Deceiving ourselves, like the frogs, into thinking we are looking at another man's field when, as a matter of fact, we are seeing only our own, we get no notion of the variety and number of factors each with their peculiar problems which exist, particularly in the industrial world.

The common notion of industry is that it is composed simply of something that we call capital and something that we call labor. Capital we think of popularly as the man with the money, and that all he has to do is to supply the money. The other factor is the man with the hands, and all he contributes is a certain amount of heavy labor. A more primitive and false conception could hardly be.

Industry, as we know it in the modern sense, at least, is composed of a multitude of parts, closely inter-related, one shaping into another. Before money, as money, is of any use in industrial undertakings there must be the primary vision - the man who sees something to do. He may be an inventor, a man with an imagination, or a man with a superior sense of human needs and how to meet them. But there must be that preliminary idea, that preliminary vision. And the men of vision, as we all know, are few.

This man is not necessarily a practical man, though he sometimes is. He rarely possesses capital, though sometimes he may. But if he is to carry out his plans, he must get the thing we call money.

Money or capital, being the result of the past efforts

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of men, of the work of their hands and brains, commands its return; but the idea and the money would go begging if it was not possible to get the engineer, the executive, the manager, to bring into existence a physical plant, an organization, an executive force. And all of these various elements would be futile if it was not possible to command hands to run the machinery.

And there must be still another quality of brain and effort. Whatever the product from the result of all of this imagination and organization and execution and manual labor, it is of little use unless it can somehow be so presented to the consumer, to you and me, that we will feel the need or the want of the thing, so here comes in the thing we know as salesmanship, as advertising. And if there were not great organizations built up for transportation - enterprises built up on the same way as this particular thing of which we are talking, the product would go begging. And, in any case, all of this imagination, organization, execution, labor, salesmanship, transportation, would be useless if the great public did not see in the thing made something that served its ends.

And yet we talk about this complicated development, with its functions so subdivided and specialized; its demand for training, mental and manual, of all kinds; its dependence on other industries, like transportation; and its final and entire dependence upon meeting the demand of the public - as if it were merely two great and hostile abstractions - things we call labor and capital - in an eternal struggle. In the minds of the mass

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There is another very serious question that we should ask ourselves in regard to the widespread conviction in organized labor that militancy is the only weapon by which they can hope to secure justice. What is the relation of such teaching and practice to international peace?

The organized workers of America never hold an annual convention that they do not protest against war between nations, vote for disarmament. But what are they doing to foster the business of war? - a thing much more serious than arms in the problem of world peace, when they hold on to industrial war as their only hope?

There is a contradiction here in practice and profession, that the worker himself possibly does not grasp. He does not see that in his devotion to the strike as a weapon of progress, he is cultivating in the mass of men a spirit which makes for the tolerance of international militancy, - makes men more and more warlike in nature and spirit. It would be a very serious thing if women, to whom, rightfully or wrongfully, we are looking to curb the warlike spirit of the world, should, in their industrial organizations, fall in with this spirit of militancy which has so long controlled organized labor, and which today is being openly taught by the radical factions as the only hope of securing justice.

The fact of the matter is, anyone who knows the way the labor machinery of the country is developing, knows that it is possible to handle practically any grievance through recognized methods of industrial arbitration; that plans have been devised that are so complete, from the shop up to a final federal tribunal,

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that any grievance can have promot hearing and as full and fair an adjudication as is possible in human affairs. It only remains to complete these plans and put them in force. That is, we have the machinery fully proposed, and here and there in operation, handling every phase of an industrial dispute, however extensive, by civilized and peaceful means.

The difficulties in completing this organization and getting it everywhere into action are the human difficulties that lie behind all progress, - the unwillingness on the part of certain leading employers in the country to handle business in any but the autocratic way, on the principle that the business belongs to them and they must have the full control, combined with the spirit that this position has aroused in many labor organizations, the suspicion that they have of the employer, the fear that they have of relinquishing in any way the power that numbers gives them; and back of these and more serious than all is the ignorance of the public, the not insisting that industrial courts and arbitration take the place everywhere of warfare.

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But what do we do? We selfishly and lazily ask for a government which will not trouble us. We want it to protect us, particularly in doing what we please. We ask that it do its work in such a way that we shall not be conscious of it. And, above all, that it shall not make frequent demands upon us.

But what is this but asking that we be cared for by some great benevolent despot?

But when, through out inattention, government comes to be despotic, ceases to be benevolent - as it inevitably will if let alone - then we begin to shriek against greed and exploitation and despotism. They are all true enough, but why are they true? Because you and I have not been doing our part.

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Lecture Mem.

It is in the nature of man to desire to rule. Most men are naturally autocrats, and it is only the grace of God that prevents our domineering, if we get a chance. The man to whom power and fortune has come feels within himself a right to rule all those that he brings into his particular enterprise. This desire to exercise power is one of the fundamental things in us, one of the two or three instincts that make society what it is, - almost as powerful in society as the instinct to love and the instinct to form society.

Most men by nature want to rule, and unless, in some way, there has been infused in them a desire for righteousness and justice, which controls and modifies this law of power, you get all of the disastrous exhibits of autocracy. The motive power that makes a Keiser or a Czar is no different from that which makes a domineering employer or a domineering labor leader. Nothing will ever control this instinct of power, and nothing but growth in righteousness will prevent abuse of power achieved, in any industrial group.

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There you have it. Forgetting, like the Japanese frogs, that our eyes are not on the back of our head, we look into the territory of our colleague in the industrial undertaking and see only the territory from which we came. Unable to comprehend their difficulties because we are looking only at our own, we of course are uncomprehending. Uncomprehending we are unsympathetic. Unsympathetic, we become suspicious. Suspicious, we become autocratic. Autocratic, we become hostile. And hostile, we fight. There you have the psychology of industrial warfare.

The tap root of it is ignorance. And the great laterals that run from this tap root are suspicion, autocracy, militarism, These are evil growths, having no place in democratic soil.

Too many of us go on the pleasant assumption that because we are under a system which we call democracy, that therefore no such growths as this are possible. What we are very slow to realize is something that every thoughtful student of democracy has always insisted upon, that peaceful relations depend entirely upon the general comprehension by all the people of what is going on at all times, within the territory; that there must be knowledge and understanding of what people are doing; and there must be an active, constant fight against the spirit and the practices which are essentially autocratic. Such a comprehension of the quality and the inevitable result of any particular autocratic practice would scotch it at the start, as you would a snake.

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For want of any frank and candid conference over the matter of wages, or adjustment by the rules we have laid down, that is, the relative value of the service and the condition of the industry, there is much want of logic in adjustments. For instance, a concern of which I know, in a prosperous condition, had an arrangement with its executive and laboratory staff for a gradual increase in wages. The first of January this year this was refused on the ground that the cost of living had fallen, therefore they had had their increase in wages. At the same time, one of the members of the laboratory in this firm had his rent raised by something like 25% on the theory that he could afford to pay it because the cost of living had gone down.

Throughout the War we had the most grotesque inflation of both prices and wages, based, not on the facts in the case, but on some outside circumstance that could be seized as an excuse. I know of one case where in an industrial town, thewagaes had been raised, and when the men went to the barber at the end of the week they found the prices had been increased by something like 50% - not on the strength of the conditions in the barber industry, but on the fact that the men had had their wages raised. The elevation of pricesthroughout the War were estimated not on what the goods cost the merchants, and on his over-head, etc., but on what he could get. That is, prices on stocks on hand at the beginning of the War were re-adjusted on the basis of the inflation that had followed.

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of men and women, we may fairly say that when the question of industrial discontent is raised, they see simply two great and powerful ogres in a death grapple.

It is this grotesque and false conception of industry - born of our habit of looking only on the particular field where we belong, that makes it so difficult for us to handle, intelligently and justly, a thing so vital to peace in industry as the proper division of the fruits of this joint enterprise, All of these various talents contributing to the final result must be paid, and it is right that they have, each according to the value of what he has put in, a share of the surplus of the enterprise - the thing that we call profit.

And it is from this pay and this share in the profits that the first and most serious and most widely spread quarrel goes on continually inside industrial life.

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