The first meeting of the subcommittee on Hours, Wages, and Women and Children in Industry was called at 9:30 A. M., October 16, 1919, in Room 354 of the Food Administration Building, Mr. Brookings in the Chair. Miss Tarbell was asked to act as secretary.

All members were present with the exception of Messrs. Atkeson and Mrs. Conboy.

After an informal discussion in regard to hours of daily labor the committee adjourned at 11:15 to meet at 9:30 A. M., on October 17.

Secretary.

[Signature]
COMMITTEE ON HOURS OF LABOR, WAGES, and WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN INDUSTRY.

Mr. Robert S. Brookings, Chairman . . . . 816 Connecticut Ave. (Main 4989)
Miss Ida M. Tarbell, Secretary . . . . . Powhatan Hotel (Main 9587)
Mr. Louis Titus . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1775 N St., N. W. (Franklin 4515)

Mr. Jos. F. Valentine . . . . . . . . . . Bellevue Hotel (Main 800)
Mrs. Sara Conboy . . . . . . . . . . . . Raleigh Hotel (Main 3610)
Mr. W. G. Lee . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Congress Hall Hotel (Lincoln 2000)

Mr. L. F. Loret . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Willard Hotel (Main 4420)
Mr. Homer L. Ferguson . . . . . . . . . . Shoreham Hotel (Main 8460)
Mr. T. C. Atkeson . . . . . . . . . . . . . 305 - 7th St., N. W. (Main 5899)
RESOLVED, that for the purposes of the Conference the classification of parties involved in the consideration of the problems before the Conference be as follows:

Union labor, Government employees, public utilities employees, plant unions (or employees' organizations), general unorganized labor.

Capitalists, management, Government, farmers and general public.

(Introduced by Mr. Feiss, October 8, 1919).
WHEREAS, maximum production is only possible if the full interest of the workman is enlisted in his work, and

WHEREAS, a sound social policy demands that work shall be done under conditions which promote the self-respect of the workman and afford him a sense of worthwhile accomplishment in his work,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that it is the opinion of the Conference that the employers and employees in every factory should unite in bringing about the development of committees freely elected by the employees (whether as a part of the trade union system or otherwise but not in antagonism to trade unionism) for the joint consideration by these committees and the employers of such constructive matters as methods of enlisting workers' interest, and of improving efficiency of production, which are of mutual value to employers and employees.

(Introduced by Mr. Dennison, October 6, 1919.)
WHEREAS, the first need of the country, in order to increase production and to reduce the cost of living, is that all obstructions from whatever source should be removed as soon as possible,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that it is the wish of this Conference, and it is hereby requested, that all who are now in a state of industrial conflict—those employers who have locked out labor, and labor now on strike for any cause whatsoever throughout the United States—immediately resume the status quo, both sides to resume their normal producing conditions without prejudice to their contentions in any existing disputes; agitation and organization on both sides to be withdrawn during a period of three months.

(Introduced by Mr. Landon, October 8, 1919).
WHEREAS, security of livelihood to the wage earner is essential to a sound social program, and

WHEREAS, the worker is not in a position either himself to insure his livelihood against times of unemployment or to demand from his employer such insurance, and

WHEREAS, the cost of such unemployment is borne by the whole community either directly or by a lowered vitality of its working people, and

WHEREAS, State provision of such insurance will be cumbersome and rigid,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that it is the opinion of this conference that each employer, jointly with his employees, should provide for an alleviation of the burden placed upon his employees during periods of seasons of unemployment, and should endeavor to reduce the cost of these measures through rendering employment as stable as possible.

(Introduced by Mr. Dennison, October 8, 1919).
WHEREAS, a serious inequality of bargaining power between employers and employees always imperils industrial peace, and
WHEREAS, equality of bargaining power requires both the right of collective bargaining upon the part of the employees and the right of the employers to deal directly with their employees,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that it is the opinion of this Conference that, (1) employers should at all times recognize the right of their employees independently to organize for the purpose of collective bargaining and should always be ready to meet any group of their employees either directly or through its representation, AND (2) labor should recognize the right of employers to deal with their employees directly, through freely elected shop committees or otherwise, as well as through trade unions.

(Introduced by Mr. Dennison, October 8, 1919).
WHEREAS, there exists at this time no board of arbitration created by the Federal authority and representing the national Government, whose purpose is to promote peace between labor and capital, to prevent disputes by investigation, advice and suggestion, and to settle disputes by arbitration, and

WHEREAS, during the war there existed such a body known as the War Labor Board, which was measurably successful in the adjustment of controversies between labor and capital, and

WHEREAS, while we recognize that organized society is seeking, and the purpose of this Conference is to discover, a method of removing the causes of industrial unrest and strife, nevertheless, we do not feel that any recognized plans of dealing with effects that can possibly promote better conditions can justifiably be neglected or abandoned, and

WHEREAS, we believe it to be the duty of our national Government representing the whole people to assume leadership in this most important of issues,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that we, the Industrial Conference, do petition the President to recommend to Congress the immediate enactment of legislation authorizing the creation of a National Board of Conciliation and Arbitration of relations of labor and capital, such board to be constituted as follows: five members, at least one of whom shall be a woman to be appointed by the President, two members to be chosen by the Senate, and two members to be selected by the House of Representatives. The remainder of said board shall consist of ex-Presidents of the United States and the Secretary of the Department of Labor.

Said board shall be available for determination of all disputes between labor and capital. It may act as a board on request by the parties to a controversy or may appoint one of its members to act as third party where each
party has appointed a representative and so requests.

It shall have the right as a board to summon witnesses, to send for parties and papers and conduct full investigations. Any member of such board appointed to conduct a hearing or to make an investigation or to act as third party member of a board of arbitration shall have the power to summon witnesses and compel attendance and compel production of papers for a distance of fifty miles from the place of hearing.

It shall be a condition of any arbitration conducted by this board that in the interests of the public, that both parties to the controversy shall continue or resume normal relations, but that the decision when rendered shall relate back to the date of the controversy and be in its effects retroactive.

(Introduced by Mr. Mc Nab, October 8, 1919)
WHEREAS, the common ground of agreement and action with regard to the future conduct of industry, and the development of a new relationship between capital and labor which the President sought in calling this Conference can only be discovered as we approach the problem in the spirit of justice, brotherhood, and of willingness to put one's self in the other man's place, the coming of which means the substitution of confidence for distrust, of good will for enmity, of cooperation for antagonism; and

WHEREAS, this spirit can be developed only by the resumption of personal relations between employer and employee or the nearest possible approach thereto; and

WHEREAS, some form of representation in industry is essential in order to make personal relations possible under modern industrial conditions;

Now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Conference recognizes and approves the principle of representation in industry under which the employees shall have an effective voice in determining their terms of employment and their working and living conditions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That just what form representation shall take in each individual plant or corporation, so long as it be a method which is effective and just, is a question to be determined by the parties concerned in the light of the facts in each particular instance; and be it further

RESOLVED, That any form of representation to be adequate must include:

1. Ample provision whereby the stockholders and the employees through their respective representatives, shall give current consideration to matters of common interest such as terms of employment and working and living conditions;

2. Any such further provisions, if any, as may be necessary to insure the prompt uncovering of grievances, real or alleged, and their speedy adjustment.

(Introduced by Mr. Rockefeller, October 9, 1919)
Resolved that individual initiative

and enterprise should be encouraged.

(Introduced by Mr. Calloway, October 9, 1919.)
WHEREAS, many strikes have been called in the various industries of the country which have resulted in great detriment to both labor and capital as well as to the detriment of the general public, and

WHEREAS, the general public, whether rightly or wrongly, believe that such strikes were called by a small minority representing the extremely radical portion of the workers, and that were not approved by the majority of the workers involved and would not have been called had the question of calling such strikes been submitted to a general vote of such workers,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that it is the sense of this Conference that no strike should be called without a vote of the workers involved in such strike and that all votes in labor unions or kindred organizations on the question of calling strikes or walkouts be by secret ballot and that the Department of Labor have power conferred upon it by Congress to enforce the carrying out of such secret ballots and to enforce a fair count of such ballots before any strike can be called.

(Introduced by Mr. Titus, October 9, 1912.)
RESOLVED, that in the opinion of the Conference the basic principle of wages should be this, that they should first be equitable under existing conditions and then that without imposing any necessity or occasion for strikes to obtain that end, they should automatically, on the foundation of an agreed upon index number of prices, follow changes in the cost of living. In determining what is an equitable wage, there should be taken into consideration the profits of the industry concerned, the requirements (scientifically ascertained) for normal and wholesome life, with a reasonable margin to be added for comfort, culture and recreation.

(Introduced by Mr. Russell, October 10, 1919).
WHEREAS, membership in or connection with any organization which may resort to strikes as a means of redressing grievances has a tendency to weaken the sole allegiance and responsibility of Government employees to the entire public in whose service they are engaged,

BE IT RESOLVED, that persons engaged in Government service, either national, State, or municipal, should not be or become members of any organization which uses the strike as a means of enforcing demands, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that organizations which embrace in their membership persons engaged in Government service, should not affiliate with any organization which uses the strike as a means of enforcing demands.

(Submitted by Mr. James October 10, 1919.)
WHEREAS, successful production requires that there shall be a managerial force of the highest ability and understanding of the processes of production, and

WHEREAS, the control of a corporation by men not actively engaged in its work tends to create a gap between the controlling body and the working force which leads to misunderstandings and lack of confidence,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that a substantial number of the members of the governing bodies of corporations should be chosen from among the managerial forces, the legitimate interests of all stockholders being duly safeguarded by appropriate contracts.

(Introduced by Mr. Dennison, October 10, 1919.)
WHEREAS, the development of efficiency in production and factory management, by increasing the supply of goods, by reducing the strain of work, and by reducing the friction of management of men, will promote industrial peace and prosperity.

HENCE IT IS RESOLVED that managers and employees of each industrial concern should work together to provide continuous study, development, and installation of improved industrial methods including methods for the increase of producing efficiency, for the reduction of the wear and tear of the work on the body and mind of the workers, for increasing the interest of the work and its power to satisfy the desire of the worker for worthwhile accomplishment, for improving the working environment, for the more intelligent placement and education of workers, for the better adjustment of the work to the man, for the reduction of managerial friction and violations of the self-respect of the worker, and for the better selection and training of foremen and superintendents on the basis of their ability to lead rather than to drive their workers.

(Introduced by Mr. Dennison, October 10, 1919.)
Introduced by Mr. Paul L. Feiss, of the Public Group. No. 29.
October 16, 1919.

WHEREAS, this Conference has been called to study the causes of, and if possible suggest a remedy for, industrial unrest, and

WHEREAS, one of the long-standing causes of industrial unrest is the lack of housing facilities of satisfactory standards, and

WHEREAS, the supply of homes for many years has been insufficient, and

WHEREAS, this shortage has been further aggravated by the unavoidable interruption of home building incident to the war, and

WHEREAS, one of the most important obstacles in the way of home building is the difficulty of providing financial credit, and

WHEREAS, the present situation involves an excess financing cost which increases unnecessarily the prices of workingmen's homes,

BE IT HEREWITH RESOLVED, that the Conference recommend to the President and Congress the immediate establishment of a Federal system for the creation of home loan banks, and for the release of capital for home building. It is urged that such a system shall make effective use as far as practicable of all existing agencies, such as savings and loan companies, building and loan associations, trust companies, and land and title companies, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Government be requested to make immediate study through the proper departments of this entire problem for the purpose of recommending to Congress a system of home loan facilities based upon sound financial and business principles.
WHEREAS, it is generally admitted by all employers of labor in this country that labor is not a commodity but is and should be recognized as an associate of capital; and

WHEREAS, many of our large industries are in process of trying out various bonus or profit sharing plans which not only give the laborer a larger and more direct interest in the result of his labor and such share in management as he is qualified to contribute but, which is of almost more importance, are assisting him in devising ways and means for so husbanding and investing his excess earnings over living expenses as to rapidly develop his property holding interests;

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that this Conference is in full sympathy with and endorses all such plans for the development of a just relationship between capital and labor and favors giving labor such place in industrial management as it is qualified to fill, but more especially a voice in those decisions which involve wages, working hours, living conditions, and that

WHEREAS, the security of industry usually provides reserve or surplus funds to avoid impairment of capital or to insure continued growth and development as well as to care for depreciation and replacement of equipment,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that failing in some practical plan for profit sharing between capital and labor, this Conference recommends that a fund be set aside out of earnings from which bonuses may be paid annually or semi-annually to the wage-earner under such conditions and in such amount as will assist him to accumulate that reserve necessary for the proper protection of himself and family and which fairly represents his contribution to the success of that industry.

(Introduced by Mr. Brookings, of the Public Group)
The Industrial Conference requests its Committee of three
twelve to present forthwith to the Conference specific recommendations
on
1. Industrial Councils on the general plan already placed before
the Conference by the Secretary of Labor;

2. Cooperative Management;

3. Collective Bargaining;

4. Housing and other health measures.

(Introduced by Dr. Eliot, of the Public Group)
INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE,
Washington, D.C.

RESOLUTION FROM LABOR GROUP.

WHEREAS the nationwide strike now in progress in the steel industry of America affects not only the men and women directly concerned but tends to disturb the relations between employers and workers who are our industrial life, and

WHEREAS this conference is called for the purpose of stabilizing industries and bringing into being a better relation between employers and employees, and

WHEREAS organized labor wishes to manifest its sincere and fair desire to prove helpful in immediately adjusting this pending grave industrial conflict, therefore be it

RESOLVED that each group comprising this conference select two of this number and these six so selected to constitute a committee to which shall be referred existing differences between the workers and employers in the steel industry for adjudication and settlement.

Pending the findings of this committee this conference requests the workers involved in this strike to return to work and the employers to reinstate them in their former positions.

Yield mutual of healing up
conscience - called to arbitration
settle in the future conduct of industry
WHEREAS, it is the function of this Conference to formulate a program or plan for the stabilizing of our industrial relations, and

WHEREAS, such a plan to be comprehensive should include provisions for protecting the health of wage-earners, who with their families constitute the largest group, numerically, of our populations, and

WHEREAS, it is the duty and obligation of employers of labor to do everything in their power to safeguard employees during their hours of employment, and is to their interest to see that the health of the families of their employees is similarly protected,

BE IT RESOLVED, that this Conference urge the provision of medical and nursing attendance in all industrial plants of suitable size, with a view to caring for industrial injuries and the general health of the worker in the plant and, where possible, of his family at home, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that where the plant is too small to justify the maintenance of such service, full use be made of existing agencies, particularly the public health and visiting nurses now numbering several thousand and widely located throughout the country, and information be kept available by each plant as to the conditions under which the services of these agencies are obtainable.

(Resolution by Miss Wald, of the Public Group)
RESOLVED, it is the sense of this committee that a basic eight-hour day and a week of six days with a half holiday on Saturday should be encouraged as meeting best the needs of the average worker, but it is also the sense that in view of the great diversity of industries and industrial organization in this country an effort should be made to enact a universally applicable day of 10-8-7-6 or any other number of hours, but that the number of hours which each individual worker or group of workers should labor be left to the determination of managing committees in each plant or group of plants (the wage-earner to be represented on said committees).
WHEREAS the first step in bringing about those new relations in industry which we have been called together to consider, must necessarily be a program in which each subject to be discussed finds its logical place,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: that there must be a reorganization of all industry and of each shop in an industry which will give full representation to all employees - that through this representation collective bargaining should be carried on, all matters that concern the shop and the industry being submitted to this representative board. When matters of wages are before the board full information should be available; cost sheets being submitted, if called for. When an industry or any shop in the industry has not a system of accounting already such system should be installed.

As the primary cause of the high cost of living is under production, each shop should provide scientific methods of educating both management and employees to such economies and improved processes as will raise its productivity to the highest point; the savings and increased profits resulting being divided between the public, management and labor in a proportion to be decided upon by the directing board.

Employees representation in this resolution is not to be construed as excluding unions. Employees should be left free to unionize themselves if such be their preference, though the principle of the open shop should be at all times protected.
RESOLVED: that there should be such a reorganization of industry as will give in each plant or group full representation to all employees; that to the board or council thus created all matters that concern the shop and the industry should be submitted. When questions of wages are before the board full information should be available. When an industry or plant has not already a system of accounting which gives the necessary cost sheets, such a system should be installed.

A system of advancement on merit should be provided that permits any employee to reach the board of directors or the presidency.

Industries should provide scientific methods of educating both management and employees to these economies and improved processes that will raise their productivity to the highest point; the savings and increased profits resulting being divided between the public, management, and labor in a proportion to be decided upon by the directing board(s).

Employees representation in this resolution is not to be construed as discouraging trade unions, but it is the opinion of the conference that the unions should enlarge their program to include the co-operative handling of the necessaries of life, better training in the trade, as well as increased social and cultural opportunities. Employees should be left free to unionize themselves if such be their preference, though the principle of the open shop should be at all times protected.
In case either party in an industrial dispute be refused to deal with chosen representatives of the other party upon a claim of the majority of such representatives, appeal may be allowed to a "Committee to Select Suitable Industrial Representatives" to be named in a manner decided upon by this Conference.