

H.J. Res. 559 is neither of those, and is designed to *prevent* such infinitely broader and more extreme intrusions on free collective bargaining. Its relation to "compulsory arbitration" is the relation that a vaccination for smallpox, which contains a minute element of the virus, has to the disease itself; and that a tetanus shot has to lockjaw.

The War Labor Disputes Act, during World War II, was "compulsory arbitration" and "seizure." It covered every part of every labor dispute in the country; gave the War Labor Board the unfettered right to impose on the parties whatever settlement the Board members might devise; was a substitute for bargaining instead of a process for completing it; and provided for Government seizure as an ultimate sanction.

Australia has compulsory arbitration—established by a law which provides in advance of any dispute arising that all "industrial disputes" as to all "industrial matters" shall be arbitrated; and then goes on to define industrial matters as "all matters pertaining to the relations of employers and employees and, without limiting the generalities of the foregoing, to include—

- (a) all matters or things affecting or relating to work done or to be done;
- (b) the privileges, rights and duties of employers and employees;
- (c) the wages, allowances and remuneration of persons employed or to be employed;
- (d) the piece-work, contract or other reward paid or to be paid in respect of employment;
- (e) the question whether piece-work or contract work or any other system of payment by results shall be allowed, forbidden or exclusively prescribed;
- (f) the question whether monetary allowances shall be made by employers in respect of any time when an employee is not actually working;
- (g) the hours of employment, sex, age, qualifications and status of employees;
- (h) the mode, terms and conditions of employment;
- (i) the employment of children or young persons, or of any persons or class of persons;
- (j) the preferential employment or the non-employment of any particular person or class of persons or of persons being or not being members of an organization;
- (k) the right to dismiss or to refuse to employ, or the duty to reinstate in employment, a particular person or class of persons;
- (l) any custom or usage in an industry, whether general or in a particular locality;
- (m) any shop, factory or industry dispute, including any matter which may be a contributory cause of such a dispute;
- (n) any question arising between two or more organizations or within an organization as to the rights, status or functions of the members of those organizations or of that organization or otherwise, in relation to the employment of those members;
- (o) any claim that the same wage shall be paid to persons of either sex performing the same work or producing the same return or profit or value to their employer;
- (p) any question as to the demarcation of durations of employees, whether as between employers and employees or between members of different organizations; and
- (q) the provision of first-aid equipment, medical attendance, ambulance facilities, rest rooms, sanitary and washing facilities, canteens, cafeteria, dining rooms and other amenities for employees;

and includes all questions of what is right and fair in relation to an industrial matter having regard to the interests of the persons immediately concerned and of society as a whole . . ."

That is compulsory arbitration.

It is exactly what H.J. Res. 559 is designed to *prevent* happening in this country.

Public Law 88-108, adopted to meet the railroad crisis in 1963, turned out in operation to be "compulsory arbitration." The Congress tried, there, to limit the "arbitration board" by providing that—

"It shall incorporate in (its) decision any matters on which it finds the parties were in agreement, shall resolve the matters on which the parties were not in agreement, and shall, in making its award, give due consideration to those matters on which the parties were in tentative agreement . . . (and) to the narrowing