

THE LABOR WORLD

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HUNTING A SOLUTION.

While politicians are running round in circles hunting a solution of the increasingly difficult and tremendously important railroad problem, which has during the past three months reached an acute stage, owners of railroad securities have gone to the source from which the only practicable, workable and abiding remedy has emanated—the workers.

President Harding, too, has evidently wearied of the selfish and ineffectual advice that has been so freely offered by railway managers, gamblers, speculators and their professional lobbyists, for he also is calling in representatives of the workers and giving respectful hearing to what they have to offer toward composing a situation that is more critical than many Americans yet realize.

It must be perfectly clear to security owners, as it will eventually be to President Harding, that the workers, in their advocacy of a democratized transportation system, have no axes to grind. Naturally, they seek stable and satisfactory working conditions, which they know are not attainable under the existing system, but in securing them they are equally anxious that the public interest, which they recognize as coming first in the determination of all domestic problems, shall be adequately safeguarded.

Organized railroad workers have been insisting for more than two years that private management of the railroads has outlived whatever of usefulness it may once have possessed. They realized, perhaps a little more poignantly than other groups of Americans, the inherent defects of a system that gave first and greatest consideration to the selfish ambitions of the banker-speculators who have employed transportation as an instrument of oppression and extortion, not only of the workers, but of all the people.

In the face of much abuse and misrepresentation railroad employes have offered a solution that was rooted in a correct conception of the relation the railroads should maintain toward the public. They have contended that transportation exists solely to supply a public need, and that when this fact was recognized all other questions would be resolved automatically and satisfactorily. It is because congress and the railway managers have disregarded the public welfare that the carriers are today facing bankruptcy and the nation ruin.

The most monstrous law ever foisted upon an unwilling people was the Cummins-Esch bill. It sought to guarantee the profits of railroads without any regard to the effect of this provision upon those who were called upon to pay these profits. The immediate result of this law was to impoverish millions of farmers, manufacturers and business men, without in the slightest degree yielding to the railroads any of the things they expected to secure through a measure written by their own experts.

There may be some Americans so guileless as to still believe that private management can be patched up and made operative, but their number is decreasing with each new revelation of incompetency, waste and graft, and those who blithely declared a few months ago that they wanted anything but government ownership are now singing a different tune. For it must be patent to every honest thinker, as it is patent to security owners, that the only ill that afflicts the railroads is inefficient and crooked management, and that it can be removed only by destroying the system under which it developed.

ENDANGERS LIBERTY.

Voluntary arbitration of industrial disputes is founded upon the rights of the parties to the questions at issue to have the decisive voice in reaching an agreement. Mutual consent in all the details of arranging the terms of settlement is essential to a harmonious conclusion.

Differences which cannot be adjusted by the parties themselves are referred, by nomination of all contenders, to a person who has no direct interest in the matter. The understanding, actual or implied, of both parties in issue is that the decision rendered by the nominee of both shall be accepted as final and made as effective as though it were the mutual decision.

This form of arbitration is founded upon the acceptance of both parties to

an issue of the principle that gives each the right of full control over the issues each is contending for. It is a logical relationship, founded upon reason, insuring the peaceful conduct of industry, and establishing a proper relationship between workers and their employers.

Compulsory arbitration of labor disputes destroys the principles of bargaining, for both employers and workers, which the voluntary system accepts and, in a measure, guarantees. By the compulsory method, neither employers nor workers have any right in the selection of the arbitrator. His interest in the question in dispute is a mere matter of chance. His opinions as to the rights of the contenders may or may not be prejudicial to either. In any event, he is a fixed quantity, and to his judgment must be left the conditions of labor for the period determined upon.

There is, however, a greater question involved than the mere character of the judge or his opinions. Back of his decision stands the force of the state.

Through compulsory arbitration by law, the workers as workers and the employers as employers are restrained in the exercise of their individual rights in wage negotiations. By this act the state takes control of a purely personal relation.

Acceptance of this principle, in itself, endangers liberty. Generally applied to all personal relations, it will destroy liberty and breed tyranny. Slavery is the natural offspring of tyranny.

Aside from endangering the liberty of all the people, the results achieved by voluntary arbitration of industrial questions prove the compulsory method is wholly unnecessary. Statistics of the division of conciliation of the United States department of labor establish this fact. In 1920, there were nearly 700,000 workers involved in cases that were voluntarily adjusted.

These statistics embrace only those disputes in which the department actually took part. There were thousands of others in which the negotiations were carried on by workers and employers through trade agreements.

Advocates of compulsory arbitration in industrial disputes are toying with a dangerous gun. They are shooting at the workers, but the target they hit is liberty.

ONLY EXPLOITERS BENEFIT.

Immigration creates grave industrial problems for the American people, and, if continued, will most likely produce serious financial disturbances everywhere by withdrawing the labor power from Europe, one of its chief resources for the reconstruction of its industrial and agrarian activities, and consequently one of its principal means of paying off its war debts.

These figures of the influx to this country of the foreign born have been supplied by the bureau of immigration of the United States department of labor:

Table with 2 columns: Year, Total aliens in customs and language. Rows include 1913-1919 and a total for 1916-1919.

In the four-year period of 1916-1919 the wages for unskilled labor advanced to such an extent that native born workers engaged as common laborers, which fact tends to show the fallacy of the belief often expressed that American workers will not accept employment as common laborers.

Men who understand the labor movement know that the native wage worker will accept employment in every calling which will enable him to maintain the American standard of living.

The American wage earner did this during the war years, and no one was compelled to make sacrifices, or to hardships were endured because of his improved economic condition. These years so forcibly demonstrate the fallacy that our national industries must rest upon low wages, long hours of labor and miserable working conditions.

On the other hand, they show that the maintenance of a high American standard of living conduces to higher labor efficiency, for the volume of commodities produced by the American wage workers during the war was so great as to astound the world.

If it is the purpose of the advocates of immigration by this means to assist the oppressed people of all countries to a better life and to advance the interests of humanity in general, they are being led astray by false sentiment into a course of social pacifism. The greatest benefit that may

be conferred on humanity, particularly in Europe at this time, is to aid the struggling people of that continent at home by providing the means to enable them to recover from the effects of the war by giving life to their industries.

The political side of the question should also command the interest of those who believe in republican government. There is no doubt that decreasing the population of European countries by immigration of their working people, and consequently reducing in like degree, the forces of democracy, the monarchist system will be rejuvenated, and in some countries possibly returned to power. Europe needs every one of her sons and daughters who love freedom to stand guard at home over the liberty won for them in the war.

Immigration apparently offers an easy road of escape from the economic and political difficulties arising out of the war, but in reality it only aggravates the troubles from which the world now suffers.

No problem of life was ever solved by running away from it, and those well-meaning persons who sentimentally favor unrestricted immigration are not safe leaders, even for the immigrants, for they are leaving a land that needs them to enter a country choked with unemployed workers. Their coming here will serve only to increase the measure of the world's misery.

UNION LABOR MUST LEAD.

There can be no question but that organized labor of America falls the mission of leading in the great movement of guarding the human and civil rights of all workers—the right to organize, to cease work, to dispose of patronage, to bargain collectively with employers, to speak freely, to peacefully assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances.

There are no other means than organized labor by which labor may make known its needs, its aims or its purposes. Without this voice to speak for it, it is beyond the power of man to conceive what the present condition of labor would be, or what the condition of the country would be were the plans of the general run of labor haters put into practice.

This thought in the minds of stout-hearted and far-seeing men and women of the labor movement moves them to greater activity in their endeavor to impress the truth upon the people.

This thought, on the other hand, inspires the weak to look with hope to this labor movement to stay "the hand of the strong, which they feel will oppress them unless a force from their own ranks rises up in their defense.

This fear of oppression is historically sound. The strong have always crushed the weak. The strong instituted serfdom, they established slavery, they imposed long hours of labor, they paid low wages, they founded the "pluck-me" company stores, they exploited the labor of children, they robbed the women workers in the factories, they have done everything that could be done to oppress the weak.

Organized labor has come to their rescue and has remained on guard in the life-saving station. It has sponsored nearly every law on the statute books of nearly every state to protect the weak against being preyed upon by the strong.

Organized labor is true to its historical mission. The men and women of labor know that the safety of the toilers for today, and their hopes of liberty for the future, are centered in the organized labor movement of our country. Its highest expectations can be realized and its great trust can be discharged through the co-operation of all the workers.

The logic of the industrial situation should impel every trade unionist, every representative of organized effort of the workers, to use all the powers with which nature has gifted him or her to unite the forces of labor in a solid phalanx, not only to repel attacks directed against the labor movement, but to march steadily forward to the attainment of the rights to which the workers are entitled.

THE UNORGANIZED?

Unorganized workers have no voice in fixing the terms of their labor. They have two alternatives: Accept the terms laid down by organized employers or get along as best they can.

In our time, we are not called upon to deal with individual employers. Industry is so developed and wealth so concentrated that we are confronted in nearly every avenue of employment with the associated interests of the employers.

Workmen as individuals in our day are as much at the mercy of the employers as is the rudderless ship at the mercy of the waves.

The labor movement, however, confronts each new economic situation as it arises, ready to give succor to the weak and defenseless, and ready to speak for them with the voice of organized power.

Labor is defenseless, is weak, has no voice only so long as it chooses to remain in that condition. The labor movement is open to every man and woman who works with hand or brain. It recognizes no aristocracy among the toiling masses. Born of a common interest, it welcomes all on terms of

equality. Its strength is limited only by the strength of the men and women who compose it.

All the economic advantages which the unorganized worker enjoys is a mere reflex of the activity of the men and women of the labor movement.

The standards of hours, the rate of pay, the working conditions—all are graduated from the trade agreements prevailing in the organized trades. The man or woman, then, who holds aloof from the union of his or her craft, while accepting the benefits which accrue from that organization, is not only taking something for which no service is rendered, but is checking a movement which can give greater benefit to all in the trade were all engaged in the trade a part of it.

Unorganized workers gain everything and lose nothing by attaching themselves to the trade union movement. By remaining unorganized they retard their own development as freemen and check the progress to a better life of all who labor.

LOSING INTEREST.

A hammock, heavy laden, swung slowly and gently in the spring moonlight. Sadie's smooth blond head—only slightly touched—rested snugly on Bill's shoulder, while her smooth cheek rubbed a smudge of rice powder into his right lapel. Bill's good right arm was clamped into what the sporting editor would analyze as a "body hold and wrist lock," and he was talking in the best tones of his voice. They were the same tones the old time "con" men used to use as they wrapped a \$20 bill with a piece of soap for sale to the unsuspecting public.

"Darling," said Bill, and the honey dripped from the short syllables, "when I am with you, I feel that I have a chattel mortgage on happiness."

Sadie looked down at her undecorated left hand and reflected that a solitary on the third finger would shine beautifully in the moonlight. Slowly she lifted her long lashes, carefully darkened with mascara and looked Bill full in the eye. "Why don't you foreclose, Bill?" she murmured.

"I'm afraid I'd lose interest," answered Bill and thereafter the hammock swung untenanted in the spring breeze.

If there were more people in the United States who were afraid they would lose interest, this country and its inhabitants would be far more prosperous. Too many are letting their dollars run around loose and uninvested. They are losing interest not only in money but in their future, their safety and their independence.

Interest, either financial or mental, can come only through careful and wise investment and grows with each investment. The accumulation of a competence and financial independence is dependent on interest. You can acquire that interest both financial and mental through investment in government savings securities. Buy treasury savings stamps and treasury savings certificates and you need never be afraid you'll lose interest.

MAKE EVERY MINUTE COUNT.

Organization of labor is more necessary now than at any previous time in the industrial history of our country, not only to attain industrial peace, but also for the progress of those who work with hand or brain.

So long as a nation's energy is armed and in fighting trim, so long is it necessary for her self-respecting, virile, progressive and loyal people to be prepared for any condition which may confront them.

What is true of nations is true of the workers of a nation. The toilers must be united in numbers, in sentiment, in spirit and in principle. They must be prepared to defend their rights and to advance their interests by making every reasonable effort to improve their economic condition by establishing the shorter work day and resisting wage cuts.

The more thoroughly the workers are organized and federated, the better they are prepared to enter into a contest, and the more surely will industrial conflicts be averted. Militant trades unionism is essential to industrial peace.

AN IMPUDENT CLAIM.

The graduate school of business administration, Harvard university, has issued what it declares to be "probably the first dictionary of labor terms as used by organized labor ever published."

The dictionary gives this definition of the "open shop": "The dictionary ignores repeated declarations by organized labor that the 'open shop' term is a tricky device used by anti-union employers in an attempt to conceal their hostility to collective bargaining and the right of employes to be represented by persons of their own choosing. The claim that organized labor accepts the 'open shop' term is impudent."

The authors of the dictionary announce that it is intended for the use of employers "to enable them to secure a better understanding of the point of view of their (?) men."

Manufacturers are so well pleased with the prospect of the early approval of a tariff bill that they are jacking up prices in anticipation.

ROUGH BUT EFFECTIVE.

This is the way they treat recent legislators in Poland. The peasants of Galicia elected one Michael Marek as a member of the Diet, which is the national legislature. During the campaign Michael made a lot of promises concerning what he would do if honored by the voters of his district, but when he got down to Warsaw he listened to the siren song of the lobbyist and forgot the pledges he had made to the good people of Galicia.

When the Diet adjourned Michael returned home to fix up his fences in preparation for another campaign. He made a speech telling of his work in Warsaw and endeavored to explain the incident of the broken pledges.

The peasants listened attentively. When he had concluded, instead of applauding they took him by the arms, gently but firmly, and led him to an adjacent wood. Then they removed his clothing and applied a cat-o'-nine tails to his bare back.

Brutal! Yes. But we are willing to wager a little money that Michael's successor, when he goes to Warsaw, will keep away from the lobbyists and will not forget the pledges he made the folks back home.

THE REAL AMERICAN.

The 100 per cent American is a man who has respect for his own rights, and the rights of others, and will so order his life as to possess not only the courage but the strength to redress wrongs, and in whom self-consciousness is sufficiently powerful to preserve these qualities, which are dependent upon clean, strong bodies and capable minds.

He believes in education, patriotism, justice and loyalty.

He believes in civil and religious liberty and in freedom of thought and speech, but not the license which interferes with the rights of others.

He possesses the chivalry that protects the weak and promotes veneration and love for parents, and the physical power that is needed to make that chivalry effective.

He thinks clearly and speaks straight and thus conquers envy, slander and fear.

He believes in and upholds the dignity of labor, and with it the education which makes democracy worth while and protective of the interests of all.

LET YOUR WANTS BE KNOWN.

People who refuse to make an effort to help themselves have no right to ask others to make the effort for them. Perhaps the organized workers think you are satisfied and they do not want to pry your pockets open with a crowbar in order to put better wages in them.

Perhaps they think you would rather give an extra two hours to the employers every day instead of spending them with your family.

Perhaps they think you would rather work under poor conditions instead of good conditions. Join the union, then they will know what you want and will help you get it.

WHY DOES CHINA CRY?

Were there no labor movement, what would be the condition of the people of the country today? The answer to this question will be found in China—famine, pestilence, misery, signs on every street corner of the land, calling for aid to the starving and the homeless of China, advertise the benefit to our people of our own labor movement.

Organized labor is the only force that stands between the people and the conditions which prevail in China. The union enhances the standard of life. A true American will welcome and support any institution which raises the standard of living.

PURPOSES OF UNIONS.

The trade union movement inspires to higher ideals about the rights of working people; it endeavors to impress upon the minds of the workers the necessity of patience, perseverance and hopefulness; it aims to eliminate indifference, apathy and despondency; it encourages a higher standard of living with more home comforts, and a more diversified and useful education for the rising generation.

The government, declares the New York Herald, gets "skinned" every time it gets into a business deal. The reason is that the government persists in doing business with "skinnedners."

Trying to court back prosperity with advertising is putting some lurid claims of newspapers to a rather severe test. They may discover, a little late, that it is wiser to stick to propaganda.

"Keep one eye on German manufacturers," warns Charley Schwab, on his return from Europe. While about it, it might not be amiss to keep the other on the home crowd.

The island of Yap is not much larger than a hotelkeeper's gall duct, but it is plenty large enough to get us into a full-sized war unless blustering diplomats are suppressed.

Judging by the fuss she is making about that indemnity, it might be imagined that Germany intends paying it.

Political democracy is the forerunner of democracy in industry.

Reasons Why British Miners Suspended Work

WASHINGTON, April 14. — The strike of coal miners in England involves several issues, but the outstanding feature is the attempt of these workers to hold their positions of unified mine control, established by the government, and national wage standards.

As the result of the miners' strike that started in October of last year, a national wages board was set up. The government has controlled the price of coal and its distribution, and its plan to turn the mines back to their owners is opposed by the miners, who insist that plans should first be worked out that will stabilize this industry. The miners are fearful for their gains if unrestricted private control is again established.

The railway workers are linked up with the miners and transport workers in a voluntary pact called the triple alliance, but the railway workers are more than sentimentally interested in the miners' cause as government control of the railroads is to end next August and their general wages board and other gains will be jeopardized, as is the miners.

The miners are committed to the nationalization of mines and this was endorsed in 1919 by the British Trades Union congress by a vote of 4,478,000 to 77,000. The government suggests that the royalty rights of the mines be acquired and the managements of these properties be unified.

The nationalization demand seems to be a less important point at this time, but the miners' strongest claim for nationalization is that the great inequalities, because of physical conditions, in the mining industry gives low-cost mines the advantage over high-cost mines.

The miners insist that every ounce of coal possible is necessary for the economic life of England and that mine production should be on the basis of low-cost mines aiding those of higher cost, and that this is only possible by nationalization.

The so-called Banker commission, appointed by the government, reported in 1919 in favor of nationalization. The government rejected this recommendation and advanced the plan of securing mine royalty rights. The miners charge that the government agreed to accept the commission's findings.

At the recent time the usual claim of inefficiency is made by the coal owners against the miners, and the latter reply that the coal owners, with the consent of the government, raised the price of export coal to continental Europe to a disgracefully high price in order to reimburse the national treasury. This injured England's export trade, and the home consumer is now called upon to maintain profits and the miner is asked to lower working conditions.

How Sly Propogandists Mold Public Opinion

In the story headed "What the Cables Say" is the regulation anti-union story printed in American newspapers with a London date. In the story "What the Facts Are" is a compilation from government statements, from the London press and from English trade union publications.

Attention is called to the propagandist's "clever" manner of first spreading the poison that labor is responsible for much of the unemployment, and then inferring that "the causes of the present crisis" are unknown.

What the Cables Say. One of the chief bones of contention between the government and the trade unions is the persistent refusal of the builders to permit dilution of skilled labor by employment of unskilled former service men. There is not an unemployed bricklayer in the country and work could immediately be found for 100,000 men, resulting in employment being provided for painters, plumbers, laborers, etc. In the face of these facts the 50,000 former service men are forced to remain idle.

The tendency here for some time has been to regard every trade as a close prerogative.

Whatever the causes, the present crisis is causing widespread misery in the country and the out-of-work donations and other government doles are generally looked upon as merely palliative.

What the Facts Are.

The building craftsmen refused to dilute their membership by the admission of ex-service men on the ground that this was no solution to the unemployed problem. The government offered the unions 15 for every ex-service man admitted. The unionists showed that this meant that those of their number who were now working would be laid off to give employment to others. On a referendum conducted by the National Federation of Building Trades their plan was rejected by a vote of 310,000 to 2,500. Among those voting were approximately 60,000 ex-service men who are members of the building unions.

The government has failed to present any constructive remedy for the unemployed problem, and its subsidy scheme is laughed at by the unionists, who charge its sponsors with other purposes.

HOME WORK SYSTEM DESTROYS CHILDHOOD

In an investigation of children engaged in industrial home work in three Rhode Island cities, made by the United States children's bureau, it was found that 8 per cent of all the children between 5 and 15 years of age had at some time during the year done factory work in their homes, either by hand or machine. They assembled jewelry, strung beads, finished lace and underwear, carded snaps and shoe buttons and performed many other simple operations incidental to manufacture.

In the majority of cases family need was given as the reason for the home-work. This work, however, added but little to the family income, since the average earnings per family during the year from this source was only \$48. Over one-half the children were unable to earn as much as 5 cents an hour.

Many of the children worked not only after school but also in the evenings; some worked exclusively at night. A few of the children who worked all day in factories or stores also worked at home every night and eye strain was commonly reported. Teachers and school officials stated that home work interfered with the school attendance an dthe quality of home work.

The homework system makes a factory out of the home, and the workers are subject to hazards from which they are not safeguarded by law, says the report. The health of the community is endangered by the use of the clothing and other articles made in homes in which infectious diseases are present.

More than half the employers interviewed stated that it would be possible to make readjustments in their factories if the system of home work were abolished.

LACK OF SOCIAL FAITH CAUSE CO-OP. FAILURE

The failure of co-operation on this continent can be traced largely to a failure to appreciate the existence of a social faith, says the Canadian Co-operator, whose editor declares that "we cannot build up a strong co-operative movement without co-operators; we cannot make good co-operators of people who know nothing of co-operation, without steady and persistent education in the history and philosophy of the movement. It is not a question of temperament, but of co-operative temperament. As Professor Stuart put it years ago in Britain, 'Education is the life blood of the co-operative movement.'"

"While the co-operator incidentally derives material advantages from co-operation, the men and women who have made this movement what it is today have put far more into it than they ever expected to get out of it, because of their passion for social service, their confidence in the social and moral value of co-operative principles and their ambition to contribute to the evolution of a happier social order."

"Our weakness on this continent has always been the inadequacy of our facilities for co-operative education, and the widespread practice of economic co-operation before the fundamental principles have been understood and appreciated. The societies which have the true co-operative spirit and a clear vision of the objects of the movement are too few in number and are financially not strong enough to adequately provide the necessary instruction on a national scale. In consequence, hundreds of societies have been organized in the past which never had a chance to succeed. The promoters were applying principles they did not understand and to which they were not sincerely attached."

The lack of coal is proving a menace to industrial Europe.

Advertisement for The First National Bank of Duluth. Text includes: 'Duluth Is a Place of Good Gardens Have You Purchased Your Garden Seed? The Money, the Work—Put into a Garden pays—in Health, in Satisfaction, in Dollars— BE A PRODUCER HAVE A GARDEN The First National Bank OF DULUTH CAPITAL, SURPLUS AND PROFITS \$2,000,000.00 MEMBER FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM'