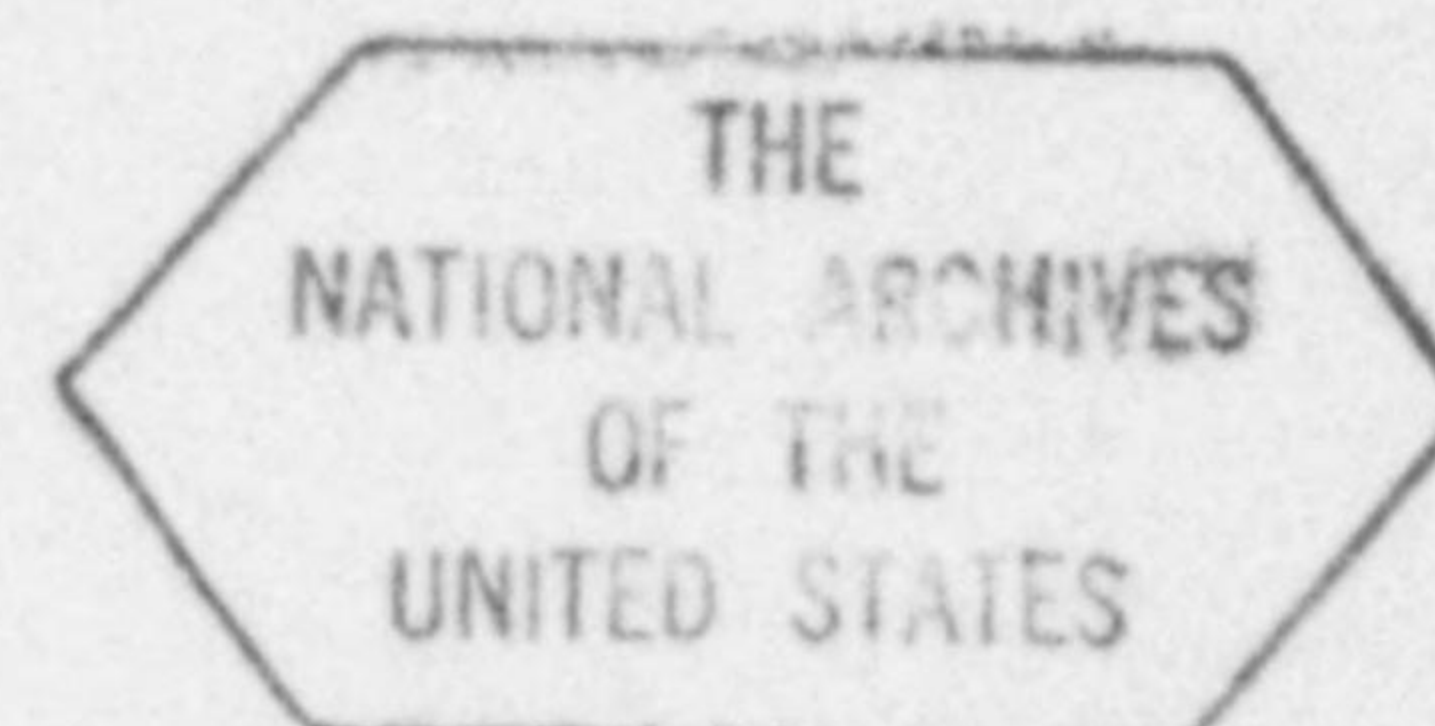


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TRADE UNION CONVENTIONS : THE VOICE
OF THE RANK-AND-FILE

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC SECTION

TOKYO

- 1948 -

Introduction

A speaker faces a huge throng. Thousands of people have come to hear him talk. At the beginning of his oration, he announces: "I speak in the name of three hundred and fifty thousand organized workers!"

Does he?

Again, three union representatives appear at the office of a large employer. He asks them their business. They reply: "We have come to open collective bargaining negotiations. We speak for fifty five thousand workers who labour in your plants over all Japan."

Do they?

Obviously, no one person can possibly speak with tens of thousands of persons and, in his dealings with the employer, state views which mirror precisely the collective thought of those thousands of workers. No trade union leader can talk with the millions of members of the labour movement and be able to say sincerely: "The entire labour movement supports me on this position."

Well, yes and no.

Perhaps no leader can discuss union policies with the entire membership. He would be an old man before he had even met all of the members.

But he can speak for the entire membership of a union or a federation of unions if these workers have collectively adopted a statement of their views.

That is why the national unions and national union federations in foreign countries, as well as in Japan, usually hold an annual convention. The word convention, in the original Latin from which it is derived, means to call a meeting of persons with the same purpose. Thus the labor convention, if operated in a thoroughly democratic manner, is the surest guarantee of vigorous trade union democracy and the expression of views and policies which reflect the majority opinion of the membership.

Conventions

National conventions bring together delegates from local unions who meet for a stated period with the officers of the union. The main functions of a labour union convention are:

1. Receive and examine reports from the national union officers in order to criticize them, make suggestions, and use them for convention discussion.
2. Formulate basic over-all policies of the union for the coming year.
3. Check on the state of union finances and adopt a budget for the coming year.
4. Examine and improve the constitution of the union.
5. Adjust disputes between local unions, or between a member and his local union.
6. Elect top officers and committeemen for the coming year.
7. Receive reports on the past work of the various departments of the union, and adopt programs for these departments for the coming year.

Pre-Convention Activities

In America, unions hold their annual conventions in a different part of the country from year to year. This permits rank-and-file union members throughout the country to attend a convention every now

and then as observers. Long before the actual staging of the convention, however, there are several important activities which must take place.

First, the national union sends out a notice of the coming convention and directs each local union to elect delegates to the convention. Each local union is allotted a certain number of delegates depending on its size, with smaller locals sometimes given greater representation than larger locals in order to avoid domination of the national union by a few large local unions.

After each local has received the call to the convention, it nominates delegates to the convention on a certain date. After nominations of the delegates, the next important item is for the local union to debate what changes it wants made in the national union constitutions, what criticism it desires to make of the national union, what policy suggestions it may have. Each local union has a general meeting of the entire membership, and a series of resolutions are drawn up, expressing the will of local union members on all current trade union problems. Later, the election is held for delegates, and those who are elected are usually voted a sum of money to provide for their carfare, food, lodging, and other expenses. The local union gives the delegates a certificate-of-election, stating that they have been elected by the entire membership according to democratic procedures.

This is the basis for a democratic trade union convention: the election of persons to represent the local union and adoption by the local union membership of the policies which they desire their delegates to support at the convention. Those policy statements, called resolutions, are then sent to the national union to be used at the convention.

Procedures

At the same time, the national union staff is very busy. The President of the Union writes a complete report of all significant activities during the past year and suggests future activities and policies. The Secretary-Treasurer of the union prepares a complete financial report and it is certified by impartial, professional auditors. The heads of the various departments of the union prepare reports on what they have done, and what aid they require to do a better service job during the coming year. Such reports are prepared in sufficient quantity to provide every delegate with a copy.

During this same period, the various resolutions from local unions all over the country are received, classified according to subject, and held in readiness for the convention itself.

The convention is operated by the officers of the national union, but they do not dictate policy. The head of the union acts as the chairman of the convention. But the actual work of the convention is done by the rank-and-file union delegates from every local union.

The Committee System

Immediately prior to, or on the first day of the convention, as the delegates are arriving, a master list is made up of all certified delegates attending the convention.

From the official list of elected delegates, the officers of the union appoint a series of committees subject to final convention approval. Each committee usually from ten to fifteen persons each includes delegates from various regions. The purpose of the committee system is to permit rank-and-file delegates to do most of the work of the convention, review the resolutions, and thus take a hand in the running of the convention.

Basic Committees

The basic committee is the Rules and Order Committee. This committee prepares the convention rules - on voting, on convention procedure, on the time delegates can speak, the order in which they speak on resolutions, and so forth. These rules are written to provide for a smoothly running democratic convention which will permit every delegate a fair chance at expressing his opinion in a democratic fashion.

A Credentials Committee is formed to examine the credentials of each and every delegate and make sure they were elected by democratic procedure.

An Officers Report Committee is appointed subject to convention approval. The reports of the President and other officers of the union, the reports of department heads are given to this committee for analysis, criticism, and suggestion.

A Resolutions Committee is formed and all of the resolutions received from local union, as well as from union officials and other union sources, are studied and possibly consolidated according to subject.

A Constitution Committee is formed to study all resolutions dealing with proposed changes in the constitution of the national union.

An Appeals Committee is formed to hear any grievances which local union members may have submitted for final decisions - grievances regarding unfair treatment, expulsion from a local union, and so forth.

A Press and Publicity Committee is formed to study the newspaper of the union, its publicity department, and make recommendations for improvement.

An Education Committee studies the educational department's program for the union, adds its own and local union recommendations.

Other committees may be formed as the need arises. By assigning ten or fifteen union delegates from various parts of the country to serve on each committee, many minds are put to work on the various problems.

As soon as these committees are formed, they go to work. Usually, they work late into the night after each session, for during their meetings they must prepare reports and resolutions to be submitted to convention debate by the committee chairman.

With the delegates in attendance, and with the committees formed and in session, the convention is then ready to go into action.

The Convention

The opening day of the trade union convention is usually devoted to speeches by the top union officials, and notable visitors to the convention. They usually speak on broad policy subjects and try to dramatize for the convention delegates the current issues facing the labor movement.

But during the second, third, and fourth day, the order of business is concerned with the reports of the various committees.

The Officers Reports Committee will present the various reports, and give their views on the merit of the reports. One by one the delegates are permitted to air their views, to make criticism, to praise, or to make suggestions. The Reports are finally acted upon by vote of the Convention.

The voting procedures regarding resolutions and committee reports

are very important. The usual method used in America is that of raising hands. Some rank-and-file delegates are called up on the stage and they help the chairman decide the decision of the delegates. When there is doubt, delegates may ask for a roll call vote. If that is done, the chairman reads off the name of every delegate and they register their vote publicly, one by one. This is often done on important trade union issues in order to let the local union membership know exactly how their delegate voted.

Labour organizations, as with all other democratic organizations, are conducted according to the rules of parliamentary procedure, best summarized in the internationally used Roberts' Rules of Order. Rank-and-file delegates who know the rules can play a highly intelligent role in the conduct of the convention. Without such rules of parliamentary procedure, a labour convention can become riotous, and possibly end with fist fights and angry members shouting at one another. Such disgraceful events only establish more firmly the need for rules of order.

When the rules of order are followed, every delegate has the right to speak, to raise objections, to use parliamentary tactics in defeating a motion, and in otherwise stimulating a high degree of democracy.

It goes almost without saying that only accredited delegates are permitted to speak, to applaud, or to participate. Although visitors are permitted, and although union members are permitted to watch the convention, they cannot speak, shout, clap their hands, or in any other way disturb the order of the convention. When non-delegates interfere with the work of the convention, delegates may raise a "point of order" to the Chairman. The non-delegates are warned to stop making noise. If they persist, they are then ejected from the convention hall. Certain political minorities are internationally-known for their practice of packing convention halls with party hacks who applaud delegates of their party, loudly boo or sneer at delegates whom they do not like. Such conduct is the very antithesis of democracy.

Debates

The Resolutions Committee usually begins to present resolutions on the basic policies of the union which represent the collective thought contained in the resolutions from local unions. Resolutions will range from union policy on wages and working conditions, through political action and collective bargaining to women's problems. As each resolution is offered, after reading it, the convention delegates debate the resolution. Changes may be made. Sometimes the resolution is defeated, or voted down. But as the resolutions are amended and passed, they form the basic trade union policy of that particular union. The officers for the next year, no matter who they may be, are duty bound to abide by the policies stated in the resolutions adopted at the convention. Wages, taxes, prices, government labor agencies - any matter of real current interest to labor is usually prepared in policy resolution form and submitted for debate in order to determine the will of the delegates.

It should be noted that a committee may be divided in opinion. In that case, some of the members may submit a majority report, others a minority report. Both reports are submitted to the convention for debate and discussion. The Convention delegates may vote to accept the minority or the majority report, or they may reject both and direct the committee to re-write their report.

Democracy and Debate

The function of debate in the building of democracy is very important. It of course presupposes union delegates whose trade union education has been such that they are prepared to discuss the various matters coming before the convention. If union officers and committees read reports which are accepted as read, there is always the danger of a small group "running" the convention. In a vigorous union, the delegates

pay very careful attention to every report and every resolution. As people make speeches or read resolutions, delegates are making notes of their points of agreement and disagreement. When the time for debate has come, the delegates are then prepared to rise and make brief but intelligent remarks. They speak on exactly the matter under discussion and this stimulates thought. If a certain resolution is under debate, and several delegates have presented good arguments both for and against the resolution, the majority of the membership are then in a better position to decide how they should vote.

Debate serves the highly important purpose of raising issues, of raising points which make people think. From debate and careful thinking, intelligent decisions follow.

Finances

The financial officers of the national union usually submit a complete financial report covering the receipts and expenditures of the during the previous year. Copies are furnished every delegate for their study. A new budget is submitted by the financial officers, but final action on this budget is taken by the convention delegates. It is the practice in many American unions to allocate a certain percentage of all revenues for education, research, legal activities, and other specific purposes. Such budgets, after adoption, cannot be changed except by future convention action.

Mandates

The reports, resolutions, and budget, as adopted, are termed the mandates for the new officers of the union. They establish basic trade union policy and no matter what any trade union official may think, this policy cannot be changed except by another rank-and-file convention. If grave matters face the union, the officers may take the initiative and call a special convention. But the important point is that policy is always established and approved by the rank-and-file delegates.

These mandates are released to the newspapers of the nation, so that everyone knows exactly what decisions were made by the convention. They are useful in bringing public attention to the problems of the union, and they also serve to give reference points for union representatives. When a union speaker speaks of "representing five hundred thousand workers" his words have added force if everyone knows that a recent convention passed a resolution on the very same thing.

Election of Officers

The election of new officers, or re-election of old officers, is usually the last business transacted by labor conventions in the United States. As the convention progresses, delegates get to know each other and this facilitates election of officers who are known to most of the delegates. Most American unions require that a person nominated for any office must be a paid-up member of the union for at least a year previous to the convention. The American custom is that all officers of the union - from President or Chairman down to Committee members, are directly elected by the rank-and-file delegates through secret ballot or roll call vote. In this connection, Far Eastern Commission "Sixteen Principles for Japanese Trade Unions" state:

"Trade Union officials and standing committees should be elected by the workers concerned by secret ballot and democratic methods. It should be the responsibility of the unions to insure that all officials have been democratically elected at regular intervals and that all their activities are democratically conducted."

In such elections, several persons are nominated for every elective post, and they are given a chance to accept or decline. After the completion of nominations for all posts, there is often a short recess

during which time the delegates discuss the various nominees, find out more about them, and arrive at their decision.

Then the names of the persons who have accepted are submitted to a secret ballot vote. This is usually done at the convention. In many American unions, this secret ballot for top officers and executive committee is conducted by a referendum vote of the entire membership during the next month. Such a secret ballot referendum vote is conducted by an impartial outside party, usually a firm of public accountants who prepare the ballots, mail them out, and count them as they are mailed, back from the entire rank-and-file.

The importance of direct election cannot be overemphasized.

It has been noted that in some Japanese unions special representation is given to both women and youth members of the unions. American unions make no such distinction. Women and youth members are elected because they have ability, not because of their special status. American unions believe in the solidarity of all members - men, women, youth, and old persons. Each member is a trade union member with one vote and an equal right to run for any office.

Summary

Prior to the convention ample time is given to permit local unions to elect delegates. Such delegates are elected by all rank-and-file members of local unions. They are not appointed. Local unions also discuss the policy of the union and prepare a series of resolutions regarding all important questions, constitutional changes, and other matters.

When the convention is called, it is operated according to procedure approved by the convention. An agenda is prepared, and the business of the convention is conducted according to the accepted rules of parliamentary procedure. No proxy voting is allowed.

All officers of the union are required to submit reports, which are thoroughly studied by a rank-and-file committee. Various rank-and-file committees examine every feature of the union, shape policy, and prepare resolutions for submission to rank-and-file discussion, debate, and vote.

Elections of officers and adoption of policy resolutions are done by the rank-and-file.

Finally, after the convention has finished its business, each convention delegate is required to report to a local union membership meeting on the proceedings of the convention. He describes the resolutions adopted and thus each and every member of the local union become familiar with the policy of the national organization.

Democratic organizations cannot be created. They grow with those who make them up. An initial democratic organization is required. This is found in the union constitution. But in the labor convention, as it meets from year to year, is found the school of democracy where rank-and-file members learn to control the policies of their own union, acquire the ability to speak, and in time develop as union leaders.

File #1008

TRADE UNION EDUCATION

The trade union is a democratic institution formed by a group of men and women employed in a mine, mill, or factory in order to improve, through collective bargaining and mutual assistance, their wages, hours, and working conditions. It is an association of free men and free women formed with the object of improving their social and economic status.

Institutions, like people, are born, grow, go to school, and finally become adults. The value of an institution rests not only in its nature and its objectives, but also in the way in which it is used. If the members of a trade union do not know how to use their trade union, it cannot be of much service to them. If they are well-trained in trade unionism, understand how to use their trade union, then the trade union can be very valuable to them.

And as with the child, the trade union, after it is born, learns first by observation, exploration, and experiment. As it grows, it will formalize its education, go to school. Finally the membership will attend specialized trade union schools and institutes.

A trade union is not formed by assembling a number of persons in a mine, mill or factory, adopting a constitution, electing a few officers, and then saying: "Now we have a trade union!"

When you do these things, you have merely created a new trade union organization. A trade union baby has been born.

After birth, the next step is for the trade union to develop its collective mind, develop its strength, and study the world in which it lives, and thus determine how the trade union is to operate within that world.

A trade union is only as powerful as the education and faith of its membership give it power. If the rank-and-file understand their trade union; know what it is for and how to use it, they will stand by their trade union, develop it, and make the trade union a mighty force for democracy and freedom.

RULE OF THE RANK-AND-FILE

Until some sort of workers' education has been achieved on a broad basis, it is futile and even misleading to talk of a trade union movement. You cannot have a trade union movement if only a few leaders are making all the decisions and doing all of the talking. Democratic trade unionism is founded on the intelligent and well-informed rule of the rank-and-file. That refers to the democratic discussion of issues out in the machi and mura, to policy votes in the local unions, and to inter-union issues by representatives of the rank-and-file who not only understand the issues they face, but have sufficient knowledge and experience to vote on these issues intelligently and responsibly.

YOUR PROBLEM

Consider the present situation of the trade union movement in Japan. There are approximately 5,500,000 trade union members in Japan who are members of the same twenty thousand local unions. There are several federations and half a hundred national unions. We can conclude that there are many types of officers who must be trained in trade union principles, although it must not be forgotten

that there are some older trade unionists who were active in the pre-war trade unions and know trade unionism principles.

Roughly, Japan today has the following groups of persons requiring trade union education:

- * A few hundred top leaders of federations, congresses, and national labor unions.
- * From forty to sixty thousand local union presidents and other local union officers.
- * Approximately sixty thousand shop stewards.
- * Five and one-half million trade union members, most of whom were never in a trade union before.

What does that signify in terms of trade union education? It indicates that one type of trade union education is needed to broaden the knowledge of the top leadership. Another type of training is needed at once in order to develop a sound administrative ability among the leaders of the local unions. The shop stewards need specialized training in the art of collective bargaining and settlement of grievances. And five million members of the new trade unions need general education in the purpose, the objectives, and the operation of their trade unions.

Trade unions will not stand very long, or grow, unless they are cultivated, educated, and matured through workers' education and the active experience of all the membership. Trade unions become educated as their various individual members become educated.

Now the American and British trade unions have developed some principles and methods of education which may be of great value to the Japanese trade union movement. The remainder of this discussion is presented not as an outline of what should or must be done, but rather as a suggestion of what has been done in other countries, and what can possibly be done in Japan.

TYPES OF SCHOOLS

The Night School is commonly used in order to teach one or two basic trade union subjects. It has usually developed when one or two trade union members are able to secure from their national union a basic book or pamphlet, say one on collective bargaining procedures, or a book on the duties of the local union officers. Once or twice a week, a few union members meet to discuss and read additional sections of the pamphlet or book. They read, discuss it, and relate it to their experiences in the shop.

Perhaps one of them is able to secure a copy of the Trade Union Act. They study it week by week, analyze it, and become thoroughly familiar with it. This study is done in their spare time -- one or two nights a week, or perhaps on a Sunday afternoon.

Later, the local union may institute a formal school which operates one or two nights a week. This is just a further development of the informal night school.

The New Member School is utilized by trade unions in order to teach new members the basic principles of their union, and advise them of their rights and duties as trade union members. It usually consists of a series of lectures given over a period of a week or two.

The One-Day Institute is another method used to educate a group of trade unionists. The union may hold a one-day institute for local union officers, at which a series of lectures will outline the duties of the various local union officers. The One-Day Institute is used to give specialized education to a group of persons from one or more local unions in a short time and inexpensively.

The Labor School is a much more formal type of education, and usually consists of a series of lectures and classes, held over a period of a week or two, in order to train trade union leaders, union organizers, shop stewards, and other specialized union officials and officers.

The Summer School usually develops as a result of the other types of schools and institutes, and is a school with a permanent staff operating all summer, presenting a series of one-- or two-- week courses for both officers and rank-and-file union members. As local union members receive their annual vacations, they attend the summer school to receive intensive education in all basic trade union subjects, as well as to meet fellow trade unionists, and to enjoy group games and other recreation. This type of education, it should be noted, can only develop and be successful after the more simple types of schools and institutes have been developed and operated successfully for a period of time.

EDUCATION DIRECTORS

Before the national union can plan any type of large-scale educational program, the officers should select a rank-and-file trade union member who has talent along educational lines, put him on a full-time salary basis, and give him sufficient money to begin operations. If he is given time and such an opportunity, and can spend hours in the libraries, it will not be long before he will begin to get ideas about writing pamphlets and leaflets. As he begins to write and to give lectures, he or she will develop with the job. A good trade union educational director cannot develop overnight. But he or she certainly can be trained in several months if the national trade union education director is given an opportunity to develop. Trade union leaders who deny the opportunity to trade union education to the rank-and-file are very poor leaders indeed. American trade unions have discovered by experience that militant and strong unions develop ONLY as a result of widespread workers' education from the top leadership down to the young men and women in the local unions.

WHAT CAN BE DONE TODAY?

We will assume that the Japanese national trade unions have selected or elected educational directors. We will assume that they have accomplished a certain amount of reading, have visited the Tokyo C.I. and E. Library, and have begun to develop their own ideas about trade union education for their union.

The Education Director has the job of assembling the material which will form the basis for some labor schools. It is urgent that he initiate a labor school for leaders. It is also urgent that he initiate a school for the trade union organizers who will visit the machi and mura of Japan, preach trade unionism, and both educate and inspire the local union leaders to begin education

of the rank-and-file on the local union level.

Let us consider these two problems.

LEADERSHIP EDUCATION

Certainly every leader can use more education. Whenever any trade union leader announces that he knows everything there is to know about trade unionism, it is perhaps time to look around for a new leader.

First of all, let us emphasize that before a school can be held, an infinite amount of PLANNING and PREPARATION must be carried on. You can't draw up a list of subjects, a list of lecturers, and then announce a school. On the contrary, a very careful job must be done in preparation if the school is to be successful.

Let us suppose that the national union education director decides to begin work on a school for leaders. The first thing he has to consider is what to teach. As it is a trade union school, it is natural to suggest that Trade Union Principles should be taught. As the union has a certain structure and is part of the labor movement, the next logical subject would be Trade Union Structure and Operation. As the trade union operates through meetings, another subject would possibly be Parliamentary Procedure. As the union's method of operation is to develop trade agreements through collective bargaining, that would suggest courses in Collective Bargaining Procedures, Contract Negotiation, and Grievance Machinery. Then, as the trade unions operate under certain laws, it would be important to consider additional courses on Labor Law and Labor Relations Agencies. Other courses such as Public Speaking, Post-War Economics, Japanese Constitution, and Labor Economics also suggest themselves.

It will be noted that the trade union school usually does not include the teaching of political ideologies or partisan political philosophies. The trade union school has enough to do teaching trade unionism, without introducing political ideologies which may cause splits in the union.

THE TEACHERS

Once a schedule of the subjects to be taught has been prepared, the next job is to find the persons who are to give the lectures. It is important to stress at this point that the lecturers chosen must not only be wise men, but also persons who can speak logically and simply. Labor schools are for the rank-and-file. If you use too many college professors or Doctors of the Law, you may find that the students will go to sleep. Instead of learning something, they may spend their time dreaming of huge bowls with ten go of steaming rice in them.

It may take a week or two to interview the persons who seem to be useful. You may select some primary school teachers, a few college professors, experienced trade union leaders, government labor officials, and other persons. You may secure the help of the local Military Government C. I. and E. officer in presenting a short course on History of the American Labor Movement.

PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS

As you select your teachers, write down each subject, and outline various

topics which should be included. It is vital that each teacher should have a complete outline beforehand of exactly what is to be taught, and how it is to be taught. That brings up the question of pamphlets and books. You may be able to borrow the books you need from some old trade unionist. But you may also find out that you cannot secure the volumes you want. In that case, you may have to write the pamphlets yourself. A short pamphlet can be written on trade union principles, using recent events in Japanese labor history to dramatize your pamphlet. You may secure the help of someone in preparing a booklet on the structure and operation of the trade union. Perhaps you can secure a copy of Parliamentary Procedure from the C.I. and E. Library at Tokyo or Kyoto or from the SCAP Labor Division, and use that as the basic text for your class. You will probably have to prepare the basic pamphlets on collective bargaining and grievance machinery. You can secure copies of the new labor laws of Nippon from the K&M Labor Administration Director.

Remember! -- PLAN, PLAN PLAN -- then collect, prepare, and write.

TECHNIQUES

Having planned the course, decided upon the instructors, and assembled the printed material needed to operate the school, you should plan the use of visual aids. Plan to illustrate the class on labor law by a field trip to the local Labor Relations Committee. Plan a field trip to visit an Employment Exchange and hold a discussion about employment matters with the officials involved.

You may plan to have the class on collective bargaining conducted on the workshop basis. You could make an arrangement with several unionized local factories, so that small groups of students could visit each factory, make a study of the collective bargaining machinery, and report back to the class next day on what they found. You could arrange to have small groups of students visit factories which have had labor disputes, prepare histories of the disputes, and develop an analysis of the various steps in the negotiations.

By combining classes, field trips, workshops, and discussions based on field trips, you could develop a sound educational technique whereby the students would teach themselves, with the teacher merely guiding and suggesting.

The class on parliamentary procedure could be planned so that the first few lectures would present the principles of the order of business, the making of motions, amending of motions, and so forth. Then you could plan a series of classes wherein the class could select a chairman, the instructor could propose a topic for discussion, and then the class could make a motion, amend it, table it, vote on it, and so forth. This type of education is also valuable, for the students learn the principles by applying them.

Likewise, in teaching contract negotiation, the teacher could plan to divide the class into small groups, put a mock labor-management problem on the blackboard, and then have one group represent management, another group represent the negotiation committee. They could go to work, argue, and try to convince each other. They may get excited -- they may shout -- but they will certainly learn some of the elements of negotiation.

In a word, then, the education director should plan each class so well in advance, and with such care, through use of so many techniques, that when

the students arrive they will receive an intensive education in a short time. Labor people are usually very busy. There is always something new happening. They cannot devote too much time to education. The education director by careful planning can make every minute a very valuable minute of instruction.

In all of the lectures, remember that the lecture alone is only part of the class. The teacher may have a good many things to say, but the students also have a contribution to make. The best way for the teacher to conduct lectures is to ask frequent questions.

Thus, if the teacher is discussing the Rodo Iin Kai, he may say: "Sato San, how is the Rodo Iin Kai appointed?"

Sato san will give an answer.

"Ah so," says the teacher. "That is true, but I think there is a very careful procedure outlined in the Trade Union Act. Watanabe San, can you tell us more about the appointment of the Rodo Iin Kai...?"

Ask frequent questions, and have the students give short accounts of their own experiences if they illustrate the subject that is being discussed. This sort of democratic discussion broadens the background of both the teacher and the students. It also keeps the students wideawake.

MECHANICS

The education director has arranged everything. He has charts, posters, outlines, pamphlets, books, teachers, and so forth. The final step is to secure the rooms or building in which the class is to be held, and make arrangement for the accommodations of the students. Frequently, it will be possible to use a primary school building, a university class room, or some public building. Use of public buildings is often advisable for it does not involve the union having to spend too much money. On dormitory accommodations, if there are no dormitories available, the education director may arrange in advance with local union members to board one or two students apiece.

When all is in readiness, the education director can then total the expenses of the two-week or one-month school and, after deciding how many students can be accommodated, determine the cost per student. In America, it is the custom for the local union to pay the expenses of the student's board, room, tuition, and carfare. Naturally, when the student returns to his local union, he is then expected to conduct a local union school in return for the educational opportunity he has received.

Announce the school well in advance both in the local union newspapers and in the national Japanese press. You have worked very hard to form the school, and you should be proud to tell all Japan about it.

When the call is issued for the students, have the President of the National Union issue the call, so that every local union will be certain to send someone... also invite the students as decided by the national union headquarters. As the labor education program is a long range program, it may be wise to encourage the local unions to send young men and young women to these leadership schools, as well as the older leaders of local unions.

After you have directed one school of this type, you will find it much

easier to plan another. And once you have two or three of them, you will not have to go outside of your union for instructors. You will have begun to train your own teachers, and in time the union will be able to educate itself by using its own rank-and-file teachers... teachers who have developed through and with the labor movement.

SCHOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

A school for national union organizers could be run on the same basis. Inasmuch as the organizer travels about Japan, it is important that he receive additional instruction in Government Agencies of Use to Labor so that he can help local unions to solve their problems. As an organizer, he should also perhaps receive a good course of instruction in Union Propaganda Techniques the art of writing leaflets and pamphlets, and preparing statements for the press. As the organizer frequently will meet with both employer and trade union, it would be wise to give him a basic knowledge of the industry in which he operates through a course in the Economics of the Industry.

Such schools may take months to prepare, and may involve quite a bit of money, but they will pay dividends through the years. Many new local unions have lost labor disputes and harmed the labor movement because the officers and leaders did not know how to bargain collectively. Through such workers' education, over a period of time, a solid core of trained trade unionists can be developed. They in turn, can take part in the education of the rank-and-file. Such training aids in the development of the trade union democracy, trade union solidarity, and trade union discipline.

INSTITUTES

While the national union education director is working on plans for the development of leadership schools and schools for organizers, he may well start working on a series of one-day institutes for the rank-and-file. The best way to initiate a series is to urge several local unions to organize a one-day institute in their own locality.

To begin with, a local institute could possibly be arranged with the local primary school, with a few lectures on collective bargaining, labor law, trade union principles, and the organization and structure of the trade union. A one-day institute can be used for special training after some important new labor development. For instance, the local union leadership officers and shop stewards) perhaps need a one-day institute on Labor Laws and Enforcement of Collective Bargaining. You can arrange for a one-day institute using local union officers, trade union primary school teachers, and government officials who are competent to speak on the Rodo Iin Kai, labor law, and so forth. Certainly you cannot expect to have Sato San file labor cases with the Rodo Iin Kai unless he knows how the Rodo Iin Kai operates and how cases are field. A one-day institute can give him sufficient information so that, as cases arise, the local unions can start action to secure employer compliance with the labor laws.

EDUCATION DIRECTOR INSTITUTES

It is also important at this time for the national union education directors to consider either national or regional conference of the education directors of local unions, or the chairman of the local union education

committee. You cannot expect the local unions to carry on educational work unless you give them information, guidance, and inspiration.

A one or two-day conference with local union education directors could be used to inform them of the books, pamphlets, and other aids available to them, could be used for discussions with them of ways and means of setting up night schools, one-day institutes, and ken-wide labor schools.

During the past year, the Japanese labor movement has had much experience in the field of labor unionization and labor relations. It is now time to get local union education directors working inside their local union teaching the membership the basic principles of trade unionism, analyzing both the mistakes and successes of the past year so that the trade union membership can profit from the mistakes they made, and increase their strength by understanding where and why they succeeded.

NEW MEMBER SCHOOLS

The school for new members is usually run every few months in order to continue educating the new members as they come into the trade union. Such a school usually consists of a series of four or five short lectures given after working hours during a two-week period. The purpose of the school for new members is two-fold: To have the officers meet the new members, and to orient the new members regarding their trade union.

For instance, the President of the local union may give a lecture on trade union objectives and principles. The Chief Shop Steward could explain the contract, collective bargaining and how grievance machinery functions in the shop. The Secretary-Treasurer of the Union could explain the organization of the local and national union, tell the new members why the union needs finances, and answer their questions about dues, assessments, and union expenses. Other union officers could discuss the union constitution and the necessity for further extended trade union education.

SHOP STEWARD SCHOOL

Local Union education directors should be encouraged to meet with the shop stewards once a week and give them a short but intensive series of lectures and discussions on grievance machinery, negotiation, the presentation of complaints, appealing grievances, and all of the other steps involved in enforcing the trade agreement and settling the legitimate grievances of the union members in the shop.

The local union education director could also keep the shop stewards informed on current pertinent decisions of the Rodo In Kai as well as discuss shop steward procedures in American and British trade unions.

SPECIAL INSTITUTES

The national union education director has to think also of the special union officers -- the chief shop stewards, the presidents of local unions, the secretary-treasurers, and the executive board members. He may find it very useful to arrange one-or-two day institutes for these special groups in order to obtain uniform trade union procedure, develop union techniques, and aid in the development of high type trade union leadership.

Tokyo-to was not built in a day, or a year.. Neither was Osaka-Fu built in a year, or ten years. They were both built slowly, from the ground up.

In the same way, it is imperative that the national Japanese trade unions develop educational programs, employ full-time educational directors paid by the union, and initiate democratic workers' education in every machi and mura in Japan in which there is a local trade union.

There are solid trade unions to be built. There are contracts to be written. There are opportunities for great achievements in the future for the Japanese trade union movement.

Trade union democracy, however, may never fully develop if the Japanese labor movement permits a few persons in Tokyo to do all of the talking, and all the policy-making. Democracy, it would appear, cannot for long exist or grow if a few persons at the top of the trade union movement do all of the thinking.

The world democratic trade union movement has found its roots in the hearts and minds of the great rank-and-file of trade union membership. Japanese trade unions will never be stronger than their rank-and-file. Educate that rank-and-file, give the young men and the young women of Japan a fundamental knowledge of democratic trade unionism, and in time the great, strong tree of democratic trade unionism will grow in Japan. And no matter how strong the winds may blow, no matter how telling the blows of those who may oppose it, no matter how storms may rage, that trade union tree will grow with the years and protect the people whom it shelters; for its roots will be in the hearts and minds of the Japanese people, and its heart blood will be the inspiration and enlightenment of workers education; and no axe-man will be able to chop it down, for its thick bark of experience and its core of knowledge will be its safeguards.

NOTE

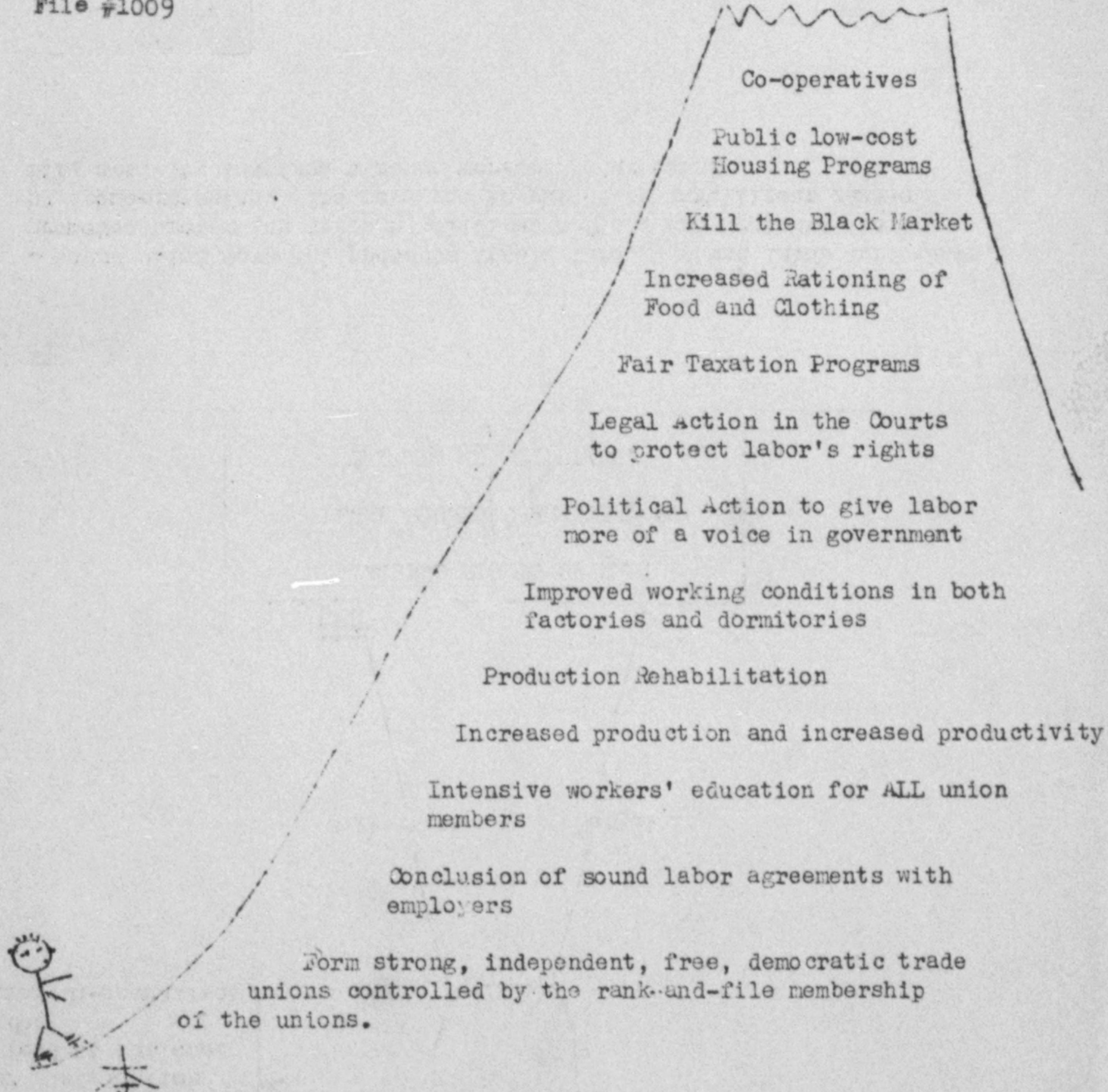
Don't forget that the Tokyo C I and E Library, opposite the Hibiya Theatre, has a wealth of material on trade unionism, collective bargaining, and trade union education. You will find many pamphlets, leaflets, and books there that are of assistance. This C I and E Library is open to Japanese only, and is there for your use. In Kyoto, visit the General Kreuger C I & E Library.

end

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IS BUILT STEP-BY-STEP.

START WITH ABSOLUTE ESSENTIALS... THEN BUILD SLOWLY.

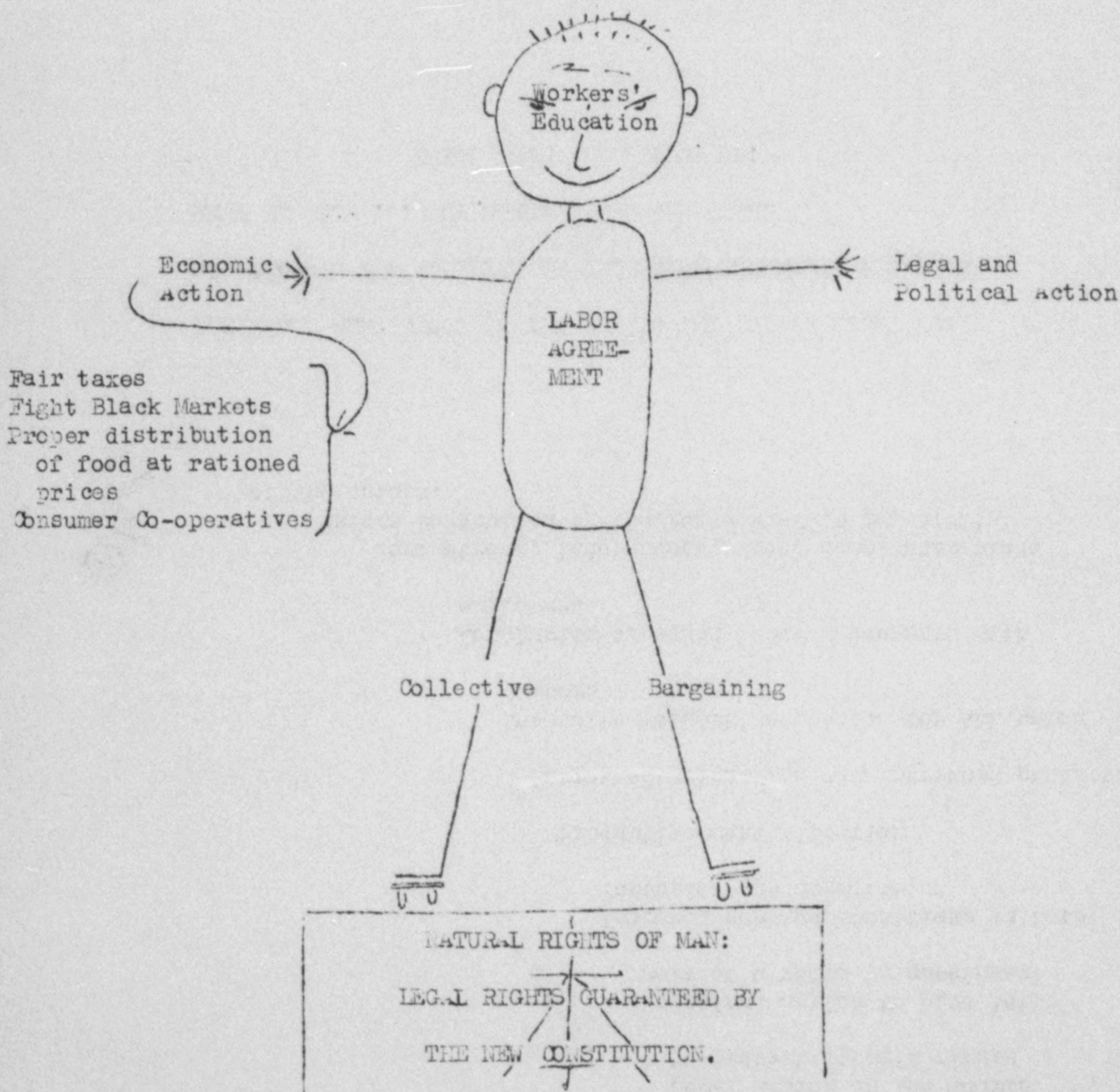
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THERE ARE MANY STOPS ON THE WAY TO THE TOP OF MOUNT FUJI
SO, TOO, IN THE BUILDING OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT, PROGRESS
MUST BE SLOW ... BUT SURE... STEP BY STEP.

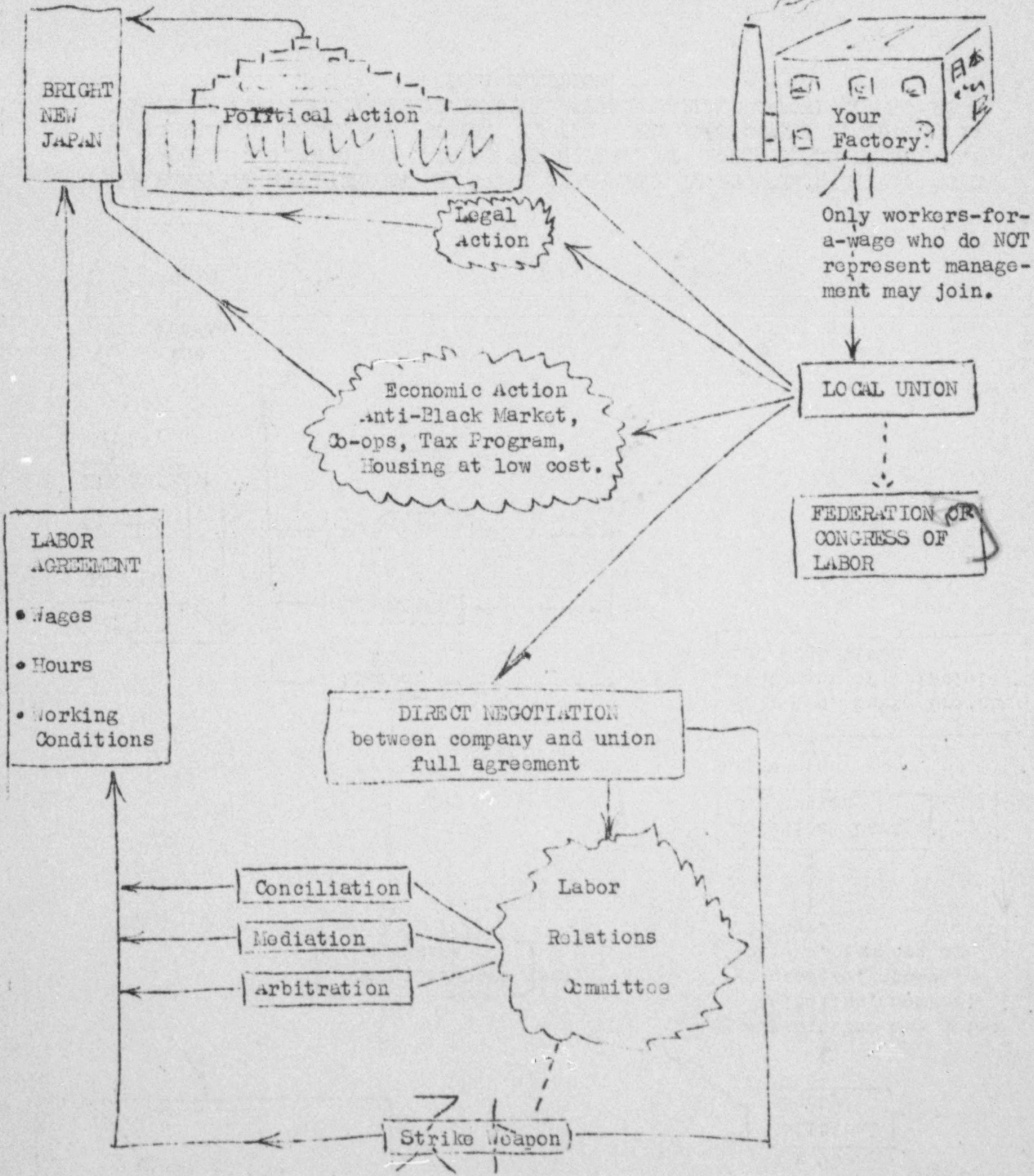
BUILD FROM THE BOTTOM UP!

IS YOUR TRADE UNION WELL - BALANCED?



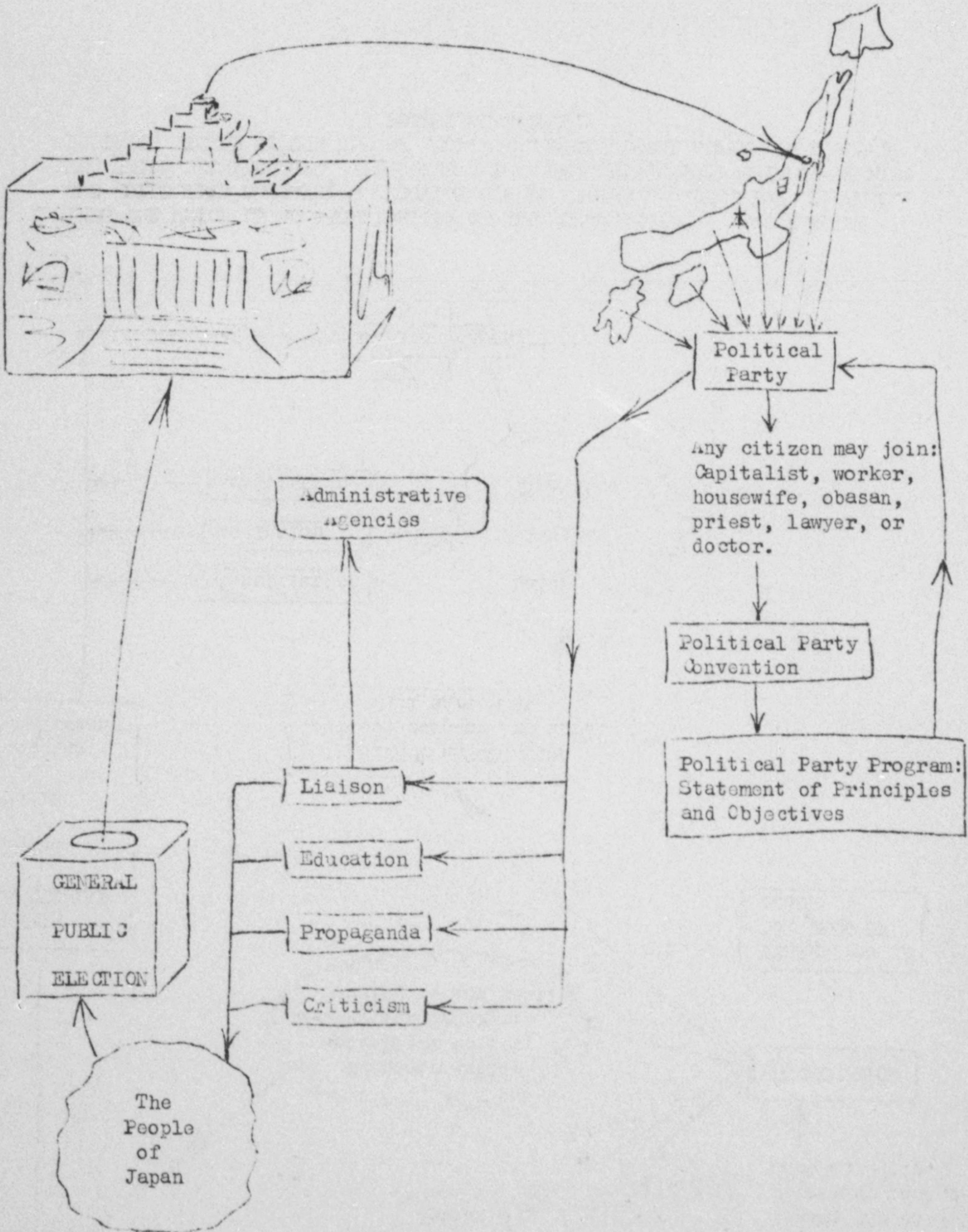
A sound union movement protects itself through sound labor agreements, promotes protection through political action, and protects itself by economic means. Its movement is guided by intelligent rank-and-file activity inspired through workers' education!

HOW THE TRADE UNION FUNCTIONS IN MAKING ITS REAL CONTRIBUTION TOWARD BUILDING THE BRIGHTER NEW JAPAN



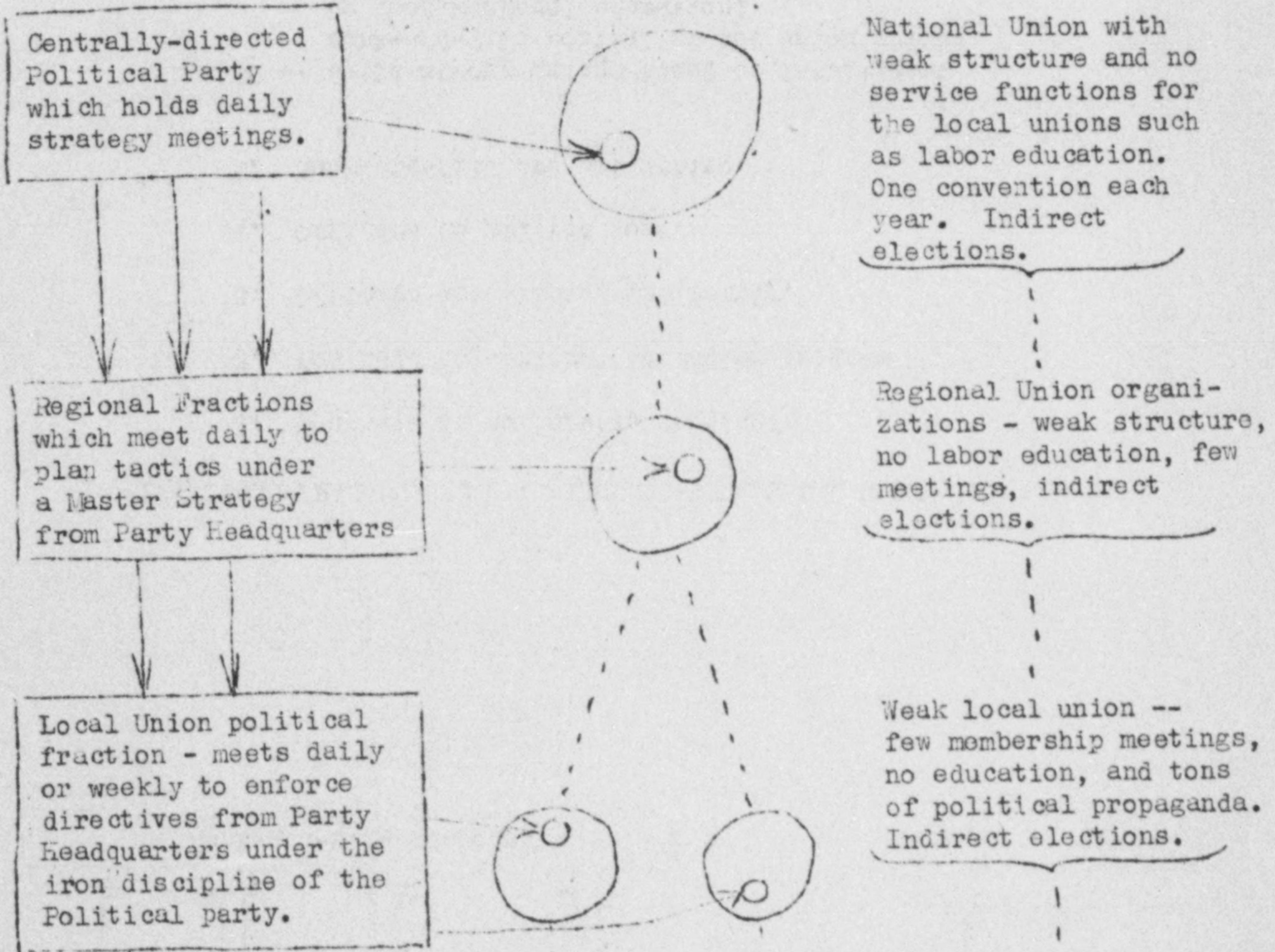
THUS THE UNION IS AN ORGANIZATION OF ALL NON-MANAGEMENT WAGE EARNERS WHO USE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING NEGOTIATIONS TO SECURE A PROTECTIVE CONTRACT. THE UNION MAY FEDERATE WITH OTHER UNIONS FOR MUTUAL PROTECTION. IT ALSO PROTECTS ITSELF BY THE USE OF ECONOMIC ACTION, LEGAL ACTION, AND SOUND POLITICAL ACTION.

NOTICE HOW THE POLITICAL PARTY DIFFERS FROM THE TRADE UNION
IN MEMBERSHIP, METHOD OF OPERATION, AND PURPOSE.....!!

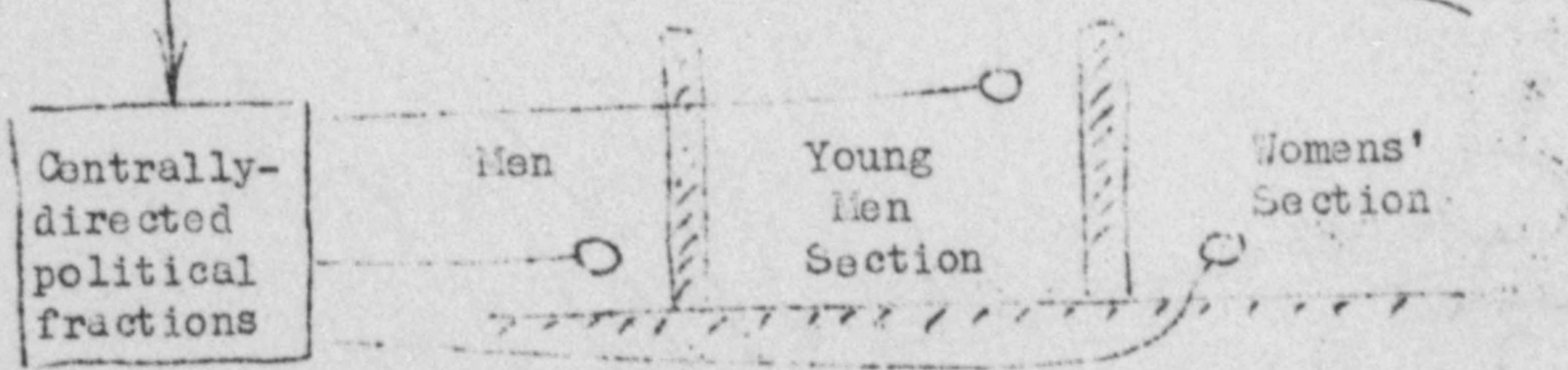


THE PARTY IS ORGANIZED BY ALL TYPES OF PERSONS TO PROMOTE A CERTAIN TYPE OF PROGRAM REGARDING WHO AND HOW THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED. THE APPEAL IS TO ALL THE PEOPLE. IF THE PARTY IS SUCCESSFUL, IT WINS AN IMPORTANT PART OF GOVERNMENT THROUGH POPULAR BALLOT SUPPORT AT THE GENERAL ELECTION.

POLITICAL FRACTION ACTIVITY : ONE OF THE GREATEST THREATS TO DEMOCRACY IN YOUR UNION!



AND THIS IS FURTHER PROVOKED WHEN THE UNION IS DIVIDED INTO SUB-SECTIONS IN EACH OF WHICH IS A SMALL POLITICAL CELL OR POLITICAL FRACTION

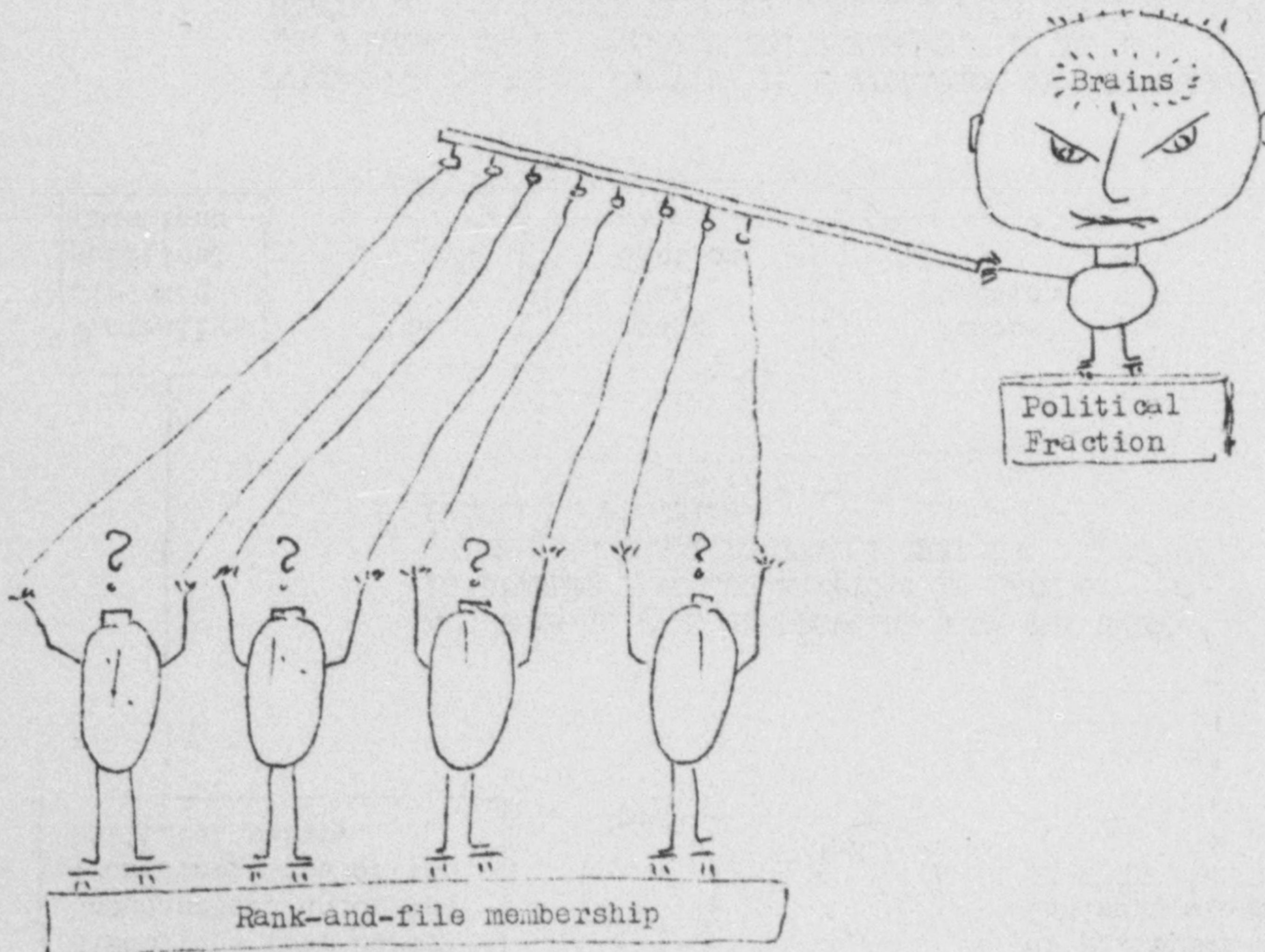


POLITICAL FRACTION ACTIVITY IS A VIOLATION OF THE AUTONOMY AND FREEDOM OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT. IT IS AN INSULT TO THE INTELLIGENCE OF R.N.A. AND FILE UNION MEMBERS!

POLITICAL MANIPULATION OF YOUR LOCAL UNION BY ANY

FRACTION MOVEMENT IS AN INSULT TO YOUR

INTELLIGENCE!

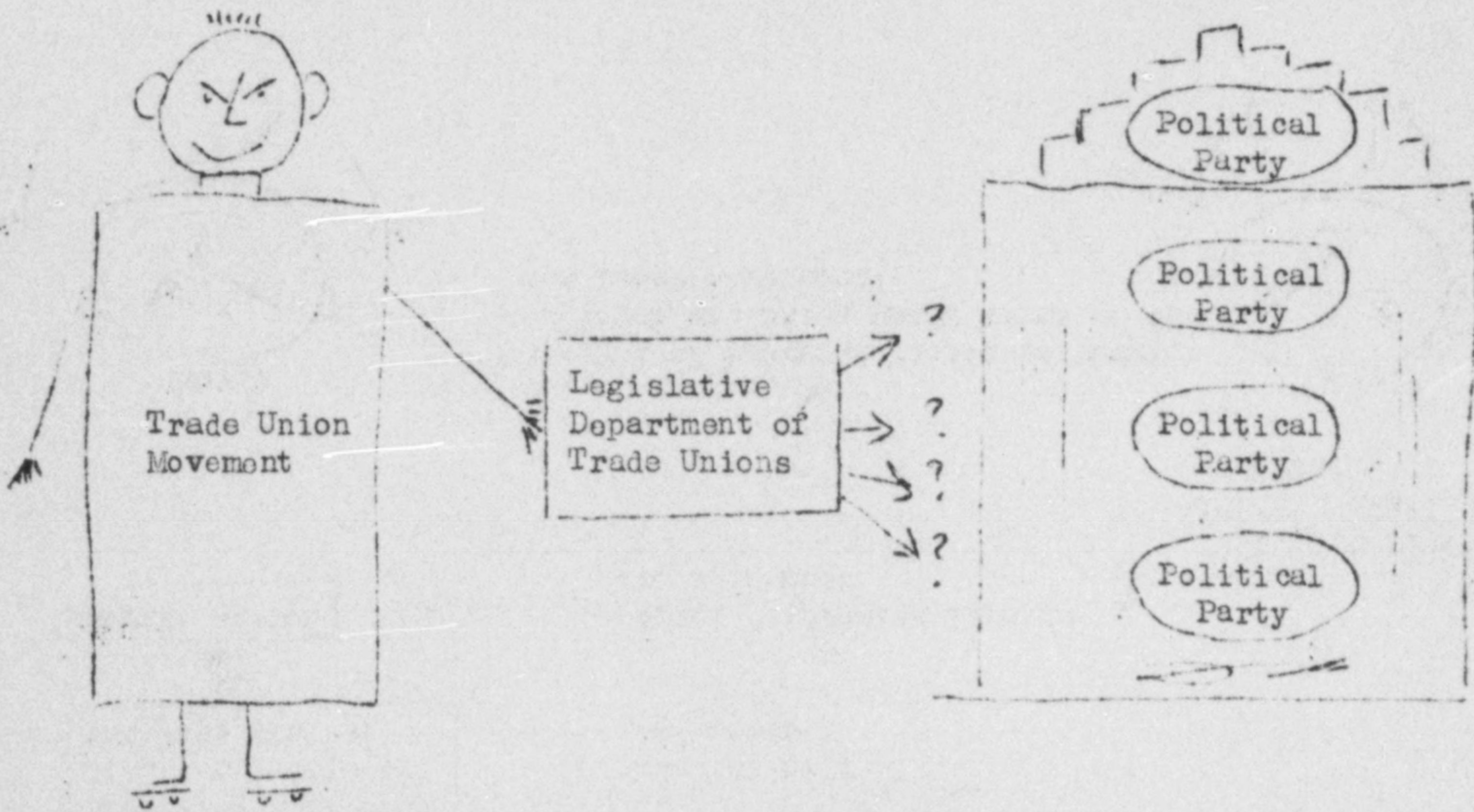


POLITICAL FRACTIONS CAN MANIPULATE YOUR LOCAL UNION IF:

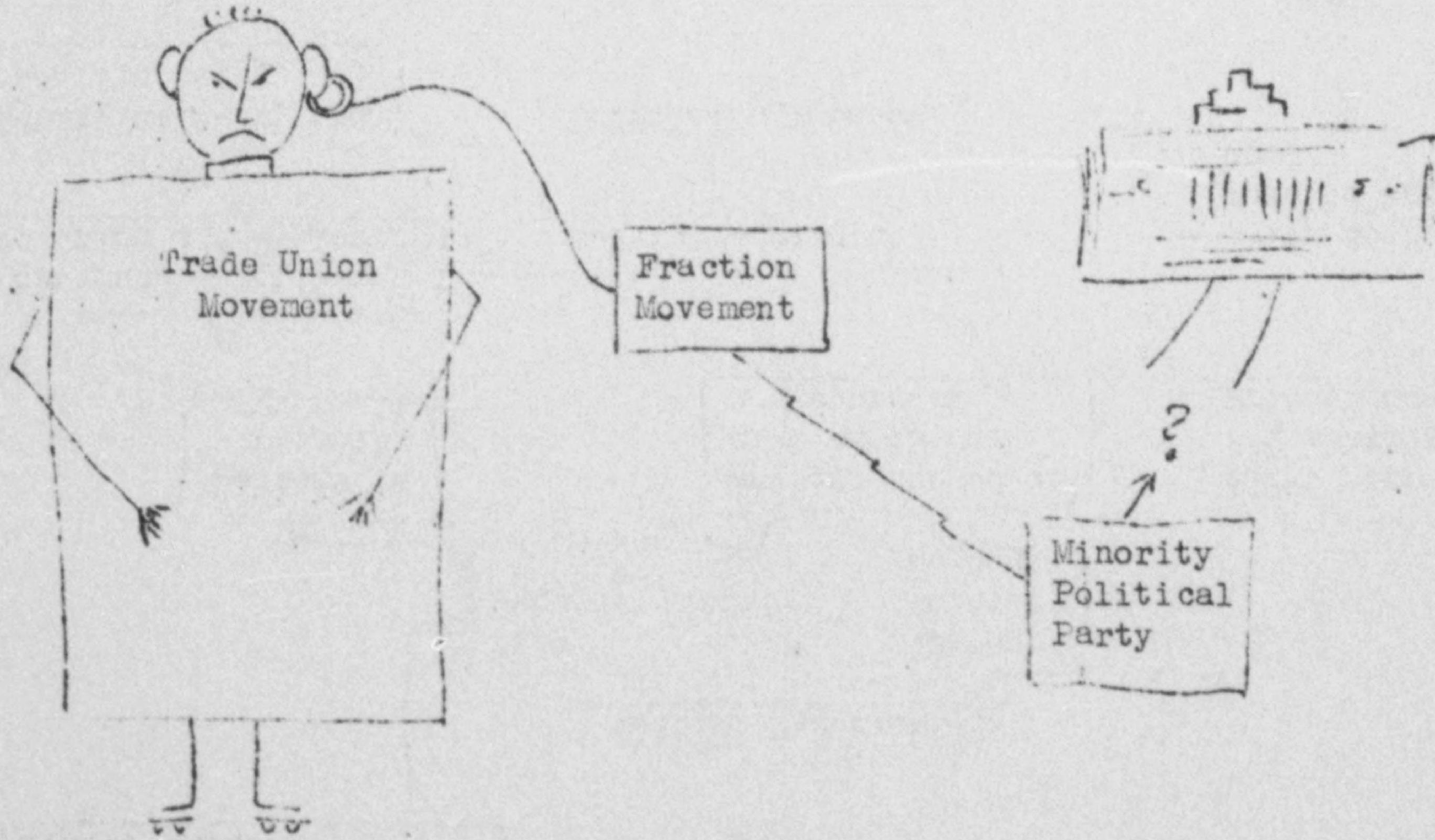
1. You have no membership meetings.
2. You have no workers' education program
3. Officers are elected indirectly.
4. Officers do all the work.
5. Rank-and-file are not active.

UNION -- build strong unions based on intelligent rank-and-file control of the union guided by good workers' education!

INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION

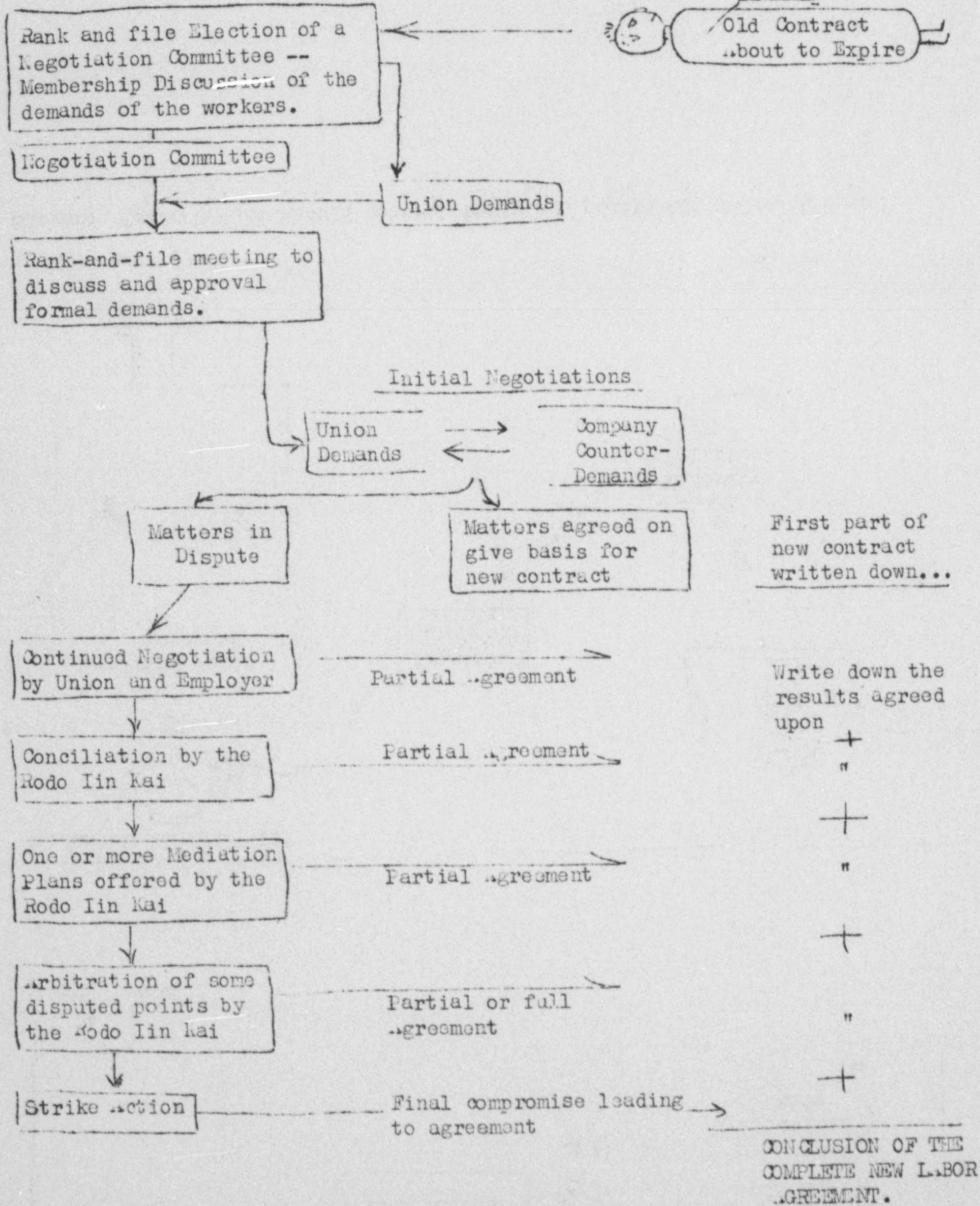


OR DO YOU DESIRE THIS?

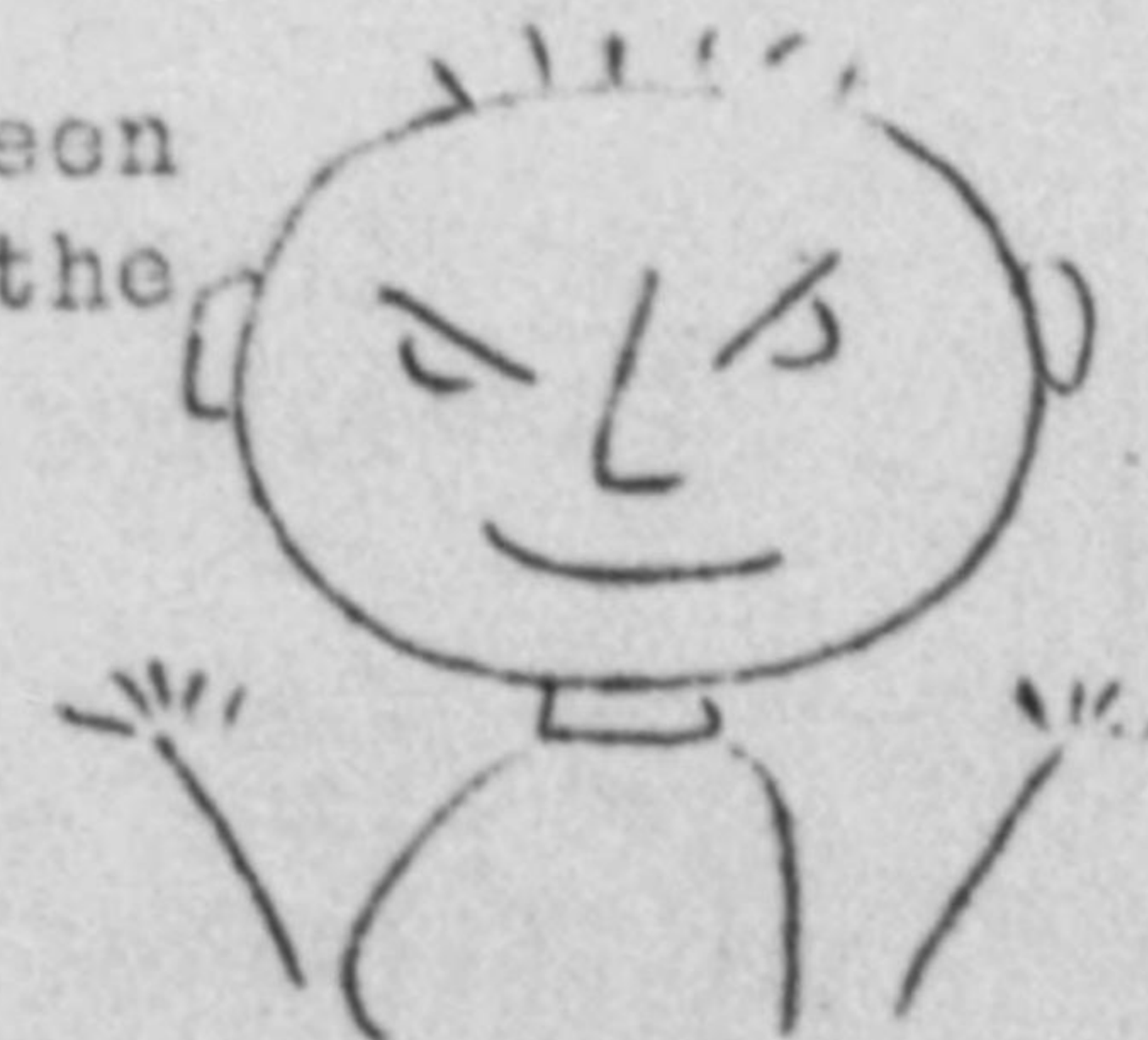


Slogan: Trade Unions should control their own political action program!

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW UNION AGREEMENT AT THE EXPIRATION OF THE OLD CONTRACT:



Renewal of Peaceful relations between employer and union under terms of the new labor agreement!

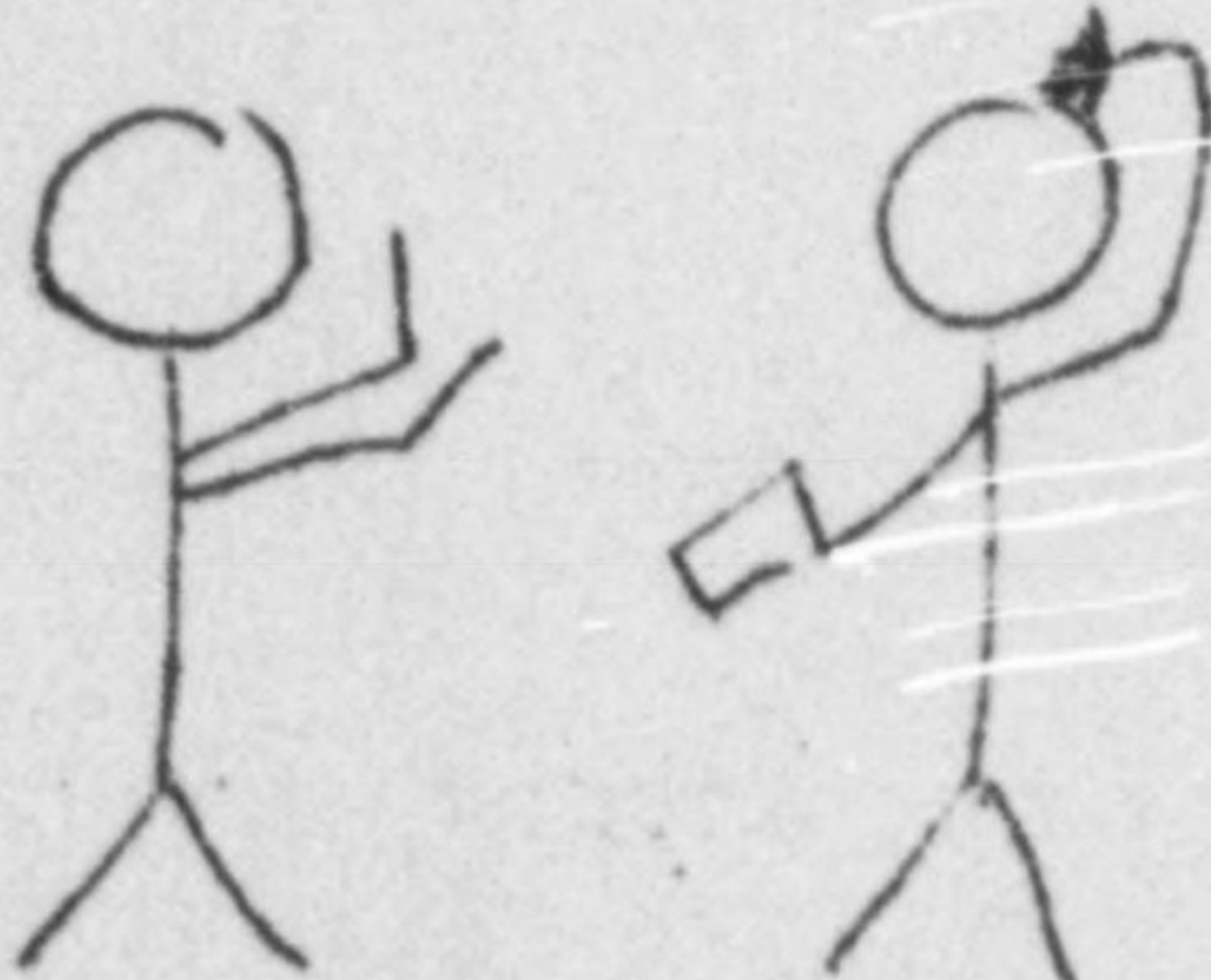
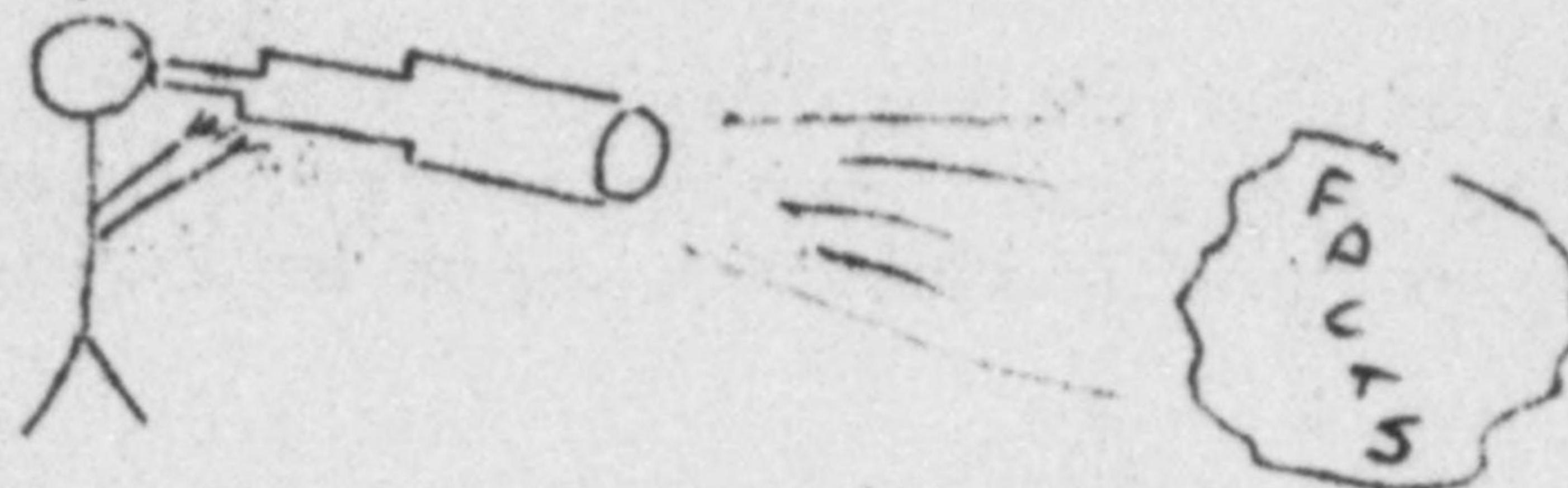


HOW THE SHOP STEWARD SYSTEM WORKS INSIDE YOUR FACTORY!



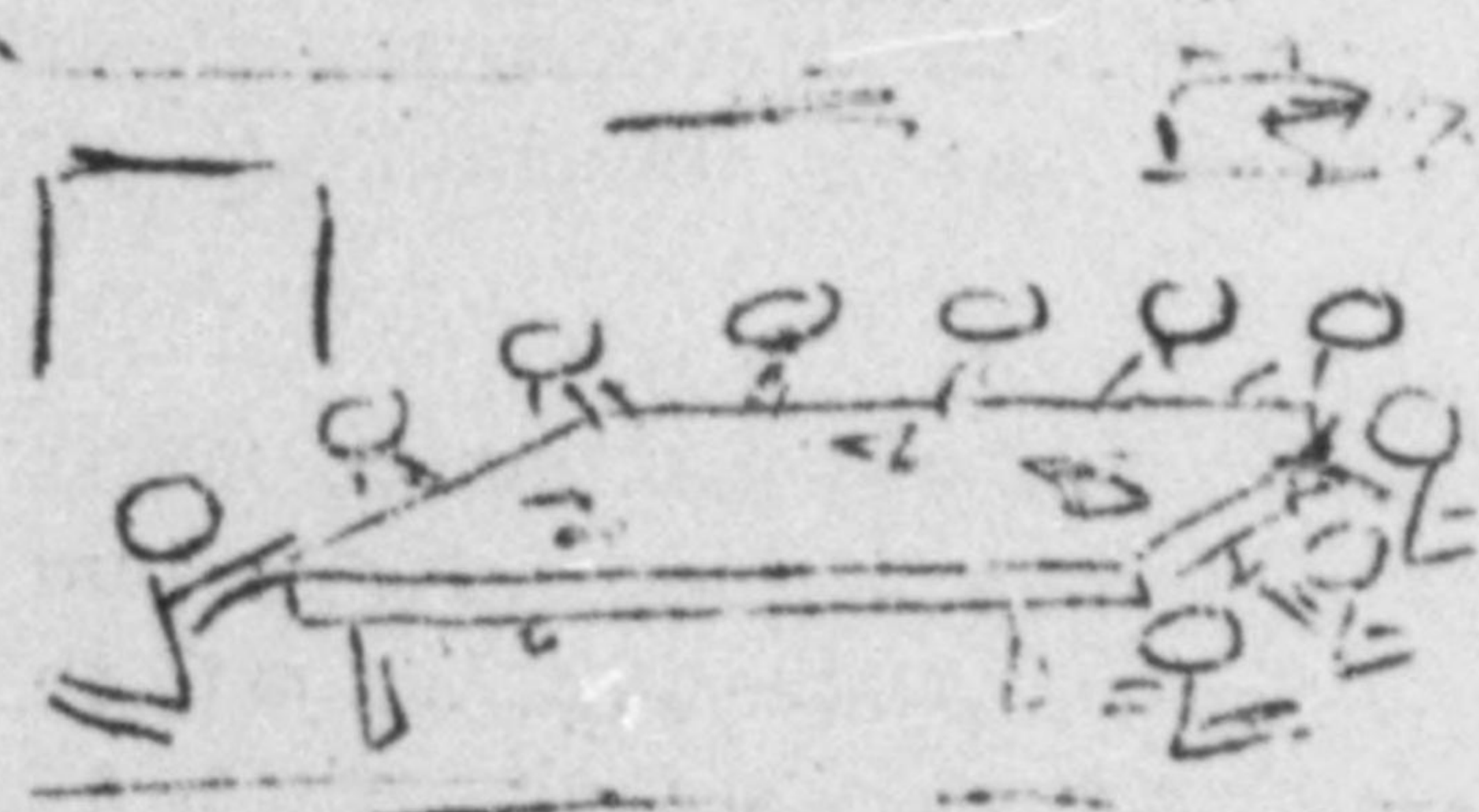
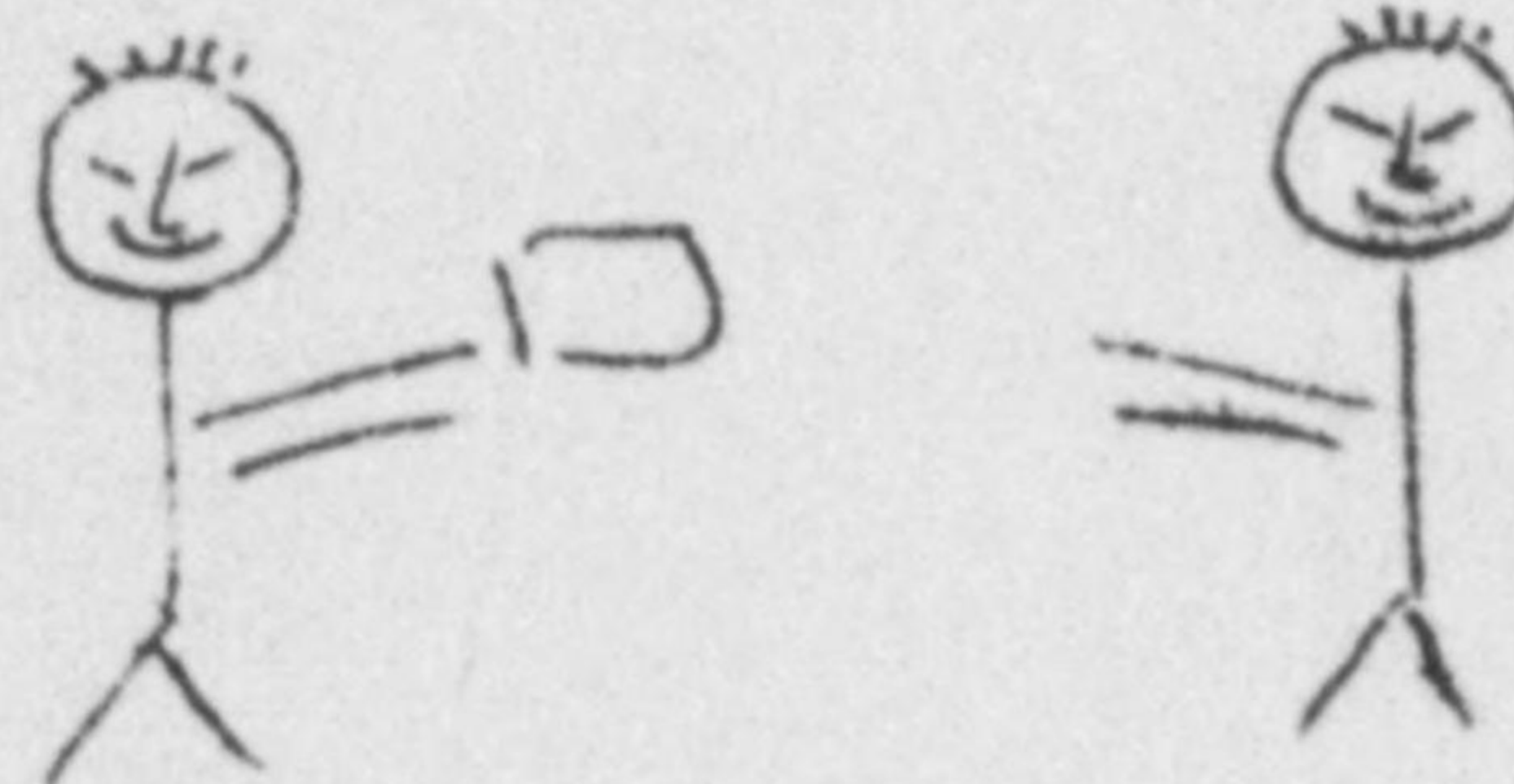
You have a grievance or a complaint arising under the terms of your labor contract. You tell the Shop Steward about it.

The Shop steward makes an investigation of all the facts



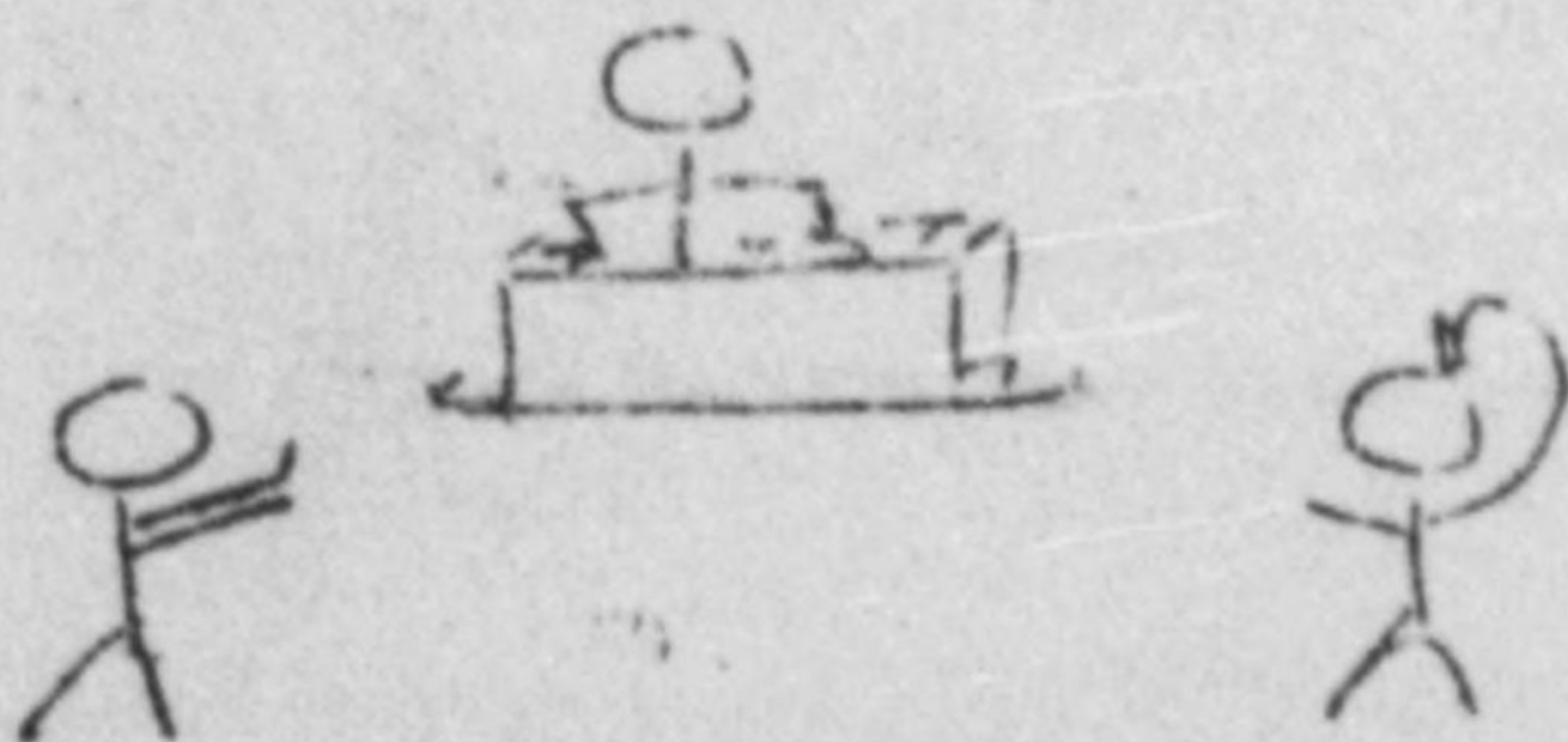
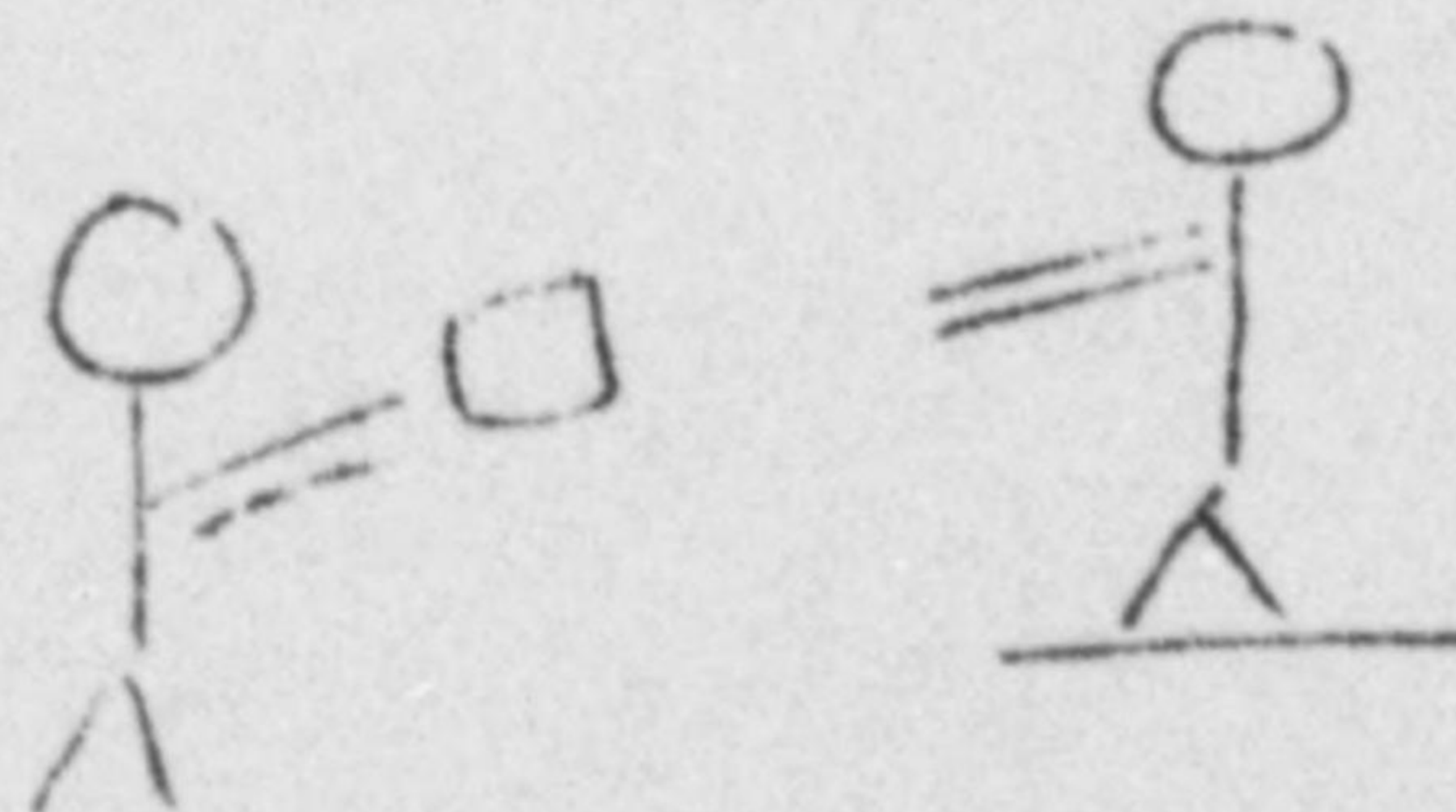
He visits the local foreman who represents the employer. They try to settle the matter by negotiation. The Shop Steward is a fellow worker who works most of the time right on his job, only stops working an hour or so a day to settle your problems.

If the foreman and the shop steward can solve the problem, everyone is happy.



But if they cannot, then the matter must go before the weekly meeting of the entire Shop Steward Committee and the Management representatives.

If they cannot solve the matter, say within five days, then under grievance machinery it must go to an impartial umpire for final arbitration.



The arbitrator must give his decision with a time limit, say 2 weeks. His decision is binding on both company and union.

and the worker on the job gets settlement of his complaint without a wildcat strike or any sabotage!



HOW THE SHOP STEWARD SYSTEM AND GRIEVANCE MACHINERY OPERATE WHEN A NATIONAL EMPLOYER AND A NATIONAL UNION ARE INVOLVED!

The worker, or workers, take their complaint to the shop steward. In most cases, every fifty workers elect a fellow-worker as their shop steward. He discusses the matter with the foreman, tries to reach a settlement by negotiation. They must reach an agreement within.....

A time limit is written into the contract for each step of the grievance machinery.

3 days

and if they cannot, the matter is then referred to the weekly meeting of all the Shop Stewards with the local managers. They discuss the matter, negotiate, and must reach an agreement within.....

+

5 days

If they cannot, the matter is then referred to the regular meeting of the district union officials and the district management. They negotiate and must reach agreement within...

+

7 days

If they cannot reach agreement, the matter is then referred to the top national union officers, who visit the top company officials and again negotiate the matter. They try to reach a compromise and must do this within...

+

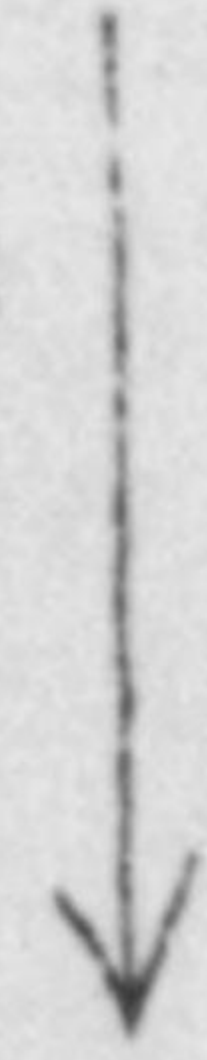
7 days

If they cannot reach agreement, the matter is then referred to an impartial umpire for arbitration. The umpire may be the Central Labor Relations Committee. Or the company and the union may have agreed in advance to name their own private arbitrator -- some outside, third, impartial party who is paid equally by company and union -- perhaps a lawyer, a doctor, a school principal, a newspaper editor, or a priest. This third party calls a hearing of both top union officials and top managers. He investigates the merits and justice of the dispute. But he must render his final binding decision within...

+

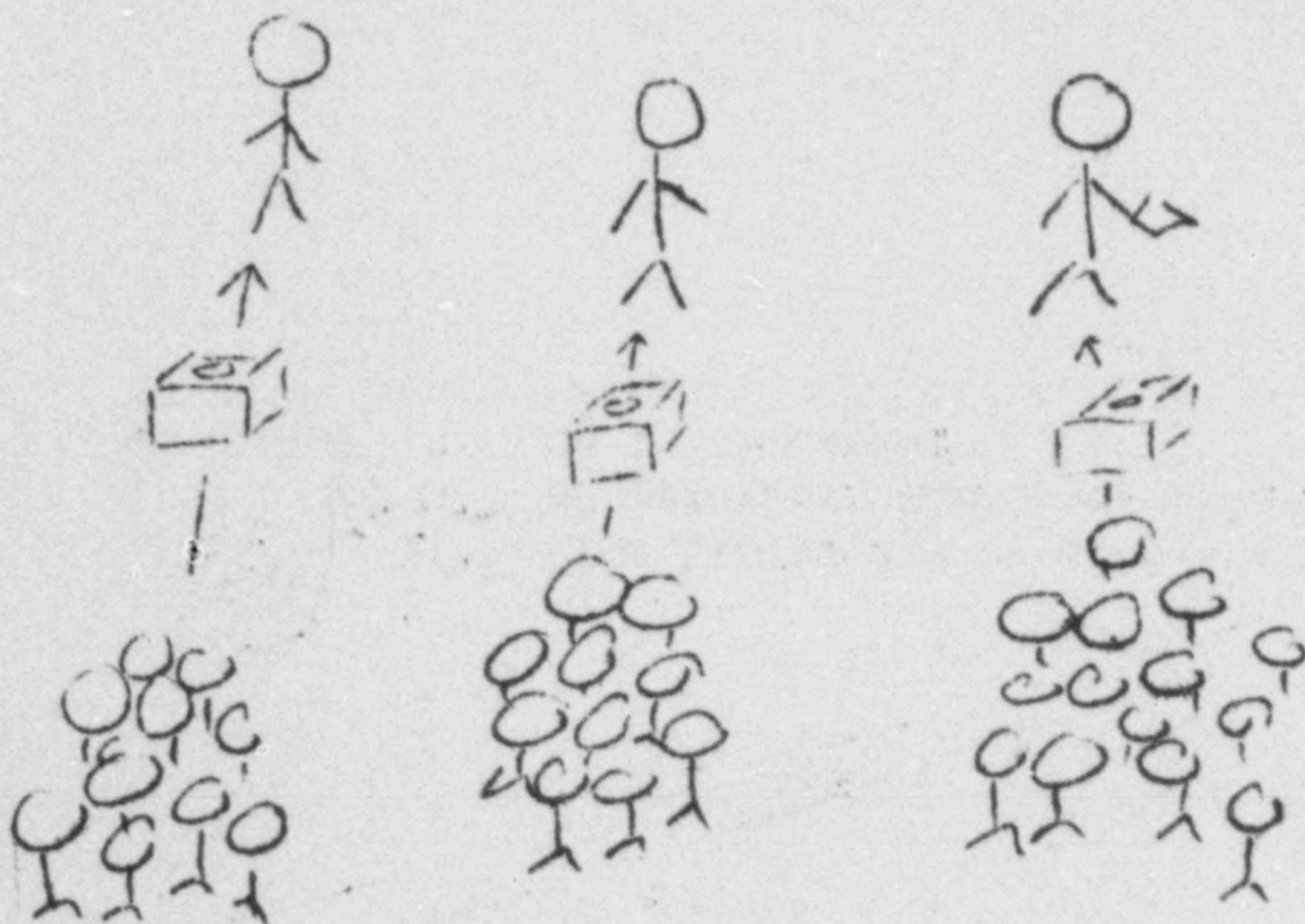
14 days

AND THE DECISION OF THE IMPARTIAL UMPIRE IS FINAL. Both union and management are pledged through the contract to accept, in advance, whatever decision is made.



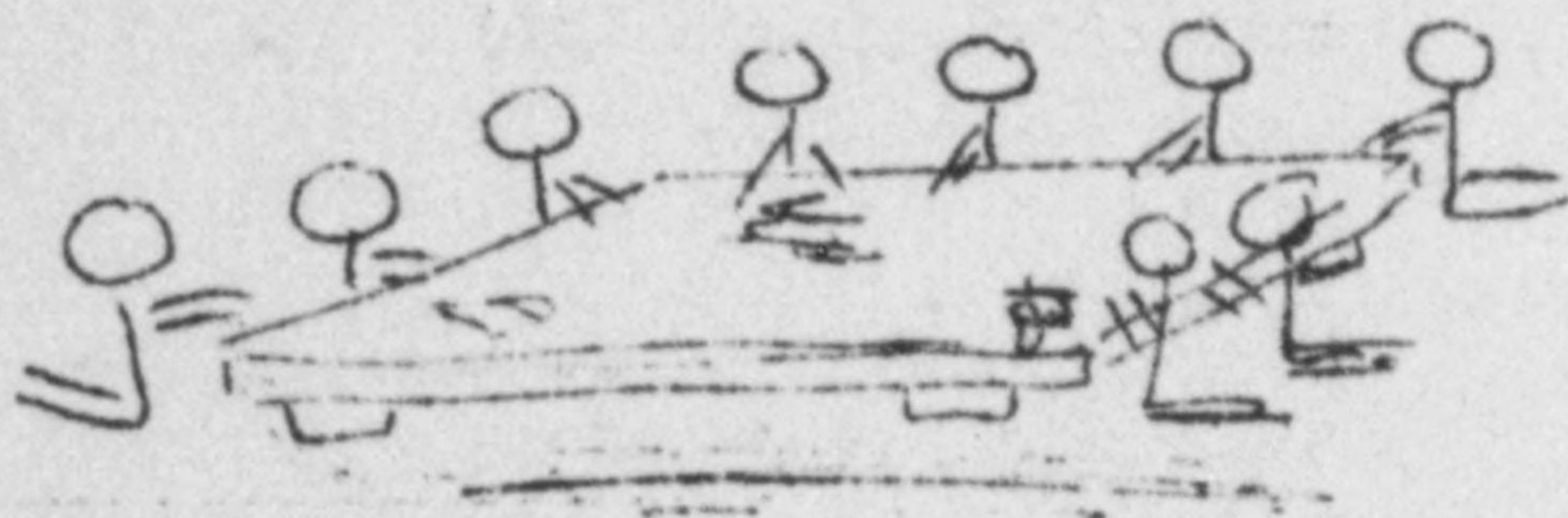
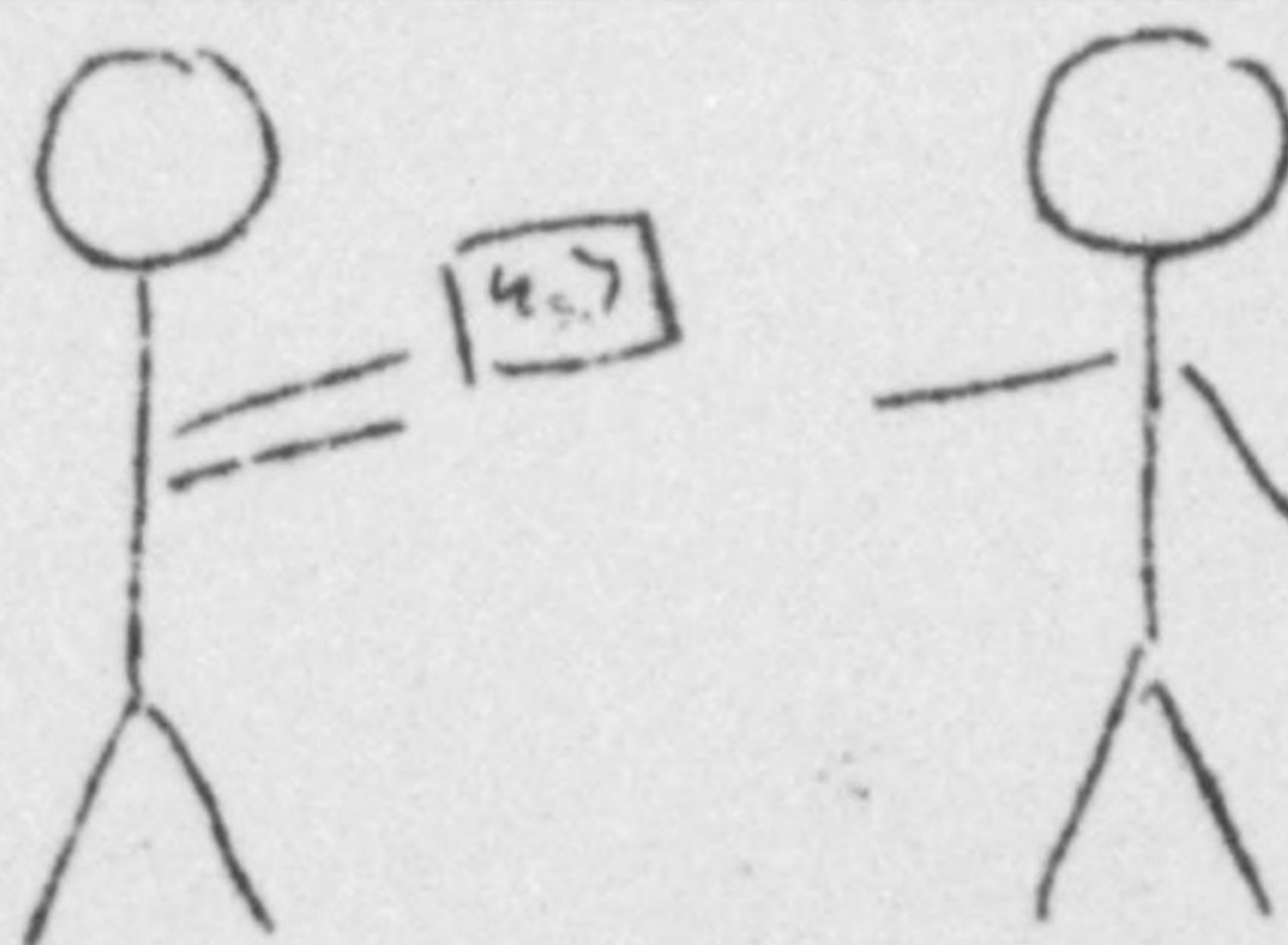
Thus even the most involved grievances arising under the contract can be settled within a month... without resort to wildcat strikes, sabotages, or other disputes crippling production. This is a wise use of sound democratic procedures!

WHO IS THE SHOP STEWARD?



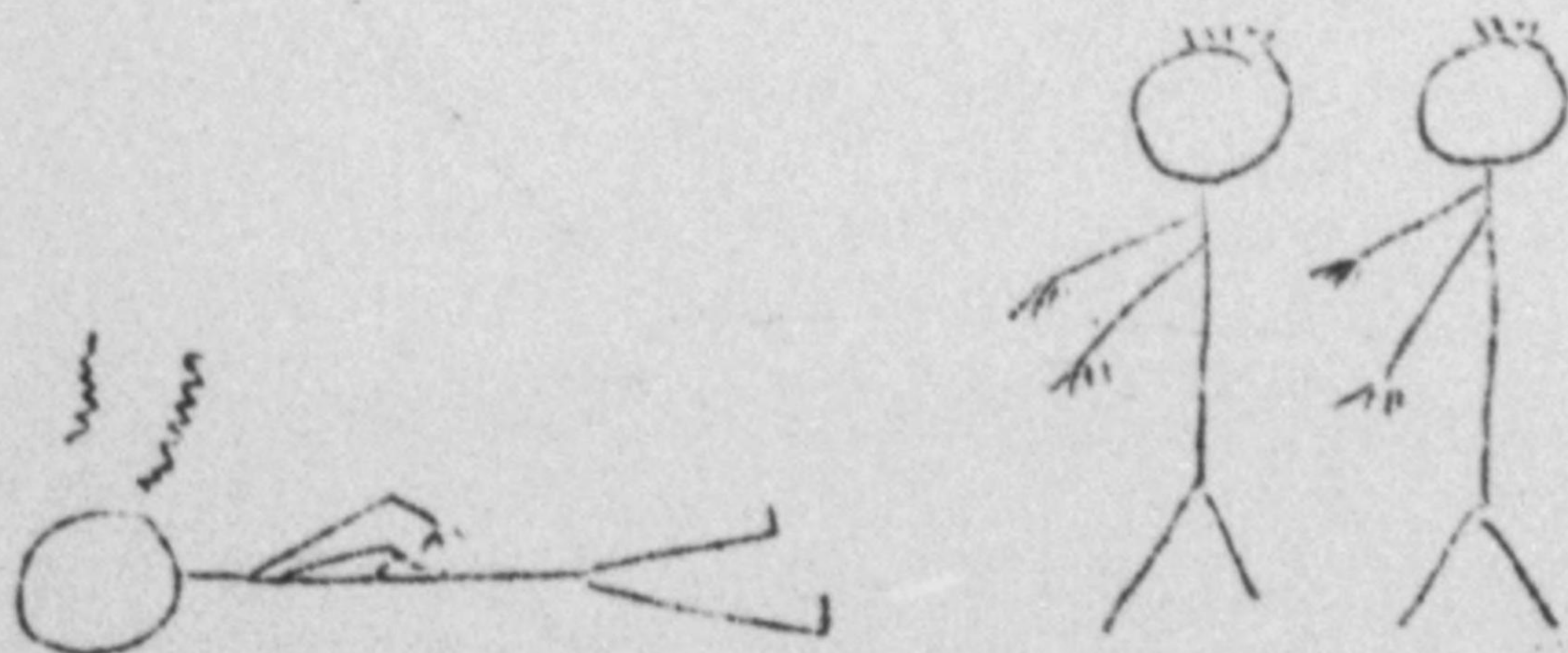
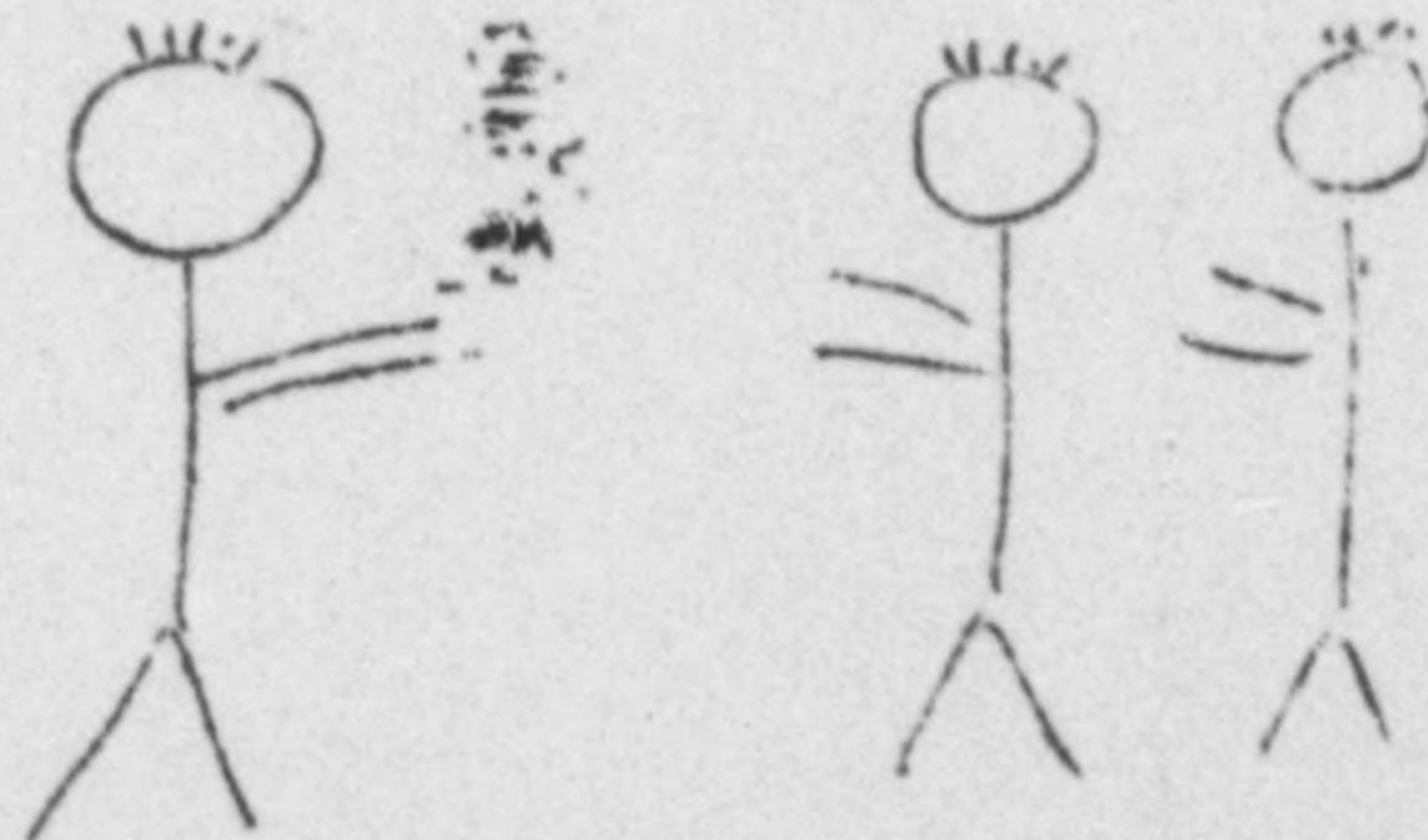
He tries to settle as many grievances as possible by negotiation with the local supervisor or foreman.

The shop steward is a fellow-worker elected by his rank-and-file fellow workers. He works in the shop everyday. He leaves his work for an hour or so each day to discuss grievances. He is paid for his lost time by the company for he remains within the plant.



Once a week all of the factory shop stewards meet; the shop steward committee. One of them is elected to be their chairman. They meet with the top managers to settle any grievances not settled by individual shop stewards.

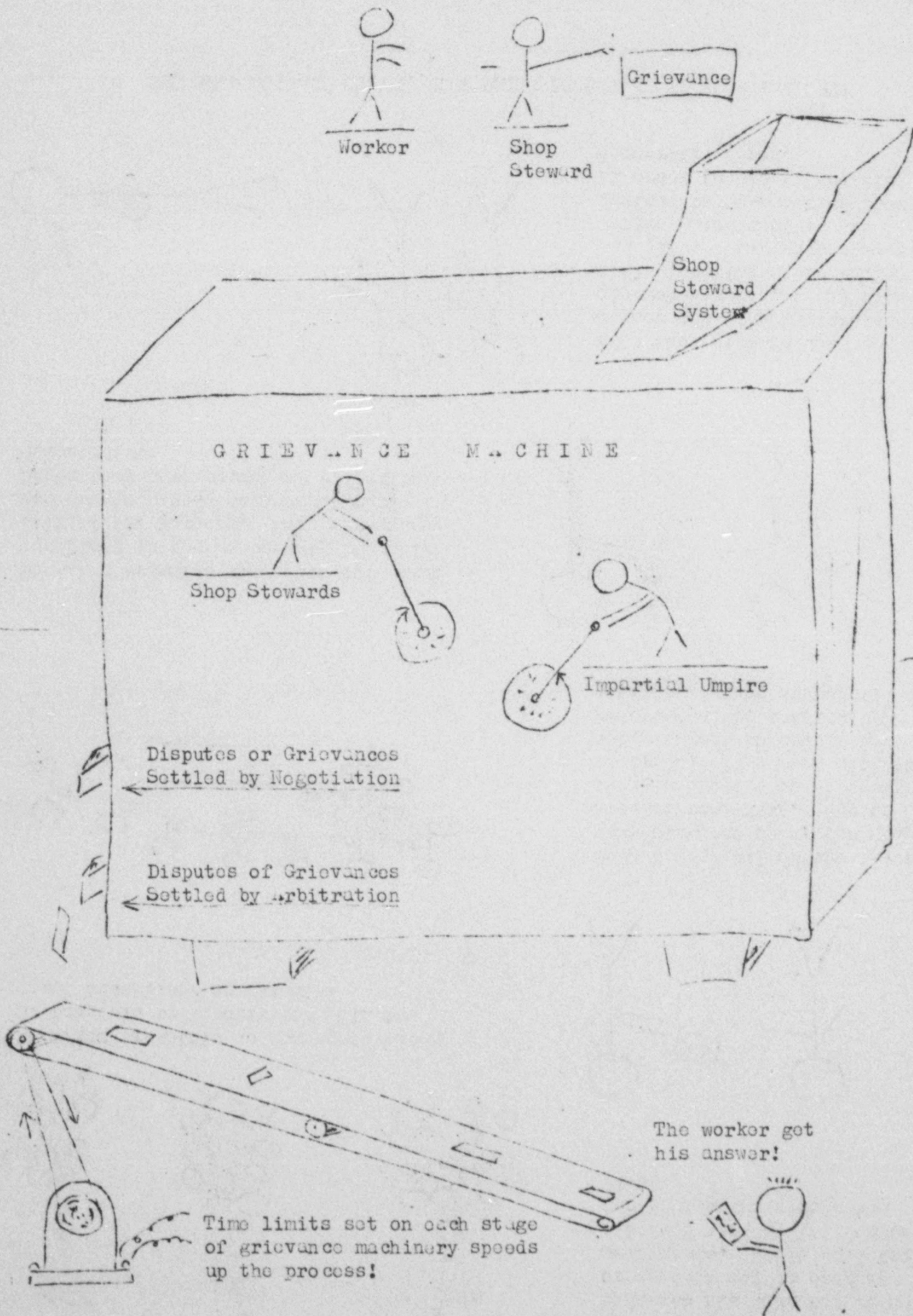
The shop stewards also pass out union pamphlets to the membership in their unit of the factory. They encourage members to attend union meetings. Often they have charge of collecting union dues.



If a shop steward does not do a good job, the members who elected his can at any time call a meeting at lunchtime and elect a new shop steward. Active union members are anxious to become shop stewards in order to aid in building a democratic Japan.

THE SHOP STEWARD SYSTEM WILL BRING DEMOCRACY TO YOUR FACTORY!

DOES YOUR LOCAL UNION HAVE A GRIEVANCE MACHINE TO HELP YOU?



IMPORTANT POINTS RECOMMENDED FOR INSERTION
IN YOUR LABOR AGREEMENT

1. Define the rights of the union and define recognition of the rights of the employer. Define the status of the union (i. e., open shop, union shop, closed shop, and so forth).
 2. Specifically list the various job classifications, rates of pay, allowances, overtime rates of pay, and all other items relating to wages.
 3. Define the working hours, times for rest periods, vacation time, holidays allowed, and all other items relating to hours or time of work.
 4. Set standards for working conditions such as health standards, safety standards, sanitary standards, accident compensation, rest rooms, and first-aid or hospital standards and all other matters relating to working conditions.
 5. Establish a shop steward system based on a complete system of grievance machinery written into the contract. Include provisions for final arbitration by an impartial third party (impartial umpire) of all disputes arising under the contract and within the life of the contract.
 6. Use a no-strike, no-lock-out clause in the contract (Peace Clause) which guarantees industrial peace during the life of the contract.
 7. Set a definite time limit for the life of the contract. In foreign countries, labor agreements usually are valid for one year from time of signing. Provide in the contract for re-opening of negotiations one month before expiration of your labor agreement in order to secure, if possible, peaceful negotiation of a better agreement when the old one expires.
- ⊙ Write the labor agreement in clear, simple language. Leave nothing to imagination or later interpretation ... write as much as possible in practical language!
 - ⊙ Both employer and union representatives should sign the final labor agreement.
 - ⊙ If possible, every worker should have a copy of the labor agreement.

MAKE A GOOD LABOR AGREEMENT ... AND THEN LIVE UNDER IT!

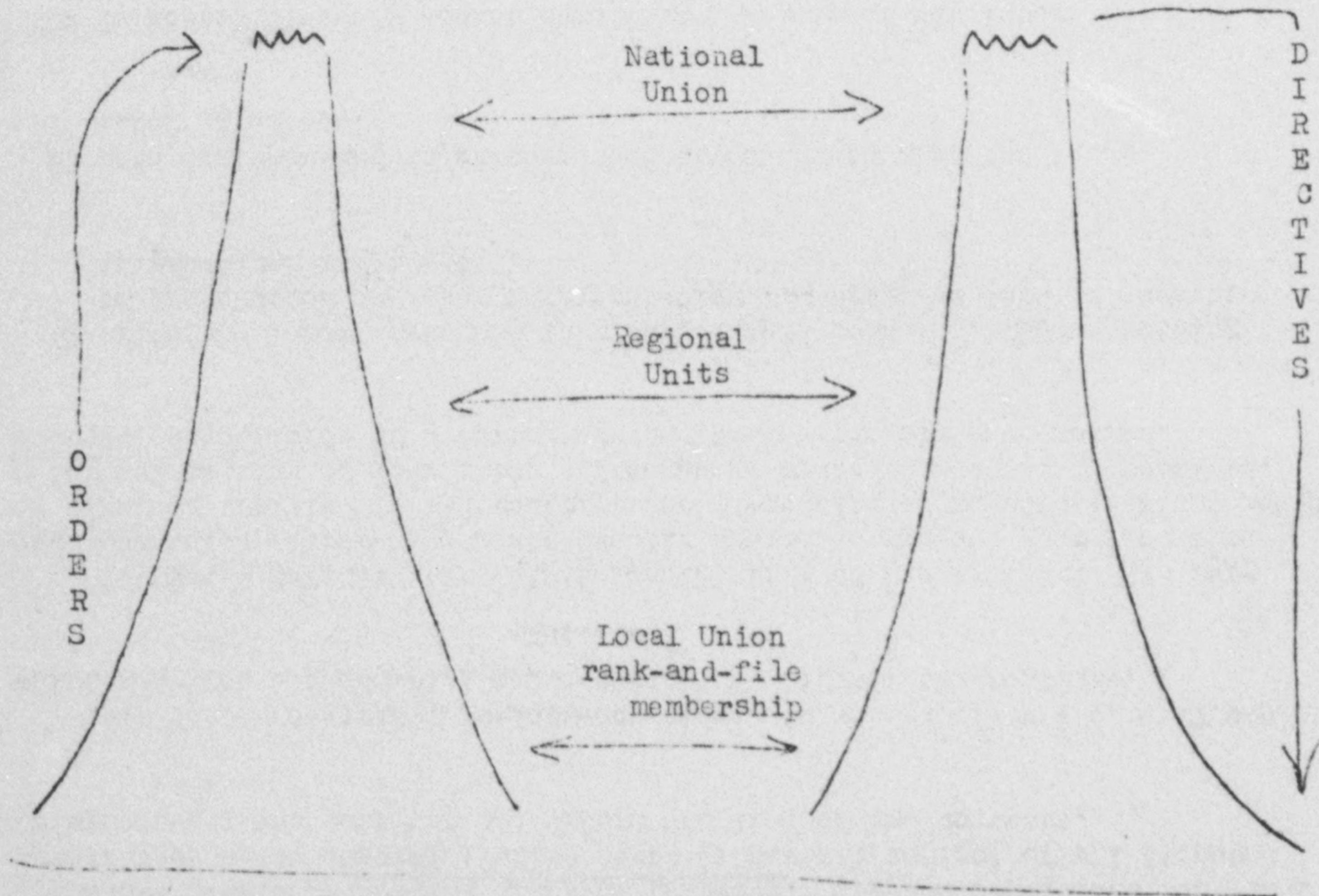
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BUILD A SOUND AND DEMOCRATIC UNION!

Trade Unions should be run and controlled by the rank-and-file membership. The Officers are leaders... but they must obey the will of the rank-and-file!

.. free trade union should not be dominated by a small bureaucracy of full-time paid officials!

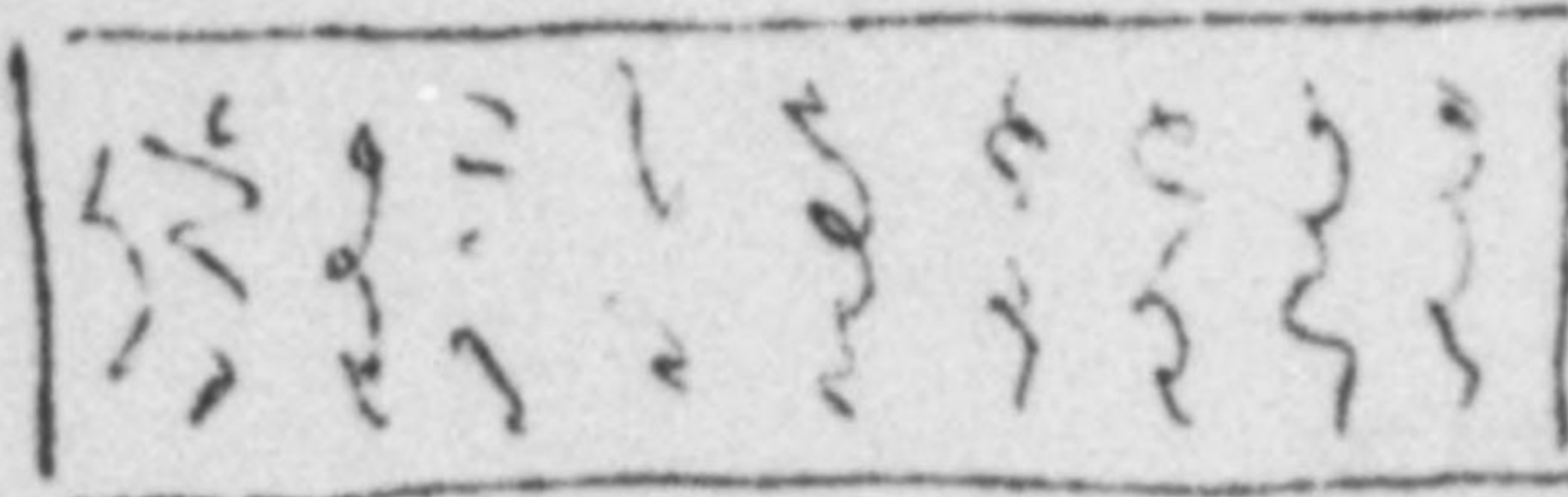


KEEP A BROAD BASE OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL AT THE BOTTOM.

WHEN YOUR UNION STRUCTURE IS UPSIDE DOWN, YOUR UNION IS ON THE ROAD TO TOTALITARIANISM!

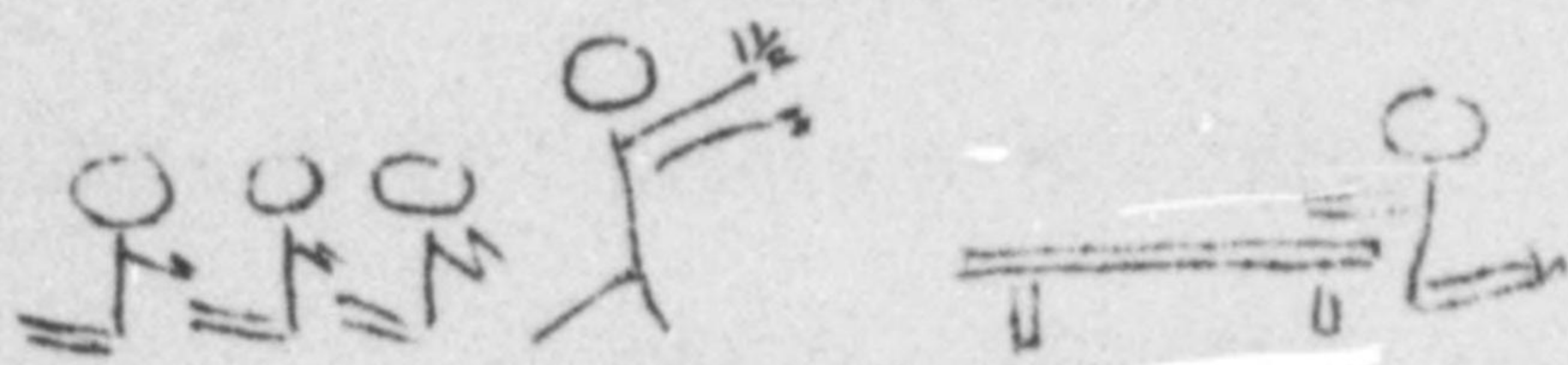
.. TRADE UNION SHOULD BE OF THE WORKERS, FOR THE WORKERS, AND BY THE MEMBERS...!

HOW THE RANK AND FILE PROTECTS DEMOCRACY : CONSTITUTIONS!



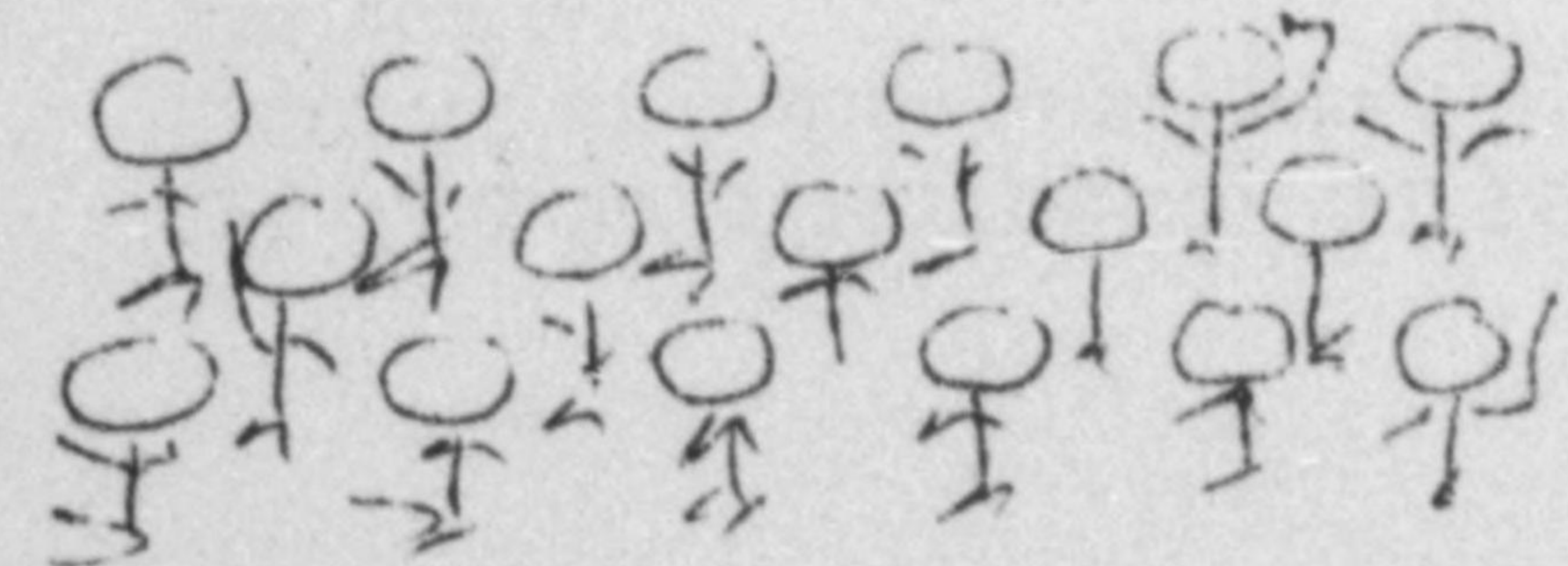
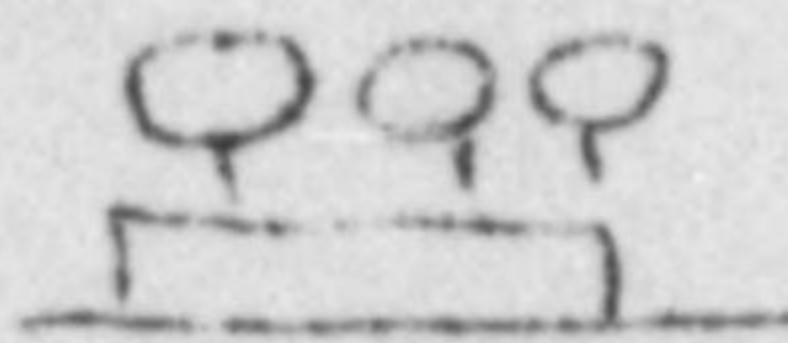
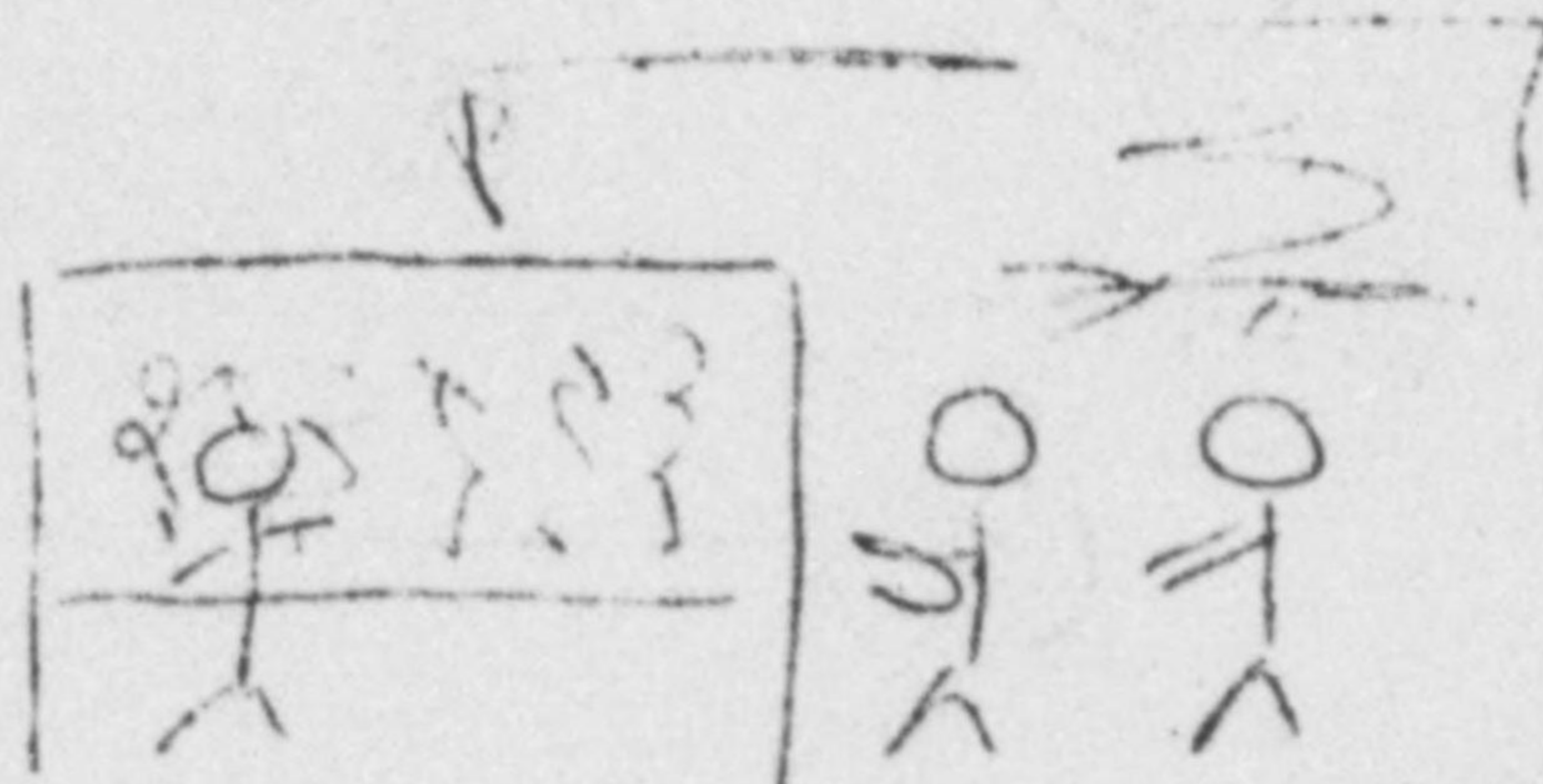
A well-written constitution for your local union is your best guarantee of democracy..... IF

There is provision for secret written ballot election of ALL officers and ALL standing committee BY THE ENTIRE RANK AND FILE MEMBERSHIP.



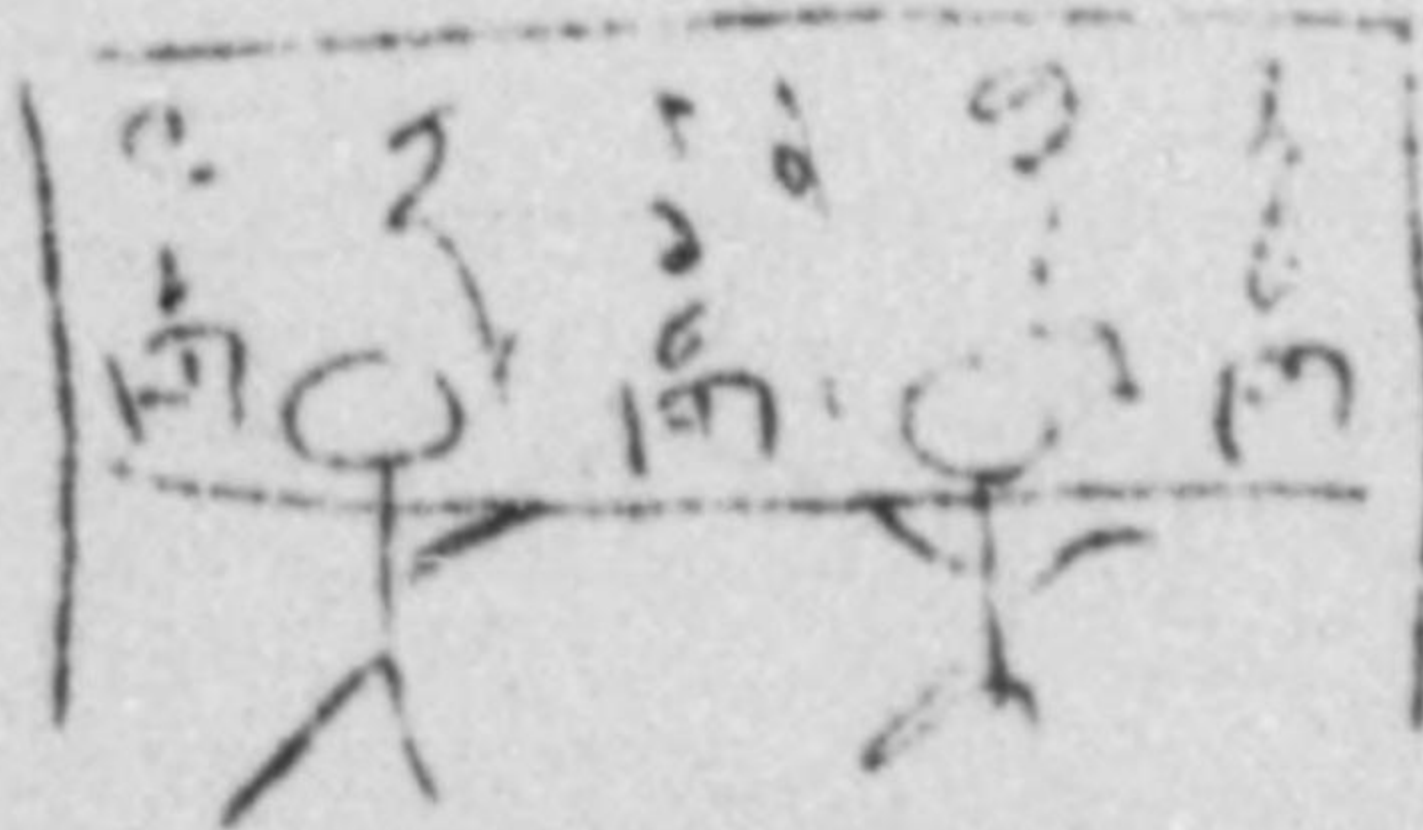
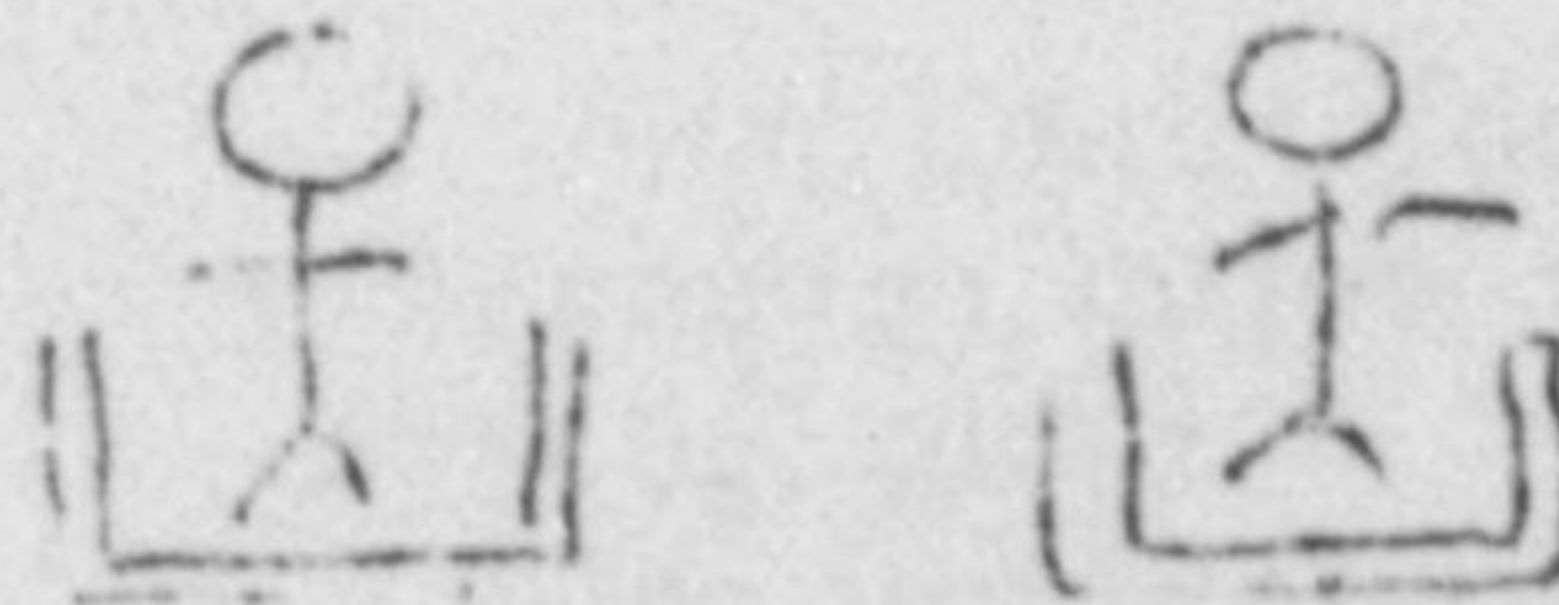
Regular membership meetings of ALL the members, once a month, at which the rank and file discuss all union problems, vote approval or disapproval on all union policy matters.

The union maintains a sound labor education program which INFO MS all members of the rights and duties of members, nature of the Trade Union movement, and the legal rights of the membership as well as their legal duties.



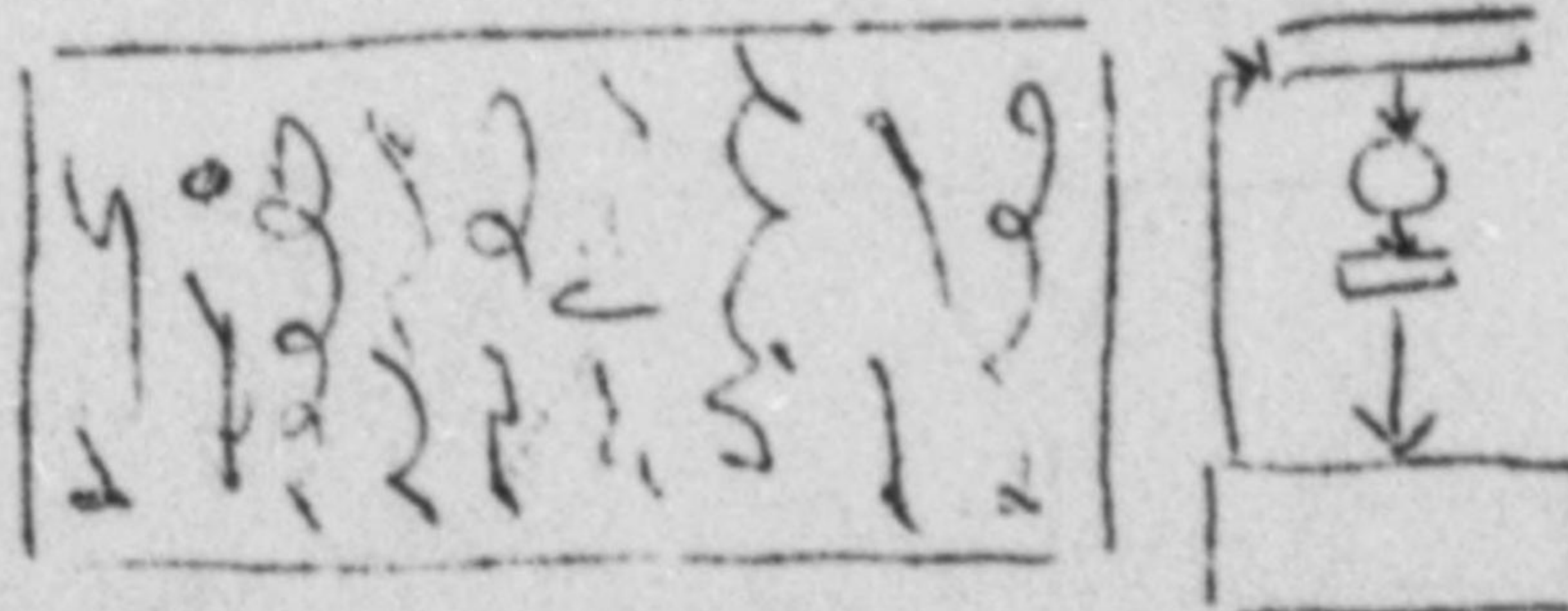
The duties of the officers are clearly defined... and LIMITED.

Trial procedure outlining the methods and procedures used in expelling any union member, INCLUDING a rank-and-file secret ballot vote on any expulsions AND appeal to a national convention of the union.



The constitution requires regular reports on finances made public to the entire membership.

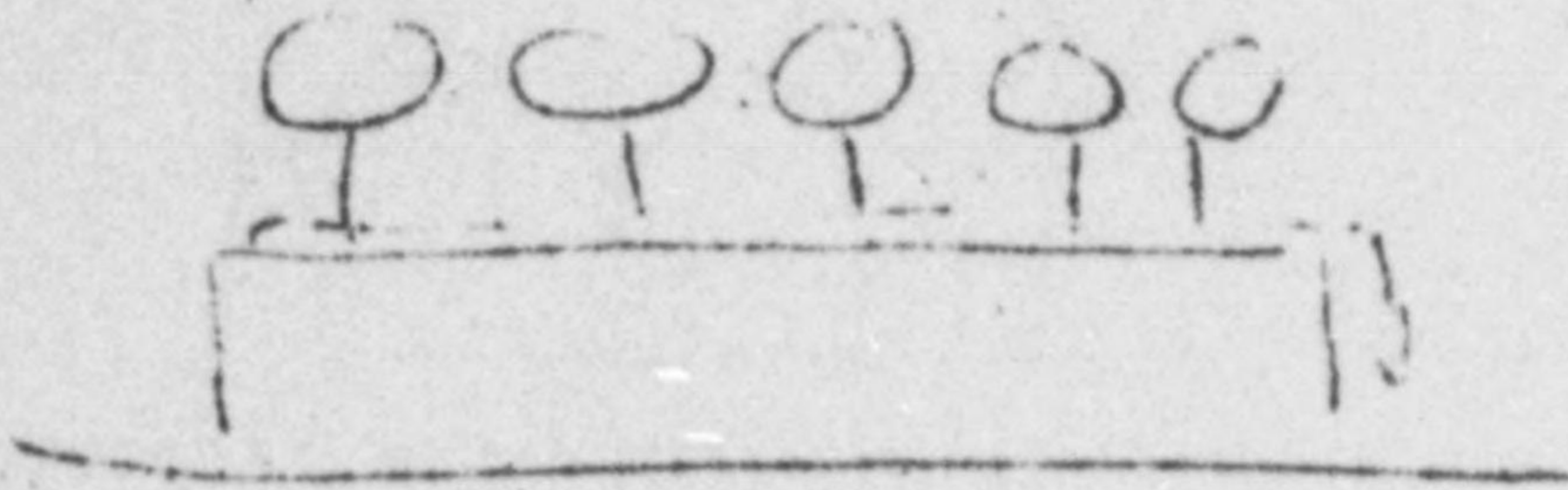
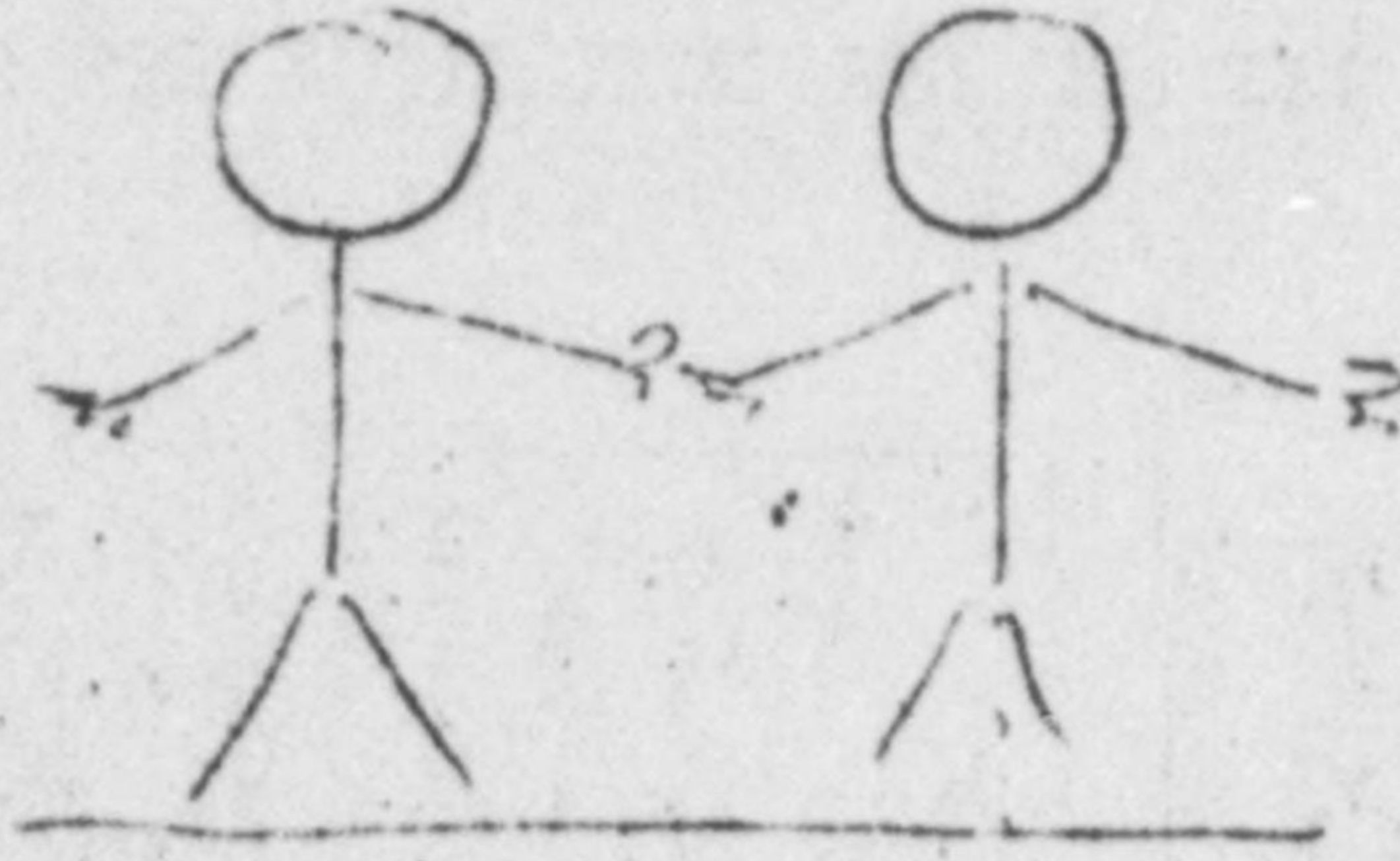
Simple structure of the union permitting rank-and-file control of their OWN union. Prevention of trade union bureaucracy.



J.P.NESE WORKERS: IT IS YOUR UNION. YOU SEE TO IT THAT YOU RUN IT!

SPREAD DEMOCRACY IN YOUR LOCAL UNION... MAKE SURE EVERY UNION MEMBER HAS WORK.....!

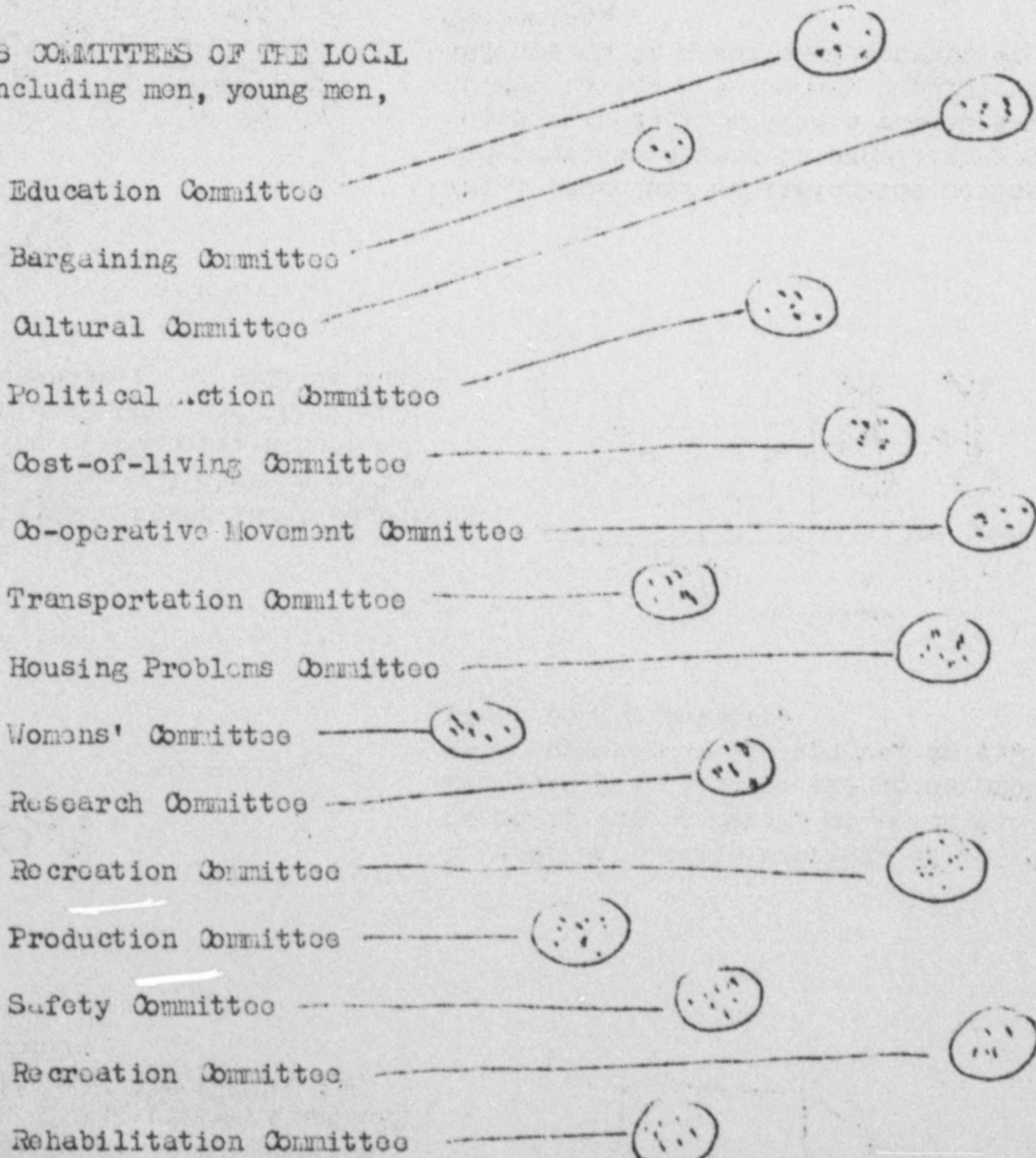
Officers of the Local Union--
Sit in on negotiation meetings
Represent the local union at
outside meetings. Conduct union
meetings. Offer leadership
Supervise work of the union.



SHOP STEWARD COMMITTEE

Handle daily grievances
Meet weekly with management
to settle unresolved
grievances.
Inspire union members to
be active members.
Collect dues.
Distribute union leaflets
and educational materials.

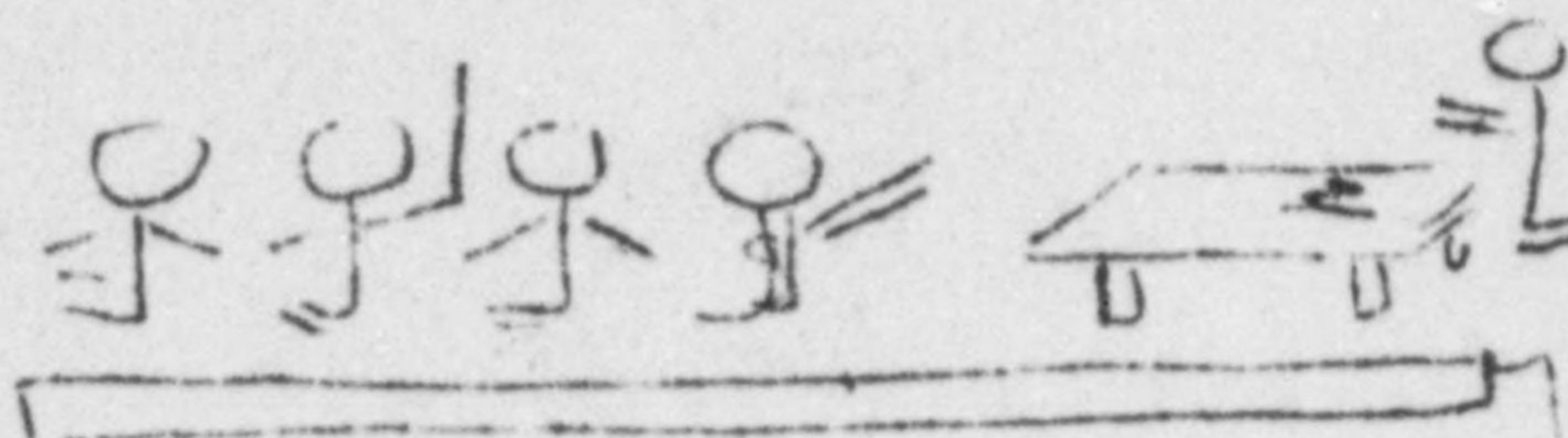
THE VARIOUS COMMITTEES OF THE LOCAL UNION... including men, young men, and women.



BUILD A SOUND AND VIGOROUS DEMOCRACY IN YOUR UNION...
EVERYBODY ACTIVE ... NOW!

BUILD A LOCAL UNION STRUCTURE THAT GIVES A MAXIMUM OF RANK AND FILE COOPERATION IN CONTROL OF YOUR UNION!

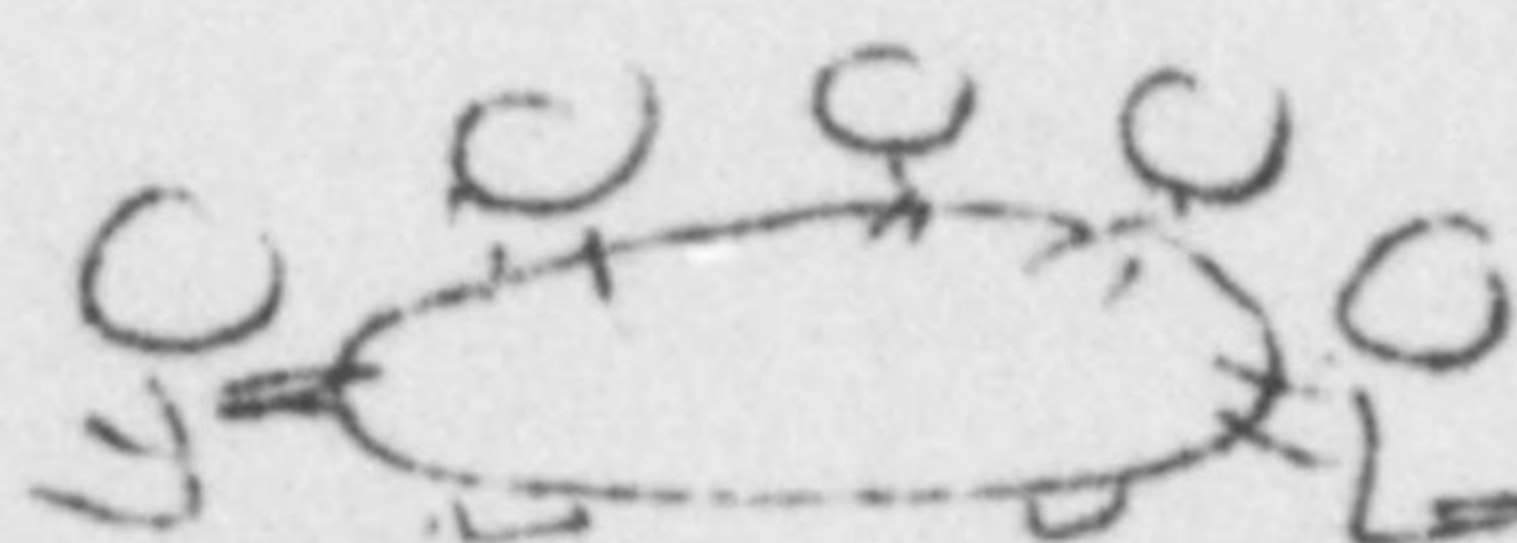
Monthly meetings of the entire rank and file membership to discuss problems and vote on all major policy decisions. Direct nomination and election of ALL officers and ALL standing committees



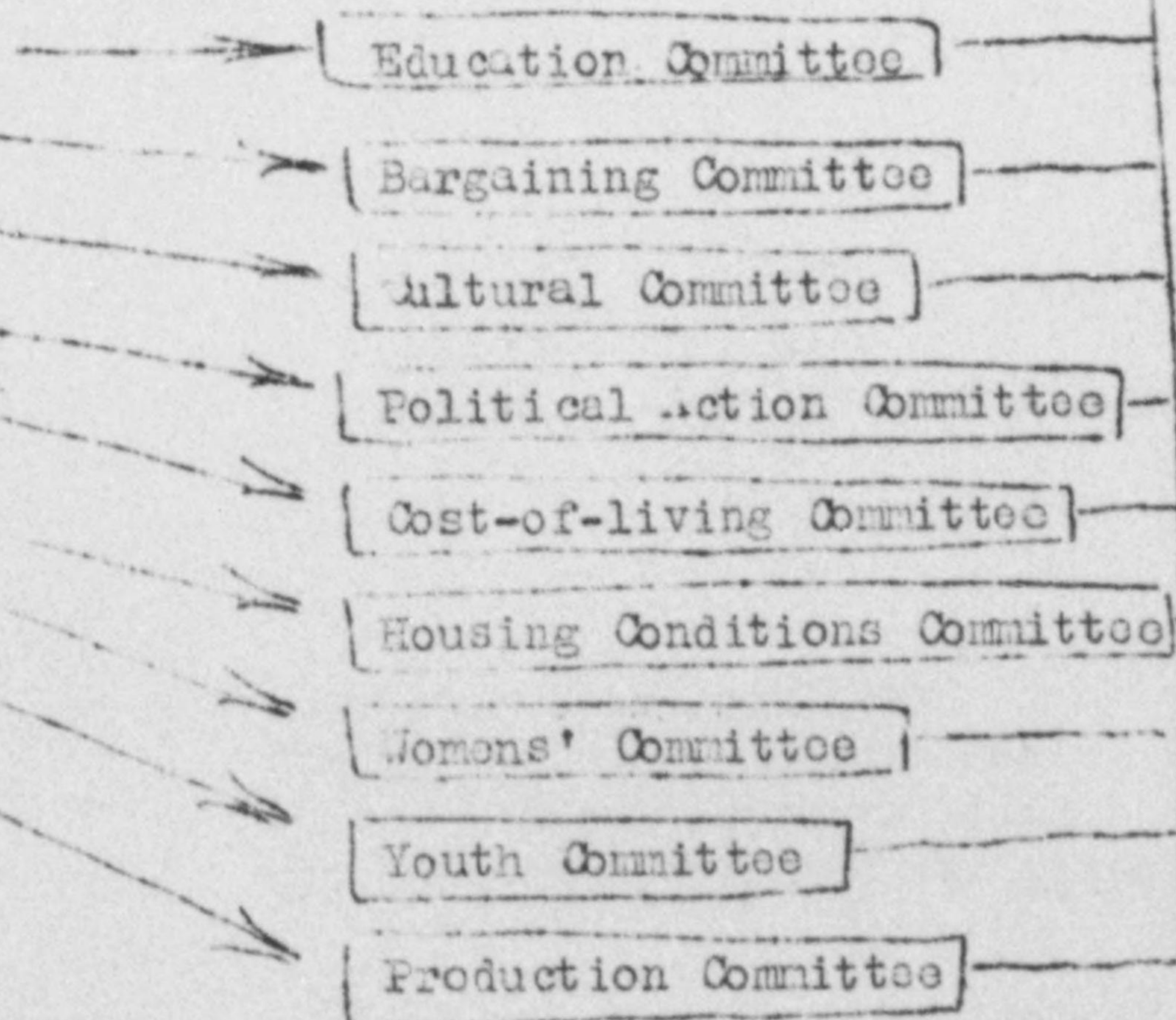
Chairman of the local union acting as chairman of the rank-and-file meetings. He obeys the decisions of the rank-and-file. He may remain a worker in the shop and do his union business on his own time.



Executive Board of the local union is elected by entire rank-and-file. Meet between regular meetings to discuss urgent problems, but submit all such emergency decisions to the rank-and-file for FINAL APPROVAL.



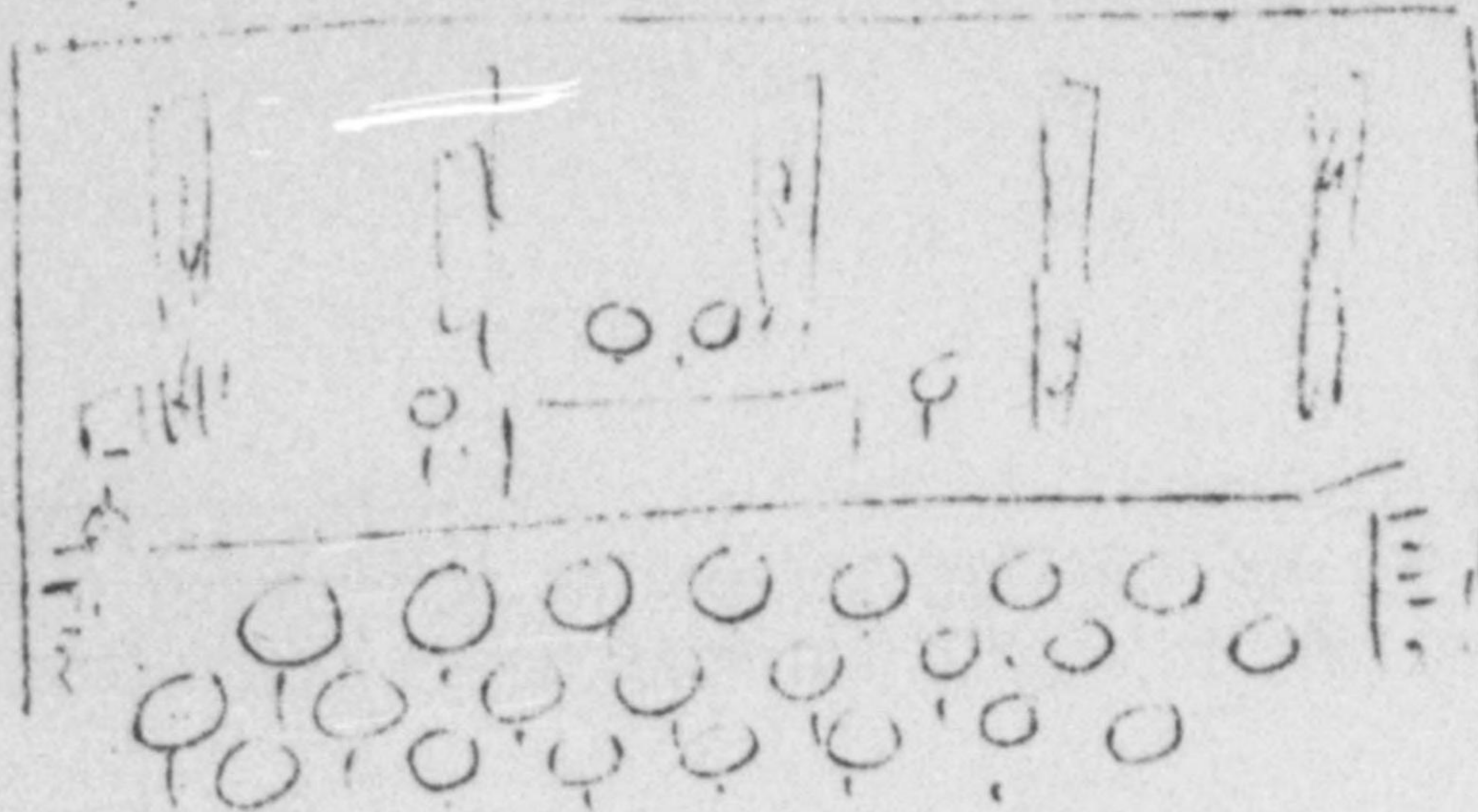
The union membership is divided into various committees of rank-and-file members who carry a large share of the burden of union business. These committees meet on their own time, plan their own activities, carry on their programs for ALL the members ... and learn democracy by practicing it every day.



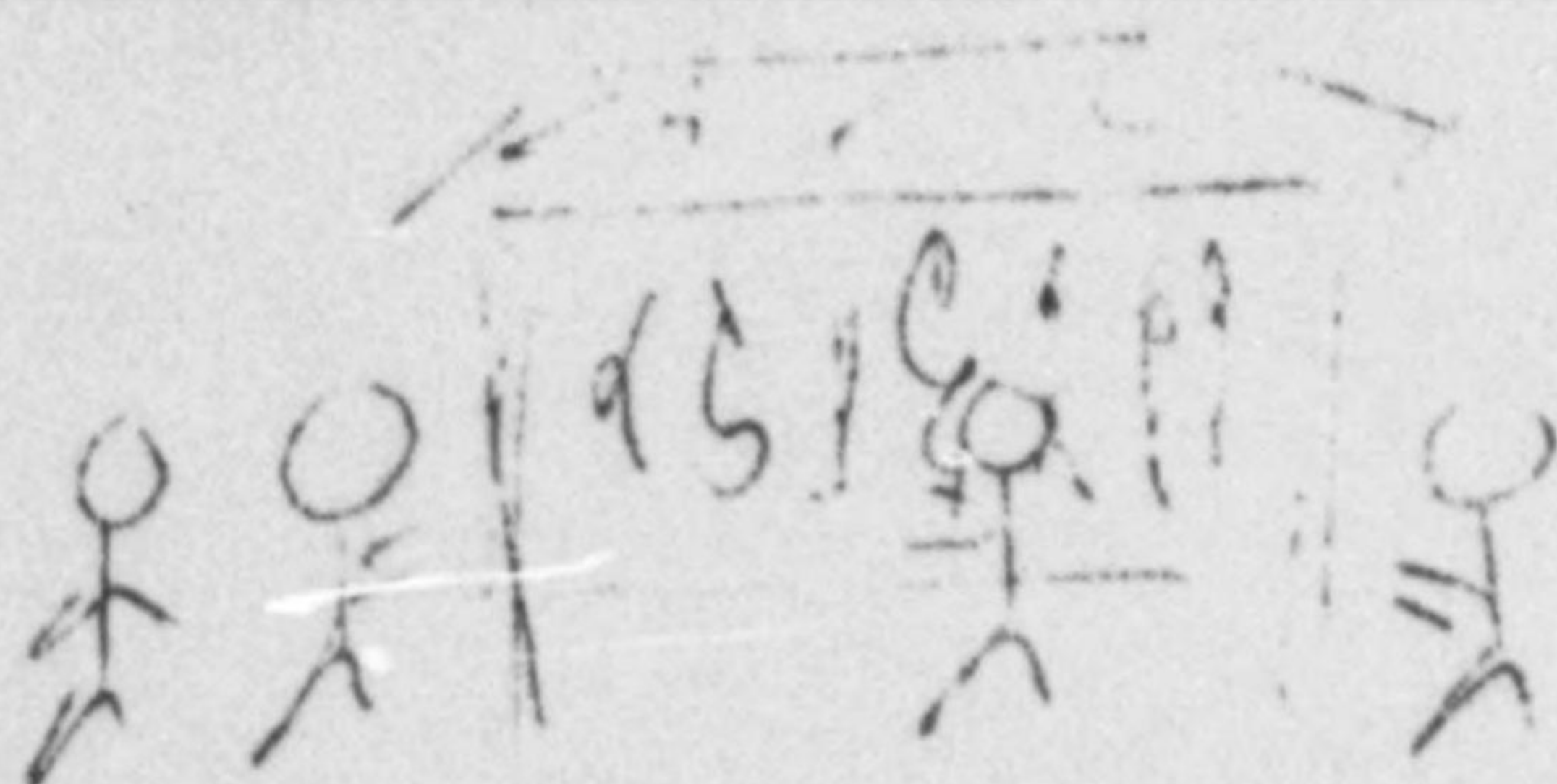
A FEW PERSONS MAY DO ALL OF THE WORK IN YOUR UNION ... BUT ONLY THEY WILL BECOME EXPERTS.

IN A DEMOCRATIC UNION EVERYONE TAKES AN ACTIVE PART ... AND EVERYONE LEARNS HOW TO THINK, TO LISTEN, AND TO SPEAK IN A DEMOCRATIC MANNER!

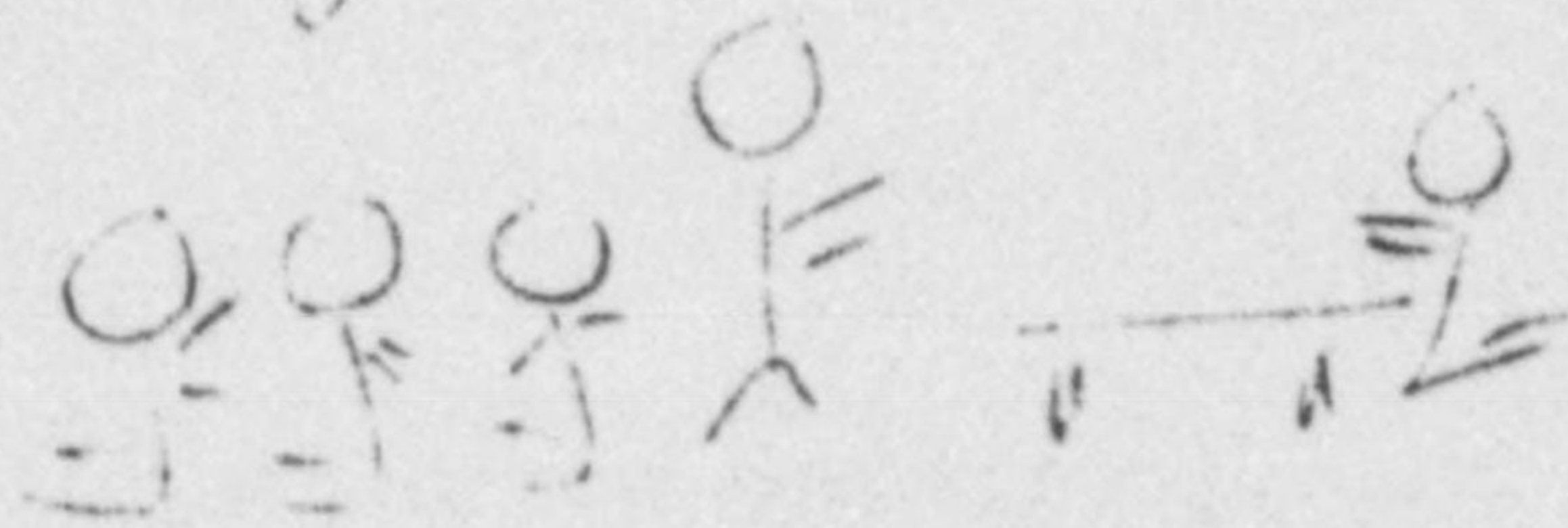
WHEN GETTING READY FOR A UNION ELECTION, SEPARATE NOMINATION FROM ELECTION!



Any person nominated may decline to accept the nomination.

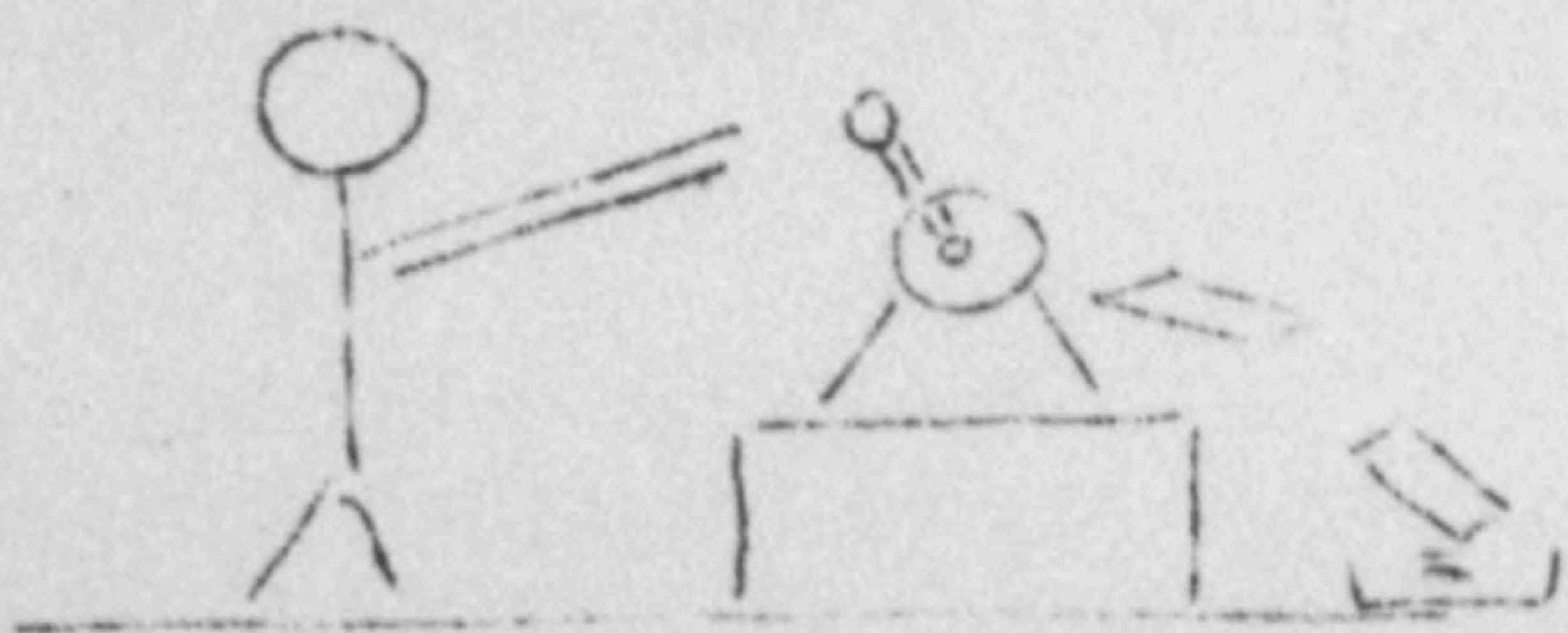


At a general meeting, each union office to be filled is open to nomination. Any union member can name any person BUT himself.

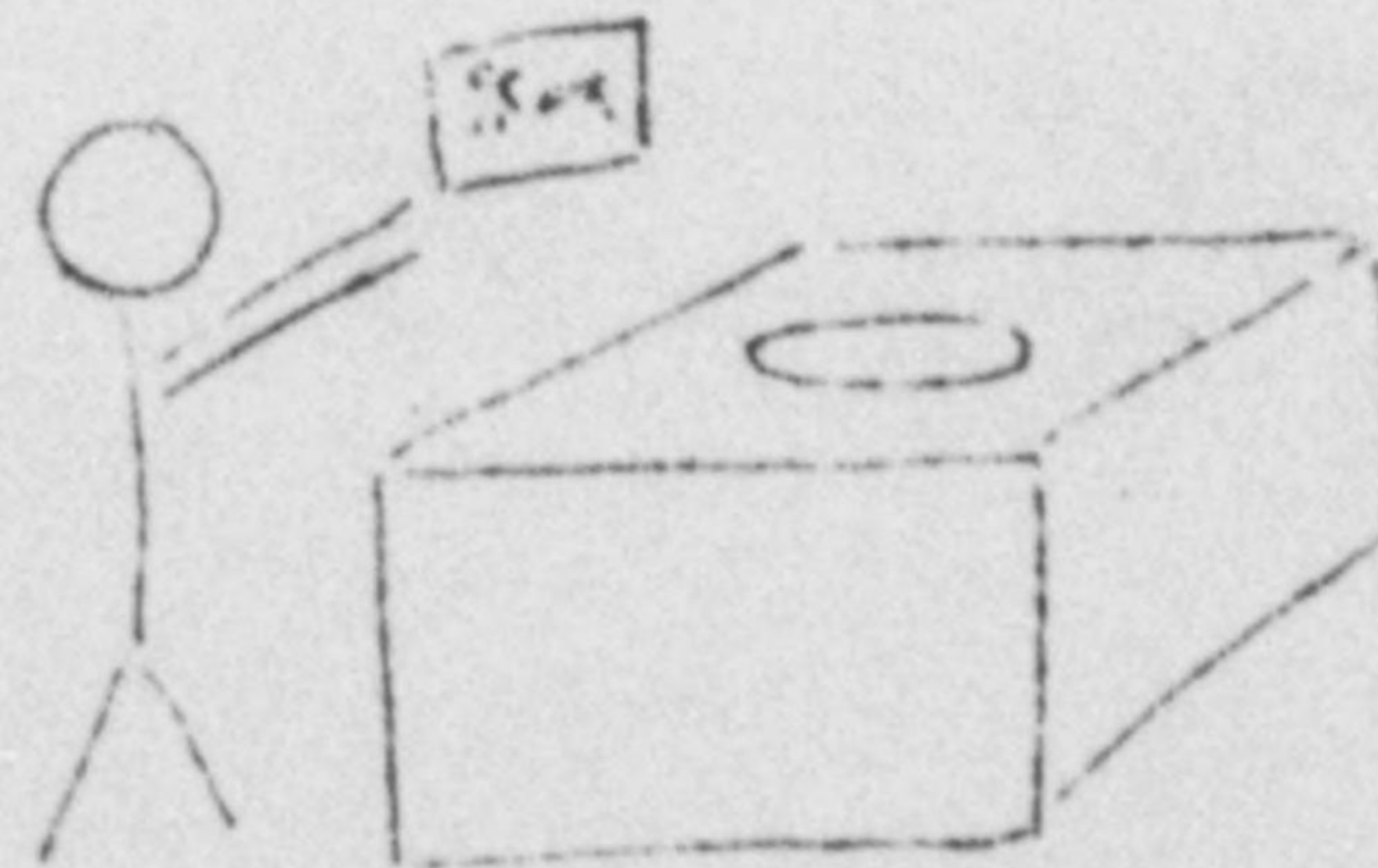


All persons who accept are listed on the factory bulletin board opposite the office they have accepted nomination for.

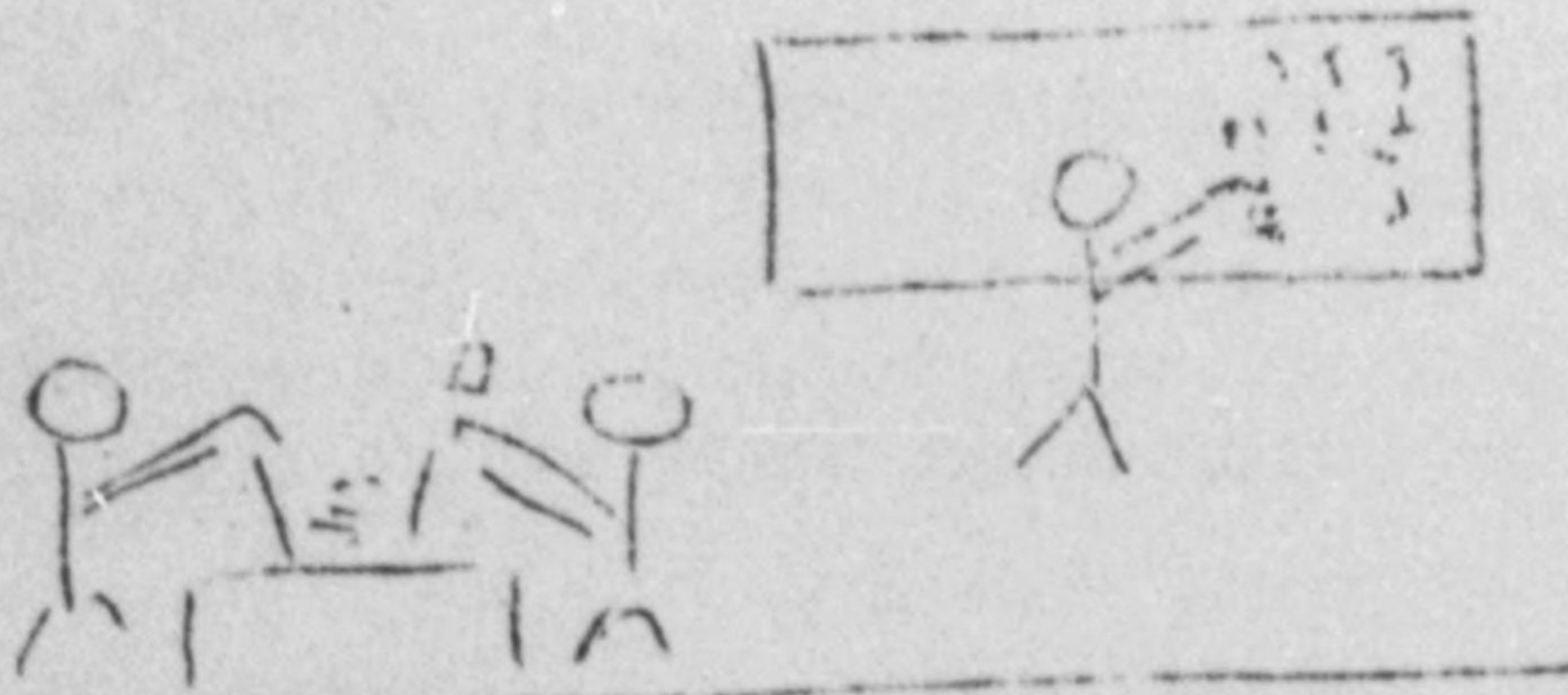
Workers discuss the various persons to find out as much as possible about each person.



The election committee of the union prepares secret ballots.



A month after the nominations, another general meeting is held. Each member casts a secret written ballot.



A rank-and-file committee opens the ballots after the voting, counting them in public.

Thus the new officers of the union clearly reflect the free will decision of the rank-and-file membership.



ELECT ALL UNION OFFICERS AND STANDING COMMITTEEMEN BY THE SECRET WRITTEN BALLOT OF ALL RANK-AND-FILE MEMBERS.....!

Board Member,	Secretary Treasurer	Vice-Chairman	Chairman
vote for 6	vote for 1	vote for 1	vote for 1
s k k f s a a o u a t t j k s o o i a a i k a i <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	k y w a o a t s d a h a y i a d m a a <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	m w s l a a r t i i a t t n o a a b e <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	s s u a z t u o k k <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
m m m s i u i a h k r n t i i a i s n y k u m a a m a m w o c a a t h o i <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Note: Do NOT sign your name!		

.. STRIKE VOTE BALLOT IS CAST IN SECRET BY EVERY RANK-AND-FILE MEMBER

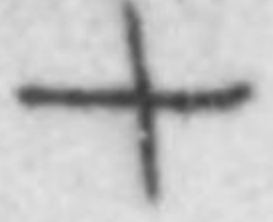
Strike	<input type="checkbox"/>
No Strike	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mark 1. Do NOT sign your name!	

The free and unintimidated will of the rank-and-file is determined by a freely operated secret ballot written vote cast by every rank-and-file voter and counted in the presence of the entire rank-and-file!

WHICH WAY DO YOU WANT TO SEE YOUR LOCAL UNION OPERATED?

THE BUREAUCRATIC WAY?

One membership meeting per year. Indirect election of officers by a central committee?



Control of the union by a small group of full-time officers?



No handling of daily grievances except through occasional work stoppages and sabotages?



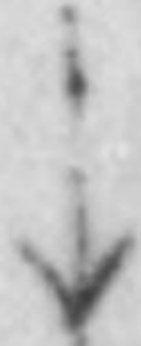
An indefinite and poor labor agreement?



Small executive committee that carries on union business?



Officers who run the union by issuing orders and giving commands to the rank-and-file?



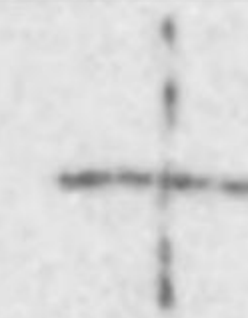
This may give you bureaucracy and totalitarianism!

THE DEMOCRATIC WAY?

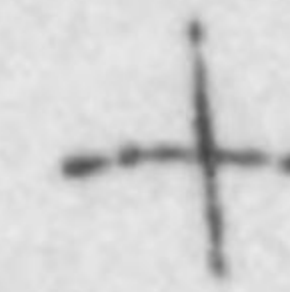
Monthly membership meetings of ALL the members. Direct secret ballot election of ALL officers and ALL standing committeemen.



Control of the union through union meetings of the rank-and-file?



Daily handling of workers' grievances through a shop steward system and grievance machinery permitting uninterrupted production?



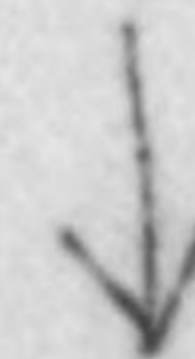
A well written labor contract that specifies all conditions of working matters, hours, and pay?



Widespread rank-and-file committee work which spreads union activity to include as many workers as possible?



Officers who offer sound leadership faithful service, and obey the will of the rank-and-file?



This will guarantee you a bright democratic trade union which you and your fellow workers control!

J.P. THESE WORKERS: IT IS YOUR UNION..... YOU CONTROL IT!

File #1010

LABOR INFORMATION AND EDUCATION ACTIVITIES IN THE
UNITED STATES

Lecture given to the Institute conducted by the Central Labor College, Tokyo, on the 30th September 1946.

by
SAMUEL KORB
Asst. Chief
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ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC SECTION
LABOR DIVISION
GHQ

Introduction

This is a description of some of the media and activities in the United States through which labor information has been supplied and labor education has been developed. For each example described, there may be many similar programs, and sometimes even scores of hundreds of comparable practices.

Education in labor affairs and problems naturally includes the discussion and study of topics about which many controversies have raged at many times and places. Thus, a question has often been expressed--sometimes openly, sometimes not--how far shall such education extend? The argument is often suggested, quietly, of course, that the education of the general public and of workers, especially, in such matters will increase unrest and may produce militant activity.

There is no better example than today's Japan to prove the fallacy of such an argument. Much criticism has been cast upon the heads of workers and of many trade union leaders upon the grounds that they lack knowledge of and education in labor problems, and that they do not understand the significance and purposes of their newly gained freedoms. Yet, many of those who bemoan this condition most bitterly are also most fearful of the effects of increased knowledge by the general public and by workers, in particular, in the history of the labor movement, in the purposes, organization and functions of labor unions, and in the details of the rights and responsibilities which new laws have given to workers.

The lack of information which confronts most workers is shared by many of the agents of employers. Business managers, personnel department staffs, superintendents, and others who are constantly involved in labor relations are oftentimes also considerably ill-informed.

The social and economic legislation recently enacted or in the process of enactment vitally affects the welfare of the Japanese worker. The democratic process makes imperative an understanding of the rights and obligations which are created by these laws.

It should by now be obvious that the serious problems which have arisen out of the new relationships between workers and employers cannot be resolved by simply ignoring them. The stabilization of labor relations depends much upon the character and extent of the knowledge and information regarding labor subjects which may be possessed by those who take part in such relations.

In the United States, the need for information and education in labor affairs has generally been recognized. Labor unions, universities and colleges, private institutions and agencies, employers agencies, and the Federal and State governments are playing parts in the satisfaction of the need, sometimes separately, sometimes jointly.

Activities of Labor Unions

Both the AF of L and the CIO have developed very extensive programs of labor education.

The Workers Education Bureau carries on most of the educational activities of the AF of L. Its largest financial support comes from the AF of L. The

Bureau devotes much attention to the promotion of "institutes," which are usually conducted by local labor union federations. An "institute" consists of a series of lectures conducted during a period of several days or of several weeks. The lectures cover one or more subjects, and are often followed by discussion. This medium has become increasingly popular, because it brings men and women together in a classroom in a manner which will enable them jointly to participate and to contribute the benefits of their experiences.

Often the institutes which have been sponsored by the Workers Education Bureau, through the local labor union federations, have been given the support of local universities or of other educational institutions, and have been conducted in the schools' classrooms. Some of the institutes have developed into yearly events. The attendance varies--sometimes 30 persons attend, sometimes 250. As an example of the subjects discussed at some of the institutes, one of them included: the labor movement, past, present, and future; its opportunities and responsibilities; operation of collective bargaining; postwar problems.

The Workers Education Bureau assists local unions in planning and arranging fora and study courses. The Bureau has also worked out, with public libraries, special exhibits of books of labor interest. It also issues a monthly bulletin, in which it includes lists of new books and pamphlets of labor interest.

The CIO performs most of its educational work through its Research and Education Department. This Department arranges institutes and conferences. It prepares articles for publication in magazines and other periodicals. It publishes many pamphlets, and also monthly and other periodicals. It prepares many forms of visual aids. Conferences of educational directors of affiliated unions are arranged periodically. A set of courses suggested to local unions for study in local areas includes subjects entitled as follows: Your job, your union, and your pay; industrial economics; the worker as a citizen; the worker as a consumer; collective bargaining; the government and labor; history of American labor; organizing the unorganized; the women worker; labor in politics; labor in the community; the international labor movement.

Radio

The AF of L and the CIO have made considerable use of the radio in their educational programs. Each conducts weekly programs on subjects affecting their members and the relations of the general public with their unions.

International Ladies Garment Workers Union - AF of L

An outstanding record in educational activities is demonstrated by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union of which Mr. Mark Starr is Educational Director. The educational programs of the union has emphasized the training of new members to assist them in assuming their rights and responsibilities as trade unionists. The extent of the educational work of this union is indicated by the fact that in the years from 1940-1944, the head office and the branch unions spent nearly one million dollars in educational work. The union promotes study classes, institutes, lectures, and fora, as well as recreational activities. It provides scholarships for members to enable them to attend courses in labor affairs which are provided at various schools and universities.

All candidates for full-time office of this union are required to attend a special course conducted by the union for its officers. The course covers subjects such as: trade union techniques (for 12 to 15 hours); structure and

operation of the union (for 6 hours); history of the union (for 6 hours); economics of the dress manufacturing business (for 6 hours); conduct of meetings (3 hours).

A recent institute conducted by the union may be of interest, if described in some detail. Weekly talks were given by various speakers. These included a talk by a Senator on the subject: "Trade Unions and Freedom;" by an industrialist on "Postwar Job Prospects;" by a public opinion researcher on "Labor and Public Opinion;" by another Senator on "Social Security Legislation Needed by Labor;" by an industrialist on "An Industrialist Looks at Trade Unions;" by a labor leader on "A Trade Union Leader Looks at Employers;" by a government official on "Labor and Statistics."

UAWA - CIO

The United Automobile Workers Union, one of the largest unions in the United States, has developed a very active educational program. It has conducted annual educational conferences attended by delegates from its many locals. Educational programs and techniques are discussed and analyzed at these conferences, and detailed reports of the conferences are sent to all local unions. Many weekend institutes have been held in cooperation with educational institutions, such as State universities, which supply instructors and classroom facilities. The sessions have been so arranged as to permit participation by workers who are employed on different shifts. The union has distributed millions of copies of pamphlets. It has sponsored various radio programs. It has prepared discussion outlines for the use of educational committees of local unions.

Weekly and monthly newspapers and magazines are published by most unions. The production and circulation of films dealing with labor topics is common. About 40 unions have established their own research departments. Many unions have established correspondence courses in various subjects. Courses in labor journalism have become frequent. Labor news agencies are actively functioning to circulate news of special labor content to union publications and to other newspapers. Classes for shop stewards are established functions in many unions. Many branches of unions have their own libraries.

Activities by Colleges and Universities

The activities of colleges and universities in the field of labor education are very worthy of attention. It is no longer assumed that the public schools meet the needs for the full education of all the public. This fact is demonstrated by the rapid spread of educational opportunity for adults, in the form of university extension courses, public school evening classes, fora, "town hall" meetings, and radio "round table" broadcasts. It is significant to observe that the head of one of America's largest universities has temporarily left his post to assume the directorship of a program to expand adult education.

Both the AF of L and the CIO have publicly advocated widespread programs of adult education, and of labor classes in high schools and in university extension courses.

The University of Wisconsin maintains a Summer School for Workers. The School is financed by State funds. An advisory committee of three labor union

representatives and three faculty members regulates its work. The course extends through a six-week period. The subjects presented by the School have developed a content which is appropriate to the demands of industrial relations. In the study of economics, economic theory and traditional economic concepts are not heavily dwelt upon. More concrete concepts have been adopted, such as: The Worker as Producer; the Worker and his Government; the Worker and the Community; the Worker and the Community's Social Problems; the Worker and the Economic System. The problems of the day fit into these concepts. In the study of history, the method is to demonstrate the history of the labor movement. This involves the question of how this or that labor problem came to exist. The use of the English language is taught as a group functional medium, for use in the conduct of meetings and in public speaking. It is studied also for use in labor journalism, in the writing of minutes of meetings, in the composing of resolutions. In the fields of literature and drama, the studies are of such materials as come within the scope of the worker's experience.

Another impressive example is the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations. This School is a part of Cornell University and is state-supported. The New York State legislature, when it created the School, adopted the view that "one of the most important ways of improving industrial-labor relations is to bring together in a common training program, representatives of both labor and industry." The program will cover a four-year study. Tuition is free. Some of the courses include the following subjects: Business organization and management, labor economics, legal aspects of labor problems, statistics, labor union organization and operation, collective bargaining, mediation and arbitration, public relations.

At Harvard University fellowships have been provided jointly by various trade unions and the university. The fellowships are given to men and women union members with good records of union service and with potentiality for greater union activity. The period of study is eight months. Courses usually include the following subjects: Economic analysis, trade union problems and policy, the supervisor and union labor, personnel and management controls.

At another university there is conducted a ten-week course in labor relations. The classes are held during evenings. One evening of the week the classes are for union members only; another evening, for the general public. Subjects included in the course are: collective bargaining, contract negotiation, labor problems in American industry.

Indiana University, as another example, distributed more than 10,000 questionnaires among labor unions in the State of Indiana, for the purpose of obtaining information upon which to plan a satisfactory labor education program for the State.

Several unions have provided funds to various colleges and universities to enable these institutions to give technical trade courses to their members.

The University of Michigan is carrying out an adult extension program which includes labor education. Courses are arranged by the University in communities throughout the State. The University has the aid of an advisory committee of six persons, of whom two are representatives of labor, two are representatives of the general public, and two are members of the University.

Another university gives classes to union members on trade unionism, union

administration, public speaking, and the conduct of union meetings. Among the instructors are university and high school teachers, and also the educational director of the labor union federation of the State.

Let us now refer to some of the classes on labor affairs which are included in the academic and business administration courses given undergraduates in very many of our universities.

In the Economics Department of Brown University there is included a course entitled "Labor Problems," and another course entitled "Labor Relations and Personnel Management." To elaborate somewhat further, the course on "Labor Problems" presents a study of the nature and development of the labor problem; the allocation, distribution, and training of labor; wage determination; methods of wage payment; incentive systems. The course on "Labor Relations and Personnel Management" presents a discussion of the structure and functions of labor and employer organizations; the procedure of collective bargaining; personnel management; job analysis and classification; promotion and transfer policies; employee morale.

In Pennsylvania State College's Department of Economics, to consider another instance, we can find four classes which are confined wholly to labor affairs. Each of these classes is held for three hours each week during one-half of the school year. A brief description of each class study may be helpful. The class which bears the title, "Labor Problems," covers the following topics: the relation between labor and capital in their economic and political aspects; history of labor organizations; legislative regulation and control of labor interests; influence of unionism on social-reform programs. The class which is named "The Labor Movement" includes topics such as: a survey of the development of working class attitudes and practices; a survey of the development of the organization of workers into groups striving for improved labor standards.

Another class which is called "The Economics of Labor Legislation" covers topics such as: an economic analysis of federal and state laws regarding wages, hours, conditions of work, and collective bargaining, and of the effects of their operation. A class on "Social Insurance" presents an analysis of the extent and incidence of involuntary unemployment, industrial accidents, occupational disease, sickness, and other hazards of working groups, and an examination of the programs of protection against these conditions.

Inspection Trips

Usually each of the courses which I have mentioned extend through the period of one-half or one full school year. Classes during this period are generally held from two to four hours each week. Many of the class hours are devoted to round-table conferences. Often the class is centered around recitations by students, rather than lectures by the instructors. There is considerable stress upon visits to union offices and to plants and personnel offices and to Government offices in order to see labor relations in actual practice.

Many universities carry on various research activities, and also render community services of various types. At Yale University there is maintained

a Labor and Management Center. I might mention that 3 representatives of labor organizations, 3 representatives of management, and 3 from the University constitute a committee to determine the overall policy of the Center. In addition to the classes conducted by the Center, a significant research program is carried on. Research revolves around the basic principles which govern the relations between employers and workers and the public. On the basis of such research, the Center's staff prepares surveys and reports, and distributes these materials in the form of pamphlets and books to interested individuals, unions, companies, and organizations.

As further community service, the Center arranges conferences and seminars for management, labor, and government officials on issues of current importance.

Princeton University maintains an Industrial Relations Section. The principal activity of this Section is to engage in research in labor problems and to prepare reports and pamphlets based upon the research. The Section has prepared and published hundreds of such reports and pamphlets. The titles of several of these pamphlets will suggest the nature of the research: "Grievance Procedures;" "Methods of Transmitting Information to Employees;" "Seniority Policies and Procedures as Developed through Collective Bargaining."

There are similar research programs at various universities as to which time does not permit any mention.

Labor Law

In most law schools the curricula include at least one course which is usually entitled "Labor Law." Let us detail the topics included in the course given at one law school. There is a study of the laws and the legal procedures in the field of labor relations. Legal issues between unions and employers, arising from differences in aims and methods, are examined in the light of the economic conditions which have created the issues. The aspects of the strike, picketing, the boycott, the lockout are studied. The provisions of the Labor Relations Acts and the methods of practice before government boards and courts under these Acts are studied, as are the legal rights and obligations of union members. Collective agreements and mediation and arbitration. The principles underlying the growing body of labor law, and their application and effectiveness as instruments of social policy are appraised.

Activities by Some Private Agencies and Institutions

The American Labor Education Service is a private organization which extends advisory service to labor unions and to community organizations interested in labor education. It coordinates the activities of several labor schools which conduct summer courses. It has studied and tested techniques in adult education, and has made its findings available to interested groups. It has prepared publications, compiled bibliographies, arranged conferences and institutes. It has held conferences of AF of L and CIO educational and government employees concerned with labor education. The conferences stressed cooperation between the government and labor unions in workers education. The Service has been associated with various university groups in conducting surveys of labor education programs being conducted by universities and colleges. It has held conferences in which discussions were held on subjects such as "The Universities and Labor Education" and "How to Broaden Workers' Education to Meet Current Needs."

The California Labor School is an interesting and important private school for workers which receives its main support from many AF of L and CIO unions located in California. The School is also given support by State educational officials and other government officials, by many university and school teachers, and by other public-spirited citizens.

A brief description of the curricula and the practices at the school may be useful. Each course continues during 15 weeks, with classes once each week. The same classes are conducted during the day and during the evening. Several of the courses, by title, are: American labor, past, present and future; effective speaking, and the conduct of meetings; economics and labor today; functional activities of unions; workers' rights in government agencies; labor research and statistics; world labor, past, present and future. The School also conducts various courses in public relations, the social sciences, psychology and teaching, literature, language study, and art and music.

Information

A reportorial service which is of considerable value in the furnishing of information concerning labor affairs is provided by the Bureau of National Affairs. This is a private and commercial enterprise which publishes weekly reports of every aspect of labor relations. It records important current events affecting and involving labor, prints the decisions and orders of State and Federal courts and boards which may involve labor problems, reproduces copies of laws and regulations affecting labor. This service is furnished promptly to labor unions, employers, government offices, and private individuals, and is an invaluable aid in keeping all interested persons and groups quickly and fully informed regarding matters of labor interest. There are other private agencies which furnish reports of similar nature.

The Public Affairs Committee and the American Council on Public Affairs are important private organizations which serve the general public by the spread of information regarding social and economic problems, and particularly regarding labor problems. Both organizations publish pamphlets and books; encourage the spread of adult education; initiate researches in specific problems; organize lectures and fora; arrange radio broadcasts; and compile opinions on vital issues. The Public Affairs Committee is especially active in the spread of pamphlets which are purchasable at very small cost.

Several books by individual authors published by the Council of Public Affairs furnish good examples of its publication work. The titles are "Handbook of Labor Unions," "Collective Bargaining Procedures," "The Patterns of Workers' Education," "Collective Bargaining Systems."

Mention has been made of only a few of the activities of only a few of the private agencies and institutions which provide labor information and education to the general public.

Activities by Employers' Agencies

Employers' associations and agencies wholly supported by employers also play a significant part in the dissemination of information on labor subjects.

The National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce, through periodicals and other publications, furnish considerable information on labor subjects to their members and also to the general public. Most

employers associations engage in the publication of periodical journals, which are widely circulated, in many cases.

The National Industrial Conference Board is an organization supported by about twenty employers' associations. It is chiefly concerned with the survey of current situations. It serves as the clearing-house of information among employers on labor and government relationships. It publishes a Monthly Bulletin and Monthly Service Letters. It also conducts investigations in labor relations, and the reports are often released in book form.

The Committee for Economic Development is a recently formed organization of businessmen, many of whom are prominent leaders in other public activities. The Committee has sponsored various studies of problems which confront capital and labor in the postwar period. On the basis of the studies, the Committee has made public its reports and has presented farsighted and detailed recommendations for the treatment of these problems. One of its recent reports deals with the subject, "Jobs and Markets." Another is entitled "Towards More Jobs and More Freedom."

The Society for the Advancement of Management is another important association of employers which frequently undertakes special investigations and studies in the field of management. Its reports are given wide distribution. It has also sponsored seminars on labor problems, including representatives of labor unions, management, and the government, as participants. An instance of one of its publications is a collection of sample collective agreements presented by representatives of labor unions and employers.

The American Management Association includes many employers as members. This Association conducts research on many problems in labor relations, and has prepared hundreds of pamphlets which report the results of the studies. Several examples of these pamphlets cover subjects such as: The Unionization of Foremen; the Annual Wage; Interviewing for Employment.

Activities by Government Agencies

The activities of the Federal and State governments in providing labor information are so many and varied that the mention of a few instances may give you an incorrect impression that the principal practices are being referred to. It ought to be stated now that many agencies, in addition to those mentioned, also furnish information considerably related to labor affairs.

The United States Department of Labor is the principal medium for the dissemination of information. In innumerable ways this Department carries out the purpose for which it was created by the Congress, "to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage-earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment."

This Department consists of many branches of which we will briefly describe the work of several. One of the branches is the Bureau of Labor Statistics. This Bureau acts as the United States Government's principal fact-finding agency in the field of economics. It collects, analyzes, and publishes information and statistics on all matters pertaining to labor. Especially does it devote itself to data on employment, hours of work, consumer cooperatives, wages, industrial relations, work injuries, price trends, and costs, and standards of living. Much of the information which the Bureau disseminates appears in a monthly

periodical. This is known as the Monthly Labor Review, and is published by the Bureau. The publication is generally sold to the general public at a relatively small cost; and several thousand copies are distributed free of charge by the Bureau. The Bulletin also contains current news and information regarding a wide variety of labor subjects, sometimes including the activities and meetings of labor unions, sometimes describing foreign labor news and legislation, and also listing new books and pamphlets which appear to be of interest to labor. The Bureau has published hundreds of books and pamphlets covering subjects of considerable concern to workers and employers.

The Division of Labor Standards is actively engaged in supplying considerable information in promoting desirable standards in industrial practices. It assists labor law administrators in establishing their procedures. It aids in the training of inspectors. It prepares typical inspection manuals. It arranges national and regional conferences of Federal and State labor administrative officials, of representatives of labor and employer and other social organizations, to consider improvements in labor laws, and to discuss various labor problems and the methods to solve them. The Division also furnishes to the public, reports and digests of pending labor legislation and of adopted legislation. It prepares and widely distributes leaflets on occupational diseases and hazards, and arranges safety exhibits and films.

The Division assists labor and employer groups in the formulation of sound standards of apprenticeship, and circulates information regarding these standards to all interested groups.

The Division also arranges exhibits of various types for use at public gatherings and at meetings and conventions, to demonstrate some of the existing labor conditions and problems. The publications of the Division are designed to show what are good labor standards; where they are in effect; and how to improve the methods to obtain such standards.

The work of the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor involves, to a great extent, the dissemination of information designed to promote the welfare and work conditions of working women, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment.

The work of the Children's Bureau has also involved considerable spread of information through pamphlets and leaflets, and through conferences. The Children's Bureau has also published a monthly magazine entitled "The Child." I should mention that, recently, various of the functions of the Children's Bureau were passed over to the Division of Labor Standards.

To mention the activities of only a few of the agencies of the Federal Government, in the supplying of labor information, may convey the impression that the work of many other agencies is small and insignificant. This would be far from the truth. The informational and educational functions of the Social Security Board, the National Labor Relations Board, the Conciliation Service, the Wage and Hour Division, and of other Federal agencies are quite extensive.

Let us examine a very recent development in the United States Department of Labor which will probably become of increasing significance. Very recently, a Branch of Labor Education Standards was added to the Division of Labor Standards. This new agency is the outgrowth of the recommendations of an advisory committee consisting of representatives of labor unions assisting the Department of Labor

to plan a program of labor education. The aim of the committee was to promote amicable industrial relations through encouragement of voluntary programs of labor education directed toward training of capable union leaders, and to help the membership to become well-informed as to the rights and responsibilities of unionism. The activities suggested by the committee included: the assistance of unions, universities, and other organizations and institutions to develop programs of labor education; the supplying of pamphlets, bulletins, lecture outlines, and visual aids for such education; the establishment of a clearing-house for exchange of labor information and for requests for speakers and for conference leaders.

Conclusion

We have chosen many examples at random. As stated repeatedly, reference to hundreds of other examples, many of which may contain even better-developed programs, has been unavoidably omitted. Attempt has been made to select examples which might illustrate the differences and varieties of the practices.

Perhaps, among these examples cited here, you may find practices and features which you may consider useful to the Japanese labor movement today. Other practices you may recognize as being usable at a future time, following the development or reformation of certain pre-conditions. Still other practices you may correctly consider to be inappropriate or inapplicable to the Japanese people and labor movement.

There has been no attempt to suggest a blueprint for labor education and information methods which might be used by you. The pattern of the methods and techniques in carrying out labor informational and educational activities must be largely the product of your own experiences and needs. You may find some aid, however, in a consideration of the experiences of the labor movements outside of Japan.

It is reasonable to suggest that the future of the labor movement in Japan, and in turn, of a virile democratic society, heavily depends upon the extent and character of education and information in labor problems. Intelligent and mutual understanding between employees and employer can replace the wastes of conflict, and thus strengthen democratic processes. But if conflicts must arise, they ought not to be conflicts of brute force. They ought to be battles of minds and wits evenly matched.

Intelligent and farsighted labor leaders will see the value of available or potential educational services and will be quick to make use of them. Neither they, nor employers, will serve their own ultimate purposes well if they ignore them, or if they attempt to pervert the services to sources of misinformation.

Labor leaders who may be waiting for the time when workers will, en masse, on their own initiative, demand educational facilities are awaiting events without reason it is to be believed. The best guarantee of aroused interest in and support for labor schools and courses is the actual presence and availability of such schools and courses.

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THE PURPOSE AND MEANS OF WORKERS' EDUCATION

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Introduction

Workers' Education essentially is the education of both young people, and older men and women who have left school, are working, are active in the trade union movement, and want to increase their knowledge of the trade union and industrial world in which they live.

The purpose of workers' education would seem to be twofold: (1) To increase the knowledge of each and every member of the union in order to improve the social and economic position of the individual member; and (2) to increase the educational level of all union members to such an extent that the unions become a mighty democratic force in the community.

Workers' Education is the very life-blood of the Japanese trade union movement. A few active leaders can organize unions, councils, federations, and national unions. But unless every member of every union knows the purpose of the union, and why he or she is in a union, the union has no real strength. Unions are only as strong as the people who join them. The most gifted orator, the wisest trade union leader cannot consolidate trade union gains unless every member of his union is solidly behind him, understands the issues, will not cease action until the union has achieved its goals.

Why then is workers' education important to the Japanese trade unions and to the men and women who are joining the unions of the New Japan?

First there is the all-important fact that prior to the outbreak of the war with the Allied Powers, the small pre-war trade union movement of Japan was forced out of existence. Zaibatsu opposition, Militarist hatred, and continual policy repression could allow no such thing in pre-war Japan as a free trade union movement. What unions existed were exterminated. Some of the leaders were put in jail. Others were effectively silenced.

The war came to an end. With the defeat of Japan came the concurrent defeat of the militarists. The domination of Japanese workers by the Japanese Military Policy and Thought Police had ended. The fake labor fronts of Sampo and Romu were dissolved.

Today thousands of Japanese young men and young women are working the mills, factories, mines, and shops of Japan. Tens of thousands of Japanese ex-soldiers and ex-sailors are working on the farms and in the factories of post-war Japan.

This new generation of workers - the generation that will participate in ruling the Japan of tomorrow - hears many things about the new *rodokuniai*. But many of them do not yet understand what it is all about.

But they do know that a new day has dawned. For The Supreme Commander For The Allied Powers, General Douglas MacArthur, in October of 1945, told the then-Premier, the henceforth the Japanese Government would encourage the formation and growth of free and independent trade unions in Japan.

Later, the Far Eastern Commission, in its policy "Principles for Japanese Trade Unions," dated 6 December 1946, stated: "Japanese workers should be encouraged to form themselves into trade unions for the purpose of preserving and improving conditions of work, participating in industrial negotiations to this end, and otherwise assisting the legitimate trade union interests of workers, including organized participation in building up a peaceful and democratic Japan."

A new age was born for Japan!

The Japanese people know that a new instrument for the good of the world has come into being. A democratic form of government has been assured Japan, yes! but that democratic form can have little meaning to the little people of Japan unless they themselves can form unions of their own choosing, learn how to operate these democratic unions, understand

personally what democracy means.

The first item is that the workers must learn to understand the trade union movement, must know what a union is, and how it is administered.

This is one of the fundamentals of workers' education.

The Far Eastern Commission has stated: "Trade unions should be encouraged to promote adult education and an understanding of democratic processes and of trade union practices and aims among their members."

Unless all of the workers understand what the rodo Kumiai is for, it is easy for a small group of persons, who have outside knowledge, to take over the union and operate it. That is undemocratic, for a union must be operated by the union members. The girls at the reeling machine in Kyōto and coal miner in Hokkaido must be as well informed on the rodo kumiai as is the stationmaster, or the headmaster in an important middle school in Tokyo.

Having decided that workers' education means education in the building of a strong democratic trade union, what is next?

Well, if you have a union, what do you do with it?

Certainly the workers must become more aware of the world in which they live. They have food difficulties. What can the union do to help them solve the food problem? They cannot secure decent houses in which to live. What can the union do to help them?

In a word, the purpose of workers' education is to aid each and every worker to discover the world in which he lives, to understand it, and hence to be able to go to union meetings and make intelligent suggestions on what action might be taken.

In the old Japan, Sato San read the newspaper, and was told what to think, what to do, and what to say.

The New Japan can only be great if the little men and the little women in the factories, the machi and the mura of Japan decide that the world of tomorrow is going to be a world built by them, through them, and for them. There is no place in the New Japan for a Sato San who will sit back and let Suzuki San do all the work. There is too much to be done in the New Nippon. Democracy is a personal experience as well as a national policy. Each and every person in Japan, be he a spinner, a miner, or a locomotive engineer -- every person must know enough about the Japan of today to play a part today in building that Japan tomorrow.

Workers' education, then, consists in first, understanding the rodo kumiai itself; and second, finding out what can be done through it.

IDEOLOGICAL INDOCTRINATION

Such workers' education is often termed practical trade union education. It is education designed to raise the intellectual level of the workers while giving them a working knowledge of the trade union and economic world in which they live.

Practical trade union education must be founded in freedom of access to facts, and freedom to discuss the facts, to voice opinion, to agree or disagree.

Labor movements of most countries have often been plagued with the pseudointellectuals who, in order to hide their lack of practical knowledge, carry on workers' education of a highly impractical nature, such as a study of international labor ethics, cultural trends of the world labor movement, and such other vague and nebulous subjects.

The bitterest enemies of practical workers' education are found in the schools dominated by fascist or Communist groups. Thus, under the German and Italian brands of Fascism, labor fronts were maintained and workers' schools were operated. The schools consisted in presentation of pre-digested material which the students memorized. There was no question of the factual nature of the material. That was not the student's business. There was no discussion. The workers had but one duty, and that was to accept the concert of blood and race as the Dictator wanted them to so understand it.

Communist-dominated schools are of the same nature, for they present the pre-digested conclusions of Marx-Engels Leninism. As in other fascist schools there is no freedom of access to information, nor is their critical and free discussion and the holding of contrary opinions. The idea of class warfare and class egoism -- repugnant of course to true democracy -- these ideologies are presented as facts. Students memorize the Marx-Engels Leninist jargon until they are unable to think independently, merely replies to others by quoting long passages from the material they were given in the so-called labor school. As with the fascist schools, the Communist schools do not educate. They indoctrinate.

Fascist labor thought was founded on racial egoism. Communist labor ideology is founded on class egoism. Both are opposed to democracy for they overlook the basic human dignity of all men, their possession of rights, duties, and personal freedom, not by any one race or any one class.

True workers' education therefore must be free of indoctrination, propaganda, or ideological pre-conceptions of race or class egoism. Free men are a product of free thought, free discussion, free opinion!

II

Foreign Workers' Education

The United States Congress over a long period passed labor legislation protecting the rodo kumiai. With the passage of the labor laws of the United States, millions of workers joined the unions which had been originally formed during the Meiji period. The two major unions were originally, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) formed in 1881, and later the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), formed in 1935.

These unions were very careful to educate their membership in trade unionism. They established schools, founded newspapers, issued booklets, and trained their workers in the philosophy of the rodo kumiai.

As they grew, their educational work expanded. American universities began to teach courses in rodo kumiai, rodo kumiai made moving pictures which told the story of the labor movement, and unions went on the radio in order to tell those who did not belong to rodo kumiai what the rodo kumiai were doing.

Today, in America, the great unions have extensive departments in their national headquarters which devote themselves to the preparation of books, magazines, newspapers, and so forth. Hundreds of men all over America are employed as rodo kumiai educators, teachers, artists, and writers.

Every summer, in many of the ken of America, the workers put down their tools, come to the University centers for a week or two, read books in classrooms, hold discussions, learn new ideas in rodo kumiai. And when they return to their factories, machi, and mura, they bring back those ideas.

Thus the American rodo kumiai have learned that you cannot build strong unions unless you promote democratic workers' education.

One very important thing about the Americans is that they do not spend

endless hours in debate and speeches. When there is something to be done, they get to work and do it. When the American rodo kumiai found that they could not rent houses, the members of the rodo kumiai held a meeting and wondered what could be done. A small committee was formed, and for weeks the committee met and discussed the problem, read the housing laws, read books on housing. After the talk, they acted. They formed rodo kumiai housing cooperatives, they bought land, and they built houses for themselves.

The important thing to understand is not that they built houses for themselves. The important thing is that they took direct action. They did not wait on the Governor to act. They did not wait for some official to scratch on a pad. They found out what they could do for themselves. Then they acted.

That is also workers' education -- only it is a type of education which we call 'learning by doing', or functional education.

In Great Britain, the Workers' Education Association has for decades carried on intensive workers' education. Many of the present leaders of British labor never graduated from a university or college, but they have been active in the lectures, courses, and summer schools of the British labor movement, and today many of them are as well-trained and polished as any university graduate from Oxford.

In Canada, in France, in Holland, in Sweden, and in many other countries, you will find in the workers' education movement the life-spring of the labor movement.

Indeed, long hours in the factories necessitated by World War II in no way stopped the important workers' education movement. In fact, in England, even as the Fascist bombs dropped on the great production centers of the British people, workers' education classes increased, and there was more interest than ever before in extension of the knowledge of the working class.

III

Japanese Workers' Education

It would seem that the Japanese will not have strong and democratic rodo kumiai unless they have strong and well-educated members. What will they teach, whom will they educate, and how will it be done?

That is a big problem. But if you just sit back and think for yourself, it will be an easy answer.

Foundations

First, everyone is talking about the labor union movement. Where did it come from? How has it been formed in Japan?

Obviously, study of the labor movements of America and Great Britain are essential, for those countries have the oldest labor movements in the history of the world. Study of the newer trade unions in France, Australia, China, Germany, and other democratic countries also provides valuable background on the aims and purposes of the world labor movement.

But there are many new laws in Japan which are of real concern to Japanese workers and the labor movement. The Trade Union Act stands out as the initial trade union legislation in Japan. It was followed by the Labor Relations Adjustment Act, and then the Labor Standards Law. Related laws include the Unemployment Compensation Law and the Employment Security Act.

Do these laws have any importance for the Japanese trade unionists?

Certainly! For the first time in two thousand years of Japanese history,

the Japanese workers have a law which not only gives them the right to form unions of their own choosing, but sets up a series of regulations to protect the union, keep it free and democratic.

All of the labor laws mentioned above grant certain rights and privileges to labor unions. Some impose duties and responsibilities. If you have a legal right, or a legal duty, you do not know what it is unless you have carefully read the law.

It is essential that in the building of the labor movement that each and every worker should have a good idea of the various labor laws, and a conception of the rights and duties outlined by such legislations. And that means that workers must be educated by the trade union, with the possible aid of government labor agencies.

UNION STRUCTURE

A constitution is the legal backbone of the union. It outlines the purpose of the union, tells what officers the union has and how they are to be elected, and specifies the various relations between the union, the officers, and the general membership.

When a few hundred persons band together to form a labor union, they have created a human association which represents power -- social, economic, and political power. That power must be used for the good of the members of the organization, and should also be used to promote the common good of all the people.

Officers elected to serve the union serve within the framework of their specific duties as outlined by the union constitution. In the constitution they are given rights and duties, privileges and responsibilities. But the ultimate power within the union ever remains in the hands of the rank-and-file union membership.

Do all union members know what power they have given to the officers of their union? Do they know what will happen to the money which they pay into their union?

If they have studied both their union constitution and the various labor laws of the country, Japanese workers will be well on the road to workers' education.

Labor Contract

The new Japanese trade unions have written many contracts with the employers which are quite general, vague, and lacking in details. Because no specification is made in many such current Japanese contracts, the signing of the contract often marks the opening of a series of disputes which seemingly are endless. The employer and union no sooner end one dispute than another one is in the making.

Obviously a nation still emerging from the greatest and most costly defeat in its history cannot afford the questionable luxury of continual work stoppages, sabotages, disputes, and turmoil within industry and government services.

Trade union members must examine carefully the labor contract under which they work. But that is only the beginning. They should examine the contracts concluded by trade unions with hundreds of years of experience, i. e., America and Great Britain. When they compare foreign contracts with what passes for a labor contract in Japan at this time they will notice that there is quite a difference.

Workers cannot criticize present Japanese contracts unless they are able to see how workers in other countries conclude collective agreements. As Japanese workers continue this process of education and self-criticism,

they will undoubtedly develop contracts which protect every right of the workers, include and go beyond the minimum standards of labor law, and guarantee to both employer and worker freedom from unnecessary labor disputes and other disturbances.

In summary, a well-educated trade unionist should know labor law, his union constitution, and his contract. He should understand foreign labor constitutions and foreign contracts in order to criticize and develop his own more intelligently.

CONTROL OF UNION

Even a democratic trade union can become undemocratic --- or even anti-democratic. As long as a trade union is run by the membership on a democratic basis, it is a free trade union. But if the membership sits back and allows one or two persons to run the union to their own liking, then the union members have sacrificed union democracy and their trade union has become bureaucratic and useful only to the top persons in control.

That is how labor union bureaucracy comes to power.

When that happens free trade unionism is dead.

There is only one way to maintain militant democratic unionism. That is by active participation in the everyday affairs of the *rodokumiai* on the part of each and every member. Remember, it is a basic principle of democracy that you should never permit any higher agency to do anything for you which you yourself can do. The more you can handle yourself, the more control you have over the world you live in.

Summing up, the basic principle is that your local union will only be democratic if you yourselves run it. Second, you want your local unions to do as much as they can for themselves by themselves. Third, you cannot have strong unions unless you know your legal rights, legal duties; your union rights, union duties; and the contract with your employer.

IV.

Who Will Do It

Let us repeat that basic principle of democracy. Do not let any higher agency do anything for you that you yourself can do. That does not mean you forbid centralization. But it does mean that you promote democracy by doing as much for yourself as possible.

There are two extremes for a union education program. One way is for the national union in Tokyo to write a letter to the member unions in the Ken, shi, machi, and mura, simply telling them:

"Dear Friends:

Please start an education program. We hope to hear from you by Showa 25.

Sato San..."

Obviously, just asking a local union to do something means little. Perhaps they don't even know what an education program is. Or they want to know...-But they don't know where to start.

Now the other extreme in the approach to workers' education is when the national union is bureaucratic and undemocratic. Under this kind of a setup, the national union will have a large staff of experts who will write books, newspapers, pamphlets, and make movies. But everything will be done in Tokyo. The membership out in the Ken will be treated as if they are children, with the domineering *rodokumiai* officials in Tokyo telling them exactly what to say, think, and do.

Obviously when education is controlled rigidly from the top, it may really be propaganda from one small group of labor bosses.

The Problem

Well, what then is the way to carry on workers' education? On the one hand, you want to avoid dictatorship from the top. On the other hand, you also want some sort of democratic education program.

As in so many other things, the right path is found between two extremes.

Consider the structure of the Japanese trade union movement as we know it today.

Division of Labor

In most shi, machi, and mura there are many small and large rodo kumiai. They are made up of workers in the industries, trades, and utilities of Japan. You find that the workers in each Ken have formed a Ken Federation of Labor, or a Ken Labor Council. You also find that the local unions have joined in with national unions - unions of the same kind of vocation or industry.

Thus, all of the copper mines belong to a national copper mine and smelter union, all of the coal miners belong to a national Coal Miners Union, and so forth.

The point is this: Unions are organized and administered on a local basis; they federate on a Ken level, they function under top co-ordination on a national basis.

Now then let us relate this structure with the problem of developing an education movement in our Japanese rodo kumiai.

The local union in the machi and mura must do as much of its own education work as it is humanly possible. But when this local union wants to stage some sort of an educational event with another local union - say a rodo kumiai play - then it will go up a step and go through the Ken Council. Likewise, if a school is planned in a Ken, it may be organized by the Ken Labor Council, for no one union in the Ken could perhaps afford to do the job all by itself.

But suppose that some local union wants to have some movies made telling the history of the Japanese trade union movement. Would it be possible for a union of 200 or 500 members to finance the production of a movie? Obviously, that would not be possible. In many Ken, even a Ken Labor Council could not finance such a thing. So here, the logical thing is for the national union in Tokyo to do the job, for then it would be financed by all of the affiliated unions in all of the Ken of Japan.

The same would apply to the writing of books on the rodo kumiai movement, the preparation of national radio programs, and printing of national rodo kumiai magazines, and the like.

That is one way to break down the division of labor so that it promotes democracy.

Unless care is exercised, there is always the danger of politicians getting control of the top organization of the union and using it for their own end. The best guarantee against bureaucracy dictatorship in the union is a vigorous educational program.

Committees

We have divided education work into three parts - that done by the

national union, that done by the Ken Labor Council, and that done in the local union.

All are necessary ... but the local union is the most important because it is the basic unit of the labor movement.

Local Union

In every local union, you will always find several members who like to read, to collect newspapers, and to talk. The first thing to do in your union is for the union president to appoint three or four men and women (especially young men and young women) as the Education Committee of the local union. This group of persons is given authority by a local membership meeting to operate under the direction of the President. At every meeting of the general members, this education committee makes a report, and in this way, they are made responsible to the membership of the union, not just to the officers.

The committee will have many things to do. It is the practice in American and British rodo kumiai for the union to put a certain percentage of the dues into a special fund to be used by the education committee. For instance, if your monthly union dues in ¥30, and you have 100 members, you may decide to collect ¥3000 per month. ¥150 of this would then be given to the education committee. If you have 1,000 members, you may vote or decide to give the committee ¥1500 per month. That is not much money. But as we will show later, the education committee can use that small sum to build up a larger treasury on its own thru the sale of leaflets and pamphlets.

The committee is then appointed by the head of the union, and it receives its initial finances from the union. Of course, any person who volunteers to serve on the education committee should do so. A volunteer is always welcome!

That committee is then responsible for education in the local union.

Ken Council

Now on the Ken level we have a Council of labor unions from all the rodo kumiai in the Ken. We may have coal miners, communications' workers, school teachers, copper miners, factory workers, spinners and reelers - every type of rodo kumiai.

This Ken Council then forms a small education committee representative of the unions in the Ken. This Ken Council Education Committee will then be charged with supervision of education and initiation of projects - but only on the all-Ken level.

This Ken Council should be responsive to the wishes of the rodo kumiai which belong to it. It should not dictate policy.

National Union

At the top is the Education Department of the National Union. It is the usual practice in many democratic countries for the President of the Union to appoint the Education Director of the National Union with the approval and consent of the Executive Board. The Director then draws up a program, which should be approved by the officials of the union, and then he goes to work. At least once a year, this Education Director will call a conference of all local union education directors in order to coordinate his work with theirs, give them suggestions, and in turn receive suggestions from the people out in the Ken. Further, by use of a monthly bulletin to the local union Education Chairman, the Education Director of the union can coordinate the entire educational work of the union. But he is at all times responsive to the will of the directors of the union, and at the annual convention must report to the membership and have his report subject to the scrutiny and criticism of the Convention's Education Committee, followed by rank-and-file discussion and vote.

Government Agencies

Far Eastern Commission principles add that: "The Japanese Government should as far as possible assist trade union officials in obtaining information on trade union activities in other countries." In addition, the Japanese government has the responsibility to inform the general public as well as trade union members on the nature of labor legislation, new ordinances, and the enforcement procedures for the various laws affecting the rank-and-file union members as well as their trade unions.

The Labor Administration Bureau of the Labor Ministry, includes a Workers' Education Section which is responsible for the publication of a weekly newspaper, RODO SHUKAN, which announces government labor policies, carried news of labor in other countries, and otherwise serves the workers. This same Workers' Education Section has also published many foreign labor books and pamphlets, in Japanese, for the further enlightenment of union members.

The Central Labor Relations Committee, and the many Local Labor Relations Committees, have the duty and the responsibility to aid in the education of workers in the operation of the Trade Union Act and the Labor Relations Adjustment Act. These committees are also responsible for informing workers on the committees' services of conciliation, mediation, and arbitration. These committees should keep local unions informed as to labor disputes brought before the committees, and their disposition of eventual settlement.

The Labor Standards Bureau is responsible for education of rank-and-file workers as to the content of the Labor Standard Law and the many ordinances contained in it. It is also responsible for informing workers regarding their part in enforcement of these laws and ordinances.

Likewise the Labor Statistics Bureau is responsible for the reporting of accurate and timely statistics of interest to labor unions and the rank-and-file membership. And the Womens and Minors Bureau of the Labor Ministry is responsible for keeping women and women trade unionists informed on their legal rights and otherwise assist in implementing the new democracy in the new Japan.

The Employment Security Bureau of the Labor Ministry is also responsible for liaison with local unions and national unions in order to inform the unions, and to expedite the work of the Bureau.

Other government agencies have similar functions and duties to the workers. Local union education committees, Ken Councils, and the Education Departments of National Unions should make as much good use as possible of these various government agencies. They are there to serve the workers, but they cannot serve well without mutual cooperation.

V.

What Will They Do

The activities of these various educational groups varied, and will depend on the size of the union, the type of work, and the money available to the various committees, councils, and Educational Departments. But we can sketch out some of the major activities of the workers' education committee, in order to guide them along the new channels.

For instance, one of the first things that the Education Director of a National Union might add would be to start a monthly bulletin or possibly even a printed magazine, which would be sent to every Education Committee in every local union, as well as to all of the shop stewards in the member unions. Such a magazine might be divided into a few sections - one would contain short reports on educational activities in member local unions;

another would outline programs and give ideas to the committees in the Ken; and a third would run informational articles on such things as how to establish a food cooperative, the writing of contracts, the setting up of the shop steward system and its operation, the Trade Union Act, and so forth. Month by month, this magazine or bulletin would give specific trade union information to the member unions, and that would in turn give rise to educational on the local level.

A National Union Education Director might also get busy designing some basic posters for distribution to the member unions; he would prepare leaflets telling the workers in simple language what the union is for and describe their role in democratic trade unionism. For members in small local unions, he might also prepare a series of mimeographed correspondence courses, whereby the member would receive a new lesson through the mail every few weeks, and thus be able to study the Trade Union Act, collective bargaining, labor history, and trade union principles in his own home when free from work.

The National Education Director might also have the task of arranging lecture series, regional conferences, organize labor schools, and possibly in time begin to hold summer schools for workers in various parts of the country.

The National Union Education Director might take the lead in promoting the program, and in providing the local committees with the books, pamphlets, leaflets, and posters which are the backbone of the educational system for workers. These would be sold in bulk, at cost, to the local unions.

The Ken Federation of Labor would take the lead in arranging for labor plays, lectures, local labor schools, local summer schools, and for holding a monthly conference of all educational directors in the Ken in order that they might meet frequently, exchange ideas, and keep educational work progressing in EVERY local union in the Ken.

Then we would have the Education Committee of the local union - possibly the most important committee of the local union after The Bargaining Committee. This committee would make sure that the educational material from National Headquarters was used properly. It would arrange for lectures on the local level, carry on education of the shop stewards, get small groups of workers to write their own labor plays and present them to the other workers, arrange picnics, build up a library in the union office for the use of the membership, sponsor essay contests in the local primary school in which the children would receive a prize for the best essay on the Trade Union Act, Democracy and Unionism, and so forth. Pamphlets and labor books would be sold.

Local unions can secure many books, pamphlets, and posters from the various local agencies of the Labor Ministry. Film Strips, safety exhibits, and other material can also be borrowed without cost.

The Education Committee on the local level would also take the lead in staging discussion groups, in holding round-table discussions of current legislation of interest to labor, and in arranging debates of labor leaders, managers, and public officials on such things as 'What to do about the Food Problem,' 'The Constitution,' and so forth.

And it is important to remember that in the local primary school, this Education Committee may find a valuable friend. They may discover that the teachers will help by giving lectures and conducting discussion groups, and they can often get the principal of the school to permit the union to use the school building one or two nights a week. As the primary school is usually in the center of town, that makes it possible for the trade union to have a convenient meeting place.

VI

Functional Education

Now we come to one of the most important forms of education - functional education. This means that you teach by having people discover how to do things for themselves.

Consider two examples. An election is coming in your Ken. The members are not satisfied with things the way they are, but they do not know what to do. The Education Committee may appoint a sub-committee of men and women workers who in their spare time will study each of the candidates: Mayor, Diet Member, or what have you. They will find out their record, and possibly will visit every one of the candidates and ask them what is their stand on labor, what they intend to do about the food problem and so forth. All of this will be recorded by the Education Committee who may then publish a small circular for the membership, or a wall newspaper, giving a summary of each candidate's record and their position on matters which affect labor and the community. When the labor union members begin to discuss the question of for whom they will vote, the Education Committee will be able to give them the story on every candidate... and everyone will have learned how to vote more intelligently by having carried on this activity, which in itself is educational.

Now, turn to the food problem. Many farmers out in the country have food, but the problem is in getting it to the workers. Some of the workers might feel that a cooperative society in the union would enable them to pool all of the buying power of the union members, buy large quantities of food from the farmers, and the rodo kumiai cooperative would then sell it to the members at low cost. Again, the Education Committee might get pamphlets and books from National headquarters, or from the local school, study the problem, and then hold a few meetings of interested members. After they had discussed the problem from every angle, they could then go to a general meeting of the rodo kumiai, tell what they had found, and make a proposal to form a union cooperative association. Every member would learn more about the world in which he lives, and by first having studied the problem, the membership would then be able to take more intelligent action.

You see how simple democracy is ... and yet how difficult?

It is simple because it is based on the principle that every man and woman is morally equal and has equal opportunity to study and read. But it is difficult because so many of us are lazy, and do not want to do any work if we can get someone else to do it.

That is why the Education Committee is so important to the development of a sound organic democracy in Japan. The Education Committee is the agency inside the rodo kumiai which is always pressing for new ideas, wider knowledge, greater social morality, increased intelligent action on the part of all of the members.

It may take a year, it may take five years, it may take ten years. But if the Education Committees of the rodo kumiai on the local level work hard in time a solid democratic trade unionism will be built.

Functional education is also carried on by the Education Committee because in carrying on activity, the members of the committee learn to read, to study, to speak before their fellow men and women workers. In time, some of them develop into leaders, and after a while fellow unionists say: "You know, Sato San is becoming a very wise man. He always thinks before he speaks. And when he speaks, he speaks sense. You can follow his leadership." When that happens, a new union leader is born. Many people, in the early days of a new labor union, establish their leadership by the use of unwise language and loud speech. They are leaders for a

while, but they rarely stand the test of time. The real leaders of the trade union movement, the men who will stand for trade union principles, are the men and women who have come up through the Education Committee, have gone from that to the Bargaining Committee, and from there to leadership of their local union, or their national union. Workers' education is the best guarantee of continued democracy in the trade union movement, for it will provide vigorous leadership from the bottom of the union. If the top leadership of the union is capable, it will know how to use that new leadership in order to expand the union. If the top leadership is bureaucratic and feeble, it will not be long before new and better qualified leaders will be elected.

You see, democracy is a process of organic growth. It cannot be superimposed from above. Democracy cannot be given a people. All that can be done is to provide the framework for democracy, as has been done by the Allied Powers. But the filling in of the frame, the giving of life to the frame, the creation of an actual living body, or social order, called "democracy" can only come through the action and reaction of the various members of that body.

The trade union movement consists of millions of workers -- men, women and youth. Insofar as each youth, each woman, and each man becomes aware of his rights and duties within the trade union movement; insofar as each person takes an active part in the management of the union; insofar as each person strives to extend his and her understanding of the trade union movement and its role within the social framework -- just that far does democracy take on real meaning.

In democratic countries, where active workers' education is in progress, workers and observers say that the trade union movement is a school for democracy actively training men and women to think to act, and to speak in a democratic manner.

One of the major tasks of the Japanese trade unions today is to activate education committees in every local union in every part of Japan. As these education committees get to work, as they function and expand their activities the Japanese labor movement should assume an importance and a dignity worthy of the respect not only of all Japanese people but of the entire world!

Summary

This is the key to the educational process in the trade union movement: activity on all levels, but most important, educational activity at the bottom of the union. This, in turn, produces new leaders and promotes greater militance on the part of all the workers.

People only love that which they know. And generally people will be loyal only to that which they love.

It follows that if the workers know what the rodo kumiai is and understand how to make rodo kumiai work for their good, they will like rodo kumiai. And when they like rodo kumiai, and understand it, then they will stick by rodo kumiai and build it ever greater and greater.

And from that will come a new, strong democratic society which will be an example to the world of how intelligent educational work can bring about a new and better democratic world for all of the people.

File #1012

LABOR EDUCATION IN YOUR LOCAL UNION

A practical handbook written for the members of Japanese local unions as a guide to the various devices and techniques used in foreign countries as well as in Japan in the education of the trade union membership.

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

Economic and Scientific Section

Tokyo 1948

Introduction

During the past few years, many newspaper articles and magazine stories have discussed the "theory and spirit" of labor education. Innumerable speeches have been made throughout Japan indicating the necessity for labor education.

And during the past year, a host of labor books and pamphlets have been published. New labor laws have been published. Kami shibai have been prepared. Over a dozen new film strips have been fabricated and are obtainable at a low cost.

In spite of the demonstrated need for workers' education within the trade union movement, and in spite of the many sources available, the average trade union in Japan today does not carry on workers' education. One reason for this is to be found in the fact that few national unions in Japan have education departments. If they do have education departments, they are understaffed and lacking in funds, in paper, and sometimes in ideas.

This pamphlet has been written for the local union members of the some 28,000 trade unions of Japan. The writer has travelled extensively throughout Japan during the past few years, and everywhere the local union members say: "Please teach us how to conduct labor education in our local union..."

Labor education must be of, for, and by the trade union movement if it is to achieve its basic mission of aiding in the democratization of the trade union movement. Independent agencies may be of assistance. Government labor agencies are expected to share their proper portion of the burden. But the primary responsibility for labor education rests with the local union. If each and every local union does its part, the educational program will grow slowly, but at such a rate that in time the unions will be filled with trained trade unionists, new leaders, and the future workers' education directors of Japan.

This pamphlet proposes many new ideas. It outlines techniques to be used. Some may be good for your local union. Some may be impossible. It is our purpose to give you a broad view of what can be done... and then your local union may pick and choose as it pleases.

Purpose of Workers' Education

One primary purpose of workers' education is to train the rank-and-file worker in the use of democratic procedures in the conduct of the affairs of the trade union. Feudalistic and paternalistic habits of thought do not die with the formation of a trade union. They are only eradicated as the rank-and-file learn to think, to speak, and to act in a democratic manner.

Another purpose of workers' education is to train leaders so that they can serve the rank-and-file membership. Shop stewards must be trained so that they can adjust grievances within the local union as rapidly as they arise.

The entire rank-and-file must be trained in their role as trade unionists in a democratic society, and that involves political action problems, economic problems, and social problems.

And many of the rank-and-file need special training in the administration of local unions, the structure of the trade union movement, and the various relations of the trade union movement to the new labor legislation of Japan.

All of these subjects imply intensive and extensive training for the rank-and-file as well as for shop stewards, executive committee members, and the officers of the local union. It cannot be done in a week, or even in a month. Workers' education has been carried on in British trade unions for the past fifty years ... and it is more vigorous today than ever before.

Beginnings

A workers' education program in your local union quite properly starts when a few of the local union members agree that something must be done. It is not at all necessary to have a large committee. A few young men and women, and a few older members of the trade union may take the initiative and begin to discuss the

problems of starting workers' education within the local union. If they decide that they want to devote some of their spare time, after hours, to the self-education of the members of the local union, they should then request the leaders of the local union to appoint (or elect) them as the education committee of the local union.

That is the first step - forming an education committee which represents the various elements within your local union. In some industries, the committee may be made up of older men because the typical member is an older man. In other industries or services, there may be many young people in the local union, and the education committee should try to have sufficient members so that young men, young women, and men and women are all on this education committee.

The next step is to explore the question: "What can we do?"

It is wise to plan slowly and carefully. Hold several meetings. Sometimes it is a good idea, when the committee members live in the same machi or ku, to meet once a week in the home of one of the committee members. Rotate meetings so that the committee meets in another home each time. This will serve to make your meetings more informal and friendly, and will create a friendly feeling between the various committee members and their respective families.

Before you begin to make any plans, you must first understand what tools are available in Japan today which you can put to work for your local union. Just as a carpenter first looks at plans for the cabinet which he must make and selects the proper tools to make the cabinet, so too you must look over the various tools available to you, and then see which ones will best serve your local union.

Sources of Education

By this we mean the various tools which are available to you in Japan today. Let us go down the list!

1. Books and Pamphlets: During the past two years, over two hundred labor books and pamphlets have been published in Japan which are of use to a local union education committee. Write to the Central Labor College, No. 6 Shiba Park, Minato Ku, Tokyo, and ask for their complete listing of labor books and the prices. Write to the Labor Ministry, Labor Education Section, Tokyo, and ask them for a list with prices of all labor books and pamphlet published by the ministry. Write to your national union, to Sodomei, to Sanbetsu, and to unions such as Iokutetsu (all in Tokyo) and ask them to send you a price list of their various trade union publications. And don't forget that your local labor administration section should have a price list of all labor books and pamphlets available for your use. If they do not have such a list, ask them to get busy and prepare one!

2. Newspapers and Magazines: Your union should receive free of charge the Labor Ministry weekly newspaper, "Shukan Rodo". If you do not receive it, write the Labor Ministry and request that you be put on the mailing list. Newspapers such as the Mainichi publish a monthly labor magazine, "Rodo Hyoron," which contains many articles on workers' education, labor law, and the like. Ask your local labor administration section to prepare for you a price list of all current labor magazines and newspapers so that your union may subscribe to the more important journals.

3. Film Strips: Film strips are now made by various private companies, by the Labor Ministry, by some of the trade union federations, by labor relations committees, and by the Education Ministry. Ask your local labor administration section to give you a price list of all film strips which would be of use to your local union. The labor administration section has a film strip machine which you can borrow without charge, and the local primary school will usually have a film strip projector which can probably be lent without charge. And in addition, the local labor administration section should have many film strips on hand for your local union to borrow without charge.

4. Kami Shibai: The Labor Standards Bureau in Osaka has manufactured one kami shibai dealing with the Labor Standards Act. Although no company is yet making labor education kami shibai, it is easy for you to make your own.

5. Laws and Ordinances: Copies of the Trade Union Act, the Labor Relations Adjustment Act, the Labor Standards Act, the Workers' Compensation Act, the Mariners' Act (for seamen), the Employment Security Act, and other labor legislation can be obtained without charge from your local labor administration section. If they cannot provide them, write directly to the Labor Education Section of the Labor Ministry and request copies for your own use.



6. Daily Newspapers: Both local daily newspapers and such daily newspapers as "Asahi" and "Mainichi" carry items of interest to labor every day. By collecting copies of these newspapers, you can begin to build a valuable reference file for your local union.

7. Charts and Posters: The Central Labor Relations Committee in Tokyo has published ten charts which outline the duties of the Labor Relations Committee, the function of conciliation, the work of mediation, and the process of arbitration. Write directly to Dr. Suehiro, Chairman, Central Labor Relations Committee, c/o Central Labor College, No. 6 Shiba Park, Minato Ku, Tokyo, and ask for a free copy of those posters for your local union. Write letters to the following persons and ask for copies of the various charts and posters which they have issued, all of which are free:



- Chief, Labor Standards Bureau, Labor Ministry, Tokyo.
- Chief, Employment Security Bureau, Labor Ministry, Tokyo
- Chief, Womens and Minors' Bureau, Labor Ministry, Tokyo.
- Chief, Labor Administration Section, Labor Ministry, Tokyo.
- Chief, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Labor Ministry, Tokyo.

8. Libraries and School Libraries: Have a few committee members investigate local libraries, if any, to determine what labor books they have on hand for borrowing. Visit your local Military Government Team and ask the Labor Officer if there is an army-sponsored library in your city which includes labor books and pamphlets. Visit the labor administration section office in your town and ask them the address of the nearest labor-management library. Visit that library to determine what kind of labor books and pamphlets are there for your use.



Friendly Aids

Having surveyed the various devices and sources of raw material for your local labor education program, consider next the many friendly aids in your community which will serve if asked ... and without any cost to your local union.

1. School Teachers: In your town there are many school teachers who are trained in teaching. They have studied hard, and should be competent to give you both advice and assistance. Visit your local school and find out what teachers would be of assistance to your local union. Explain to them your problems and try to draw up a list of school teachers who will from time to time assist your Labor Education Committee in its work.

2. Government Labor Agencies: In your Ken, there are many government agencies which are there to serve you. Many of them do not now serve your local union because you have not asked them to do anything.

a. The labor administration section of your area is there to help you as mentioned above. Your taxes help pay the salaries of the employees of this section, and it is up to you to see that they aid you in every possible way.

b. The Labor Standards Bureau in your Ken is charged with the responsibility of explaining the Labor Standards Law to your membership, of giving advice to you, and of helping you to prepare complaints if you feel that the Law is being violated in your factory. Use them!

c. The Employment Security Office in your Ken (EISO) is charged with enforcement of the various laws relating to unemployment compensation, employment security, and so forth. One of their responsibilities is to visit your local union when you request it, in order to explain the operation and enforcement of the Law. They are also there to give advice to your membership if needed. They will provide you on request with copies of the Law, and teach your membership the correct way to prepare the forms necessary to secure the various benefits of the acts which they enforce and administer.

d. The local Women's and Minor's Bureau is there to give you assistance in dealing with the problems of women and minors. If called upon, they will be glad to serve your local union in explaining the role of women in the new democratic order; in dealing with technical problems such as menstrual leave, and other women's problems. This Bureau should have on hand many leaflets, pamphlets, and posters which will be of assistance to your local union education program.

e. The Labor Relations Committee of your Ken is charged with the responsibility of aiding your local union to understand the operation of the Trade Union Act and the Labor Relations Adjustment Act. Visit their office and request aid. They should also give your membership accurate instruction as to the preparation of a case for the Committee when the Law has been violated. Visits of the staff members of the Committee to your local union may be helpful in giving an opportunity to local union members to discuss company unionism, violations of Article 2, violations of Articles 11, and so forth. The Committee should be able to give your Education Committees copies of its publications so that you can study the decisions of the Labor Relations Committee and learn more about the work it carries on. Remember, the Labor Relations Committee is there to serve your local union. Make it work for you!

3. Local Military Government: Your local Military Government Team has a Labor Officer who is there to be of help and assistance to your local union. The Labor Officer has a large collection of GHI Labor Education pamphlets, he has a file of American and foreign labor material, and he will usually have a good collection of recent Japanese language labor books and pamphlets. Make it a practice to visit your local Military Government Labor Officer. You will find him friendly. He wants to help you, but you must ask him for help, explain your problems, receive his advice.

4. Doctors and Lawyers: You may find that there are a few doctors in your community who will be glad to assist your local union in lectures and question-and-answer periods on health, hygiene, first aid to the injured, physiological problems, tuberculosis prevention, and diet. You may find a few lawyers in your town who may be glad to assist your local union membership in understanding labor legislation, and in the methods to be used in preparing a case for the Labor Relations Committee. Your local doctors and lawyers are citizens of Japan just as you are. If called upon for volunteer assistance, many will be glad to be of further service to their fellow townsmen.

5. Local Political Leaders: In your community you have many of the local leaders of the Socialist Party, the Liberal Party, the Democratic Party, the Communist Party, and the People's Co-operative Party. One of their functions is to answer questions about the policies of their respective parties. Although you need not agree with their respective views, such men will be found useful in explaining to your local union membership the principles and program of their party. A series of conferences with representatives of all the parties may be of value in aiding your membership to evaluate the various parties free from propaganda.

Thus, as you go down the list, you will find that in your community there are many persons - technical, professional, and political - who may be of assistance to your local union membership ... but you must seek them out and recruit their services.

Devices

We have mentioned the types of source material and the type of persons who can be of service to your local union. Let us briefly examine the various techniques and devices used by workers both in Japan and in foreign countries in order to get a broad picture of the variety of devices which may be used in your union.

1. Bulletin Boards: Many workers are much too busy from day to day to read labor newspapers and labor magazines.. Often, they do not even have time to read the daily newspapers. If the union has a bulletin board at the factory gate or some convenient place, the daily items of labor interest can be clipped from the newspapers and magazines, and put up on the bulletin board for all workers to read. One caution, however, is found in the maxim: "Keep changing the clippings every day." Workers will read the bulletin board if it is changed frequently. This means that one member of the Education Committee must be absolutely faithful in posting items as fast as they are clipped from the various sources.



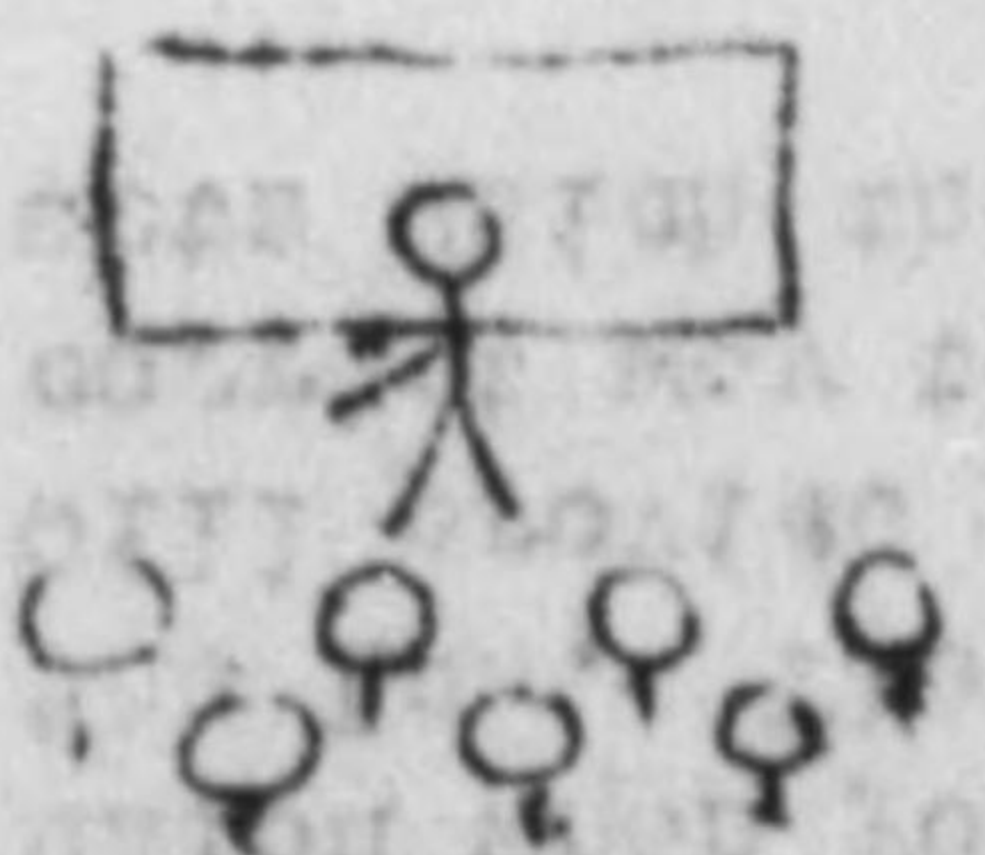
2. Discussion Groups: A discussion group means exactly what it says: a meeting of persons who want to talk about some current problem. Discussion groups should be kept small; otherwise they become unwieldy. The best size is a small group of five or six interested union members who meet in each others' homes say once or twice a month. A chairman is selected in advance for each meeting, and a list is made of the topics to be discussed. Suppose that a small discussion group decides upon the following topics: (a) The rationing system; (b) The problem of workers' earned income taxes; and (c) the food problem. The chairman selected for each topic must then get busy and find out something about the problem. He may visit the local Haikyū Kodan (rationing office) and ask questions, obtain a chart of how the rationing system operates, and secure a few pamphlets. The chairman for the tax problem will write to the Finance Ministry and ask for a copy of the present tax regulations. He may visit the library and read a few articles in various magazines which analyze the present tax structure, and so forth. When the first meeting is held, the chairman explains all that he knows about the problem. This should take 15 minutes or less. His job is to present the problem. Then the various members begin to talk. If anyone wanders from the subject, the chairman reminds him of the topic. If such a discussion is carried on for an hour, every member will go home with a much better understanding of one current problem. The discussion group should avoid letting any one member make a long speech. Every member should say something. The purpose is not only to promote understanding, but to give workers the opportunity to express their own thinking.



3. Plays and Labor Dramatics: The problem of writing a play seems to be very difficult, yet when a small group of workers decide to write a play it is not long before they are busy scribbling ideas on paper. Don't be too ambitious. Start with a short play of 15 minutes and stick to one specific topic. A short play could be written which would illustrate collective bargaining. A short play could be written to describe the rise of the new Japanese labor movement. Here, in the writing of a short play to be produced for the local union membership, the advice and aid of local school teachers should be of some assistance. It is easier to buy a labor play already written, but that defeats the very purpose of writing a play -- and that is rank-and-file participation. If you write your own short plays and produce them, they may be very poor plays at first but you will learn much from the work, and you'll be very happy when you see the smiles of appreciation on the faces of the other union members.



4. Classes or Labor School: It should be made clear that in Europe and America, although the labor school is important, it usually does not appeal to a large group of workers. If you want to hold a labor school, make it very simple in the beginning... Perhaps two subjects with lectures twice a week for a few weeks. One class could be a series of lectures and discussion about the Trade Union Act, while another could be about trade union structure. Planning of the class is very important, for you have to have a blackboard, a few books, and above all, a good teacher. If possible, have one of your own members do the teaching, for it will often be found that local professors use a language not understood easily by rank-and-file members. In planning any classes, be practical. Ask the workers what they want, and then see what can be done about it. Avoid such impractical subjects as "The World Situation" and "Production Rehabilitation". Such matters can be taken care of through special lectures and other devices. Experience in other countries has

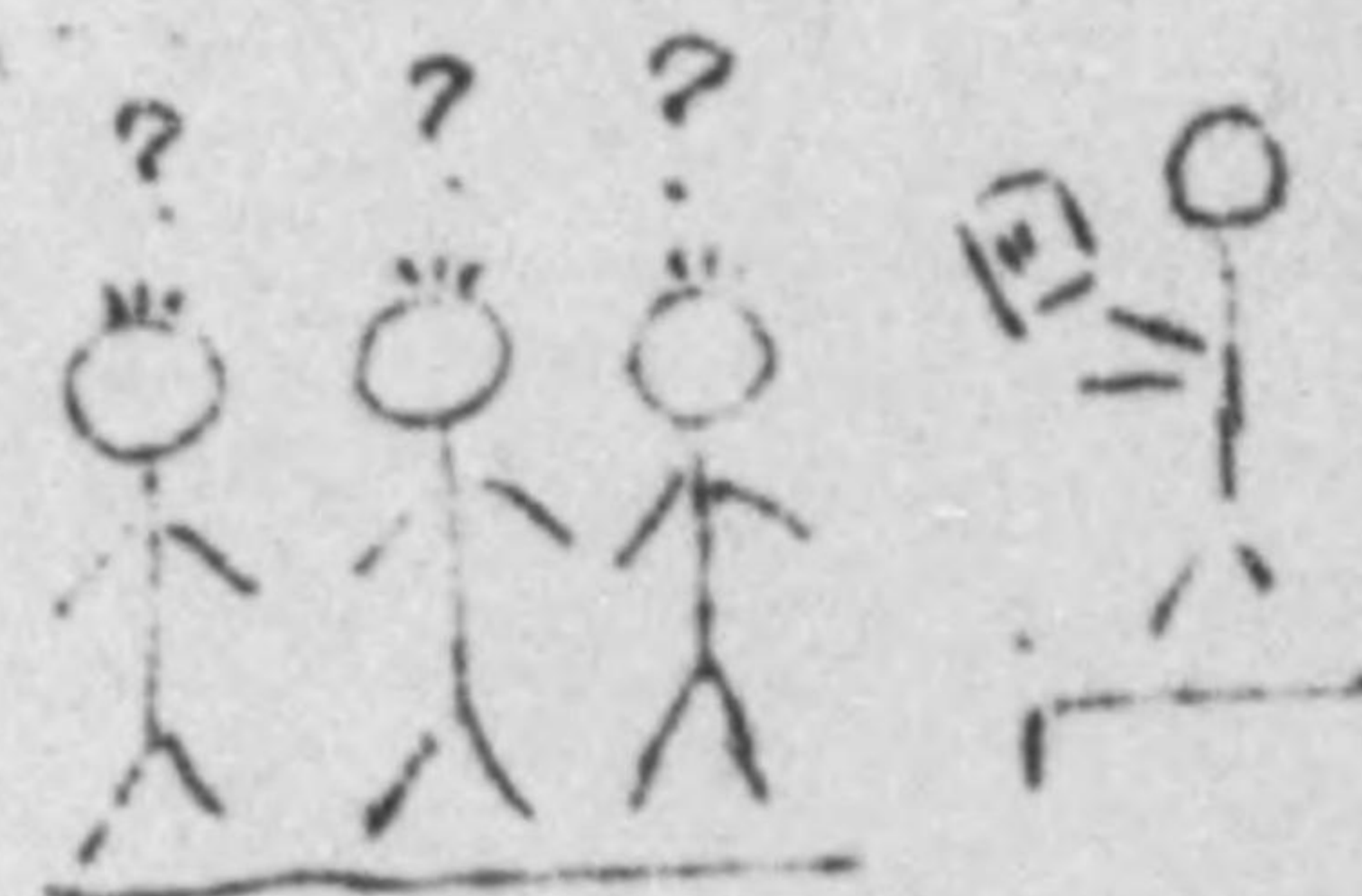


indicated that when a labor union maintains classes on practical subjects which are of direct and immediate interest to workers, the classes are a success. Classes on ideological propaganda may attract a small number, but it will be found in the long run that the workers usually tire of a heavy intellectual fare, resent propaganda. Above all, do not permit lecturers to talk for an hour without any interruption. If you plan a one-hour class, make the lecturer confine his lecture to 30 minutes. Then let the students ask questions, discuss the matter, and draw their own conclusions. Classes will also be much more useful if you are able to include the showing of a film strip which illustrates the lecture.

5. Kabe Shimbun: (Wall newspaper): A daily or weekly wall newspaper prepared either on a sheet of paper or written on a blackboard inside the plant gates will be of great use in keeping workers informed of the labor situation and general topics. A few cartoons, a few short notes each day will serve to assist workers in maintaining a good account of the trend of labor affairs. The Kabe Shimbun is also of great use in urging worker attendance at classes, union meetings, picnics, and other matters. And Kabe Shimbun are always better read if you include little personal items from time to time - births of babies, sickness of union members, and so forth. Everyone likes to see his name in public from time to time!



6. Quiz Contests: Where there are many young workers the quiz contest is a wonderful education device. Suppose that your local union has many young men and young women. They will not attend union classes. One very excellent device is to plan a quiz contest to be held in the local primary school say on a late Sunday afternoon. A subject is selected, and volunteers are called for. The quiz contest is best when you have only six or seven young men and women and a few older folks. The object of the quiz is that the person who can answer the most questions properly receives some special prize -- a union pin, a small amount of money, or some other suitable prize. Suppose that you decide to have a quiz on the Trade Union Act. Everyone who volunteers is given a copy of the Trade Union Act and ordinances at least two weeks in advance of the quiz contest. Then your education committee goes to work and goes through the Act and begins to make up a long series of simple questions. Let us list just a few:



- a. What section mentions the Labor Relations Committee?
- b. In the Governor appoint the members?
- c. What is Article 11? Define it?
- d. Can an employer discharge a man for union activity?
- e. How many members are there on a Labor Relations Committee?

and so forth. Advertise the quiz contest for at least a week in advance, and invite local townsmen to attend the contest. When the meeting opens, each of the contestants is introduced to the crowd. The chairman of the local union may make a short introductory speech. Then the contestants are seated before the crowd, and the chairman of the education committee begins to ask questions going from the first to the second and so forth. If each person answers the question, he remains. If he answers incorrectly, a gong is sounded and he leaves the platform. Slowly the questions continue and the persons begin to leave the platform. The questioning continues until there is only one person left. He is then given the prize ... and tea is served. The committee should be careful to select very simple questions for the first twenty or thirty, and then make the questions more and more difficult. Make the last ten questions so technical and so difficult that no one can possibly answer them. This will ensure that the contest does not run on all night. It will usually be found that a quiz contest of this type will be successful if it is planned to take place within an hour or an hour-and-one-half. If it is successful, have another quiz contest on the Labor Standards Act, on other social and economic problems. But you must choose subjects on which there is available reference material. If you choose subjects on which there is nothing to study, the quiz contest may be a miserable failure.

7. Lecture Series: The lecture series is a very valuable way of presenting a series of subjects relating to the same theme. The lecture series is usually three or four lectures given at the same time and place one week apart. If you plan a longer series, attendance usually drops rapidly. Suppose you plan a series of lectures on the Trade Union Act. First you must secure a place to hold your

lecture series ... and usually the most convenient place is a primary school in the center of town. If you locate your place, then you plan the topics you want to have discussed. After much consideration, your committee may decide to divide the subject into four parts:

- a. The Trade Union Act - character of trade unions. Article 2.
- b. The Trade Union Act - union activities, discharges, and article 11.
- c. The Trade Union Act - the Labor Relations Committee, duties, appointment, and other details.
- d. The Trade Union Act - mediation, conciliation, and arbitration.

Then you must seek to find lecturers who can talk intelligently about your subjects. The first lecture might be given by a local lawyer or a staff member of the Labor Relations Committee. The second lecture might well be given by a local experienced trade union leader, or a local newspaper reporter who is familiar with many actual cases which have arisen under Article 11. The third lecture might be given by the chairman or a labor member of the local labor relations committee. And the fourth lecture could be given by the Staff Executive Secretary of your local committee. Each lecturer is assigned his topic, the lectures are announced, and the lecturer is told that he must talk for only 30 or 40 minutes, followed by questions from union members for another 20 or 30 minutes. Before the lecture series, arrange to have copies of the act made available by the local labor administration section. When the third lecture is given, have a chart made showing the structure of the committee. The fourth lecture might be illustrated with several charts showing mediation, conciliation, and arbitration.

The lecturer is important, but the advance planning and publicity which your education committee gives the lecture series is of equal importance. Perhaps you ran a lecture series in the Spring. If it is successful, plan another series for the Fall, presenting a series on the Labor Standards Act, one on the Labor Relations Adjustment Act, and other practical topics. Above all, keep the lectures which tell them how to solve problems. Lectures about culture in India or the Spirit of Love may look good on paper, but you may find that your local union members go fast asleep.

8. Workshop: The workshop technique is used as a means of both preparing educational material and teaching workers to think up their own ideas. For instance, your education committee may establish a workshop to make a kami shibai. You may seek the use of a classroom in the local primary school and meet there once a week. The first meeting discusses the type of kami shibai to be made... Perhaps it is suggested that a kami shibai be made on the democratic operation of a labor union and its contribution to democracy in Japan. The second meeting sees everyone busy thinking of ideas... The chairman stands at the blackboard, and slowly the group develops a series of ideas for the script. The third meeting sees everyone with pencil and paper, drawing pictures which illustrate the ideas. The group then examine all of the ideas, and the best pictures are arranged in order. Perhaps your first kami shibai consists of thirty or so pictures. The next meeting then sees the members who are good artists hard at work with water colors and old paper painting the pictures... And other members are busy building a kami shibai frame, painting it, making it ready. After a month or so of very interesting work, the education committee is ready to have its first showing. The kami shibai is best used with small groups of workers. If you have 300 workers in your local union, the education committee might plan to have two members show the kami shibai during the lunch hour at a different part of the plant each day or so. If you show it to groups of 30 workers at a time, two weeks would be needed to complete the showing. Meanwhile, the workshop is busy making another kami shibai. After usage in your plant, other local unions in the vicinity may want to borrow it for use in their plant. Thus the workshop provides valuable training for union members, and increases the educational resources in your community.



9. Public Speaking Contests: The use of the public speaking contest usually follows a class in public speaking held within the local union. A local teacher

may be used to explain the fundamental principles of public speaking, and then for a few weeks each member of the class must prepare a short three-minute speech to be given before the small class. After each speech, the other members of the class criticize the speech. This continues until the men and women in the class have gathered sufficient courage and ability to make speeches which are well-given and without hesitation. As in the quiz contest, a meeting is announced and the four best speakers, for example, are assigned the same topic. It should be a topic broad enough to permit each speaker to make it into his or her own individual speech. Each speech is strictly limited to, say, 10 minutes. When the contest opens, each person who comes to the contest is given a piece of paper with which to vote. At the front of the hall is an instruction sheet which tells the audience to judge the speaker on his or her (a) originality (b) posture (c) sincerity (d) lack of confusion or hesitation, and other points. The four speakers (or more or less) give their ten minute speech, and a two or three minute interval is permitted between each speech allowing the audience to gossip about the speaker. After the last speaker, the chairman of the education committee announces: "We will now introduce each speaker by name. Do not make up your mind yet. Look at each person and judge them when we complete the introductions..." After the introductions each person votes by naming the person he thinks was the best public speaker. The votes are collected and counted in public, and the person with the most votes is given some appropriate prize. After the meeting, you will always find rank-and-file members who say, "They were not very good. I can speak better than that." The Education Committee can then perhaps get those persons to form the next public speaking class. In the training of public speaking classes, it is vital to urge young men and young women to take an active part. Many of them may feel they have insufficient education. But through such a public speaking class the education committee can demonstrate that the local union actually has many splendid public speakers... who didn't know it themselves until they went to class!

10. Round Table: The round table sort of discussion is simply holding a conversation between experts on some selected topic given before an audience. The education director should select persons of divergent viewpoints so that the audience will be tremendously interested. For instance, your education committee may plan a round table on "The Rehabilitation of Industry." To the conference you may select as speakers a leading member of the Liberal Party, a member of the Communist Party, a local manufacturer, and a local labor leader.

The meeting is opened by a member of the education committee, who introduces each member of the round table and tells the audience about their biography. This should not take more than five minutes. The chairman then announces the topic, and says to the Liberal: "What do you think?" The Liberal Party member is permitted to speak for five minutes. A bell is sounded. The chairman turns to the Communist and says, "Now what do you think?", and so on. The chairman must be careful to see (a) that each speaker speaks only for five minutes each; (b) that the speakers stick to the subject; (c) and that each speaker speaks twice. At the conclusion of the two series of conversations by the four speakers, 40 minutes has elapsed. The chairman then thanks the various members of the round table, and then 10 or 15 minutes of questions-and-answers follow, with the audience asking questions directly to any one of the panel members. If such meetings are opened and closed with the singing of a labor song, they often prove to be just as interesting as the local cinema ... and certainly they may be more instructive to your local union members.

11. Debates: The debate is very much like the round table, only it is more formal and is limited to only two speakers. Two persons are selected to defend and attack a certain idea. Perhaps the education committee may select a topic in this wise: "Should we abolish the workers' earned income tax?" One person is selected either from the union or from some of your local friends. He is asked to prepare a 15 minute speech in favor of the idea. Another person is selected to attack the idea. Each person is given a week or two in which to write his speech and be prepared to fight for his ideas. When the night of the debate arrives, the two speakers are introduced to the crowd, briefly giving their history. The first speaker is allowed precisely 15 minutes. If he has not completed his speech in that time, the gong is sounded and he must stop talking. His opponent then gives his speech, following which there is a short recess of five or ten minutes. Then the first speaker arises to answer the arguments of his opponent, only this time he is limited to ten minutes. He is trying to persuade the crowd that the other man is wrong. As soon as



he finishes his allotted time, the other man is then permitted to answer his opponent. By the time each man has spoken, and they have been permitted to answer their opponent, a good 50 minutes has passed. That may be the end of the meeting, although often the crowd enjoys it if they are permitted to cast votes as to which man gave the most constructive argument. It is not necessary for a man to be convinced of the rightness of the argument. The secret of the debate rests in the ability of the debator to take any topic ... and persuade the crowd that his view is the correct view.

12. Exhibit: The exhibit is of great value when union meetings are held. Essentially, an exhibit consists of a series of posters, or paintings, or other visual aids, which tell a story. For instance, you may prepare an exhibit using the ten posters from the Central Labor Relations Committee. The ten posters are mounted on wooden panels and placed in proper order at the rear of the union hall. The education committee may design additional posters showing the members of the local committee, and so forth. Both before and after the meeting, members will be attracted to study the series of posters ... and the educational level of your local union membership has been raised one more notch. Ready-made exhibits can be secured from the various government agencies mentioned previously, although any Education Committee worthy of the name can think up an unending series of exhibits for use at union meetings. On labor Day, unions may also find it valuable to prepare an exhibit showing the work of the local union and its achievements. Such an exhibit would be put on display near the railroad station or some public place so that the general public could learn more about the trade union movement.



13. Lunch Time Kami Shibai Discussion Circle: This is just a combination of the Discussion group and the use of the kami shibai. After showing the kami shibai to a small group of workers at lunchtime, the kami shibai operator then asks a few questions and gets the men and women talking. The man acts as chairman, asks questions now and then, guides the discussion for ten or fifteen minutes. Each worker returns to his work with new ideas.

14. Inspection Trips: The inspection trip is of great value for small groups of workers who may be interested in the work of the Labor Relations Committee, the work of the Mayor, or the work of any other public agency or any nearby factory.

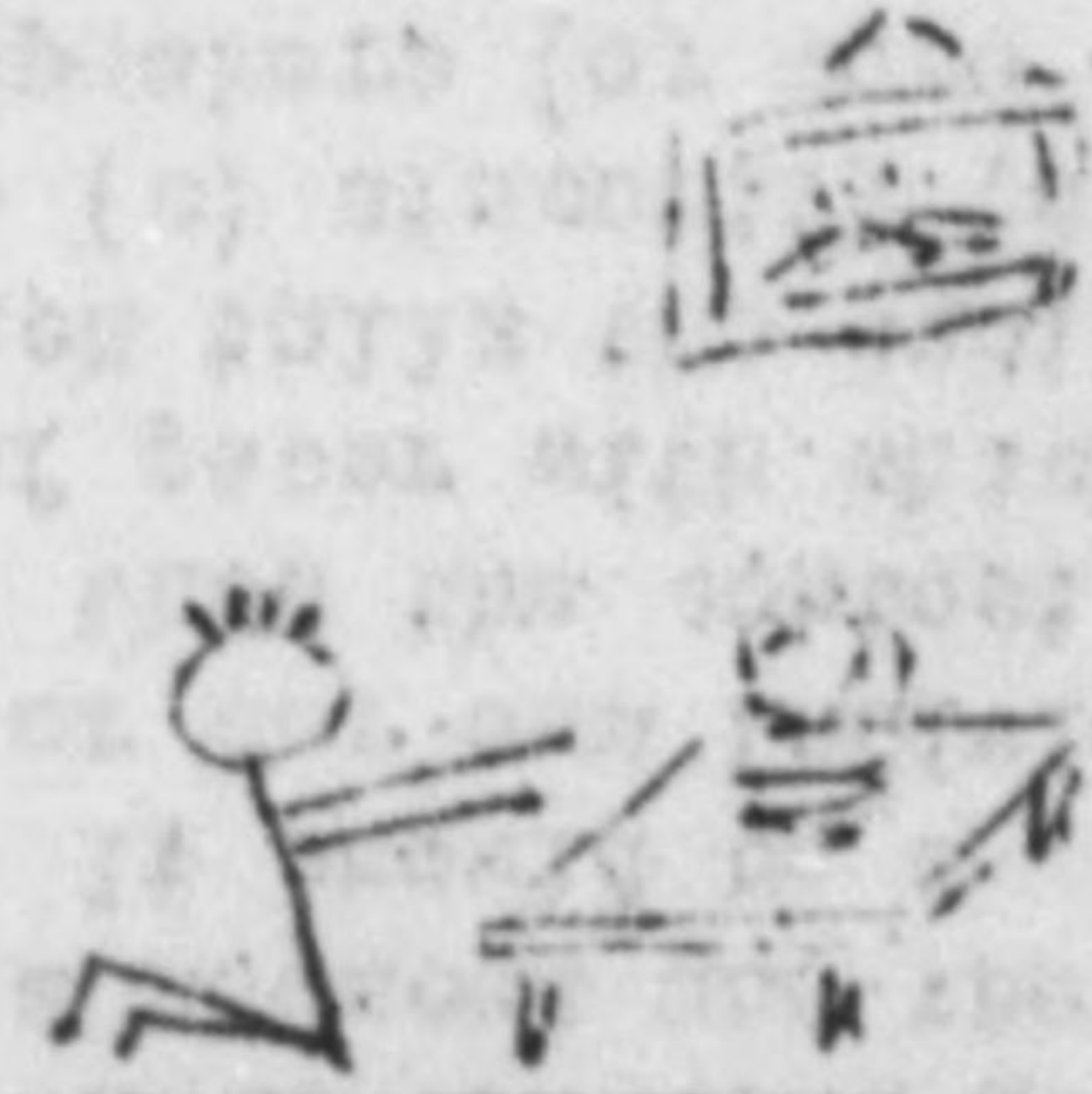
The education committee must prepare in advance to make sure of all details such as how to get to the place of inspection, and so forth. Usually the committee announces that all rank-and-file members who want to take part in a certain inspection will meet at a certain place on a Saturday afternoon or Sunday afternoon.

(Inspections, of course, are limited because of working hours.)

If the members are inspecting the local labor relations committee, a member of the committee must be on hand to greet them, and then give a short explanation of the work of the committee. The group

then goes through the office, with the labor relations representative showing them exactly what each clerk does, shows them the files of the committee, and explains the procedures of the committee. The group then sits down for 10 or 15 minutes and asks questions, after which they go home. Inspection trips to the office of the Mayor, the Rationing Board, the local primary school, the Tax Office, and so forth, can be of great use in giving rank-and-file members a knowledge of how their government operates.

15. Research and Investigation Projects: Many times local union members may wonder how tax rates are set. They may wonder how the rationing system is operated. They may wonder about the operation of the new Court system of Japan. No matter what the thought, the education committee can select a few rank-and-file members who are given the problem, told to report back in a month exactly everything they have found. Letters are written, officials are visited, questions are asked, books are read, and the newspapers are searched for answers. Slowly, the research committee gathers a mass of material about the subject under consideration. When they have finally worked out the problem, they return to the education committee. The committee goes over their report, and it is made short as possible. Some committee members may use their water colors to make some pictures or charts which illustrate the findings of the committee.



At the next union meeting, the chairman of the research committee makes his report, uses the charts, and then answers questions about the project. Everyone profits through this intelligent use of union members in research work.

Where To Do It?

Where does the education committee carry on all of its projects? Where can it hold schools? Where can it stage dramatic presentations, kami shibai, and film strips? In the rural areas, the problem is usually solved more easily if a local public hall can be used. But in the large cities, where housing is still very short, the union can frequently find its only place in the local primary school or the middle school. These buildings are usually not used at night, or on weekends, and normally are available to trade unions on request. The union will have no difficulty in using school buildings (which are public property) if they are careful to have a small committee of workers clean up the room after use. If the union uses a school room and leaves the place cluttered up with dirt and cigarette ashes, the principal will not be very friendly the next time the union wants to use the hall.

During the summer months, the local public park or the grounds of the local temple may be used for early-evening shows or other educational meetings. Sometimes it may be possible to secure use of the local company hall, or the cinema.

Of course, the small informal meetings of the education committee itself are best held in the homes of the members, where they can relax, forget the business of the day, and over a cup of tea carry on their plans and programs.

How to Begin

Well, by this time your head must be swimming in a sea of ideas ... debates, books, kami shibai, plays, film strips, and so on... But take it easy!

If you plan for too much at one time, you'll probably fail! Labor Education develops very slowly, a step at a time. Japan has been here for two thousand years... there is no rush. Take it easy and build solidly!

First consider your local union. How many members do you have? What facilities do you have? How much money will the union give to the education committee? What can you do best? Discuss the matter with your committee, and then after you go over the various ideas, and think up some more yourself, begin to go into operation.

a. Go over the book lists and purchase several of the books and pamphlets which you believe will be of the most use to your committee.

b. Subscribe to a few newspapers and magazines which will increase your knowledge of labor affairs.

c. Assign to one member of the committee the task of clipping everything he or she sees on labor matters, or other matters of interest to labor. Prepare small envelopes from old newspapers, and file your clippings by subject (Taxes, Haikyū, Black Markets, Prices, Politics, and so forth).

d. Write to the various agencies mentioned previously and secure as much free material as you possibly can - posters, leaflets, pamphlets, and copies of laws and ordinances. Don't forget (a) all of the governmental labor agencies; (b) your national union, if you are so affiliated; and (c) any local labor schools.

e. Have another member of the committee visit every local labor agency, including the local labor relations committee, to collect posters, pamphlets, and free leaflets.

f. Write to your Diet member for a free copy of the new Japanese Constitution.

Two or three weeks later you hold another meeting of the education committee. Each member reports on success (or failure), and with what has been obtained you are then ready to do some planning for a program.

Step by Step

In inaugurating your activities, plan only a few activities. Do not try to do too much. If you try to do too much and fail, you may hurt labor education in your local union for years to come. Members will never tire of saying: "Oh, labor education? We tried that once and it was a failure!"

Perhaps you may plan a discussion group about the labor laws. You have the laws, you arrange meetings, and within a few weeks the discussion group is operating. If it is successful, you expand the activities. At the same time, you assign to one committee member the job of preparing a weekly "Labor Education Wall Newspaper". All of the members are expected to write short articles or offer news clippings, but one person must be responsible for writing the final wall newspaper and seeing that it is posted on the bulletin board.

You may plan to show a gento (film strip) at the next union meeting. One member is assigned to this duty. He visits the local labor administration section and borrows the machine. He is instructed how to operate it, and he has a trial run some night in his home. Before the gento is shown, he visits the meeting place and checks the electric outlet; makes sure that all is in readiness. At the beginning or end of the meeting, or at some appropriate time, the chairman announces: "The Labor Education Committee of our local union will now show a film strip." The lights go out, and immediately an education committee member starts to show his gento. As he is prepared, there is no hesitation... he does a good job. When the gento has been shown, the rank-and-file will be impressed not only by the gento but also by the businesslike manner with which the education committee has functioned. Remember, preparation here is more important than the actual showing. And one other member may be put to work designing and painting a new poster every week for placement at the plant gates -- explain the Labor Relations Adjustment Act, the tax program, and other current problems of workers.

Pause for Analysis

After a month or so of such limited activities, invite several typical members of your union to an education committee meeting. Ask them to criticize your activities, ask them for suggestions. Then, in a meeting of the committee, you are ready to intensify the activities which are popular, and perhaps you may drop other activities which have proved to be unproductive or unwelcomed by the rank-and-file membership.

New Planning

But in two or three more months, your little education committee has begun to amass a considerable amount of material. Everyone has new ideas. And if the chairman is active and alert, everyone is enthusiastic. The time has arrived to stage more activities.

Perhaps you can arrange a debate every month, or one every two months. Perhaps you can consider a lecture series, one lecture a week for four weeks. Perhaps you may decide to inaugurate a public speaking class, your first school activity. Start with a small group, gain experience, and then again expand your activities.

More Review

At the end of six or eight months, you should have a very active labor education committee. Then is the time to recruit a few more members for the committee. Some of the persons who have attended your public speaking class may be sufficiently interested to volunteer. Perhaps a public speaking contest can be planned. Perhaps you may want to expand your class activities and begin a short term class on labor law and collective bargaining. Maybe you can arrange to have a quiz contest at the end of every second union... Again, plan well and move slowly.

And all the time the committee is building up its library, is increasing its clipping files, is amassing a growing store of information and research materials. With these various activities, never miss an opportunity to use the union meetings for educational opportunities. Have one member of the committee hang new posters around the union hall before each meeting. Change these posters from meeting to

meeting. If your group can write a short labor play, persuade the chairman of the local union to let you present this play at the beginning or end of a union meeting. And above all, the education chairman should make a brief five minute report to every union meeting, keeping the membership advised of the activities of the union's education committee. Remember, union education must come from and be for the rank-and-file members of the union.

Funds

But where will the money come from?

Well, an education committee does not need very much money to begin its work, as we have shown. But it does need some money. The education committee should carry the struggle for education to the membership. Talk to the members so that at the next union meeting it will be possible for the rank-and-file to vote a sum of money for the use of the education committee. Possibly a grant of ¥ 2,000 will be sufficient to inaugurate the program.

But the education committee should insist that every month a sum of money be set aside from the dues fund. Most foreign unions guarantee the education committee 5% of all dues collected in order to finance the education program. And it goes without saying that the education committee must submit a report to the union, say every six months, reporting exactly how the money was spent.

But the revenue derived from union dues will never be sufficient to pay for the paper, the water colors, the books, and the pamphlets needed by the education committee. Frequently it will be found of great use if the education committee is able to sponsor a social dance party, or some kind of a get-together of the union membership ... and require a small fee of ¥ 5 or ¥ 10 or so from each person who attends.

If a lecture series is sponsored, sufficient admission may be charged to pay the lecturer ... and provide some more money for the education committee. Picnics, sports meetings, and other activities suggest themselves as possible sources of revenue for the education committee. And as the education program grows, as union members become increasingly conscious of the importance of workers' education, the committee will find that the work pays its own way.

Publicity

A final word on any and all activities that the education committee carries on. No matter what you do, give it plenty of publicity. Have your education committee give short speeches to the rank-and-file during the lunch hour for any meetings, schools, or other events scheduled by the committee. Keep plenty of posters up reminding the workers of your activities. List your activities in your union newspaper and on your kabe shimun... When you do something that is really important, send a member to the local newspaper office and ask the local newspaper editor to print an article about your educational work.

On every and all occasions, repeat and repeat over again the work of the education committee.

and a final word for the committee members -- men, women, boys, and girls: Start every new activity in this order:

a. Study the problem and the type of activity.

b. Plan for successful operation of the project.

c. and then give it plenty of publicity and make it a success.

Conclusion

The new democracy of Japan requires that the rank-and-file take an active part in the operation of their union, just as the new Japanese Constitution cannot succeed unless every Japanese citizen determines to play his or her proper part in the government of Japan.

Workers' education activities within your local union will serve your membership, will make your union more solid and more cultured.

But in the process of carrying on these activities, the men and women who make up the education committee will find that there is a new power in knowledge, that there is a real satisfaction in serving the rank-and-file.

and from that may well come the new leaders of Japan... people who walk with their heads high in the air, humbly proud in their knowledge that through their union they have learned to think, to speak, and to act in a democratic manner.

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