

Labor Leaders and Pan-Americanism

By MANUEL GOMEZ.

(This is the fourth of a series of articles analyzing the Pan-American Federation of Labor and its recent convention at Washington.)

WHO AM I?

I am almost the richest man in the world and certainly the homeliest.

I am the big oil and dough man, but I have to live on crackers and milk because my stomach cannot tolerate anything more substantial than milk and crackers and my brain would revolt at any mental food stronger than the bible.

I have a birthday once a year and give money to promising youngsters but never more than a dime to one person.

I think that the government of the Soviet Union is composed of thieves and criminals but I buy their oil just the same. I am a fairminded man.

Among the achievements for which I am famous is the Ludlow massacre where I slaughtered striking workers. I believe very strongly in god and support a number of his business establishments.



Notwithstanding the many polite assurances of autonomy for all affiliated organization which are reiterated at each succeeding convention, the so-called Pan-American Federation of Labor constitutes an unmistakable attempt on the part of the A. F. of L. officialdom to penetrate the Latin-American labor movement and force it along a definite line.

American-Owned.

There can be no question as to where the effective control of the "Pan-American" body lies. Its headquarters are in the A. F. of L. building at Washington. Its president is, and has always been, the president of the A. F. of L. Three of its four officers are members of the A. F. of L. Three of its five conventions have been held in the United States, and at every one of those conventions the functioning head of every committee without exception has been a delegate of the A. F. of L. No resolution has ever been adopted without the support of the A. F. of L. delegates. Seldom has there been anything like a contest on the floor and nearly every decision has been unanimous.

The history of the Pan-American Federation, therefore, is the history of the "foreign policy" of the A. F. of L. machine.

American capital now exploits workers in every country of the Americas. American imperialist capitalism has established its protectorates in the West Indies and in Central America, has made the Caribbean "an American lake" and threatens the national independence of a score of Latin-American countries. Out of these facts there has arisen a natural impulse toward all-American labor unity against the lords of Wall Street and Washington. The "Pan-American Federation of Labor," a paper organization as far as most of Latin-America is concerned, was created to profit by and to distort this natural impulse.

Unless we appreciate that it is a creature of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, we shall not be able to understand the role of the P. A. F. of L. in the contemporary period of advancing American imperialism.

Trade Union Imperialists.

Readers of The DAILY WORKER do not have to be told that Green, Woll, Noonan and their henchmen do not represent the interests of the workingclass in the United States or anywhere else. Basing themselves upon the upper strata of privileged workers, they represent a labor aristocracy which has been permitted to share in a tiny portion of the profits of American capitalist exploitation, and which in return has accepted the point of view of the ruling class. Unable to realize that its own ultimate fate must be bound up with that of the workingclass as a whole, the labor aristocracy has shown a tendency to desert the struggle of the underpaid workers of the textile factories, the steel mills and the coal mines. The labor fakery (Green, Woll, etc.) carry this tendency still further. They lead the way to the conversion of the trade unions from organs of militant struggle into organs of "labor banking," "labor insurance," "trade-union capitalism," "class collaboration" in all its forms. Thru the ordinary instrumentalities of business under these circumstances "labor capital" becomes involved in the whole complex of American capitalism, is drawn into the general stream of the banking system, and part of it is exported abroad as part of the billion and a quarter dollars which the United States invests in Latin-America and other foreign countries every year. Thus a section of the workers is partner, altho on an insignificant scale, in the superprofits of colonial and semi-colonial investment, wrung from intensely exploited semi-colonial labor whose lower living standards are brought into competition with the standards of the mass of American workers.

The labor fakery, who lead a life more akin to that of the capitalists than of the workers, join the National Civic Federation, in company with some of the foremost "open-shoppers" of the country. They invite the American Legion to send speakers to A. F. of L. conventions. They put thru resolutions endorsing the military training camps. They act in the labor movement as the conscious or un-

conscious agents of American capitalism, and of American imperialism.

The Monroe Doctrine.

The policy of American imperialism in Latin-America is carried on under the slogan of the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine is spoken of in international parlance as a "unilateral agreement," that, it is proclaimed and maintained by the United States government but it has never been agreed to by Latin-America. Stripped of all verbiage it is a doctrine of the "closed door" in Latin-America for all foreign powers except the United States. In practice the Monroe Doctrine has meant that Latin-Americans are denied the right to appeal to any other great power for assistance against the imperialist aggressions of Wall Street and Washington. The United States government assumes the right to "maintain order" in Latin-America, in other words to order things as best to please Wall Street and Washington.

Machinery of Pan-Americanism.

The Monroe Doctrine is the slogan; "Pan-Americanism" is the theory which is supposed to justify the slogan. Pan-Americanism bears somewhat the same relation to American imperialist policy as "Pan-Germanism" bore to the policy of the ex-kaiser and "Pan-Slavism" to the policy of the late czar. A whole series of organizational instruments have been created for "furthering the Pan-American idea." Perhaps the most notorious of these is the Pan-American Union, with headquarters in Washington. Another is the Pan-American Federation of Labor. The P. A. F. of L. is the labor instrument of the Monroe Doctrine.

From the origin of the P. A. F. of L. to the present day, its directors have used it to defend American capitalism and American imperialism. This was so at the Laredo convention, when the dispute between the A. F. of L. delegates and the as yet rather ingenuous Mexicans arose over the question of whether or not there were any political prisoners in the United States. It was so at the Mexico City conventions, where the United States government was thanked for what it had done for Santo Domingo! It was so at the Washington convention just passed—where a wholesale attempt was made to explain away the rape of Nicaragua, Haiti, Panama and other territories as "mere excesses" having no essential connection with the in-

tegrated foreign policy of the United States government!

The Sensitive Plant.

Indeed, when delegate Martinez of Venezuela attacked the United States government he was promptly rebuked by President Green, who delivered himself of the following remarks:

"Our young friend from Venezuela has engaged in a bitter denunciation of the government of the United States. This notwithstanding the fact that there are five delegates here who are United States citizens, representing the American Federation of Labor in this conference. A proper respect for the feelings of these delegates ought to serve as a restraining force in the temper of his language. We have listened with patience because we believe in free speech but I wish to make this brief and emphatic statement so that it may be understood that the American delegation has not been in agreement with all that has been said by the Venezuelan delegate against the United States government."

Martinez had been speaking about the outrages against the peoples of Haiti and Nicaragua—whose feelings seemed to strike Mr. Green as particularly important. No place outside of the Pan-American Federation of Labor would Latin-Americans listen complacently to anything like that!

Follow the Leader!

There was no resolution at the Washington convention on the question of the United States aggressions against Mexico, which have been the object of protest thruout South and Central America. There was not a single resolution of any kind dealing with U. S. aggressions except those harmless ones adopted to head off others which had been introduced directly criticizing or protesting against acts of the United States government—as in the case of Nicaragua.

At all stages of the debates, the United States government was presented as the natural leader of the nations of the Americas—as their elder sister, who sometimes inadvertently wronged them, but with whom their interests were essentially safeguarded.

It is superfluous to say that the P. A. F. of L. has never organized, or attempted to organize, trade-union action against any manifestation of American imperialism. That it has headed off attempts at such action has been already amply demonstrated in the course of these articles.

LOS ANGELES YUGENT CLUB IS STIMULATING COMMUNIST JEWISH YOUTH TO NEW ACTIVITY

LOS ANGELES, Cal., Aug. 8.—is only a year since the Freiheit Yugent Club has existed in our city, but in this short time our club has shown that it is worthy of its existence and that it has fulfilled the promises put forward when it was organized.

One of the main objects of the club is to bring the great mass of the Jewish speaking working youth, who are still under the influence of the Zionist movement of the yellow "Forward," nearer to the revolutionary left wing in the labor movement. Toward this aim we are working and striving, and to some extent, we have achieved it.

Live Activities.

Our club is rapidly gaining contact

with the working youth, through our social evenings, lectures on revolutionary subjects, live newspapers, and, last but not least, hikes and outings to the most beautiful places of southern California.

Besides the social purposes of our entertainments, a great many of them were organized for the purpose of helping financially some strikes, or other important events in the labor movement.

Outing Netted \$120.

Recently the F. Y. C., together with the Women's Consumer League, arranged an outing, and the result was \$120 for the striking furriers in N. Y. and \$65 for the DAILY WORKER.