

Moore and Draper Labor's Choice

Labour Day, 1921

By SAMUEL GOMPERS

MARCH on! Men and women of labor, march on! Carry forward the banner of human freedom and progress.

Carry forward the banner of liberty.

Labor day is a day upon which to celebrate the growth and progress of our movement, and a day upon which to fix our determination to continue the struggle.

The organized labor movement is the protector and defender of the wage earners of our country. It is the power that stands between the workers and exploitation by those who never willingly yield to the curtailment of autocratic power.

The organized labor movement is necessary because it is the only agency through which the wage earners can secure justice; the only agency through which they can develop democracy in industry; the only agency through which they can bring more of light into their life and work.

The organized labor movement is the champion of all wage earners, fighting their battles everywhere, striving to promote their interests on every field. The place of every wage earner is within the union of his trade or calling.

This Labor day should be the mark from which all move forward in a great campaign to bring into the organizations of labor all who have not yet joined in our great, humanitarian, progressive work.

This Labor day, 1921, should be the day upon which to begin a great forward movement of labor. From this day forward let every man and woman of labor be a volunteer organizer, carrying the message of organization everywhere, flying the inspiring banner of trade unionism everywhere, knitting the fabric of labor everywhere, closing up the ranks everywhere, bringing solidarity and determination to our movement everywhere.

Trade union progress rests upon organization.

Progress for wage earners, wherever they may be, rests upon organization.

The unorganized are unheard. The unorganized are unheeded. The unorganized are unknown to the organized powers of greed and exploitation.

The unorganized are unprotected from the assaults and injustices of industrial tyranny.

The unorganized are helpless before the merciless forces of united employers seeking to get from labor the last ounce of effort in return for the least possible wage.

The unorganized have no relief except in organization; no strength except in unity.

Organize the unorganized.

Unite and federate the organized.

Build for progress, for humanity, for freedom and for justice.

Build for a better world, a nobler humanity, a better concept in industry and a fuller, broader opportunity for all to live and to partake of the happiness of living.

Begin this Labor Day. Organize, unite, federate.

Now for the five million mark!

Union Labor and the Enlightened Employer

UNDER the above heading Samuel Gompers wrote a very able article for the magazine named "Industrial Management." The article was reprinted in the American Federationist. We regret that we are unable to reproduce the entire article, but we quote it extensively as follows:

"Upon employment relations rests most of the responsibility for unrest in the life of the masses of our people. We have come to apply the word unrest to that turbulence of mind and spirit which is a manifestation of lack of satisfaction or rebelliousness in industry.

For all of our social unrest there is a cause in the complaint which workers have against the terms and conditions under which they must work. Perhaps it may be said there is not always a sufficient cause, but however it may be, there is some cause.

It may well be that the future history of the world will be written in accord with what happens in American industry in the next two or four years. America is the only country in which the working people have gone forward with a "dogged" determination to prove that the same democratic principles to which they pinned their faith before the war still are workable and sound. America is the only country in which the working people have not been to a greater or lesser degree beguiled by phrasemakers who have called down from the clouds, "we have the magic 'open sesame,' come with us and enter the gates of Paradise."

But all is not as it should be with us and we are by no means sure that our working people will not be driven from their faith and torn from their moorings by forces that look upon rights as something to be denied when profitable and upon working people as burden bearers who must serve, unquestioning and unreasoning, shoulders always in the yoke.

There is a need for scientific readjustment of a large part of our industrial life today and the trade union movement looks hopefully to the engineers and the scientists of industry for a needed and valuable contribution to human welfare.

The labor movement is hopeful in this way today because there are abundant signs that the engineers and the scientists have recovered from and progressed far beyond that pseudo-science that brought them such ill-repute among workers a decade ago, when "speed up" was their watchword and when humanity was classed with steel and wood as material for the production of goods.

Broadly speaking, the human factors in industry are two:

(Continued on page 3)

TIMELY QUESTIONS DISCUSSED AT CONVENTION

Pay Prisoners for Work.
National Ownership, Etc.

A resolution was adopted after considerable discussion instructing the Executive Committee to request the Dominion Government to establish "the permanent supremacy of the Department of Labor in the investigation and determining of rates of wages and general working conditions" to be observed in all Government contracts, sub-contracts and other undertakings financially assisted by the Government, and requesting the Executive to recall upon the Government to establish the 8-hour work day upon Welland Canal and other Government works.

Robertson Criticized.
In discussion on this resolution which was the result of complaints regarding wages and working conditions on the Welland Canal work, there was considerable criticism of the Minister of Labor. John Bruce of Toronto declared that Senator Robertson had "double crossed" the workers in the Toronto shipbuilding matter.

The Minister's letter to the Congress, in which he said that prevailing rates of wages were being paid on the canal work, was read again, and Mr. Bruce read a telegram from a business agent on the job in reply. This message said all employees had been cut 25 per cent. on section three; that the machinists rate now was 65 cents. Carpenters had been forced to work last Sunday on straight time; laborers received 36 cents per hour on section one; a sub-contractor on section three was working his staff 12 hours, and paying laborers 25 cents.

"Political Trickery."
J. W. Wilkinson, Edmonton, said possibly conflicting prices of which they had heard were the result of conflicts between Government departments, which the resolution sought to remove. Robert Lynch, Montreal, expressed the view that "pious resolutions were no good to an empty stomach." James Simpson, Toronto, declared that the Minister of Labor was only a messenger for other ministers. John Platt, Toronto, referred to what he called the "political trickery" of Senator Robertson.

The attitude of Congress toward the establishment of councils of industry was expressed in the formation of a letter from President Moore to the Department of Labor, containing the following sentence: "Organized Labor is opposed to the formation of any council which will oppose or even ignore the existence of labor organizations and their elected representatives." The belief was expressed that employers were inclined to use such councils for their own purposes and that the workers suffered unless the councils recognized fully the trades union organization.

Scores Plant Councils.
"Nothing is more menacing to the international union idea," said James Simpson, "than this plant council idea. If we give it any encouragement and if employers make headway with their plans, whenever these councils function as substitutes for trades union they strike a blow at this organization. There must be a clear distinction between the industrial council, where trades unionism is clearly recognized and the plant council, which takes the place of the international union."

John B. Mooney, brother of Tom Mooney, gave the convention the latest information on the celebrated Labor case. He said Tom Mooney and Billings now had spent five years in "the dungeons of California," though innocent of any crime, and referred to California as that "fool State." He appealed for contributions.

Protect Use of RCMP.
Congress protested against the use of Mounted Police by the authorities in industrial disputes and against the arming of private guards in such matters.

When a committee moved that \$1,500 be granted to the delegate of Congress who will be named to attend the British Congress next year, objections were raised that the grant should be \$1,500, as it was last year. The President explained that steamship rates were considerably lower and travel not subjected to the same uncertainties and delays as a year ago. An amendment to increase the amount to \$1,500 was defeated.

Peaceful Picketing.
The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada made a strong protest against the attitude of Hon. C. J. Doherty, Minister of Justice, in the matter of what was called peaceful picketing. A memorandum credited to Mr. Doherty declared that all picketing was evidence of force to show that "watching and besetting for the purpose of peaceful picketing is really a constructive in terms." Picketing, however, conducted upon a basis of compulsion.

(Continued on page 4)

DELEGATES SHOW GOOD JUDGMENT

The delegates to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada again showed their confidence in Tom Moore for President, P. M. Draper for Secretary, and the three Vice-Presidents on last year's executive viz: Halford, Martel and McAndrew, by electing them to office for the ensuing year. The Convention as learned from the Delegates present was a great success and proved beyond a doubt that the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada had more than justified its existence in the past and a bright outlook for the future is anticipated by all. Many reforms needed by the vast army of workmen in Canada have been put into effect through legislation brought about by the energetic officers of the Congress who, at all times, are striving to have enacted by legislation with little cost to labor that which might otherwise mean industrial strife through the organized workers, forcing by strikes those conditions which are so necessary to their progress. The Radicals of this country are opposed to the Congress and on many occasions have bitterly assailed its policy and its officers because they seek through peaceful methods what the red element say should be forced by industrial turmoil and revolution. If it was only because of the fact that the Congress has not knuckled down to the policy of the reds they have justified being in existence and have kept intact the great trade union movement which otherwise might have drifted upon the rocks of radicalism. We await with confidence in our elected officers for further legislation in the future which can only be obtained through the rank and file of labor standing solidly behind them and giving them all the support possible which is so necessary to the success of any organization.

Unemployment -- What Are We To Do About It Here?

TODAY you are safe in saying that one quarter of the working class are out of a job, and half the remainder have no security of employment.

If the evil stopped there, there would be little hope of drawing the attention of government to a situation which means the starving of vast sections of this generation and the stunting of the next.

But the Commercial and Industrial classes are involved in the ruin of the working class. Men out of work cannot buy goods from the stores. The stores thus cannot send orders to the industries, the industries cannot continue running. They close—and there is another wave of unemployment to overwhelm our remaining prosperity.

Canada is enduring its share of this situation. But because it is world wide, we must take a world view if we are to discover the cause, and the remedy. But the cause discovered, the proof that it is the cause may best be illustrated by a local and familiar example.

I am going to use such an example, if you will be patient with me, to show the condition, the cause, and the cure.

And to start with I am going to propound a problem which will astonish you, but explain much.

Between 1914 and 1919, Canada supported an army of several hundred thousand men overseas. Without the help of this army, those back home produced enough goods to feed them, clothe them, and supply them with munitions to blow into the air.

Moreover we produced enough of all these things to have sufficient surplus to help supply Great Britain and allied countries. It will not do to say that we borrowed from the future to do this. We did not. None of the wheat that was eaten by our soldiers in 1914-1919 will be grown in 1937. We produced during the war what we used during the war.

And remember we lacked the working assistance of hundreds of thousands of our best men at the time. Wouldn't you think that when these men returned and added their labor to ours that we would produce more than this country ever produced before? That if we could maintain our population at home, an army overseas and create a surplus for our allies without their help, that with it we would supply pretty nearly enough to maintain the world?

Instead we are not producing enough to feed our home population, large sections of which are suffering semi-starvation.

There was another reason why you had a right to expect a greater period of prosperity after the war than Canada had ever witnessed before. And that was this: we had improved our productive plant.

We had more railway mileage than in 1914. We had more ships than in 1914. We had more and greater industries than in 1914. More fields under cultivation, more—I think I am safe in adding—livestock in our fields.

More men to work, more tools to work with. What has happened to us that we have stopped production, that the whole country is sliding down hill? At a time when all should have plenty in wider measure than we ever knew before, we are approaching the worst period of want that we ever endured.

Why?
Because the whole plan under which we operate industry is wrong, has lived out its life, is soon to be scrapped. And unless we recognize this rapidly, not merely our methods, but our machinery men will also be thrown on the scrap pile.

We have been proceeding on a fallacy and it has found us out. And here's the evidence:

We supply people goods not on the strength of their requirements, but on the strength of their financial standing. Coal mines don't run because people want coal, but because their owners want profits. And naturally the owners say: "No profits, no coal." They will say this in the midst of winter, with every coal bin in the country empty. They are compelled to under the conditions on which they hold their leases, borrow their capital, earn their salaries.

And every industry is the same.

And so we see the strange spectacle of industry after industry shutting down when goods are wanted as never before. They

MEXICAN TRADE WILL GO ONLY TO FAIR FIRMS

What Is The Truth About Mexico Is Sold By The Secretary-Treasurer Of Machinists

Southern Republic's New Trade Policy Seeks To Maintain American Standards

OPEN SHOPPERS BARRED Millions Will Be Expended For Materials Produced Under Decent Conditions

Mr. Davison tells Sec.-President Obregon and his associates have incurred the enmity of the "open shoppers" of the United States by announcing that in making purchases in this country they will only patronize concerns which are fair to labor.

BY CHARLES M. KELLEY
"Were it possible for our people to fully comprehend what is going on in Mexico they would be astounded. The government there is attempting what I honestly believe to be the most progressive, the most enlightened and withal the sanest policy that has ever been attempted by any people. I am convinced that it is going to succeed."

That is the opinion of E. C. Davison, secretary-treasurer of the International Association of Machinists, after a stay of several weeks in the Southern Republic. While there he interviewed the highest officials of the government, studied the work of reconstruction, inspected the manufacturing plants and talked with workers, business men and politicians. "I didn't realize fully what the government was attempting to do until I had several conferences with Gen. Plutarco Calles, secretary of the interior," continued Mr. Davison. "Then everything was made plain to me. This official, the most important member of President Obregon's cabinet, assured me that the government's primary interest was in the workers. It is seeking to redeem them from centuries of merciless exploitation. Much along this line has been done, but much more remains to be accomplished. **World Help American Workers** "Gen. Calles, it should be stated, is not provincial or insular in his

(Continued on page 2)

must. Because they are only permitted to produce for profit. And there is no profit in supplying goods to the workers of Canada, the workers of the world at present.

For the profit system prevents these men from being paid the full result of their production. If a plant is producing \$1,000 a day, its men will normally only be paid around \$500 a day. With their wages they cannot buy back what they produce. There is a surplus. The same is true of all industries, of the whole country. This surplus represents the profit of capital. Industry only runs as long as this surplus is created and can be marketed.

Obviously it cannot be marketed at home, because the workers at home have exhausted their wages buying back a fraction of the product of industry. So this surplus must be exported to countries undeveloped by capital, in exchange for raw materials. As long as this circuit is maintained, as long as exports continue, the home industries keep working. As soon as the circuit is broken—as soon as the foreign market is filled up or starts developing a surplus of its own—the home market cannot export, cannot dispose of its surplus, cannot cash in on its profits. And so stops producing.

Strange position for a country to be in—unable to feed its home workers until it has fed the foreigner! Canada, with all its fertile prairies, cannot spare a loaf of bread for its children, because it cannot ship wheat to bankrupt Europe.

The condition facing us is that we are enduring an appalling degree of suffering through unemployment—side by side with a capacity for producing all the essentials of life and that this condition will intensify to an unbearable degree next winter, few are optimistic enough to deny.

The cause is that industry is run for profit and to secure this profit pays its workers less than they produce. The workers being unable to buy back their product, industry shuts down and throws its employees on the streets to starve until the surplus of industry has been absorbed or destroyed.

The cure is to run industry for use and not for profit, to give the workers—not merely the manual workers but the mental workers—the full product they produce. Let a census of the needs of the community (at first only the essential needs) be taken. And then let the factories be instructed to supply these needs. The workers they need to secure this result can be allocated to them out of the ranks of the unemployed.

This is a radical remedy—but it is a matter of life or death for the world to solve its present problem of unemployment. I think the putting into effect of the remedy suggested is a matter of not decades, but years—throughout large parts of the world it is only a matter of months.

What are we going to do in Canada next winter?—J. S. Wallace.

Labour Day, 1921

By FRANK MORRISON

LABOR Day, 1921, sees the most gigantic and widespread lock-out of wage earners in the history of this country. Approximately 5,000,000 men and women, anxious to labor, are without employment, and at least 20,000,000 persons, or about one-fifth of our population, are directly affected by a tragedy that we hope may not be intensified the coming winter.

The failure of a large element of our citizenship to awaken to this grim situation is in contrast to their attitude whenever a considerable group of wage earners voluntarily suspend work to enforce better living conditions. Then stern demand is made that "industry function." All other questions are subordinated to that of breaking the strike, regardless of method or cost.

The causes for present conditions are associated with every great war, and are as inevitable as the laws of mathematics. Wage earners must accept this fact and reject the propaganda of those who profit by war and whose excuses for present conditions take every conceivable form.

Back of the world war were imperialistic and monarchical forces that are disappointed with the outcome, but their principles still exist among a comparatively small but powerful group in every land, including our own. To make this group powerless should be the purpose of every patriot.

I have no illusions on the end of war, but wars can be minimized if there were no profit in these upheavals that pauperize the many and enrich the few.

There is no moral reason why the government should conscript its soldiers and not apply this theory to dollars and machinery. If the soldier is injured he is given a dole. If he is killed, his dependents are given a small pension.

The dollar, however, is assured full return, with every resource of the nation behind that pledge. Machinery and all the processes of production are used, with the guarantee that the owners will be given a return equal to their highest profits and the plants returned in as good condition as when commandeered.

Agitation to end war or even minimize war will be fruitless while we conscript soldiers and permit profiteers to set their own price on the government's need in its hour of distress. It should be a national characteristic that the men who stay at home shall make no more profit than do the men who risk their lives on the battle front. If we conscript the flower of our youth to fill our armies, nothing should be considered too sacred to support these armies.

Another after-effect of war is the control of credit by private financiers. The American Federation of Labor has declared that credit is "inherently social," and that it should be a government function, operated for the benefit of the people. As now administered it permits financial agencies to levy a toll upon the people "as high as the traffic will bear."

With profit taken out of war, with dollars and machinery conscripted, and with the credit of the people taken from private financiers and administered by the government, future wars would be less attractive to those who increase their power at the cost of their country.

DECIDE TO FORM CANADA LAB. PARTY

Laborites Will At Once Enter Federal Political Arena

Winnipeg—A conference of accredited representatives from the provincial labor parties unanimously decided to proceed with the formation of a political party to be styled the "Canada Labor Party" with a view to entering the Federal political arena at once. Its policy will be to work in harmony with the national progressive party, but not to complete any organic union with them. The adoption of the principle of the immediate entrance of the party into dominion politics is to be consummated by the present action and acceptance of a platform and programme, and the election of a party officers.

WORK LESS HOURS TO GIVE ALL JOBS

Machinists' Union Official Says This Only Solution of Unemployment

That labor would be compelled to insist on a reduction in the working hours of the only real solution of unemployment was the statement taken by V. S. Gauthier, general executive member of the International Association of Machinists, who addressed a meeting of the Toronto local of that body at the Labor Temple last night. Mr. Gauthier argued that the development of machinery had made possible production of commodities in such large quantities that waves of unemployment were becoming periodical.

During the war, he said, a reduced number of men in civilian employment had been able to produce enough not only for their own needs but also for the men who were actually engaged in fighting. It was a foregone conclusion in view of this he contended, that when the soldiers returned there would be many unable to secure jobs, and consequently it would be necessary to reduce the number of hours which each man worked if all were to obtain employment.