

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:

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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 self-actor 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 R.O.M.P.
Congress protected 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 and evidence went 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.

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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 Sen.-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

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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.

Editorial Page of The Canadian Labor Press

DANIEL McCANN, Manager. CHAS. W. LEWIS, Circulation Manager.

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A WEEKLY NEWS LETTER.

ORGANIZATION

The slogan of the Trade Union movement is organize. We see the word organize wherever we go. To our humble mind the word organize is not generally understood in its best sense.

Let us for a moment look into the book of nature and see if we cannot learn something from it. Take the bees as an illustration. They are an organized body, not in numbers only, but organized mentally.

The ant is another fine illustration. They are most industrious, they make provision for long periods ahead. A flock of birds when migrating will keep back nurses for those who are sick.

What a boon it would be to us as workers if we could copy from the ant or any of the others mentioned. How can we expect anything different than what we have if we are not intelligent enough to get it? Even fishes in the sea move in organized bodies.

You cannot trace in any activity of a people anything otherwise than what has been said, that organization must take place before there is much advance. In the past organization has been accomplished by the ruling class, in the political field we can see where the workers fighting for better things in industry will vote for their masters when called upon to do so.

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MEXICAN TRADE

(Continued from page 1)

views. He knows that the Mexican people can not be lifted by their own bootstraps. They go up or remain down as the workers of other nations go up or down.

Mexico secures the bulk of its supplies from the United States. It expects to spend hundreds of millions of dollars here in the next few years. It intends to spend this money in such a manner that it shall help and not injure American workers.

Contracts for "Fair" Firms. Orders for agricultural implements, road building machinery, fire apparatus and various other manufactured products have already been placed with American concerns recommended by officials of the Machinists' Union, Mr. Davison said.

Naturally, this policy has aroused the "open shop" crowd in this country and they are making a mighty howl about discrimination. A few months ago they sent their petted hireling, Ole Hanson, into Mexico, to see what could be done about it. He made a



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number of attempts to persuade the government out of its program, but he didn't get far with his work. Then they sent Mrs. H. L. Gaidis, chairman of the woman's section of the United States Chamber of Commerce. She, too, failed in her mission of converting influential Mexicans to the "open shop."

They are ready to pay gold for materials and supplies, and they assume the right to conduct their internal affairs in their own way. They claim the right to buy from whom they please, on such terms as are mutually satisfactory to buyer and seller.

Exposed "American Plan" Mr. Davison explained to Mexican officials what the "open shop" really means. He made short work of the so-called "American plan," pointing out that it wasn't American at all, but the reverse of it.

I think it is pretty generally understood in Mexico that those who represent the "open shop" in America are the real enemies of Mexico," said Mr. Davison. "They are believed to be the same interests that have financed revolutions—the great injury of the people, the same crowd that is to-day clamoring for

intervention, not in the interest of the Mexican people, but in the interests of those who have been exploiting them."

Mr. Davison points to action taken by the American Plan or Open Shop Conference of Connecticut, as an indication of how the situation is to be met by American manufacturers of the "open shop" variety.

The Connecticut Open Shop Conference took cognizance of a letter written by Antonio I. Villarreal, secretary of agriculture, addressed to William H. Johnson, president of the International Association of Machinists, stating the purpose of the Mexican government to purchase several million dollars worth of farm machinery and implements and requesting that Mr. Johnston supply the names of firms that are fair to organized labor.

In a series of resolutions that are being sent to Senators and Representatives and the various commercial lobbies at Washington "this request and proposed action" are denounced as "a discrimination by a foreign government in favor of a principle inimical to the best interests of the industrial life of the United States," and, the resolutions state, "should be looked upon with disfavor and as an act unfriendly to the people of a nation whose good graces it is seeking." The resolutions then continue:

"The American Plan or Open Shop Conference of the State of Connecticut, in meeting assembled, in the name of and for American industry, protests against any interference by

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a foreign government with the industrial problems of the United States, particularly when such interference tends to discriminate in favor of a principle un-American in character and contrary to the best interests of American industry."

"It is not enough that Mexicans are willing to purchase from Americans, paying the price demanded," said Mr. Davison. "They must be forced to buy from manufacturers who treat workers as commodities and foreign nations as objects for exploitation."

Count on Public Opinion. The Mexican government, Mr. Davison declares, feels that American public opinion will support a movement that directly helps the American people and only indirectly benefits Mexicans. Organized labor has agreed to protect Mexico's interest by exercising supervision over goods being manufactured for it, thus eliminating all species of graft and commission. That will be a definite gain.

But the real, the underlying thought back of the whole proposition," he adds, "is a conviction on the part of Mexican authorities that they can raise the standard of their own workers by assisting in maintaining the standards of workers of a nation that will, by reason of its close proximity, continue to exercise a great influence upon the lives and methods of those who reside across the border."

It is an admixture of broad humanitarianism and sound business. It is the antithesis of the hateful policy of some American manufacturers of getting as much as possible, giving as little as they are forced to give, and using force to accomplish their purposes when other plans fail."

MINE WORKERS TO MEET.

Indianapolis.—The biennial convention of the United Mine Workers of America will be held in this city beginning Tuesday, September 20. The convention call refers to the international constitution which provides that delegates shall attend at least one-half of the meetings of their local unions for six

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HIGH TAXES ANNOY Philadelphia.—Income and excess profits taxes are extremely annoying to textile manufacturers in this city, who object to government agents questioning them on their returns. The Textile Manufacturers' association has written to President Harding, urging that these investigations be stopped.

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UNION LABOR AND ENLIGHTENED

(Continued from page 1.)

workers and employers. Actually, however, there are many more factors. There are workers of many kinds. There are the workers that the world calls unskilled (but let those attempt it who have never done so), and the workers known as skilled workers. There are foremen and superintendents; men who must apply themselves closely in small spaces and men who have much freedom of motion. There are engineers of many kinds, including employment engineers who are now coming to be recognized as indispensable in big industries. There are employers who have no relation except that of investor, to the industry from which they draw their income. There are employers who have the direct relation of executive. And there are executives who have no investment relation to the industry to which they give their effort.

If there were some process by which all desires except the desire for fairness, for justice, could be taken from men engaged in or connected with industry our troubles would cease. But there are other powerful desires in industry and since these so frequently oppose and overpower the desire for fairness and justice, there must be some restraining power, or industry would shortly be unable to live and function at all.

The desire for justice has much competition today. This competition is found in the movement for what employers call the "open shop," which is not an open shop at all.

I doubt whether most Americans have a true idea of what is going on. I doubt whether they fully understand the magnitude of the issues which are at stake and what it means to have the rights of man defeated.

The trade union movement is the greatest defender of the rights of man today and upon it falls the burden of maintaining them. The rights which are imperilled are rights that have to do with conduct in and around the work places of the nation. That is where the trade union movement has its existence and that is where the line-up of forces is determined.

If employers, investors and the various kinds of retainers and aspirants for place and power who make up what is known as the employing world are determined to restrict or destroy rights which the working people consider essential then it must be clear that the organizations of the working people will form the line of opposition to the employers.

The line has been so formed. The struggle today is for workshop rights, for the extension of workshop democracy, for the development of a workshop program that shall be in keeping with the democratic principles that form the basis of our political organization.

Even when the enemies of labor have sought to use the political machinery for the limitation of rights of workers, the struggle is essentially a workshop struggle, for all of the restrictive and coercive legislation against which labor protests is calculated to converge on the workshop, affecting what there transpires.

The trade union objects to much that employers are doing and trying to do today, not because American labor has any dogmatic opposition to employers per se, but because labor believes thoroughly that there is a better way, not only for labor, but for all and believes that better way is that proposed by the labor movement.

There is no mystery about what labor proposes. There is nothing involved or devious about it. Labor, being at all times true to the elements of life, thinks from point to point, in direct line. Labor does not have its being in the realms of "deals" and "schemes" and "shrewd" moves. It takes raw materials and makes finished products. It uses tools to gain definite results. It seldom possible to misunderstand labor. The pursuits of men are more than a little to do with their manner of expression.

Labor believes that the agreement between workers and employers, negotiated in conference, based upon experience and operating to secure justice, is the most important contract in all human relations today. It is reciprocal instead of one-sided. It gives the largest possible measure of justice to the workers and it gives guarantee of stability and co-operation to industry. Only when there is an agreement, freely entered into by the workers, writing to definite terms their obligations and their rights, can there be the highest free contributions of human labor energy to industry. An agreement is the channel through which labor pours into industry its greatest effort, its most intelligent effort, its constructive thought. But more than that, it is the document through which complete revolution is wrought in the principle of conduct of industry. From the moment in which workers and employer negotiate and agree upon terms, hours, conditions and wages, the principle of autocratic domination gives way to the principle of democratic operation. That is the vital point in the whole question of labor relations and it is precisely that point that arbitrary and reactionary employers fear to pass. King John before them struggled over the same principle. King George the First struggled over the same principle. The late Czar and the ex-Kaiser did likewise. Every great force that has stood against this principle has, in the great hour of decision, been compelled to give way.

Enemies of labor seek to make much of the idea that only non-union labor is "free." The truth is that in complex modern industry the only free labor is organized labor. The only workers not laboring under terms and conditions arbitrarily imposed upon them from a source wholly foreign to themselves, are the organized workers. Is it not an anomaly, the employers organizing to make great expenditures of money to insure the freedom of their employees?

The employer says to the organized workers: "We will give you a job at so much a day of so many hours."

The employer says to the organized workers: "We have come together and agree upon what each of us shall give and what each shall receive from the other."

Union men are the only free men in industry because they are the only men who have anything to say about what they shall do, under what conditions it shall be done and how much they shall get for doing it.

The reason employers in some instances put forth such violent opposition to organized labor is that it is the change from autocratic control to democratic control. The basis of calculation is changed. And if employers were not in some instances short-sighted the change would be accepted unanimously and gladly as benefit to industry and to mankind in general.

Only careful surveys by competent engineers could reveal the staggering losses to industry caused by arbitrary rule. There have been estimates of the colossal losses suffered each year by the steel trust because of its refusal to adopt enlightened employment policies, including negotiating with organized workers, but only a detailed examination and the most careful comparison could reveal anything approaching the real loss. Some employers can not believe that the workers have motives unlike their own. Let those employers find out the production loss caused each year by autocratic control of industry. The nation pays the bill for this obduracy in a definite loss of consumable commodities.

Labor turnover is but one of the many ways in which industry suffers from arbitrary control. There is practically no turnover

in organized trades. Railroads have little turnover. The printing trades have almost none. The union shop-stops turnover.

Turnover is the name that employers have given to the hiring and discharging of men, or to the quitting of men and the hiring of replacements. The only recourse of the non-union worker, when conditions goad him to resentment is to quit. This he does and he forms a great restless, roving army, roving in and out of factories and mills, always under protest, usually staying in one place only long enough to find another place, his only possible protest being of a character which makes stability impossible and mobility inevitable.

Figures gathered by the United States Department of Labor show that over a period running from 1910 to 1919, in a given number of plants maintaining a labor force of 211,768 workers, with its contractions and expansions, it was necessary each year to hire 256,404, while each year 248,128 were discharged or quit. This was more than equal to a complete annual-turn of the force. This is not only unorganized industry, it is disorganized industry. That it is non-union industry goes without saying, though unfortunately the Department of Labor in its report neglects to say so. The figures given indicate only on a small scale what is happening throughout industry where there are no unions. And the cost of that great turnover that vast disorganized protest, that blind striking back of individuals in desperation, is paid by the nation as one of the invisible tributes paid at the feet of autocracy.

The worker has no assurance of justice, except by chance or accident, when he has no organization through which he can counsel and act with his fellows.

Added to what may be termed the normal injustice of industry as it has come to be, there are the current attacks on the organizations which labor has built up and which must be discussed here. These attacks are aimed from different directions, but they have a single object. If they should be successful they would bring upon American industry a great chaos in which there would be no guarantee for anyone.

The so-called open shop movement is solely an attack upon organized labor. Employers may cloak their purposes in whatever language their lawyers can devise; it remains a movement to break down trade unions so that employer dictatorship may be unquestioned and unchallenged. It did not need the testimony of Charles Schwab, eloquent though it was, before the Lockwood housing investigation committee in New York, to establish the purpose of the "open shop" movement. In every community, where there is an "open shop" campaign it is marked by two unvarying characteristics: It is conducted by organized employers and it is directed against organized workers. It seeks to disrupt unions and it seeks to abolish collective bargaining, which is better described as negotiation and joint agreement between workers and employers.

The organized employers who are giving their energy and their money to "open shop" campaigns have no more thought of actually establishing a condition where union men will be permitted to work freely than they have of divorcing themselves from the idea of making profit. When did the slave owner fight for the freedom of his slaves? When did the baron make sacrifices for the freedom of his serfs? In addition to the economic havoc which lies in the idea-back of the "open shop" campaign, the campaign in itself is a falsehood. The idea is to establish a shop in which a union man may not work. These organized employers talk about freedom of work, but they mean freedom of employers to deny work, to withhold the right to work from union workers. Union workers would be penalized.

It is worth noting that the organized employers kept their "open shop" campaign plans under cover during the war. It would have been too painfully unpatriotic then to have denied co-operation to the workers who withheld nothing from the nation in its need. But the moment the armistice was signed the industrial warfare was launched and strangely and paradoxically enough under the name of "the American plan," a piece of brazenness unparalleled. There are those who in addition to suffering from economic myopia also have no sense of shame.

It is appalling that the injunction still lives. It is appalling that today a judge may enjoin members of a union from making written or oral mention of the fact that a strike exists. It is appalling that there are judges who will make use of this barbarous and medieval instrument, that there are bar associations that will permit such judges to remain members, that there are communities that re-elect such judges, or presidents that re-appoint them. If there were a more effectively developed sense of social justice and of the eternal fitness of things in our national life the injunction would be ranked with witchcraft as something about which old men and women might grow wonderingly reminiscent before incredulous young people. The whole business of judicial defiance of the constitution and of our fundamental law is so flagrant, the assault upon guaranteed rights so violent and unblushing that its continuance is one of those marvels for which our time offers no explanation. History may explain the curious mental twist that permits this thing, but the people generally today are too close to the event to understand it.

The manifestations of employer reaction to which I have called attention are examples of lack of scientific conduct of industry. If science in industry aims at anything it must aim at securing reciprocal relations, concord and justice; it must aim at securing a free will contribution of the highest measure of effort and intelligence and it must aim at securing organization. The economy of organization is a fact established scientifically.

When science first interested itself in the field of industry in behalf of increased production it overlooked the most vital factor in the equation and sought to treat human beings as materials. Most industrial scientists have seen this error and on this account science is beginning to make progress and to demonstrate its power for good.

Workers are human beings whose labor power is a part of their lives, to be expended or withheld on the basis of free will action. That is the first postulate to engineering success in industry and most of the high-grade scientists accept that principle without reservation. That being so, the group slavery idea of the Kansas law, of the Cummins-Eech law, of the whole governmental tribunal concept, becomes impossible and effective only as a bar to production.

Likewise the "open shop" becomes a menace to production because of its hostility to union men, its denial of their group rights and its defiance of democratic expression.

Trade unionism is a prime factor for the increase of production. Trade unionism is interested vitally in increasing the volume of production. It rejects wholly the false doctrine of restriction of output as a means of helping the worker. It develops the intelligence and skill of workers and opens a direct channel by which that higher intelligence and skill may be poured into productive processes. Man for man, throughout the country, the most productive, the most efficient, the most expert workmen are the workmen who are members of unions and who have the mind and the consciousness and the craftsmanship that unionism develops.

In addition to giving him an agency for the defense of his rights, the union gives the workman a medium of gaining knowledge about the industry of which he is a part. The worker is no longer a blind cog in a massive machine. He knows some-

thing of the whole problem. And the more he knows of the whole problem the more valuable he is to the industry.

It is at this point that industrial scientists may be of tremendous service. They can take the information of industry and give it to the worker for his enlightenment and for the quickening of his interest in the industry. The normal human mind craves information; it fights against darkness and in time loses interest in a darkness unilluminated.

Repetitive operations especially demand the attention of scientists. How much have needlessly repetitive processes caused will never be known. What a mass of suppressed resentment and hatred there is among workers who must submit to them can never be known. We only know that here and there a suicide results, a manic results, a broken home results. For such of these processes as are imperative there should be all of the surrounding enlightenment that science can give. Men, for one thing, are entitled to knowledge as to the purpose of their work, as to where it fits in the great scheme of things.

It is just to demand that workers know the facts about costs, about supplies, their source and the reliability of future supply, about overhead and operating costs and about where their product goes and why it goes there. Science, if it will, may weave romance into many a dead and dusty corner of industry, into many a weary, heavy life. The coming of steam took out of the life of labor that which made it full and rounded, that which made it a life fit for human beings, taxing and rewarding the skill of hand and brain, and science must give it back.

Reaction thinks that the well-springs of human hope that manifest themselves when the workers speak for better lives and for more of freedom, can be dried up and destroyed by repressive and coercive measures. They think only as far as the iron hel. They know nothing of the psychology of masses of workers, they know nothing of the longings and hopes that fill their hearts. They plan by the ledger and the monthly balance sheet.

Scientists are under no such limitations. Engineers know better. The workers, quick to detect any false note in plans involving human life and human rights, rejected with unanimity and bitterness, the original Taylor system and its allied distortions. The workers knew the fault and time has amply justified their verdict. It is now generally admitted, even by its former foremost advocates. But most scientists of industry have found the missing links and have given humanity, human rights, human aspirations and human impulses their proper place and full valuation.

Labor courts the functioning of these men.

COMPANY "UNION" OPPOSED.

Chicago.—The United States railroad labor board has again opposed the Pennsylvania railroad's company "union," this time as the result of a protest by the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks. The dispute started over the methods by which the railroad and the union would negotiate working rules and the railroad launched its company "union."

"The evidence shows," said the labor board, "that a large majority of said employees either did not participate in the election held by the carrier or their votes were thrown out. The representatives elected by a minority of the employees have since been negotiating new agreements for rates to be imposed on that class, including the majority who did not vote, or those whose votes were thrown out."

The board orders another election to be participated in by all employees, says these are violations of the railroad company's duty to select representatives to negotiate working rules.

The labor board also rules that the railroad company was wrong in refusing to allow the name of any organization to go on the ballot. "The act is nothing in the transportation act to justify this course," recognizes the existence of organizations of railway employees, and the right of the men to belong to such organizations is no longer seriously questioned in any quarter.

STORES IN COMPANY BARN

Washington.—Postmaster General Hays has notified first and second class postmasters to grant leave of absence to clerks to attend the annual convention of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, if the services of the clerks can be spared without impairing the service. Such absence will be charged to the employees' annual leave or vacation.



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PASS PACKERS' BILL

Washington.—By a vote of 48 to 38 the senate accepted the conference report on the bill to regulate the packing industry. Bills passed by both houses were thrown into conference, where the matter was discussed for over a month by representatives of both branches. The senate receded from its position on practically every point. It was charged in the senate that several provisions in the house bill were written by attorneys for the meat packers. One of the most important of these taken from the federal trade commission is the power of investigation unless ordered by the secretary of agriculture. In this case the packers have won a distinct gain over the commission, whose investigations have opened the people's eyes on methods by the packers. Another senate proposal would establish uniform systems of accounting. This also was defeated. The progressive senators voted for the conference report on the theory that it at least accepted the principle of packer regulation and that for a start it is better than nothing.

ENGLISH CONFAB FAILS

London, England.—The big industrial conference, called by the government more than two years ago, seems to have failed, and representatives of the employers and workers on the joint committee of the national industrial council are resigning.

The committee was formed in February, 1919, and two months after issued a report that was unanimously approved by the national industrial council and accepted in principle by the government. Nothing has happened since that time and one paper states that "it is not easy for a body of men to keep their self respect under such circumstances."

When this movement was launched it was agreed that the national industrial council would consider and advise the government on industrial questions. The government declared its willingness to proceed at once with the legislative and other steps necessary to give effect to the reports, but a coldness on the part of government officials has appeared and nothing has been done with the recommendations.

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LABOR UNIONS ARE BULWARK AGAINST "REDS"

Samuel Gompers Warns Employers of Atlantic City of Underlying Dangers from Sovietism.

Denouncing what he termed the "open shop drive," now being waged by many of the big employers of labor throughout the country, Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, also warmly defended the Labor movement in America during an address before members of the Kiwanis Club. Insisting that Labor is fully justified in organizing for the purpose of protecting the workers against "an industrial autocracy," Mr. Gompers, in warning tones, declared:

"Anyone who thinks that the great mass of workers of this country will be denied the opportunity afforded them through organized Labor, and the facilities thereby given, to better their condition, reckons without his host. Labor will not submit tamely to dictation. It is unfair to try to crush the workers between the upper millstone of greed and the nether millstone of Sovietism. The employers of the country will either deal with us or they will be forced to deal with others whose ideals and standards are not on so high a plane."

His words were construed to mean that Sovietism, in his opinion, would follow in the wake of a successful effort by employers to break up and destroy Labor unity, and his prediction was heard in deep silence by the Kiwanians, the great majority of whom are themselves employers. Praising Labor unionism as he opened his address, Mr. Gompers said:

"There is no honest aspiration, of any human being, this much-misunderstood Labor movement will not aid. There is no wrong against which our Labor organization will not emphatically protest. To bring relief into the lives of the toiling masses is its sole aim."

"To take the child from the factory and shop and place him in the school, the home, the playground, is the aim of the Labor movement, so that the perpetuity of the Republic may be assured. In peace and war the Labor movement has stood true to the Republic and to our allies. My hat is off to President Harding for launching the Disarmament Conference, but organized Labor took that stand years ago, and remain solidly in favor of such a course among the nations of the world. No organization is more patriotic, more willing to serve the American Republic."

Mr. Gompers referred to an editorial printed in The New York Times and denied the charges that he and the members of the American Federation of Labor were deserters.

"A newspaper, The New York Times, makes an attack upon the American Labor movement and upon me in particular, and says that we are deserters." He asked "Desert of what? Desert of whom? Whom we say that we insist upon the right of freedom and association, the right to be heard by representatives of our own choosing, the right to have a voice in deciding the terms and conditions of employment, is that desertion? If that is not an American right I do not know what, the rights of an American are."

"The defiance is on the part of those who attempt to withhold or deny these inherent and immutable rights."

"Continuing, he said: 'The Labor movement in this country has been conservative, constructive and progressive, and it comes with its grace from employers to follow, in the treatment of labor, the same methods prevailing among the rulers of Soviet Russia. One man holds the Soviet rule in greater contempt than I, and the rank and file of those in the Labor movement. We are opposed to the dictatorship of any other group. The time has passed when the workers will regard themselves as less than any other sovereign citizen of our great land. All we want is an opportunity to confer on mooted points and to decide them in a manly fashion, which is the same thing as saying an American fashion.'

Strike and Federal Governments were urged to inaugurate extensive plans for public improvements as means of preventing the present employment situation from becoming more acute, in a formal proclamation issued by the Executive Council of the Federation.

The council declared that the employment situation was becoming alarming to the extreme and voiced the prediction that unless public credit was raised at this time, the feeding of the hungry and starving would soon become a pressing problem here. At the same time the council protested against further wage reductions, urged workers not to accept them, and declared that the reducing of the purchasing power of the wage earners was a false economic policy which is rapidly demoralizing industry.

HOW TIMES CHANGE

Newark, N. J.—Organized street car men in this city are operating stores in 12 car barns in this vicinity and doing business valued at \$100,000 a year. It is stated that savings to these workers range from 12 to 18 per cent over prices in privately owned stores. The street car men also operate a sick benefit fund which pays \$10 weekly for 12 weeks and \$5 a week for 15 additional weeks. A voluntary savings fund has been established in each barn and it is now proposed to start a building and loan association.

These unionists say that "whatever is saved in wages is added to wages," that "whatever men do for themselves gives them self reliance," and that "the advantages which the men obtain through their several instrumentalities of self-help tend to place increasing value upon their jobs."

TIMELY QUESTIONS

(Continued from page 1)

tion," said the memorandum, "which will legalize or sanction, under the guise or description of 'peaceful picketing,' a practice which has come to mean seeking to compel a man by terrorism to abstain from doing that which he has a legal right to do, could not be advised."

"Peaceful picketing is legal in England, directly and solely as the result of the political influence of organized Labor," commented Mr. J. W. Wilkinson, Edmonton, in moving the protest, "and until the same condition is brought about in this country Labor will have to put up with the worst of things."

Clean Up Work

In a brief evening session the convention, disposed of considerable business without much argument. Several delegates denied the suggestion of President Mosher of the Brotherhood of Railroad Employees that the address voted against his organization had been influenced by the United States headquarters of international organizations.

The Congress approved its continued affiliation with the International Federation of Trades Unions; gave its "unqualified endorsement" to the effort being made by the book and job branches of the printing trade to establish a 44-hour working week; instructed its Executive to grant all assistance in its power to bring about that result; decided to continue to press for representation on the Canadian Railway Commission; and recognized again the desirability of the two-platoon system for fire-fighters with a day of 12 hours and a week of not more than 72 hours.

Railwaymen Meet

At a meeting of members and delegates of the C. B. of R. E., plans were considered for holding a convention of the organization next week in this city. After the meeting adjourned at noon to meet in the afternoon, it was announced that no decision had taken place over the action of the Trades and

CANNOT TAX CO-OP. PROFITS

London, Eng.—British workers have won a victory over the government's proposal to treat co-operative societies as corporations and make their surplus subject to the corporate tax. The government held that profits are profits, whether found in the treasury of co-operative societies or private companies or private profits. The workers held that profits of the co-operative societies are not profits in the ordinary sense—that profits of the private trader are made out of the consumer for the benefit of themselves, while the profits of the co-operatives are the savings of the consumers made by trading with themselves. The House of Commons accepted the workers' view point.

The government claimed that the profits of the co-ops, amount to \$30,000,000 a year and the proposed tax would take but \$150,000. The workers replied that \$150,000 was \$150,000 too much.

BACK TO THE LAND IS URGED

Washington—Representatives of the A. F. of L. are urging congress to pass national reclamation legislation that will open the way to the development of arid and waste lands in every section of the country and at the same time relieve the unemployed through establishment on the land of those now unable to secure land or secure work. At least half a dozen bills, each containing admirable provisions, are before congress. The A. F. of L. representatives believe there is sufficient favorable sentiment to secure passage of a single comprehensive measure, providing sufficient interest is shown by the constituents of members of congress. The trade unionists are conferring daily with members of congress in representatives believe there is sufficient favorable sentiment to secure passage of a single comprehensive measure, providing sufficient interest is shown by the constituents of members of congress. The trade unionists are conferring daily with members of congress in representatives believe there is sufficient favorable sentiment to secure passage of a single comprehensive measure, providing sufficient interest is shown by the constituents of members of congress.

One of the principal immediate benefits of such a program, as seen by the labor representatives, is that it would open the way to former service men to secure homes and to gain a permanent status in American life, and that it would do the same for unemployed industrial workers.

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