

France, England and other countries, continual inquiries into the workings of scientific management; inquiries into the workings even of this organization. One meets on every hand burning inquiry into the problems of scientific management, as a great instrument of production; and you have in connection with it the principle that Lord Robert Cecil has laid down, that you will not get increased production unless you bring to the task of increased production all the willing cooperation of the men.

II. IN THE PRINTING INDUSTRY

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I am going to be very brief, because the other speakers have a very important message to present. I shall just outline what I have to say, touching the high spots, showing you what one industry is doing along this line. The printing industry includes the type-setters' or compositors' union, the bookbinders' union, the pressmen and feeders' union, the electrotypers' and stereotypers' union and the photoengravers' union. Those are some of the oldest, most aristocratic, and perhaps best run and organized, and with as good leadership as probably exists among unions. They would compare very favorably in make-up, strength and everything else, with the railroad unions. What has been symptomatic of this industry, like other industries recently, before and since the war, has been the tendency of radical leadership to get in control and to promise by direct action that they will secure more for their followers in the local unions than has been secured by negotiation. There has been a tendency in the labor field for radical leaders, Bolsheviks, as they are called by some, I. W. W.'s as they are called by their own constituency, to get in control of the locals, to break contracts, go back on agreements and strike; and by direct action prior to the war, during the war, and since the war, they have been able to give some substance to their contention, "What is the use of negotiating and keeping agreements when we can take you out and get more than in any other way?"

That has not been common to the printing industry alone. It has been common to industrial relations the country over; not only in this country but abroad.

Now, what has happened? There has been a series of strikes,—radical leaders getting in control of the local unions, breaking contracts, going out, and committees of employers endeavoring to handle the problem; men who are trained on production and merchandising rather than on industrial relations, and who bungle the situation. Matters have been very bad; there have been strikes and lockouts, oftentimes disproportionate increases in wages, extravagance, and bad feeling and bad blood.

The bungling on the part of employers and their unfitness in this complex field of labor relations today, seemed to make it advisable for the printing industry to establish a bureau of industrial relations which should guide not only in all the labor negotiations, but should develop a research department. Thereby, what was going on all over the country would be known, so that employers from different localities would come to conferences fully prepared, and could meet the skillful, well-trained, experienced labor leaders, who had the background of labor experience and precedent throughout the country, and would be thereby enabled to meet the employee on at least a fairly even informational basis.

So the National Association of Printers accepted that principle, appointed a committee, and the committee established a bureau of industrial relations, going out after the best man it could find in the country, a man who could bring the necessary professional skill. There are very few men fitted by experience and training for that profession of labor counselor, who are constructive, who are sympathetic, who understand both the position and viewpoint of the employee and the difficulties, complexities and hazards of the employer. The man selected—Mr. Silcox—was a man who was in the forestry service; who at the outbreak of the war had charge of 26,000,000 acres of forest land, including grazing land and water power, in the Northwest. When the I. W. W. mixed up the situation in the spruce region and we were getting no spruce for airplanes, he was sent up by the Government to handle that situation, and he handled it in a wonderful way. He then came to the Department of Labor and was being groomed, I am told, to take charge of the Federal Labor Exchanges. But we secured him for this position—a man of social vision, social sympathy, trained in economics, trained in handling men, understanding both the management's and the men's point of view. He has associated with him an economist who is a specialist in

labor, a man who has been a laborer and who worked his way through college, Professor Bird of Dartmouth; also a Professor of Economics at Mt. Holyoke College, Professor Dietrick, and a Chicago University graduate in research.

No sooner had this bureau of industrial relations been established than a request was received from the presidents of the five international labor unions of the printing industry, saying very frankly that they could not hold their forces in line and that they needed help; that they believed it was a common problem of the employers and of the employees. So it was proposed that the employers and the employees each appoint five men, representing the five branches of the industry nationally, to form a joint industrial council which should work out some constructive plan in connection with the situation.

That was formed. We have had several meetings. The president of the International Typographical Union is the joint chairman representing the employees. I am the joint chairman representing the employers. We have worked together without reserve, disclosing everything; the employers speaking with the fullest frankness of their troubles; the labor leaders speaking with the fullest frankness of theirs.

Then occurred a series of strikes in which this general industrial council was of some assistance. There came a request or a demand from three branches, locals in New York, the Pressmen and Feeders' Union and others, which unions had gotten under the control of very radical leadership. They threatened a strike, demanding a 44-hour week, and, what on printing presses resembles the full train crew bill, almost doubling up the ordinary number of people required to run cylinder presses, and a minimum of \$50 a week in wages, which represented an increased labor cost in one demand of 68 per cent.

The international presidents knew that such a thing as that would break their unions and split the thing all up, carrying a running fight from city to city. The employers knew that it would ruin some of them who had long contracts. Employers in other cities knew that their contracts could not stand in such a situation, and that there would be a running fight from city to city. The international presidents and the employers' at their various conventions agreed that they would recommend—and in the various conventions it was carried—that the 44-hour week ought not to come until it came nationally; and it was agreed that it would be put into effect nationally May 1, 1921.

They further agreed on these four cardinal points as a labor policy:

1. That the industry frankly recognized the cost of living as compared to 1914 as the basic factor in wage adjustments.

2. Industry to pay at least a reasonable living wage; scales below this to be adjusted in frank recognition of the basic principle involved.

3. That, when not in conflict with the existing laws of a constituent body, local contracts be for a period of not less than three years and include a clause providing for annual readjustments of wages based upon cost of living, as determined by authorities jointly agreed upon (and upon the economic conditions of the industry at the time of readjustment).

4. That a uniform standard system of cost keeping is considered fundamental to insure stability, permanence and prosperity to the industry, and to provide a basis for securing a greater degree of uniformity in conditions through the country; a clause to be included in local agreements providing that such a standard system as is recognized by the organization representing the international joint conference council be required.

Having agreed upon the basic principles, and having agreed that the conservative elements represented by the international unions and the employers had got to join hands and stabilize the industry and beat out this radical, irresponsible leadership which was likely to disrupt the entire industry, the question then arose,—What was a fair basis for the cost of living? What was the economic condition of the industry? The labor men said, "We are perfectly willing, if you will bring us up to the advanced cost of living right away, to have our wages go up and down with the cost of living, but we don't want to have wages go down with the cost of living if it can be shown that the economic condition of industry can give us a higher standard of living than we had in 1914. Whenever we have negotiated with printers they have always said, 'Why, the industry cannot stand this increase', and then we have got it. And the industry has stood it. That has happened time after time. Now, what is the use of employers saying, 'The industry cannot afford it', when they can adduce no evidence, no facts, to show that it cannot?"

So that opened up a very interesting situation, and the five presidents of those labor unions agreed that they would pay half of the bill if Mr. Silcox, who had