

Hatred and Suspicion Are Bred by Extremists On Both Sides---Capital and Labor

The Great Danger Is That Violent Views May Finally Reach and Affect the Great Majority of Conservative Members—Extremists Among Employers Play Their Hands as Carefully as the Radicals Among Workmen.

By RAY STANNARD BAKER.
Article IV.

In two former articles I endeavored to exhibit the present industrial situation in America as it looks, first from above to the man who pays the wages, and, second, from below, to the men who receive them. We may now inquire into the causes of this unrest, again using the type-city of Gary, Ind., as the explanatory illustration. We are fortunate in having the issue made very clear for us, in this case, by the leaders upon both sides of the controversy.

Judge Gary tells us with conviction that the great majority of his workers were contented, that they wanted no strike and no union, but that they were incited and intimidated by "outside agitators" and "revolutionaries." He says that alien elements with radical beliefs were largely instrumental in causing the trouble.

"You think," asks Senator Kenyon, at the investigation, "that this foreign element is precipitating the strike, do you not?" "I do," responded Judge Gary. Mr. Gompers, upon his part, is equally clear. He tells us that the workers were not contented, that they were compelled to work unnecessarily long hours, that they were not allowed to organize or to have any voice in the determination of conditions under which they were to work, that they were not intimidated by "outside agitators" or "revolutionaries," but suppressed by the employers.

Here, then, is the very heart of the controversy. Judge Gary thinks that the trouble comes from outside his steel plants and steel towns; Mr. Gompers thinks the trouble is inside of them. Judge Gary thinks the trouble is imported into Gary from Washington, where the American Federation of Labor has its headquarters, or from Russia. Mr. Gompers thinks the trouble is in Gary itself. The remedies suggested follow hard upon its conviction of each group. Judge Gary—and to a large extent the entire employer class in America—believes that if somehow these "outside agitators," "revolutionaries," "alien disturbers," could be squelched all the trouble would speedily disappear. So we see just now in America a number of extraordinary applications of this cure. Judge Gary himself, quite logically from his point of view, refuses to confer with "outside agitators"—Mr. Fitzpatrick, Mr. Foster and others. In Pennsylvania the constabulary put them in jail; refuse to let them hold meetings. Upon the belief that the ideas that are disturbing the industry come in from the outside—from Russia especially—they raid private homes and halls at Gary and, according to a lieutenant of the intelligence department of the United States army, take away some tons of radical literature. And now they are proceeding to still more drastic measures. At the senate investigation Senator Smith of Georgia asked the lieutenant of intelligence who investigated the "reds" of Gary this question:

Ship Them Out.
Senator Smith: If we shipped all the alien agitators and organizers out of the country—(Interposing): There would be no more trouble at all.

We are beginning literally to practice this policy, which seems so easy a solution to Senator Smith and Lt. Van Buren. (Interposing): There would be no more trouble at all. We are beginning literally to practice this policy, which seems so easy a solution to Senator Smith and Lt. Van Buren. Already the American ship Buford, guarded aboard by soldiers and accompanied at sea by a naval escort, is taking some 200 of these alien agitators away from America, with the purpose of returning them to the lands from which they got their ideas.

This policy of meeting the unrest first at a cruder echo—at yet a familiar one. I have heard it often recently among ordinary comfortable people: "If a few of these agitators and 'reds' were taken out and shot we'd soon get rid of the trouble."

Now the logic of these remedies is indisputably sound. If the unrest is caused by outside agitators and by alien revolutionaries, as Judge Gary asserts, then if you remove the agitators, seize and destroy the literature containing the ideas and prevent meetings in which they are aired, you stop the unrest. This is perfectly clear.

Views of Workers' Leaders.
So much for the employer's view of the cause of the unrest and the remedy for it. The leaders of the workers, as I said, hold the contrary view, that the trouble is inside of industry, not imported from without; and they proceed with intense conviction to act upon their belief. They try to show that conditions among working people in America are dehumanizing, that injustice prevails, that men have become, as their recent "bill of rights" declares, "cogs in an industrial system dominated by machinery owned and operated for profit alone." They are so eager to prove their contentions that they welcome every kind of investigation. Judge Gary profoundly distrusts public inquiries because, as he told the senate committee, they "give opportunity to certain men to air their views and get before the public certain propaganda that is vicious and calculated to do harm."

is to help themselves to their own relief; their key words, therefore, are "agitator" and "organize."

An Issue of Fact.
Now the issue that arises here between the two groups is an issue of fact; it is a question for the jury of the American people. Is the trouble and unrest—or any part of it—caused by conditions inside of the steel towns, inherent in the present state of the industry, or is it caused by "outside agitators" and "alien radicals"?

As usual in cases presented to that great, impatient, more or less inattentive jury of public opinion—which hates desperately to remain long enough away from private business really to hear the evidence—there is an enormous amount of exaggeration on both sides, extreme statements, the imputation of the worst possible motives, personal abuse. It is ever the case that one extreme view tries to justify itself by magnifying the other extreme view. Extremes invariably breed extremes. Thus Judge Gary and the steel employers magnify the revolutionary elements among the workers, which are in reality unimportant either in numbers or in influence. They have done their best to "play up" Foster and Margolis, and to try to convince the jury that these men really represent the views of American labor. More time was spent by the senate in examining these two relatively inconsequential figures—Margolis, a lawyer having no connection whatever with the steel strike, and Foster, only one of a committee—than was given to any other witness except Judge Gary himself. The steel employers have had reprinted and have circulated widely among employers, business men and editors, Foster's red pamphlet on syndical-

ism with this inscription on the outside: "William Z. Foster, one of the authors of this book, is in charge of the present campaign to organize the steel strikers." They have given this pamphlet a far wider circulation than ever Foster was able to give it; they have aroused just the curiosity about the ideas which it contains, and which they are trying to combat, that the radicals themselves have failed in arousing.

Have "Played Up" Extremists.
Now, I am not here going to Foster's denial that this wild pamphlet published nine years ago represents his present beliefs (in another article I hope to exhibit the true relationship of radicals such as Foster to the American Federation of Labor); I am merely illustrating the point that the steel employers have "played up" these extremists, and at the same time have refused to meet and deal with the moderate leaders, who represent the great solid masses of American labor.

On the other hand, the extremists upon the side of labor play exactly the same game. I have been examining recently a number of the more extreme publications issued by radical labor groups, some of them circulated at Gary, Ind., and I have attended radical meetings and heard radical speeches. To many of these extremists Judge Gary is a very devil; all capitalists are devils; any one who sees anything good in the "present system" is a "fool." They do not recognize the fact that an immense proportion of American industry today is based, so far as labor conditions are concerned, upon reasonable conferences between employers and employees; or that many employers and managers in America are earnestly and sincerely endeavoring to work out new methods of co-operation with their workers—as I shall show later—or that even Judge Gary has encouraged, among other things, great improvements in safety devices in his mills—a really remarkable work.

Radical Extremists.
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new familiar technic of war. Both sides try to prove atrocities; both sides assert that the other is using the poison gas of propaganda and the dum-dum bullets of intimidation. Each side, or a part of each side, is doing its best to stir up hatred and suspicion of the other, with the danger always present that these violent views may involve the great quiet majority of both employers and employees who are trying to work out humanly, decently and patiently the enormously complicated problems which confront all of us. In this situation it is most important to try to get behind the smoke screen of claims and counterclaims, try to see the thing as it is.

I went to Gary, Ind., exactly with this purpose in mind; to find out upon the ground the facts regarding the direct issue here presented. How much of the trouble and unrest is caused by "outside agitators" and "alien radicals" and how much is caused by conditions inside of the

steel towns and inherent in the present state of the steel industry? I shall set down what I found in the next article.

Sergeant in Motor Corps Arrested on Theft Charge
Salt Lake City, Utah, Jan. 6.—Department of Justice officials, it became known today, have arrested Sergt. Richard Wagner of the motor transport corps at Fort Douglas here in connection with the alleged theft of government automobile tires and other supplies.

Senate Subcommittee Will Probe Naval Awards
Washington, Jan. 6.—The senate naval affairs committee voted, 10 to 1, today to authorize investigation by a subcommittee of five of the controversy over awards of medals to naval officers for war service. Senator Walsh, democrat, of Montana voted against the resolution.

Referendum Results On Anti-Strike Clause to Be Ready Wednesday
Washington, Jan. 6.—Results of the recent referendum in the National Grange on the anti-strike provisions of the Cummins railroad bill will be presented to Chairman Cummins of the senate interstate commerce committee tomorrow by the grange's executive committee, which began sessions here today. It was announced that so far as heard from the results of the referendum were unanimously in favor of retaining the anti-strike clause.

The committee also will present the views of the grange on the packer legislation to Chairman Gronna of the senate agriculture committee. These views are expressed in a tentative bill prepared for presentation to the senate. It provides for strong movement, control of the packers to be administered by a national food commission.

French Aviatrix Flies From Paris to Morocco Alone
Rabat, Morocco, Jan. 6.—(French Wireless).—A French aviatrix has arrived here from Paris by air, having made the flight in two days. This is the first case of a woman flying from France to Morocco. Her route was via Toulon, Barcelona, Valencia, Alicante, Granada, Malaga and Tangier. The distance covered was about 1,150 miles.

Ireland Is Key to the Atlantic, Says Secretary
London, Jan. 6.—"There can be no question of an independent Irish republic," said Jan. MacPherson, chief secretary for Ireland. "Ireland is the key to the Atlantic."

Former General in Huerta Army on Way to Join Villa
Eagle Pass, Tex., Jan. 6.—There was an unconfirmed report here today that Gen. Alberto Guajardo, formerly of the Huerta army, had crossed the Rio Grande into Mexico, eight miles north of here, with 50 men, two machine guns and 20,000 rounds of ammunition, to join the Villista forces.

Allies to Blow Up Ships Sunk at Scapa Flow
London, Jan. 6.—German warships sunk by their officers in Scapa Flow will be blown up shortly, it was stated here today. The decision to dispose of the vessels in this way followed the completion of investigation by a special commission representing all of the allies.



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