### UNION LABOR AND ENLIGHTENED

torkers and employers. Actually, Lowever, there are many more stors. There are workers of many kinds. There are the workwe never done so), and the workers known as skilled workers. emselves closely in small spaces and men who have much free of motion. There are engineers of many kinds, including bility inevitable. imployment engineers who are now coming to be recognized as dispensable in big industries. There are employers who have no elation except that of investor, to the industry from which they aw their income. There are employers who have the direct re tion of executive. And there are executives who have no invest ent relation to the industry to which they give their effort.

If there were some process by which all desires except the de re for fairness, for justice, could be taken from men engaged in or neeted with industry our troubles would cease. But there are her powerful desires in industry and since these so frequently ose and overpower the desire for fairness and justice, there t be some restraining power, or industry would shortly be unle to live and function at all.

The desire for justice has much competition today. This comtition is found in the movement for what employers call the ppen shop," which is not an open shop at all.

I doubt whether most Americans have a true idea of what is ng on. I doubt whether they fully understand the magnitude the issues which are at stake and what it means to have the thts of man defeated

The trade union movement is the greatest defender of the ghts of man today and voon it falls the burden of maintaining The rghts which are imperilled are rights that have to do th conduct in and around the work places of the nation. That where the trade union movement has its existence and that is here the line-up of forces is determined.

If employers, investors and the various kinds of retainers and pirants for place and power who make up what is known as the ploying world are determined to restrict or destroy rights which working people consider essential then it must be clear that organizations of the working people will form the line of oppoion to the employers.

The line has been so formed. The struggle today is for workop rights, for the extension of workshop democracy, for the velopment of a workshop program that shall be in keeping with democratic principles that form the basis of our political and employers. zanization.

Even when the enemies of labor have sought to use the politic nachinery for the limitation of rights of workers, the struggle ssentially a workshop struggle, for all of the restrictive and breivelegislation against which labor protests is calculated to verge on the workshop, affecting what there transpires.

The trade union objects to much that employers are doing and ng to do today, not because American labor has any dogmatie osition to employers per se, but because labor believes thorough that there is a better way, not only for labor, but for all and believes that better way is that proposed by the labor weve

There is no mystery about what labor proposes. There is ling involved or devious about it. Labor, being at all times to the elementals of life, thinks from point to point, in direct e. Labor does not have its being in the realms of "deals" and emes" and "shrewd" moves. It takes raw materials and akes finished products. It uses tools to gain definite results. It seldom possible to misunderstand labor. The pursuits of men e more than a little to do with their manner of expression.

Labor believes that the agreement between workers and emyers, negotiated in conference, based upon experience and oping to secure justice, is the most important contract in all hun relations today. It is reciprocal instead of one-sided. It gives largest possible measure of justice to the workers and it gives arantee of stability and co-operation to industry. Only when e is an agreement, freely entered into by the workers, writing definite terms their obligations and their rights, can there be e highest free contributions of human labor energy to industry. agreement is the channel through which labor pours into inry its greatest effort, its most intelligent effort, its construce thought. But more than that, it is the document through ch complete revolution is wrought in the principle of conduct industry. From the moment in which workers and employer rotiate and agree upon terms, hours, conditions and wages, the neiple of autocratic domination gives way to the principle of eratic operation. That is the vital point in the whole queson of labor relations and it is precisely that point that arbitrary reactionary employers fear to pass. King John before them ruggled over the same principle. King George the First struged over the same principle. The late Czar and the ex-Kaiser did lewise. Every great force that has stood against this principle in the great hour of decision, been compelled to give way.

Enemies of labor seek to make much of the idea that only nonaion labor is "free." The truth is that in complex modern indus-y the only free labor is organized labor. The only workers not boring under terms and conditions arbitrarily imposed upon them om a source wholly foreign to themselves, are the organized orkers. Is it not an anomaly, the employers organizing to make at expenditures of money to insure the freedom of their em-

The employer says to the organized workers: "We will

ive a job at so much a day of so many hours."

The employer says to the organized workers: "We have me together and agree upon what each of us shall give and what ch shall receive from the other.'

Union men are the only free men in industry because they are e only men who have anything to say about what they shall do, der what conditions it shall be done and how much they shall et for doing it.

The reason employers in some instances put forth such violent position to organized labor is that it in these the change from atocratic control to democratic control. The basis of calculaton changed. And if employers were not in some instances shortghted the change would be accepted unanimously and gladly as benefit to industry and to mankind in general.

Only eareful surveys by competent engineers could reveal the aggering losses to industry caused by arbitrary rule. There have n estimates of the colossal losses suffered each year by the eel trust because of its refusal to adopt enlightened employment licies, including negotiating with organized workers, but only a tailed examination and the most careful comparison could reveal ovthing approaching the real loss. Some employers can not beeve that the workers have motives unlike their own. Let those aployers find out the production loss caused each year by auto- develops. atic control of industry. The nation pays the bill for this obrinacy in a definite loss of consumable commodities.

trades have almost none. The union shop stops turnover.

Turnover is the name that employers have given to the hir ing and discharging of men, or to the quitting of men and the hirthat the world calls unskilled (but let those attempt it who and he forms a great restless, roving army, roving in and out of factories and mills, always under protest, usually staying in one ere are foremen and superintendents; men who must apply place only long enough to find another place, his only possible pro test being of a character which makes stability impossible and mo-

Figures gathered by the United States Department of Labor show that over a period running from 1910 to 1919, in a given them can never be known. We only know that here and there number of plants maintaining a labor force of 211,768 workers, with its contractions and expansions, it was necessary each year such of these processes as are imperative there should be all of to hire 256,404, while each year 248,128 were discharged or quit, the surrounding enlightenment that science can give. Men, for This was more than equal to a complete annual-turn of the force. This is not only unorganized industry, is it disorganized industry. That it is non-union industry goes without saying, though unfortunately the Department of Labor in its report neglects to say about supplies, their source and the reliability of future supply so. The figures given indicate only on a small scale what is hap-

pening throughout industry where there are no unions. And the goes and why it goes there. Science, if it will, may weave romance

accident, when he has no organization through which he can and brain, and science must give it back. counsel and act with his fellows.

izations which labor has built up and which must be discussed upon American industry a great chaos in which there would be They plan by the ledger and the monthly balance sheet. no guarantee for anyone.

The so-called open shop movement is solely an attack upon organized labor. Employers may cloak their purposes in whatever language their lawyers can devise; it remains a movement to break down trade unions so that employer dictatorship may be unquestioned and unchallenged. It did not need the testimony of Charles Schwab, eloquent though it was, before the Lockwood housing investigation committee in New York, to establish the purpose of the "open shop" movement. In every community, and human impulses their proper place and full valuation. where there is an "open shop" campaign it is marked by two unvarying characteristics: It is conducted by organized employers and it is directed against organized workers. It seeks to disrupt unions and it seeks to abolish collective bargaining, which is better described as negociation and joint agreement between workers

.The organized employers who are giving their energy and their money to "open shop" campaigns have no more thought of actually establishing a condition where union men will be permitted to work freely than they have of divorcing themselves from the idea of making profit. When did the slave owner fight for the freedom of his slaves? When did the baron make sacrifices for the freedom of his serfs? In addition to the economic havoe which lies in the idea back of the "open shop" campaign, the campaign in itself is a falsehood. The idea is to establish a shop in which a union man may not work. These organized employers talk about freedom of work, but they mean freedom of employers to deny work, to withhold the right to work from union workers. Union workers would be penalized.

It is worth noting that the organized employers kept their open shop" campaign plans under cover during the war. It would have been too painfully unpatriotic then to have denied co-operation to the workers who withheld nothing from the nation in its need. But the moment the armistice was signed the industrial warfare was launched and strangely and paradoxically enough under the name of "the American plan," a piece of brazenless unparalleled. There are those who in addition to suffering from economic myopia also have no sense of shame.'

It is appalling that the injunction still lives. It is appalling that today a judge may enjoin members of a union from making written or oral mention of the fact that a strike exists. It is appalling that there are judges who will make use of this barbarous and medieval instrument, that there are bar associations that will permit such judges to remain members, that there are communities that re-elect such judges, or presidents that reappoint them. If there were a more effectively developed sense the services of the clerks can be of social justice and of the eternal fitness of things in our national spared without impairing the servilife the injunction would be ranked with witcheraft as something about which old men and women might grow wonderingly reminiscent before incredulous young people. The whole business of judicial defiance of the constitution and of our fundamental law so flagrant, the assault upon guaranteed rights so violent and unblushing that its continuance is one of those marvels for which our time offers no explanation. History may explain the curious mental twist that permits this thing, but the people generally today are too close to the event to understand it.

The manifestations of employer reaction to which I have called attention are examples of lack of scientific conduct of in dustry. If science in industry aims at anything it must aim at I The "ONLIWON" securing reciprocal relations, concord and justice; it must aim at securing a free will contribution of the highest measure of effort and intelligence and it must aim at securing organization. The onomy of organization is a fact established scientifically.

When science first interested itself in the field of industry in behalf of increased production it overlooked the most vital factor in the equation and sought to treat human beings as materials. Most industrial scientists have seen this error and on that account science is beginning to make progress and to demonstrate its power for good.

Workers are human beings whose labor power is a part of their lives, to be expended or withheld on the basis of free will action. That is the first postulate to engineering success in industry and most of the high grade scientists accept that principle without reservation. That being so, the group slavery idea of the Kansas law, of the Cummins-Esch law, of the whole governmental tribunal concept, becomes impossible and effective only as a bar to production.

Likewise the "open shop" becomes a menace to production because of its hostility to union men, its denial of their group rights and its defiance of democratic expression

Trade unionism is a prime factor for the increase of production. Trade unionism is interested vitally in increasing the volume of production. It rejects wholly the false doctrine of restriction of output as a means of helping the worker. It develops the intelligence and skill of workers and opens a direct channel by which that higher intelligence and skill may be poured into productive processes. Man for man, throughout the country, the most productive, the most efficient, the most expert workmen are the workmen who are members of unions and who have the mind and the consciousness and the craftsmanship that unionism

In addition to giving him an agency for the defense of his rights, the union gives the workman a medium of gaining know-Labor turnover is but one of the many ways in which industry ledge about the industry of which he is a part. The worker is differs from arbitrary control. There is practically no turnover no longer a blind cog in a massive machine. He knows some-

in organized trades. Railroads have little turnover. The printing thing of the whole problem. And the more he knows of the whole problem the more valuable he is to the industry.

It is at this point that industrial scientists may be of tre mendous service. They can take the information of industry and ing of replacements. The only recourse of the non-union worker, give it to the worker for his enlightenment and for the quickening when conditions goad him to resentment is to quit. This he does of his interest in the industry. The normal human mind craves nformation; it fights against darkness and in time loses interest in a darkness unillumined.

Repetitive operations especially demand the attention of scientists. How much havor needlessly repetitive processes have caused will never be known. What a mass of suppressed resentment and hatred there is among workers who must submit to a suicide results, a maniac results, a broken home results. For one thing, are entitled to knowledge as to the purpose of their work, as to where it fits in the great scheme of things.

It is just to demand that workers know the facts about costs about overhead and operating costs and about where their product cost of that great turnover that vast disorganized protest, that into many a dead and dusty corner of industry, into many a cally every point. It was charged in blind striking back of individuals in desparation, is paid by the weary, heavy life. The coming of steam took out of the life of nation as one of the invisible tributes paid at the feet of autocracy. labor that which made it full and rounded, that which made it The worker has no assurance of justice, except by chance or a life fit for human beings, taxing and rewarding the skill of hand of the most important of these takes

Reaction thinks that the well-springs of human hope that Added to what may be termed the normal injustice of industry manifest themselves when the workers speak for better lives and ed by the secretary of agriculture. as it has come to be, there are the current attacks on the organ- for more of freedom, can be dried up and destroyed by repressive In this case the packers have won and coercive measures. They think only as far as the iron heel. here. These attacks are aimed from different directions, but they They know nothing of the psychology of masses of workers, they have a single object. If they should be successful they would bring know nothing of the longings and hopes that fill their hearts.

Scientists are under no such limitations. Engineers know better. The workers, quick to detect any false note in plans involving human life and human rights, rejected with unanimity and bitterness, the original Taylor system and its allied distortions of packer regulation and that for but a coldness on the part of govern The workers knew the fault and time has amply justified their a start it is better than nothing. verdict. It is now generally admitted, even by its former foremost advocates. But most scientists of industry have found the missing links and have given humanity, human rights, human aspirations

Labor courts the functioning of these men.

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#### PASS PACKERS' BILL

Washington,-By a vote of 48 to 38 the senate accepted the conference eport on the bill to regulate the packing industry. Bills passed by ference, where the matter was disatives of both branches. The senate eceded from its position on practi the senate that several provisions in the house bill were written by attorneys for the meat packers. One approved by the national industrial from the federal trade commission its power of investigation unless order a distinct gain over the commission whose investigations have opened the people's eyes on methods by the it was agreed that the national in packers. Another senate proposal dustrial council would consider and accounting. This also was defeated, questions. The government declared

the conference report on the theory with the legislative and other steps that it at least accepted the principle necessary to give effect to the reports

#### UNION RAISES WAGE

Leavenworth.-Through organizafro m60 cents an hour to 75 cents. is in ruins.

ENGLISH CONFAB FAILS

London, England,-The big indus trial conerfence, called by the gov seems to have failed, and represent atives of the employers and workers ussed for over a month by represent on the joint committee of the na tional industrial council are re

The committee was formed issued a report that was unaniouncil and accepted in principle by the government. pe'ned since that time and one paper states that "it is not easy for a body of men to keep their self respeet under such eireumstances."

When this movement was launched ould establish uniform systems of advise the government on industrial The progressive senators voted for its willingness to proceed at once ment officials has appeared and nothing has been done with the re-

With the members of the board resinguing it is only a question of a on hod carriers have raised wages short time until the whole structu

And

still

Unequalled

### COMPANY "UNION" OPPOSED.

Ch.cago.-The United States raild liber board has again oppo he Pennsylvania radicad's comp ilt of a protest by the Brothe hood of Railway and Steamship clerks ods by which the railroad and the nd the railroad launched its com

y "union". The evidence shows," said the

### STORES IN COMPANY BARNS

class postmasters to grant leave absence to clerks to attend the an-Federation of Post Office Clerks, if Such absence will be charged to the employees' annual leave or vacation,





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