

NATIONAL PLANNING ASSOCIATION

A NONPROFIT, NONPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION, ESTABLISHED IN 1934
DEVOTED TO PLANNING BY AMERICANS IN AGRICULTURE, BUSINESS, LABOR, AND THE PROFESSIONS
800-21st St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Telephone: District 8766 M-1658

THE CAUSES OF INDUSTRIAL PEACE UNDER COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Technical Advisory Committee Meeting
Hotel Roosevelt, 45th and Madison
New York City

Friday, April 30, 1948

Summarized Minutes

The following were present:

Members

Mr. Clinton S. Golden, Chairman

- Mr. Philip J. Clowes, Congress of Industrial Organizations
- Mr. Walter L. Christon, Portsmouth Steel Company
- Mr. William H. Davis, Davis, Hoxie and Faithfull, New York
- Mr. Frederick H. Harbison, University of Chicago
- Mr. Marion H. Hedges, Washington, D. C.
- Mr. L. Clayton Hill, University of Michigan
- Mr. Lawrence E. Joseph, Blaw-Knox Company
- Mr. William M. Leiserson, Johns Hopkins University
- Mr. Earl McKay, Wheeling Steel Company
- Mr. Douglas McGregor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
- Mr. Eric Nicol, Atomic Energy Commission
- Mr. Eric Peterson, International Association of Machinists
- Mr. Joseph N. Scanlon, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
- Mr. Louis Stark, New York Times Bureau
- Mr. Charles R. Walker, Yale University
- Mr. R. B. Wolf, New Canaan, Connecticut

Guests

- Mr. H. Christian Sonne, Chairman, NPA Board of Trustees
- Mr. Irving Berezin
- Mr. Thomas Rosenberg
- Mr. Manny Strauss

Staff

- Mr. Charles Tyroler 2nd
- Mr. John Miller
- Mr. Donald Straus
- Mrs. Marguerite MacMahon

RECEIVED
NOV 21 1949

OFFICERS: *Chairman*, H. Chr. Sonne; *Vice Chairmen*: M. H. Hedges, Frank Altschul, Clinton S. Golden, Donald R. Murphy, Beardsley Ruml; *Secretary*, H. W. Fraser; *Treasurer*, William L. Batt; *Chairman, Editorial Committee*, Morris L. Cooke; *Chairman, Finance Committee*, Thomas Roy Jones; *Counsel*, Charlton Ogburn; *Director*, E. J. Coil.

The meeting was opened by Mr. Golden who welcomed the members and introduced the guests. Mr. Golden announced that funds to complete the project have been made available to the Committee by Mr. John Hay Whitney. He pointed out that the original budget for the project had been shown to be far below actual needs largely because of the enormous public response to the undertaking.

Mr. Golden expressed his gratification with the fact that Mr. Whitney had expressed himself as well pleased with the progress of the project which Mr. Whitney said "exceeded his expectations of the breadth of its implications and usefulness."

Mr. Golden briefly reviewed the project to date. He told of the exceptionally good press reception and circulated a large folder of clippings for the inspection of the Committee. Mr. Golden said that four studies have been completed and circulated among the members and that four additional studies are in various stages of completion. He expressed his gratification, and that of the Co-Directors and the NPA staff, for the careful and extremely helpful comments and suggestions of the members of the Committee on each of the studies which have been circulated.

He said that in each case the comments have proved most helpful to the authors of the reports and that in almost every case suggested revisions have been incorporated in the manuscripts.

Mr. Golden said that feeling had been generally expressed that a statement by the Committee pointing out the significance of each particular study and expressing views on its significance relative to the general industrial relations picture should accompany each study. This would be in addition to any prefatory statement which would tell the purpose of the project and trace its development. For purposes of clarity, it was decided to refer to the general prefatory statement as the "preface" and to each individual Committee statement as "the statement."

A draft of a "preface" which had been prepared by Mr. Walker was distributed to the members and opened for discussion. Mr. Stark expressed the view that Mr. Walker had handled the job "very well." Mr. Golden submitted two suggested changes for the consideration of the Committee:

1. Instead of referring to the number of strikes, it would be more enlightening to use figures indicating the relation of the number of man days lost by strikes to the number of man days of available time; and

2. It would be appropriate to express the hope that the project would be a continuing one and that a number of case studies would be undertaken each year in order to observe the evolution of labor-management relationships.

Mr. Golden's suggestions were approved by the Committee.

Mr. Harbison expressed the view that Mr. Walker's draft overly "played up" the absence of strikes as a criteria for constructive industrial peace. He pointed out that output, productivity and individual freedom were more important criteria than that of bare peace.

It was felt that this was a matter of emphasis in the draft and Mr. Walker agreed to revise his paper in order to correct this imbalance.

Reference was again made to Mr. Golden's suggestion that a number of case studies be undertaken annually. Mr. Joseph pointed out that the studies we are now undertaking would be placed in an entirely different light in the event of a depression and we went on the "down grade." He said that at the present time people could afford to do a lot of things but that when business is cut in half and employment drops a totally different situation and type of reaction would result.

Mr. Golden pointed out that the Lockheed Aircraft study which is being undertaken for the Committee by Dr. Clark Kerr of the University of California might illustrate this type of situation due to the severe postwar reconversion period suffered by the aircraft industry.

Dr. Leiserson expressed the view that most of the case studies that have thus far been undertaken in the project were of "new unions" and relatively young collective bargaining situations. He said that the Hickey-Freeman study was an exception in that the Clothing Workers have come through, since 1914, two and one-half depressions. He felt, however, that we should study some of the older collective bargaining situations such as the Pottery and Glass Bottle Workers, the Flint Glass Workers, and so forth.

Parenthetically, Dr. Leiserson said that he had reached a tentative conclusion as a result of the first four studies, i.e., that there isn't "a cause" of industrial peace, but that these studies show how peace is won.

He observed that the Libbey-Owens-Ford case shows that bitter strikes helped to clarify their position. Both sides learn. Peace is won. There isn't just a cause of peace; you have to fight for it.

Mr. Wolf said that you have to fight for freedom rather than peace. He observed that you can have peace and lose your freedom. Mr. Davis reiterated the view he expressed at an earlier meeting that, in this project, we are not talking about peace alone -- but rather peace with production, peace that results in production.

Mr. Golden summarized the discussion by saying that the peace we were seeking was peace with freedom and production.

The Committee then turned to the detailed consideration of the report on the Libbey-Owens-Ford case which had been circulated to the members several days before the meeting.

An extremely detailed consideration of the report ensued in which suggestions were offered to Dr. Harbison by Messrs. Clowes, Leiserson, Hedges, Hill, Golden, Wolf, McGregor, Nicol, Stark, Peterson, and Walker.

At the conclusion of this discussion, the meeting adjourned for luncheon.

At the luncheon the Committee was welcomed by Mr. H. Christian Sonne, Chairman of the NPA Board of Trustees who expressed the gratitude of NPA for the work of the Committee members and the satisfaction of himself and the Trustees with the splendid progress that has been made.

Mr. Sonne then prevailed upon Mr. Golden to address the meeting on his experiences in Greece. At the conclusion of Mr. Golden's address a number of the Committee members requested copies of a transcript of his remarks. Unfortunately, no notes were taken at the luncheon session, and such copies must await another occasion when Mr. Golden delivers approximately the same speech.

The Committee returned to executive session and took up the question of selecting additional case studies for field surveys.

Mr. Tyroler reported that in addition to the four studies now available in draft form -- Dewey and Almy, Libbey-Owens-Ford, Hickey-Freeman, and Crown-Zellerbach -- the approximate time schedules on the other four were as follows: Forstmann Woolen, by John Dunlop, in approximately one month; Lockheed Aircraft, by Clark Kerr, in approximately ten days; Kellogg Corporation, by Dr. Mason Haire of M.I.T., and Sharon Steel, by Messrs. Scanlon and Tyroler, at least six weeks.

A discussion was held on Dr. Harbison's studies of techniques employed in furthering constructive labor-management relations. Dr. Harbison said that he had undertaken twelve field studies in connection with the report, and that he wished to enlarge it to include six to eight additional situations.^{1/}

The Committee then turned to selection of additional case studies. All situations represented by completed questionnaires were considered by the Committee and after thorough discussion, the following panel of companies was approved by the Committee for field surveys:

Manitowoc Shipbuilding
White Motor Company
Homer Laughlin China
Bridgeport Brass
Warner-Swasey
Talon
Celotex (Marrero, Louisiana)
LeTourneau (Peoria)
Carrier Corporation
Sinclair Oil

The Co-Directors of the project, Mr. Golden and the NPA staff, were authorized to select immediately any of these companies for field study.

The next item on the agenda was a consideration of the release policies of the project, the order in which the studies would be published and made available to the press and public.

The Committee decided that one study should be issued at a time at an interval of preferably not less than one month. Mr. Stark had pointed out that issuing more than one at a time would "dilute" their publicity and that if the studies were issued at more frequent intervals than one month they would "run into each other" and receive diminishing attention from the press.

^{1/} Following the meeting, Dr. Harbison was authorized to extend his study in accordance with his request and also to send a man to England to compare our experience in the United States with that of Great Britain. All expenses, save travel allowances, would be borne by the University of Chicago.

The Committee decided to "lead off" with the Crown-Zellerbach study largely because it was felt that the Hickey-Freeman case was "too good -- too mature in its relationship" and that the Libbey-Owens-Ford case was "not good enough -- not sufficiently mature." The order of release was set as follows: Crown-Zellerbach, Libbey-Owens-Ford, Hickey-Freeman or Dewey and Almy.

The Committee agreed to hold a general press conference in Washington simultaneously with the release of the first report. All of the Committee members agreed to attend this session if possible, and it was thought advisable to urge NPA Trustees, particularly those from business, to attend.

Dr. Leiserson urged that the reports be sent well in advance of release date to various business publications and labor journals so that they could be reviewed. Mr. Hill expressed the view that the case studies would be required reading in universities throughout the country. Mr. Scanlon revealed that two of the case studies were already the subjects of courses in two major universities.

A draft cover by the noted American artist, Cyrus LeRoy Baldrige, for the reports was considered by the Committee and it was decided that in each case the name of both the company and the union would be listed on the published case study covers.

The Committee briefly considered an additional special study which had been prepared, analyzing the 138 completed questionnaires from companies and unions.

It was agreed that a summary of this report would be circulated to the Committee members for their comments and suggestions and that most of the material would be appropriately published at the time of the final report, although brief excerpts and illustrative data could be employed at the time of the initial release.

Mr. Tyroler told the Committee that efforts were being made to reach all levels of leadership. He told of the NPA representative who was working on the radio end with a view to having dramatizations of the individual case studies made by the National Broadcasting chains.

Mr. Stark reiterated his view as expressed at the first meeting of the Committee that a March of Time documentary would be an appropriate medium by which to wider circularize the findings of our project. He volunteered to join with the NPA staff in preparing a short "brief" for, and in approaching, the March of Time people with a view toward their undertaking this presentation.

It was suggested that a small Public Relations Committee be established to work with the NPA staff on this general area.^{2/}

Two telegrams were read to the Committee by Mr. Golden, one from Mr. William Jackson, Attorney to and Associate of Mr. John Hay Whitney, expressing his regrets that an unexpected trip out of town had prevented his attending the luncheon, and one from Dr. George Taylor who was detained in Philadelphia with an arbitration hearing but who was sending on detailed comments and suggestions on the Libbey-Owens-Ford case.

^{2/}Mr. Golden appointed Mr. Louis Stark as chairman of this committee. Other members are: Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg and Dr. William M. Leiserson.

The Committee, at the suggestion of Mr. Hill, passed a resolution expressing appreciation to Mr. Whitney for his confidence and support. It was agreed that at the time of the first release, it would be revealed that Mr. Whitney had furnished financing for the project. In connection with this announcement, and in accordance with Mr. Whitney's request, it was agreed to emphasize that Mr. Whitney bears no responsibility for the actual case studies or the conclusions drawn therefrom.

Mr. Golden thanked the Committee members for their loyal and excellent work and the Committee responded, at the suggestion of Mr. Hill, with a rising vote of thanks to Mr. Golden for his leadership of the project and for his stimulating address at luncheon.

The meeting adjourned at 4:35 P.M.