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# LONDON, SATURDAY, DEC. 20, 1919

#### THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF INDUSTRY

In his recent message to Congress President Wilson used the expression : 'the democratization of industry.' This term, and the idea conversely expressed, "industrial autocracy," have become quite familiar. But like many familiar terms it is subject to apply the principles of responsible much misapprehension. In our issue self-government to great industrial of Nov. 29th we gave, though necessarily in very condensed form, Mackenzie King's lucid interpretration of the legitimate desire on the part of stances. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Labor for the democratization of Co. is one of these. A Federal Com-Industry ; and of the tendency on the mission thus reports after investigapart of students of the Industrial tion : Problem - including capitalists - to recognize that in the Industrial as Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. as somewell as in the Political order Auto- thing more than a means of escaping cracy must give way to Democracy. from dealing with the union. If the Labor's investment of skill and life is large significance of it is to be underas much entitled to representation in stood, the philosophy upon which it the government of industry as is is based should be made clear. The Capital's investment of dollars.

tinction must be made between Gov- and is likely to run, parallel in the ernment and Management. In the main to the political development previous article we noted that to the under democratic conditions. In three parties to Industry, Labor, Cappolitical life the first struggle with ital and Management, usually dealt arbitrary power is for a magna with by economists, Mr. King adds a charta; or, as we should say, a bill this distinction because of the habit being granted, the next step is to of confusing Management with Government.

Management in the Industrial order or directly to the people as in this corresponds to the executive functions of political government. In an course of democratic political develautocracy these functions are, or may be, quite the same as in a democracy. Co's plan, to be understood, should The executive heads of governmental departments and the judiciary might illustration." not differ much in Russia under the Czar from those of the United States of America. There may therefore be outlined ; but we shall quote this representation of Labor and the Community in the Government of Industry without any interference with Industrial Management other than that analogous to the indirect influence on the executive functions of civil government which is exercised by democratic control of the legisla- safety and accidents ; (3) on sanitative power.

co-ordinates all the processes is that

imply the interference of Labor with Management. That form of democratization of industry has not been advocated outside of Russia.

"There is an important distinction between a Directorate and a Management, and it is in the form of a that a more equitable distribution of from the point of view of all those the control of Industry among all its engaged in it, so far as this is concontributing factors is to be desired. sistent with the general interest of The function of a Directorate is to the community, appears to be neces- ting that he had no proof whatever create and lay down policies, and to sary. With a view to providing to substantiate any one of them, it find ways and means of providing means for carrying out the policy The function of Management is to His Majesty's Government should are executed in accordance with the associations of employers and to Canada during the War should be spirit by which they are actuated. employed the formation of joint admitted. His Honor is to be con-Once the right relationship of a standing Industrial Councils in the gratulated on his favorable consider-Directorate to a Management is grasped, the possibilities of Industrial already exist, composed of represen- of justice and truth demanded the Directorates become more apparent.

and the whole problem of Government in Industry is relieved of many of its embarrassing features"-Indus. classes of Labor engaged." try and Humanity. Incidentally it may be remarked

that the failures of Government ownership are chiefly due to political interference with Management; if, indeed, politics have not already burdened the enterprise with a Man. agement that is inefficient.

There will always be found those who will scoff at the proposal to undertakings. Fortunately it is not all theory ; it has been reduced to successful practice in several in-

"The plan is conceived of by the plan assumes that the development Here, however, an important dis-in industry in this country has run,

make the executive responsible to the representatives, as in England ;

country. That in brief has been the opment. The Colorado Fuel and Iron be studied in the light of this It would be out of place here to

go into the details of the plan thus further paragraph from the same Report :

'The plan provides further for the selection of four joint committees representative of the company and its employees : (1) On industrial cooperation and conciliation; (2) on tion, health, and housing : and (4) on The directing intelligence which recreation and education. This part to distinguish between what is right

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resentative Government. In

words of the Report itself : "The establishment for each industry of an organization, representative of employers and work people, to have as its object the regular consideration of matters affecting the Directorate, not as a Management, progress and well being of the trade by appeals to anti-Catholic prejudice.

what is necessary to carry them out. outlined above, we recommend that showing the utter falsity of the see that the policies determined upon propose without delay to the various Budka's loyal and important service several industries, where they do not ation of the plea that the interests tatives of employers and employed, hearing of such testimony as proved. regard being had to the various sections of the industry and the various

The Whitley Report goes, as a quite fully treated in King's Industry be approved." and Humanity, where also are given

to successful practice.

sels prevail.

mind of the Church, the study of sionary zeal.

War may in later times come to be | West Review, says : regarded as a mere episode or inter-

against the Mammonites, that eradicated." fourth—the Community. And these of rights. This being obtained, the their deity and stick at no injustice Truth Society publish the article in four factors, which enter into all pro- next demand is for representation on in the practice of the cult. And thus

> for the welfare of humanity. . . . "But especially must members of the Catholic Church, sharers in her commission to be the light of the

world and its preservative from total corruption, be keen to further the just claims of the worker, must shake off that unreflecting, careless acquiescance in the traditional order of things that is productive of such toleration of abuses, must really put

their faith into practice and remember that Popes and Cardinals and Bishops are not uttering empty rhetoric when they denounce the evils of Mammon-worship, plead for justice for Labor, and call upon the members of the Church to take their

the dication. Consequently, although as Judge Patterson declares, "not a tittle of avidance was produced against the Bishop to warrant such charges have been Church people," (p. 115). having been made," they will remain to poison the minds of that all too numerous class which is duped

Counsel for the complainants having withdrawn the charges admit became a question whether evidence charges and establishing Bishop conclusively that "there was no

grounds shown why there should be any doubt cast upon Bishop Budka's loyalty to Canada ;" such evidence matter of course, into details which as was adduced showing that " his we may not here enter upon. It is conduct was, on the other hand, to

That some were misled into other instances of the theory of the believing the charges against the democratization of industry reduced Ruthenian Bishop and acted on this honest conviction is the opinion of We have said enough to explain Judge Patterson. But those who terms in common use, and to give an remember the infamy of those idea of the lines along which the Ruthenian proselytisers, who 80 amelioration of industrial conditions trained their perverts as actually to are likely to progress if same coun- put on a blasphemous travesty of

The learned Jesuit editor of The order to deceive and mislead Cath-Month, in a vigorous article in the olic Ruthenians, will not be surcurrent number entitled "The Aims prised that these "converts" have and Claims of Labor," points out that turned out adepts in the arts of on Catholics, and particularly on deception; and will be slow to Catholics who by education or posi- believe or to blame the unfortunate tion might be expected to reflect the victims of such unscrupalous mis-

claim. After saying that the Great which we reproduce from the North

"It is not always easy to see where in the future. Animosities based justice lies, but God is surely on the upon religious prejudice, jealousy side of those who are fighting and personal ambition are not easily

duction, have distinct and separate the part of those whose rights have Labor, in so far as it is striving to at present, to counteract the effects been recognized. Representation throw off the yoke of Mammon, and of the false witness already widely to recover its birthright of freedom, disseminated; and later if, or peris working for the cause of God and haps we should say when, the occasion arises.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

vertisement for savings accounts one of Canada's big chartered banks asks Where does your salary go ?" Isn't that rather a maddening question to put to the average citizen just now Why not interview the landlord, the grocer, the milkman or the tax collector at once and be done with it ? And, in any event, why rub it in ?

REFERRING TO the laudation by the Victory Loan Committee of certain by him on part in restoring society to Christian of their abundance subscribed largemuch amusement to the Unionist practice. And the first requisite is ly to this absolutely sure and paying into power pledged to leaders. In 1911, Mr. Asquith came

WHY SHOULD mere "conservatism be incompatible, with true progress ? The Catholic Church is usually credited with being the most conpoliticians working in the English interest" as prescribed by Primate i Boulter, gave their opposition an i organized military form titen that which was sound legislation became coercion and that which was accept-able became untbinkable- all pledges and underskings to the contrary servative institution in the whole world, and yet she is ever in the van where the welfare of the race is concerned. Conservative she certainly is in all that pertains to faith, and undertakings to the contrary for her's is a deposit coming direct notwithstanding. from her Divine Founder and bear-The insincerity of the position of Mr. Asquith and his adherents is still further evident. Mr. Asquith was now unwilling to apply "coercion" to Irish Unionists under ing with it to the end of time the characteristic of inviolability. In things of faith, therefore, and of morals she is as adamant against all the vagarmilitary organization. He was still willing and ready, according to his ies of man, but in all else she is ever occupying new fields and adaptprofessions, to apply the same "coercion" to other Irish Unionists ing herself to changing conditions.

who had no military organization. He was prepared to exclude six WITH THE Church of England it is different. Unequivocally human as of Home Rule. The Unionists in the she is in her origin and constitution remaining twenty-six counties of her creed reflects every foible and Ireland were equal in numbers to those of the six counties to be excluded, and these Mr. Asquith was caprice of man, until "comprehensiveness " of doctrine has become still prepared to "coerce." her distinguishing mark. It is even This does not exhaust the insinthe boast of her children that it is cerity of Mr. Asquith's new formula. so. Her "conservatism" on the The six counties to be excluded were other hand, as Bishop Ingham Londonderry, Antrim, Down, Arm. agh, Tyrone and Fermanagh. acknowledges, has to do with human one of these counties contains a large body of Nationalists to whom pride, with the consolidation of class and the perpetuation of privilege. Thus it is, as the prelate also avers, that she has lost touch with the people, and where, humanly speak-ing, she had every advantage of putable fact, and not on sectarian wealth and State support she finds herself in Canada now far in the nerself in Canada now far in the argue. The religious census does not accurately indicate the proporwhom at home she extended a tions of Nationalists and Unionists condescending measure of toleration.

THE IDENTIFICATION of the Chris-

PREMIER

BY PROFESSOR EOIN MACNEILI National University of Ireland

VIII

tian religion with material wealth and erous Protestant Nationalists and power was never more unblushingly put forward than by an American large meeting of Protestant Home Rulers was held. Everywhere in preacher in the Timothy Eaton Memorial church, Toronto, some time Ulster, there are Protestant Nationago. He had been a "missionary" alists, and these, as a rule, are men and women of education and intelin Africa for thirty-nine years and ligence. (In addition, among the this seems to have been the Unionists there are many, especially sum and substance of his gospel : among business men and Material prosperity always follo as sional men, who hold, the Bible." "A Christian is the only present Unionist Lord Chancellor of Ireland, formally Unionist member of Parliament for Armagh, that man who has a right to have wealth, God keeps the wealth for Christians." Partition" would be, from their It was, he claimed, men bringing the It was, he claimed, men bringing the Bible to Africa who discovered the proportion of Nationalists, using the diamond mines. These remarks term to include Republicans as well as Home Rulers, in the Six Counties, were apparently preparatory to the "Big Drive" now on. We are told in Tyrone. Everywhere it is more by the daily papers that he held his considerable than the ratio of the audience enthralied. The same sen. sum total of Ulster Unionists to the timents may therefore be fairly taken Nationalists of Ireland. as the basis and scope of the great less, Mr. Asquith was quite withing to "coerce" the Nationalists of the "Forward Movement." Their accord. Six Counties, including the Nationance with the Gospels is quite alist majority of Tyrone.

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We can apply another test, which will confirm the lesson of history, that the "Ulster difficulty ' " is the weapon of ' 'the English interest.' In South Africa, there is a large British colony of much later date THE INSINCERITY OF ENGLISH than the Ulster Plantation. During the South African War, the British colonists were enthusiastically loyal to England and fought on English side. Nevertheless, when, soon after the War, autonomy was granted to South Africa, no exception The insincerity of the position now taken up by Asquith and forced was made on behalf of the British colony. To adopt the phraseology Redmond is further of Ulsteria, these loyal apparent, and must have afforded forming a very large and compact

**DECEMBER 20, 1919** 

War. According to the Liberal doctrine of Mr. Asquith, it was law-ful to apply what he was pleased to call "coercion " to the Ulster Union-ists so long as their opposition was pursely peaceful or took no more war-like form than rioting and looting. As soon, however, as the Ulster As soon, however, as the Ulster Unionists, at the instance of English Information Bureaus in thirty different centres. politicians working in the "English

'The Knights of Columbus," said The Knigges of Columbus, said the speaker, "are out to do every-thing for the returned man, regard-less of creed. That is why I am proud to have worked for them, that is why I am proud to come and tell you what has been done. And I ask you the ac expecte in all that will be in you to co-operate in all that will be in

the future by this great organization. The Rev. Father Daniel will remain in the East during the preparation of "Short History of Catholic Army Huts" which is about to be pub-lished. The publication of this work, which will be provided with souvenir pictures of the work overseas, is awaited with great interest by all those who contributed to the "K. of C." drives for Hut and Chapel work exclude six Gverseas.

> UTTERLY UNFOUNDED CHARGES

BISHOP BUDKA'S ACCUSERS OFFER NO EVIDENCE WHATEVER

Northwest Review, Dec. 6

Every Throughout the duration of the War, the Right Reverend Nicetas Budka, Bishop of the Diocess of Budka, Bishop of the Diocese of Canada of the Ruthenian Greek political separation from Ireland is far more objectionable than inclu Catholie Church, was the victim of sion in a self-governing Ireland is to periodic attacks which were given the Ulster Unionist, their objection wide publicity by the press, more particularly in the Provinces of Manitoba and Ontario. As a rule. these attacks were inspired by memwith prophecies, it is in vain to bers of a comparatively small group of Canadian Ukrainians, who, while remaining in the background, were in these counties. For example in Antrim, where the Protestants are enabled to obtain for their fabrica-For example in tions, all necessary publicity through the medium of credulous editors an in the largest proportion of any county in Ireland, there are numscheming politicians. The attacks alleged disloyalty on the part of the The attacks Home Rulers. In Ballymoney, in upon jealousy, religious prejudice that county, in the Spring of 1914, a and hatred on the part of those who Bishop; in reality, they were founded prompted them. As a consequence of the wide publicity obtained, a very considerable number of Cana dians arrived at the wholly erroneous conclusion that Bishop Budka was in reality, a disloyal citizen.

From time to time the defamatory usations were answered and refuted by Bishop Budka himself, by the The Catholic Truth Society of Mani-toba, by the Knights of Columbus and by other organizations and individuals; enquiries made in the The House of Commons received from the Government the reply that investigation has been made but no evidence to substantiate the accusa tions had been submitted. In spite of this, however, the general ch of disloyalty was repeated tinued to receive publicity. ted and con

profe

with

Neverthe

In the Winnipeg press of April 25th last, appeared an announcement that the Great War Veterans, through their Association, were bringing every pressure to hear upon Ottawa secure the deportation of Bishop Budka, that every constitutional step possible was being taken by said Association to get the Bishop back to Austria, and indignation was ex-pressed at the alleged laxity of the authorities and intimation given that trouble would occur if action was not taken promptly.

th On May 1st a large deputation of Great War Veterans waited upon Hon. T. C. Norris, Premier of Maniobs, and made a demand for action leading to the deportation of Bishop Budka. The latter had then been Britons absent from home for several days. forming a very maded over to the publicly announced his desire for "mercy" of the Boer majority, whose "mercy" of the Boer majority, whose "nost searching investigation by promerly constituted authority, s publicly announced his desire for a at the earliest possible date, in that his conduct, his citizenship, his utterances and his writings dur ing the past five years, should most carefully enquired into. He stated his further desire that such investigation should be held in public and that an opportunity be given to all who had any complaint to make concerning him, to appear and be heard. He further announced that instructions had been given to his Counsel to endeavor to arrange for the holding of such investigation at

As a heading to an alluring adanother matter. ULSTER DIFFICULTY

industrial problems have a special But as the writer of the Article,

" It will perhaps be too much to lude in the more protracted conflict expect that those who have in the between God and Mammon, and past been responsible for the many referring to the intensity of the avar- slanderous statements concerning ice inspired class struggle, he writes: Bishop Budka will treat him honestly

the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass in

factor in production which econom- the most far-reaching co-operation ists call Management. It may between the employees as a body happen that one and the same man and the corporation, as to all matters provides the capital and manages which affect the working and living the business; in the case of the conditions of the employees. It farmer he usually supplies these and the labor as well. But it remains. true that the three are distinct and separate factors in Industry.

The importance of this distinction testimony : will be evident from two items which appeared in the daily press within the last few weeks. One was this despatch :

London, Nov. 14.-Premier Lloyd George has offered the railwaymen's before in its entire existence. Happy if the press of Canada were free union membership in committee management of the roads with rail. and prosperous communities, assumdirectors and Government ing the aspect of garden villages, in officials, according to a statement by J. H. Thomas, general secretary of more and more community conthe National Union of Railwaymen. trolled, speak of a new citizenship

The other is that Sir Robert which is receiving its training in Borden is earnestly in search of government. . . The Joint Comsome means by which the mittees have been a revelation to Employees of the Canadian National the Management not less than to the the finding of Judge Paterson was themselves for a huge effort financial Railways shall have just representa workers. They have stimulated a the least that decency and justice | ly and looking forward to big things tion in the Executive administration friendly atmosphere and have led to demanded of that press which gave

Quite evidently, if correctly re- swggestions, with not less of gain to ous charges. ported, neither Lloyd George nor Sir Capital, Management and the Com-Robert Borden has grasped the dis- munity than of immediate benefit to the somewhat lengthy, but temper- a few years ago. In abook "Sketches upon.

The control of Industry on the references to the Whitley Report in reading and preserving. The press part of Capital and Management, to the British Parliament, in our own has made itself particeps criminis the exclusion of Labor and the Parliament, and in the press. With with the slinking cowards who Community is what constitutes the out using the term it is essentially a assailed the Rathenian prelate's reindustrial autocracy complained of ; plea for the democratization of in. putation by the publicity given to representation of Labor in the dustry; the application to the whole their charges and by its silence with supreme governing body does not of industry of the principles of Rep. regard to the Bishop's complete vin. lines of ritual, and their inability to

of the plan evidently contemplates and wrong, whether in aim or method, in the conflict at present raging between workman and employer." Catholics sufficiently well . in. formed to make this distinction may assumes co-operation between the

contribute largely to the formation parties and not antagonism." of a Christian public Opinion on Later Mr. Mackenzie King, after industrial relations. personal investigation, bears this

"The Industrial Representation 'NOT A TITTLE OF EVIDENCE" Plan of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Fearless and outspoken would Company has been in operation for a period of over three years. . . The industry has progressed as never

the indignation of Canadian readers. prominently before the reading pubwhich community activities are being lie the result of the judicial investigation in the premises concluded, after many delays, two weeks ago. And, even if there were editorial silence, promin-

the adoption of many important the widest currency to the slander-

investment, the Ottawa Morning measure of Home Rule for whole Journal caustically remarks :

of Ireland, without any reserve as to Ulster. In 1912, that measure was "So long as there is a wounded

embodied in a Bill, adopted by the soldier on our streets, so long as Liberal Party, and passed through there are armless and legless the House of Commons but rejected by the House of Lords. In 1913, the stumping along our thoroughfares, so long as there are poor blind veterans Bill was again passed through the Commons and rejected by the Lords. trying to equip themselves for the balance of a mutilated life, so long as In 1914, the Bill was a third time there is anywhere in Canada a man passed through the Commons. who has walked upright and slowly through the hell of a high explosive could thus become law by Royal assent without having to pass the barrage, which of us wants to be asked to make a hero of a rich man Lords. But Mr. Asquith was as well aware of the Ulster Unionist object in Toronto or anywhere else who is tion to Home Bule in 1911 and befor able to 'subscribe' a lot of money 1911 as in 1914. He thus consciously have been the condemnation of for the use of his country with an pledged himself, as also did his party Bishop Budka's traducers, and hot assurance of knowledge that he will pledge themselves, to Mr. Redmond and Mr. Redmond's Irish supporters, get it back with generous interest ?"

The Journal's conclusion that to enough and honest enough to place try to make the public fall down and worship before these plutocrats as saviours of their country is going a little too far will meet with general endorsement.

> WHILE THE five big Protestant denominations in Canada are girding in the near future, a little retrospection would not be amiss either. For the Anglicans, a well-known English repudiated theirs.

ate and accurate, summary of in Western Canada," published just Many will recall the numerous Bishop Budka's case. It is worth before the War, the Bishop wrote :

"The old conservative Church could not adapt herself in time, and when changes were finally made, when changes were many made, their people were gone and the opportunity lost. Thus pride in their culture, education, and super-ior knowledge, insistence on certain Mr. Asquith and his colleagues and

commonplaces of the English Imperialist press up to the end of the war. There was, however, this difference. English statesmanship wanted a peaceful settlement in South Africa. In Ireland, the same statesmanship thinks its advantage is found in Lords. maintaining and fostering divisions and enmities.

### PAYS HIGH TRIBUTE TO K. OF C.

#### REV. IVOR DANIEL TELLS OF SERVICES OVERSEAS

Captain the Rev. Ivor Daniel, O.M.I. in 1911, to do that which in 1914 he of Edmonton, Alta., who went over-seas and served as chaplain with the 51st Edmonton battalion, was the declared to be "unthinkable." Nay, more, the pledge was still earlier than 1911, and on the strength of that pledge Mr. Redmond had formed speaker on Sunday, Dec. 2nd at the literary and musical evening of the St. Brigid's Young Men's Association, a close alliance with Mr. Asquith and his party and had consented to the postponement of Home Rule until A crowded house enjoyed themselves A crowded house enjoyed themselves his party and theirs had jointly listening to the humorous, pithy Liberal measures, including a Financial Reform Act, a State reminiscences of his services over-seas. Father Daniel gave an inter-Liberal measures, including a Financial Reform Act, a State Insurance Act, an Old Age Pensions that was achieved by "Catholic Army that was achieved by "Catholic Army that was achieved by "Catholic Army Act, and a Parliamentary Reform Act. Mr. Redmond and his party Huts" during the term of its function. ing. While the London Area was pro-vided with clubs near Victoria and had fulfilled their part of the alliance, Mr. Asquith and his party Waterloo, the country camps were not forgotten. The Bramshott Hut and

What was the rew factor in the situation that enabled Mr. Asquith facilities, much could be done for the to declare a thing to be coercion and bettering of the soldiers' lot. The Chapel proved that, with the proper unthinkable in 1914 which, in 1913, in 1912, in 1911, nay, in 1893 and in back, through no fault of the C. A. H., 1886, was not merely acceptable but but at Buxton the Discharge Depot was the subject of the most solemn and the Hospitals were well served public engagements on the part of by the "Victory Hut" which was the

Immediately thereafter, Mr. T. J. Murray, Counsel for Bishop Budka. interviewed the chairman of the Alien Registration Board with a view to arranging an investigation : also wrote Counsel for the Great War Veterans expressing a desire for an immediate and thorough enquiry, suggesting that it be conducted by a Judge, that it be made broad enough to include all relevant allegations and complaints, and that an opportunity be afforded to all who might have any accusation to make, to be heard. The communication further offered the fullest measure operation with the Great War Veterans in the preparation for and con duct of the enquiry. As a conse quence, arrangements were made with His Honor Judge Paterson of the County Court, Winnipeg, to com-mence on May 19th an enquiry under the provisions of the Dominion Order in Council of February 14th, 1919 (dealing with inquiries as to the propriety of directing the interment of persons of alien enemy nationality) the proceedings being based upon a formal application made by Counsel Mr. Asquith and his colleagues and party? The new factor was that "grave and upprecedented outrage." the tangibleshaping of Lord Randolph Churchill's policy of an Ulster Civil