# *Imperialism And Brazil*

By ELLEN WARD

(*Concluded from last week*)

TO combat the rise of the Integralistas, a united front of left, liberal elements, was attempted in 1935 under the name of "National Liberation Alliance," captained by the now famous Carlos Prestes so long a prisoner, and under the leadership of the Communist Party. The program of this Alliance contained the following planks: 1. suspension of payments on the foreign debt; 2. government control of public utilities; 3. division of the large landed estates; 4. separation of Church and state; 5. the 8-hour day for labor; 6. establishment of a minimum wage; and 7. social insurance.

Before we set down what happened to this alliance and to its program, we want to call the reader's attention to the fact that the above was enunciated in the period before the People's Front madness set in to build a Tower of Babel among the workers.

In November 1935, shortly after the enunciation of the above program, two Brazilian states revolted on purely local issues of autonomy, as they have frequently done during the past century. The Alliance, with a great romantic yen for strength and power, decided to support this purely political clique revolt. As might have been expected this silly adventurism led to disastrous results. The central government was able to decimate the movement and all of its leading spirits. From this blow, the movement has not yet recovered. A few months after the jailings, the Communist Party issued an underground manifesto in which it blandly announced: "In Brazil the time is not yet ripe for a workers and peasants dictatorship much less for a proletarian dictatorship," and it urged upon the Brazilian people the formation of the Popular Front!

### The U. S. A. In Brazil

Despite the aggressive penetration of European fascist ideology, the largest business concerns in Brazil are still American. The United States is still Brazil's principal market, taking 50% of all of her exports; 54% of her coffee and an even higher percentage of the better grades; 80% of her cocoa and 83% of all her rubber. From these few figures, it is obvious how much the economic welfare of Brazil depends upon the United States. And, whether landowner-capitalist democracy or military dictatorship attempts to guide the destinies of Brazil, these facts tie her to the United States, and the American State Department has known how to use the full force of its pressure. Today Hull works with greater caution and discretion in the affairs of Latin America because he must seek not to offend at a time when he is so eager to win active allies—but he succeeds just the same in making his meaning clear: the protection of American imperialist interests is first and foremost on the State Department calendar. And on this question there are no two groups in the State Department, as Harry Gannes of the Daily Worker would lead us to believe. The Stalinites have divided every department of our government into two groups: Group 1, the "economic royalists" and Group 2, those who are ready

(*Continued on Page* 6)

# Imperialism In Brazil

(*Continued from Page 3*)

to run and fight for "democracy" in the new "collective-security" crusade. And so, in their "profound" analysis, they have found that Sumner Welles is the "economic royalist" in the State Department, while Hull is bolstering up Litvinov. But this analysis seems hardly to be borne out by the facts, for it appears that precisely Sumner Welles, whose first care since the coup has been Vargas of Brazil, has greeted with satisfaction the suppression of the pro-German Integralista party. Only a few days ago, Vargas himself arrested the leading figures of this party. The New York Times of March 22 carried a dispatch under a Berlin dateline, quoting from the Nazi Diplomatische Korrespondenz a vigorous attack upon the Vargas regime. We are going to let Gannes figure that out in his next column.

### England In Brazil

Where does England stand in Brazil? Despite the fact that the Italian government has endowed several chairs in the University of Sao Paulo and despite the fascist press, which continues to magnify the Hitler regime as the greatest bulwark against Bolshevism and democracy, England is still in full control of Brazil's public utilities. She owns its largest mines and its largest cotton and coffee plantations and England is only second to the United States as a market for Brazil's products.

The joint campaign of England and the United States is now in full swing. They have arranged for regular short-wave broadcasts which will scramble the sounds coming from Germany and Italy and give precedence to their own propaganda; they have organized regular press and cable propaganda to combat the "nuisance" of the Mussolini-Hitler combine. They are determined to keep the Integralistas from seizing power, for such an eventuality would make it difficult to keep their hands on Brazil's priceless store of raw materials. They feel they can play ball with Vargas. They find in him another good, old-fashioned Latin American dictator—a la Juan Vincente Gomez of Venezuela. They are used to deal with such men. As a matter of fact American and British imperialisms prefer men like Vargas to democratic regimes in the semi-colonial countries. They prefer them because they can squeeze more dollars and pounds out of a dictatorial regime than from one that even pretends to observe the democratic forms of government.

In the meantime, the latest developments in Brazil appear to be to the entire satisfaction of the United States government. Dr. Oswaldo Aranha has just been appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was ambassador to Washington until only a few weeks ago and is outspokenly the closest friend of American interests in Brazil. The State Department, commenting on the appointment, assured American interests that Dr. Aranha will be "welcomed thruout the Americas. He is so staunch a democrat that his entrance into the cabinet of Pres. Vargas is construed as an assurance that the regime is not modeled on the European fascist dictatorships. He is so devoted to the cause of peace in this hemisphere that his direction of Brazil's foreign affairs is a guarantee that its great influence will be exercised to advance closer inter-American relations."

All this, of course, does not mean that the fascist powers will stop pressing for advantage. But it does mean that the Anglo-American countries have more than the edge on them in Brazil and are likely to increase their gains in the near future.

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*(This concludes the second article in Ellen Ward's series, "Fascism Over Latin America." The third article, dealing with Argentina, will appear in the next issue.*—The Editor.)

## PROGRESSIVES S ELECTIONS

Flint, Mich.

Following up their recent sweeping victory in the general elections of Flint Local 156, United Automobile Workers, the progressives scored another big triumph last week in the divisional elections of the Chevrolet plant here. With over 2,400 workers voting, the entire progressive slate, with one exception, emerged victorious. Only one adherent of the "unity" caucus was chosen as committeeman as against twelve officers and committeemen from the progressive