

CAPITAL, LABOR HOLDING ALOOF; CRISIS MENACES

President's Mediation Commission Finishes Survey of Labor Unrest

WAR FANS GRIEVANCES

Northwest Lumber Operators Blamed for Giving I. W. Opportunity

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20.—Elimination of profiteering, the eight hour day, less inconsistency between "our democratic purposes in this war abroad and the conduct of some of these guiding industry at home, and the recognition of some form of collective relationship between capital and labor as a principle in a national

labor policy, are the principal recommendations of President Wilson's mediation commission which just has finished a survey of the labor unrest west of the Mississippi river, which the government considered most menacing to successful prosecution of the war.

In return for this, the commission holds, labor should "surrender all practices which tend to restrict maximum efficiency," when it is assured of sound conditions and effective means for just redress of grievances.

Oil Dispute Included.

The commission headed by Secretary Wilson of the department of labor, went west principally to look into the copper strikes in the Arizona district and the I. W. W. activities in the lumber districts of the Pacific northwest. It included in its investigation, however, the dispute in the California oil fields, the threatened strike of Pacific Coast telephone operators, the threatened strike of packing house workers in Chicago, and the street railway trouble in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

Generally, the commission found that uncorrected specific evils and the absence of a healthy spirit between capital and labor, due partly to the evils mentioned and partly to "an unsound industrial structure" were the main causes of the industrial difficulties arising since the war began. The commission says that while "anistler influences and extremist doctrine" have availed themselves of these conditions, they have not created them.

"The overwhelming mass of the laboring population is in no sense disloyal," says the report.

A means of correction suggested by the commission outlines as follows:

1. The elimination to the utmost practical extent of all profiteering during the period of the war is a prerequisite to the best morale in industry.
2. Modern large scale industry

has effectually destroyed the personal relation between employer and employe—the knowledge and co-operation that come from personal contact. It is therefore no longer possible to conduct industry with employes as individuals. Some form of collective relationship between management and men is indispensable. The recognition of this principle by the government should form an accepted part of the labor policy of the nation.

3. Law, in business as elsewhere, depends for its vitality upon steady enforcement. Instead of waiting for adjustment after grievances come to the surface there is needed the establishment of continuous administrative machinery for the disposition of industrial issues and the avoidance of an atmosphere of contention and the waste of disturbance.
4. The eight-hour day is an established policy of the government of the principle also in war times. Provision must of course be made for longer hours in case of emergencies. Labor will readily meet this requirement if its misuse is guarded against by appropriate overtime payments.
5. Unified direction of the labor administration of the United States for the period of the war should be established. At present there is an unrelated number of separate committees, boards, agencies, and departments having fragmentary and conflicting jurisdiction over the labor problems raised by the war. A single-headed administration is needed, with full power to determine and establish the necessary administrative structure.
6. When assured labor conditions and effective means for the just redress of grievances that may arise, labor in its turn should surrender all practices which tend to restrict maximum efficiency.

Uncorrected Evils Hinder.

7. Uncorrected evils are the greatest provocative of extremist propaganda, and their correction in itself would be the best counter-propaganda. But there is need for more affirmative education. There has been too little publicity of an educational sort in regard to labor's relations to the war. The purpose of the government and the methods by which it is pursuing them should be brought home to the fuller understanding of labor. Labor has most at stake in this war, and it will eagerly devote its all if only it be treated with confidence and understanding, subject neither to indulgence nor neglect, but dealt with as a part of the citizenship of the state.
8. At length the commission records its search for the "real cause" of the labor unrest and comes to these conclusions:

"The conclusion cannot be escaped that the available man power of the nation, serving as the industrial arm of war, is not employed to its full capacity nor wisely directed to the energies of war.

"The effective conduct of the war suffers needlessly because of interruption of work due to actual or threatened strikes, purposeful decrease in efficiency through the strike on the job, decrease in efficiency due to

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labor unrest, and dislocation of the labor supply.

War Intensifies Faults.

"There are not new conditions in American industry, nor are their causes new. The conditions and their causes have long been familiar and long uncorrected. War has only served to intensify the old derangements by making greater demands upon industry and by affording the occasion for new disturbing factors.

"Among the causes of unrest, familiar to students of industry, the following stands out with special significance to the industrial needs of war:

"Broadly speaking, American industry lacks a healthy basis of relationship between management and men. At bottom this is due to the insistence of employers upon individual dealings with their men. Direct dealings with employees' organizations is still the minority rule in the United States. In the majority of instances there is no joint dealing, and in too many instances employers are in active opposition to labor organizations. This failure to equalize the parties in adjustments of inevitable industrial contests in the central cause of our difficulties. There is a commendable spirit throughout the country to correct specific evils. The leaders in industry must go further, they must help to correct the state of mind on the part of labor; they must aim for the release of normal feelings by enabling labor to take its place as a cooperator in the industrial enterprise. In a word, a conscious attempt must be made to generate a new spirit in industry.

"Too many labor disturbances are due to the absence of disinterested processes to which resort may be had for peaceful settlement. Force becomes too ready an outlet. We need continuous administrative machinery by which grievances inevitable in

industry may be easily and quickly disposed of and not allowed to reach the pressure of explosion.

Capital And Labor Apart.

"There is a widespread lack of knowledge on the part of capital as to labor's feelings and needs and on the part of labor as to problems of management. This is due primarily to a lack of collective negotiation as the normal process of industry. In addition, there is but little realization on the part of industry that the so-called labor problem demands not only occasional attention but continuous and systematic responsibility, as the technical of financial aspects of industry.

"Unimagined specific grievances, when long uncorrected, not only mean definite hardships; they serve as symbols of the attitude of employers and thus affect the underlying spirit. Hours and wages are, of course, mostly in issue. On the whole, wage increases are asked for mostly in order to meet the increased cost of living, and such demands should be met in the light of their economic causes. Again, the demand for the eight-hour day is a national wide, for the workers regard it as expressive of an accepted national policy.

"Repressive dealing with manifestations of labor unrest is the source of much bitterness, turns radical leaders into martyrs, and thus increases their following, and what of all, in the minds of workers tends to implicate the government as a partisan in an economic conflict. The problem is a delicate one. There is no doubt, however, that the Blaine and Jerome deportations, the Everett incident, the Little hanging, and similar acts of violence against workers have had a very harmful effect upon labor both in the United States and in some of the allied countries. Such incidents, the Little hanging and similar symptoms rather than causes. The I. W. W. has exercised its strongest hold in those industries and communities where some form of protest against unjust treatment was inevitable.

"The derangement of our labor supply is one of the great evils in industry. The shockingly large amount of labor turnover and the phenomenon of migratory labor means an enormous economic waste and involves an ever greater social cost. These are evils which flow from grievances such as those we have set forth; they are accentuated by uncontrolled instability of employment. Finally, we have failed in the full use and wise direction of our labor supply, falsely called "labor shortage," because we have failed to establish a vigorous and competent system of labor distribution. However, means and added resources have been recently provided for a better grappling with this problem.

Labor Not Disloyal.

"It is, then, to uncorrected specific evils and the absence of a healthy spirit between capital and labor, due partly to these evils and partly to an unsound industrial structure, that we must attribute industrial difficulties which we have experienced during the war. Sinister influences and extremist doctrine may have availed themselves of these conditions; they certainly have not created them.

"In fact, the overwhelming mass of the laboring population is in no sense disloyal. Before the war labor was, of course, filled with pacific hopes shared by nearly the entire country. But, like other portions of the citizenry, labor has adjusted itself to the new facts revealed by the European war. Its suffering and its faith are the suffering and the faith of the services of the men in the armed forces, the greatest sacrifices have come from those at the lower run of the industrial ladder. Wage increases respond last to the needs of this class of labor, and their meager returns are hardly adequate, in view of the increased cost of living, to maintain even their meager standard of life. It is upon them the war pressure has borne most severely. Labor at heart is as devoted to the purpose of the government in the prosecution of this war as any other part of society. If labor's enthusiasm is less vocal, it is its feelings here and there in some of the conditions of the industrial environment in which labor is placed and which in many instances is its nearest contact with the activities of the war.

"Too often there is a glaring inconsistency between our democratic purpose in this war abroad and the autocratic conduct of some of those guiding industry at home. This inconsistency is emphasized by such episodes as the Blaine deportations.

Lumber Operators at Fault.

"Personal bitterness and more intense industrial strife inevitably result when the claim of loyalty is falsely resorted to by employers and their sympathizers as a means of defeating sincere claims for social justice, even though such claims be asserted in time of war.

"So long as profiteering is not comprehensively prevented to the full extent that governmental action can prevent it, just so long will a sense of inequality disturb the fullest devotion of labor's contribution to the war.

"While the unrest in the Pacific northwest lumber fields focuses on the eight-hour day, the commission believes the lumber operators themselves, by their unyielding opposition to trades union organization of labor, have created the opportunity for the I. W. W.

"This unpromising attitude on the part of the employers has reaped for them an organization, of destructive rather than constructive radicalism," says the report. "The I. W. W. is filling the vacuum created by the operation. The red card is carried by large numbers throughout the Pacific northwest. Membership in the I. W. W. by no means implies belief in or understanding of its philosophy. To a majority of the members it is a bond of fellowship. According to the estimates of conservative students of the phenomenon a very small percentage of the I. W. W. are really understanding followers of subversive doctrine. The I. W. W. in seeking results by dramatizing its and by romantic promises of relief. The hold of the I. W. W. is riveted instead of weakened

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by unimaginative opposition on the part of employers to the correction of real grievances—an opposition based upon academic fear that granting just demands will lead to unjust demands.

"With specific grievances removed destructive propaganda extensively preached in the Pacific northwest will lose its strongest advocate. Counter propaganda and positive education then have an easy opportunity to supplant fanatical doctrines."

The settlements of all the situations taken up previously have been announced. While the commission investigated the celebrated Mooney case in San Francisco and has recommended that President Wilson use his influence with the State of California to get Mooney a new trial, the case is not touched upon in the summary of the report made public here today. The commission's recommendations on that subject previously had been published.

WILLIAMS AND BROWN CONFER

Sub-Committee in Congress Must Be Won Over by Coos and Douglas

Disposal by congress of the Chamberlain bill providing for the sale of the Coos bay wagon road grant lands and the apportionment of money from the sale thereof on whether Coos and Douglas counties and Attorney General Brown can make a sufficient showing in favor of the bill to change the minds of members of a sub-committee of the committee on public lands which has reported against the bill. A statement to this effect was made yesterday by Attorney General Brown after a conference with S. W. Williams of Washington, D. C., special assistant of the federal attorney general. Williams drafted the Chamberlain bill.

By the Chamberlain bill the government would sell the lands at their actual value. From the proceeds the government would pay the Coos Bay Wagon Road company \$2.50 an acre for the lands, and covering the period 1909 to 1916 would pay in back taxes to Coos county \$23,636.45, or with penalty and interest \$326,693.95, and to Douglas county \$32,463.55, or with penalty and interest, \$42,162.66. The remainder of the amount would be apportioned as follows: 25 per cent to the counties for the school, road and court funds; 25 per cent to the state for the irreducible school fund; 40 per cent to the federal reclamation fund, and 10 per cent to the federal general fund.

The sub-committee in congress is holding out against any apportionment to the state and counties, after the company has been paid its \$2.50 an acre and the counties have been paid their back taxes, making the argument that the government should

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