

LOPEZ VELARDE AND "THE DEVIL'S WELLS"

IN the last sentence of the previous chapter we indicated to what an extent it is true that we have not been able to leave the colonial era behind us, from an economic point of view, even though our minor republics are, at least theoretically, independent. This is an assertion which, in part, we cannot deny to be true and substantiated by facts; but not without pointing out—surveying the historical panorama of our peoples—that there can be no comparison whatsoever between the autonomous countries, which are *potentially free*, and the colonies or territories under European control in the tropics or the American jungle.

It does not appear necessary to insist on this obvious and objective fact. On the other hand, however, the aforementioned economic aspect of the colonial system must be examined, as briefly as possible: that of the large trusts or foreign monopolist capital which, on the basis of privileges and concessions, have been able to develop to an extraordinary degree in our medium.

On this question so many books have been written, the most accurately informed ones in English, that it is not worth while to repeat figures and indisputable opinions, including those of British authors and North American

senators and congressmen, whose words in our defense figure in the Congressional Record of the U. S. A.

It will therefore not be necessary to bring forward as proofs the writings of authors such as Carleton Beals, Scott Nearing, Joseph Freeman, Arthur P. Whitaker, Wendell Wilkie, Walter Lippmann, Kepner, Soothill, H. G. Wells himself in his "World Revolution" or in his "Brief History of the World".

We shall neither base ourselves on the testimony of numerous correspondents who, in representation of great U. S. newspaper enterprises and publicity agencies, are in the habit of visiting our countries and putting into print, occasionally or very often, certainly biased versions of what they heard or saw.

Still less should we seek for support in the arguments of writers of our own, who might be accused of partiality: Blanco Fombona, Manuel Ugarte, Jacinto López, Alfredo L. Palacios, Isidro Fabela, Alberto Ghirardo and so many more of new generations.

As far as the latter are concerned, one feels tempted to reproduce a few pages of books such as "The Devil's Wells" of the Guatemalan Jorge García Granados, who supplies so many and such valuable data on the origins of the petroleum exploitation in Mexico that, faced with the abuses of the Royal Dutch, the Sinclair and the Doheny, anybody would end by conceding that the poet López Velarde was right when he lamented that so many wells should have been discovered in his "sweet Mexican soil":

"El Niño Dios te escribió el establo
"y los veneros de petróleo el diablo."

("Little Jesus left you the stable,
And the petroleum wells the devil.")

And the same occurs with a novel of the Bolivian Augusto Céspedes, "The Devil's Metal", —always is the Devil's finger to be found in these pies of oil, tin, gold, silver and other metals or metalloids!— the pages of which make one realize atrocities hardly conceivable in civilized people. Perpetrated by men who might well be decent, with their *christian* and *anti-materialist spirit*, inasmuch as they pertain to the block of most cultured nations, such passionate "lovers" of liberty and democratic ideals!

WHAT MEANS AND PRODUCES THE LOSS OF AN EYE

IT cannot be denied that one is tickled by the same temptation when coming upon exceptional although painful sketches, because they are true and because of their picturesqueness, written by men with a deep comprehension of our Spanish-American culture. This, for instance, happens in the case of William Krehm, former correspondent of "Time" and his as yet unpublished book "Democracy and Tyrannies in the Caribbean", whose manuscript I have at hand in order to write a preface and bring its pages up to date, providing them with footnotes.

In said book friend Krehm explains how, in Honduras, the aircarrier company TACA established itself, thanks to "an impetuous pilot of New Zealand, Lowell Yerex" who, for having bombarded the liberals when at the service of the dictator Carias, lost an eye in the course of that *unequaled* battle. What the loss of an eye is worth and produces! "The valiant Yerex received a juicy concession

for his eye—now replaced by a glass one—which launched the TACA into its phenomenal career”.

The “Time” correspondent refers also to unparalleled procedures of the *Cuyamel*, the *Standard* and the *United Fruit Companies*. In the struggles of these companies to form the enormous monopoly which now holds Central America in its grasp, played and continues to play the leading role another famous captain of industry, an immigrant from Bessarabia, Samuel Zemurray.

Quite a fellow that gentleman Zemurray, and so many other promoters of his type, who are barely American citizens by naturalization; who only know the Webster Dictionary and the English Grammar by their bindings; who have never heard speak of Edgar Allan Poe, Longfellow or Walt Whitman, but who take shelter under the Stars and Stripes only to dishonour the United States with their outrages and abuses.

Thus the distrust of which President Wilson spoke is created, and deeper still become old popular rancours—which diplomats and mediocre politicians try to dissimulate—against the great country which provided shelter, work and liberty to those immigrants when they landed on her shores in search of a better life.

* * *

In regard to those abuses and the tremendous responsibility of our own governments, due to their lack of vision and their connivance with foreign interests which exploit their countries, we can offer an eloquent proof taken from the statistical tables themselves of the régime of general Tiburcio Carías Andino, who was the President of Honduras until a short time ago.

Of that stalwart don Tiburcio—whom certain writers and journalists of our language have taken to glorify recently—, of some of his collaborators and “penmen”, William Krehm relates amusing anecdotes and funny stories which prove “the triumph of matter over the spirit”. But these can be left aside since we are not dealing with general Carías—who is no longer in power—nor with the men who surrounded him, but with the abuses that provoke rancour and distrust towards the United States.

Let us therefore revert to the afore-mentioned statistics which refer to importations on which no duties were levied, from the fiscal years 1932-1933 to 1946-1947. It would be long and tedious to reproduce the complete table in which we see year by year the customs duties waived, as a *concession*, in favour of the United Fruit Company and her affiliates. There are annual figures amounting from 10 to 12 millions of lempiras; but the total of waived duties—which is unheard of and inconceivable—sums up for these 14 fiscal years to 185.477,233.82 lempiras which, at the rate of exchange of two to one, are equal to 92.738,616.91 dollars. (S. Hernández y Hernández: “Los 14 Años Fiscales del general Tiburcio Carías Andino”.—“La Nación”, San José, Costa Rica, 1948).

* * *

In order to give a clear picture of this situation, with the budget of revenues and expenses of Honduras before us, it must be stated that the annual allotments for expenditures in the whole country hardly exceeded the amounts not collected from the foreign concessionaries. Taking at random the fiscal year 1936-1937 we find that the General Budget of the Republic was of L. 13.940,246.00,

while the amount not collected during that same period from different companies totalled L. 10.276,958.14. Ten years later, 1946-1947: General Budget of the Republic, L. 21.982,887.00. Sum which the concessionaries were exempted from paying: L. 18.373,753.58.

It is to be hoped that the Central Americans, and even the U. S. authorities, will find it a monstrosity that, on top of the fabulous profits of the foreign companies in that *paradise* and other countries, they should still be dispensed from paying sums incredibly large for small States which do not even levy taxes on utilities. Only imagine what all these millions would have meant distributed and well spent on schools, public health, social welfare, roads, and other services essential for culture, health and progress of the people!

But while the Government of the benefactor Carías thus let money slip through its fingers, for no other purpose than that of swelling the dividends of the shareholders in Boston and New York, the Honduras Congress voted insignificant amounts for the above-mentioned services: L. 155,090.80 for Health and Charity, increased in other fiscal years to L. 268,378.68. And, as a maximum, L. 1.189,320.40 for Public Education. The eloquence of these figures renders comments superfluous!

* * *

Costa Rica has been the victim of a similar situation, although not quite as disastrous thanks to the free action of the democratic forces and trade unions which have served, in the Congress and in the papers, to curb the ambitions of the United Fruit. The situation, however, tends

to be complicated by said Company clinging tight to the "sacredness of treaties".

The *sacredness*, in this case, is the concession which the Government granted ten years ago to the insatiable monopoly whereby it delivered to same, for a period of half a century, the most flourishing region of the Pacific. It will require a lot of tact and diplomacy on the part of the new Costa Rican statesmen to straighten out such a lamentable inheritance of previous administrations.

Guatemala, in turn, was compelled to support, under her lengthy dictatorial régimes —inconditional allies of foreign monopolist capital— stipulations similar to those of Honduras, until the time when, with the revolutionary movement of October 20, 1944, a new era dawned in the life of that country.

From that time onwards the Government has been fighting to better, by means of an adequate minimum salary and other social laws, which have already acquired a universal character, the living conditions of the workers. The opposition of the United Fruit to these minimum attainments and to any measure that might mean having to pay higher taxes; its continuous campaign against the "communism" of President Arévalo, in the same way as that of the oil companies against the likewise "communistic" régimes of Mexico, when the Mexican Revolution did not maintain the concessions of Porfirio Díaz; the manoeuvres, in one word, of the lawyers and "Quislings" of the powerful trust to weaken the present Government of Guatemala, indicate how Spanish America must continue fighting, how it must have confidence in its own forces in order to oppose

itself to the enemies of the good neighborhood policy and emerge from the economic colonial system.

"THE TROPEZON MINING COMPANY INCORPORATED"

IN these last pages, however, we do not want to continue speaking of the Royal Dutch, nor of Messrs. Doheny, Sinclair, Yerex or Zemurray concretely, nor of the tasty golden banana which has come to be another *devils' well* in Central America and other countries of the Caribbean. It might perhaps be added, as a summary, that those enormous banana consortiums, from Guatemala to Costa Rica, Panama and Colombia, by way of the West Indies, are a State within the State; that the concessions exonerate them from all taxes, present or future, enforced or to be enforced, for the term or their contract; and that furthermore—as was proved by the official statistics of Honduras—they are exempted from import duties, having to pay a single tax of one or two dollarcents for each cluster of bananas that leaves the docks.

I do not want either to repeat myself here with figures and documents that can be locked up in "Nortemercianización de Centro América", "The Canal of Nicaragua", "Rompiendo Cadenas", "Centro América en Pie" and other books of mine defending our countries. But on the other hand I do consider it useful to mention once more that President Wilson, thinking undoubtedly of those companies and other great exploiting enterprises of the Spanish-American soil and subsoil, took the decision of expressing his opinion in the form and manner of his speeches at Mobile and Indianapolis, to which reference was made in chapter VIII.

It will be well to recall the words of the afore-mentioned President against the concessions: "...You have heard speak of concessions granted to foreign capitalists in Spanish America... What those nations are going to see now is their liberation from the tutelage exercised by the foreign exploiting enterprises".

But the concessions continued and have continued, in spite of President Wilson, and of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and of so many other prominent North American personalities and intellectuals. This is what maintains our countries under what may be called an economic semi-colonial or colonial system, with the already mentioned complicity of certain possessive classes of our own countries, principally since the last third of the XIXth century.

* * *

Speaking of concessions, and of claims for damages caused to "investing" foreign enterprises, and of the manner in which these stock companies of international exploitation are organized, the illustrious intellectual and former Mexican Secretary of the Treasury, Lic. Luis Cabrera, has written an apologue which describes how this type of capital operates. Briefly, the apologue says as follows:

"Over there, in the heart of the mountains of Oaxaca, and Indian on his way down to the village stumbled over an extremely hard stone, and the collision was so strong that the stone was pried loose. As it was of a shiny appearance, the Indian picked it up and took the stone with him, exchanging it at the store for a draught of liquor.

"The storekeeper showed it to the Mayor, who had the good idea of passing it on as a present to the Political Chief. (This was in the Porfirian epoch, when there were

still political chiefs). The Political Chief suspected that it might be a mineral and had the Indian come to show him the spot where he had stumbled, following which he filed a claim to the mine with the assistance of a lawyer, a friend of his, who lived in México, calling it "Mina del Tropezón" ("Mine of the Stumble").

"The lawyer, once he had secured the property rights, organized a company with a capital of \$10,000.00, to which he contributed the mine valued in \$9,900.00. To complete the business he entered into a partnership with some bankers who, in turn, organized a new company called "Compañía Minera del Tropezón, S. A.", with a capital of \$100,000.00, to which enterprise the already famous "Tropezón Mine", now valued at \$90,000.00 was contributed.

"In order to obtain capital abroad, a holding company was organized at Delaware under the name of "The Tropezon Mining Company Incorporated", with a capital of one million dollars, to which the Shares of "Compañía Minera del Tropezón, S. A." were contributed with a nominal value of 900,000 dollars, with the balance represented by the agencies and commissions of the organizers.

"When the North American engineers came to inspect the mine and study its exploitation the revolutionary movements were just starting and, consequently, nothing could be done.

"These are the antecedents of a strong claim filed by The Tropezon Mining Company Incorporated with the State Department demanding, via diplomatic channels, an indemnity of five million dollars representing damages,

because *the shareholders* could not carry out their enterprise in which they had invested one million dollars."

In many mining, industrial, agricultural and oil enterprises a phenomenon indetical to that of "The Tropezón Mining Company Incorporated" can be observed. This comment and the trascribed apologue are reproduced in the book of Ing. Felix F. Palavicini and 50 collaborators of said work: "México, Historia de su Evolución Constructiva", referred to in our corresponding bibliography. And this so eloquent and synthetic account has been included in these pages because this is how in reality, even though there are exceptions to the rule, companies are organized and investments are spoken of in Spanish America. As regards those so-called investments, it will be seen hereunder that they originate from our own potential assets with the exception, occasionally, of the initial expenditures.

THE "FINANCIAL FAUCES" ARE MORE FEARSOME THAN THOSE OF THE CROCODILE AND THE ALLIGATOR

AS has been indicated in the foregoing lines, it may well be assured that the capital produced by foreigners in Spanish America, which today totals hundreds of millions of dollars or pounds sterling, accumulated abroad or distributed among shareholders of sundry nationalities, came out of our mines, our forests, from oil, rubber, chicle, banana plantations, out of everything that we gave in the form of concessions.

An in the case of public services: railways or ultra-modern transportation systems, telephones, lighth and power, which presently represent an incalculable accumulation of capital; in the case, we repeat, of those services, if we

deduct the minimum investment of the first sleepers, the first posts or the first installations of machinery and equipment, we shall find—incredible as it seems—that our “progressive” governments, or the Spanish-American consumers themselves, have been providing the fantastic increase of capital which from an ethical point of view should have been, saving better opinions, the most legitimate patrimony of these peoples.

The capital was supplied, year after year and decade after decade, by the *native* compulsory taxpayers, rich and poor, aristocrats and middle class, hospitals and orphanages, surgeons and gravediggers, artisans, priests, landlords, peasants, industrialists and workers.

Some of them squeezing out their savings to travel by pullman or in a plane. Others by taking a slice from the earnings, for the purpose of paying the quotas of the telephone companies, in order to avoid delays in calling the doctor and saving the dying, without having to run about the streets with half their tongues out. And the immense majority being obliged to sacrifice a part of their starvation salaries, under the necessity of paying their monthly electric light bills, since in this era of so much light in streets and avenues, it is out of the question to grope about at home with oil lamps or paraffin candles, somewhat less badly considered than the humble tallow wick.

* * *

Thus everybody has paid, generation after generation; the companies have expanded to the rhythm of the cities; new equipments have been imported with the money, sweat and labor of the *natives*, a contribution to which must be added the already mentioned exemptions granted by the

governments, leaving us Spanish Americans with nothing but a bad service and an increase of tariffs, because the potentates abroad keep demanding larger dividends.

And on these dividends justified and normal taxes are paid, for excess profits, by the fortunate concessionary companies. But not to the poor States from which they drew and continue to draw their profits, but to the treasuries of the great powers, of the wealthy metropolis which are the seat of the so-called investors of the “original capital”.

Accordingly it is very little what we have been able to obtain from those influential and omnipotent monopolies—which have so much similarity to the pirate and slavetrading enterprises of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries—, in benefit of the *great human masses* of our plucked and shorn countries. Nothing in benefit of their civilization, nor of their hygiene, nor of their culture, because the stock companies incorporated in London or in New York “are not charity institutions”, a platitude frequently uttered by petty creole, halfbreed or mulatto mediators of imperialism, whose greatest happiness would be to have blue eyes and fair hair, even if at the cost of several liters of peroxyde.

Disapproval and protests are to be expected from these good friends of peroxyde, who will point to the humanitarian work of the Rockefeller institute, for instance, in fighting the ankilostomiasis. Let them protest: for the truth is that, with or without ankilostomiasis, little or nothing have the great consortiums left us, in contrast to Spain who bequeathed us all she had: good and bad, from her blood and language, her Sancho and her Quijote—which

are different ways of seeing life—to her cathedrals, her universities, her passions and her fanaticism.

Although, to be just, it might well be said that, in the long run, the monopolies of foreign capital have left us something: the empty husks of the mines, and the exhausted soil, and even a landscape which is not that of a century ago!

Because from the Orinoco, the San Juan, the Panuco, the Usumacinta, the Magdalena and other great rivers of America the gigantic saurians have gradually disappeared as it was noted, if am not mistaken, by a Spanish writer. But their place has been taken by the enormous fauces, "the financial fauces" of the insatiable monopolist octopus, more fearsome still than the crocodile and the alligator.

NECESSITY OF A JUST AND ADEQUATE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA

IN order to understand and be able to interpret situations and inequalities as those outlined above, on the basis of privileges and not of colonies, it will be indispensable to take into account a series of factors, not only of our times but of the epoch in which the United States emerged as a new great power in the world.

It would be necessary to refer to the younger empires which arrived late to the colonial distribution of territories in the African continent. And one would have to furnish both explanations and reasons as to how and why the political and economic process develops, giving strength to the contemporary industrial wealth.

But as it is not the intention of the author to glut

this work or his readers, all at once, with so many and varied social phenomena it will be sufficient, for our purpose, to make a rapid survey of only those that concern the Western Hemisphere.

We have already seen in the parallel of the two Americas in what a logical manner, so removed from anything tragic, the thirteen North American colonies attained their independence. Once they were independent, without great battles, without mythological heroes, and with very little blood spilled, they were able to extend their territory by annexing, periodically and methodically, those neighboring colonies which were in the hands of European powers.

Rather by means of negotiations than by military methods did the initial nucleus of the United States succeed in acquiring its new lands, until it became the gigantic Federation which today apportions or refuses dollars and armaments, according to the prevailing democratic tendency, to *white* countries or to those of a *stronger hue*.

Thus began the process of expansion: Purchase of Alaska and Louisiana. Acquisition first of Western and then of Eastern Florida. Compulsory renunciation of England to her possessions of Oregon. "Planned" independence of Texas in 1845, to end by keeping all that territory. The incorporation, subsequently, of New Mexico and Upper California, in accordance with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which the Mexican Government was obliged to sign, as a fatal consequence of the war between the two countries (1846-1847).

From then onwards, with the bay of San Francisco in their possession, masters already of the Pacific, the United States paved their way towards the kingdoms and legendary

dominions once visited by Marco Polo. Masters, moreover, of the Caribbean, after their war against Spain in 1898, it has already been said in another chapter what advantages they obtained from the Treaty of Paris, thus consolidating their situation as the youngest and most vigorous industrial power of these modern times.

* * *

The other America, on the contrary, has had to continue her revolution or revolutions, in order to surpass herself; in order to fight against her new holders of "encomiendas"; to put an end to feudalism and to dictatorships. But she was bound to fall, due to this dissimilar process of the two Americas and the moral *irresponsibility* of some of her "great brains", creole or mestizo —with the Monroe Doctrine or without it—, under the economic semi-colonial or colonial system which we are here attempting to explain.

It is only natural, therefore, that the two Americas: the one super-industrialized and the other still in an agrarian stage, should be as different now as they were at origin, in their colonial life and in their independence. It is true that they form a sole geographical and even juridical entity, according to Pan Americanism and the most recent Inter-American Conferences. They are, however, so profoundly dissimilar, from an economical point of view, that if it were not for the common denominator of their democratic ideals, they might possibly be considered as two antagonistic groups.

Fortunately the power that occupies the geographical extension ranging from the North of Mexico up to the South of Canada has no aggressive impulses, nor barbarous instincts, nor impromptu warriors, notwithstanding its

"manifest destiny", and the long and knotty "big stick"—at present sheathed—, and the oil magnates who help the generals, and the XXth century Morgans of Wall Street, partners of the ones of London.

On the contrary, if that extension were occupied by European powers with other "manifest destinies", in the Hitler or Fascist Italy style; or by the England who still despatches men-of-war to our coasts; or by Russia if she really wanted to conquer us by force and seize our territory... we Spanish Americans of weak countries would not be able to talk or write in books or newspapers, nor in the United Nations, nor in world congresses of various nature, nor at Inter American Conferences, as we have been doing for the last fifty year or more.

* * *

For this reason we have stressed throughout this book the culture, ideals of liberty and justice, sense of responsibility and profound democratic spirit of the people of the United States. We can thus hope that a frank mutual understanding will be reached between the two blocks, the Anglo-Saxon and the Spanish-American, for the purpose of putting an end to the colonial system of the European powers on our Continent, in accordance with the resolution adopted at Bogota. And to put an end, at the same time, to the economic colonial system that oppresses Spanish America.

It should therefore be possible to come to a mutual agreement with these aims in mind, in spite of the attitude adopted by the former Secretary of State, General George C. Marshall, at the IXth Inter American Conference; i. e. of *abstention* as regards the colonial system and of

guaranties for private capital of the United States in the republics of the South.

Guaranties to investments, when no such investments were made, as has already been explained! Guaranties to stock companies which are the most serious obstacle for an effective development of PanAmericanism, and for reaching a sincere formula of good neighborhood, by means of solutions that not only proclaim juridical equality, but that solve the great economic inequality which keeps us at the mercy of a new and powerful great metropolis!

On this subject it might well be said that our countries do not need the Marshall Plan for their liberation and development, but their own resources and a just and adequate co-operation of the foreign investors, on basis which would have nothing to do with "exotic doctrines" but, in their adaptable part, with the good example of the United States. A kind of New Deal like that of President Roosevelt, invigorated by President Truman, as will be seen in the following pages.

FINAL CHAPTER

OPTIMISTIC CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE ELIMINATION OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM FROM THE NEW WORLD

INSTRUCTIVE SAYINGS OF THE WORTHY DON
BENITO JUAREZ

IT is now time to conclude this brief volume which has been in the nature of a voyage of study —and occasionally of pleasure—through different countries and ages from the Renaissance up to now.

The fantastic narratives of Marco Polo, the discovery of America, the El Dorado legend, the treasure of the Dabaibe, the Amazon, the Orinoco, the Caribbean sea and its islands, Belice, Jamaica, the Malvinas, the Monroe Doctrine, the Antarctica, treaties and claims, illusions and realities, have appeared throughout the various chapters of this book.

And on the stage of America, reproduced in these pages in miniature, there has been a procession of seafarers, conquerors, indian-traders, brave warriors, with their dreams and ambitions; incorrigible madmen such as Jiménez de Quesada, Sir Walter Raleigh and don Antonio de Berrío; poets, soldiers, pirates and slave-traders; sages, writers, missionaries, men... good and bad, up to the generations which took the field in order to give us liberty and a fatherland.

A human material, that of those times, similar to the one which now peoples the world, which dreams and

fighters and also goes to sacrifice and death—believing thus to better life—for the sake of ideals, riches or fanatisms!

As an inheritance of so much restlessness, so much coming and going on the paths of the new Continent, roots and florescences of various cultures have come down to us. But we have inherited, simultaneously, litigations and quarrels that have not yet been settled, not even by the bloodletting of two tremendous wars, which should have been the purifying Jordan of contemporary man.

* * *

The Spanish American republics, notwithstanding the vexations of the powerful and the obstacles thrown in the way of their integration, have faith in their destiny. There are profound forces at work to save us, in spite of everything, from losing our way and to help us to continue advancing.

Our great men, felt the influence of these forces which imbued them with inspiration and the courage not to give in. And like them, others who assumed the responsibility of consolidating the conquests of the liberators, had sufficient fortitude not to be disheartened by defeats or misfortunes.

There is a sentence of the Worthy of the Americas, Lic. don Benito Juárez, whose few lines seem to apply to these days of uncertainty as to the future of the weak nations. Instructive are these words of the immortal Zapoteca indian and they should not be forgotten by those who are prone to view things pessimistically.

They were pronounced when he was facing the most difficult moments of his exemplary resistance to the armies

of Napoleon the III, who had invaded his old Mexican fatherland. And the Monroe Doctrine did not function during the term of President Johnson!

The correct application of said postulate in a manner that would leave no doubt as to what today is called American continental solidarity, would have sufficed for the Emperor of the French to give up his plans of conquering Mexico. Johnson, however, preferred to abstain and it was then when Juárez said:

"I know that the rich and the powerful do not feel the misfortunes of the poor and still less try to remedy them. But we shall continue to defend ourselves as if we were self-sufficient."

* * *

We have reached a point wherein this *will to action* of President Juárez, a humble native of Guelatao, should perhaps become the *will to action* of the Spanish-American republics in order to render their claims against the colonial system effective, in accordance with the resolution adopted on April 22nd, 1948 at Bogota.

The similarity of the abstentionist attitude adopted by Washington in both cases is evident. In the middle of the XIXth century, for more or less important reasons, Mr. Johnson abstained from supporting Mexico against a European power. Also for reasons of more or less importance, in the middle of the XXth century, Secretary of State Mr. Marshall abstained from voting, thus denying his support to the new Spanish-American world in its fight for Belice, the Guiana, the Malvinas, the Antarctica and other European colonial possessions on the Western Hemisphere.

Faced by this unexpected situation, after sixty years of Inter American Conferences, perhaps we might say with Juárez that "we shall continue defending ourselves, as if we were self-sufficient", thus preserving our own physiognomy and exalting and honouring our highest values.

* * *

But there are other forces on this Continent, North of the Bravo river, as decided as we ourselves are to fight for the American liberation. Constant reference has been made to them throughout this work, sincerely and in good faith, because they are the only ones that can keep alive the postulate of continental solidarity, proclaimed by Franklin Delano Roosevelt at the Meeting of Buenos Aires in 1936.

To this thesis, to this loyally interpreted good neighborhood policy, opposition is only to be found among the North Americans of territorial ambitions and the "manifest destiny", as has been very well explained in a recent essay by the young philosopher Leopoldo Zea. ("Norte América en la Conciencia Hispanoamericana".—"Cuadernos Americanos", Mexico, D. F., May-June 1948).

On this subject the afore-mentioned writer is of the opinion that the Spanish-American conscience adopts two attitudes towards the United States: one of *admiration* and the other of *repulse*. But he adds that these two attitudes are not contradictory.

"What happens is that Spanish America —says the philosopher— has known how to seize the two spirits that pervade the great country of the North. Two spirits which fight between them, as in ourselves collide the two inherited Spains."

"There exist two North Americas: on the one side that of Washington, who asserted the rights of man; that of Lincoln who abolished slavery; that of Roosevelt who understood democracy in a universal sense. On the other side there is the North America of the territorial ambitions, of the "manifest destiny", that of racial discrimination, that of imperialisms."

And thus our friend Leopoldo Zea comes to the conclusion that the former symbolized the liberties longed-for by the best Spanish-American men, while the latter symbolizes the materialism which is also characteristic of the old dictatorships in our medium.

"The defeat of the North America of the materialisms —he concludes— will also be the defeat of despotisms, since one and the other have been the best mutual allies. But let us leave the best men of North América do their share, while we do our own."

MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN APPLICABLE TO THE REALITY OF SPANISH AMERICA

AMONG the best men of the United States it goes without saying that, today as yesterday, must be listed those who upheld and defended the ideals of the founders of the Republic; those who, like James Monroe, John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay, sought for an integral understanding with the southern republics; those of the group of Lincoln, who proclaimed the liberty of the slaves, in spite of the powerful reactionary currents which were opposed to them and plunged them into war; those who like Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Josephus Daniels and the most prominent collaborators of the good

neighborhood policy, initiated a new era of mutual comprehension between the two Americas.

In this latter group Mr. Harry S. Truman, today President of the United States, might be included; and though it is a fact that his Secretary of State adopted at Bogota an anticontinental attitude, one must also remember that at that time Mr. Truman did not feel himself to be supported by the votes of his co-citizens, as he was later, to continue in the White House until 1953. It was said in a previous chapter that the new President, with the American people solidly behind him, might well continue the work of his deceased chief, party colleague and friend President Roosevelt, as regards good neighborhood policy. A loyal, sincere and effective policy, capable of preventing new outbursts of misunderstanding and distrust in Latin America towards the United States!

A few pages back, referring to the American Commission on Dependent Territories, the possibility was indicated of a change of attitude of the State Department in regard to the colonial system; an attitude more in accordance with the principles of justice and liberty of the Western Hemisphere than with the ancient greeds of England. This may perhaps be achieved—the author added—when the democrat President, after his spectacular victory over the republicans of Mr. Dewey, succeeds in putting into practice his message to the eightyfirst Congress of the Union, read before the two Chambers on January 5th, 1949.

This document is of extreme interest, as were in their time the Monroe Doctrine, the speeches of Woodrow Wilson, so many other presidential declarations which

remained words only, the multi-violated Atlantic Charter and the large quantity of Inter American agreements and official speeches, demagogic many of them—even of Sumner Welles!— which if weighed on scales would total a goodly number of tons.

But everything will be adjusted, so the optimists think, because “any problem, however serious, can be solved when it is tackled with a good will and in good faith: then the adequate solution will not be lacking”. Or, as said by Franklin Delano Roosevelt himself, when trying to overcome the scared and petty attitude adopted by many towards great problems or great dangers, whether real or invented by propaganda: “There is nothing to be afraid of, except of fear itself”.

* * *

We quote hereunder some paragraphs taken from President Truman's message, of evident importance to us since they affect us directly, with the intention of commenting subsequently on certain sentences and postulates, to which the name of *Super New Deal* has already been given:

“All nations—stated Mr. Truman— must understand that we have not the slightest intention of maintaining the iniquities of the past”. (Editorial version of the daily “Excelsior”, México, D. F., January 6, 1949.—Other newspapers do not use the word *iniquities*, but *injustices* of the past.—Note of the Author). The same paper's version then reads as follows, retranslated from the Spanish:

“We welcome the constructive efforts made by many nations to better the lives of their citizens” . . . “The policy of the U.S.A. towards her neighbors must adjust itself to the principles contained in the good neighborhood policy

proclaimed by Franklin Delano Roosevelt"... "With the program of European rehabilitation, with the good neighborhood policy and with the Organization of the United Nations, we have begun to tear down those national barriers that obstruct the economic development and the social progress of all the peoples of the earth."

"Our interior programs are the foundation of our foreign policy"... "We are following a foreign policy which is the expression of the democratic faith that we profess. We are doing all we can to encourage the free States and the free peoples of the world; to help those who suffer and toil in foreign lands; and to strengthen the democratic nations against aggression. The soul of our international policy is peace."

* * *

If that which refers to good neighborhood is basic for the American republics, principally there where President Truman declares that it is not the intention of the United States to maintain "the iniquities or the injustices of the past", no less important are his concepts on points such as the following, retranslated from his afore-mentioned message of January 5th:

"We reject the discredited theory that the destiny of a nation should be in the hands of some few privileged persons. We believe, on the contrary, that our economic system should rest on a democratic basis, and that wealth must be created in benefit of everybody"... "The American people has succeeded in attaining the greatest prosperity that the world has ever seen. During the last 16 years a society has taken shape which offers new opportunities

to all men to have their corresponding part of the joys of life."

But subsequently President Truman recognizes that in spite of so much wealth and so much prosperity there is still a lot to be done. He pointed out in his message that prices are exorbitantly high and the minimum salaries exceedingly low; that small business are losing ground to the monopolies, "which are becoming increasingly powerful"; that five million families continue to live in slums; that medical assistance, being very expensive, is out of the reach of the greater part of his co-citizens; that many million children lack education, or are being taught in crowded or anti-hygienic buildings; and that, moreover, "the democratic ideals of the nation are often frustrated by prejudice and intolerance".

COMMENTS ON THE TRANSCRIBED PHRASES OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

IF this is how the first magistrate of the great Anglo Saxon Federation, the most wealthy and flourishing community of the world, expresses himself, what are we to say, the producers of raw materials whose sales prices we are not even permitted to establish in the foreign markets?

What are we to say, when nearly all our extracting industries —as already stated in Chapter XIII—, our precious metals and those which are now called *strategic*; the most important telephone and light and power companies; even the streetcars and railroads of the Spanish-American system, are generally in the hands of these "increasingly powerful" monopolist limited companies, considered as undesirable by President Truman?

More than against the City of London and against Wall Street—which, after all, have been and are looking after their own interests—how can we avoid raising our voices against the lack of vision, or something worse, of our own rulers, *saviours of the country by sheer machete blows*, but signatories, together with their ministers and deputies, of the monstrous concessions which have put a rope round our necks?

The only reply to such disapproval or to certain questions of this kind is prison or banishment in some Spanish-American republics, because “the democratic ideals—to quote Mr. Truman’s words—are sometimes frustrated by prejudice and intolerance.”

And it is in those tyrannized republics, as a misfortune for the good neighborhood policy and the brand-new Organization of the American States—heir to the Palace and other chattels of the Pan American Union—, where the monopolies condemned by Mr. Truman in his country are strongest and most powerful! To oppose oneself to them, to point out that it is urgent and just that they co-operate in the development of the nation they exploit, without irritating privileges, without absurd concessions, with adequate taxation, is equivalent to temerity or madness, since the bold who does so falls into disgrace, *red-dened from head to toe*.

And this colour is not due to shame, nor to apoplexy but to what is once more called *communism*, a disease as serious and contagious before and after the second world war, as was catholicism for Queen Elizabeth and for Cromwell, or as the reformism of the Lutheran heretics

was bound to be for the Papal See, Phillip II and the Holy Inquisition!

Only let a Spanish-American statesman proceed in right manner, insinuating what Mr. Truman asks for, or what Mr. Wilson preached, or what the second President Roosevelt desired, and he will immediately be singled out by *democratic* propaganda: that of oil, of the aromatic banana and other *spiritualist credos*, as a dangerous element, agent of foreign powers and enemy of western civilization. And as an open and declared adversary, besides, of the U.S.A., thus encouraging the patriots in reserve to start revolutionary movements once more, though no longer with machetes but with tanks, planes and machine-guns!

THE EXECUTIVE OF THE WHITE HOUSE RESOLUTELY ADVOCATES SOCIAL GUARANTIES

THE North American ruler, on the contrary—without fear of exposing himself to what the statesmen expose themselves in the rest of the Continent, when they want to raise the taxes on profits, establish measures of social security, to improve, in one word, the economy and standard of living of their co-citizens—; the President of the United States can express from the Capitol his thoughts and wishes in terms such as synthesized below:

“We must strengthen our laws against monopolies, closing those loopholes which permit mergers and monopolistic trusts”... “We must vote a program allowing us to employ the submarine oil reserves, which belong and must continue to belong to the Federal Government”... “Publicly owned electric power must be carried to the consuming

zones, in order to supply electricity at the lowest prices possible."

If that which concerns monopolies is of special importance to Spanish America, of no less importance is Mr. Truman's point of view as regards Social Guaranties. We reproduce hereunder —also retranslated— some essential paragraphs contained in his Message on this subject:

"The boom of our economy and its maintenance at high levels requires that the minimum salary established by law be raised to at least 75 dollar-cents per hour." We leave you to imagine what would happen in the banana fiefs of Central America, or in the enterprises that exploit copper in Chile and tin in Bolivia, or in the "haciendas" where our new rich creoles exploit peasantry laborers, if a minimum wage of 75 dollar-cents were paid, not for sixty minutes work, but for the exhausting and inhuman toil from sunrise to sunset!

To return to President Truman: "The Government still has other opportunities for bettering the standard of living of the citizens of the United States. Such opportunities lie in the fields of social security, salubrity, education, housing and civil rights" . . . "The present scope of our social security laws is completely inadequate and the loan payments too low. We must amplify our social security program, both as regards the loan level and the number of risks, and as concerns economic hazards due to unemployment, old age, invalidity and sicknesses" . . . "We need, moreover, and must have without further delay, a medical insurance system that may permit all Americans to receive good clinical and surgical attention".

As regards the scarcity of living-quarters, President

Truman pointed out to the Congress the necessity of increasing to one million the number of publicly owned houses during the next seven years, with low rents for those workers earning small salaries. And as the only way of putting the projects outlined in his historical Message into practice, he summed up his plan in these words:

"It is necessary to increase the contributions by 4 thousand million dollars, mainly by means of additional taxation to commerce, industry, on real estate, inheritances and donations, as well as by raising the tax on excess profits and on the revenues of people with high and medium incomes."

THE NEW DEAL IS SOMETHING LIKE A REVERSED FORM OF SOCIALISM

WE have already shown how in our countries the first to oppose themselves to any tax increases —on account of the *sacredness* of Treaties, concessions or privileges— are the foreign companies, with the support of creole feudalism and a large percentage of the middle class. Even of certain cultured middle class, who clamours loudly for the rights of private property to remain untouched!

Nobody who understands the Spanish American reality, its tendencies, History and Geography; nobody who has some common sense can be expected to preach in agrarian countries, with enormous territorial extensions, the abolishment of private property, essential characteristic of the communist doctrine.

It appears necessary to repeat, in connection with this topic, that we would rather favor a sort of New Deal

or *reversed socialism*. Meaning that, with the initiative and private property, but with the economic strengthening of the national treasury, by means of a just and proportionate taxation on profits, like in the United States, there be returned to the community —transformed into hospitals, roads, schools, etc.— a high percentage of the wealth it produces. We would thus avoid the antinomy of an *evidently communist* production and a distribution wherein wealth is concentrated in small privileged minorities, or in the hands of foreign shareholders, whereby the entire process of our social and economic development is delayed.

There is no reason, consequently, why certain timorous people, generally without houses of their own, or private property or resources, without other means of transportation than streetcars and buses, should vociferate and protest against those who suggest a social transformation so simple and so easy to fulfil, if the governments had enough courage to undertake it. And there will be less reason still to continue affixing labels of Moscowite communism —in our Spanish American climate!— with texts going from Trotzism to Stalinism and other terrifying denominations of a similar cacophony, certainly good enough as pretext for men in uniform to carry out their coups d'état, with the help of the already mentioned tanks and machine-guns.

It will always be a source of anxiety that these modern arms, sent from abroad to certain Spanish American republics —instead of machinery and agricultural equipment that spell peace, abundance and progress— should only serve for this, that or the other dictatorial régime to try to prove to us, by killing democrats or subjecting them by terror, that it is fighting resolutely for democracy and

for western civilization! They also fought for western civilization, Hitler, Mussolini, Goering, Goebbels and the Mikado using as well in their loudspeakers the argument of anti-communism.

What a pity that those good and peace-loving Nazi chiefs were hanged at Nuremberg, when they might now have rendered new beneficial services to suffering humanity!

PRESIDENT TRUMAN THEORETICALLY AGREES WITH THE DOUBLE ANTICOLONIAL LATIN-AMERICAN THESIS

AS and ending to this book we have transcribed and commented some paragraphs of Mr. Truman's message, in order to show to what extent it is possible, on the basis of liberty and justice, to turn this Hemisphere into El Dorado dreamt of by so many men of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries.

A Continent like ours, with the common denominator of its democratic aspirations, without ambitions of conquest, spiritually refreshed and purified, might well become the *new world* so anxiously sought for and desired by humanity.

The potential wealth of America, the fruitful labor of her inhabitants, the industry of the North and the progress of the South; all that modern technology means at the service of peace and civilization, would place us within sight of the immense treasures which the conquerors hoped to discover on the shores of the lake Parima, in the legendary city of Manoa.

These results cannot be achieved, however, as long as the territorial colonial system subsists in our "climate"; as long as foreign powers continue ruling, in African style, over subjected lands; as long as the weak countries of

Spanish America, those of the semi-feudal or agrarian block, continue to be at the mercy of the economic colonial system of the great international monopolies.

When President Truman, resurrecting Mr. Roosevelt, speaks of *good neighborhood policy*, we must assume that he refers to what his illustrious predecessor called *Continental American Solidarity*. And solidarity can only be understood in the sense of a frank and decided co-operation of the 21 republics of our amphictyony, without demoralizing ABSTENTIONS, against any kind of aggression and all the dangers that might threaten it.

Therefore, when President Truman has said that it is not the intention of the United States to "uphold the iniquities or injustices of the past", it is to be hoped that he was thinking of Belice, the Malvinas, the Antarctica and other colonial possessions of European powers in America, as well as of the economic exploitation which he condemned in his message of January 5th, with the eloquent phrases reproduced herein.

* * *

However, should what has been transcribed not be enough to permit us to assert that the program of the President of the United States, in conclusion and summary, is applicable to the Spanish American double anti-colonial thesis, it will be worth while to listen to him again, a fortnight later, on January 20th, 1949. On that date he entered the White House by his own right, elected by free and popular vote, as the thirtysecond President of the United States. To an immense multitude Mr. Truman expounded the following four postulates:

1.—"Unwavering support" to the United Nations.

2.—Continuous help towards the economic recuperation of the world.

3.—Support to the liberty-loving nations "in order that they may resist aggressions".

4.—A "new and bold program" of help to the needy zones of the world.

To this the admirable Mr. Truman added that more than half the inhabitants of the globe, plagued with diseases and anxieties, live under miserable conditions; that he insists in the urgency of helping the free peoples towards raising their standard of living; and the way to do so would be for his country and other powers to adopt measures of support, through the United Nations, in order that the backward populations may produce "more foodstuffs, more clothing, more material for the building of houses and more mechanical forces to better their situation".

He spoke, naturally, of guaranties to the investors who place their money in such enterprises. But he added, with perfect clarity, that there also "must be guaranties for the people or populations whose resources and labor be placed at the service of these programs". And he still stressed this point: "The old imperialisms—exploitation for the profit of foreigners—have no place in our plans".

It would seem as if President Truman had been contemplating, from the Capitol and the White House, the panorama of the Spanish American republics! And he has seen us with eyes so wide of mercy, that a month later he asked the Congress for 50 million dollars "to provide a program of assistance to Spanish America", in accordance with the fourth point synthesized above; that which refers to the backward zones of the world.

To this respect, according to cabled messages from Washington dated February 21st, this subsidy will be employed in the fields of public health, education and agriculture, during a period of five years, starting from July 1st, 1950, "not more than 10 million dollars to be spent yearly".

Attentive to our needs, and doubtlessly with sincerity and in good faith, President Truman explained in his aforementioned appeal to the Congress: "A continued solidarity, friendship and close co-operation between the republics of the Continent, will be as beneficial to us as to our neighbors. Each one of the American countries, the United States inclusively, is contributing to its own progress by improving the existing economic, social and cultural conditions of the others". ("Ultimas Noticias de Excelsior", México, D. F., February 21, 1949).

A small Marshall Plan, it might be said, at the rate of 10 million dollars yearly for the twenty Spanish American republics! Although not wanting to be suspected of malice, it might be said that this kind of help is not "a real continuation of the solidarity, friendship and close co-operation between the republics of the Continent".

It will suffice to analyse the sums that Honduras exempted the banana concessionaries and other enterprises from paying as import duties: 92.738,616.91 dollars in fourteen years, to understand that it would be better for us, Spanish Americans, to help *ourselves*, by means of our own revenues, reasonable contributions, adequate profit taxes levied from the great consortiums which exploit our wealth, on the basis of concessions as anachronous as the other type of colonial system. And enforcing furthermore

vital minimum salaries for the workers, together with the benefits of the modern social security systems that are accepted today by all civilized countries, in order to raise so the living standard of the Spanish American populations.

THE TWO FORMS OF COLONIAL SYSTEM IN CENTRAL AMERICA!... LONDON AND THE UNITED FRUIT HARASS GUATEMALA

UNFORTUNATELY, and as will have been seen throughout this work, reality does not always go hand in hand with the ideals nor with the sermons of intellectuals and statesmen. We have just referred to the necessity of raising the standard of living of the working classes, and not even this small conquest, which would be minimum, can be achieved in our unhappy Central American countries, as long as they are a prey to the economic colonial system; in other words, as long as the "financial fauces", alluded to in another chapter, are fastened to our throats.

The case could not be more disconcerting. On the same day on which publicity was given to the cable from Washington, announcing the request of 50 million dollars for the "backward populations of the Continent"; that same day, February 21, 1949, in Guatemala a serious conflict between employers and workers came to a crisis, culminating in the economical siege of that country by the United Fruit Company. Such a difficult situation can be summed up by quoting a few sentences from the principal Mexican papers, according to messages of February 22nd, as follows:

"An actual economic blockade has been established by the powerful North American United Fruit Company, against the neighboring republic of Guatemala. This is a

reprisal of said enterprise to the serious conflict created by the Guatemalan workers who are asking for a salary increase"... "The blockade directly affects the whole nation, in view of the fact that the United Fruit is the owner of the docks where merchandise is embarked and disembarked, so that all loading and unloading operations are paralyzed"... "In spite that the President of Guatemala, Dr. Juan José Arévalo, proposed a compulsory arbitration, the already named fruit company has refused to submit to the jurisdiction of the Guatemalan authorities, confiding in its powerful economic strength". ("Novedades", México, D. F., date mentioned).

"El Universal", in turn, reported that this case, in some aspects, "is similar to that which gave rise to the oil expropriation in Mexico, during the term of President Lázaro Cárdenas, inasmuch as the United Fruit Company has disregarded the Guatemalan laws and declared its rebellion against the Government". The magazine "Tiempo", on its part, publishes the following comments in its number of February 25th:

"The conflict between the United Fruit Company—a North American trust which holds a virtual monopoly for the exploitation of tropical fruits in Central America—and the longshoremen of Puerto Barrios, who are claiming a salary increase together with the banana plantation workers, has entered into a critical phase due to the company's refusal to accept the arbitration of the labor courts. The problem became more acute on the 16th, when the United Fruit Company decided to suspend its activities, thus depriving 10,000 workers of their jobs".

"The attitude of said company must be considered

as completely unjustified, since it is equivalent to evading compliance with the laws that the Guatemalan Government is endeavouring to apply impartially, both to the workers and to the employers"... "The refusal of the United Fruit Company to accept the legal channels for the solution of the conflict, is interpreted as a manoeuvre tending to obtain the diplomatic support of the United States. It is evident, however, that the dispute falls under the competency of the labor courts, and nothing can justify interventions injurious to the sovereignty of Guatemala".

* * *

As can be observed, Guatemala is not only being harassed by the colonial territorial pretensions of England, who is in the habit of sending her men-of-war periodically to Belice, but also by the attitude of contumely adopted by one of the most powerful representatives of the economic colonial system in Central America. It has therefore been necessary to explain in this book both forms of dominion, not with the intention of creating bad feeling between the two Americas, but because this and none other is the reality which our peoples have to face.

In return for the help of half a million dollars yearly per head—that is to say per Spanish American republic—which is offered us by President Truman, we might rather appeal to the sentence wherein he declares, with singular frankness, that "the old imperialisms—exploitation for the profit of foreigners—have no place in our plans".

With this sentence put into practice and an honest good neighborhood policy—of continental solidarity
WITHOUT ABSTENTIONS— President Truman's

program would render effective the Spanish American double anticolonial thesis.

What matters, therefore, is to enforce the resolution adopted *continentally* at Bogota, endeavouring that the Havana Conference fulfils its mission, without any new manoeuvring against that which was approved by 18 republics of the new world.

And what matters, in regard to the economic colonial system, is to remember the words, already transcribed, of President Roosevelt: "There is nothing to be afraid of, except of fear itself".

Without fear, then; with decision and good faith; without inferiority complexes; without the lamentable *surrenders* to which some of our rulers have given way to: those of our gold, tin, silver, oil, bananas and their absurd concessions; without immoral complicities with international monopolistic groups; without that painful mental and moral desolation that has caused us so much harm, we Spanish Americans may well have confidence in ourselves, in our tradition and our culture, in our great men and their ideals—which are not obsolete—in order to apply to our countries all what Presidents Roosevelt and Truman have wanted for and preached to the people of the U. S. A.

But we must not forget the words of Juárez: "We shall continue defending ourselves as if we were self-sufficient". Nor those of the young philosopher previously quoted: "Let us leave the best men of the United States do their share, while we do our own".

So be it, for the sake of the two Americas: for the future and the strength of the new American world!

México, D. F., January-February 1949.

Post Scriptum: April-May, 1949.—Well rooted faith should have the integral man of Latin America—the more manlike as he becomes more human, as he draws closer to his fellowbeing through his ownself—, not to be disheartened in this age of hideous covetousness, official rule of mediocrity, retro-propulsion shells and atomic bomb as final show.

That is why the decided attitude of the majority of the Spanish American Delegations to the Meeting of Havana (foot notes to Chapters IX and X), must be emphasized. And it has to be emphasized, notwithstanding that there only were represented 13 of the 18 republics—the already spoken of and well known strong pressures!— who voted against the colonial system at the IX Inter American Conference of Bogota. But the battle was and is as yet engaged, which clearly indicates that not everything is moral misery, surrender and submission in the new Latin American "climate".

• • •

Let us see now the other side of the colonial system, put to test in Guatemala by the United Fruit Company. Like in the case of Belice, cynics or ingenious "pen men", past masters in eye winking and stretching out the hand, did not fail to clamor against such dangerous communistic manoeuvring. Even a North American legislator, the Honorable John Mc. Cormack, went as far as to utter in the United States Congress offenses as the following, retranslated from Spanish:

"The gawky tactics of a minority of agitators of the Guatemalan Government, minorities of Latin American communistic rascals, are trying to damage a worthy Company of this country, as a result of the international conspiracy led by the Soviet Union." (Washington, Febraury 21st., 1949.)

The worthy Company was, of course, the United Fruit. And the agitators or communistic rascals, those who were committing the unforgivable incivility of asking for medical assistance, without suffering a 2% discount on their poor wages; and a minimum salary. for instance, five times smaller than the one suggested by Mr. Truman in his January 5th. address. (Dols. 0.75 per hour in the United States, versus Dols. 1.30 for a whole day's work in Guatemala.)

* * *

Fortunately for the good neighborhood Mr. J. B. Carey, Treasurer of the Congress of Industrial Organizations of the U. S. A. (C I O), answered peremptorily to garrulous Mr. Mc. Cormack on March 3d. He told him in brief:

"In the United States Congress, last February 21st., you alluded to certain Latin American communistic rascals"... "We are deeply concerned watching how the gigantic pressure of a so powerful trust as the United Fruit Company, that weighs heavily on the life of a small friendly neighbor republic, is backed by an extremely interested and biased declaration right in our Federal Congress of the United States"... "Nothing can be more helpful for the communistic world than the immoral endeavor of some North American Corporations, determined to label every just demand of Latin American workers as a plot inspired by Communism. The Congress of the United States should not lend itself to such an immorality"

* * *

Mr. Carey's answer does not need any explanations or comments. It suffices, as a final conclusion to the notes of this book, to inform that the Government of Guatemala maintained its position within the law, encouraged on the other hand by continental sympathy, giving thus a first step ahead against the despotic arrogance and discrimination procedures of the United Fruit Company.

Now what is missing and we urgently need is an economic map of Central America and the Caribbean, so as to defend ourselves and be prepared to defend democracy, in full agreement with that North America which is opposed to exploitation and "manifest destiny". And we also need, in spite of so many influences and complications, to win the battle already engaged against all the other aspects of the colonial system, imposed to us by the great powers.

God help us! But, following the Gospel, as long as we are able to help ourselves. With mental and moral capacity to deserve foreign respect. With irrevocable decision and dignity in behalf of our peoples.

Norteamericanización de Centro América.
Rompiendo Cadenas.
España Heroica.
Guión de Historia Contemporánea.
Cosas y Hombres de Europa.
Opiniones y Comentarios de 1943.
Centro América en Pie.
Morelos y Bolívar.
Hispano América contra el Coloniaje. ¹

OTHER BOOKS AND ESSAYS

Actitud del Gobierno de Washington hacia las Repúblicas centroamericanas. ¹
("Current History Magazine")
Traidores y Déspotas de Centro América.
El Canal de Nicaragua. ¹
Intervención de los Estados Unidos en Centro América. ¹
("Current History Magazine")
Cartas a Morazán.
España en sus gloriosas jornadas de julio y agosto de 1936. ²
El resplandor de España. ¹
Palabras del Presidente de la República Española. ³
La Doctrina de Monroe frente a los nazis en América.
Elogio de Francisco Morazán.
Paralelismo de la paz y de la democracia.
Actualidad y elogio de don Juan Montalvo.

TO BE PUBLISHED

Siete ensayos y un epílogo.
Por qué tuve que disparar.
Vidas de ayer y de hoy.

¹ English and Spanish.
² Spanish and Russian.
³ Spanish, English and French.

PUBLICATIONS BY UNION DEMOCRÁTICA
CENTROAMERICANA

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

Preámbulo y Objetivos Esenciales.

Mexico City, January, 1943.

Por qué lucha Centro América.

Mexico City, August, 1943.

Centro América Libre.

(Official magazine of U. D. C.) Editor, Lic. Juan José Meza.—12 issues, from January to December, 1944.

Carta Dirigida a la Conferencia Interamericana de Chapultepec.

Mexico City, March, 1945.

Paralelismo de la Paz y de la Democracia.

By Vicente Sáenz.—Mexico City, 1946.

Various booklets and public declarations, corresponding to 1946, 1947 and 1948.

Hispano América contra el Coloniaje.

By Vicente Sáenz.—Mexico City, February, 1949.

Second Spanish edition: May, 1949.

English edition: *Latin America against the Colonial system*, Mexico City, May, 1949.

FORTHCOMING:

Democracia y Tiránías en el Caribe.

By William Krehm, former Correspondent of "Time".

Prologue and notes by Vicente Sáenz.