
YANKEE IMPERIALISM GRABS FOR THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

BY WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

The United States and the World War

THE present war constitutes a violent redivision of the world among the great imperialist powers. The main motive power behind the savage struggle for markets, raw materials, colonies and strategic positions is the ever-deepening general crisis of the obsolete and rotting world capitalist system. Assertions that either group of the warring powers is fighting for democracy and civilization are an insult to the people's intelligence.

In the war's saturnalia of rapine, destruction and conquest the several capitalist great powers are tearing one another's empires to pieces, enslaving semi-colonial lands, subjugating hitherto independent small capitalist countries, and maneuvering to attack the greatest prize of all, the U.S.S.R. Old empires have been shattered and new, jerry-built ones are being constructed almost overnight. Japan has seized vast areas of China and prepares to grab Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines and other choice morsels. Italy overran Ethiopia, only to have it snatched away again by Great Britain. Germany is building a monstrous system of imperialist control over all Europe up

to the Soviet borders and is fighting for world hegemony. The French, Dutch and Belgian empires have been decapitated and their rich colonies exposed to imperialist sharks on the rampage. The British empire is fighting for its life, with its back to the wall.

United States imperialism is up to its eyes in this bloody and ruthless struggle for empire. It is already in the war economically, financially and diplomatically, and its Wall Street government is now watching for a favorable opportunity to violate the will to peace of the American people by plunging the country into the war fully as an active belligerent. The strongest imperialist power, naturally the United States is setting itself no modest goals in the war. It, too, is fighting for world hegemony. This Henry Luce, Senator Pepper and other outspoken imperialists are making increasingly clear, and President Roosevelt has told us of the "four freedoms" that the United States is out to enforce upon the world. At the moment United States imperialism, in its fight for world empire, finds it profitable to go along in alliance with Great Britain, but it will undoubtedly make any other arrangements it may deem necessary to further its imperialist interests.

Greedy-eyed, American imperialists are now mulling over the most grandiose plans of world conquest. Singapore, Dakar, the Azores, Australia, China, the Dutch East Indies and Greenland are some of the far-flung places which the Yankee imperialists hope eventually to bring under United States control. But the basis of all their imperialistic dreamings and schemings is the conquest of the Western Hemisphere. From Hudson's Bay to Cape Horn, United States imperialism must rule unchallenged, declare these people. The three Americas are to be the special "lebensraum" of the United States, from which all other imperialist powers must keep their hands. To rule the Western Hemisphere as its very own is considered the God-given destiny of the United States. Within the camp of the American bourgeoisie there exist considerable differences as to the wisdom of the war alliance with Great Britain, but regarding the conquest of the Western Hemisphere they stand almost unanimous. On this question the "isolationists" Hoover, Lindbergh, LaFollette, Wheeler and Norman Thomas are tucked snugly in the same political bed with the "interventionists" Roosevelt, Willkie, Hull, Knox, Pepper, Wallace, Green and Hillman.

Yankee imperialism, in its plans for the conquest of the Western Hemisphere, has a twofold task—to drive out its chief imperialist rivals, England and Germany, and to force the submission of the many American peoples to its imperial will. Upon both aspects it is now diligently working. Resistance it is meeting, both from its imperialist

rivals and from the peoples it aims to enslave; but on the whole its imperialist offensive is registering distinct progress. Every country in the Western Hemisphere confronts a serious danger—to its national independence and to the general welfare of its people—from the present militant advance of United States imperialism.

The Strategy of Hemisphere Conquest

In its drive to transform the whole Western Hemisphere into its main base, Yankee imperialism is not at the moment, within the Hemisphere countries proper, using the ruthless methods of military invasion employed by rampant Japanese imperialism in East Asia and by German imperialism in Europe and Africa. Its offensive is being carried on by a system of "peaceful" economic penetration and external political pressure, masked by an elaborate propaganda of friendly intentions. But behind all this looms the deadly threat of the gigantic and swiftly growing military, naval and air forces of the Colossus of the North.

Each of the many countries of the two continents which Wall Street claims as its very own presents an individual problem for the Yankee imperialists. Especially Canada. That country, with a population of over 11,000,000, is a formally independent state, highly industrialized, an imperialist state in its own right (having outstanding foreign investments of over two billion dollars), and it is a pillar of the British Empire. Its national independence, however, is considerably limited, because the bulk of its vital in-

dustries are owned by American and British capitalists, its foreign policy is largely formulated by the British Cabinet, and it lacks a navy and other armed forces capable of defending the country. The aim of Wall Street is to shift the control of this important land into the hands of the Washington government, in the guise of a sort of junior (very junior) partner in the "New Order" that United States imperialism hopes to set up in the Western Hemisphere. At the moment, the Yankee imperialists have an interest in keeping Canada within the British Empire, since this helps to hold it in the war and also enables American capital invested in Canada to get behind the Empire's tariff barriers and to enjoy its protected trade. In the likely event, however, of the serious weakening or break-up of the British Empire during this war, undoubtedly the United States would take definite steps to bring Canada under its "protecting" wing.

The Latin American countries also present many special problems. In general, however, the policy of Yankee imperialism is to reduce them to the status of near-colonial dependencies of the United States, with special concentration upon securing a firmer grip upon the countries north of the South American "bulge," particularly in the Caribbean area. This conquest is being pushed by means of economic, political, ideological and military penetration.

Hardly had the present world war begun than the United States, seeing that its chief imperialist rivals were busy elsewhere, greatly

intensified its efforts to dominate all of Latin America. At the Panama (October, 1939) and Havana (July, 1941) conferences of the twenty-one American Republics (Canada excepted) the broad outlines were laid for this program of imperialist conquest. Briefly stated, the plan consists of lining up all the Latin American countries in a bloc under United States leadership, on the basis of policies of neutrality and peace, hemisphere defense, the adjustment of inter-state quarrels, the suppression of "subversive" activities, and a cooperative handling of the serious economic problems that are harassing all the three Americas. The whole program, stripped of the sugary phrases of Roosevelt, Hull and Wallace and boiled down to reality, amounts to flinging the doors wide open for Yankee imperialism to realize its objectives of subjugating the Latin American countries by colonializing their economies, dictating their internal political life, restricting their national independence, exploiting their peoples and natural resources, and using these countries en bloc as a great base to further its unfolding warlike plans of world imperialist conquest.

The Drive for Military Domination

The main means for the proposed Yankee conquest of the Western Hemisphere is the gigantic armed force that the United States is now swiftly building. This already dwarfs that of any other country of the three Americas. The *New York Post* (May 26) in the spirit of blatant American imperialism, boasts that within one year the United

States is "going to be able to lick the world." That this great military establishment will be used, among its other predatory purposes, to dominate the weaker American countries only the most naive can disbelieve.

Among the products of the 40 billion dollars which the Roosevelt Administration is now recklessly spending for armaments, is, first, the contemplated 4,000,000-man mechanized army, which is specifically authorized by law to operate in Latin America. Then there is the great two-ocean navy, which already patrols and dominates all Western Hemisphere waters, and which is scheduled to be the most powerful navy in world history. Finally, there is the air force, now swiftly growing and planned eventually to number a minimum of 50,000 of the most modern and powerful airplanes. And all this vast armament is backed up by the great industries and huge manpower of the United States.

With this strong and growing armed force the Roosevelt Government is proceeding rapidly to surround the entire Western Hemisphere with a network of air and naval bases. At the same time the concept of what constitutes the Western Hemisphere is stretched to Asia from one side and Europe and Africa on the other. The already established United States bases in Hawaii, Alaska, Cuba, the Aleutian Islands, Guam, Wake and Samoa, as well as those along the United States coasts have been enormously strengthened. Bases are also undoubtedly contemplated for Greenland, the Azores, Dakar and the Cape Verde Islands. In ex-

change for 50 "obsolete" naval destroyers, England was made to concede the United States bases in its Western Hemisphere possessions, including Newfoundland, Bermuda, Jamaica, Trinidad, Antigua, Saint Lucia and British Guiana. The United States Government now is also busily bringing pressure to bear upon various Latin American countries for the establishment of a tight ring of strategically situated air and naval bases to surround all of Central and South America.

At the present moment, under the provisions of the so-called Act of Havana, which prohibits the transfer of American colonies from one European belligerent power to another, after taking over Greenland, the United States is now contemplating the seizure of the French colonies of Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Pierre and Miquelon, French Guiana and Clipperton Island. Furthermore, the United States is making "mutual defense" pacts with neighboring American countries (examples, Canada and Mexico) which weaken the military position of these countries as against that of the United States. The Pan-American Highway, the new road through Canada to Alaska, and the securing of many American-controlled airlines in Latin America all go in the same general direction of Yankee military mastery.

This vast web of United States armed bases and military works, designed at once to keep away rivals of Yankee imperialism and to dominate Canada and the 20 Latin American republics, is being established in the name of a joint hemisphere defense. Special stress is laid upon the "joint" character of the

"defense" by the Yankee imperialists to hide their predatory purposes. Thus, the "defense pacts" with Canada and Mexico are formally two-sided, but with the United States possessing the overwhelmingly greater military might it is not hard to guess where the deciding influence will lie. Thus, also, the colonies taken over from belligerents (Martinique, for example) are supposed to be administered by representatives of all the 21 American republics; but, as things now stand, in such situations, the United States vote (with its puppet supporters) would outweigh the rest. Then, too, the air and naval bases in the Latin American countries are to be nominally the property and in the control of the respective countries upon whose soil they are situated, and they are to be used jointly by all the American republics. But with the United States furnishing the money to build them and having the main air and naval forces to man them, who can doubt that decisive control would be exercised by the United States? The Chilean Defense Minister, Juvenal Hernandez, was right in stating that "The ceding of bases does not imply cooperation but submission." The present great drive of the United States to surround the whole Western Hemisphere with an iron ring of its armed forces is a menacing threat to the national independence of every other country in the two continents.

The Economic Offensive

Yankee imperialism's drive to dominate the Western Hemisphere militarily is supported by a strong

offensive to dominate it economically. The general objectives of this economic offensive are: (a) to drive out British and German imperialism from Latin American markets and economic life, and (b) to colonialize the economies of the Latin American countries, so that these lands should become suppliers of raw materials and buyers of finished products from the industries of the United States. Toward Canada the policy is more one of absorption into the United States industrial system.

The war has greatly facilitated the weakening economically of its imperialist rivals in Latin America by Yankee imperialism. Germany has been largely cut off and England, up to its neck in war in Europe and Africa, cannot pay the closest attention to its Latin American interests. Also the Latin American countries, weakened by the loss of European markets and with their economies badly disordered, are less able to resist the economic pressure of the United States. So Yankee imperialism has a relatively clear field and is making the most of it.

The United States Government has set up a network of institutions and activities with which to push its economic conquest over the 125,000,000 Latin Americans. One important instrument is the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee, formed after the Panama Conference of October, 1939, composed of 21 economic experts from all the American republics, and with headquarters in Washington. The functions of this committee are to deal with the eco-

conomic problems of all the Americas—banking, currency, international exchange, commercial relations, treaties, imports and exports, customs and the development of new enterprises, credits and investments. The committee is completely dominated by agents of Yankee imperialism. It has a permanent working commission, known as the Inter-American Development Commission, significantly headed by Nelson A. Rockefeller. This whole apparatus functions financially through the Inter-American Bank, which is dominated by United States Government agents and puppets.

To provide the blood stream for its various schemes of economic conquest, the United States Government has resumed and is steadily increasing the export of capital to Latin America, which had virtually dried up during the 1930's because of the chaotic economic conditions then prevailing. Credits recently authorized up to December 31, 1940, to Latin American countries by the Export-Import Bank, according to the Bulletin of the National Foreign Trade Council (Feb. 1941), totaled \$255,607,000, as follows:

Argentina	\$62,670,000
Brazil	112,127,000
Chile	19,425,000
Colombia	10,004,500
Costa Rica	5,600,000
Cuba	4,000,000
Dominican Republic	3,000,000
Ecuador	1,150,000
Haiti	5,500,000
Mexico	500,000
Nicaragua	2,500,000
Panama	4,500,000
Paraguay	3,500,000
Peru	10,000,000
Uruguay	7,500,000
Venezuela	3,600,000

In accordance with the principles of colonial policy long since developed by Great Britain, these loans were primarily directed to the purposes of furthering United States trade and the creation of raw material sources necessary for American industries and non-competitive with them. Thus the loans provide that the agricultural products, railway equipment, construction materials, etc., should all be purchased in the United States and transported in its ships. The colonial character of the United States loans to Latin America was further made clear by the plan of inter-American development, presented to the Economic Advisory Committee by Carlos Davila, former President of Chile and a "warm friend" of the United States State Department. It is also explicitly stated by Mr. Henry A. Wallace, Vice President, in his book, *The American Choice*. Mr. Wallace would have Latin America produce "commodities which we need and are accustomed to import" and also tropical agricultural products not grown in the United States. Such a scheme, to make Latin American economy "complementary" to United States economy and non-competitive with it, would deny the Latin American countries the necessary rounded-out industrialization. It would render them economically and politically subordinate to and dependent upon the United States. This would still further emphasize their present semi-colonial character.

While advancing such colonial schemes, the United States is also conducting a militant trade drive generally to capture the markets of Latin America. A sample of the methods used, reported exultantly

by Nelson A. Rockefeller to a group of New York business men (*The N. Y. Times*, May 12), is to cut off trade relations between United States business concerns and Latin American companies that do business with Axis firms. Said Mr. Rockefeller, "We have communicated with 17,000 companies interested in export trade and have requested them to use care in taking on new representatives and accounts."

One of the newest schemes to corral the trade of Latin America for Yankee imperialists (*N. Y. Times*, May 29) is to establish a joint export control over "war materials" by the United States and the 20 Latin American republics. Considering the predominant strength of the United States, the effects of this agreement, if consummated, would be (a), to give this country a more solid grip upon Latin American export and import trade, and (b), to force more definitely the Latin American peoples into the world war program of Yankee imperialism.

By the same token, the so-called American Customs Union, adopted by the American Conference of Associations of Commerce and Production at Montevideo, Jan. 3, 1941, would enormously favor United States trade as against that of its imperialist rivals and of the relatively weaker Latin American countries.

Fortune, organ of big business, in its May number, boldly expresses the predatory purposes behind the present American economic offensive in Latin America, stating, "The South American market must be closed; it must become an exclusive U. S. trade area."

Toward Canada the Yankee imperialists have, as already stated, a policy of absorption. Canada is already a highly industrialized country. American investments there, totaling almost \$4,000,000,000, are almost equal to the United States investments throughout all Latin America. Exports to Canada from the United States in 1939 (now enormously increased by the war boom) were five times as great as United States exports to Brazil, which has $4\frac{1}{2}$ times as large a population as Canada. While protecting themselves by high tariffs from Canadian competition, the American capitalists are increasing their financial grip upon Canadian economy, while that of British imperialism is declining. This process has been going on for many years and is now becoming more marked. British investments in Canada (mostly in public utilities) reached a maximum of $2\frac{1}{2}$ billions by 1914, while United States investments (mostly in basic industries) only getting under way by that date, reached a high total of 4 billion dollars by 1932.

Now, with the war on, the gap between British and United States investments in Canada is widening. Great Britain, to pay for her war purchases in Canada, is being forced to liquidate large amounts of her financial holdings there. Since the war began this liquidation amounts to about \$300,000,000. In 1941 her deficit on Canadian war orders is expected to total \$1,150,000,000, which the Canadians are expected to meet on a "lend-lease" basis. Meanwhile, the Yankee imperialists are losing no opportunity to improve their trade and financial position in Canada. Says Tim Buck, in

his article in *The Communist* for December, 1940: "The bourgeoisie anticipates big loans from the United States in the near future and the financial press made no bones about the belief that Secretary Morgenthau's recent 'vacation' in Canada concerned such loans."

Political Pressure

The United States Government, together with its growing military domination of the Western Hemisphere and its attempts to control the economy of this vast and rich area, is also increasingly interfering in the political life of the peoples of the three Americas. This Yankee political interference takes place with regard to the composition of the governments of these peoples, the character of the masses' political discussion, the nature of their states' international trade relations, the disposition of specific legislation, and the general orientation of these countries toward the vital questions of peace and war. Innumerable examples might be cited of this expanding tendency of the United States to dictate politically to the rest of the countries of the whole hemisphere, to the detriment of their welfare and freedom.

Fortune, in its May number, cynically exposes the ruthlessness of Yankee imperialist policy in this respect. It says:

"Those governments that will play ball with the United States can expect aid. . . . But those that will not play ball can expect intervention of diverse degrees of sharp-

ness. No electoral sovereignty or internal democracy can be permitted if it happens not to be pro-United States. Uncooperative governments will find credits called and refused, markets closed, their internal economies thrown into crisis, their political rivals publicly smiled on, and perhaps privately subsidized."

In Chile, through its instruments Davila, Grove and Schnake, Yankee imperialism recently tried, unsuccessfully, to break down the Popular Front and to secure a government more amenable to its demands. A loan was held out as a bait to the reactionaries for doing this work. In Cuba the recently attempted coup d'état against President Batista was organized by Cuban reactionary elements and United States intriguers, who hoped that by ousting Batista the plans of U. S. imperialism could be more readily executed. United States political pressure against Mexico is also an old story. There were lately the cases of silver and oil, as well as the insolent attempt of the Dies Committee to "investigate" Mexican internal affairs. And in the recent national election U. S. plotters worked openly to put into power the near-fascist Almazan and now they are busy taking the present President, Camacho, into camp. Said Secretary Encina of the Communist Party of Mexico at its recent Congress:

"The Yankee government and bankers furthered the plans of Almazan to organize an armed struggle in order to assault the power of the state and to implant a reac-

tionary dictatorship, submissive to the orders and wishes of Wall Street."

Similar examples of U. S. pressure are to be found in almost every other Latin American country. By the withholding or granting of loans, by refusing trade advantages, and by other means, weaker states are forced to make concessions. By various forms of bribery corrupt politicians are won for the service of Yankee imperialism. Panama was "induced" to cede a new strip of land for the Panama Canal; Bolivia was "encouraged" to yield on Standard Oil Company properties previously expropriated; Peru, upon U. S. insistence, took over the German Lufthansa; Colombia has canceled the German airline Scadta and replaced it by American planes and personnel; Nicaragua is now being brought into line to cede a route for a new canal doubly to protect United States lines of communication, etc., etc. Similar pressure was generally exercised to have the Latin American governments condemn the U.S.S.R. during the Finnish war. Pressure was also used to get them to seize the Axis powers' ships in their harbors.

Upon Canada also United States pressure is being exerted. The Roosevelt Administration is definitely supporting the amenable Mackenzie King Government and urging it on to a greater war effort. What the Yankee imperialists really think about Canadian national rights was expressed by Colonel Lindbergh when he insolently denied the right of Canada to wage war without the consent of the United States. An instance of the

growing interference of the Yankee imperialists in Canadian affairs occurred recently in connection with the national budget. Finance Minister Ilesley had proposed to levy a tax of 15 per cent upon interest payments made to nationals of foreign countries. This hit the nearly half billion dollars that United States capitalists are sucking yearly out of the Canadian people, so they made a big protest. Says Thomas C. Sims in the *Inter-Continent News* of May 13: "Ottawa, the capital of Canada, was invaded last week. They came by air, in special chartered planes and in Pullman cars. They were not Germans, but Americans, high-ranking representatives of J. P. Morgan and other Wall Street tycoons. Their object: to change the Canadian budget." And they succeeded. Mr. Ilesley dropped his proposal.

In the general Pan-American conferences the United States makes a great show of democracy, of dealing with the Latin American countries as political equals. But this is window dressing. For the most part the meetings of the Pan-American Union confine themselves to broad political generalities. When it comes to concrete action the United States usually has its way by getting results through the various sub-committees which are loaded up with its agents or puppets, or, especially, by taking up such important matters as loans, tariffs, air bases, etc., with the individual countries, which are thus placed at a huge disadvantage in dealing singly with the more powerful United States. Especially dictatorial is the attitude of the U.S. toward the Caribbean countries.

Political pressure by the United States upon Latin America and Canada now comes to a focus in the general plan of Yankee imperialism to use all these countries en bloc to further its world plans of conquest. The Lima, Panama and Havana Conferences were all carried on under heavy American pressure, directed to achieve this central purpose. The whole object has been to precipitate all the countries of the Western Hemisphere into the war under United States hegemony, despite the will to peace of their peoples. The latest step in carrying out this grandiose imperialist scheme was President Roosevelt's "unlimited emergency" speech of May 27. Without in any way consulting the Latin American people or their governments (even as he flouted the United States Congress and the anti-war sentiments of the American people) Mr. Roosevelt, speaking in the name of the whole Western Hemisphere, outlined a policy that constitutes virtually an undeclared war against Germany and dictatorially sought to commit all the nations of the three Americas to it.

The Ideological Campaign

Supporting its program of military, economic and political expansion, the United States Government is also conducting an active ideological drive throughout the Western Hemisphere. In Latin America this is based upon the so-called Good Neighbor policy. Every effort is being made—through radio, movies, press, diplomatic circles, business channels, delegations to and from the United States, etc.—to

convince the suspicious Latin Americans that the United States means only good for their prosperity and national independence. Vice President Wallace, on I Am an American Day, glibly spoke of "a super-citizenship in America, the Western Hemisphere, where nations earnestly try to settle their disputes peacefully, without lying, treaty-breaking or aggression." Special efforts are being made to corrupt the intellectuals of Latin America.

This imperialist "educational" work is being conducted by that outstanding defender of freedom, Mr. Nelson A. Rockefeller. How his committee works is indicated in an article by Ricardo M. Setaro of Buenos Aires in the *Inter-Continent News*, dated May 24:

"Simultaneously 360 daily newspapers in Latin America began to publish weekly full page advertisements inviting Latin Americans to visit the United States. . . . It is estimated that this advertising campaign will cost nearly \$10,000,000. This sum is being invested by the committee headed by Nelson Rockefeller."

To line up the Latin American countries behind the war program of the United States the central slogan is that of "Hemisphere defense." As the people of the United States are being tricked and pushed into the war by the Roosevelt Administration under pretenses of peace and national defense, so the same general line is being followed to involve the peace-loving Latin American peoples. The Pan-American Union, dominated by the United States, is pursuing a course that leads toward war. Its realized

or proposed policies of the continental 300-mile safety belt, the occupation of foreign-held colonies, the seizure of Axis ships, the control of exports, the establishment of United States controlled naval-air bases, the vigorous anti-Soviet and anti-German propaganda campaigns, are all measures not in the interest of peace, but of war and Yankee imperialist expansion.

The United States is putting teeth into its ideological campaign for the "Good Neighbor" policy and "Hemisphere defense" by direct pressure upon public opinion in Latin America. At the Havana Conference, upon Secretary Hull's insistence, a resolution was adopted providing for joint action against "subversive" activities. Following this up, United States agents are now to be found allied with local reactionaries throughout Central and South America in every movement against the trade unions, the popular fronts, the Communist Parties, and the liberties generally of the Latin American peoples.

At present the Pan-American Union, upon U. S. initiation, is submitting a questionnaire to all the Latin American governments, inquiring minutely into "subversive" activities in their countries and regarding the measures that are being taken against them. This is obviously the prelude to an effort to foist upon the Latin American peoples a body of legislation restrictive of their liberties. It is an attempt to make the United States Department of Justice into a sort of general supervisor over the police departments of the Latin American countries. The growing American interference with Latin

American internal affairs is emphasized by Mr. Wallace in his book, *The American Choice*:

"Our intentions toward all neighbors on this hemisphere are peaceful, but our swords and the Latin American neighbors' must be sharp enough to deal promptly with any open or underhand effort to carry out on this hemisphere the methods that ruined Europe."

This rhetoric, translated into life, means Wall Street's Big Stick policy for the hemisphere.

The social-reformists are, in the main, serving as willing tools of Yankee imperialism in Latin America. The American Federation of Labor leadership has resurrected the almost forgotten Pan-American Federation of Labor and is embarking upon a campaign to break up Latin American trade union opposition to the plans of the Wall Street imperialists. The Socialist Parties in various Latin American countries, with their characteristic theory that United States imperialism is "better" than German imperialism, are also active instruments of the Yankee imperialists in undermining the peoples' resistance. Thus, says Marmaduke Grove, outstanding leader of the Socialist Party of Chile: "Between these two imperialisms, the Socialist Party of Chile, having to make an agreement that would permit the safeguarding of our independence and an immediate economic adjustment of our future, considers the democratic imperialism as the most likely."

Canada, as well as Latin America, is also undergoing heavy ideological pressure from the United States. The American radio, press, movies,

etc., are now carrying on an unprecedented deluge of propaganda in Canada, singing the praises of United States imperialism. This propaganda, although somewhat less condescending in tone than that directed toward Latin America, has a "big brother" note in it that forecasts the minor role intended for Canada. In the campaign to strengthen the Yankee grip upon Canada, the American reformist leaders of the A. F. of L., Railroad Brotherhoods, and C.I.O., who officially control most of the Canadian trade union movement, are doing their full part; while the Social-Democratic political organizations in Canada, by supporting the Anglo-American war alliance, are also easing the march of the Wall Street imperialists into Canada.

The Inter-Imperialist Struggle

By means of all the maneuvers and campaigns described above, Yankee imperialism has greatly strengthened its position in the Western Hemisphere at the expense of its chief imperialist rivals, Great Britain and Germany, and also at the cost of the many American peoples. The spreading of the great American Hemisphere military network has definitely given the United States a big advantage. Especially has England's position been weakened in the New World. As R. P. Dutt says in the *New Masses* (Dec. 17, 1940) regarding the new American bases in British colonies in the Americas: "In spite of all the anxious denials of any change of sovereignty . . . the lease of ninety-nine years is equivalent to cession."

Politically also, the United States

has made Hemisphere advances, to the detriment of Great Britain and Germany. Through the Pan-American Union, which the United States controls and dominates, it has managed to secure, to its own great advantage, some degree of unity, however shaky, of the 20 Latin American republics behind its imperialist plan of "Hemisphere defense." In many Latin American countries, Yankee influence over the corrupt ruling political circles has also been substantially increased. Especially is this true of the countries in the Caribbean area. Moreover, an increase of American political influence in Canada is to be noted.

By their economic offensive the Yankee imperialists have also strengthened themselves in the markets of Latin America. The *Labor Fact Book* 5 (page 24) states that, "During the first year of the war U. S. exports to Latin America rose 42 per cent over the previous 12-month period." And Mr. Nelson A. Rockefeller (*N. Y. Times*, May 12) asserts, "In the first quarter of 1941 our purchases [from Latin America] were 41 per cent higher than in the first quarter of 1940." Meanwhile, England's trade in this vast area remains virtually at stationary levels, while that of Germany, because of the British blockade, has been almost completely wiped out.

Great Britain and Germany, however, are not standing idly by while the United States strives to oust them from this great and rich territory. At the Lima, Panama and Havana conferences they tried to block the path of Yankee imperialism, but with no important success. Both of them, too, are resisting

every step to extend United States trade in Latin America. Even during the war England has sent important trade delegations into South America to strengthen its trade lines, and tried, ineffectively, a price-cutting trade war against the United States in Argentina. Germany, with its restricted means, also stubbornly resists Yankee penetration, and Japan is carrying on a big trade drive in the West Coast South American countries.

In Canada, also, British imperialism is stubbornly contesting the economic and political encroachments of Yankee imperialism.

Despite its successes, however, the United States has by no means decisively defeated its imperialist rivals in the Western Hemisphere: Increasingly, Latin America will become a rich stake and a battleground in the world struggle of the imperialist powers. After the war this territory doubtless will be the scene of a fierce trade struggle; especially should the Nazis emerge militarily victorious or semi-victorious. The Nazis have their greedy eyes fastened upon Latin America, and if opportunity presents, will try to impose upon it a slavery even worse than that which they have forced upon the occupied countries in Europe. Germany has a strong trade organization and a powerful grip upon the armies and governments of many Latin American states; it also knows how to utilize demagogically the sentiments of the masses against Yankee imperialism; and, most important, it will exploit the fact that the Latin American peoples are compelled to trade with Europe, as the United States is un-

able to buy more than 50 per cent of their exportable commodities.

The Resistance of the Peoples

Throughout the Western Hemisphere Yankee imperialism, with its program of war, conquest, enslavement and exploitation, is meeting with increasing opposition from the popular masses of the various countries. In Latin America especially, this opposition is acute and growing. It is also to be found in Canada and in the U. S. itself.

The national liberation movement in Latin America has grown greatly in the last few years. The trade unions have become strong (Mexico 600,000; Chile 350,000; Cuba 300,000; Argentina 300,000); the peasant movement has also made big strides; the students and professionals have become active; and some sections of the native bourgeoisie have been drawn into the movement. The national liberation struggle has reached its highest expression so far in the Popular Front movement of Chile, Mexico and Cuba, and in pronounced progressive trends in Argentina, Colombia, Venezuela and other countries. The Communist Parties are playing a big role in all this democratic development. More and more the vast popular forces are putting themselves athwart the path of advancing Yankee imperialism. Increasingly the many peoples sense the danger of the active military, economic and political policies of the United States and are making resistance to the maneuvers of the American imperialists.

The Latin American peoples do not take kindly to the type of inter-American "unity" developed by the

Pan-American Union, despite the seeming unanimity of their political heads at the various conferences of this body. They sense in this so-called Pan-American unity a developing United States domination. Consequently, very few of the decisions of the Pan-American Union conferences have been ratified by the respective Latin American governments. This is true of the vital resolutions adopted by the Havana Conference. Alarmed at this situation, bourgeois leaders in Latin America are now demanding an immediate conference of the various American Republics, "so that an emergency would not find this hemisphere as disunited as the Balkans were." (*N. Y. Times*, June 3.)

The peoples of Latin America, sharing popular opinion in the United States and Canada, do not want the war that the Roosevelt Government is trying to force them into. A writer in *Fortune* (May) says that in Argentina, "The slogans of 'neutrality' and 'national liberation' bring wild cheers from audiences," and the same is also true in every other country of the Western Hemisphere. President Roosevelt's belligerent "fireside chat" of May 27, in which, arbitrarily setting aside democratic processes, he undertook to outline a war program for the hemisphere, was received coldly, even in official circles, in the countries south of the "bulge" that are least under United States domination.

Latin American opinion also opposes the establishment of air-naval bases with which the United States is trying to encircle the Hemisphere. The peoples of Latin

America remember vividly that between 1900 and 1929 United States armed forces were used 36 times against their countries. So far, despite heavy pressure, the desired bases have not been conceded by any countries outside of the Caribbean area. *Fortune* (May) gives an inkling of mass Latin American resistance on this question:

"Opposition to the bases among the Argentine people is universal and unanimous. Most significant proof is that no political leader, even one who is pro-U.S., has dared come out openly in favor of them. It would be political suicide under democratic procedure. . . . Across the Plata estuary they have had before their eyes an obvious object lesson. President Baldomir of Uruguay, who publicly supported the bases, is fighting for his political life."

The Latin American peoples are also resisting the political intrigues of Yankee imperialism in their respective countries. Witness how they defeated the putsch against Batista in Cuba, the projected Almazan revolt in Mexico and also the attempt to destroy the Chilean Popular Front. In the same anti-imperialist spirit the peoples of Colombia and Venezuela have recently carried through progressive national elections. Many similar anti-imperialist movements are to be noted in Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, Puerto Rico, etc. Resistance to Yankee imperialism is also found in the economic sphere, as evidenced by the refusal of Chile to accept an American loan upon the hard terms laid down, and by the insistence by Brazil that it be allowed to build a steel mill out

of its loan from the United States.

Symptomatic of the growing hostility in Latin America against Yankee imperialism is the mass demand now sweeping these countries for the release of Earl Browder. Seeing in Comrade Browder a resolute fighter against imperialist domination and linking up his name with Carlos Prestes, the trade unions, peasant organizations, student bodies, liberal newspapers, etc., all over Latin America are insisting that he be set free. The movement has taken on such great proportions that it has become a real thorn in the side of the American State Department.

In Canada anti-U.S. imperialist sentiment is also rising. In spite of the much boasted-of unfortified frontier between the United States and Canada, the Canadian people have long been suspicious of the good intentions of the Wall Street moguls who have been so rapidly securing control over their most vital industries. This suspicion is growing into alarm as the masses of the Canadian people observe the obvious steps of the United States Government, aided by important sections of the Canadian bourgeoisie, to bring Canada more and more under its influence. Thus, the Mutual Defense Pact and the Hyde Park Pact have caused much popular uneasiness. And President Roosevelt's condescending offers to "defend" Canada provoked such an unfavorable reaction in that country that Prime Minister King, although a close collaborator with Roosevelt, felt called upon to state publicly that what Canada wanted was not protection from the United States but to engage with it in a

common defense effort. The looming threat of United States domination is bound to play more and more of a role in Canadian politics.

In the United States proper democratic opposition to Yankee imperialist conquest of the Western Hemisphere is confused and not well organized. The workers and farmers of the United States naturally have no desire to oppress or exploit the other peoples of the Hemisphere, but they do not see clearly en masse that such domination, by strengthening reaction in the United States and by plunging this country into endless wars, would also work against the people's interests in this country, as well as against those of the other peoples of the Hemisphere. The mass opposition in this country to American imperialism takes on rather the more general form of a stubborn struggle against the policy of plunging the United States into the war and against the policies of dictatorship and exploitation of Yankee imperialism at home. Meanwhile, American Federation of Labor leaders and C.I.O. leaders of the Hillman brand are trying to utilize their trade unions to strengthen the drive of Yankee imperialism in Latin America, and "peace" advocates such as Lindbergh, Wheeler, Norman Thomas, etc., each with his own argumentation, definitely try to lure the people into supporting a United States conquest of the Western Hemisphere.

The American Peoples Versus Yankee Imperialism

The many peoples of the three Americas have a common interest in preventing the realization of

Wall Street's "New Order" for the Western Hemisphere. Yankee imperialism, like British and German imperialism, has nothing to offer the toiling masses of this Hemisphere, including the United States, except poverty, exploitation, fascism and war. Throughout the Hemisphere, therefore, the people's forces of democracy, peace and progress should unite to prevent the consummation of these disasters. Especially should the peoples of Canada and the United States realize the necessity for collaboration with the democratic masses of Latin America against the common menace of Wall Street imperialism.

To bring about such unity, however, these great democratic forces must clearly understand that United States imperialism now definitely constitutes the most threatening imperialist danger to the Latin American peoples; that President Roosevelt has long since abandoned his limited reform program and is now the chief spokesman for Wall Street; that his "Good Neighbor" policy is only an ideological screen for an aggressive Yankee imperialism; that the so-called Hemisphere defense policy in reality is an attempt of the United States to establish military hegemony over the other American countries and to swing them behind its war program of world imperialist conquest; that the developing economic and political "collaboration" between the United States and the rest of the countries of the Hemisphere is taking forms that are resulting in Wall Street domination. Much confusion still exists among the anti-imperialist forces upon all these questions, with the consequent serious weak-

ening of the people's movement.

Unity of program and action among the Latin American peoples is especially needed. The policy of these states of dealing one by one with the United States on vital questions is disastrous. Only when they move in a bloc can they hope to present a sufficient counterweight to that of the United States. Already there are many signs of a growing Latin American unity, especially indicated by the establishment of the Latin American Confederation of Labor and the holding of many conferences among the Latin-American peoples upon various economic, political and cultural questions. One such conference was held recently in Montevideo between representatives of Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Bolivia and Brazil. Another took place in Haiti, among the Caribbean countries, including Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Mexico, Dominican Republic, San Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama. Plans are also now going forward for an Amazon conference of nations drained by that great river. All these Latin American conferences and unity developments are looked upon with hostility by the U. S. State Department as infringements upon the role of the Pan-American Union, which it dominates and controls.

The basis for a real Latin American unity, in the various countries and internationally, is the People's Front, founded upon an alliance between the workers and peasants. Considerable sections of the bourgeoisie usually support this anti-imperialist movement; but, because of the deepening economic crisis in

their countries, the closing of foreign markets against them, the increased political and military pressure from the imperialists, and their fear of the growing democratic spirit of the people, many of the native capitalists are inclined to yield to one group or another of the rival imperialists, especially those of Wall Street.

Everywhere the workers in Latin America must be the leaders in the struggle against imperialism. And only to the extent that they establish democracy in their own countries by breaking down the domination of the many dictators of the Vargas and Trujillo type can they hope to create an effective defense against Yankee imperialism.

The most urgent task now in the Hemisphere anti-imperialist struggle is the fight for peace. The Latin American peoples should refuse to be a tail to the war plans of Yankee imperialism. In the same spirit the Canadian people are increasingly demanding that their country withdraw from the war. In the United States the slogan that correctly expresses the people's sentiments is "Get out and stay out of the war." The Anglo-American war alliance offers nothing to the peoples of the Americas except endless slaughter and enslavement. The correct orientation for the nations of this Hemisphere should be toward a people's peace, based upon principles of no annexations and no indemnities, and put through in collaboration with the Soviet Union and the democratic masses of the world.

Inseparable from this struggle for world peace is the necessity to prevent Yankee imperialism from mili-

tarily dominating this Hemisphere. There must be no United States air and naval bases upon Latin American or Canadian soil, no military "protection" of the other American countries by the United States. Democratically governed and united among themselves, these countries will be well able to protect their peoples against imperialist aggression, whether it should come from abroad or from within the Hemisphere.

A halt must also be put to the political interference of Yankee imperialism in the life of the smaller American peoples. Full national independence for all the states of the Western Hemisphere should be a rallying cry for the anti-imperialist forces throughout North, Central and South America. The establishment of national independence has long been an urgent issue throughout Latin America. Now the strengthening and defense of its national independence, especially as against the advance of United States imperialism, is also becoming a major issue in Canada. As the beleaguered British Empire weakens and its connections with its American possessions loosen, and as the United States reaches out to grab these dominions and colonies, the Canadian people are finding it more and more necessary to defend themselves against their powerful neighbor to the South who is so anxious to "protect" them. The island colonies of France and other countries that may be "taken over" also must not be allowed to become mere United States colonies, under pretenses of joint Pan-American control, but should be granted the right of self-determination.

The struggle of the Latin American peoples for national liberation must have its economic base. These countries need to prevent the United States from monopolizing their markets by ruthless trade drives, by control of export of "war materials," and other devices. These countries need imperatively to insist upon the right to trade freely with the rest of the world, without United States interference. Furthermore, instead of supporting a general customs union, to include the United States, the Latin American countries should cultivate freer trading relations amongst themselves. United States loans to the Latin American countries must not bear restrictions tending to reduce the latter's economies into colonial adjuncts to the United States industrial system, but should be so formulated as to allow the necessary fully-rounded-out industrialization. The nationalization of key resources and industries now held by U. S. and other imperialist interests in Latin America is also

imperative for a sound economic system in those countries.

The present vigorous ideological drive of Yankee imperialism by means of the press, radio, delegations of movie stars, political pressure, etc., throughout the Hemisphere should be countered by the development of an active propaganda for peace, democracy and socialism. It is high time that the anti-imperialist forces of the Hemisphere utilize the great educational opportunities that are at their disposal in their many organizations.

In the far-flung struggle that is developing throughout the Western Hemisphere between Yankee imperialism and the people's forces of democracy and progress the latter are potentially by far the stronger. But they still grievously lack unity of organization and program. In building this great movement, to keep our Hemisphere from being enslaved by reactionary, war-making capitalists, no body of workers has a greater responsibility than those in the United States.