

paragraphs of the Guatemalan Foreign Minister, Licenciado Enrique Muñoz Meany. We deeply regret not having also at hand the very interesting remarks of the illustrious ex-Foreign Secretary of Mexico, Jaime Torres Bodet; of the Head of the Uruguayan Delegation, Doctor Dardo Regules; of the eminent Panamenian internationalist, Doctor Ricardo J. Alfaro, and of other outstanding Spanish-American personalities, to whom we would not forgive ourselves for not rendering in this essay the homage of admiration and sympathy due to them.

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Doctor Antonio Parra Velasco.—"America must be a Continent of free peoples. We must contribute to the liberation of the people who manifest their will to this respect. I express here not only the fervent desire, but also the duty to co-operate in every way with the American countries or territories which are still living under the colonial system". (Plenary session of April 5th).

Romulo Betancourt.—"There exists a close link between the problem of liberty in America and the irritating survival of the colonial system on our soil. The fact that the dominion of colonizing powers over vast regions of the Hemisphere should have been permitted to subsist, weakens the collective faith in the efficiency of the Pan-American system. And this feeling is accentuated when one observes that the colonial status of America has not been modified, whereas the Philippines, an India and a Burma, already free, have become a part of the international community".

"In this matter of the Agenda, the Venezuelan position is categorical and definitive: we consider incompatible with the Inter-American system any reasoning whatsoever of a historical, economic or strategic nature that might be invoked as a justification of the colonial system on this Continent". (Plenary session of April 6th).

"It is the unavoidable obligation of the American States to contribute by means of a decided effort, to our Hemisphere really becoming a land of liberty and justice. But it would still be necessary to point to another circumstance which imposes upon us the moral obligation of exhibiting irreproachable titles of democratic sincerity and social concern. I allude to the courageous and decided attitude assumed by this IXth International American Conference towards the problem of the colonial system, inspired by the common wish and eagerness that the people who are still waiting for their emancipation may enjoy justice and freedom".

"Even if we had not fulfilled any other task at Bogota, this energetic and weighty agreement would justify us in the eyes of future generations. We have once more set our feet on the path of The Liberator, who did not want to let his arm rest as long as a single square foot of American soil was submitted to foreign tutelage or occupied by extracontinental powers. From now onwards the people subjected to such tutelage will know how the Organization of the American States have collectively made the colonial question their own. And the hope will be kindled so that continental solidarity may hasten the historical process, channeled on the basis of realities towards pacific and conciliatory solutions, the crowning point of which shall

be the total emancipation of America". (Closing session at the House of Bolivar on April 30th, 1948.)

Licenciado Enrique Muñoz Meany.—"This Conference must provide the opportunity to create a lasting work of integration and consolidation of the American conscience. Our peoples forebode the approach of grave happenings in the world, and consider that it is necessary to be united at the hour of the great crisis. Here we must think American ideas; adopt an American conduct, in a universal function, in order to serve mankind better. America is more than a geographical notion: it is a modus of seeing and understanding life, adjusted to the highest values of justice and liberty; it is a spiritual state of millions of men. Therefore, all limitations and interferences mortify and irritate like a thorn in the flesh: the spiritual evolution of America has rendered incompatible the colonial system on her soil and her coasts".

"We harbour no bad feelings against any colonial power; but the colonial system in America, like all anachronisms, must come to an end. Guatemala interprets the longings of the people of the Continent on asserting that the historical process of American emancipation will not have been completed as long as there subsist on our Hemisphere regions subjected to a colonial regime, political dependency or economic subordination which prevent the integral process of subjugated peoples. Incompatible with the ideals of America, and contrary to the principles proclaimed at the Inter-American Conferences, the colonial system ruptures the unity of the Continent, essential premise for the

efficiency of the Inter American system and for guaranteeing to all our countries the benefits of civilization".

"We do not want foreign lands; we are satisfied with recovering our own. It suffices us to reconstruct America and give it back its profile, now deformed by the continued intrusion of extrarcontinental sovereignties. America must become that which has not been achieved so far due to the existence of colonial wedges: America only. For America must reach its own plenitude; be entirely America, in order to better fulfil its destiny".

"The anti-colonial thesis of Guatemala is one of those which has awakened the deepest interest; an interest full of sympathy, which counts with the adherence of those governments who know how to interpret the feeling of their people. This feeling is expressed by a unanimous clamour and vibration which has reached the ears of all of us. It will be faced—we know it—by possible objections: it will be said that the moment is not propitious for the re-incorporation of the colonial trading-centers of the new world into the hierachy of authentically American countries; that on the horizon of the world thunder-clouds are gathering. Guatemala asserts, now as ever, her position of solidarity with the line of the Continent, and considers that America's friendship with the European world will become firmer and closer upon the disappearance of irritating presences such as the colonial residues on this Hemisphere".

"We uphold our desire of co-operation with all the nations; but we consider it paramount that America be united and free of all interference in order to fulfil her destiny. Our passion for liberty would be incomprehensible, while having on this Continent flagrant demonstrations to

the contrary, with territories subjected to the bondage of colonial rule and dictatorship. It is absurd to offer one's blood to consolidate the dignity of the world, when foreign powers maintain as their subjects men who ought to be citizens of free countries"... "To elude, or to postpone in any manner or with any pretext a categorical resolution on this point, which involves the most evident proof of our solidarity, would be to defraud our America".

"The map of Guatemala shows the bleeding wound of a territorial mutilation: a fifth part of her territory lopped off by one of the most powerful empires of the world"... "We claim clearly and emphatically the right of sovereignty to soil of our own, to soil which is part of the very body of our fatherland"... "The oecumenical moment has come when America sees an equal danger and injury to all her peoples, in any demonstration of force deployed against any one of them, such as has occurred in the case of Guatemala. An extracontinental power, in reply to our juridical arguments, has attempted to intimidate us with battleships which fought Nazism "for the defense of weak nations" and which have now been directed, threateningly, against an American Republic, an ally of yesterday and a friend of today".

"The Continent does not ignore the spoliation of Guatemala nor the armed provocation of which she has recently been a victim. Neither does it ignore that, in these very moments, there are still on Guatemalan soil armed forces and war equipment which an extracontinental power has disembarked in the new world; nor that such unfriendly acts constitute an insult to one of its Republics, a challenge to the American system and an affront to our

Pan-American ideals"... "If we had not counted and did not count in the future with the support of the American nations, there would be reason to doubt of the sincerity and intentions of the Inter American system, which we have been building up in good faith and which today we propose to embody within a congruent whole, in formulas of permanent validity and executive efficiency".

"We are assembled here, Messrs. Delegates, for the purpose of accomplishing a high mission. On the soil of Colombia, whose Government offers us such courteous hospitality, there are traces of the liberating legions. They nourished with their blood, on this very soil, their dreams of liberty. It is quite an admonition to us to attempt, once and again, to become more essentially American and to never betray the impetus of Bolivar, which flows through the veins of the Continent". (Plenary session of April 8th).

Daily "El Tiempo", newspaper of ex-President doctor Eduardo Santos.—"The problem of Belice must not be viewed with indifference by the present Assembly of the American Nations. Since it is not possible to adopt any unilateral measure, it is convenient and necessary that the Conference make a categorical, clear and precise declaration on the recognition of American sovereignty over the territories which are still in the hands of European nations". (Bogota, April 9th.)

A few weeks earlier the following lines were published in an editorial of the same newspaper: "Nobody can doubt the justice of Guatemala's cause, nor can there be restric-

tions to the sympathies of universal democracy, and particularly that of America, with the just and serene amends to which that country is entitled. It is to be hoped that England will not follow, regarding Guatemala, a moral policy inferior to that followed by her in the case of Burma and India".

In the same way "El Espectador", the morning-paper "Jornada", organ of the Liberal Party, and even "El Siglo", the daily of the conservatives, expressed their opinions against the colonial system and against the aggression to Guatemala. "All these publications—wrote the famous Uruguayan commentator Carlos Deambrosis Martins— gave a prominent place on their first page to the anti-colonial problem, as well as to the news published in all the American press on Guatemala and the occurrences of Belice. It may be said that Latin-America vibrated in unison; and as if striking one only chord, the papers synchronized the protests of the entire Spanish-American thought against England's attitude".

SYNTHESIS OF THE OPINIONS OF THREE REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR CULTURE: VASCONCELOS, SANIN CANO, HENRIQUEZ Y CARVAJAL

HOWEVER, as objections might be raised to the statements of the Foreign Secretaries, arguing for the sake of arguing their necessarily political bias, notably in the case of those countries directly affected by the colonial system; and as journalism could likewise be accused of the same *sin*, if one can say that it is *wrong* to defend

a culture and a tradition, or aspiration to liberty... we shall then leave the floor to non-political intellectuals, whose criterion nobody can consider biased: to a Mexican, the philosopher José Vasconcelos; to a thinker of Colombia above suspicion, the writer Baldomero Sanín Cano; and to the venerable and centenary doctor don Federico Henríquez y Carvajal, ex-President of the Dominican Republic, intimate friend of José Martí, illustrious personage of the category of Betances, Hostos, Enrique José Varona and other great men of the Antilles who continue to be the beacon lights of Spanish America.

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Licenciado José Vasconcelos.—"What will Pan Americanism do?" This was the question Licenciado Vasconcelos asked himself, when the English men-of-war supported by-gone invasions of territorial waters of Central America and of the Argentine Republic. And he gave his answer in sentences such as the following, in the weekly "Todo": "We find ourselves faced in these days with events transcendental for the future of our Hispanic Continent"... "The manner in which England occupied a century ago the territories which are now being disputed, cannot create any right whatsoever. Even between individuals a mere occupation, within a civilized order, is very far from creating a legal right. It is always necessary that there exist a principle, a budding justification, to permit the occupation of a house or land. To expel the owner by force does not entitle one to the ownership. Can there be a lawcourt which accepts as a principle of legal possession an armed assault?" "The Guianas must belong to Venezuela and, possibly, part of them to Brazil. Belice must be Guatemalan"...

"In the eyes of Law the position of Argentina and Chile is firm: that of England unsustainable"... "Since some time ago and in the numerous Pan American Congresses the interest of each one of our nations is being asserted, and that an injury proffered to one of them is an injury which offends us all. Either these words are empty, or it is evident that we are obliged to help our own people!"

"On the part of the United States there is perhaps no problem. They have never renounced to their Monroe Doctrine which, in principle, forbids Europe to maintain colonies in the new world. But up to now this prohibition has not been in force against England. Maybe because England contributed to the development of the Yankee imperialism by helping to destroy the Spanish might in America. It is time, however, that this debt be considered as settled. It is time that each of us claims what is his"... "The proclaimed equality of strong and weak nations in the eyes of the law is waiting to be applied in the case of the Malvinas and the Antarctica, in the case of Belice, of Venezuela and the Guianas"... "Pan Americanism has in these moments a brilliant opportunity to prove that it is something more than an exchange of notes between State Departments, destined to disguise the old principle of the omnipotence of the strongest".

Baldomero Sanín Cano.—"If one consults the historical background of the colonial problem of our Hemisphere, one indisputable truth stands out. The liberty of all its territorial extension and the form of popular government in the various American nationalities, are a historical destiny. The suppression of the colonial system is comprised within the

rulings of that political orientation"... "Nature itself indicates that the colonial system was an error of centuries in which man had not yet discovered himself. Ever since man, thanks to the discovery of America, acquired the notion of his personality as distinct from State, class or lineage, he sought in these lands an environment favourable to the fulfilment of his new life and of his reasoned hopes".

"Consequently, the disappearance of the colonial system in this Hemisphere will be accomplished historically, in spite of the fears, ambitions, anxieties or opinions of individuals or States who are inspired by the necessity of attending to ambiguous and transitory interests. The independence of the colonies of America is today a necessity as urgent as in 1776, 1810 and 1898"... "The presence of European colonies on this side of the Atlantic, involves the possibility of the cataclysm of a new war spreading to our coasts and even to the interior of the Continent, jeopardizing the historical mission of this part of the world. Thus America would fall victim to an era of wars like those which have devoured Europe. And if the strife should become located in the Caribbean, the Southern Atlantic or in the neighborhood of those privileged regions where the great rivers of America mingle their waters with those of the ocean, history will follow other courses which will not be those of liberty and reason".

"It is sufficient to contemplate present international politics and to compare how in each continent the mission of conferences such as the one being held right now in Bogota is fulfilled, in order to understand the danger which the European colonies constitute for the new world. As against the permanent misgivings, the foreboding distrust

and the gloomy suspicions of the great powers, what predominates here is the sincere hope of a happy understanding on the basis of reason, justice and a profound sense of unity". (Bogota, April 5th, 1948.)

Doctor Federico Henríquez y Carvajal.—Ten years ago, in a message sent to the VIIIth Inter American Conference assembled at Lima, together with my distinguished compatriot Americo Lugo, on postulating that *America must not be a land of colonization*, we said: "The first act of sincere application of this postulate must consist in that the United States of America renounce to their domination over the Island of Puerto Rico. A free Puerto Rico is the necessary condition to assure a permanent and worthy peace on this Hemisphere; to turn America into the continent of peace without oppressions nor hegemonies; and it is also the only title which would give America the right to demand and obtain the abolition of the European colonial power in the new world".

"The IXth Inter American Conference which has just been held at Bogota —to which I owe the honour, for which I am very grateful, of a motion adopted unanimously by all the Delegations on the occasion of my hundredth birthday— created an Inter American Commission to study the problem of the colonies in America, a Commission which is to come together these days to commence its labours. I cannot let this event of great transcendency go by without making a warm appeal to its prominent members exhorting them not to forget that the best homage which can be rendered in the land of Martí to the American

liberators, is to advocate for the complete extinction of all colonial power in America, including Porto Rico".

"Thus —looking at the whole of America free of foreign domination, each people enjoying its sovereignty and independence, with absolute respect for the dignity of man— should I wish to end the long process of my life, with a clear conscience, with love for all my fellow creatures, and with a vote of gratitude for all those who heap respect and distinctions on me". ("Message to America on my Hundredth Birthday", September 16, 1948.—Reproduced in "Repertorio Americano", San José, Costa Rica.)

THE CASE OF PORTO RICO

IT is moving, profoundly instructive, this message of Federico Henríquez y Carvajal on the occasion of his hundredth birthday. And his warning against the colonial system acquires greater force still if one remembers that precisely his country, the Dominican Republic, abstained from voting that resolution, together with the U. S. A. and Brazil. It is indubitable that the voice of this eminent continental personality, to whom the Bogota Conference itself sent a fervent greeting on his hundredth anniversary, will serve to make the United States think that if anybody is right, in this case, it is the man who has been able to live a century without departing from his principles or turning a deaf ear to the dictates of his conscience.

What cannot fail either to impress the Honorable State Department is doctor Henríquez y Carvajal's outspoken opinion on the independence of Porto Rico, a subject to which, in their speeches at Bogota, some Foreign Secretaries

and Heads of Delegations likewise alluded. Don Federico condemns the "status" of this sister country, which already enjoyed a certain autonomy when the war between the U. S. A. and Spain broke out in 1898. After the defeat of the Spanish monarchy the Treaty of Paris was signed, just now half a century ago, Article II of which reads textually: "Spain cedes to the United States the Island of Porto Rico, the others which are now under her sovereignty in the West Indies, and the Island of Guam in the Archipelago of the Marianas".

Since that date Porto Rico has been under the dominion of Washington; but since then also its people of Spanish tradition have struggled for their independence, to which they are just as entitled as the Philippines, delivered as well to the victors by the same Treaty of Paris (Article III), but which obtained their liberty after the second world war.

Let us hope an effective good neighborhood policy, brought into force once more by President Truman, as his best homage to the memory of President Roosevelt!

Note to the second edition: April-May, 1949.—It has already been commented —additional note to Chapter IX— the way in which the Porto Rican congressmen replied to the Havana Meeting. Reference was also made to the insisting anticontinental attitude of the United States, first with General Marshall and now with Mr. Acheson. Blind seems to be at that rate the good neighborhood policy. Lets hope that the United States will not find themselves really menaced by an emergency situation! There might be the danger of Latin America following the abstentionist example of Mr. Truman's Government at Bogota and Havana.

CHAPTER XI

INTEGRATION OF THE AMERICAN
REPUBLICS AND ENGLAND'S IN-
SISTENCE IN ESTABLISHING
A BRITISH FEDERATION
OF THE CARIBBEAN

LOVE AND DEFENSE OF ONE'S OWN, OF A TRADITION
AND A CULTURE, THESIS WHICH DEFINES THE
PROFOUND MEANING OF FATHERLAND

IF one takes the demographic aspect according to its etymology: "study of the human colectivities", from a psychological rather than a material or ethnical point of view, one will readily reach the conclusion that the inhabitant of subjected territories, a man without liberty or country, lacks the creative impetus of the free citizen.

History proves, actually, that the cultural index of human societies remains at a very low level during epochs of slavery or servitude; that it starts rising, both as regards the individual and the community, in the measure that a man or a people fights to discover and develop their own personality; and that it finally reaches higher grades of culture —not, necessarily, of progress— when a clear conscience has been created by means of the full enjoyment of those liberties which we might call primary.

The four liberties, we may say: that of belief, liberty to express one's thoughts, freedom from fear and from poverty, to employ the vocabulary of the second President Roosevelt, and inclusively that of Mr. Winston Churchill. The four liberties, regarding the establishment of which such abundant literature was published by the allied powers,

mainly in the English language, during the second world war!

Having established the premise of the backwardness of the individual and human collectivity deprived of liberty, this could be strengthened by the assertion that colonial dependency is antagonic to the concept of *fatherland*, in its most profound meaning: "Love and defense of that which is one's own, of a tradition and a culture, fused ultimately with man himself. With man, country and soil! For, in final analysis —above all in agrarian countries—, fatherland, soil and man are one and the same thing".

"Generations of other men who, throughout the centuries, have richly fertilized the eras with their blood, their flesh and muscles, but also with that which was suffering or solace of their spirit: their experiences, their illusions, their heroes, their legends, the beings who surrounded them, their joys and their failures!" (Book of the author: "Cosas y Hombres de Europa", pages 228 to 231.—Mexico, D. F., 1942.)

On this same theme Jorge Mañach wrote that "Conscience in the individual is an intimate intuition that he —the individual— has of his own unity"... "To live in harmony with that profound unity of our being, to observe a conduct true to one's own *law*, that is what we call having personality"... "When we speak of the conscience of a people, we are raising an identical concept to a collective rank. Strictly speaking, a people only arrives to have a formed conscience, when its totality feels itself to be intimately united in its memories and in its aspirations".

"And extending still further the idea of what is individual to what is social, we may say that a people has

personality when it not only has acquired that conscience of itself as a coherent total, responsible for its past, its present and its future but, whose life, moreover, is inspired by and in accordance with that conscience". (Jorge Mañach: "La Conciencia Colectiva".—Essay reproduced in the "Diario de Centro America", Guatemala, January 17th, 1949.)

To this our admired friend Mañach adds that it is when populations acquire a conscience of their own that they become nations, in such manner that "nationality is to human communities what personality is to the individual".

Subsequently he points out how different are the peoples who have not yet achieved access to this historical rank, amongst which he includes the "dependent populations, under foreign political power and subjected by same". And the Cuban writer recalls to us the conception of José Martí as to what is the fatherland:

"Community of interests, unity of traditions and purposes, fusion of loves and hopes". He also mentions the classical definition of Renan as moral fact, and that of Emile Durkheim, solidly and scientifically based, to prove that "the nation is a vast solidarity, with a rich legacy of memories and the consent or will to continue upholding that inheritance which came down to it undivided".

INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION FOR TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION

THE above texts have been quoted to prove how the Spanish-American trend of thought, outlined in the foregoing chapter, has had fundamental reasons to pronounce itself against the colonial system, on the basis of

viewpoints with which Great Britain will not agree, but whose validity has indeed been recognized by Science, History and Philosophy, interpreted not only by our thinkers, but also by exponents of other cultures such as Renan and Durkheim.

To all of them the concept of *nation* or *fatherland* is a lofty ideal of human community. And for us, the men and women of America, this ideal cannot be attained as long as there subsist on this Continent men and territories under foreign dominion, after the consolidation of the American republics as sovereign *nations*, in the manner that will be seen hereafter.

And if we abandon the ideal of Philosophy to enter into the field of politics, in its continental aspect, we have already seen how right Baldomero Sanín Cano is to express his fears that the wars of the old world may be fought in America, as long as subsists the anachronism of European colonies on the Western Hemisphere.

In this connection it would be well to recall the danger of the French possessions falling into the hands of German nazism, with the agreement of the puppet regime of Vichy, when France was defeated by the Germans. Similar situations may arise in the future, and have been examined at the advisory meetings of the American Foreign Secretaries (Panama, 1939; Havana, 1940), who brought up the eventuality of transferring the sovereignty of European colonies.

It was agreed at that time that "some geographical regions of America, in danger of suffering a change of sovereignty as a result of the war, might be placed under an Inter-American Commission for Territorial Adminis-

tration", wherein all the governments of our hemispheric entelechy or amphictyony would be represented.

There exist more than enough reasons and antecedents to support, firmly and indubitably the anticolonial thesis, which was upheld by our great men and for which they fought, in the sense of political independence and liberty of the human being. And it was also raised on their banners by Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Benjamin Franklin and all the other North American liberators, whether they wielded a sword or a pen, when they rose against Great Britain to achieve autonomy for the thirteen colonies.

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But notwithstanding what has been expounded here; in spite of the Inter-American Commission the genesis of which has been mentioned in previous lines; and without giving the slightest consideration to the Bogota resolution, Great Britain still insists on her already mentioned project of upholding the colonial system in our sphere and of reinforcing it, on the mainland, with surplus population of the West Indies. Only a few days ago, when the first pages of this book had already gone to print, the Foreign Ministry of Guatemala found himself compelled to send a new note to Mr. Wilfred Hansford Gallienne, Plenipotentiary Minister of England, protesting once more against London's attitude. This is, in brief, what Minister Muñoz Meany says in his new note, dated January 27th, 1949:

"The plans of the British Government to settle on the Guatemalan territory of Belice European refugees and surplus population of the West Indies, as well as the project of the Colonial Secretary to include said national Guatemalan territory in a planned federation of British

possessions in the Caribbean, have met with energetic and repeated protests on the part of the Government of Guatemala and have caused this Republic to categorically make reservation of its rights to said respect".

"...My Government views with profound anxiety and with the resulting alarm the fact that the Government of Great Britain is adopting measures to put into practice its afore-mentioned plans of colonization and federation, as stated in official declarations of the British Government..." "This attitude is not compatible with its repeated statements that it would like to find a solution to the controversy with Guatemala, nor is it in accordance with the principles of International Law, nor with the principles that should govern the friendly intercourse of nations. It is equivalent, actually, to a manifest contempt of the just claims of a free, peace and justice loving nation; but which, due to its material weakness, is not in a condition to have its rights duly respected by other means that, even though being condemned by civilization and by law, are frequently necessary to resist the abuses of power and force."

"The English Government, on rejecting the Guatemalan proposition to submit the dispute to the decision of the International Court, in accordance with the formula *ex aequo et bono*; on rejecting likewise the proposal to have recourse to the friendly arbitration of the U. S. A. Government; and by insisting on carrying out its plans to complicate the situation, by executing its project to settle immigrants on a large scale on the Guatemalan territory of Belice, and to include same in a proposed British federation of the Caribbean, has shown that it has no desire to give the controversy the just and rapid solution it requires."

"...Under these circumstances, my Government has no other choice but to publicly denounce this attitude of the Government of Great Britain —which only a few years ago claimed to be sacrificing Britain's sons and wealth for the cauce of justice, international decency and the rights of the weak nations—, and to reiterate its most energetic protests against any act of the British Government tending to create new interests on the Guatemalan territory of Belice, or endeavouring, unilaterally, to modify the present status of said territory."

THE LABOUR ENGLAND OF TODAY IS IDENTICAL TO
THAT OF 1823, IN CONFLICT WITH
THE MONROE DOCTRINE

THIS behaviour of the British Labour Government; its contempt for international agreements; its colonial obstinacy in the cases of Belice, the Malvinas, the Antarctica, the Guiana and other Spanish-American territories, of which it wants to dispose as if they were British; the idea of mobilizing those "surplus populations" so loyal to the Crown that they would vote in its favour at plebiscites, carefully planned by Sir Arthur Creech Jones and the Admiralty; the backwardness and extreme poverty of those hundreds of thousands most humble black subjects of his blond Majesty, moved from one place to another without being conscious of themselves or of the meaning of the word *fatherland*, are facts which obviously indicate until what a degree the English of today are inspired by the same *empire will* as their ancestors of the Elizabethan era or of the Victorian age.

In the case of the colonial system in our lands there

still subsists the impression that the English Minister George Canning, notwithstanding the support Great Britain gave to Ferdinand VIIth of Spain and her double-faced political dealings, was one of the inspirers of the Monroe Doctrine, so often quoted already. It should be necessary to recall the interests and possibilities of future colonization which England had on our Continent, to understand that the Crown was not very prone to support the North American declaration of 1823.

To this respect it is extremely important to quote from a few pages of the Argentinian historian, doctor Enrique de Gandía who, in his "New History of America" (Buenos Aires, 1946) sheds much light on the subject. This illustrious friend refers therein to the memoirs of General Tomás de Iriarte who, in the company of General Alvear, visited England and the U. S. A. in 1824, on a mission of President Rivadavia. It is interesting to reproduce some paragraphs of said memoirs.

"...After the Duke of Angoulême had, with the French army, subjected the whole of Spain to the absolute rule of King Ferdinand VIIth it was France's intention, jointly with Spain, to send her fleets and armies to the other side of the Atlantic in order to subjugate America..." "It was a North American declaration which at that time saved the Continent of Columbus. The Government of Washington protested against the interference of any nation other than Spain in matters of her old colonies, threatening that it would oppose itself to such with all its maritime resources. And it obtained, with difficulty, a similar declaration from the English Government." On this the Argentine historian comments:

"It should be noted that Iriarte says, "the U. S. A. obtained, with difficulty, a similar declaration from the English Government..." "Today, in the light of Iriarte's memoirs, we have to invert some terms: England did not support the United States (as asserted by Mr. Canning); it was the United States who supported, who obliged England to change her attitude with regard to the Spanish-American civil war. This most transcendental fact has been revealed to us by President Monroe himself. Alvear and Iriarte had a conversation with him, during a private visit devoid of ceremony, which lasted more than two hours".

An eloquent testimonial of their interview with Monroe are the following few sentences of his two visitors: "He spoke to us of the sympathies of the U. S. Government and people for the cause of our independence; he told us that having more capacities, thanks to their longer existence, than the new States they understood all the better the transcendental importance of our triumphs, of our victories, and that they had always celebrated them with a more intimate satisfaction than we ourselves, because the United States would have had to suffer Europe's pretensions if we had succumbed in our fight against Spain; and because Europe was viewing with the greatest anxiety the Republican germ which was spreading throughout the American Continent and wanted to stifle it".

"...The character of our Government —he said— is to do good without proclaiming it; thus, after the Duke of Angoulême had overthrown with his army the constitutional régime in Spain, the French Government seriously thought of entering into an alliance with that nation in order to subdue its old colonies: it was then when we

invited the English Government to join us in declaring solemnly that it would not permit the interference of any nation, other than Spain, in the enterprise of subduing the rebellious colonies. We knew that we were saving them thereby because Spain, by herself, could not suffocate the revolution”.

“...But the British Government answered us evasively; and then we (the U. S. Government), adopting a threatening attitude, since England fears a war with this country on account of her trade with India, insisted again, and England acceded to our demand ungraciously. We, therefore, —continued Monroe— saved you from a major conflict, while you believe that you owe everything to the English: in Buenos Aires there is more sympathy for them than for the Americans”.

These few transcribed paragraphs are sufficient to give a clear idea of England's attitude, and of the support of the United States, during those years of struggle for the liberty of Spanish America. “These revelations —Enrique de Gandía maintains— draw us closer to the great American President than we had ever imagined to be possible. It is as if we were hearing the immortal statesman speak, and felt linked to him by the identity of his ideals and our own. We know today that the nation which contributed most to our autonomy, which obliged England to adopt a position in our favour and against the Holy Alliance, and whose decided attitude really helped us to achieve our independence, was the United States of America”.

May in our times, more than a century later, the spirit of President James Monroe serve as a guide to the present rulers of the United States, against the pretensions

and covetousness of England! And against other greeds, exploitations, assaults and complicities in a language which is not that of Jefferson, nor of Lincoln, nor of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, but that of the old corsairs reborn in *limited companies* of an intolerable nature! Only in that way will it be possible for us to continue speaking, sincerely and honestly, of American continental solidarity.

PARALLEL OF THE TWO AMERICAS

FORTUNATELY, as explained in the foregoing and other pages of this work, a loyal spirit of adherence and sympathy towards the young republics of South America prevailed in the United States of 1823. In other words, the thesis of President James Monroe against the colonial system was upheld, in spite of England's opposition to that principle of American unity. We have seen, moreover, how the tendency of the best guides both in North and South America was the same, not only as regards the independence or political autonomy of the new States, but also as regards individual human liberty.

It goes without saying that the conditions of the United States, prior and subsequent to their separation from England, were and continue to be very different in comparison with the reality of our countries. The British settlers took with them to the North of the Continent, beginning by the initial voyage of the “Mayflower” in 1620, their firm purpose of liberty; an anti-feudal and anti-absolutist mentality; an experience in industries well developed for that time; and, finally, they incurred in little risk since they were going to lands discovered and explored by men of

other latitudes, more than a century earlier, and established themselves there in almost complete independence from the power of the Crown. Not being able to stand the intolerance of protestants and catholics they abandoned their native soil in the search for new horizons where the executioner's axe did not hold its sway.

The Spaniards and Portuguese also emigrated from their provinces, avid of a quick rise to wealth and power, and anxious to escape from the narrow confines of the peninsula; but they lacked the Anglo-Saxon self-discipline and tenacity, in the field of work more than in that of adventure, as well as their irrevocable decision to oppose all kinds of dogmas and sectarian fanatisms. It is a fact that the "conquistadores", their own masters and rulers of their estates, were and felt themselves to be more powerful than Charles V. and Philipp II. in their lavish dominions of America.

Imbued as they were, however, with a feudal mentality, their colonization was made on the basis of royal and ecclesiastic authorities, of religious principles and agrarian servitude, integrated by the vanquished natives and by the effervescent halfbreeds, a product of the Spaniards themselves and their handsome "malinches", in contrast to the English who exterminated the nomad tribes of red skins.

A matter of criterion! The British who had discarded their wigs and filled their lungs with the free air of America, were tolerant towards *the ideas* of their fellowmen even though not always towards their *fellow-men* themselves of "inferior races". Maybe for such a reason they killed the Indians. And it is probable that also on this account their pro-slavery descendents in the South of the

United States, including the democrats, are still lynching the negroes and applying discrimination to other people whom the physiologists would call "hyperpigmented".

The Spanish fanatics, on the other hand, at the close of the terrible and gory battles of the "conquista", against ancient empires such as those of the Aztecs and the Incas, or against lesser tribes who opposed a constant resistance; at the close of that cruel period—or simultaneously with the use of arquebuses, swords and bloodhounds—those Spanish fanatics, intolerant to an ultimate degree as to the catholic creed, as to *the ideas*, catechized the natives to "save their souls", mingled with their women, as already mentioned, and thus contributed to forming, throughout generations, the present ethnical composition of twenty American republics.

* * *

It may be asserted, consequently, that the new western world—without insisting on the ethnical cross-breed phenomenon—was invaded by two mentalities, two perfectly well-defined tendencies; that which, in the case of the English, might be called Reformist or Progressive, and the tendency or mentality of the Middle Ages, typical of conventual Spain which had not yet entered into the Renaissance. And which, in addition, came to mingle, giving it a new colour, with the past or *ancestral memory* of the old autochthonous races and their most ancient cultures!

The English settlers of that time, as soon as they had gained a foothold on North American soil, consolidated their democratic ideals, appointed their authorities, exercised free competition wholly respecting, in brief, the dignity of the

citizen. Thus the feeling of *country* and *nation* was formed—even before their rupture with England—because the settlers were already conscious of themselves and had been able to elevate this consciousness to a “collective rank”, which is when a people acquires nationality.

Thus, from the time when the thirteen colonies proclaimed their independence in 1776, and consolidated it in 1781, their evolution towards autonomy became completed. Without fights between themselves, as happened in Latin-America; without “goths” nor “liberals”, “serviles” or “panteristas”, “cholos” or “pelucones”; without Unitarians or Federals, heretics or Inquisition; without captain generals, judges, Audiencias nor other authorities sent from the metropolis, the North Americans already had their internal liberty, forged during a century and a half.

That is to say they had acquired their individual conscience and their conscience of *nation* or *country*, which formed a congruent *whole* elevated—the repetition is indispensable—to a “collective rank”.

In view of such pronounced differences of origin and social organization, it is easy to understand along what different lines the war for autonomy of the United States and those of the southern countries were bound to develop. The war in the North was a simple process of separation. That of Spanish America, apart from being a war of independence, was a profound revolutionary movement.

It may be asserted—as proclaimed by Germán Arciniegas and other authors of his generation—that this revolutionary movement prevailed throughout three centuries, having been latent ever since the Atlantic was crossed by the “conquistadores” with their ambitions, their covetousness

for everything covetable, their desires to breathe and to liberate themselves, at the expense—it must be said—of the people and classes which fell under their dominion.

The boiling-point was reached at the beginning of the XIXth century when the descendants of those old Spaniards: the wealthy creoles and the poor ones with their “colored” streak, the “encomenderos” and the “encomendados”, plunged into the decisive struggle for autonomy. What the broadminded liberators hoped for was that on severing the links with the peninsular regime, the American man would turn his back on prejudices, unjust exploitations, dogmatic beliefs, church tithes, royal taxes, and renounce to ways of living which made him the slave of his hierarchical superior and the *unconscious* slave of himself.

Therein lies the root of the conflict: in that unconsciousness of large sectors of our population, of which the most retrograde and “spiritual” privileged classes have known how to profit. This is why the battles of the thirteen colonies to obtain what was already ripe to drop into their hands, are not liable to the slightest comparison with the terrific and lengthy wars waged by Mexico and South America for their independence. To sunder themselves, in other words, not from the liberal and generous Spain which at the same time reached our shores with the most noble institutions and missions, but from that other ferociously absolutist Spain of Ferdinand VII and of “long live the chains”! That other Spain—see how the fight continues and will continue—equally rooted in the tradition, the scholastic teachings and the feudal Spanish-American system, which could not be overcome by autonomy.

* * *

This brief parallel may possibly be able to explain many events of the last century and of the present times in our History, essentially the Reform wars with their Jacobin character, our periods of chaos and certain unavoidable reactions of the old and new upper classes to the ideas and impetus of the vanguard fighters.

Such reactions consisted —and still consist— in a war waged in word and deed by the conservative parties in order not only to recover at all cost their old positions, not only against the ultra-radical Jacobins, but also against merely liberal programs, or with progressive tendencies, or against what is now called economic democracy. Their present war-cry, as in previous world crisis, is again that of fighting the terrible communist bogey.

And not this alone, but other phenomena of our development, of our inevitable leap forward to electricity, the airplane and social guaranties, are causing anxiety to intransigent or timorous groups, who have turned their backs on the realities of life. This short excursion into the past —which is almost the present!— should even enable us to understand the reason for so many uprisings and conspiracies which fundamentally —if one does not confuse them with military coups of different origin— imply very often the only means within our reach for defending democracy against the “technique” employed by the mighty to keep the people cowed and maintain dictatorships.

It does not seem necessary to add further considerations on this topic. Summing up, it could be asserted that throughout this long process there appears the fusion of the

autochthonous elements with the two Spains that we carry in ourselves, whose cosmic sense of life, whose mysticism and introspection, passions and intolerances, merits and virtues, are reflected and collide in the new world and in our own souls.

It can thus be observed how the lengthening or continuation of long-distant ancestry is still alive in the sub-consciousness of great human masses. And as regards what is typically Spanish, our phenomenon is as extraordinarily contradictory as were Luis Vives or Francisco de Vitoria, opening the way to Humanism and Law in the first half of the XVIth century; or as the revolutionary Riego and all what his great step forward signified, when he rose against Ferdinand VII and the Duke of Angoulême with his hundred thousand sons of St. Louis; or as the republicans of today against Francisco Franco, who was supported by the armies of Hitler and Mussolini from 1936 to 1939, in the face of a *world without conscience*, which was already on the road to the second great slaughter in this era of supercivilization.

Our problem, to put an end to this brief sketch, is all this and much more. It is a double-faced and intricate game —if the word may be used— which neither is nor can be understood by those Europeans or those North Americans who only study us superficially or contemptuously.

CHAPTER XII

CULTURAL ASPECT OF THE FREE
NATIONS OF AMERICA AS
COMPARED TO THE COLONIES

THE BRILLIANT SPANISH-AMERICAN GENERATION OF
THE DAWN OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

FROM the complicated "game" to which reference was made in the last sentence of the previous chapter, from that unceasing ebullition of races and cultures in Spanish America throughout four centuries of unrespite strife, we have inherited what we are and what we have: a "climate" of our own, saturated with antinomies, still brimming with fatal events and contradictions, but potentially free, potentially democratic. A similar climate could not have been possible under purely colonial systems, where the negro *natives* continue to be slaves, and the white Europeans the privileged caste which discriminates, exploits and maintains them in profitable servitude.

It is thus that notwithstanding the unconsciousness "of large sectors of our population", more or less a universal phenomenon: inclusively in the United States during the war of secession (1861-1865) when the slaves themselves fought against Lincoln, and in the super-cultured Europe, victim of terrible conflagrations without the soldiers themselves knowing exactly why they had to be killed or why they had to kill; notwithstanding, we repeat, that *unconsciousness of the great human masses*, the fact remains

that in our case the afore-mentioned atmosphere of liberty and democracy, characteristic of the Western Hemisphere, cannot be denied.

Let us revert, in order to understand this fact, to the concept or meaning of fatherland —above all in agrarian countries— as “love and defense of one’s own”. Let us, moreover, revert to Chapter IV, to the part explaining how the Spanish-American conscience began to take shape, and to such an extent that England —in view of the defeats suffered by her admirals —was obliged to substitute her offensive warfare by new “tactics”, wherein no longer weapons but intrigues or agreements constituted her safest system of domination in our Continent.

Let us recall to this respect how, from the very beginning of the XVIIIth century, it was no longer Spain but Spanish-America who defeated the English. Our ancestors had attained a clearer vision of what pertained to them and, accordingly, were ready to defend what was theirs: homes, cities and villages; their patrimony, their churches, their missions. To this should be added that they also defended their culture, imparted at the Faculties of Theology, Canon Law, Latinity and Rhetorics; in seminaries and primary schools; “in the old Grammar of Nebrija, which reached our shores in print with the first caravels of Columbus and the Pinzons”.

It can be deducted, consequently, that thanks to the peninsular scholastic education itself which *took another colour* in the American medium; to the democratic experience of the municipalities; to the fact that, in short, we were not actually a colony in the African sense already mentioned, it was possible to go building up the

atmosphere of liberty brought over by the Spaniards and of which, ultimately, our educated classes profited to proclaim their independence. And to proclaim it by asserting the thesis, frankly revolutionary at that time, that the people be invested with the sovereignty which the Bourbon monarchs were incapable of defending, since they had ceded it to Bonaparte!

* * *

We already saw in the afore said chapter IV that in this manner, at the completion of a process lasting three hundred years, a new Spain penetrated our America: that of Miranda, Bolívar, Bello, the learned Caldas, Nariño, San Martín, Liendo y Goicoechea, Artigas, Simón Rodríguez, Restrepo, the learned Valle, Carrera, O’Higgins, Freyre, Rivadavia, Vicente Guerrero, José Matías Delgado, Hidalgo, Morelos, Allende, Sucre, Santander. These and many more illustrious men constituted the glorious generation of 1810 which had no reason to envy the 1776 generation of the thirteen colonies of the North, some of whose most prominent figures have already been quoted in this work: Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Franklin!

A brilliant generation that of the North American liberators! A brilliant generation ours at the dawn of the XIXth century, ripened and intellectually strengthened with another long list of sociologists, statesmen and scientists such as the prominent Francisco Javier Espejo of Quito; the illustrious son of Guayaquil Vicente Rocafuerte; the poet of the same birthplace, José Joaquín Olmedo; the Chileans Juan Ignacio Molina, José Antonio Rojas, Diego de Rosales and Manuel de Salas; the Argentinians Juan

Cruz Varela and Vicente López y Planas; the great national Uruguayan poet Francisco Acuña de Figueroa; a constellation, in one word, which has been prolonged until our days by new undisputable high and deep values in the various fields of learning: jurisprudence, pedagogics, painting, history, poetry, oratory —perhaps too much oratory!— as well as in all other manifestations of art, literature and science.

GENERATIONS FOLLOWING THAT OF 1810

SHOULD we quote more names of the best that our America has produced in her Republican era, as a proof that liberty —or the fight for liberty— is a climate propitious to the development of culture, contrary to what happens where slavery and slave-trading are still alive?

It must be noted in what fashion these latter territories can be compared to the southern States of the U. S. A. prior to Lincoln, and how they were completely different to the primitive nucleus of the thirteen colonies —a case similar to that of Canada— to which purely white men emigrated to breathe “fresh air”, desirous of liberty and of creating a new home for themselves and their families.

Reverting to our theme a whole volume would not suffice to give even a summary account of the most privileged intellectuals of our twenty republics: prominent teachers, novelists, poets, musicians, painters, thinkers and philosophers from the independence up to these last years.

Many of them, if they had been able to act on great stages and under the dazzling light of the reflectors which are focused on men of other latitudes, would have been

figures of international prestige. But the setting in which we move is so diminutive —as a result of our division— that often the labour of various generations has not even succeeded to cross the border of its respective parish.

However, the outstanding Spanish-American personalities who, in this era of the airplane, have taken part in scientific congresses, foreign universities, international meetings and other selected intellectual events, have given good proof of their capacity to discuss and to contend —brain matching brain, eloquence facing eloquence, wisdom in English, Spanish or French— with figures of universal renown... which they owe, possibly, more than to their intrinsic value, to the wealth, force and size of their countries, their newspapers, their reviews, to all the means which the powerful dispose of to raise what is theirs onto a pedestal, lords and masters as they are of publicity in the great super-industrialized nations.

Continuing along the same lines it may be sufficient, however, for our purposes to add only a few names more to those quoted above, as a demonstration of what we have been, are and can be.

Are we Spanish-Americans not entitled to be proud of men of the stature of Francisco Morazán, Sarmiento, Montalvo, Juan Bautista Alberdi, José Victorino Lastarria, Rufino José Cuervo, the splendid indios Juárez and Altamirano, the extraordinary intellectual florescence who gave Mexico the Constitution of 1857?

Are we not entitled to optimism when we see that our America produces writers, thinkers, humanists, historians and teachers such as Juan Vicente González, Cecilio Acosta, González Prada, Mauro Fernández, Miguel Antonio Caro,

José Enrique Rodó, Hostos, Céspedes, Betances, de la Luz y Caballero, Enrique José Varona, Ingenieros, Mariátegui, Blanco Fombona, Alberto Masferrer, Gómez Carrillo, Brenes Mesén, Antonio Caso, José Eustasio Rivera, limiting ourselves to quoting only a few of the greater ones and excluding the contemporaries who are still living, among them some very dear and admired friends whom, in order not to be accused of adulation, we have not included in this list?

Are we to feel belittled, are we to continue suffering from our inconceivable inferiority complex when we have poets like Batres Montúfar, Leopoldo Lugones, Rubén Darío, López Velarde, José Santos Chocano, Guillermo Valencia, Francisco Gavidia, Amado Nervo, Díaz Mirón, Gabriela Mistral, González Martínez, Pablo Neruda and others of our continent whose inspiration, whose internal flame is light of America? And with internationalists like Sáenz Peña, Calvo, Drago, González Roa, Policarpo Bonilla, José Gustavo Guerrero, actual President of the World Court of Justice, as is of the *Unesco* Jaime Torres Bodet?

Yes, indeed, in spite of all its defects and all its deficiencies, how prodigal and great is our Spanish America! And if names were lacking and more light was needed for our children and the children of our children, we can exhibit forevermore, as a burning torch, the glorious and apostolic figure of José Martí.

ANCIENT UNIVERSITIES AND CENTERS OF EDUCATION IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WORLD

ALL this and much more is the culture of Latin America, the first sparks of which go back to the epoch

of the arrival of the "conquistadores" and missionaries. "When the most important cities of the Continent —writes the historian Jesús Romero Flores— were hardly more than humble villages of fishermen or peasants, in the city of Mexico Humanities and Philosophy were already being taught by the sons of the most glorious European universities".

"At the College of San José de los Naturales, towards 1527, courses of Grammar were already being given by Brother Arnaldo de Bassacio, of French origin. Brother Juan de Gaona, of the University of Paris, taught with great success at the College of Santa Cruz of Tlalotelco in 1536. And a few years later, in 1540, Brother Alonso de la Veracruz, together with other Augustine monks, set up a school of higher education in the humble village of Tiripitío in Michoacán". ("La Enseñanza de la Historia en México": Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, México, D. F., 1948).

At that time, since 1538, the University of Santo Domingo had already been founded; in 1551, the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico which was "during some centuries, the emporium of the learning of its time"; in the same year (1551) the Major University of San Marcos de Lima; in 1573, that of Santa Fe de Bogotá; in following years and decades, all along the XVIIth century, the Universities of Córdoba de Tucumán, of La Plata, San Carlos de Guatemala and of Cuzco were founded; and later on those of Caracas, Santiago de Chile, Havana, Quito, thus completing twelve great university centers during the colonial epoch.

At the same time, throughout this prolonged period,

in viceroyships and provinces primary schools, seminaries, art and handicraft schools multiplied themselves to such an extent that there was hardly any important city lacking instruction.

After the Independence, and notwithstanding the chaos into which the new republics were plunged, new centers of primary, secondary and higher education were founded, no longer under the direction of the Church but as a State function, even though in some countries it was necessary to wage terrific battles in order to put an end to scholastic teaching, at least in part.

At present there are in Spanish America 68 universities (61 public or official and 7 private ones), namely: in the Argentine Republic, 7; 5 in Bolivia; 4 in Brazil; 6 in Chile; 9 in Colombia; one each in Costa Rica, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay, Santo Domingo and Uruguay; 3 in Ecuador, Nicaragua and Venezuela; 2 in Haiti; 12 in México and 5 in Peru, without counting the Normal Schools and other centers of specialization and higher education.

It may be estimated that in these 68 Universities and other preparatory and technical schools of higher education approximately 300,000 students, to take a round figure, are matriculated. And as a simple example of what is being done in our countries in the field of education, it may perhaps be important to extract from different statistical tables the total pupils attending our primary school, thus arriving at the figure of 10,800,000. (Roberto Moreno García: "Desarrollo y Orientación de la Educación Superior", Secretaría de Educación Pública, México, D. F., 1945).

* * *

While it is true that the student population of the U. S. A. is twice as much as ours, since in 1939 there were 22,118,121 pupils registered in primary schools only; and while it is also true that 23% of the North American population is matriculated in the numerous educational establishments of the country, university courses included, it cannot but be considered as satisfactory that the percentage of some of our republics likewise reaches fairly high levels, as compared to those of various European countries.

The Argentine Republic, for instance, has a student population of 14% of the total of her inhabitants; Costa Rica, 10.25%; Peru, 9%; Uruguay, 12%; Chile, 10.50% Panama, 11%. (Moreno García: same book).

Of course there is no comparison with the extraordinary development of the North American educational institutions, and less still if one had included in the foregoing percentages those of some other Spanish-American Republics, with their lamentable index of illiteracy. One should not lose faith, however, since even in the most backward countries of the Continent —excepting those subjected to onerous dictatorships— great efforts towards combating illiteracy have been made. And we must not forget that in the United States themselves instruction was still very deficient at the end of the XVIIIth and beginning of the XIXth century. As regards higher education E. P. Cumberley writes in "The History of Education":

"The Faculties of the 27 colleges which existed in 1800, as a whole, were staffed with less than one hundred professors; and the total matriculations were below 2,000

students" (Quotation of Moreno García). It may be supposed, though, that notwithstanding these data on official colleges of higher education, private initiative contributed on a large scale to primary instruction, before the independence of the thirteen colonies, by means of the community boards of education.

As far as the XXth century is concerned, it is indubitable that no other country in the world has succeeded with such rapidity, from the beginning of the XIXth century until now, to attain the first place, both in quality and number, as regards educational institutions, scientific investigation, journalism, bibliographic material, museums and art galleries—generally containing reproductions of masterpieces—, as regards everything that signifies culture and civilization for her citizens.

One figure alone will give us an idea of the ambition and development of the great Republic, which is not only that of skyscrapers, ham and eggs and human machines: the Congress Library, a model of organization and efficiency, has on its shelves at Washington somewhat more than six million volumes. This figure, which can be multiplied many times if we think that this library is only one of the many established throughout the Federation, may well inspire optimism to the citizens of other American fatherlands, if it is true that culture is to save the world from aggressions, abuses and outrages.

CULTURAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECT OF THE COLONIES

WHAT, on the other hand, are the European colonies on our Continent and what do they have? Let us

select at random British Guiana with her 231,700 square kilometers. The capital is Georgetown with 60,000 inhabitants, whereof only 5,000 are white. The total population of this Guiana is not more than 350,000 men, women and children, that is less than 2 inhabitants per square kilometer.

What has the history of British Guiana to show us? In what manner have the inhabitants of that vast region progressed, whose great-great-grandfathers were captured in Africa and sold as slaves in the epoch of Sir John Hawkins and his "slave-trading" heirs? Universities? High schools? Literary production? Philosophers, poets, musicians, painters?

No. What there is in British Guiana, apart from the El Dorado legend, is sugar cane planted by negroes who are practically slaves. Gold mines which in little more than twenty years (1894-1917) had yielded to the British Crown 9,586,860 pounds sterling. And diamonds like those which Sir Walter Raleigh had seen or dreamt of, which from 1902 to 1920 reached a total of 579,835 carats, and whose value would be more than welcome to the colony for its development, sanitation or to satisfy the minimum necessities of the human being.

If we cross the border and enter Dutch Guiana, we shall find that her 173,840 square kilometers are only peopled by 170,000 inhabitants; in other words, that there is not even one man or woman to each square kilometer. The capital is Paramaribo.

Do the readers know of any event of interest to humanity, that may have taken place at Paramaribo? It would be no exaggeration to say that the Indonesians enjoy better

living conditions —they are already conscious of themselves!— than the Guiana subjects of Queen Juliana.

Let us finally come to Cayenne, and we already feel the scorching and melting heat of the infernal penitentiary to which mention was made in the first chapters. That penitentiary, that "Devil's Island" is the capital of French Guiana. Its territorial extension is 90,665 square kilometers with a population of 45,000, which is equivalent to half a "citoyen" per square kilometer.

It is curious to observe how the Europeans like to speak of their need of vital space. But they refuse to come as white immigrants to till these lands, to settle in America, to merge with us, in our own countries, without alleging foreign sovereignties in the Western Hemisphere.

And the case of Belice is identical to that of the Guiana. Her territory "in usufruct": 22,270 square kilometers. Her population? A handful of white smugglers and 60,000 negroes at the service of this group of great feudal lords.

Let us visit the capital, which bears the same name as the territory, and a few blocks away from the residence of the British Governor, the traveler will find the huts and destitution of His Majesty's black subjects. Art, University for the natives, sanitary services, anti-mosquito brigades, anything to make life pleasant for these "colored workers", who in full *atomic century* continue living as they did in the XVII? This is of no interest to the Governor, Sir Arthur Creech Jones or to the profit-making shareholders of the City of London.

What they do want —as has already been explained— is to movilize irresponsible and defenseless human masses; to move them back and forth, according to whether wood

is to be cut or chicle to be extracted; to settle them, finally, on that Guatemalan territory, along that extensive coastline giving onto the Caribbean and lopped off Central America, so that by means of a plebiscite they proclaim their adherence to the British Empire on soil of the new world.

* * *

The figures quoted above contrast in such a way that does not admit discussion, if one compares them, both from the demographic point of view and from that of culture, to any of the Spanish-American Republics, including those of Central America itself, which have suffered so heavily from long dictatorships and their accomplice and protector, the foreign monopolistic capital.

We have seen that, in spite of everything, Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica count with *paved cities*, hospitals, libraries, laboratories, universities, colleges and primary schools; with teachers, poets, writers, journalists, musicians, painters, doctors and jurisconsults; with notions, in one word, of civilization and culture, which the machine-guns at the service of tyrants have not been able to efface, nor the complicity of certain "Quislings" hired by interests more or less inimical to democracy. The demographic contrast will appear clearly from the following table:

| | Square kilometers | Inhabitants |
|------------|-------------------|-------------|
| Guatemala | 190,724 | 3.000,000 |
| Salvador | 34,126 | 2.000,000 |
| Honduras | 154,305 | 1.125,000 |
| Nicaragua | 118,435 | 1.380,000 |
| Costa Rica | 52,000 | 800,000 |

While it might be believed that there is *communism* or exaggeration in what has been set down in previous paragraphs, these numerical data prove that it has not been the case and that said, and no other, is the situation of the settlers in the territories under European control in America. Moreover, the author was able to check up on the veracity of a great part of these statements personally, some twelve years ago, and reproduces to this respect some of the notes published in his book "España Heroica":

"The English possession of Jamaica, this port of Kingston where the boat which was taking me from Spain back to Costa Rica has touched, might serve to explain many attitudes of Great Britain. A realist observation of these poor English colonies in waters of America is sufficient for common sense to open the eyes of those who want to know what is going on in the world; of those who try to find out to what are due the fears of the dandy Eden and the cynical manoeuvres of old Chamberlain".

"On my first voyage to the Iberian Peninsula I was able to visit the capital of Trinidad, Port of Spain; and a few hours later the main port of the island of Barbados. At that time I suffered the same impression as I have felt now in the most important city of Jamaica. The impression that the subjects, the under nourished black subjects of His British Majesty, are more miserable today than were their ancestors in the African jungles."

"I read in the "Trinidad Guardian" (September 26, 1936) about the salaries of the workers: 3.13 dollars a week in Port of Spain; for farm labour, 2.57 dollars; and in Tobago 2.37 dollars, and sometimes less per week! If these figures had not been published by the Consulting

Board of Salaries, an official organization, I should not have believed them."

"Rags as a result of so much exploitation and such dire poverty. Hands which are stretched out to beg alms from the passenger. Nice-looking young girls who offer to dance naked the "Cuchi-Cuchi" and the "Can-Can". Men and women who at the risk of their lives, dive from small canoes into the sharkfull waters for a few cents".

"When one comes to these burning English colonies; and talks to the natives; and sees them sweat during long hours of labour on the roads under the scorching tropical sun; and proves the correctness of those figures of the Salaries Board, the impression is one of profound despair at the cruel and inhuman form in which the so-called occidental civilization abuses of these great masses of defenseless human beings."

"But they hear speak of His British Majesty; of what it means for them to be "defended" by the flag of an enormous empire; of the marvels of London and the might of the Imperial Crown, whose fleshly symbol "is a just and powerful king", even though being neither of their colour or race."

"I saw at Barbados a monument to the memory of the unknown soldier of that island. That is, to the memory of the humble black slaves who fought in Europe, from 1914 to 1918, "for democracy and liberty of the world". And here, in Kingston, I have just read the inscription on another monument which says textually: "To Victoria, Queen of England, Empress of India and Supreme Mistress of Jamaica."

"Like Queen Victoria, are also supreme masters of Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, Guiana, Belice, of all the English colonies in Asia, Africa and America, the great white lords, owners of the land, of the oil, of the factories, of the refineries, of the clubs and palaces of those colonial territories, where hundreds of workers with starvation salaries, risk their lives diving into the sea for a coin, and where unfledged girls offer the traveler "anything you want for half a dollar". (Vicente Sáenz: "España Heroica".—Editorial Iberoamericana, Nueva York, 1938).

It might be said that the situation is more or less similar in great sectors of Spanish America, where there are also starvation salaries, incredible exploitations and an almost complete lack of salubrity; that some Spanish-American rulers are not and can by no means be held up as a model of probity, learning, love for their neighbour or for democracy; that, in other words, we also live under a colonial system—in its modern economic form—even if we do have our national anthems, our coats of arms and our flags.

This is true, to a great extent, as will be shown in the last two chapters of this book. But what saves us is our sense of *nation* or *fatherland*. And our best ally should be the North American people itself, on account of its long democratic experience and the ideals of its great men, from Washington down to the second Roosevelt.

CHAPTER XIII

LATIN AMERICA SHOULD HAVE
CONFIDENCE IN HER OWN
STRENGTH TO OVERCOME THE
ECONOMIC COLONIAL STAGE