

2. That as craftsmanship can no longer furnish the base on which labor organization can grow, unionism, group action, will have to build itself up on a base as broad as the whole educative process itself instead of on the particular educative process of a particular craft. Even today the real strength of unionism is that unions are effective consumers' organizations with a primarily educational interest. As this fact gradually sifts through the minds of employers and managers they will gradually see that the most inefficient thing they can do is to fail to co-operate with such a great source of energy. The organizations of workers, on their side, can, when once that stand is taken, be counted on to consent to all that makes for efficiency. They will do this because in all legitimate enterprises—which are all enterprises where real service to the public is the test—the workers and the management will be equally concerned in perfecting the service. And at the same time, under constitutional industrial relations, they will contest the share in the management and the share of the product between themselves and with the consumer.

3. That the inter-relation of the forces we have outlined—the forces of efficiency and consent—is constantly taking place in the world today in all kinds of crude and unorganized ways. Here and there real elements of inter-organization between efficiency and consent appear. But for the most part the labor agreements in operation today are looked upon by employers as a necessary evil and by the workers as steps in their assertion of their rights as consumers and having little detailed relation to production processes. The beginnings of something far better than this are seen in the agreements in the garment trades wherein the manufacturers, the workers and the public are all represented as parties; and in certain kinds of organization which are being worked out in a few business concerns. There is still too little of real accomplishment in this direction to enable us to predicate with any certainty what the course of the development in details of organization will be by which efficiency and consent are made continuously revitalizing agents for each other.

Yet I believe that the point has been reached where it is profitable to attempt to gather together such experience as has been gained and relate it to the probable development of the next few decades.

With this purpose in view, I submit the accompanying chart.

This chart, it should be constantly borne in mind, is neither a dogmatic nor propagandist document. It is merely a working hypothesis by which to test out the facts of business as they occur daily at the desks of managers and at the trade union council tables, or in the occasional assemblages of unorganized labor. The whole aim of this discussion, as I see it, would be falsified if we deluded ourselves into believing that in any seeming array of facts, we had found the truth. The only unforgivable thing would be that we, as social scientists, neglect to take into consideration any facts of the moment connected with all the forces that do exist; the only thing that seems to me axiomatic is that when forces do exist, they are better when organized, trained, educated, developed and enlisted in an effective way—anything you like—rather than allowed to play among and upon us blindly.

The picture of these forces submitted in this chart may be summarily commented on, as follows. In every form of factory there are human forces at work which, whether they are organized or not, are of at least equal importance with the forces governing sales, production, and finance. These forces take the two aspects of relationship to a growing intelligence on the part of the managers and a growing

intelligence on the part of the employees.

Where these forces are organized they may take the form shown on the chart under the personnel heading at the left end of the factory line and under the co-operative association heading shown at the right end of the factory line. The relation between efficiency and consent is provided for, in the form of organization shown, through the relationship between the research department of the education division and the determining boards and wage boards. The research department is where plans of organization are worked out and where work analysis is done. The determining boards and wage boards, acting on the scientific facts put before them or the nearest approximation to such facts that can be obtained, sanction the findings in the name of the interests of all concerned.

The facts thus put by the research division before the determining boards and wage boards furnish the material for the whole structure of organization and become an inescapable factor at every debatable point. Thus, if appeal be taken from any findings of a determining board, or wage board, to the arbitration board shown on the chart, the case is necessarily considered in the light of the best available facts.

Related to the factory, sometimes by formal agreement and sometimes through the entirely unorganized relationships of its individual members, are the local and district unions, or even the mere incoherent thoughts and feelings of unorganized labor. As organization begins to take any shape at all, it begins to crystallize into some form of a shop-union council wherein the interests of the factory and of the local and district unions are to some extent formally organized. In such forms of organization as the garment trades, the shop union relationship has formally added to it the third relationship of the public.

The questions which come before such a shop-union council divide broadly into questions affecting the conditions of work and questions affecting pay. In the shop-union council's consideration of these questions, the findings of the determining boards and of the wage boards are before it so that here again the best available facts necessarily form the material of the discussion.

As to conditions of work, experience so far tends to show that all questions are arbitrable; namely, they are capable of being decided by an impartial third party on the basis of the facts presented.

Questions of pay, on the other hand, are still so unsupported by scientific basic facts as to be a matter of conciliation rather than of arbitration.

It will be seen in the chart that appeal lies from the shop arbitration board to either the shop union arbitration board or the shop union conciliation board.

At this point, it should be emphasized again that nothing on this chart indicates anything artificial in organization. The attempts that are going on, so far as the chart expresses them, are attempts to strengthen and make saner and sounder the organization of untamed forces which do exist.

This point should equally be borne in mind in the relation of the shop-union council as depicted on the chart to those natural forces which exist in society at large in a more or less unorganized state; namely, consumers' control, whether private or public, the national and international labor unions and manufacturers' associations. These present day forces of social and industrial organization are in their turn more or less crude expressions of three underlying forces shown to us by social psychology, which will in all probability work out between them the society of the future. These three basic drifts appear to be:

