

OPEN SHOP VERSUS UNION SHOP.

By John Golden, International President, United Textile Workers of America.

In the following article, International President John Golden of the United Textile Workers of America, explains what the latest move on the part of the employers of United States really means. Canadian workers are watching the battle in the United States, and while they do not expect the same campaign here it is well to keep in touch with the situation.

For several months a nation-wide campaign has been conducted by Employers' Associations, headed by the National Manufacturers' Association, on the issue of the "Open Shop in Industry." The assistance of the United States Chamber of Commerce and all the subordinate bodies from one end of the country to the other was enlisted in this campaign and as was to be naturally expected from the composition of the membership of Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade, this assistance was readily granted. The same can be said of information having been derived from prejudiced public press or from paid press agents of employers' associations. The organized labor movement has never accepted the "Open Shop" and "Closed Shop." The employer as a rule dislikes these latter terms, so he coined the phrase of "Open Shop" and "Closed Shop" and then goes so far as to apply the misleading term of "American Plan" to the former and declares the latter un-American. Many years experience of the United States Chamber of Commerce has proven conclusively that the term "Closed Shop" properly applies to the so-called "Open Shop" for the reason that it eventually becomes absolutely non-union and is then the real "Closed Shop" closed to Union men and women. There can be no industrial democracy in the non-union shop. The employer is absolute. He is judge, jury and hangman, if he cares to go that far, which many employers do in deciding the terms of employment. He is absolutely set the hours and wage scales and then says to his employees, if not in so many words, at least by his actions in setting terms, "These are the conditions, you may either accept them or quit." Sometimes the unorganized worker feels that he cannot bear the burden any longer. When there is a surplus of help another unorganized worker takes his place and the injustice remains. Over three-quarters of a century of struggle between capital and labor has brought about a system of collective bargaining between organized employers and organized employees through representatives of their own choosing; the Organized Employers secure clever, brainy lawyers and others of high intelligence as their representatives, which they have a perfect right to do. The organized workers choose what they consider their best representatives, which they have the same right to do. These representatives gather around the table with the sole object of arriving at agreements as to working conditions and wages which will be fair to both sides. And no one can truthfully say that this system has not saved the country from many industrial conflicts that meant millions of dollars of loss to capital and saved millions of workers and their wives and children from suffering and privation. With the "Open Shop" policy such achievements are impossible. No one with an ounce of intelligence will claim that this system of collective bargaining has been 100 per cent successful. Neither can they deny that on many occasions it has averted many a strike, thereby bringing labor and capital closer together.

New fangled plans and systems are being patented every day by so-called experts, some of whom are reaping a rich harvest of profit from employers. These schemes are of a wide scope, from the system whereby the whole of a plant is organized by the employer, patterned along the lines of our American form of government. There is a House of Representatives, a Senate Chamber and a Cabinet. The rank and file of the employees are members of the Lower House. The officials constitute the Senate and the owners of the plant or, if a company, the head officials of the plant, constitute the Cabinet. These respective bodies are supposed to deal jointly with all questions that might arise relative to wages and working conditions. The rules provide that any change in conditions can only be brought about by a majority vote of each of the three bodies. Any person of average intelligence can readily realize what a far chance the House of Representatives has of putting anything through which either a majority of the Senate, composed entirely of the bosses, or the members of the Cabinet, composed entirely of the owners and head officials, did not favor. How any intelligent wage worker can lend themselves or become part of one scheme beyond his comprehension. Then comes the smaller scheme, such as the formation of Athletic Associations for the male employees, and sometimes the female Welfare Organizations, etc., all of which are intended to divert the minds of the workers from organizing in the

Trade Union Movement. The wage worker does not want paternalism. The wage worker, while, on the whole, is a system of controlling the worker, giving him the impression that he does not know how to take care of his own welfare and those depending upon him, and needs experts to do his thinking for him. In the Union Shop the worker knows he has a real voice in shaping the conditions under which he shall labor. The employer who advocates the "Open Shop" assumes the automatic right to decide what is good and what is not good for the worker. He assumes the right of deciding what the price shall be for man's labor simply because it happens to be placed at his disposal. There is nothing fundamentally American about the "Open Shop" no more than there is anything fundamentally American about the owning of slaves. The slave owner took the position that being in his own opinion on a good master, he should be absolute. The non-union employer assumes this position, "I protect my employees, therefore I must be absolute."

He preaches about the glory of independence, the tyranny of trades unions, while denying any form of independence to those whom he employs. If he happens to be a number of employees in the so-called "Open Shop" who are members of a union it is only a short time before the union is destroyed through the system of spies and union smashing agencies, which exists in every industrial town and city in the country. This "Open Shop" campaign has not fooled the organ-

PEACE TIME WORK OF THE RED CROSS.

With two years passed since the great world conflict, the Red Cross Society in its peace-time work is accomplishing a most worthy work, like to the wonderful years of service which preceded this period.

The Ottawa and Ottawa Valley branch of the Canadian Red Cross Society held its annual session recently at Ottawa, with Dr. James W. Robertson, the president of the Ottawa branch and the chairman of the national executive, presiding. There was evident throughout the address of Dr. Robertson and the branch of the Red Cross Society, in its peace-time efforts of combating disease and assisting to further the well-being of the children of Canada, will be found in the next few years to have accomplished more for the sufferers in the world than it did during the years of war in aid to the sufferers from that awful conflict.

Secretary's Report. Mrs. J. A. Wilson in her report presented to the activities in part, as follows: "During the year 1918-19 the actual war work was brought to a close. A very large amount of work was undertaken for the war refugees. This included a collection of valuable clothing from the stores and from private persons, a supply of blankets, and before the free transportation closed in June, 1919. Amongst the principal items were: 12,000 shirts, 1,000 women's skirts, 300 petticoats, 487 boys' suits, 5,000 women's and children's garments. "Throughout these years the Ottawa and Ottawa Valley branch of the Red Cross has had visitors in each of the three city hospitals, viz., Ottawa General Hospital, County of Carleton General Hospital, St. Luke's Hospital, and in the Sir Sandford Fleming Home, both as a military convalescent home, and since it has been under the R.C.R. visits are made fortnightly, and each visitor sends in requests for clothing or any other articles that may be needed for the men. An emergency stock is also kept at Sir Sandford Fleming Home. Christmas gifts were given to each man in the hospitals, both at Christmas, 1918, and 1919.

Welcomed Returned Men. "During the spring of 1919, when the families of men were returning, the Red Cross assisted various organizations in welcoming the arrivals. They paid for a room for unexpected late-comers and then cooperated with the Voluntary League in housing the families till they could find accommodation. "An emergency committee has been formed and the Red Cross is in touch with the medical officers of health, the various nursing organizations, St. John's Ambulance and Brigade, the Boy Scouts, it has committees for emergency purchase of supplies, collection of garments, sewing and distribution. During the period of illness in 1919 a large amount of supplies was sent to the May Court Emergency Hospital and Lansdowne Park Emergency Hospital. The supplies included sheets, pillow cases, towels, rugs and slippers. During 1920 a large number of pneumonia

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THE HOME DOMINIONS

By F. J. Gould, in the Democrat, London, Eng.

The Irish problem is very much more than Irish. You see that fact come out in the great interest taken by the United States in the doing and disturbances in Ireland. In quite another form the fact emerges in the attempts of various Indian Nationalists to link up their movement with Sinn Fein. Plenty of other illustrations might be named. Hence, for one, do not think the question can be entirely disposed of by the cheap formula: "Let the Irish, North and South, settle their own affairs on the principle of self-determination." This is the double, all-embracing of Oxford Union students, but it does not meet the needs of the real situation. As to that situation, I will candidly state three conclusions I have to come to:

1. That both Ulster and Sinn Fein are incapable of producing a solution of the difficulty.
2. That the Sinn Fein murders should occasion no surprise, considering the unfortunate past of Ireland.
3. That the reprisals by angry police and "Black and Tans" are no more establishing or abnormal than the Sinn Fein murders.

This triple view may appear peculiarly hopeless; and I would not wish to establish or abnormal than the Sinn Fein murders.

The Historical Problem. The root trouble arises from geography. Ireland lies to the extreme west of Europe, and on the Atlantic side of the much larger island of Britain. Hence it was not properly drawn into the Western European system. The backwardness of Irish education today is a convincing proof of that defect; for nations that belong to a workable group borrow one another's educational ideas (France, England, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Holland, etc., have done), even while conflicting on military or economic grounds. Hence also the English land-owning system (whether for good or evil is not here to the point) never squared with the Irish mind.

J. W. Jewine has aptly explained in his "Foundations of Society and the Land" (Williams and Norcross, 1918). On top of all this confusion you have the Roman Catholic domination of the non-Ulster Irish, unchecked by any Rationalist movement, such as in England and France possess. The Catholic Church, which has been declining for centuries, naturally seized upon the Irish island as a most convenient support of its power, both as a counter-agent to British Protestantism and free thought and a useful reactionary influence, through emigration, in the United States. Add the military consideration, that Britain objects to a hostile or dubious neighbor on the west, and even "planned" Ulster on some such motive. The result is deplorable, but in ultimate reason, it does not imply either Irish inferiority or British brutality. If I had made Europe I would either have placed Ireland in the North Sea, or made it larger than Britain.

The Wider Responsibility. As a purely logical issue, it is unjust that Liverpool, Manchester, London, and the British people generally should receive the full contents of the vials of Sinn Fein wrath. On racial grounds, our kindred in Australasia, Canada, etc., are as much involved morally as we are. If I reside near a British dock I may be murdered by Sinn Fein. If I emigrate to New Zealand I am safe. Yet, as the War of 1914-1918 showed, the overseas British communities do actually and sincerely regard themselves as parts of the same social group. Therefore I assert that the whole British race, in Europe or out of Europe, should share the responsibility of settling the problem. I am aware that the Overseas Dominions have frequently uttered sympathy for Irish suffering and aspiration. That is not enough; it is not business. What we want is collective brains and counsel in framing a practicable Home Rule scheme.

Home Dominions. I put small value on Asquith's proposition to give Ireland a Dominion status similar to that of Canada or Australia. Such an arrangement would still leave England the superior political position, and still subject, however unfairly, to the resentments of the Catholic Irish. The answer would still be the same: we want a collective brain and counsel in framing a practicable Home Rule scheme.

The Commonwealth. We should thus have two orders of Dominions—the Home Dominions, and the Overseas Dominions of New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, Canada, Newfoundland, and (in my judgment) India, with a variety of communities, such as Nigeria, gradually approximating to the same self-governing status. Evidently, a supreme Commonwealth Council, or Chamber (call it what you please), would deal with those questions which pass beyond the several domestic spheres. In a rough-and-ready manner, this method was adopted during the war, and, on the whole, successfully. Everybody who has followed the tendency of events since about 1900 knows that the overseas statesmen have become more and more impatient as to the need for such a larger machine of government, while rightly anxious to safeguard the individual liberty of each Dominion.

R. H. PLANT IS PRESIDENT BAKERY DRIVERS' UNION
The Bakery Drivers' Union, 489, at its first meeting of the year, last night, elected its new officers. There was a large attendance of the members. Preliminary arrangements were made for holding a euchre and dance in the near future. The new officers are president, R. H. Plant; vice-president, J. Ferguson; secretary, T. Byrne; recording secretary, D. Albert; treasurer, T. Dail; R. Potvin, Joe Letourneau, conductor, J. Racette; warden, A. Schaff. The new delegates to the Allied Trades and Labor Council are Messrs. Plant, Ferguson and Potvin.

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