

U.S. RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

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THE COLLABORATION, politically, economically, and culturally, of all the nations of the Western Hemisphere is indispensable for the well-being of these peoples. It is also one of the basic conditions for a powerful United Nations and for maintaining world peace. In order that such all-American cooperation may exist to the fullest extent, each of the nations of North, Central, and South America must enjoy full national independence, become broadly industrialized, and exercise the right to develop its internal democracy entirely without reactionary outside interference. However, the powerful imperialist interests of the United States reject these necessary bases of all-American cooperation. These exploiters of the peoples consider the Latin-American countries as their

special imperialist preserve, and they are following policies which seriously infringe upon the national freedom, industrialization, and democracy of the Latin American peoples.

This interference by United States imperialism in the lives of the 140,000,000 Latin Americans must cease. It is a grave injury to the peoples south of the Rio Grande. Moreover, it works serious harm to the people of the United States by hampering the development of friendly economic and political relations with the many Latin American republics, and it is also a menace to world peace. Among the many changes in the policies of the United States toward Latin America that the Communist Party of the United States fights for, and in these matters it undoubtedly expresses the will of millions of our citizens, are the following.

First, a drastic change is necessary in the attitude of the United States towards the national independence of Latin American countries. To begin with, the United States must concede the full right of self-determination to Puerto Rico, without any "ifs," "ands," or "buts." In doing this, the United States must also grant the necessary funds to the Puerto Rican people as indemnification for their long colonial status, as well as make trade agreements of such a character that Puerto Rico may prosper economically. To do this is an obligation which the United States cannot evade, and which all of Latin America and the progres-

sive movement in the United States should insist upon.

The United States should also turn over to the Latin American governments the various military bases it now holds in their respective countries, and promptly repatriate all the American soldiers, sailors, and marines now in these lands. The war has long been over, and the continued holding of these bases can only serve to intimidate the various Latin American peoples. It is ridiculous to try to justify our maintaining these bases on the ground that they are necessary for the military security of the United States.

The United States must also refrain from interfering militarily in the life of Latin American peoples, either on its own initiative, as in the Hoover days, or jointly with Latin American governments, as proposed recently by Uruguay. Such military intervention could only result in United States domination of the country invaded. Should it become necessary to restrain by armed force any aggressor nation in the Western Hemisphere, this should be the responsibility of the Security Council of the United Nations Organization, not of the United States or of any group of Latin American countries under United States leadership.

Another important necessity for strengthening Latin American independence is that in the General Assembly of the UNO there must be no pressure exerted by the United States upon the Latin American

nations to compel them to form a bloc under control of the United States, as is now the case. The preservation of world peace and the stability of the UNO, as well as international collaboration throughout the Western Hemisphere, demand that in the UNO the Latin American nations should act as free and independent nations, and not as subordinate parts of an imperialist bloc under the domination of the United States.

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Secondly, we must develop a helpful role on the part of the United States in the industrialization of Latin America. It is an undeniable fact that the United States policy has long worked against the growth of a diversified industry in the Latin American countries. This policy harms every American nation, including the United States. For at least fifty years our economic policy in Latin America has been basically colonial. It has been directed, on the one hand, at monopolizing the markets for the United States, and, on the other hand, at preventing the development of Latin American industries competitive with those in the United States. This policy was essentially continued with some modifications, under the liberal Roosevelt regime, and is even more emphasized under President Truman. To change these reactionary policies and to facilitate the industrialization of Latin America, a number of major measures are necessary.

For one thing, the United States should at once extend large loans to the democratic nations of Latin America, where such loans have the sanction of the trade unions and other peoples' organizations in the Latin American countries concerned. These loans should be for long terms and should bear low interest rates, if any. The loans should also be free of reactionary political conditions and should be available for the broadest and most varied industrialization.

The Latin American nations must also be recognized as having the fullest freedom to trade among themselves and abroad, by barter and otherwise, without United States interference. At present, however, the United States is treading heavily upon the right of the Latin American nations to trade with one another. Moreover, the young, new industries of Latin America should be protected through the necessary devices in trade agreements against what would otherwise be the fatal competition of the highly developed industries of the United States. The so-called "Economic Charter," adopted not long ago at Chapultepec, is an imperialist document which unduly favors United States trade and capital investment. It should, therefore, be radically amended to meet the needs of the Latin American peoples.

That the industrialization of Latin America will benefit the United States greatly, by considerably in-

creasing United States foreign trade with the countries to the south of us, is evidenced by the case of Canada. Canada, which is a highly industrialized country, has more trade with the United States than all of the Latin American countries combined, although it has less than one-tenth of their population.

In the United States, we Communists will do everything in our power to make our whole nation understand that in the interest of its own liberty and well-being it must bring our government to follow a policy of treating Cuba, Mexico, Chile, Brazil, Panama and all of the Latin American countries as countries equal in independence and rights with the United States, and that the United States must aid them in their economic development.

We Communists of the United States will not limit ourselves to general declarations. We will support the aspirations of Cuba to have guarantees for her sugar crop, corresponding to the help Cuba gives to the United States by selling it almost her entire production of sugar at a reduced price. We will support militantly every progressive demand of every Latin American country that advances the welfare and economy of its people.

It is important, in working for Latin American trade and industrialization, that every Latin American nation should concern itself with all the economic agreements entered into between the United States and

individual Latin American countries. They should do this both with and without the Pan-American Union. This collaboration is necessary because the Latin American peoples are not strong enough to bargain individually on an equal basis with the much more powerful United States. Experience has long demonstrated that, when they engage in such individual bargaining, as they now practice, they fall easy victims to imperialist-minded United States monopolists. The more the Latin American countries cooperate together in economic and political affairs, the more favorable terms they will arrive at with the United States, and the better it will be for all the peoples concerned.

In the postwar period, with peace prevailing, the most potent imperialist weapon possessed by the United States is not its Army, Navy, or Air Force, and, likewise, not its atom bomb; it is its vast financial and economic power. With huge resources at its command, it can and does compel borrowing nations to grant it important political concessions. The United States, therefore, cannot expect to be permitted, in a world wrecked by war, to use recklessly this powerful economic strength on an international scale, any more than it would be permitted to employ its military force as it sees fit. Therefore, all the Latin American countries must especially concern themselves with the character of their general economic re-

lations with the United States. The regulation of the way in which the United States uses its economic power is a major question that should also interest the UNO itself. It will be difficult for the people of the United States to understand the need for such regulation, but it is one of the lessons we must learn in the difficult international situation now confronting us.

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Thirdly, it is vital to fight for a change in the attitude of the United States towards democracy in Latin American countries. The rapidly growing democratic forces of Latin America have many enemies to fight—among others, landowners, big capitalists, fascists and reactionary clericals. And not the least of their enemies are the imperialists of the United States and Great Britain, exploiters who are uniformly to be found on the side of reaction. Have we not recently seen Berle's insolent interference in the Brazilian elections, the importation of arms into Mexico from the United States by Sinarquistas, and similar reactionary incidents throughout Latin America? And just now Carlos Prestes has warned us that reactionary forces in the United States, to save their own interests, are trying to provoke a war between Brazil and Argentina. While taking advantage of all contradictions between rival imperialist powers, the Argentine peoples must understand that

the present hostile attitude of the United States Department of State toward the notoriously reactionary and pro-fascist Peron government of Argentina is primarily designed to break the power of its strong rival in that country, British imperialism. The United States is not fighting for Argentinian democracy as such, but for its own reactionary imperialist interests.

Obviously, United States opposition to Latin American democracy, and its reactionary interference in the life of the various countries, constitute a danger to all the peoples of this hemisphere. The Latin American nations are quite qualified to establish their own democracy without the more than dubious interference of United States imperialism, and to this end they should be supported by the labor movement, and by the progressives generally, in the United States.

An especially dangerous form of imperialist attack against Latin American democracy is the persistent attempt of the reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor to split the Latin American trade union movement. During the past dozen years the workers of Latin America, in the face of fascist terror and extreme reaction, have built splendid trade union organizations, in many countries, totalling several millions of members. These unions, in their mutual interest, have combined themselves into the Latin American Confederation of Labor,

headed by Lombardo Toledano. But the leaders of the A. F. of L. are arrogantly trying to wreck this great new labor movement. The workers of Latin America, therefore, should understand and deal with such disrupting efforts for what they are—maneuvers of United States imperialism. Men like Matthew Woll, the A. F. of L. specialist on Latin America, are as much imperialist in their outlook as the big monopolists themselves, and they should be treated as such. The project of the A. F. of L. leaders to split the labor movement of Latin America is the labor phase of the attempt by the imperialists of the United States to strengthen their grip on Latin America. In this sense, the A. F. of L.'s splitting program should be fought both by the workers of Latin America and of the United States.

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The above-mentioned measures are some of the major changes in the policy of the United States, which must be fought for to eliminate interference with the national independence, industrialization, and democratization of the countries of Latin America. For the most part, changes in the policy of the United States along the lines here suggested would have the general support of millions of workers and other progressive forces in the United States, and they would also have the backing of the peoples of Latin America.

They would help to create sound relations in general between the United States and Latin America. A free, industrialized, democratic Latin America will benefit the people of the United States, as well as the Latin American nations themselves.

One of the most progressive and hopeful developments in the world today is the growing struggle of the Latin American peoples for the complete national independence of their countries, for the development of an expanded industrialization that will radically improve their living standards, and for an advanced democracy that will guarantee the civil liberties of their nations. In this great progressive struggle the Communist Parties throughout Latin America are playing a vital, leading role. The tremendous surge for-

ward of the many Latin American nations, of which Brazil is at present such a striking example, also has the good wishes and the support of progressive-minded forces all over the world, including the vast majority of the people of the United States. This great advance of the Latin American peoples is invincible. It cannot be defeated by Latin American reactionaries, nor by the imperialists of the United States and their labor lackeys of the Matthew Woll type. Latin America is fast travelling the path of progress. The road upward is hard, but the victory will be yours. Irresistibly, Latin America is on the way to becoming one of the freest, most prosperous, and most democratic areas in the world, and, therewith, it will also become one of the basic foundations of world progress and peace.