

# "The Monroe Doctrine of Labor"

By MANUEL GOMEZ.

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

American imperialism—following the time-honored example of the British empire—has always sought to find a base of support for itself in the countries in its path, among corrupted elements of the native population. By means of the so-called Pan-American Federation of Labor this policy has been extended to an attempt to penetrate even the Latin-American trade unions—the organs of resistance to native and foreign capitalist exploitation thrown up by the workers and peasants.

**A. F. of L. Official U. S. Corrupter.**

The theory is that the A. F. of L. leaders, who have already accepted American capitalism and American imperialism, will serve to destroy the militancy of whatever sections of the Latin-American labor movement over which they may be able to establish influence, in much the same way as has been done in the United States. It is a theory of "Americanization" for the Latin-American labor movement!

To the workers of Latin America, whose trade-union organizations have always recognized the Class Struggle, the official declarations of the "Pan-American Federation of Labor" must appear strange indeed. The philosophy of the labor movement expressed in their is a peculiar one—peculiar to the A. F. of L. The principles of organization and methods are those of the A. F. of L. Gompers first, and Green after him, have left no stone unturned to fasten "the A. F. of L. point of view" upon the Pan-American federation.

**The Pan-A. F. of L. Credo.**

For instance, what does the so-called Pan-American Federation of Labor stand for? Here is its official statement of aims, translated from the Spanish stenogram of the proceedings of its third convention:

"1. Establishment of improved conditions for the workers migrating from one country to another.

"2. Establishment of a better understanding and better relations between the peoples of the Pan-American republics.

"3. Utilization of all legal and honorable means for the protection of the interests and well-being of the peoples of the Pan-American republics.

"4. Utilization of all legal and honorable means to cultivate the best and most amicable relations among the labor movements and among the peoples of the Pan-American republics."

**Legalizes U. S. Imperialism.**

Not only does this statement not include struggle against American imperialism as one of its objects, but it specifically accepts the legality of imperialism—presumably in the Nicaragua and Haiti of the U. S. marines, as well as in the Cuba of the tyrant Machado and the Peru of the dictator Leguia.

In his opening speech at the Washington convention it began to appear for a time as tho President Green was going to strike a new note. He said he believed workers should be "free politically, free economically and intellectually." But the next minute he explained that political freedom meant the right to vote, economic freedom meant the right to organize in trade unions and intellectual freedom meant "freedom from radical dogmas."

**Must Be Faithful to Bosses.**

"We must be prepared to make collective agreement with the employers," he continued. And then in order to impress upon the Latin-Americans their duty to the capitalists: "We must observe such agreements faithfully when we make them."

In addition to acceptance of the general A. F. of L. ideology, the P. A. of L. is obliged to accept: (1) an "anti-red" attitude, and (2) an Anti-European attitude.

**U. S. Got There First.**

"I think I can truthfully say," declared the amazing Mr. Green at Washington (two days after the massacre at Ocotla, Nicaragua), "that if it had not been for the Monroe Doctrine, there would be nations in South America that would have been invaded and their territory destroyed by greedy and rapacious European governments."

Hostility to "rapacious European governments" is accompanied by a far from fraternal attitude toward European labor movements, only to be explained by the deeper influences actuating the "Pan-American Federation of Labor."

**Monroe Doctrine of Labor.**

Mr. Green and Mr. Woll proceed frankly on the basis of a theory which they themselves have had the audacity to characterize as "the Monroe Doctrine of American labor." So far as I know this term was first used at the El Paso convention of the A. F. of L., in 1924.

Following receipt of a resolution from the Mexican Confederation of Labor pledging that the latter "will oppose all attacks which the enemies of the American Federation of Labor will attempt to carry on in any part of the Mexican republic," Matthew Woll—then heir apparent to the throne of Gompers, stood up and said:

"Mr. Chairman, I move that the president of this federation convey to the Mexican Federation of Labor our appreciation for this declaration of loyalty to the ideals of a democracy and pledge of support and cooperation with the American Federation of Labor in the promoting of the ideals of trade-

unionism, which, after all, IS THE BEGINNING OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE OF AMERICAN LABOR to apply to the western hemisphere."

**• Would Split Labor.**

Later on in the same convention Woll said:

"I foresee a Monroe Doctrine of Labor. By that I mean united resistance (by the labor movements of the Americas) against attempts by foreign labor to get a foothold either in concessions, property, or economic principles or aspirations."

Instead of unity with the workers of all countries (European included) to fight against international capitalism and imperialism, the Green-Woll machine peace and working unity with American Monroe-Doctrine imperialism and proposes "a struggle against the European working class! Obviously this is nothing but "labor imperialism," a walled-in sphere of influence for the A. F. of L. machine (which defends American imperialism) in Latin America!

**Pan-A. F. of L. Does the Dirty Work**

During the period between the El Paso and Atlantic City conventions of the A. F. of L. Mr. Woll developed the theory of the Monroe Doctrine of American Labor still further, in a series of articles appearing in the "American Federationist." At the Atlantic City convention (1925) he presented the theory as a rounded whole and it was supported by his fellow-bureaucrats.

What the United States government has not succeeded in accomplishing with the Monroe Doctrine itself, the A. F. of L. is attempting to accomplish with the "Monroe Doctrine of American Labor"—Secure its acceptance by Latin Americans. The Pan-American Federation of Labor is the instrument thru which it has been hoped to do this. Nothing else so brilliantly explains the present size and character of the "Pan-American Federation of Labor" as a federation of labor!

**But Imperialist Is There.**

In Resolution No. 1, submitted by the A. F. of L. delegation at the Washington convention, the entire principle of the "Monroe Doctrine of American Labor" is embodied.

The resolution, which is presented as a statement of principles and methods to guide the P. A. F. of L., does not include: (1) any suggestion of militant trade-union ACTION on behalf of the workers, of the workers of the Americas or for any purpose whatsoever; (2) any suggestion of struggle against American imperialism.

The resolution does not include: (1) illusion-creating presentation of the aims of the United States government in Latin America; (2) a statement against consistent theory in the labor movement and committing the P. A. F. of L. to the formless pure and simple "trade-unionism" of the A. F. of L.; (3) an attack against the Reds; (4) an implied attack against the entire international labor movement outside of the P. A. of L.

**The One and Only Federation.**

"We declare," says the resolution on this point, "that THE LABOR MOVEMENT of no other part of the world has the right to intervene or try to intervene in the methods and principles which we adopt. . . ."

"All those movements of other countries who have tried to force upon us their programs, principles and ideals, HAVE DONE MORE HARM than the most powerful combinations of employers in their efforts to arouse suspicions and create divisions. Hiding behind a hypocritical mask of friendship, they have tried to divide and hamper us, in order to establish their own doctrines. . . ."

"In defense of our just rights, in defense of the established organized labor movement, we pledge ourselves SEPARATELY AND COLLECTIVELY to resist with all our vigor and resources every attempt that may be made BY ANY OTHER LABOR MOVEMENTS AT ALL to carry out openly or covertly any interference with out affiliated organizations or any attempt to dictate or influence the principles which rule them."

The above resolution was adopted unanimously by the convention, not even Martinez of Venezuela voting against it. Not only was it adopted unanimously, but delegates demanded that copies of it be printed immediately for them so as to be able to explain "the truth about the Pan-American Federation of Labor."

The truth is eloquent!

## Shoe Workers Enjoin Prejudiced "Neutral" Arbitrator Newdick

HAVERHILL, Mass., (FP) Aug. 17.—Edwin Newdick has been enjoined by the Shoe Workers Protective Union from acting as neutral arbitrator of the shoe board which head Haverhill union-employer disputes. The shoe manufacturers' association has been enjoined from recognizing Newdick as chairman of the board or from attempting to follow any award since May 20, 1927.

Newdick was charged with breaking his impartiality in sending out a letter on May 20 concerning the wages he believed Haverhill manufacturers could pay. The union held that the letter was prejudicial to their case for revision of wages due Sept. 1. Newdick would ordinarily have presided at the wage hearings and have given the final verdict. The union refuses to pay its \$10,000 toward his salary.