

THE LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour

VOLUME 8 DECEMBER, 1926 NUMBER 12

Editor: R. PALME DUTT

CONTENTS

Notes of the Month - - - - Page 707

SOCIALISM AND STABILISATION

The New Stage in the Mining Struggle - „ 724

By "FIREMAN"

Indian Nationalism and the Elections - - „ 733

By CLEMENS DUTT

The Relation of the Workers' Party to Religion „ 745

By N. LENIN

What is the A.P.R.A. ? - - - - „ 756

By HAYA DELATORRE

The World of Labour - - - - „ 760

Trade Unionism in the Balkans—Java

Index to Volume VIII (1926) - - - „ 764

Published at
162 Buckingham Palace Road
London

WHAT IS THE A.P.R.A. ?

By HAYA DELATORRE

(Leader of the "United Front" Latin America Anti-Imperialist Party)

THE struggle organised in Latin America against Yankee Imperialism, by means of an international united front of manual and intellectual workers with a programme of common action, that is the A.P.R.A., the four initial letters of the following words : Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (Popular Revolutionary American Alliance).

Its Programme

The programme of international action of the A.P.R.A. has five general points which serve as a basis for the national sections :—

- (1) Action of the countries of Latin America against Yankee Imperialism.
- (2) The political unity of Latin America.
- (3) The nationalisation of land and industry.
- (4) The internationalisation of the Panama Canal.
- (5) The solidarity of all the oppressed people and classes of the world.

Its Organisation

The A.P.R.A. is a young organisation formed by the young men of the new generation of manual and intellectual workers of Latin America. It was founded in 1924 and has organised sections in various countries in Latin America and also in Europe, where the number of anti-Imperialist Latin American students is pretty large. The principal sections of the A.P.R.A. are at present working in Mexico, Buenos Aires, Central America, Paris and other places in which for political reasons the action of these sections is not publicly allowed. A Central Executive Committee directs the action of all the sections.

The United Front

The A.P.R.A. organises the great Latin American Anti-Imperialist united front and works to include in its ranks all those who in one way or another have struggled and are still struggling against the North American danger in Latin America. Until 1923 this danger was regarded as a possible struggle of races—the Saxon and the Latin races—as a "conflict of cultures"

or as a question of nationalism. From the "Gonzalez Prada" Popular Universities of Peru a new conception of the problem has arisen : the economic conception. In 1924 the first Pan-American Anti-Imperialist League was formed in Mexico and also the Latin American Union in Buenos Aires. The Anti-Imperialist Leagues were the first endeavour of the international united front of workers, peasants and students against Yankee Imperialism. The Latin American Union was founded as the Anti-Imperialist *Frente Unico* of the Intellectuals. As a matter of fact, the Anti-Imperialist Leagues have no fixed political programme, but only that of resistance to Imperialism, and the Latin American Union has simply intellectual activity. The A.P.R.A. was founded in 1924, with a programme of revolutionary and political action, and it invites all the scattered forces to form themselves in a single great front.

The Class Struggle against Imperialism

The history of the political and economic relations between Latin America and the United States, especially the experience of the Mexican Revolution, lead to the following conclusions :—

(1) The governing classes of the Latin American countries—landowners, middle class or merchants—are allies of North American Imperialism.

(2) These classes have the political power in our countries, in exchange for a policy of concessions, of loans, of great operations which they—the capitalists, landowners or merchants and politicians of the Latin American dominant classes—share with Imperialism.

(3) As a result of this alliance the natural resources which form the riches of our countries are mortgaged or sold, and the working and agricultural classes are subjected to the most brutal servitude. Again, this alliance produces political events which result in the loss of national sovereignty : Panama, Nicaragua, Cuba, Santo Domingo, are really protectorates of the United States.

The International Struggle against Imperialism

As the problem is common to all the Latin American countries, in which the dominant classes are allies of Imperialism in joint exploitation of the working classes, it is not an isolated or national question, but is international among the twenty Latin American republics. But the governing classes encourage divisions among

these republics, assisting the Imperialist plan which fears Latin American unity (covering eight millions of square miles and about ninety millions of inhabitants). The governing classes stir up national feeling and national conflicts, as in the case of Peru against Chile, Brazil against Argentina, Ecuador and Colombia against Peru, &c. Every time that the United States intervenes as an "amicable mediator" they arrange matters purposely so that no definite settlement can be arrived at which might produce a principle of unification. The recent question of Tacna and Arica between Peru and Chile is the clearest demonstration of this policy of Imperialism.

Imperialism cannot be Overthrown without the Political Unity of Latin America

The experience of history, especially that of Mexico, shows that the immense power of American Imperialism cannot be overthrown without the unity of the Latin American countries. Against this unity the national dominant classes, middle class, landowners, &c., whose political power is almost always buttressed by the agitation of nationalism or patriotism of countries hostile to their neighbours, are ranged. Consequently the overthrow of the governing classes is indispensable, political power must be captured by the workers, and Latin America must be united in a Federation of States. This is one of the great political objects of the A.P.R.A.

The Nationalisation of Land and Industries as the Sole Means of Combating Imperialism

Within the capitalist system, and in accordance with the dialectics of its historical process, Latin America would infallibly become a North American colony. The United States holdings of values in the world (The *New York Times*, June 27, 1926) are shown in the following table, exclusive of the war debts :—

United States holdings in Asia	\$1,000,000,000
" " Europe	\$2,000,000,000
" " Australia	\$1,000,000,000
" " Canada	\$2,500,000,000
" " LATIN AMERICA	\$4,100,000,000

This introduction of capital into Latin America increases almost daily. From June to October, Imperialism has invested over \$50,000,000. The conflict between the United States and Mexico shows us that Mexico has not been able to nationalise the

petroleum industry, which to-day is still dominated by the menace of a North American invasion in defence of the interests of the Standard Oil Company (North American capital in Mexico petroleum \$614,487,263). The "Enmienda Platt" of the Cuban Constitution and the cases of Santo Domingo, Panama, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Hayti prove to us that national authority is lost in proportion as investments by Imperialism are accepted. The nationalisation of land and industry under the direction of the producing classes is the sole means of maintaining the country's power, and is the correct policy for the countries of Latin America.

Latin American Political Unity pre-supposes the Internationalisation of the Panama Canal

The Panama Canal in the power of the United States Government is one danger more to the sovereignty of Latin America. The programme of the A.P.R.A. frankly proclaims the "internationalisation of Panama." Dr. Alberto Ulloa, Professor of International Law in the University of St. Marcos, Lima, Peru, writes in support of this thesis : "The Panama Canal must be internationalised. . . . It is not possible to allow to the United States the exercise of supreme rule in Panama." (Open letter to the President of the Federation of Students of Panama, June, 1926.)

Conclusion

The A.P.R.A. represents, therefore, a political organisation struggling against Imperialism and against the national governing classes which are its auxiliaries and its allies in Latin America. The A.P.R.A. is the united front of the toiling classes (workers, peasants, natives of the soil) united with students, intellectual revolutionaries, &c. The A.P.R.A. is an autonomous movement, completely Latin American, without foreign interventions or influences. It is the result of a spontaneous movement in defence of our countries in view of the experiences of Mexico, Central America, Panama and the Antilles, and the present position of Peru, Bolivia, and Venezuela, where the policy of "penetration" by Imperialism is already keenly felt. For this our watchword is to be the following : "Against Yankee Imperialism, for the unity of the peoples of Latin America, for the realisation of social justice."

(PARIS, October, 1926.)