

Industrial Paternalism Fails to Relieve Despair of Masses Struggling Against Inequality

State Discovers It Must Interfere to Conserve Manhood and Independent Status of its Citizens—Must Eliminate Old Doctrines of "Supply and Demand" or the "Master and Man"—What is Industry?—What is Democracy?

(By F. E. Mercer)

What is industry? It is a term used to include all forms of labor, but which carries with it the duty of all participants therein to prove themselves industrious.

And what is democracy? It is really only an arrangement by which the whole people are given a certain share in the control of its government. It has never been proved that this is ideally the best arrangement; it became necessary because the people failed to have it; and it has been made effective only to the limited extent short of which the dissatisfaction of the majority would have taken the form of actual violence.

These explanations aid to realize part of the problem. The first brings one face to face with the existence of the non-producer; the second reveals no fixed form of government but one which must ever be progressive towards the realization of the equality of man of which the word "democracy" is the camouflage. Political capacity must be bred in all citizens, or the state is ruined by democracy. Political capacity depends upon political status. Political status depends upon industrial status.

The revolution in the affairs of nations brought about by the introduction of capital with its concomitant machinery into industry broke up the political and industrial status which the "less well-born" had gradually won in Britain, and which all men enjoyed in America. Wealth has tended to pass to a non-industrial class in the community. Industry is managed by the paid officials of a joint stock company. The management becomes impersonal and therefore soulless—a fatal danger both to the managers and the managed. The employed are forced to realize that they must spend their whole lives at a certain branch of industry in which the majority will not rise above a certain rank. Management and Labor produce different consciousness in the men involved in either. The employed must use the comparatively soulless method of combination in order to preserve their individualities from the atmosphere of the absolute soullessness of management. The outstanding example of the stage which has been reached is to be found in the fact that the clerks in industry are now following the method of the muscular work-

ers. They have been the last to feel the loss of the mutual confidence and interest which proceeds from the personal relationship of employer and employed; the loss in interest is a loss in status.

More Interlocking

Managements become more interlocking every year and therefore lecture to each other of "Scientific Management" which means the death-knell of industrial democracy. The high priest of scientific management has written, e.g.: "Now one of the very first requirements for a man who is fit to handle pigiron as a regular occupation is that he shall be so stupid and pliant that he most nearly resembles in his

makeup the ox than any other type." (Quoted Hobson Wealth and Work p. 212).

Paternalism

But even the employers can realize that they are not improving the world by the manufacture of oxen; they therefore tend to deceive themselves and their victims by turning to the paternalism of "social welfare" under which leading they use every method to improve the worker at his work and even bind him to his firm by encouraging investment of wages in the stock of the company, but characteristically do nothing to safeguard the independence of the worker's individuality or of the worker's home, on which his status depends. Paternalism can only produce revolutionaries or secessionists, both of which are dangerous types in a community. The day for paternalism has passed in industry as it passed long ago in politics. As the U.S.A. presidential commission writes:

"Broadly speaking American industry lacks a healthy basis of relationship between management and men. At bottom this is due to the insistence by employers upon individual dealings with their men."

Results of Despair

The despair of the worker is shown in the undemocratic methods proposed under the headings of Syndicalism or of Bureaucratic Socialism or of what we may call Gompersism over here i.e., the recognition that underdogs should only hope to become improved underdogs for ever and ever.

The modern State finds that it must, in the interests of its own self preservation, interfere with this process of affairs. In the first place it is discovered that Capitalized Industry gains for itself the impossible position of imperium in imperio. Says President Wilson (New Freedom p.157):

"Have we come to a time when the President of the U.S.A. or any man who wishes to be president must doff his cap in the presence of High Finance and say: 'You are our inevitable master but we will see how we can make the best of it.' We are at the parting of the ways."

In the second place political economy turns to the study of conservation of natural resources and the State discovers that all means of national prosperity is being destroyed because individual greed is in control of land, forests, rivers, transportation, money, etc.

State Must Interfere

But, most important of all, the State learns that it must interfere to conserve manhood and the independent status of its citizens. It must destroy the old theories of self interest, either the "supply and demand" or the "master and man" doctrines of former generations.

"The wrong that produces inequality; the wrong that in the midst of abundance tortures men with want or harries them with the fear of want; that stunts them physically, that degrades them intellectually, and distorts them morally; this is what alone prevents harmonious social development." (Henry George).

"The operative is always in a position of insecurity as to his income. Having no share in control or responsibility for unemployment, he blames the industrial system with which he identifies his employer and charges both it and him with inhumanity." (Bristol Employers).

"We cannot regard human beings as if they were merely so many units of brain power, so many of nervous or muscular energy." (Quaker Employers).

Hence "The modern radical is a man in command of the figures in his industry. His wage demand is not a blank cheque drawn against the full productive power of industry. It is an exact statement of the amount of cash which the employer has just put into his own pocket. This type of worker is perfectly willing to hold a conference on the basis of a show-down of facts. There is an atmosphere of smokeless powder in the syndicalist movement in the hands of the miners, railwaymen, or engineers." (Arthur Gleason Inside the British Isles, 1917, p.33).

Hence "The real demand of Labor is once more radical and more human (than the demand for wage and leisure). It is a demand that Labor shall no longer be bought and sold as a dead commodity subject to the fluctuations of supply and demand in the market, but that remuneration shall be regulated on the basis of the human needs of a family living in a civilized country." (Hobson, Work & Health p.190).

"Workers are no longer content to

TRACTOR INDUSTRY FORGING AHEAD

Now Following Course Pursued by Automobile Industry in Infancy

The future of the tractor industry is assured. It promises to be the next big commercial development of the country. The industry today is going forward as rapidly as did the manufacture of automobiles in the early days of that industry. Companies for the making and selling of tractors are springing up everywhere. Out of the competition, that is sure to come, there will emerge the concerns that will be the leaders of the industry. These will be those that produce tractors correctly designed to meet engineering problems and the practical problems of operations. Refinement and the use of better materials will become possible when the tractor output approximates the present production of automobiles.

Quantity production and standardization of parts is going to result in improving the quality of the tractor and lowering its price. The farmer as a class is today the largest purchaser of good automobiles sold at a reasonable price. He will demand a serviceable tractor and pay a reasonable price for it.

occupy the position of mere servants to receive and obey orders without question. They claim to be associated in the control of industry." (Plymouth and Bristol Conferences).

And more and more the State shows by its actions that it realizes that it itself can only be preserved if this share in control is gained; it appeals to the workers to preserve it from its "Highbrows."

Organization Demanded

We have reached a stage of civilization at which everything depends upon organization. Especially does Co-operation depend upon organized effort. Every man in his proper organization is a free man; without any organization he is a slave of circumstances. Our affairs are arranged by the co-operation of various organizations. Hence we find the "Federation of British Industries" calling for an industrial parliament side by side with the old political body at Westminster and Educators Report reads:

"(c) That Industry should be enfranchised and every man and woman, employer and employed, given a vocational or a trade vote by means of which representation would be effectively realized." And we have the Whitley Report.

Distress Prevails

Some such scheme must be evolved and evolved swiftly if we are to be preserved from the Scylla of Scientific Management or the Charybdis of Bolshevism. Syren voices tempt different men onto either rock. But we must strive to guide the ship of State straight onward to safety. Our present "democratic government" is a huge bluff and is known to be such by all participants except the innocent idealists. Public opinion is formed through a sold press which betrays men to its owners or through paid orators who care not about the careful study of their subjects. No real man trusts either his newspaper or the orator. Hence every product of either only adds to the chaos of mistrust. We must change the status and the consciousness of each other until:

"Captains of industry are brought to realize that they hold their commissions from the community and are in honor bound to exercise the authority they enjoy in the spirit of a trust." (Bristol Conference). And he employed gain through share in control "a sense of responsibility based upon deeper knowledge which would make for stability of thought and conduct." (G. H. Roberts, Minister of Labor).

EASY TO SETTLE IF THEY DESIRE

By Organized Effort Calgary Civil Servants Get Grievances Adjusted

It is remarkable how easily differences between employer and employee can be adjusted when both sides meet as man to man and sit down quietly and "look things squarely in the face." The Calgary Civil Servants have adjusted their grievances and it cannot be said that justice had to work overtime in doing the job. Had those city employees been unorganized the results would have been far different. The chances are that a score or so of the stouter hearts insisting on more consideration would have been fired and the remainder cowed and coerced into struggling along. That is the way it has always been worked in the past, where unorganized labor sought to help itself. Sometimes the uninitiated try the same tactics with organized labor, but intimidation and reckless methods never get very far.

The preposterous numerical estimate of the delegates who withdrew from the Trades Council needs correction. There were four local unions who have three delegates each, sitting in the Council.

Fred Bush, international organizer of the United Garment Workers is in town negotiating an agreement between the Great Western Garment Co. and Local No. 120.

TEACHERS' ALLIANCE PURPOSES ACTIVITY

(Continued from Page 1)

that he was greatly impressed with the earnestness of the delegates, the thoroughness and facility with which they carried on business, and discovered that teachers have more in common with the federated trades than the farmers or many other callings. He quoted H. A. Wood, president of the U.F.A. as stating that in the past 5 per cent of the people have dictated absolutely to the other 95 per cent. They had been able to do this by organization.

Resolutions Passed

Following are resolutions in brief, passed by the convention, other than has been reported above.

1. That the Alberta Alliance communicate with teachers organizations in other provinces seeking toward federation without prejudice to further extension of such federation.
2. That for teachers continuously in the employ of a school board the number of days absence on pay through sickness be cumulative, i.e., the 20 days' allowance for initial year be multiplied by the number of successive years' services.
3. That the department of education be asked when the departmental examinations are to start and if the department is preparing to pay those presiding at such examinations this year.
4. That the Provincial Executive have a tentative teachers' contract drawn up looking towards its adoption.
5. That all school boards be requested to admit their teachers or an advisory committee of teachers at the school board meetings.
6. That the membership dues of the Alliance for the ensuing year be \$2 for those receiving wages at a rate less than \$1,000 a year; \$4 per year for wages between \$1,000 and \$2,000; and \$5 for wages above that figure. These fees are to the Provincial body.
7. That the Daylight Saving scheme be opposed.
8. That Normal classes leaving Normal should be addressed by representatives of the Alliance re the Alliance before departure.
9. That in contracts with school boards the teachers' salary be calculated on a basis of 200 instead of 210 days.
10. That the principle of maximum of 35 pupils per school room be approved.
11. That the department fix regular dates for entrance to school of beginners.
12. That it shall be an obligation of members of the Alliance to refrain from speaking disparagingly or disrespectfully of teaching as a profession; that members of the Alliance will not receive into full fellowship on the staff of a school, teachers who are non-union.

A. Farnilo, secretary of the Edmonton Trades and Labor Council, was received in the convention as fraternal delegate and during the session addressed the convention on organized effort generally. His address was heartily received.



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