

"Comrades! Soldiers! Remember that a worker must never turn his weapons against other workers, not even if he has been forced into a military uniform for the time being. Proletarians of France, you who have elected Marty today for the 38th time, see to it that his noble example is followed.

Marty refused to fire on the Russian workers in their revolution. Proclaim loudly and determinedly that no worker whatever should take up an attitude of hostility to the German workers who are striking in the Ruhr. Enlighten your class comrades everywhere. Show them that the cause of the German workers is our cause as well, and the cause of the international proletariat!

Organize agitation against the employment of French bayonets in the Ruhr strike. The Communist Party, with the support of all proletarian organizations who are desirous of combining their efforts with ours, will speedily organize a united and systematic propaganda against a repetition of the bloody events in Essen."

Pan-Americanism - Two Conferences

By I. Amter.

While Europe has been busy "settling" the Ruhr trouble and has been occupied with conferences trying to settle the Near East question, the United States has been getting into close relations with Central and South America.

This rapprochement to the countries to the South began during the War. Up to the War, America had taken very little trouble to obtain a foothold in South America, trade being chiefly in the hands of Great Britain and Germany. America coming in a slow third. During the War, when Europe was cut off, South and Central America were obliged to buy from and sell to the United States. Thus the trade figures with South America were as follows:

	1914	1920	1921
Imports from			
South America	\$ 222,677,075	\$ 869,944,300	\$ 485,225,000
Exports to			
South America	\$ 124,539,909	\$ 490,898,074	\$ 523,450,600

In other words, imports from South America increased fourfold from 1914 to 1920, then diminished about 45 % in 1921. In 1922, there was a slump in both imports and exports, which amounted to \$ 288,937,069 and \$ 190,827,828 respectively. Europe had returned to the South American market: South American merchants declared that they received better and quicker service from Great Britain and Germany.

The danger of losing these markets and its influence in Latin America, prompted the United States to call these conferences.

The Central American Conference was held in Washington, beginning last December and lasted till February. It was attended by representatives of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica. The population of these five countries aggregates that of Australia—5,500,000. The Conference was led along its course to the destruction of the freedom of Central America by the adept hand of Secretary of States Hughes.

The Conference came to weighty decisions: limitation of armament; against violent alteration of the constitutional organization of the States; it will seek constitutional reforms that will make it impossible for a president or vice-president to be re-elected; it agreed not to enter into secret treaties. It is clear from the face of it that this Conference sealed the fate of Central America: Central America has become a colony of American imperialism.

The limitation of armament renders the States as a body, toward one another and toward the aggressiveness of the United States, absolutely helpless. The impossibility of reelecting a president or vice-president renders them a prey to the machinations of American imperialism.

The denial of the right to make secret treaties ends the possibility of European capital securing an economic foothold secretly in Central America—or, in other words, it establishes the supremacy of the United States.

This conference was preliminary to the Pan-American Conference that concluded on May 17, at Santiago de Chile. It was necessary to range the whole of Central America on the side of the United States, so that the Central American "children" might play the game of their United States guardian.

The Pan-American Conference was a complete failure. The attitude of the United States was such, that the Latin-American countries were distrustful from the beginning and for

the best of reasons. South America has seen American imperialism making the greatest efforts to strangle Mexico, hatching revolt after revolt, sending troops into the country without even consulting the government. She has seen conspirators fitted out in the United States, murder and arson perpetrated in Mexico at the instance of American capitalists. She has seen Central America gobbled up; hence she feels in no wise safe from the encroachments of the United States.

America, however, is obliged to find markets for her tremendous production. European markets will be closed for an indefinite period. American capital has billions to invest. Hence, Wall Street prepared well in advance of the Conference. Since 1921, it has loaned \$ 300,000,000 to South American States, receiving as security, liens on the custom receipts. In addition, American corporations have obtained mineral and oil concessions. Up to 1914, there were no American banks in South America. During the war, this was changed. Wall Street has invaded South America and has become a keen competitor of British interests, especially in Brazil. There are branches of American banks in many small localities of South America.

America's relations to Brazil must be understood in order properly to judge the Conference and its outcome. American capital is getting a hold on Brazil. Up to the War, American capital made little effort to penetrate that country. Great Britain, on the other hand, has been working for fifty years in Brazil, and has claims amounting to £ 142,500,000. In 1918, the United States made the first loan to Sao Paulo, which amounted to \$ 5,500,000. Since that time, it has advanced nearly \$ 200,000,000. Before the War, England occupied the first place in Brazil's import trade being followed by Germany and the United States. During the War, the United States supplied one-half of the imports. Since 1922, she has dropped into second place, being 1 1/2 % behind Great Britain.

America is fostering trade relations with Brazil before all the other South American States. She has secured from the Brazilian Government a preferential tariff, which places her at a decided advantage over her European competitors. In addition, America had a large pavilion at the Centenary Exhibition held in Rio de Janeiro last Year. England spent little money in connection with the Exhibition, a fact that was unfavorably commented on.

In Argentina, on the other hand, England has the upper hand, and is not likely to be ousted.

The Pan-American Conference was attended by delegates from nineteen countries. Canada was not represented, since she is not a sovereign State. Mexico was not there, since only those States which are recognized by the United States were invited to the Conference. Peru and Bolivia, being at odds with Argentina, did not send representatives. The absence of delegates from three Latin-American countries created a bad impression.

There was a host of minor questions, purposely introduced by the United States government. In fact it was quite noticeable that the United States laid more stress upon mercantile matters than on questions of political significance. However, there were two very important items on the agenda: the limitation of armaments and the consideration of the Monroe Doctrine.

Brazil intimated in advance of the Conference, that she would refuse to reduce her navy in view of the "long coastline that she must protect". There is a background to this claim. In recent years, the American government has sent military missions to several of the South American countries to reorganize their armies and navies. Germany organized the Brazilian army, England the navy. The United States has managed to replace both of them at these strategic points. As a matter of course, American imperialism desires as little armament in South America as possible. Still the fact must not be forgotten that the United States spends more than four times as much for destructive purposes—\$ 813,547,931—as the whole of South and Central America together.

Armaments were limited at the Washington Conference. The United States needs a good agent in South America—one that might be well armed and whose assistance in imperialistic adventure might be counted on. That agent in South America is Brazil.

At the Conference, Brazil persisted in her refusal to consider a reduction in armaments. She was willing to allow Argentina to proceed with her program, but tolerated no interference with her own.

The second point—the "consideration of the questions arising out of an encroachment by a non-American power on the rights of an American nation"—was intended as an opening of a discussion of the Monroe Doctrine. The South American States readily realize what this Doctrine means: it is not intended to protect South America from attacks by a European power, but

to allow the United States to interfere in South American affairs. South America is tired of being under the tutelage of the United States—a laudable feeling, but futile in view of the grip that the United States has on the economic and military power in the western hemisphere. The American delegates and the American government gave South America to understand, that they would tolerate no interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine and that the defence of it was entirely in the hands of the United States government. This tended to unite the Latin-American States, so that there was a manifestation rather of *Latin-Americanism* than of *Pan-Americanism*. The American government considers itself the guardian of the western part of the world, and regards the Pan-American Union, or "League of American Nations", merely as a barrier to the ambitions of European imperialism.

The Bolivian government had suggested an invitation to the League of Nations, but the United States government declared it would consider such an invitation as an affront.

Thus the Conference came to an end—ending just as the European Conferences do—in empty air. There was nothing to negotiate. The U. S. has her plans well laid—she has a capable representative in South America; she is making steady progress in trade and the investment of capital. Central America has opened up a corridor—Mexico will be the next victim.

French comment on the Conference is quite interesting—one rapacious imperialist chiding the other. America is charged with inspiring most of the trouble that has arisen in South and Central America during the last twenty years. French papers say that: "In Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, Haiti and even in the Republic of Liberia, Americans, in formal contradiction of their famous doctrine, intervene, not only politically, but by landing forces of occupation, taking hold of local administrations and imposing governments of their choice. In Argentine, Chile, Brazil, Peru, Bolivia and Colombia, we see interference in public and private affairs, with a finger in governmental administration." Every word of which is true—which applies equally to French interference in Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia, and British interference in the Near and Far East. "When rogues fall out etc."

The American penetration of South America is arousing British imperialism. Matters have reached such a pass that a group of one hundred parliamentarians, directors of industry and interested in the development of the resources of South America, was recently formed in London. A battle royal may soon be expected. But British entanglements in the East and the superior financial power of the United States, together with the tremendous advertising campaign that America is conducting in South America, clearly indicate that South America will succumb to the power of the imperialism of the United States.

FASCISM

The Struggle against Fascism, and New Experiences of the United Front in Germany

By Paul Böttcher.

I.

The Methods of Fascism.

While Fascism in Italy has now doubtlessly got beyond its culminating point, it is still in the ascendancy in Germany. German Fascism develops its driving force in two directions. In combatting all the liberal and pacifist tendencies within the bourgeoisie, it aims at a national dictatorship "to free the nation from the foreign yoke" (the Treaty of Versailles), while on the other hand, as the most aggressive part of the capitalist offensive, it naturally directs its chief blows against the working class. The fight of the Fascists affects the Communists as well as the Social-Democrats. "Elimination of the November criminals" has become the watchword of Hitler, the Fascist chieftain of Bavaria. The leaders of Fascism are well aware of the fact that for the conquest of power they must needs have a broad social basis. From the post-revolutionary struggles they have learnt the lesson that a handful of worn out officers and nationalistic students may well intimidate the petty bourgeois, but it cannot vanquish the worker. In order to extend its basis from the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie into the proletarian camp, Fascism is now pursuing a two-fold tactic: 1. Terrorization of the Communist and Social-Democratic organizations (breaking up of meetings, raids on newspapers, assassination of leaders, and