion to the popular aspiration for national independence, his tenacious military leadership and his part in consolidating the American nation on a republican foundation. These contributions prepared the way for the subsequent victorious battles for democracy under Jefferson's leadership.

The two friends, Washington and Jefferson, worked hand in hand until the deeper issues of the French Revolution and the native aspirations for democracy raised our Revolution to its next stage of development. It was then that the intensity of the struggle for and against democracy alarmed Washington, who sought to pacify the contending forces in the interest of national unity. He never understood the profound nature of the contest between the two political philosophies personified by Jefferson and Hamilton. More often he sided with the Hamilton group, whose essentially monarchist views he nevertheless abhorred.

Washington was not a true Federalist and never shared the Federalist contempt for the plain people. The words which Jefferson wrote in 1816 to another republican friend might with equal justice have been applied to Washington: "We both love the people as our children, and love them with parental affection. But you love them as infants whom you are afraid to trust without



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nurses; and I as adults whom I freely leave to self-government." On the question of democracy, Washington and Jefferson differed, but their difference was not as fundamental as that between Jefferson and Hamilton. And this is supremely important.

Some readers may be startled by Dr. Foner's several references to Washington as a "land speculator," unconsciously thinking of speculation as the debunkers who fail to understand the social and historic significance of capital investments in land and do not differentiate fraudulent get-rich-quick land speculation from above-board dealing in land. Public frontier lands were in those days sold almost exclusively in large tracts by the government to wealthy men and land companies and resold to individual farmers, largely on credit. Together with the farmer's function of raising grain as a market crop, and the rise of grain merchants, they were part of the basic development of capitalist relations in agriculture that gave the early American economy its capitalist character. Hence the so-called "agrarian democracy" was not an anti-capitalist manifestation, as the historians of the Beard school would lead us to believe. In re-examining our history, we should also examine the implied content of our terminology.

THE Jefferson volume, the first popular priced collection of his works, contains the Declaration of Independence, the letters and notes on Virginia, Jefferson's *Autobiography*, and his Inaugural and Congressional Messages; in all thirty-eight basic documents and 150 letters. Though this is still only a fraction of the vast volume of Jefferson's writings, Dr. Foner deserves high praise for a selection that accurately represents Jefferson's political philosophy, his far-seeing progressive views, and his practical achievements.

Jefferson was active during the epoch-making change from feudal despotism to democracy. Our War for Independence was followed by the great French Revolution, the Irish rebellion, the Polish insurrection, the Napoleonic wars and the South American liberation wars. Jefferson was the unchallenged theoretician and leader of our epic struggle for democracy and the avowed champion of the liberation battles in Europe and South America. He understood that the interests of our young republic were best served by support and encouragement of new democratic republics in all parts of the world. His

writings retain a large measure of validity and comprise an important source of inspiration and guidance in the contemporary struggles to preserve and extend democracy.

Perhaps the best feature of this book is the inclusion of 150 complete and well-chosen letters. Its weakest feature is the index which is pitifully inadequate for a work of this range and size.

RALPH BOWMAN.

## But No Solution

ARGENTINE RIDDLE, by Felix J. Weil. *John Day.* \$3.50.

DR. WEIL, a native Argentine, has written this book to explain his country to the American public. In his view, "Argentina is now at the crossroads, with a battle royal raging between the new industrialization and the old vested agrarian interests." The landed interests have fought industrialization and under their inspiration democracy was abolished and the colonels' military rule instituted.

"The *estancieros*," says Dr. Weil, "are making a last-ditch stand for survival." Unless the landed gentry are ousted from their overwhelming economic and political control of the country and the large estates broken up, real democracy will not be achieved in Argentina. Industrialization is seen as furthering such a development. Dr. Weil concludes with an analysis of how the United States can be of aid in developing Argentina's economic future. In a set of useful appendices and tables, he presents data on land ownership and industry, on subsidiaries of foreign concerns, on the numbers of workers in industry and agriculture, on foreign investments and other relevant material.

Dr. Weil's discussion of agricultural problems, a field he knows well, is admirable. His view of labor, however, is superficial, and his evaluation of Argentine politics overly cynical. In particular it seems to this reader that Dr. Weil has missed the leading role labor must play in Argentina's future democratic revolution.

Appraising the support British capital in Argentina has given to the backward landed interests, the author suggests that a shift to industrialization provides us with a "unique" opportunity to replace the British after the war. This, he indicates, will be easy because "Britain will have to face plenty of other worries." Although he suggests that the United States knows how to substitute British "exploitation" by American "assistance,"

his plan in essence means the substitution of British control over Argentina by American control. This certainly will mean neither a solution to the Argentine problem nor a step forward toward the industrialization of that country. Another proposal, a trilateral trade agreement between Argentina, Britain and the United States has more merit, but also does not provide a real solution.

While it is difficult to agree with many things in it, Dr. Weil's book is a substantial contribution.

MARTIN T. BROWN.

## Science and Plenty

THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN SCIENCE, by *Kirtley F. Mather, Harry Grundfest and Melber RPhillips. United Office and Professional Workers of America-CIO, 1860 Broadway, New York. 2¢; \$1.50 a hundred.*

ON Nov. 20, 1944, President Roosevelt wrote an open letter to American scientists calling for their help in planning the highly technical future which a program of full production, full employment entails. The letter, addressed to Dr. Vannevar Bush, director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, posed four major questions which need answering for "the improvement of the national health, the creation of new enterprises, bringing new jobs and the betterment of the national standard of living": (1) How can we make available the manifold discoveries and developments of wartime science in order to stimulate new enterprises. (2) What sort of program would continue wartime progress made against disease. (3) What the government and other public organizations should do to aid further scientific research. (4) What we should do to aid in the discovery and training of scientific talent in American youth.

This pamphlet is a direct answer to this challenge. Prepared by three leading members of the American Association of Scientific Workers on the basis of discussion among members of that organization, and also on similar proposals by the Association of Scientific Workers in Great Britain and the Soviet Scientists Committee of Moscow, it presents clear-cut, concrete proposals on each of the President's questions: proposals for publications, for committees and coordinating bodies, for financing, surveys, and for the participation of existing organizations, professional and governmental, etc. The proposals are specific, but the authors make it clear that they are not intended to be final. Instead they call for the widest possible

discussion of the problems raised among the people most closely concerned. It is the careful examination of proposals like these and the incorporation of the recommendations that can grow out of them into our national planning which will bring us the prosperous and secure America we voted for November 7.

It is significant that the proposals of three of America's most respected and forward-looking scientists should be published by a CIO trade union of white-collar workers. It means that the labor movement is increasingly aware how much its welfare depends on education and technology and is acting on that awareness. It also means that science and scientists can expect greater and more effective support and understanding of their problems from organized labor. This pamphlet is more than an important contribution to the beginnings of postwar planning; it is a promise that great riches lie in the close cooperation of all of America's most progressive forces.

VIRGINIA SHULL.

## Brief Review

GIT ON BOARD: *Collection of Folk Songs, by Beatrice Landeck; vocal arrangements by Charity Bailey, Ernest Gold, Felix Guenther, J. Rosamund Johnson and others. Introduction by Norman Studer. Edward B. Marks Music Corporation. \$1.00.*

THIS fine collection is divided into six sections. The first, entitled *Songs of Conviction*, is made up of anti-fascist songs, songs of the Spanish Civil War and others that are winning a permanent place in the musical arsenal of democracy. Other sections include songs from far back in the American past, work songs, ballads, songs of Negro origin, and twelve rounds. There are more than sixty songs in all, in singable and playable versions. One of the best collections of its kind.

## Next Time

(Continued from page 18)

lips were silent but clearly as the spoken word she heard the eyes speak: "It was a temporary defeat. We will not make the same mistakes next time. Next time we will win."

She turned away feeling in her pocket for the reassurance of Bobby's last letter, reading again in her mind his words, "Our last mission was over Frankfurt. We sure hit the jackpot."

But it wasn't wholly reassuring and she felt a creeping coldness along her spine.

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## MOVIES IN MEXICO

By JOSEPH FOSTER

THE Mexican movie industry, which is fourteen years old today, has much in common with our own movie industry during its early days. The studios below the Rio Grande, six in number, are in a tremendous state of excitement. They have become the center of film production for all Central and South America, breaking the earlier domination by Argentina in this field. Postwar prospects are rosy, with a vista of limitless expansion. Without a cinema pot to cook in as late as 1930, today Mexico City is second only to Hollywood in the Western Hemisphere.

Mexico produced one feature film in 1931, sixteen in 1935, and reached a high of eighty for 1944. The quotas for 1945 are lower, but I will discuss the reasons for that later on.

The many newly-developed native stars have outstripped even Hollywood stars in popularity and box office pull. They include the mighty Cantinflas, beloved comedian of the people, Jorge Negrete, the singing cowboy, Mape Cortes and Arturo de Cordoba, the outstanding lovers team, Maria Felix, Esther Fernandez, Ricardo Montalven and others. Their fan response comes not only from Central and South America but from that part of our own southwest—Texas, Arizona, New Mexico and California—where Mexican movies are shown.

Early Mexican films were almost exclusively of what has come to be known as the "Ai, Jallisco" brand, resembling our crude westerns. Today, although improved in technical quality, they still share a large part of the production schedules. With more confidence and experience, the producers are now turning to historical themes, romances and other types of plots. The most important recent films include *St. Francis of Assisi*, *Camille*, *Les Miserables* and the *Count of Monte Cristo* (the outstanding flop of the industry). Lately they have also begun filming the lives of Latin American heroes. Already completed or in progress are movies dealing with the exploits of Father Jose Maria Morelos, hero of the Mexican War of Independence, Simon

Bolivar and Emilo Zapata. Only one screenplay to date has dealt with the contemporary scene, *Los Tres Hermanos*. This one concerns itself with three brothers who enlist in the American army to fight Hitler. Two are killed, the third returns home blind. One of the characters says Mexicans have no business fighting in Europe. It is not their war. The movie effectively replies that it is the war of all countries that hate bondage and that Mexico's interest lies in the defeat of Hitler. Other than *Los Tres Hermanos*, there is no sign of recognition of contemporary events. Movies dealing with Mexico's middle class, are rare, and when they appear are stiff and unreal. This is not accidental. It reflects the undeveloped economic position of this class in Mexico. The backward state of this stratum with its uncertain attitudes towards society, is difficult for a movie art which is itself just coming of age. As a result except for the few historical films I have already mentioned Mexican producers turn either to cowboy or costume themes.

Of the six major companies in Mexico, the leading ones are Clasa, Azteca and Filmex or Mexican Films, Inc. The average cost of a major production by one of these companies is about \$60,000, a figure considerably below the average cost for a Hollywood feature film. In 1943 Mexico produced

a total of sixty-seven films, as compared to the 167 features imported from America. Many more American films, made cheaply in the poverty row studios of Hollywood are smuggled over the border and get regular distribution. No Soviet films were shown in Mexico until very recently. Last year, the film of the Ukraine guerrillas, *We Will Come Back*, was given a full dress premiere. The picture received a tremendous ovation from the Mexicans who have a high regard for the Soviet Union.

Although the numbers of moviegoers in Mexico have galloped madly upward on all the graphs, those who go to the movies still represent only twenty-five percent of the total population. The same ratio holds for Mexico City, where only 500,000 of its 2,000,000 inhabitants see screen shows. The country has an over-all capacity of 1,300,000 seats, divided among 967 theaters, the majority with sound. The capital has seventy-five theaters in comparison with Philadelphia's (a city of equal population) 250 theaters. Although there is no direct government subsidy, favorable taxation policies encourage the growth of the industry. There are no government restrictions on either local or imported films. Censorship is exercised only when it is felt that a movie insults local or national pride or ridicules any of its customs or citizens.

The department of Fine Arts helps to distribute and exhibit documentary and educational films, such as the Strand-Klein *Forgotten Village* which is still going the rounds. Theaters showing local films are always packed to the rafters—those showing American films not always so. The audience response for each type of film is also markedly different. When the local stars are flashed on the screen the audience whistles and stomps. They are in familiar territory. They appreciate the subtleties of language, the innuendo and double meaning. Of course, since most of the Hollywood product is still made in English much of the meaning of these films is lost on the audience. And the occasional movie that treats a Mexican character



with disdain, or condescension militates against a wholehearted acceptance of the foreign film in general. Like any self-respecting people Mexicans are quick to resent the fact that we do not treat them with the same dignity as Americans.

**A**LTHOUGH the Mexican movie industry has been skimming along, gathering speed, it is not without many problems. Mexico, which gets its raw stock from us, is faced with a twenty-five percent reduction in its production program because of a shortage of film stock. In the face of this shortage there was such a clamor for material among the many producing companies, that a national film committee had to be organized to deal with this and other problems. The committee, made up of government, employer and labor representatives, decided that the only way to save itself a headache, was to eliminate completely the many fly-by-night entrepreneurs. Accordingly, each company was given sufficient footage for each scenario and production unit on hand. In other words, anybody who wanted stock for a picture had to show that he had the wherewithal to start production. The leading studios were given enough material for six features and the others, independents, etc., enough stock for from one to three. Included in the list of those granted raw stock was the Film Workers Union.

Besides the shortage of film stock, the studios are plagued by a paucity of actors. American companies, rightly feeling that language barriers should be eliminated for the good neighbor market, have imported about thirty actors for dubbing-in work. Although such trained Hollywood artists as Dolores Del Rio, Antonio Moreno and others went back to Mexico with the rise of the film industry, there is still a serious shortage of actors for the amount of work on hand. Unable to draw from the stage, as Hollywood has done in this country (there is no formal theater in Mexico to speak of) producers had to wait until an actor shaved off the beard required in one kind of film, in order to play smooth-cheeked in another. There is a vigorous rumor that a law will soon be passed making it obligatory to dub-in the foreign language track in the country where it will be shown. This kind of legislation would keep actors at home; would stimulate domestic business and would help solve the problem of the twenty-two dialects used by the various Latin-American countries.

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Mexican producers, one mitigated only by the reduced number of films for the current year, is the inadequacy of studios and studio equipment. The six studios have a long calendar of production dates made up in part of their own requirements and in part of the demands of the independents who have to use their space and technical material. These inconveniences, although a pain in the professional neck of the producers, will be of only temporary duration. All commentators, from government men to directors of Hollywood's foreign departments are agreed that after the war, Mexico's film industry will shoot far beyond its present point. American companies, which at first feared Latin-American competition, are now convinced that the larger the Mexican studios become, the better will be their product and that the more pictures they make, the larger will the whole South Atlantic and Caribbean market become.

Already plans are being formulated for a postwar expansion. The dub-in process begun with *Gaslight*, will make for larger audiences. RKO is already building a studio in partnership with a Mexican company. This new studio will, for the most part, employ native talent both in the creative and technical field. United Artists is planning a similar kind

of arrangement. These are only the first; other American companies are bound to follow suit. Increased studio facilities will mean more movie houses and increased audiences throughout the Latin American market.

One great need, of course, which is not being filled at the moment, is for the distribution of 16-mm projectors for rural and small city areas. Such machines can build movie audiences in the less accessible and the poorer districts of our neighbor countries, and are essential to building distribution on a national scale.

At present, the technique and pattern of Mexican movie making is closely modeled after that of Hollywood, with the emphasis on name players rather than on content, with the creation of successful formulae, stock westerns, etc. There is every reason to believe, however, that as soon as the mushroom phase of its growth passes, Mexico will begin to draw on its own native folk material, its history, and its own social problems for subject matter. The process has just begun, but it will unquestionably flower after the war. I believe too, that a maturing Hollywood, conscious of the needs for a genuine cooperative policy, will be able to help the process along.

## AMERICAN THEATER WING

WHILE Broadway's extravagant run-of-the-box-office entertainment contains only the most occasional relevance to the issues for which millions are fighting and dying, many actors and playwrights and some producers and directors are giving their spare time to activity on a far higher level of responsible citizenship. They were active in the recent presidential campaign within the organization of the Independent Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Roosevelt. They are doing fine work with Stage for Action, dramatizing the economically and politically controversial questions of the day for the general public. Particularly valuable is the work of the many members of the theatrical profession who are operating under the direction of the American Theater Wing.

The ATW has a semi-official status, much like that of the Writers' War Board. It promotes the morale of the serviceman and the civilian through entertainment. It has established and op-

erates the great system of Stage Door Canteens stretching across the country. Through its Victory Players, it has given almost a thousand lunch-time performances at war plants and union halls. It has cooperated with other organizations to bring cheer to our men in hospitals. This month it has launched a campaign of civilian education on the question of rehabilitating members of the armed forces into civilian life. This step is an indication of the flexibility and seriousness of the American Theater Wing in its approach to the tasks of the time.

This campaign, now being promoted by social agencies, war services, WACS and WAVES, originated with the Washington branch of the Wing's Speakers Bureau. Certain local incidents indicated that the public was not well prepared for returning servicemen. The cooperation of the Speakers Bureau was warmly welcomed by government authorities. Its speakers were given special preparation by members of the Convalescent Training Division of the Office of the Air Sur-

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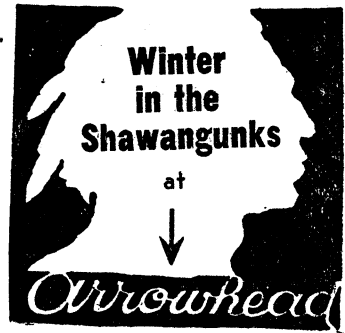
NM February 20, 1945

geon, the Reconditioning Consultants Division and the Neuro-Psychiatry Division of the Office of the Surgeon General, the Administration of Veterans Affairs, and the Rehabilitation Division of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery of the US Navy. This official approval and instruction was all the more readily granted because of the military rule against civilian activity and the deep sense which military men have of the urgency and importance of civilian education. In this regard, it must be emphasized that Wing speakers are not proposing cures. Their object is to spread the point of view of the responsible authorities and to direct civilians to the proper sources of information and advice.

A vivid demonstration of the Wing in action in this campaign took place recently at Times Hall before a specially invited audience of writers, social workers, and representatives of large civic bodies and trade union organizations. General Ralph DeVoe, commanding officer of Halloran General Hospital, opened with a simple explanation of the program of psychological readjustment directed at disabled men and an explanation of what the Army considers sensible behavior by the civilian toward these men. The well-known stage and radio actor, Staats Cotsworth, then gave a sample of the talk he had researched and devised especially for bartenders, who, along with taxi drivers, waiters, and hotel employes are often the first civilians to greet the servicemen. The Wing has thus far trained fifty actors for talks to organizations representing many walks of life. The program closed with a sketch written by the indefatigable Esther Hawley, head of the Wing's script department. *The Way Back*, designed for performance in the barest union hall or civic club, has a returned soldier and his wife and sister for its characters and points up the wrong and right attitudes of the family toward him. It was well written and well performed by Warren Parker, Eugenia Rawls and Virginia Robinson under the direction of the Victory Players' Harold Vermilyea.

The Wing has done valuable and effective work all these last three years, but this latest task may well be most important. Theater people have every reason to be proud of this organization's whole-hearted work for the war—and the peace. It makes clear again the strong contrast between what they are forced to do on the professional stage and what they consider big enough and vital enough to want to do on their own.

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