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# Labor Problems and Labor Administration in the United States During the World War

Ву

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PART I.

Nature and Analysis of the Problem

### PREFACE

The principal aim of this study is to present statistical and other informational data concerning the numerous labor problems that arose in the United States during the recent war, and to outline the development of war labor administration. The data were gathered during the war period and the study was completed shortly after the cessation of hostilities. No pretense is made to discuss the developments that have taken place in the period of reconstruction, except where it has seemed necessary to add data to round out certain phases of the presentation. The conclusions in the final chapter were formulated in the light of the war experiences of the United States and, altho the months subsequent to the signing of the armistice have uncovered developments that may seem to invalidate some of the conclusions regarding the future relations of capital and labor, the author is still of the opinion that his analysis has adequate basis in fact and that future developments will sustain his conclusions.

This opportunity is taken to express the writer's appreciation of the very valuable criticisms and suggestions made by Professor John A. Fairlie of the University of Illinois, who has read the manuscript. The author is especially indebted to his wife, Anna E. Watkins, whose constant coöperation has made this study possible.

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### INTRODUCTION

It is now a commonplace observation that the World War caused unprecedented readjustments in the political and economic organization of the belligerent powers, and in its wake left many unexpected modifications in the social structure of the civilized world. Perhaps no similarly brief period in the history of the world has been so pregnant with unique national experiences, and surely none has resulted in more far-reaching political, economic, and social readjustment. In almost every department of national life the familiar, under the pressure of innumerable exigencies of the titanic struggle for national existence, gave way to the novel both in the realm of the theoretical and the practical. We found ourselves accepting, as a modus vivendi ad interim at least, theories and policies that, altho not foreign to us, had not been unqualifiedly endorsed. For the student of history, whether social, political, or economic, it is much easier to think of the period of the World War in terms of revolution rather than of evolution, and to interpret the events of that time he must accordingly adjust his mental perspective.

To those interested in the development of economic theory and economic policies the war period was especially rich in interesting experiences, for there was not only widespread disregard of commonly accepted economic doctrines, but a wider abandonment of customary economic practices. At every turn in the road of economic reorganization for war the freedom of the individual was restricted and the power of the state augmented. As we shall point out later, this unprecedented development of government regulation took place in all departments of our industrial organization, but nowhere was that development more interesting and, at times, more extensive than in the field of labor. The important place which labor holds in productive processes necessitated careful consideration of hitherto neglected problems of industrial relations which became more serious during the great emergency. Furthermore, although the formulation

of a constructive labor policy and the organization of a war labor administration were slow in maturing, when final development was reached they were of more than passing interest to the student of industrial relations. That is why this study of the labor problem in the United States during the World War has been made. If the policies and methods of dealing with the labor situation during the emergency of the last few years contained nothing new and suggestive such a study would be of only historical value, but it is now generally agreed that our experiences during the war have contributed much toward the solution of the maladjustment in industrial relations and the problem of labor administration.

The purpose of this brief study is: (1) To outline the labor problem during the war; (2) to trace the main lines in the development of war labor administration in the United States; and (3) to point out the value of our war-time experiences in the creation of permanent labor policies. The first part of the essay is devoted to an analysis of the elements in the labor problem during this period, and in the second part are considered administrative methods and policies, including the adjustment of industrial disputes. In the concluding chapter are suggested the lessons that have been learned and the problems of the reconstruction period, altho most attention is directed to a consideration of the new point of view which is evidenced in the management of industry as it affects labor. For upon the spread of a more amicable and conciliatory attitude between labor and capital depends, we believe, the establishment of industrial peace.

That the United States, in dealing with the exigencies that may arise in the realm of industrial relations in future years, will be able to draw extensively upon the experiences of the war period, there seems little room for doubt. In those experiences there may be discovered the long desired solution of our labor problems, and the pattern for administrative machinery that will prove adequate for dealing with the perplexing problems of production arising out of the employment of labor. It will profit our people little to have secured the guaranty of justice and peace in international political relations if within our own boundaries we fail to establish a solid foundation for fair dealing and amicable relations in industry. In the light of the data

presented in the following pages it may be possible to formulate some definite conclusions concerning the practicability of maintaining industrial peace under normal conditions, since it was measurably guaranteed under the trying circumstances of a titanic war. The necessity and desirability of such a peace is generally recognized; acceptable and effective methods of establishing it have yet to be devised, unless these means are contained in the labor policies of the last few years.

INTRODUCTION

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BY

GORDON S. WATKINS
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PART II
THE DEVELOPMENT OF WAR LABOR ADMINISTRATION

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