

THIRD INSTALLMENT.

(Press Abstract of General Report by Commissioners Frank P. Cook, John L. Leary and J. O'Connell and Austin R. Garver—Continued.)

Dual of Justice.

Under the head, "Dual of Justice," found to be third principal cause of unrest, the report contains the following charges: "First, with regard to the matter of law, it is charged that the workers have been unable to secure legislation to protect them against grievous wrongs except after exhausting struggles over wretched odds and against ineffectual legislation.

"Second, it is charged that where wholesome and necessary laws are passed, they are in large part nullified by the courts upon technicalities of a character which would not be held to invalidate legislation favorable to the interests of manufacturers, merchants, banks, and other private interests, or thrown out on the broad ground of unconstitutional or unconstitutional or illegal construction of constitutional provisions.

"Third, that in the administration of law, both common and statute, there is discrimination in favor of the wealthy and powerful, and that this discrimination is not only from the economic disabilities of the poor, but of the unequal distribution of the law in favor of the wealthy and influential.

"Fourth, that the courts have not only neglected or refused to protect workers in the rights guaranteed by the constitution of the United States, and of several states, but that sections of the constitution have been construed to strip property rightfully, have been used to deprive workers of the protection of rights to be guaranteed by statute.

"Fifth, that the ordinary legal machinery provides inadequate means whereby laborers and other poor men can secure redress from unjustly inflicted wrongs, and the nonpayment of wages, through overcharges at stores, through exorbitant hospital and other fees, fines and detentions, through fraud in the part of private employment, through loss of wages and installment houses, and through the 'graft' of the foreman and superintendent. The losses to wage earners from these sources are stated to amount each year to millions of dollars and to work toward loss of a class of men who can ill afford to lose even a penny of their hard won earnings.

"Sixth, that the courts, by the exercise of arbitrary discretion in the powers in the issuance of injunctions, have not only grievously injured the workers individually and collectively, upon innumerable occasions, but have also, by the contempt procedure consequent upon disobedience to such injunctions, deprived the workers of their right, fundamental in Anglo Saxon institutions, to be tried by jury.

"Seventh, that laws designed for the protection of labor in work shops, mines and on railroads are not effectively enforced, except in a few states.

"Eighth, that in cases involving the protection of labor, the workers are liable to great injustices by reason of the fact that in many instances they are excluded from jury trial by the qualifications prescribed (usually requiring property tax) or by the method of selection.

"Ninth, that during strikes, in numerous men are in many cases arrested without just cause, charged with fictitious crimes, held without trial in prison, and treated frequently with unexampled brutality for the purpose of intimidating the workers and breaking the strike.

"Tenth, that in many localities during strikes not only is the greatest function of the state, that of policing, turned virtually over to employers or organized associations, but that the individual employed by detective agencies and strike breaking agencies is aided by the police in the deprivation, with arbitrary power and without of criminal liability for the acts of the individual.

"Eleventh, that during strikes in many localities the entire system of government is paralyzed, and there is set up in its place a

military despotism under a so-called martial law. "It is in some localities the control by the employers of the entire machinery of government, so that laws are made on the part of the agents of the employers go unheeded and unopposed by the leaders of the strike is accomplished by methods unparalleled in the history of the world.

"In each instance what Mr. Manly considers convincing proof that these abuses are fully justified is cited in the form of testimony before the Commission setting forth specific cases, the facts of which are admitted by all concerned. By evidence gathered in the Commission's investigation of the Colorado strike is cited in substantiation of the twelfth charge.

The report says regarding, respectively: "Considering the action which needs to be taken it may be urged by some that the end to be achieved is to place personal rights on a parity with property rights. It is necessary to render a more complete acceptance of the acceptance of such an ideal. The establishment of property rights is not only a necessary condition, but a necessary condition of the same level can leave only constant and ever growing menace to the rights of the individual, and the acceptance of such an ideal our democracy is doomed to ultimate failure. The rights of the individual are recognized as supreme and of unalienable ascendancy over those of the state.

"Belief from these grave evils cannot be secured by petty reforms, but must be secured by the direct action of the workers, and directed at the roots from which these evils spring.

"The report of the Commission on the gravity of the suggestions it seems necessary to urge the Commission to take the following recommendations: "First, that the workers be well fed, they would still struggle to be free.

"It is not denied that an exceptional individual can secure exemption from the effects of the sale of his unusual ability or talent, or by sympathetic subterfuge. But it is insisted that no individual can achieve freedom by his own efforts. It is admitted that in some cases exceptional employees treat their superiors with respect and liberality, it is held to be a social action that no group of workers can achieve freedom by their combined action, nor can the masses achieve any material gain by their own efforts, but by collective action.

"Furthermore, it is urged by the Commission that the efforts of individuals who are bent upon bettering their own condition, and who are not interested in the health or the interests of others, directly injure each of their fellow workers, and thus injure the whole fabric of society.

Bargaining Equity's Lack.

"It is also pointed out that the evolution of modern industry has greatly increased the necessity for organization on the part of wage earners, while it is not admitted that the workers have only one employee is on an economic equality with the person who employs him. It is insisted that the fact that the employer controls the means of livelihood gives him an unfair advantage over the employee, and that in any condition of inequality is held to be a social action that no group of workers can achieve freedom by their combined action, nor can the masses achieve any material gain by their own efforts, but by collective action.

"The report points out that less than 200 employees of their agents who have testified before the Commission of the evils of the system of collective action on the part of employers, but that many millions of workers are not included in common terminology, called 'open shop.'

Misery Of "Open Shop."

"The theory of the 'open shop,' according to the report, is that workers are employed with no reference to their membership in any organization, and that the employer is free to employ or not employ as he sees fit. The report says that the theory of the 'open shop' is that workers are employed with no reference to their membership in any organization, and that the employer is free to employ or not employ as he sees fit. The report says that the theory of the 'open shop' is that workers are employed with no reference to their membership in any organization, and that the employer is free to employ or not employ as he sees fit.

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"The workers insist that this right is not only a necessary condition, but a necessary condition of the same level can leave only constant and ever growing menace to the rights of the individual, and the acceptance of such an ideal our democracy is doomed to ultimate failure. The rights of the individual are recognized as supreme and of unalienable ascendancy over those of the state.

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Advocate Must Be Unfair.

"To suggest that labor unions be less than national, and to urge that the efforts of individuals who are bent upon bettering their own condition, and who are not interested in the health or the interests of others, directly injure each of their fellow workers, and thus injure the whole fabric of society.

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