

# U. S. SEEKS HEMISPHERE CONTROL

## Auto Union Convention Opening in St. Louis

An Honest Account of Leadership's Record During the Last Year Would Be a Tale of Do-Nothing Policies

DETROIT, Mich.—The top leadership of the United Automobile Workers of America will submit a detailed report on its activities and the progress of the organization to the national convention of the union, which opens July 29 at the New Jefferson Hotel in St. Louis, Missouri.

An honest and forthright report would have to admit that the union has made absolutely no progress in its organizational work; that the organization drives on Ford's, the aircraft industry and the competitive parts plants were total flops. It would have to admit that the leadership sabotaged and side-tracked the necessary fight for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay; that the two major strike battles engaged in by the union since the Cleveland convention—the GM Tool and Die strike of last summer and the 55-day Chrysler strike—gained the membership virtually no important concessions and it would record that the top leaders today have jumped on the bandwagon of the Morgan-Dupont National Defense Council and are conducting themselves as recruiting sergeants for the Wall Street war machine.

### "STABILIZATION" — AND WHAT IT MEANS

In one respect and only one respect the leadership actually has achieved its program. This achievement goes under the heading of "stabilization of the union." In what does the stabilization of the union consist? Not primarily that the dues are coming in more regularly or that the members have become more consistent union men. No! The stabilization of the union as far as the leadership is concerned consists of the fact that a great amount of the enthusiasm, the spirit of daring and of fighting is gone from the membership. Attendance at meetings is smaller than at any time in the past three years, interest in the union is at a low point.

Is this anything to be proud of and to record as an achievement? As far as the union leadership is concerned, yes! With the present set-up there isn't so much kicking on the part of the membership, oppositionists do not feel so free to attack the union leadership, kickers are more easily eliminated, the leadership breathes more easily about its jobs and its pay.

The leadership does not dare reveal its real program which amounts to this: we've got enough membership right now, dues and per capita are coming in pretty good, our salaries are being paid regularly: Let's leave well-enough alone! This conservative do-nothing attitude of the leadership is dished out under the high-flating terms of "preserving our union gains."

This constitutes the actual program of all the International officers and executive board members without exception. True, the executive board is not one hundred per cent homogeneous. While the majority of the board and the officers follow very strictly the leadership of John L. Lewis, several of the board members still play ball with what remains of the Stalinist machine in the U.A.W. But this division between Stalinist machine men and the John L. Lewis men is purely a clique division, a fight for posts, honors and jobs.

## Behind the Lines

### STALIN FLIP-FLOP AWAITS BATTLE OF BRITAIN

by GEORGE STERN

Despite the multiplying signs of a coming shift in the policies of the Kremlin, it would now seem that this shift is to wait upon the conclusion of the Battle of Britain, now about to open. This is due primarily to the development of the American position in the war. Had there been any possibility of immediate American intervention on an effective scale, the chances are Stalin would have already effected his latest flip-flop. But this possibility has not existed. Neither the Roosevelt administration nor its Republican "opponents" has dared in the last few months to take an openly interventionist line.

At the same time the advisa-

bility of attempting such a stampede was materially reduced by the unexpectedly swift victories of Germany in the battles on the European continent. It has been sufficiently apparent in the past few months that effective intervention by the U.S. in Europe may no longer be feasible. It became clear instead that the clash between the U.S. and Germany would more likely take place on broader battlefields following the German conquest of Europe.

This caution dictates a like policy in the Kremlin. Without American intervention, Stalin could not hope by himself to change the course of the Battle of Britain. He might succeed

only in bringing upon the Soviet Union a full German attack earlier by months than he had any reason to expect. Stalin, in effect, is already pegging his policy on American policy, just as in the dim days before the war European currencies were being pegged to the dollar.

Meanwhile the pot goes on boiling. Walter Duranty, who still has an eye for such things, reported from Bucharest the same day that Hitler spoke (NY Times, July 20) that Rumanians expect Germany before long to resume its drive to the East.

In Bucharest itself, Duranty said, the Germans were intriguing furiously to keep Rumania and the Soviet Union and Turkey and the Soviet Union as embroiled as possible without actual conflict. Most important of all, Duranty cites as authentic reports that both Red Army and German troops were being moved westward and eastward respectively in steadily growing numbers.

## Militant Strike Of Die Casters Lost by Leaders

Workers Wanted To Fight On, But Not Stalinist Leaders

CLEVELAND, July 21—Panicked CIO leaders, largely Stalinist, threw the Die Casting Workers into rout and defeat after the workers had thrown repeated militant mass picket lines against the union-hating Precision Die Casting Co. Stevenson, Balint, Cheyfitz, and company took four hours to hammer the union membership into calling off the strike and returning humbly to work.

The membership was told that the NLRB would protect them from discrimination when they reapplied for work, and Mayor Kaufman of Lakewood, where the plant is, would intercede for them with the company.

The company has now refused to rehire the majority of the 85 strikers, and the union officials are even postponing their appeals to the NLRB in order to give the company "every chance to play fair."

The break in the strike came after unusually severe sentences had been passed out against a dozen workers charged with breaking the anti-picketing injunction. A significant aspect of this court attack upon the union was that Judge Silbert, who passed out the sentences, had been supported by the Stalinist-dominated Labor's Non-Partisan League for election.

The loss of the Precision strike has hurt the union movement in Cleveland, and it can be laid entirely at the door of the Stalinist leadership who prepared for it very poorly, and whose trembling knees contrasted sharply with the real fighting militancy of the workers.

Among other stupidities, these officials used the argument that the company was holding up national defense by refusing to settle, an argument which the workers here understand is a boss argument through and through.

A new critical spirit is beginning to arise in the CIO rank and file here as a result of seeing such leadership in action.

## Nazi and U. S. Groups Near Civil War in Argentina

British Lackeys Turn to U. S. Master, While Native and German Fascists Seek Rapprochement with Germany

By QUEBRACHO

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

BUENOS AIRES, July 11 (by airmail)—Moved to their depths by the events in Europe, the Latin American countries are preparing to take part in the Havana Conference which Roosevelt has just convoked. But if for all of the Latin American countries—as semi-colonial lands—this moment is particularly grave, for Argentina, it is a moment of fundamental crisis. We are faced with imminent civil war between the two sections of the bourgeoisie corresponding to the contending imperialist camps in the war.

Argentina, economically the most advanced and the principal market of South America, has been, together with Uruguay, the only one that has resisted the influence of the United States, maintaining close relations with England. This is due, in the first place, to the fact that the cattle-owners who dominate this country have had their principal market in Great Britain and that British imperialism controls a great part of Argentine economy, particularly since the signing of the Roca-Runciman pact in 1933, through which, in order to conserve the English market—menaced by the Ottawa agreement—the Argentine government assured "preferential treatment" to British capital invested here, which amounts to 450 million pounds sterling and is mainly in railroads.

If the voice of Argentina was raised harshly, against the United States, more than once, at the Pan-American Conferences, it was simply because through her British imperialism was speaking. But now Britain's domination is declining and, unless she demonstrates herself capable of victoriously resisting Hitler's assault, her influence is destined to disappear in all the South American continent.

Confronted by this perspective, the Argentine bourgeoisie, which has been losing its markets for meat and cereals in the European countries which were its principal customers, and is menaced with losing England also if it is subdued by the German army, is profoundly divided on the question of new perspectives.

On one side are those who remain loyal to England and who form a veritable British "fifth column". This group is attempting to draw Argentina directly into the conflict behind Britain under the slogan of the "struggle for democracy against fascism." On the other side are those groups who call themselves "nationalists", and the Nazi-fascists, who form the Nazi "fifth column", which is strengthened by the German successes; they conduct a demagogic "anti-imperialist" campaign and say they fight for Ar-

gentine "neutrality". In reality, however, they are attempting to prepare a purely fascist seizure of power and then to effect a rapprochement of the country with Germany. To the first group the "socialists" of the Second International adhere; to the second, the Stalinists.

The struggle between the two groups is extremely intense and is complicated by the fact that President Ortiz maintains good relations with the Anglophile "fifth column" while vice-president Castillo is similarly aligned with the Nazi-fascist "fifth column." Through the illness of Ortiz, Castillo will probably remain at the head of the government, and this intensifies the situation still more.

It is in this atmosphere that the Havana Conference takes place. Each group of the Argentine bourgeoisie takes its own stand toward it. The "nationalists" and Nazi-fascists, of course, combat "Yankee imperialism" and conduct an intense campaign against U. S. penetration. The Anglophiles, who are the most numerous and the stronger group, incline favorably toward the "great democracy of the North" and are ready to deliver themselves to Wall Street as quickly as the City of London collapses.

In the face of this state of things, the working class is extremely disquieted—and confused. Through the voice of a great part of its unions, the working class has manifested its desire for the maintenance of Argentine neutrality and for the repudiation of those who try to drag them as cannon fodder into the imperialist slaughter. But each day one sees them more drawn into the control of those who speak of "defense of civilization", "defense of democracy", etc. For they instinctively hate Nazism; moreover the press, outside the Nazi and Stalinist dailies, is controlled by the Anglo-U.S. group.

The United States is far from here and has had little contact with Argentina; hence the working class here does not begin to comprehend yet the magnitude of the plans of Yankee imperialism for establishing its exclusive control over the Latin American countries. In the coming struggle between the two sectors of the bourgeoisie that correspond to the contending imperialist camps, the Argentine working class will line up with the Anglo-U.S. sector in order to fight against Nazism. This augments the possibilities of U.S. penetration here.

But, assuredly, before that will be completed, the working class here will begin to realize that it is confronted by a new master—a fact which it has some glimmerings of now, but not sufficiently to prevent that master from moving in here.

## HAVANA IS FIRST MOVE IN PLAN

Economic Proposals Will Be Followed By Armed Force

By SAM MARCY

The Havana Conference is the answer of United States imperialism to a possible Hitler victory over British imperialism.

Washington has convened the conference in order to line up the Latin American countries on the side of the United States in a world conflict with German imperialism which would undoubtedly follow a Nazi victory over Britain.

At the conference the United States seeks first of all to prevent the real possibility of German economic penetration of Latin America. That is a real possibility, for a victorious Germany, organizing European production, could supply Latin America with the manufactured products it needs so badly and, in return, could take the agricultural produce and raw materials of Latin America. With low labor costs and efficient production and with a definite need for Latin American exports, Germany could compete with the United States in Latin America on better than even terms.

How prevent that? How, in other words, keep Germany altogether out of Latin America? This is the problem with which Washington is wrestling and for which it has convened the Havana Conference.

Hull-Berle Cartel

Feeling its way Washington has permitted to become public one proposal—the Hull-Berle scheme to form a gigantic cartel for the control of exports from the Western Hemisphere. An Inter-American Export Corporation would bar exports from and imports to a Nazi-dominated Europe.

But as the New York Times says very frankly in its editorial of July 22, it is economically impossible for the United States to pay the Latin American countries for its products. The authors of the cartel plan cannot but know this. How, then, do they propose to secure the obedience of the Latin American countries for the plan to cease their exports to Europe and Asia? If not by payment, there can be only one other method—armed force. The Havana Conference is, therefore, but a prelude to the military subjugation of the hemisphere by American imperialism—that is what is in store.

At Havana, therefore, the United States delegation is primarily occupied in finding those countries who are not primarily dependent on European and Asiatic exports and who will therefore consent to become junior partners of American imperialism in the subjugation of the hemisphere.

Economic Solution Impossible

The mailed fist will, however, be preceded by the silk glove of economic methods. The Hull-Berle cartel proposal cannot however be expected to work on a purely economic level. That can be demonstrated by analyzing the

(Continued on Page 2)

## What Will John L. Lewis Do About His Proven Charges Against FDR?

A letter by John L. Lewis to members of the CIO executive board, made public last Sunday, constituted an indictment of the Roosevelt administration's anti-labor policies in connection with "national defense" contracts.

The very least the government could do under the circumstances is not to issue contracts to corporations violating the labor laws. That's what Lewis asked Roosevelt in a letter dated January 18, 1939—over a year and a half ago—in which he pointed out that Douglas Aircraft Corporation, the Electric Boat Company and Bethlehem Steel Corporation were three corporations—he could name others—which were violating the labor laws.

Roosevelt's reply to that letter was an insult to the intelligence of John L. Lewis and the labor movement. For Roosevelt denied that the government could require government contractors "to adhere to the letter of the Labor Law". Instead, no doubt with a sly grin, he advised Lewis to seek "remedial legislation" from Congress. But the president didn't send Lewis away altogether empty-handed: he generously offered to provide Lewis with technical assistance in drafting such legislation.

Needless to say, technical assistance wasn't what was needed. Lewis, or his attorney, Lee Pressman, or for that matter anybody, could write down what was needed. The point is, as Lewis told Roosevelt in a second letter, Roosevelt's own Army and Navy Departments were working hand in glove with the National Association of Manufacturers to prevent passage by Congress of a specific clause directing government departments not to issue contracts to corporations which violate the labor laws. Three times in the last three years the House Rules Committee and the House majority organization—i. e., Roosevelt's party—have killed proposed legislation to so direct government departments.

As a matter of fact, however, Lewis pointed out to Roosevelt, such specific legislation is not legally required. The president has the power to issue an executive order that government departments shall require contractors to observe labor laws. Lewis reminded Roosevelt that precisely this power had been used by the president back in the honeymoon days of the New Deal, when he had issued an executive order excluding from bidding on government contracts those firms which were unwilling to comply with the code of their industry set up under the National Industrial Recovery Act!

In his third and last letter of this correspondence with Roosevelt, written on March 16, 1939, Lewis explained why the CIO was getting the run-around by government officials, that "business appeasement" is essential to defense.

In other words, the government is conniving with big corporations to help them get around the few bits of protective legislation that the unions have won, because "business appeasement"—helping the corporations against the workers—is needed in order to get the corporations to cooperate with the government on "national defense".

No corporation working on government orders must be permitted to work below the conditions set by existing legislation—and that includes the Walsh-Healey provisions for payment of prevailing trade union scales on such work.

Never mind all the bunk about the "national emergency". The government's connivance with the corporations in violating these laws—that fact should be thrown into the teeth of anybody who has the gall to tell the unions not to strike for decent wages and conditions.

Trade union action! Strike! That's the only way that organized labor can enforce trade union scales and conditions!

That's the plain lesson of Lewis' indictment of the administration. But will Lewis heed that lesson?