

# Guide

## **Robert J. Alexander Interview Collection** *Interview Collection, 1947-1994*

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## **The Robert J. Alexander Interview Collection**

Pioneering Latin Americanist Robert Jackson Alexander (1918-) was a central player in U.S./Latin American labor, political, and scholarly affairs after World War II. For some five decades starting in 1946, Professor Alexander traveled extensively as an engaged witness to and active participant in the major political events in Latin America and the Caribbean. The unique documentation Alexander created and assembled, the largest and most important private archive of its sort, is deposited with Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ.<sup>1</sup> The crown jewel of this remarkable collection are his contemporaneous notes on over 10,000 interviews he conducted with presidents, politicians, trade unionists, businessmen, government officials, military men, diplomats, and scholars.

Long known to a handful of specialists, the Alexander interview collection provides a comprehensive multinational resource, in English, that can be used with profit by undergraduates, fledgling graduate students, and established scholars. It offers an invaluable documentary source for modern Latin America's tumultuous political and labor history, U.S. Cold War conflicts with the region, and the challenges of economic development. In its temporal sweep, the collection covers the populist heyday of the 1940s through the early 1960s, as well as the succeeding decades of military dictatorship and popular resistance.

### ***Biographical Background and Latin Americanist Interests of Robert J. Alexander***

Born in 1918 in Canton Ohio and raised in New Jersey, Robert J. Alexander was the son of a university professor. His life trajectory was rooted in the tumultuous years of the Great Depression, the "Red Decade" as it came to be called, when he served as a leader of the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL) at his high school.<sup>2</sup> Like many of his generation, Alexander's strongly-held social democratic political beliefs were shaped by his loss of faith in free enterprise as a self-sustaining economic system, his rejection of *laissez-faire* as a prescription for sound government, and his belief in the positive contribution of organized labor to the cause of social reform. Profoundly influenced by the New Deal and inspired by its leader FDR, Alexander came to strongly believe in both the desirability of an activist state and in the efficacy of government in resolving social and economic problems.

The origin of Alexander's life-long involvement with Latin America, which distinguished him from others of his generation, can be found in the charismatic undergraduate teaching of Austrian-born Frank Tannenbaum (1893-1969) at Columbia University. Tannenbaum, after an early 1914 arrest in New York for anarchist activism, had gone on to get an economics degree at the newly-formed Brookings Institution in 1927 with a thesis on agrarian reform after the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1917. Over the next two decades, Tannenbaum would be widely recognized as an important if heterodox Latin Americanist, a trans-disciplinary figure who laid the foundations for the scholarly study of the Mexican Revolution as well as for the field of comparative race relations in the Americas.<sup>3</sup>

Under Tannenbaum's influence, Alexander completed a masters thesis in 1941 on labor in Latin America and then discovered, as he says wryly, that he was now "'an expert' on Latin American labor for the simple reason that no one knew anything" about the subject.<sup>4</sup> He spent 1943 to 1945 in England with the U.S. Army Air Force, and it was there that he first demonstrated the

remarkable initiative and self-discipline that made him a master documentarian. Fascinated by the British unions and the Labor Party, Alexander not only sought out and interviewed leaders and activists but typed up contemporaneous notes on the conversations.<sup>5</sup>

His war-time experience also shaped his larger political outlook. Having left the Socialist Party because of its pacifist position, Alexander became convinced that the transcendent issues involved in international politics (democracy versus totalitarianism) were inseparable from the domestic political conflicts within countries. Moreover, World War II further strengthened his belief in the essential decency of the policies of the U.S. government, whatever its mistakes. It is not surprising that this strong identification with the "American mission" in the world and his anti-communist social democratic politics would lead Alexander to decisively align himself, as did so many liberals, with the U.S. side of the emerging Cold War after 1946.

After a brief stint at the Labor Relations Division of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs run by Nelson Rockefeller,<sup>6</sup> Alexander returned to Columbia to work with Tannenbaum on a doctoral thesis in economics on "Organized Labor in Chile." With a grant from the State Department, he conducted fieldwork in 1946-47 during which time he carried out a national industrial relations survey which served as the basis of his still useful but unpublished 1950 thesis. During these six months, he also took extensive notes on the three hundred and forty nine interviews he conducted during this period of intense political and trade union ferment under a Communist-backed government led by President González Videla, who would turn on his leftist allies in 1947.<sup>7</sup>

During this initial trip to South America, Alexander also stopped in Brazil and Argentina, nations that were each experiencing a remarkable period of mass political mobilization.<sup>8</sup> In Argentina, in particular, the rise of the charismatic Army Colonel Juan Perón to the presidency in the 1946 election opened an entirely new historical epoch in Latin America that scholars have come to call the Populist Era. A sui-generis figure, the regime of Juan Perón and his eventual wife Evita was vigorously and publicly opposed as fascist by the U.S. government, as well as by social-democratic and communist groups in Argentina and abroad. Given these concerns, Alexander would make the Perón phenomenon the subject of his first book *The Perón Era*, published in 1951, that was translated, oft reprinted, and would remain the only treatment in English for the next decade.

Although hostile to Perón, Alexander's book displayed the virtues that grew out of his emerging research methodology based on extensive interviewing with people of all political perspectives and from all walks of life. Reviewers have often commented on Alexander's unique ability to connect with individuals, establish a degree of trust, and then ask the questions that would generate the richest replies. As political scientist Lars Schoultz wrote in 1975, Alexander's "enviable collection of personal interviews with party leaders," and "the wealth of data" they contain, is especially impressive for "anyone who has attempted the frustrating task of elite interviewing."<sup>9</sup>

Joining the faculty at Rutgers University in 1947, Alexander traveled to and within the countries of Latin America hundreds of times over the next thirty-five years (and continued to do so, but more sporadically, until the early 1990s). Even today, he is the only Latin Americanist who has

not only traveled in all Latin American countries but has visited almost all the countries and colonial dependencies in the Caribbean. Yet this breadth of exposure was not achieved at the expense of sustained and concentrated research. Throughout his career, he specialized in six major Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, Venezuela and Peru) which together make up more than half of the region's total population and account for thirteen of his twenty-five published monographs.

Alexander's sustained engagement with Latin America began at a unique moment in the history of the region and of the United States. The U.S. emergence as a truly global economic, military, and political superpower in the mid-twentieth century had a mixed impact on the study of Latin America in the United States. As Mark Berger has shown, the "Good Neighbor" policy of the 1930s and the strategic demands of World War II enhanced government and academic interest in Latin America but this "growth and disciplinary diversification" quickly dissipated after the end of the war. This relative decline in academic interest in the region would continue until the wake-up call represented by the Cuban Revolution of 1959.<sup>10</sup> The 1960s were marked by a vast increase in funding and a greatly heightened interest in the region, whether for political, cultural, or literary reasons, leading to a greater institutionalization of Latin American studies in the U.S.

The postwar U.S. neglect of the region occurred at a moment when Latin America was experiencing social, economic, and political transformations. During these decades, the region's largest countries embarked on an unprecedented process of industrialization, with a rapid expansion of the urban working and middle classes. This was accompanied by the emergence of the popular sectors, particularly organized labor, in national political life and the flourishing of new political and ideological currents.<sup>11</sup> With acute insight and surprising tact, Robert Alexander established a place for himself as a witness to key episodes such as the rise and fall of Perón, the Bolivian Revolution of 1952, the overthrowing of the Pérez Jiménez dictatorship in Venezuela in 1958, the rise to power of Fidel Castro in Cuba, and the turbulent years of the Christian Democratic government of Eduardo Frei (1964-1970) and the left wing Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende in Chile.<sup>12</sup>

Alexander's extensive travels within Latin America were undertaken under a number of auspices and for different purposes. His 1962 book on organized labor grew out of a 1956 grant from the Ford Foundation's Inter-University Study of Labor Problems in Economic Development. And his yearly trips to Bolivia in the 1950s, the subject of his third book *The Bolivian National Revolution* (1958), were funded in part by consultant-ships with the U.S. aid program to that country. Given his extensive knowledge and contacts, Alexander was also an active participant in the U.S. government policy debate about Latin America during the Kennedy administration. Although he did publish a book on the region with a U.S. Congressman, Berger likely exaggerates when he calls Alexander "a major figure behind the Alliance for Progress."<sup>13</sup>

Yet many of Alexander's most important early trips were not strictly academic at all. As he freely revealed to his readers, Alexander in the 1950s was a combative opponent of both communism and Peronism and their fellow travelers. Throughout his career, his scholarly activities were informed by a clear political agenda: to build support for mass-based reformist parties that would fight the communists "on their own grounds and among the groups from whom they especially drew support." Yet not all such non-communist reformist political movements and leaders would

win Alexander's favor, precisely because many tended to be highly nationalistic and resentful of U.S. predominance and influence. The groups favored by Alexander, as well as U.S. policy-makers, were those that combined social reform commitments with a reliable policy of collaboration with the U.S. in the struggle against the Soviet bloc and the Communist threat within their own countries.<sup>14</sup>

As a pro-labor U.S. anti-communist, Professor Alexander cultivated friendships with many of the key Latin American political personalities of the "Democratic Left," such as Haya de la Torre, José Figueres, Rómulo Betancourt, and Victor Paz Estenssoro. Thus he was particularly well-placed to gain special access, at the highest level, to the leadership of the major center-left political parties of Venezuela, Peru, and Bolivia (AD, APRA, and MNR). Originating in the student, labor, and popular insurgencies of the 1930s, these anti-status quo parties had briefly risen to power after World War II but were subsequently ousted and persecuted by rightist military regimes. When these populist parties did return to national prominence, their chastened leaders served as dependable allies of the U.S. in its struggle in the 1960s against the Cuban Revolution.

Thus Alexander was, in every sense, an intellectual engagé as well as a direct participant in the bitter political struggles that marked inter-hemispheric political and labor affairs.<sup>15</sup> Going back to 1948, he had worked closely with the American Federation of Labor's regional representative Serafino Romauldi, an anti-communist Italian immigrant. He also collaborated closely, for many years, with the notorious *eminence gris* of the Cold War, the one-time communist Jay Lovestone who headed the International Department of the AFL and later AFL-CIO.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, at least eight of his trips to Latin America between 1952-1959 were made with funds received through Lovestone, from both government and CIA sources. Whether despite or precisely because of his political militancy, Alexander actively crossed ideological divides to interview even those active in organizations and movements he bitterly opposed such as Communists. Indeed, his reports to Lovestone about his travels contained detailed and frank assessments of the strategic and tactical issues facing their political "camp" in the different Latin American countries.

As a leading Cold War operative, Alexander gained the opprobrium of critics of the United States. To one Soviet scholar, this "reactionary American historian [sic]" was "an apologist for the aggressive policies of U.S. monopolists."<sup>17</sup> Another Soviet analyst particularly objected to his pioneering monographs on labor and communism: "Alexander is noted for his works which distort the history of the labor movement in Latin America. Sponsored by A.F.L. money, he carried on 'research' in various Latin American countries, establishing contacts with renegade and opportunistic elements ousted from communist parties. Notes on talks with these renegades serve as the main source of Alexander's 'works.'"<sup>18</sup>

Alexander's political alignments were equally suspect in some conservative U.S. and Latin American circles in the 1950s, especially given the dubious and often "communist" origin of many of his favored political parties and their record of revolutionary-sounding rhetoric. In 1963, for example, the ultra-conservative U.S. scholar J. Fred Rippy attacked Alexander, known for his "slanted views of U.S. policy," as a man "well known by members of his profession as a champion of radical causes and of public contributions to them."<sup>19</sup> After the 1958 ouster of Venezuela's Pérez Jiménez, the military dictator's U.S. supporters issued a red-baiting report that

condemned the new AD President Rómulo Betancourt as a crypto communist. In classic McCarthyite fashion, they profiled the subversive background of his U.S. supporters, including Alexander and other members of the Inter-American Foundation for Democracy and Freedom; this "extreme leftwing group," they reported, was full of "communists, pro-Comunists, fellow travelers, Socialists, and left wing liberals."<sup>20</sup>

When Latin American studies did finally boom in the 1960s, however, the new generation of scholars had little patience for the "Cold War liberalism" that had led Alexander to support the 1954 coup against the democratically-elected government of Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala or to oppose Fidel Castro as early as 1959 (after which point he was barred from travel to the island). Faced with the leftward shift in the political climate in both Latin America and the United States in the 1960s, Alexander remained firm in his anti-communist and pro-U.S. foreign policy alignment in the region. He was not swayed even by the bloody 1973 military coup that overthrew the democratically-elected Popular Unity (UP) coalition headed by President Salvador Allende. In his 1978 book *The Tragedy of Chile*, he emphasized that the UP had used "democratic means to achieve a totalitarian society." He also discounted the evidence of CIA complicity in the destabilization of the Allende government that was documented by Senate Select Committee on Intelligence in the famous "Church Committee report" of 1977:

Whatever the ITT did or did not do, whatever the CIA did or did not do, whatever certain U.S. military personnel did or did not do, whatever economic policies the United States followed or did not follow with regard to Chile--all of these factors had only the most marginal impact in generating the economic and political crisis of the Allende regime in its final months. And they had nothing to do with the Chilean military leaders' decision to oust the Unidad Popular Regime.<sup>21</sup>

Not surprisingly, such tough-minded views won Alexander few friends among the new generation of academics working on Latin America. His work was increasingly criticized for its openly partisan political commitments and absence of scholarly rigor, which had increasingly become the norm with the professionalization of Latin Americanist research and scholarship. In 1979, a young Chileanist historian Peter Winn described Alexander's 1965 monograph on labor as "the most accessible" version of "a liberal anti-communist interpretation," but he went on to criticize its "frequently tendentious interpretations [based] upon a slender body of research." Another group of labor studies scholars in 1964 had criticized his embrace of the simple-minded "anti-Communist line of both the United States government and the AFL-CIO" that presented simplistic stories of "good guys (i.e. 'democrats') and bad guys (i.e. 'totalitarians')." In their eyes, Alexander's "cold war anti-Communist perspective" prevented him "from objectively considering the strong appeal of Marxist ideologies in Latin America." Yet even these young critics nonetheless recognized that his book on communism was "rich in information drawn from interviews and newspapers."<sup>22</sup>

The 1980s would witness a greater appreciation for the acuity of some of Alexander's assessments of the socio-political affairs of the countries he visited. Alexander, "writing from a liberal, anti-communist perspective," was praised by Charles Bergquist in 1986 for being the only one of his generation of scholars, whether U.S. or Latin American, who "consistently stressed the importance of organized labor in the modern historical development of the region."<sup>23</sup>

"Until the mid-1960s," another historian observed, "Latin American labor history remained a curiously neglected field, with the exception of a few relatively isolated figures, such as Robert Alexander."<sup>24</sup> Indeed, "without his immense work there simply would not exist any account of the development of the various Latin American labor movements."<sup>25</sup>

Even the scale of his scholarly production and the extent of his political activism was not made clear until the publication, in 1991, of an eighty-four page bibliography of his work.<sup>26</sup> Not counting translations or reprintings, Alexander wrote at least twenty-five major books, edited two collections of Latin American documents by Rómulo Betancourt and Haya de la Torre, and served as the major editor for two reference works on political parties and politicians in Latin America. In addition, he published almost fifty book chapters, eight pamphlets, four hundred newspaper and magazine articles (largely of a non-scholarly sort), two hundred book reviews, and seventy-five encyclopedia and yearbook entries.

### **The Nature of the Alexander Interviews as Primary Sources**

Throughout Alexander's career, reviewers of his books have consistently commented on his use of "open-ended interviews" in his research.<sup>27</sup> In praising Alexander's "penetrating" second book *Communism in Latin America* (1957), for example, Robert E. Scott cited the "depth of understanding [achieved] by means of personal interviews with both North and Latin Americans-Communists, ex-Communists and anti-Communists."<sup>28</sup> Even vastly more critical reviewers in later years cited his "invaluable personal interviews covering more than thirty years" as a special strength of his work.<sup>29</sup> There was a remarkable "range and depth" to Alexander's interviewing of "still active and interested politicians," others observed, and they hailed the richness of the "information drawn from [his] interviews" with "many of the leading figures in labor unions and left-wing political movements." The use of such "first hand sources" was cited by Bryce Wood, who also welcomed Alexander's "forthrightness about his ideological assumptions."<sup>30</sup>

Yet these scholarly tributes to Alexander's field interviewing were derived solely from the evidence presented in his written work. Few scholars were aware that Alexander had systematically recorded the contents of the interviews that so informed his publications. And most would be astonished to learn that Alexander had accumulated typed notes for an estimated ten to twelve thousand encounters. Indeed, it is precisely as a master documentarian that Dr. Alexander has made his most lasting contribution to both the study of Latin America and the history of the encounter between North Americans and their neighbors to the south.

Across five decades, Alexander's interview methodology remained constant. "I have never used a tape recorder or similar device for interviewing," he noted in 1987, because of his belief that it might "interfere with the willingness of people to converse freely." To maintain an atmosphere "as informal and as near to simple conversation as possible," Alexander refrained from taking notes during the interviews; only afterwards would he take "preliminary notes in a kind of sui generis short-hand, consisting of all sorts of abbreviations which only I (or my wife) could probably understand. Then, as soon as I have been able to get to my typewriter, I have expanded these notes, in a kind of stream-of-consciousness process" into an English-language summary, in third person, of what has been said by the individual.<sup>31</sup>

Varying from a paragraph to five or six single-spaced pages, Alexander's interview notes offer a



unique breadth of information and perspective on all aspects of Latin American society and politics. During his numerous visits throughout Latin America, as well as in meetings, interactions, and travel outside the region, Alexander took contemporaneous notes on his conversations with individuals from all walks of life, whether with a disgruntled taxi-cab driver, a prominent industrialist, a female attorney, a trade unionist, a government bureaucrat, a visiting U.S. scholar, a national congressman, or a current, past, or future president.<sup>32</sup> It is precisely from these thousands of personal interactions that Alexander derived his feel for Latin American labor and politics.

Alexander's unique interview collection captures the opinions and ideas of an immense diversity of voices from the top to the bottom of every country and territory in the Americas, including the English-speaking Caribbean, with especially large numbers for Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Perú, and Venezuela.<sup>33</sup> The diversity among actors interviewed by Alexander spans generations, genders, classes, races, religions, and social positions. Those interviewed include the rich and well born, hundreds of professionals including lawyers, judges, and economists, as well as a wide sampling of U.S. embassy officials, disgruntled U.S. expatriates, and U.S. academics and businessmen. Yet Alexander was also particularly concerned to document the views of the mass of the population, such as workers and peasants, while making room for an occasional shoe shine boy. Women constitute a respectable minority of the total interview pool.

Given their non-governmental nature, Alexander's interviews are often far richer and more revealing than formal summaries of interviews written by foreign diplomatic and consular officials. Over a span of years, the same individual was often re-interviewed by Alexander, these follow-up encounters document their shifting positions within evolving national histories. In addition, this diachronic perspective allows us to better evaluate their claims and statements in earlier interviews. Having ranged widely during any given visit, Alexander's notes also allow us to explore synchronic divergences in perspectives within a given moment in time. Thus we can trace differences of outlook, opinion, and knowledge within political parties, labor organizations, religions, communities, and even families. When dealing with key actors, Alexander at times might interviewed not only the individual's rivals, but also his spouse, relatives, and friends, thus providing additional angles for understanding.

The IDC collection also includes more than field interviews alone, since Alexander also recorded notes on discussions with and talks given by Latin Americans when they were outside of their countries, whether as an exile in another Latin American country or speaking before the Council on Foreign Relations in New York (of which he was a member). Each country's interview files also contains a substantial body of notes of the observations of foreigners, primarily but not exclusively North Americans. This provides a priceless contribution to our understanding of the ways in which different Latin American countries came to be appreciated and understood by a wide variety of both North American and Latin American observers. In this regard, his archive contains extensive material for those interested in the study of U.S. Latin Americanism, as well as for those interested in U.S. diplomatic and business activities in the region.

Typed in English, the interview notes are organized by country and group and may include: politicians (by party); businessmen, bankers, agriculturalists, and employers; trade unionists, (by geographic area and/or political affiliation); government officials, police and military personnel;

students, intellectuals, publishers, teachers, and religious figures; and foreign observers. Each begins with a full identification of the interviewee, including comments about their appearance or manner, in addition to the place and date of the interaction. The observations of those interviewed can be remarkably frank, often surprisingly revealing, and at times humorous as they explain their society to this knowledgeable and inquisitive foreigner. In some cases, the notes include almost ethnographic style accounts of what he witnessed while visiting a trade union headquarters or attending a political meeting.

To those who have worked in his archive, the most surprising aspect of these interview materials lies in the amazing detail they afford the researcher about matters both large and small. In addition, Alexander's paraphrases preserve the nuance of individual verbal expression to such an extent that the reader may laugh at the jokes or smile at the witticisms Alexander recounts. Most importantly, it is evident that he maintained a high degree of faithfulness in paraphrasing even those with whom he disagreed.

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October, 2002

## ENDNOTES

1. In addition to this IDC interviews collection, the Robert J. Alexander holdings at the Special Collections and University Archives of Rutgers University include a voluminous and diverse collection of correspondence, news clippings, union newspapers, constitutions, leaflets, political pamphlets, union contracts, masters' theses, and books. See the preliminary guide available from <http://www.scc.rutgers.edu/ceth/projects/ead/eadmain.htm> Click on "Browse and Search the Finding Aids" and then click on "Manuscripts" and select "Papers of Robert J. Alexander"
2. For a fuller treatment, see the "Biographical Sketch" of Alexander available along with the guide to his collection at the Rutgers Special Collections web-site.
3. Frank Tannenbaum's two landmark studies were: *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929) and *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (New York: Knopf, 1947). For more on his background, see Helen Delpar, "Frank Tannenbaum: The Making of a Mexicanist, 1914-1933," *The Americas* XLV, no. 2 (1988): 153-172; and Mark T. Berger, *Under Northern Eyes: Latin American Studies and US Hegemony in the Americas, 1898-1990* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), p. 262.
4. Robert J. Alexander, "Interview with Dr. Robert J. Alexander, October 29, 1989," in *Robert Alexander: The Complete Bibliography of a Pioneering Latin Americanist*, ed. John D. French (Miami: Center for Labor Research and Studies, Florida International University, 1995), p. 3.
5. For his British materials, see Reel 8, Box 7, Folder 54-59 Great Britain, 1943-1991.
6. Serafino Romualdi, *Presidents and Peons: Recollections of a Labor Ambassador in Latin America* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1967): 4, 36.
7. The enormous value of the Chilean materials generated or gathered by Alexander in 1946-1947 is amply demonstrated by Jody Pavilack in her study of the Communist-led coal miners of Lota whose 1947 strike was the dramatic turning point in early Cold War history of Chile: "'Black Gold in the Red Zone': Social and Political Insurgency in Chilean Coal Mining Communities from the Popular Front to the Advent of the Cold War" (Ph.D. Dissertation in History, Duke University, forthcoming).
8. A 1992 monograph on post-war Brazil during this period by John D. French made effective use of Alexander's letters and interviews: *The Brazilian Workers' ABC: Class Conflicts and Alliances in Modern São Paulo* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).
9. Lars Schoultz, "Review of *Latin American Political Parties*," *American Political Science Review* 69, no. 3 (1975), p. 1053.
10. Mark T. Berger, *Under Northern Eyes*, p. 70, 72.
11. The centrality of the mid-1940s to the trajectory of modern Latin American society politics has been the subject of two recent scholarly collections: Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough, eds.

*Latin America from the Second World War to the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) and David Rock, ed., *Latin America in the 1940s: War and Postwar Adjustments* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). For the emergence of interdisciplinary study of labor in Latin America and Alexander's place within it, see John D. French, "The Latin American Labor Studies Boom," *International Review of Social History* 45 (2000): 279-310. "The Laboring and Middle-Class Peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean: Historical Trajectories and New Research Directions." In *Global Labour History*, edited by Jan Lucassen, forthcoming.

12. Many of these national leaders were profiled in Alexander's *Prophets of the Revolution: Profiles of Latin American Leaders* (New York: Macmillan, 1962). He also wrote biographies of Arturo Alessandri, Juscelino Kubitschek, and Rómulo Betancourt: *Arturo Alessandri: A Biography* (Ann Arbor: Latin American Institute of Rutgers University and University Microfilms International, 1977); *Juan Domingo Perón: A History* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1979); *Juscelino Kubitschek and the Development of Brazil* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1991); *Rómulo Betancourt and the Transformation of Venezuela* (New Brunswick, U.S.A.: Transaction Books, 1982). Although he maintained an active correspondence with many individuals, only the materials related to Betancourt have been published to date: *Venezuela's Voice for Democracy: Conversations and Correspondence with Rómulo Betancourt* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1990).

13. Charles Orlando Porter and Robert Jackson Alexander, *The Struggle for Democracy in Latin America* (New York: Macmillan, 1961); Berger, *Under Northern Eyes*, p. 78.

14. Leopold Kohr, "Review of The Bolivian National Revolution by Robert J. Alexander." *Annals of the American Academy* 328 (1960): 180-81.

15. There is a vast literature on the U.S. labor diplomacy in Latin America of which Alexander was a part. For a start, see Ronald Radosh, *American Labor and United States Foreign Policy: The Cold War in the Unions from Gompers to Lovestone* (New York: Random House, 1969); Henry W. Berger, "Union Diplomacy: American Labor's Foreign Policy in Latin America, 1932-1955," Doctoral dissertation in history, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1966. For an introduction to the intense controversy and polemics over labor's close collaboration with the Central Intelligence Agency after World War II, especially in Latin America, see George Morris, *CIA and American Labor: The Subversion of the AFL-CIO's Foreign Policy* (New York: International Publishers, 1967); Fred Hirsch, *An Analysis of Our AFL-CIO Role in Latin America, or Under the Covers with the CIA* (San Jose, CA: n.p., 1974); and Paul G. Buchanan, "Useful Fools" as Diplomatic Tools: *Organized Labor as an Instrument of US Foreign Policy in Latin America* (Notre Dame, IN: The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies Working Paper #136, 1990). For a skeptical recent scholarly examination of U.S. trade union activity in Brazil in the 1950s and 1960s, see Welch, Cliff. "Labor Internationalism: U.S. Involvement in Brazilian Unions, 1945-1965," *Latin American Research Review* 30, no. 2 (1995): 61-89.

16. Serafino Romualdi, *Presidents and Peons*. Lovestone was always the subject of intense polemical commentary, for and against, given his role as a key Cold War strategist at the global level. Scholarly interest in both Lovestone and his collaborators like Alexander is bound to

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increase with the recent opening of his 800 cubic feet of archival materials by the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University. See Ted Morgan, *A Covert Life: Jay Lovestone: Communist, Anti-Communist and Spymaster* (New York: Random House, 1999). Author of a books on dissident currents within international communism such as trotskyism and maoism, Alexander also published on the trajectory of the faction lead by Jay Lovestone that left the CP USA in the 1920s: *The Right Opposition: The Lovestoneites and the International Communist Opposition of the 1930's* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981).

17. Edward B. Richards, "Marxism and Marxist Movements in Latin America in Recent Soviet Historical Writing," *Hispanic American Historical Review* XVI, no. 4 (1965), p. 581.

18. I.R. Lavretskii, "A Survey of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 1956-1958." In *Latin American History. Essays on its Study and Teaching, 1898-1965*, edited by Howard F. Cline (Austin: University of Texas Press, Austin, 1967): 156.

19. J. Fred. Rippy, "Review of *Today's Latin America* by Robert J. Alexander." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 43, no. 4 (1963): 556-58.

20. John H. Clements Associates. *Report on Venezuela* (New York: John H. Clements Associates, c. 1958-1959): 157-159. The papers of the leader of the social democratic IADF, Frances Grant, are also held at the Special Collections and University Archives of Rutgers University. For more information, see the Special Collection's web-site cited in footnote one.

21. Alexander, Robert Jackson. *The Tragedy of Chile* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978). For the Church Committee report, see Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, *Covert Action in Chile 1963-1973. Staff Report* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975).

22. Kenneth Paul Erickson, Patrick Peppe, and Hobart Spalding. "Research on the Urban Working Class and Organized Labor in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile: What is Left to be Done?" *Latin American Research Review* 9, no. 2 (1974): 115, 118.

23. Charles Bergquist, *Labor in Latin America. Comparative Essays on Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia*, ed. John Wirth and Thomas Heller, *Comparative Studies in History, Institutions, and Public Policy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), p. 2. On page 205, Bergquist observes that scholars of Venezuelan history have "systematically ignored ... the central role of the labor movement" in establishing a liberal economic and political order while noting, once again, that "an exception to this generalization is the work of Robert J. Alexander."

24. Thomas E. Skidmore, "Workers and Soldiers: Urban Labor Movements and Elite Responses in Twentieth-Century Latin America," in *Elites, Masses, and Modernization in Latin America, 1850-1930*, ed. Virginia Bernhard (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), p. 81, 147.

25. Henry A. Landsberger, "The Labor Elite: Is It Revolutionary," Chapter 8 in Seymour Martin Lipset and Aldo Solari, eds. *Elites in Latin America* (New York: Oxford UP, 1967), p. 297.

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26. John D. French, *Robert Alexander: The Complete Bibliography of a Pioneering Latin Americanist* Latin American Labor Studies Bibliography #3 (Miami: Center for Labor Research and Studies, Florida International University, 1991).
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33. Individual interview-level guides are available in published form for Chile and Cuba: Pavilack, Jody. *Modern Chile: Indexes of the Robert J. Alexander Interview Collection, 1946-90* (Durham/Chapel Hill: Duke-UNC Program in Latin American Studies Working Paper #25, 1999) and Jody Pavilack and David Sartorius. *Modern Cuba: Indexes of the Robert J. Alexander Interview Collection* (Durham/Chapel Hill: Duke-UNC Program in Latin American Studies Working Paper #26, 1999). To order, go to: <http://www.duke.edu/web/las/papers.html>. For information on unpublished guides to the interviews for Brazil, Perú, and Venezuela, contact [jdfrench@duke.edu](mailto:jdfrench@duke.edu).

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Box 10	Folder 64-69	Venezuela, 1957-1974	14	1-277
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Box 11	Folder 11-12	Venezuela--Employees and Businessmen, 1958-1976		757-859
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Box 11	Folder 22-27	Venezuela--Politicians--Acción Democrática, 1956-1976 and 1978		113-387
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Box 11	Folder 29	Venezuela--Politicians--Copei, 1958-1978		401-478
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Box 11	Folder 31	Venezuela--Politicians--Movimiento Electoral del Pueblo (MEP), Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR), and Movimiento a Socialismo (MS), 1961-1979		515-550
Box 11	Folder 32	Venezuela--Politicians--Union Republicana Democrática (URD), 1958-1962 and 1977-1978		551-580
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