

in the western hemisphere by preventing extra-hemispheric powers from intervening to challenge her hegemony" (p. 10). "An outstanding consequence of United States aid [in World War II] was to strengthen Brazil . . . at the expense of Argentina" (p. 127). "A great deal of her activity [U. S. military and economic assistance to Latin America during World War II] could certainly be described as intervention" (p. 146). "The most *ominous* aspect of the failure to establish an international court has been United States opposition to such an institution" (p. 310). "Although more *blatant*, her [U.S.] intervention in Santo Domingo is comparable to the overthrow of Arbenz in Guatemala in 1954 and the invasion of Cuba in 1961" (p. 341). "[In Cuba] as in the case of Guatemala, the expropriation of United States property preceded the denunciation of a government as communist" (p. 169). Incidentally, when the author says that "the extent to which the Arbenz government was under communist influence is debatable" (p. 166), he betrays ignorance of Ronald M. Schneider's *Communism in Guatemala, 1944-1955*, a work which he does not cite or even include in his bibliography. According to Schneider, the Communists filled a political vacuum in the Arbenz period.

It is unfortunate that an otherwise excellent study is marred by distortions such as we have selected from a rather goodly supply. Despite the foregoing, we can scarcely disagree with the author's observation that "an effective inter-American system has been possible only to the extent the United States has been prepared to limit her use of this wide margin of power" (p. 13).

University of Texas

J. LLOYD MECHAM

The Pan American Federation of Labor. By SINCLAIR SNOW. Durham, 1964. Duke University Press. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Pp. 159. \$5.50.

Latin American organized labor has been little studied in this country—or, for that matter, in Latin America. Scholars of the two Americas have paid even less attention to the history of those organizations which have tried to bring together trade unionists in Latin America and the United States for solidarity and common action. For these reasons, among others, Sinclair Snow's study of the Pan American Federation of Labor is most welcome.

The Pan American Federation of Labor was the first inter-American labor organization to have a continuous existence for any length of time. Although the anarchosyndicalists had attempted even before

World War I to establish a confederation of organizations under their control in both parts of the hemisphere, this effort did not bear fruit. Snow makes it clear that much of the initiative for the establishment of the Pan American Federation of Labor came from Samuel Gompers. Perhaps because of his English birth, Gompers had been deeply concerned with the international labor movement from the early years of his career as president of the American Federation of Labor. His interest in Latin American labor was one aspect of this concern.

The other factor leading to the ultimate formation of the PAFL in 1918 was the interest of the young Mexican labor movement in establishing international contacts, particularly in the United States. Thereby its leaders hoped to aid its growth and support the Mexican Revolution, to which it owed a great deal. Snow traces in some detail the early contact between the Mexican labor leaders and the AFL before the convening in Laredo, Texas, of the congress which founded the PAFL.

In retrospect Samuel Gompers' American Federation of Labor and the Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana, the two principal architects of the PAFL, were rather strange partners. On one hand, Gompers and the AFL leadership had for many years been under constant attack from more radical elements inside and outside the AFL. On the other hand, most of the CROM chiefs were of anarcho-syndicalist background and formed one of the most important groups leading the most profound revolutionary process which had so far occurred in any Latin American country.

Aware of this incongruity, Snow attributes the ultimate disappearance of the PAFL at least in part to the ideological differences between the AFL leadership and that of the various Latin American groups which participated in the Pan American Federation. Yet he makes it clear that because of a certain convergence of interests, the two groups were able to work together for at least a decade. He traces the activities and accomplishments of the PAFL in Mexico and in other Latin American countries. With regard to the former he points out that the PAFL helped to direct influential United States support behind the Mexican revolutionary government at crucial moments when there was considerable pressure in this country for intervention in Mexican affairs. He also cites certain fundamental differences of opinion, however, between Mexican and American labor leaders, particularly over the question of Mexican immigration into the United States.

This book pretty effectively contradicts the argument that the

PAFL was no more than a "tool of Yankee imperialism" in Latin America. On the contrary, at various times the Pan American Federation spoke out strongly and lobbied with the State Department against United States intervention in the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua. It also soundly condemned the dictatorship of Juan Vicente Gómez in Venezuela, to the considerable embarrassment of the State Department.

Although the Pan American Federation of Labor did not officially die until 1946, Snow makes clear that it virtually ceased to exist after its 1927 congress. With the death of Samuel Gompers the American Federation of Labor virtually lost interest in the PAFL. In the year following the 1928 congress of the PAFL, its Mexican affiliate, CROM, began a long period of division and decline which reduced its importance in Mexico and the hemisphere generally. Finally there developed in many of the other Latin American countries labor movements under Socialist, Communist, or other leftwing leaders who wanted nothing to do with the "reactionary" American Federation of Labor.

Snow has done an excellent job in researching the important sources of information on the history and activities of the PAFL. He writes well and has done a competent job of enlightening us about an important but neglected aspect of inter-American relations.

Rutgers—The State University

ROBERT J. ALEXANDER

Tax Reform and the Alliance for Progress. By RAYNARD M. SOMMERFELD. Austin, 1966. University of Texas Press for the Institute of Latin American Studies. Tables. Appendices. Bibliography. Index. Pp. xiv, 217. \$5.00.

Sommerfeld, an assistant professor of accounting at the University of Texas, shows his shallow historical background in his Introduction, which explains the movement culminating in the Alliance for Progress without mentioning either Eisenhower's Declaration of Newport in 1960 or Juscelino Kubitschek's Operation Pan America. The Punta del Este Conference appears under a heading "The Presidential Meeting," although it was attended by finance ministers. Sommerfeld ascribes to social development a priority over economic development, whereas the Charter of the Alliance and its implementation have given equal weight to both.

Early chapters of the book deal with the laudable objectives of tax reform. There follow explicit comments on existing levels and distinctive features of income and excise taxes, customs duties, exemp-