

SANE LABOR SHOULD STAND SOLIDLY BEHIND PRESENT CONGRESS

ES, HE HAS NO COMMON SENSE

By CHARLES W. WOOD

Arthur Nash is the most unreasonable employer I ever met. He happens to be the most successful, the richest, and the best loved employer I know, but he hasn't any judgment, any common sense.

Five years ago, now, he was a perfectly normal person. He was a sane enough man and ran his business according to business principles. He hired labor at the low figure at which labor would agree to work; and he got as much work out of his employees as he could. He wasn't one of those "laborers' mind you. He was a fine, intelligent fellow, with generous impulses, a good Christian who wished everybody well; but he ever forgot that business is business and that we're not living in any Utopian Society. He had moods, of course, in which whole game almost sickened him. He would feel like chucking it and becoming a day laborer himself. Oh, to be rid of those eternal possibilities! How he worried day and night, and how he envied those who had no such worries on their minds! Most every struggling business man has these moods. But he is apt to say profoundly, "I don't chuck his responsibilities like that. He must go on with his work. He must continue his career as an executive, a leader of mankind. It is only fair that he shall receive the profits of a capitalist instead of the meagre wages of a workman."

And Arthur Nash in those days was a sane man.

But his business didn't thrive very well. And to add to his periods of sickness, his eternal worries culminated in a physical collapse. It was then that the "mood" got the best of him. It was then that he began to act like a perfect fool.

Perhaps you have heard the story which he did. I shall make it as brief as possible; for behind that story is another one which I am going to try to tell. In probability I shall not succeed, but it is almost impossible in our modern civilization, to follow the wishes of Arthur Nash's mind. But I shall try. First, however, let me review the external happenings.

Sweating by Golden Rule.

Mr. Nash was president and general manager of the A. Nash Company, wholesale tailors of Cincinnati. The firm was incorporated in 1916 with a capital of \$60,000. It was in 1919, after three years of anything but success, that Mr. Nash decided to liquidate the business and spend the rest of his days on a farm. His reasons were strange enough.

He was a Christian, I said, and he believed that he was running a sweatshop. He didn't own the machines on which the Nash clothes were made; they were owned by a contractor who employed such help as he could find employment in the clothing factories. This contractor wanted to go to Europe to look after relatives from whom he had not heard since the outbreak of the war. Mr. Nash agreed to buy the machines. That meant that all employees would work directly for the Nash Company thereafter.

There were twenty-nine employees. They were working for starvation wages, and still the company was not making a profit. Mr. Nash, I said, as a Christian. As he studied that wage scale, he decided that a Christian simply could not cut it any lower, and the only alternative was to liquidate.

But he found he couldn't liquidate then. He had to have the consent of the minority stockholders. They wouldn't consent. It was imperative, it seemed, for him to continue running a sweatshop paying starvation wages.

I have made it plain, I hope, that his nerves were overwrought at the time. Hence, as president and general manager he decided that he would start in paying Christian wages instead, figuring that it wouldn't be long before everybody would be glad to end the business up.

But what were Christian wages? The only answer he could arrive at was the answer of the Golden Rule. He had thought first of living wages—human wages or wages in which each should share according to his ability. But the Golden Rule said something about that. The Golden Rule said: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even unto them."

Wages That Don't Pay.

He went into the shop with his head swimming. He saw one old woman, nearly eighty, sewing on but-

tons for \$4 a week. A good, sensible employer might have reasoned that she couldn't possibly be worth any more; but Mr. Nash by this time wasn't reasoning. When he looked at her she reminded him of his mother. How would he want an employer to treat his mother if she were sewing on buttons?

He couldn't answer. With his head still swimming, he simply set the figures at \$12 a week—a 300 per cent raise. This furnished a precedent, and before he left the room the twenty-nine were notified of a wage increase ranging from 50 to 300 per cent. Then he ran away to the country to get some real sleep and to wait for the business to wind up itself.

In two months he came back to view the remains, but this is what he actually discovered:

The firm had an excellent balance in the bank. It had done three times as much business as it had done in some period the year before. It had not only done the business, but it had made and delivered the goods. Only one additional employee had been hired.

This was in 1919—that strange year when buyers went mad and anybody who had anything to sell could sell it. The only trick that year was to produce the goods. Labor, it was said, was simply not producing, but the usual law of economics were miraculously suspended here. When, later, the buyers went on strike, the A. Nash Company, instead of deflating, went on expanding marvellously. In 1918 it had done only \$132,190.20 worth of business all told. In 1919, the beginning of the Golden Rule, this figure was increased to more than half a million. In 1920 it had gone to a million and a half, in 1921 to more than two millions, and in 1922 to \$3,751,181.52. And the first three months of 1923 indicated that the business was increasing by nearly 100 per cent once more. In 1918 the A. Nash Company was so insignificant that it could hardly be classed as a wholesale house. Today it employs 2,000 workers and is the largest business of the kind in the United States.

"Due to the increase in wages?" I asked Mr. Nash.

"No," he said. "It was due to the working of divine law in place of what we have been calling business principles."

Mr. Nash concedes that low wages are an economic falsehood. They don't pay. They never have paid. Workers must live, he says, before they can work. Even horses must eat before they can pull; and if we try to make them pull without giving them a chance to develop pulling power, they won't pull very much. But that isn't the big story. The big story is that even high wages won't accomplish very much if our purpose in paying them is to add to our profits.

Mr. Nash had no such purpose. He was not "bound to win"; and his story is of no value whatever to the average inspirer of our American youth, who insists that success can come only through a mighty determination to get ahead. Mr. Nash was bound to lose. He was determined to get behind. His only purpose in taking the step he took was to give up the law of business and to follow the law of love instead.

And Jesus said: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you."

"He didn't say," says Arthur Nash: "If your greatest desire on earth is to get all these things, try to incorporate some of the principles of the Kingdom of God into your plans and you'll run a better chance of getting them. If your chief desire is for 'these things,' that settles it. That's all you'll get—and you'll be lucky to get that. But we have something far more important in our Cincinnati shop. We have the Kingdom of God here. We can have it all over America just as soon as we go after it as our first objective. Incidentally when we get the Kingdom of God, peace and plenty follow as a matter of course."

Applause in the Wrong Place.

Mr. Nash is telling his story over the United States. Churches and business organizations and labor study groups are listening; but he isn't telling the story they want to hear. They want to know his "system." Mr. Nash says he hasn't any. They want to know how he meets labor problems. He says he hasn't any labor problems to meet. They want to know the secret of his business success; but he persists in telling.

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THE UNITED FRONT IN THE SOVIET SENSE

(From the I. F. T. U. Press Service.)

On June 25 a plenary session of the Executive Committee of the Red Union International was held at Moscow. Although the agenda had been decided upon some time before, an addition was made of the question, "What shall be the form of organization of the Opposition within the Trade Unions of the Amsterdam International?" The "Pravda" explains the addition as being necessary on account of the dissatisfaction expressed by minorities on the side of the Red International with the inadequate form of organization.

There is much talk in Russia just now about the "collapse of the Amsterdam International" and the "treachery of the reformist leaders." The Executive Committee having approved the action of the Russian delegates at the Berlin Transport Workers' Conference, Losowsky proceeded to attack the Amsterdam International, declaring that the occupation of the Ruhr had made manifest to all the world its incapacity and the divisions among its leaders. The action begun at Berlin must be continued, and the other International trade organizations approached. From their fear of the left, the Amsterdam leaders had not dared to make their resolution other than very elastic; they had merely declared that they were not bound by the agreement made at Berlin. There were excellent prospects of winning over the whole of the trade unions to the Red International. In a very few years the Reformist Leaders would be driven out of their lost positions.

The subject was also treated by Sinoviev, in a long article in the "Pravda", entitled "New Phenomena in the International Labor Movement." He declared that the action of the "yellow" leaders in the question of the Ruhr had led to their desertion by the European Labor Movement.

The pressure exercised upon the Russian Government by the Conservative British Government had done great service to Soviet propaganda. The Soviet Government had forced Curzon to nail his true colors to the mast, and this exposure of imperialism had greatly contributed to the conclusion of the Transport Workers' agreement.

Their real object evidently, was to make political capital of the incident, and to show that all the world is at their feet. Nothing was heard about the interests of the workers; the really important thing was that the Amsterdam International should collapse and that all Europe should hasten to range itself behind the standard of the Red International.

ants' Union, but there is no reason why it should not continue to affiliate with the International Secretariat. It is very important to the Hairdressers Assistants' International Union that it should not lose its national organization.

TRADE UNIONS.

On June 25th, the second congress of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions was held. 358 delegates representing 1,049,949 members took part in the congress. The I.F.T.U. was represented by Sassenbach, and visitors from Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were also present. Hueber, who delivered the General Report of the Federation, contested the view that wages had reached the gold par level. He pointed out that the foreign control was in some respects hostile to the achievements of the workers in the social sphere. The question of the creation of industrial unions was considered, but no final decision was reached. The slight decrease in the membership of the Federation was explained by the withdrawal of women from their organizations and consequently from their unions. The membership of some of the larger unions is as follows:

Metal workers	170,000
Land workers	71,600
Textile workers	53,000
Transport workers	47,000
Workers of the Food and Drink Trades	39,000
Commercial and Clerical Employees	34,000
Wood workers	32,000

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS IN SILESIA, GERMANY STRIKE

The causes of this strike, which has already lasted for several weeks, and which affects some 90,000 workers in all, are to be found in the conditions of the best workers and the breaches of contract by the employers. The wages of the workers can perhaps best be measured by the amount of rye which they can buy with their labor. In March, 1922, a worker could buy a cwt. of rye in 46 hours of work; in May, 1923, it had to work for 145 hours in order to buy the same amount. The conduct of the workers has been excellent, and they are very determined to hold out. "If we give in," they say, "we shall have only bread and water to live on, we are no worse off when striking." They continue to do such emergency work as the feeding of cattle, and the milking of cows, but even that will cease if strike breakers are brought in. Some of the farmers are willing to make separate agreements, but the Union is well aware that any such arrangements would probably be short-lived, and is resolved to make no comprehensive agreement. The industrial unions of the district are giving assistance and making representations to the authorities, who may intercede, but the Union is resolved not to call off the strike until a satisfactory agreement has been concluded.

THE 1923 DOMINION TRADES AND LABOR CONGRESS CONVENTION IS TO BE HELD IN VANCOUVER, B.C., COMMENCING SEPT. 10th.

The utmost effort is called for to see that the present Dominion Trades and Labor Congress is returned to office one hundred per cent strong. Under the able administration of Mr. Tom Moore as President and Mr. P. M. Draper as Secretary, the Trades and Labor Congress has made substantial progress, and has pursued its course diligently in the advancement of sound trade unionism in Canada.

While we are not overly pessimistic as to the results of the Convention, believing that the majority of Canadian workmen are exercising common sense and good judgment in all their dealings, at the same time caution is to be observed by all Trade Unions to see that only delegates are sent to the convention who are truly loyal to Trade Unionism as it should be practised in Canada. It is well known that Western Trade Unions are swayed by radicalism and unless the foundation in the East is set solid with the proper Trade Union ideas to counteract any signs of disruption, and full preparations are made beforehand to meet expected opposition, disastrous results might ensue. If it should so happen that a radical leader be elected to the Presidency of the Congress and the present administration overthrown, Canadian Trade Unionism would receive a severe setback, which is very much from being desired at the present time. Labor has come through a hard siege these last few years; many setbacks and difficulties have been encountered and the end is not yet in sight. It is a poor time to swap horses in the middle of the stream; more so if you are riding a good horse and change him for a poor one.

The Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, representing as it does, the majority of Canadian Labor, is necessarily a dominant factor in the welfare of Canada and Canadian Industry and is no place for a man having ideas and notions that are detrimental to the welfare of the country. We are a young country and great care is necessary to see that only men of the right calibre are chosen as leaders; men who are able to see that co-operation is the keynote of our success and who have the proper foresight for the continued advancement of Canadian Trade Unionism. Such men are Tom Moore and P. M. Draper. It is worthy of note that Mr. Draper has been Secretary of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress for the past twenty two years, and during that time has rendered invaluable service to his brother workers. In fact his years of service speak for themselves and he would not be re-elected at each Convention. Mr. Moore was elected to the Presidency of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress in 1918 and during the past five years has demonstrated his ability as a leader of men. He has brought labor through times of great stress and his perseverance in the face of great difficulties has won the respect and admiration of all his associates.

1922 has just appeared. The membership declined during the year from 386,115 to 337,350. The total income for the year was \$639,019, a decrease of \$138,774 on that of the previous year; but the assets of the union have increased, owing to the termination of the levies, the decline in membership and reduction in expenditure. Three members of the Union have obtained seats in Parliament at the November election.

The Thirteenth Annual Convention of the Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers and Confectioners will be held at Worcester on August 20 and 21.

SWITZERLAND.

Swiss Railwaymen and the Eight Hour Day.

On June 23 the Swiss Railwaymen's Union held a congress at which it considered the proposal of the Government to lengthen working hours on the railways and cut short the workers' holidays. The Congress passed a resolution to resist these measures.

ITALY

In a report sent by the Italian Textile Workers' Union to the International Textile Workers' Secretariat, the usual complaints are made of the atrocities of the Fascist bands. The correspondence between the head office of the Union and the local branches is in many places supervised by the Fascist, and it happens not infrequently that a comrade who has received a letter from an official of the union is dismissed and expelled from his native place. An attempt to lengthen working hours has failed, thanks to the passive resistance of the workers, but land workers hours are still quite unlimited. The cost of food is steadily rising, as the shopkeepers now have nothing to fear from the competition of the co-operatives. The Fascist system is really the organization of masses on a military plan. Discussions or expressions of disapproval of any act of the Fascist trade unions are not permitted. The Fascist unions alone make contracts with the employers, and trade union contributions go straight into their coffers from the employers. Despite all persecution, however, the kernel of the members of the Textile Workers' Union remains faithful, and makes great sacrifices for the sake of the union and the union press.

GENERAL REVIEW OF THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION

The Labor Situation.

Employment at the beginning of June showed a further large increase, continuing the upward movement indicated in the previous month. The expansion, which was of a general character, caused the situation to be more favorable than in any period since December, 1920.

At the beginning of June, the percentage of unemployment among members of the trade unions was 4.3 as compared with 4.6 at the beginning of June, 1922.

The Employment Service of Canada reported a gain in the daily business transacted during May, 1923, as compared with a year ago, while a slight decline in the number of vacancies offered during the month as compared with April, 1923, was reported. Placements during the month under review continue on the upward trend.

The following is a brief survey of employment conditions at the end of June, 1923, as noted by the Superintendents of the offices of the Employment Service of Canada.

Increased activities in the farming and construction groups were reported from the Maritime Provinces with numerous vacancies available for carpenters, bricklayers, road construction laborers and farm hands. Considerable summer logging was under way near Sydney and in Northern New Brunswick and a number of workers were placed in employment in this group. There was a strong demand for trained domestic servants with a slight shortage in applicants.

Employment conditions in Quebec showed little alteration at the end of June as compared with reports for May. A brisk demand for farm workers was reported with a shortage of applicants, especially in Montreal. The logging group continued to absorb numbers of workers and placements of men in camps in Northern Quebec and Ontario were frequent. Briskness in demand in the building trades was shown with many public buildings and residences being erected. Road construction and railway maintenance work was active and provided employment for many. The reports indicate that the manufacturing industries were active especially the metal trades, textiles and clothing industries. An increase in work along shore was indicated from Montreal, Quebec and Three Rivers.

In Ontario the demand for farm help and fruit pickers continued in excess of the supply, while outdoor work of all kinds was available for all who desired it. In most centres the building under way was sufficient to employ all local tradesmen and laborers, while road construction and steam and electric railway repair work continued to provide employment for a large majority. River drivers were placed in small numbers in Northern Ontario while many workers for saw mills, and pulp and paper mills were required. At Cobalt skilled and unskilled workers for the mines were in demand. The manufacturing industries were very active with a demand for workers. The greatly increased demand for maids, waitresses and cooks, was due to the orders from summer hotels and resorts in addition to the normal requirements from city homes.

In Manitoba there was a slight falling off in the demand for farm workers but a high percentage of placements was maintained. Building tradesmen and mechanics were employed and little change was reported in this group. Railroad construction and maintenance work showed a decided betterment.

In Saskatchewan the orders from farmers continued in large numbers though not so many as during the early part of April and during May. Numerous opportunities were offered for employment in building trades, road and highway construction, and on railway maintenance work. Owing to the shortage of trained household workers few of the offices were able to meet the growing demand for cooks, maids and housekeepers.

In Alberta no material change was noted in employment conditions. With good prospects for the crop, the demand for farm help showed a slight increase. Activities in the construction group were not great, residential construction providing the bulk of employment. Near Edmonton some loggers and saw mill workers were placed, while the mines near Lethbridge and Drumheller were reported as active.

Placements of loggers and sawmill workers in British Columbia continued fairly brisk in some localities. Little construction was under way at the end of the month and a considerable number of carpenters, painters and building mechanics were available for employment. The demand for farm help continued about the same as formerly reported, while little change was shown in mining. Casual jobs and longshore work gave employment to numbers of men on the Coast.

Employers' Reports.

A further marked increase in employment was reported by employers of labor to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics at the end of May, when greater activity was indicated than at any period in 1922 and 1921. Practically all industries contributed to the gains which, however, were greatest in construction, manufacturing and transportation. The level of employment in all provinces was higher than in April, Quebec firms registering the most extensive gains. The improvement in Ontario and the Prairie provinces was also pronounced, while in the Maritime district and British Columbia the expansion was on a rather smaller scale. Increased activity was recorded by firms in the six cities for which separate tabulations are made. In Montreal, where over 7,000 persons were added to the staffs of the employers reporting, the greatest improvement was indicated in shipping and stevedoring and construction, while gains were also shown in manufacturing and trade. The expansion in Toronto, which was on a much smaller scale, occurred chiefly in construction, trade and transportation. Sawmills, pulp and paper factories registered the bulk of the increase in Ottawa, although there was also considerably increased activity in construction. General but moderate improvement was indicated in Hamilton and Winnipeg, the largest gains in both cities being reported in construction. In Vancouver sawmills and rolling mills were busier and expansion was also recorded in construction and in several other industries. Essentially all seasons within the manufacturing division except leather, textiles, and musical instruments reported improvement. The increases in payroll in sawmills, iron, steel, fish canning, pulp and paper factories were especially pronounced. Fruit and vegetable canneries, biscuit, tobacco, glass and electric current works were decidedly busier, as were also smelters and refineries. The losses in boot, shoe, garment, thread, yarn and cloth factories were largely of a seasonal character. River driving operations caused employment in logging to show some temporary recovery from the heavy seasonal contractions recently recorded, the late spring having delayed the work to some extent. Mining, transportation and construction reported considerably increased activity, the last named industry in particular absorbing a very large number of workers. The employment afforded in communication, hotels and trade also increased, although the gains were rather less than in the above mentioned industries. The level of employment in all groups was higher than at the same period of last year.

INDIA.

A New Labor Party.

The Labor Party and Kisan Party has been formed in Madras. Its first act was to protest against increased taxes on the necessities of life.

The Board of Directors of the G. I.P. Railway in India are about to introduce in their railway staff council based on the Whitley system.

A long strike of the Ahmedabad Mill hands has at last been terminated, the reduction of wages is to be 15 instead of 20 per cent.

JAPAN.

Labor in Japan.

Some weeks ago the Japanese Government raided the Socialist headquarters, suppressed the radical press, and threw into jail certain persons who had criticised its policy. The police are now turning their attention to labor, and it is expected that many of the prominent labor officials will soon be arrested. On May 27 a lecture to workers, organized by the Kansai Federation, was broken up by the police. More than 10 speakers were seized, and there were hand-to-hand fights between the police and the excited audience.

Factory Workers in Osaka.

The average working day for factories in Osaka is 9 hours women in spinning factories work about 10 hours. The shortest work is that of mechanics, which averages 8½ hours a day.

The average income of the male factory worker is nearly double that of the women.

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