IV. COMPANY-DOMINATED, PUPPET UNIONS

Introduction

In the last lecture we discussed employer interference in the right of the worker to form or join unions. It was seen that a worker was not truly free to organize if he was in fear of losing his job or of being otherwise discriminated against. The United States Government assured the worker true freedom to organize by effectively preventing discrimination.

However, employers in America found another way of defeating unionization of their workers. Rather than openly defying unions, which conduct was forbidden, they assisted in the organization of a company-dominated, puppet union. In this way they could control what they could not prevent. The workers were thus formed into a union that appeared to be their own union but was, in fact, the employer's union. When a labor agreement was to be negotiated, it was found that, instead of fighting for the workers, the leaders of the union, who were in the control of the employer betrayed the workers.

If such conduct was permitted to continue, it would be an effective way of denying workers true freedom to organize and bargain collectively on equal footing with the employer. Such conduct would defeat the stated purpose of the law.

Stated Purpose

Section 8 of the National Labor Relations Act says in respect to company-dominated unions:

"Sec. 8. It shall be an unfair labor practice for an employer - ..... (2) To dominate or interfere with the formation or administration of any labor organization or contribute financial or other support to it...."

Article Two of your own Japanese Trade Union Law reads as follows:

"Trade Unions under the present Act shall be those organizations, or federations thereof, formed autonomously by the workers..."

Autonomous is defined in English as "independent in government," "self-governing," "without outside control." In an annual report a labor board in the United States said:

"The purpose of the law was to eliminate all trace of employer influence from labor organizations so that such organizations might be truly free agents of their members when participating in the process of collective bargaining. A union subject to the will of an employer cannot achieve the ends sought by a legitimate organization of employees; collective bargaining with a company-dominated union can never be anything but a sham, with the employer bargaining on both sides of the table. The Act therefore attacks the problem not only by seeking to prevent the employer from committing certain acts, but also by excluding from the definition of a "labor organization" any employee organization which owes its existence to or operates under employer influence."

The Japanese law is essentially the same as our own National Labor Relations Law in this respect. It will be of interest therefore to see how our labor

relations committees made sure that the stated purpose of the law was effectively carried out.

Specific Cases

A review of the cases in which our labor relations committee has found that an employee organization is dominated or supported by the employer reveals a definite similarity in the situations in which company unions have been created. A few examples will be enough to indicate the general pattern.

In one case, when a union started to organize the workers, an inside company union came into existence. Supervisory employees who had the power to hire and fire began individual discussion with their subordinates concerning the problem of forming an inside organization. Subsequently, a small group of these supervisory employees held a meeting, at which plans for the formation of such an organization were prepared. A general meeting of the employees was held shortly thereafter during the working day. Many supervisory employees attended and membership cards were distributed. The managers showed quite clearly that the employer preferred this inside company union to the outside affiliated union. Their remarks concerning the outside, affiliated union were distinctly unfavorable and there were threats of discrimination against those who favored the outside union. A constitution for the union was presented to the membership without ever having consulted the membership beforehand concerning the provisions of that constitution. In formal proceedings before our labor relations committee, this union was ordered dissolved on the ground that it was a company-dominated, puppet union and, after a secret ballot among the employees, the outside affiliated union was certified as the bargaining representative of all of the workers in the plant.

In another case, a supervisory employee who was extremely close to the management was the guiding spirit in the formation of a company-dominated union which also came into existence only after an outside, affiliated union tried to organize the workers. This supervisor selected other supervisory employees to aid him in spreading the idea of this inside, company-dominated union, and these other supervisory employees talked about the benefits that would accrue by joining an inside, company-dominated union. At a meeting called by the supervisors the benefits of the company union were explained and the outside, affiliated union was criticised. The preference of the employer was thus definitely made known to the workers and then they were asked to sign petitions to join the inside, company-dominated union.

In a third case, the efforts of an outside union to organize the workers was met by the employer's distribution of anti-union circular which sought to discourage the employees from joining the union. At the same time a "Progress Committee" was formed by the employer. Supervisory employees urged the workers to join this committee and to refrain from joining the union. Workers who joined this committee were called "loyal" workers. The supervisors warned the employees against joining the outside, affiliated union, threatened them with discharge if they joined, and made derogatory remarks concerning the union and its leadership. The committee of the loyal workers met with the employer and the terms of an union agreement were agreed upon at the first meeting. There was no genuine collective bargaining since the union presented no real demands. This organization was also ordered disestablished by our labor relations committee.

The foregoing examples show that a company-dominated, puppet union may be identified by certain characteristics:

(1) In each case the company-dominated, puppet union came into existence only after a legitimate union sought to organize the workers.

(2) The employer in each case had previously expressed opposition to unions and sought to divert attention from the organizational efforts of the legitimate union by bringing into existence the company-dominated, puppet union.

(3) In each of these cases supervisory employees or employees closely connected with the management were shown to have been the instigators and leaders of the company-dominated, puppet union. When this illegitimate union was organized, the employees were compelled to join by threats of discharge or discrimination.

(4) The illegitimate union was given considerable help by the employer in clear contrast to the employer's open hostility toward the legitimate union.

(5) In each case the final picture appeared to be one of harmonious industrial relations achieved through collective bargaining with worker representatives; actually, however, the employer had created a puppet which was subject to his control by means of which he, the employer, could sit on both sides of collective bargaining.

It is immaterial that the employer professes to be serving the best interests of the employees. A well-intentioned violation of the law is nevertheless still a violation.

Assistance

Various forms of financial aid to unions have been used by employers and invariably each has been condemned by the Board. In one case the employer donated $8,000 to the local organization. Most often assistance is less direct and consists of such aid as paying for printing and office space; for attorneys to help the company-union; giving certain workers paid time off to help work for the company-union, but not for the legitimate union; supplying paper free for company union literature.

Employers' efforts to organize employees or indirect efforts which, because they create disaffection for outside unions, and to prepare the ground or induce the formation of company-dominated unions, are unlawful in any form.

Company Dominated?

What acts of an employer make the union a company-dominated union? There can be no complete and simple answer to this question. Acts which under one circumstance would prove that a union was company-dominated would not be enough to prove the same conclusion in another case. The true test is whether the union can act for the workers in an autonomous manner, with no interference from the employer which tends to compromise the union's ability to represent the workers in an independent manner. Conditions of employment in Japan vary sufficiently from those in America so that certain acts that would indicate employer domination in America might not indicate employer domination here and acts that would not indicate employer domination in the United States might be good evidence of domination in Japan.

However, the following have been held in America to be practices pointing to employer domination.

(1) Assistance to the Union by the employer's attorney without charge to the union.

(2) Paying extra benefits to employee representatives who spend extra time organizing the union preferred by the employer.

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The National Labor Relations Board has branded as a company-dominated union an organization of employees which had no constitution, collected no dues, held no regular meetings or elections, and made no provisions for collective bargaining.

The Labor Board has held a union to be company-dominated where the employer, who had previously stated that a recognition of another union would necessitate the closing of the plant, granted immediate recognition to a newly formed company-union.

The requirement that employees must be members of a company-union in order to obtain employment and the discharge of employees for refusal to become members of such a union has been held in violation of the law.

Conclusion

Unaffiliated unions are not necessarily company-dominated unions. Employees working for one employer may have their own union if that is what they want. The test is whether it is a union that can act independently and bargain collectively on equal footing with the employer.

Some unions in Japan are built differently than those in the United States. Generally speaking, in America supervisors or those with the right to hire and fire are not members of the union. Our labor boards have viewed with suspicion any activities of supervisors in respect to union activity because they felt that they represented the employer and might, by that reason, intimidate employers in their free choice of union if they, the supervisors, indicated a preference for one union over another. This condition may or may not apply to Japanese unions. Sometimes more supervisors are members of the union and represent the interests of the union very well despite the fact that as supervisors they also

represent the employer

So, also, some union officials who spend all their time on union activities remain on the payroll of the company. In America, that would be unheard of for an independent union would insist on paying its own officials and would think that accepting pay from an employer for representing the union would compromise the position of the union official.

These matters, however, are for the Japanese unions to determine for themselves. The test remains whether the leaders of the union sincerely and independently represent the interests of the members of the union. So, also, whether it is right for an employer to supply a meeting place, paper, money and other help to the union depends on whether the union can nevertheless act independently.

Our concepts and practices in the United States have come into being as a result of our problems. They should be considered by the Japanese in that light. Here, too, there will need to be a Japanese solution to a Japanese problem. However, a company-dominated, puppet union is worse than no union at all and in violation of law both in Japan and in the United States.

Orientation Lectures
on
Labor Relations Legislation and Agencies

To be presented to the Central Labor Relations Committee
and
Prefectural Labor Relations Committees
in the Tokyo Area

IV. COMPANY-DOMINATED, PUPPET UNIONS

Presented 15 November 1946

Prepared by
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Labor Relations Officer

ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC SECTION
LABOR DIVISION
GHQ

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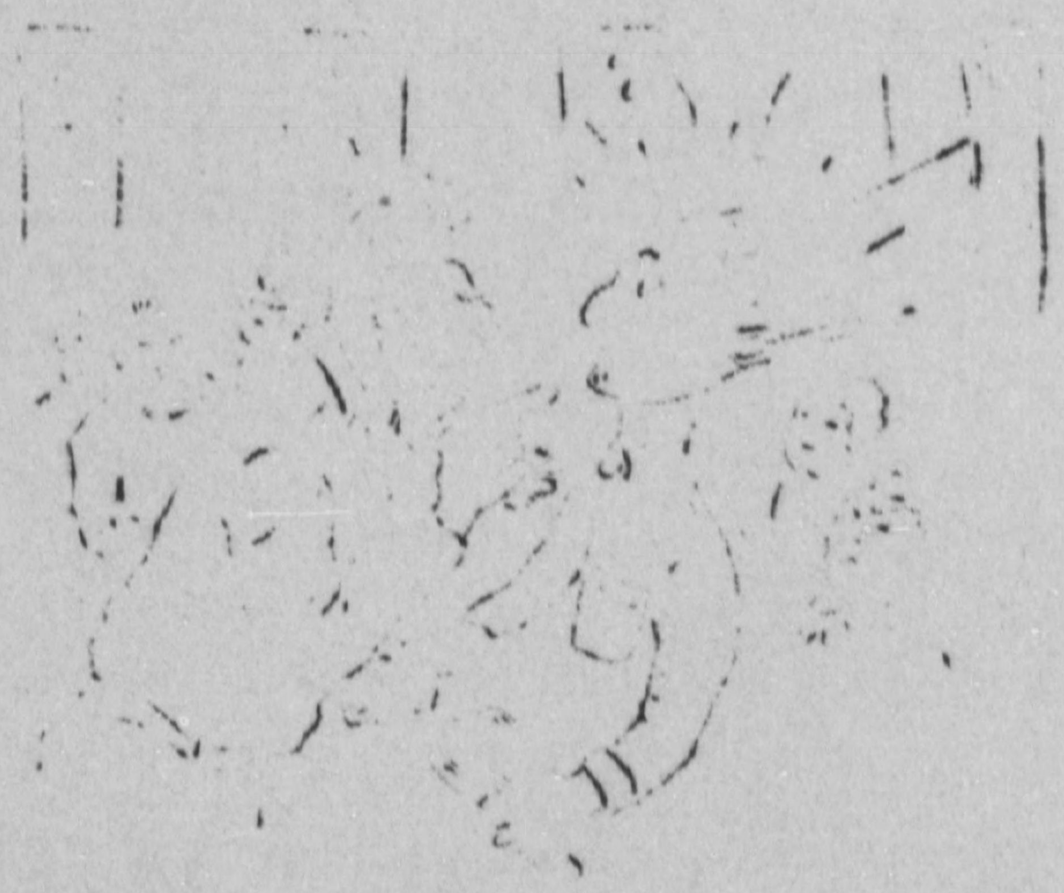
THE CONDUCT OF UNION MEETINGS



GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Economic and Scientific Section

-1948-

Introduction

In the Japan of yesterday, bureaucrats and militarists held secret conferences, reached their own decisions, and the first the Japanese people knew about any certain matter was when they read the decision in the newspaper, or heard it announced over the radio. Such a type of government controlled by a small group making decisions in secret without any consultation to learn the will of the people is called totalitarianism or fascism.

The United States, Great Britain, and the other Allied Powers were engaged for years in a bloody conflict in order to defend the idea of democracy, in order to make it possible for all the peoples of the world to play an active part in the control of their own government. One by one, the dictatorial fascist powers crumbled. Mussolini was hung, Hitler was reportedly killed during the last days of the Battle of Berlin, and the Japanese militarists and imperialists were stripped of their power and brought before an International Tribunal to answer for their misuse of power and authority.

Following the collapse of the militarists and bureaucrats in Japan and the arrival of the Occupation Forces, a new era was born in Japan. And under the encouragement of General MacArthur, the workers of Japan began to form trade unions in order to play their part in the democratization of Japan, in order to establish better levels of wages, hours, and working conditions. In the atmosphere of freedom and liberty, freedom from police repression and thought police, the new unions of Japan grew at a rate unprecedented in the entire history of the world. By the end of the third year of the Occupation, Japan will probably boast of more than six million trade union members.

With the rise of the union movement in Japan has come the opportunity of creating in Japan, step by step, a lusty, vigorous democracy. But old habits of feudalism do not die over night. The coming of the Occupation and enforcement of the Potsdam Declaration could not of themselves guarantee the end of feudalistic habits, an end to the repression of the rights of women, and the other characteristics of pre-war Japanese semi-feudalistic society.

Habits change slowly. A man who has moved from one ku into another ku, will frequently forget and take the wrong tram. Men and women who for decades have become accustomed to getting orders from Tokyo do not overnight shed the habits of thought that go with this...at least not in a day.

Indeed, when a union is formed, it is but the first step. It merely marks the departure from one road to another. The real change is a spiritual and intellectual change. We call it the democratic revolution. And the essence of the democratic revolution consists in each man and woman learning through education and experience to think, to act, and to speak in a democratic manner. The essence of democracy is mutual respect for human dignity, for the rights and duties of self as well as others, for an appreciation of one's place in the social order. This does not mean a slavish "follow the leader" type of thinking and action. On the contrary, one of the cornerstones of democracy is the notion of human dignity, and from that come the right to self-expression, to free expression, and the right to maintain contrary opinions. Even if a group decides to do this and that, members may still disagree and voice their disagreement, although bound to accept the decision of the majority. Destroy free speech and free expression on the part of the common people, destroy personal liberties, and democracy is on the way out.

The fundamental significance of the trade union movement in post-war Japan is found not in the wage increases and contracts, but in the bringing about of a great social change wherein the little people of Japan -- the young men, women, and older men of Japan -- the little people of Japan learn to play an increasing part in the governance of their own lives.

As the trade union movement grows, the paternalistic employer gives way to the employer who meets with union members and bargains collectively with them about wages, hours, and working conditions.

But even more important in terms of the democratic revolution, the significance of the trade union movement is found in the increasing ability of the rank-and-file to play an active, decisive part in the building and governance of the new trade union movement.

The New Democracy

The new democracy therefore has its roots in education of the rank-and-file, experience by the rank-and-file, and decisions made by the rank-and-file deriving from exchange of opinions, debate, discussion, and finally vote to determine the will of the majority.

Therefore one fundamental of trade union democracy in the New Japan is the holding of frequent membership meetings of the entire rank-and-file in every local union to allow the rank-and-file to solve problems together which they cannot do if they act singly.

Essentials

The members of a local union must have a place to meet. They must have a chairman. They must have an agenda. They must have rules to regulate the operation of the meeting. This pamphlet will discuss the rules of procedure, known as parliamentary procedure.

The place to meet may be a public hall, union hall, primary school, theater, or some public building where the union members can discuss their affairs amongst themselves without anyone listening to their debate.

The chairman is needed to serve as a traffic policeman. The function of the chairman is to see that everyone who wants to speak is given ample opportunity. If all begin to speak at once, the meeting ends up in a riot. The chairman must see that debate is orderly.

The agenda outlines what will be done, and when. It is the order of business.

The chairman enforces a set of rules called parliamentary procedure. But every member of the union also must know and understand the procedure, for the chairman may at times fail to conduct the meeting properly. The members then call the attention of the chairman to any violation of the rules, and democracy prevails. If the chairman attempts to dictate to the union, the members have rules which enable them to prevent this.

In a word, the rules of parliamentary procedure have been instituted in order to provide for the smooth, efficient conduct of democratic business. Without them, meetings degenerate into shouting contests, and perhaps small-sized battles. With the rules, the meetings enable union meetings to accomplish their democratic mission. This pamphlet does not give you all the rules, but outlines the more important rules. You will find further information in a book called "Robert's Rules of Order," an internationally-used standard textbook on parliamentary procedure.

Every union member attending a union meeting has a right to express his or her opinion. But everyone can't talk at once. Just as people line up to take a tram car, or line up to buy a cinema ticket, so the rules provide for order. These rules of democratic action in meetings are observed by all democratic groups all over the world. These rules are not made by the local union membership. They have been built up over hundreds of years by all kinds of democratic organizations everywhere.

Local Union By-Laws

The government of the New Japan is built up around the New Constitution of Japan. So too, the major national unions of Japan have written constitutions. Union members live by law. So, too, each local union has its own set of By-Laws which outline the agenda for meetings, outline election procedures, frequency and place of membership meetings, and so forth. Needless to say, a union should provide for frequent meetings -- say, at least monthly, in order to provide for a vigorous and healthy exchange of rank-and-file opinion.

Union Meetings

Generally speaking, there are two types of union meetings: (1) local union meetings of the entire membership and (2) local union committee meetings.

The chairman of the local union is the chairman of the former. If he is absent, the By-Laws provide who will be chairman in his place. At committee meetings, one member of the committee is elected as chairman.

In either case, an efficient chairman opens meetings on time, keeps them orderly, and closes them on time. Things move quickly because the chairman knows his job and has respect for it; and because the chairman respects his job, the members respect him or her.

Each type of union meeting also has a secretary present who keeps an accurate, concise record of what happened.

Staging the Meeting

The staging of the meeting is simple. At the front of the hall or room is a table, at which sits the chairman, with the treasurer on one side, the secretary on the other. The membership constitutes what is called the "floor"; i.e. those sitting facing the chairman. The chairman, or a Committee Chairman making a report, is called "the chair".

The important part of the meeting is that all motions, actions, or questions come from the floor and are directed to the Chair. The chairman may make recommendations and request motions, but no recommendation or motion is valid or legal unless it comes from the floor. If the chairman wants to enter debate or make a speech, he must appoint a temporary chairman, leave his seat, and become a part of the floor.

Opening the Meeting

No union meeting can be legally opened unless there are enough persons present to conduct business. Therefore in the By-Laws of every local union there should be stated a quorum, that is, the minimum number of persons who must be present at a meeting in order to make it legal. A local union may define a quorum as 10%, 20%, or 40% of the paid-up membership. If a local union has 300 members, and the by-laws provide for a quorum of 25%, that means that no meeting can be held unless at least 75 persons are present. Unless that quorum is present at the opening of the meeting, it cannot be opened. If it is present, but subsequently a number of persons leave the meeting, any member in doubt as to the legality of the meeting may ask for a quorum. The chairman must then count to see if the quorum is present. If the quorum is not present, the chairman automatically adjourns the meeting.

Closing Time

One of the reasons why people leave a meeting is that they have other things to do, or it is getting late. Meetings should not go on for too long a time. People get tired of sitting on the tatami. Local unions should consider fixing a time for closing the meeting, for even though a quorum may still exist, a small groupwithin the union may linger and, after most of the members have left, make important decisions. A fixed closing time for meetings prevents this.

Order of Business

A meeting of a union is opened when the chairman says: "I now declare this meeting of Local Union ____ open for the transaction of such business as may properly come before it." The meeting then proceeds along the order of business, or agenda, outlined in the By-Laws.

A sample order of business from a foreign trade union is as follows:

1. Roll call of officers.
2. Reading of the minutes of the previous meeting.
3. Applications for membership.
4. Voting on applications.
5. Initiation of candidates.
6. Report of treasurer.
7. Report of officers, committees and delegates
8. Communications and bills.

9. Unfinished business.
10. Good and welfare.
11. Does anyone know of a member out of work or in distress?
12. New business.
13. Closing.

Minutes and Reports

When meeting is opened and the minutes have been read, the chairman asks that the minutes be approved "as read" or "as corrected". The last phrase is used when some member has made a correction in the minutes. In a similar way, all reports made by members or by committees, are "received" or are "accepted". To "receive" a report means simply giving it to the secretary. To "accept" a report is to furnish it with the approval of the whole body. Let us see how this is done.

Making a Motion

The meeting has been opened. The minutes have been read. Business is halted. Everyone begins to speak at once. This would mean bedlam; so a procedure has been agreed upon to start the traffic and to keep it smooth. The minutes can only be accepted if a motion is made. Motions are the channels through which all business moves. To make a motion is to make a proposal. It is a verbal, orderly way of initiating action.

Thus, if a member wishes to make a proposal of any kind, he rises, is "recognized" by the chair through word or sign, and says, for example, "Brother Chairman, I move that we hear from Brother Jones' committee the facts about the charge of violation of our union contract." This is termed making a motion.

In effect, this gives the meeting an idea for consideration. If someone rises to say, "I second the motion," the meeting must discuss the proposal. If no one seconds it, it cannot be discussed and the meeting proceeds to other business.

Discussion

Let us suppose that Brother Sato has made a motion to start educational classes in his local and that the motion has been seconded. The chair then says, "It has been moved and seconded that this local institute educational classes. Is there any discussion?"

Brother Sato made the motion and is generally allowed to speak first to explain his idea. After he has finished, others may wish to speak. Each member speaks only when he is "recognized" by the chair. After all discussion has ceased, the chair puts the motion to a vote. At this point, the chair requests the secretary to read the motion before it is voted on, because motions are often complicated and members tend to forget exactly what they are expected to vote about.

When the motion has been read, the chair says, "Those who favor the motion will say 'Aye'", and after this, "Those who oppose will say 'No'." If most members favor it, the chair says, "The Ayes have it." The motion has been passed or adopted. If the reverse is true, the chair says: "The Nos have it. The motion is lost (defeated)."

In Order and Out of Order

When a person speaks according to the rules of parliamentary procedure, he is said to be in order. When he violates the rules, he is out of order. If a person submits a motion at a time not provided on the agenda, he is then out of order. If he submits a new motion at the proper time, he is in order.

A motion is in order if:

1. It is related to the business under discussion.
2. It conforms to the fixed order of business.
3. If it is in harmony with the rules of order.

For example, a motion to give some money to an unemployed union member is not in order when the agenda calls for financial reports. It is in order when the agenda calls for New Business.

If a motion or debate does not meet these tests, it is the function of the chair to say: "Brother Watanabe, your motion is out of order. You can discuss that later under New Business," and so forth. But at times the chairman may rule incorrectly or he may rule a friend in order when it should be out of order. Any member can then arise and say: "I appeal the decision of the chair!"

If another union member says: "I second the appeal" (Boku mo), the chairman must then leave the chair and permit the secretary or vice-chairman to act as temporary chairman. The member who challenged the appeal is then allowed to explain why he did so. The chairman is allowed to speak from the floor and give his reasons for the ruling. There is no debate, for the temporary chairman then calls for a vote: "Shall the ruling of the chair be sustained?" If the decision of the chair is defeated, the person or motion ruled out of order is ruled in order. The chairman resumes his post, and the meeting proceeds.

Motions and Amendments

Frequently a member will make a motion that does not exactly express the will of the majority. For instance, it will be a motion to which all agree in principle, but it is not stated exactly. If the members vote on the motion, they will defeat it. Yet they do not desire to kill the idea.

Therefore, after a motion has been made and duly seconded, any member can arise, before or during debate, and say: "I move that we amend the motion thus and so..." The amendment cannot destroy the original meaning of the motion. The amendment is in order only if it modifies or improves the original motion. For instance, a motion proposing that the membership purchase a union hall cannot be amended by a proposal not to purchase a union hall.

For example, one union member says: "I move that we donate ¥ 1,000 to the Community Chest." It is seconded, and then another person says: "I move we amend that to read Japanese Red Cross, not Community Chest." That destroys the original motion, so the chairman says: "Sumi masen, it is out of order."

Another person rises and says: "I move we amend the original motion to read ¥ 2,000 instead of ¥ 1,000." If the amendment is seconded, then the change in amount is debated. When the membership call for a vote, the chairman calls for a vote (1) first on the amendment, and (2) second on the motion as amended.

For instance: "On the original motion, the amendment strikes out ¥ 1,000 and substitutes ¥ 2,000. All those in favor of the amendment please raise their right hand." If the majority so indicate, the chairman says: "The amendment has been carried. We will now vote on the motion as amended. The motion as amended is "That this local union donate ¥ 2,000 to the Community Chest. All those in favor raise their right hand!" If the majority approve, the chairman then announces: "The motion has been adopted. Next order of business!"

Amending the Amendment

Now perhaps the amendment still did not exactly express the opinion of some members, so that someone may want to amend the amendment. Perhaps a small minority within the local union has not had a chance to express their opinion. If a new suggestion is made, an amendment to the amendment, it must be related to the original motion and it must make it clearer or more specific. The basic purpose of the original motion cannot be changed.

For example, an original motion may state: "To send a delegation to Tokyo to demand the adoption of over-all food rationing."

An amendment may propose: "That the delegation leave on the 15th of the month."

An amendment to the amendment may state: "That all other local unions be invited to send members to join our delegation."

Substitue for the Whole

Sometimes the members become thoroughly confused by the original motion, amendment, and amendment to the amendment. Amendments are often confusing. Any one member can combine all of the ideas into one new motion and move: "I move as a substitution for the whole that ....." If this is voted on and is supported by the majority, it becomes the regular motion. Another vote is then held on the motion substituted for the original motion and its amendments.

Closing Discussion

When a certain matter is under debate, perhaps thirty or forty persons want to express their opinion. Member after member is recognized by the chair, and they speak on and on and on. The membership become bored. Sometimes a small minority within the union may want to prevent a vote, so they talk and talk in order to prevent a vote by the majority of the membership. This is called a filibuster.

In order to limit debate to conform with the desires of the majority of the membership, certain rules have been developed which protect both the minority and the majority.

To Limit Debate

Motions can be made to limit the time of debate, limit the time for each speaker, or to limit the number of speakers. Motions to do any or all of these things are in order either before or during the debate. However, two-thirds of the members present must vote for such a motion, unless the membership have agreed in advance to so limit debate.

Thus, when a certain motion has been made and seconded, and it is quite obvious that a faction or fraction within the union is going to talk quite a long time, and yet the majority have their minds made up, one member can arise and after being recognized, say: "Mr. Chairman, I move that we limit debate to ten minutes, recognizing five persons for the motion, five against, and giving each person two minutes to speak." If adopted by 2/3 of the members, the chairman must get out his watch and follow the order.

To Lay On The Table

Another motion that can be made to limit debate is for a member to arise and say: "Mr. Chairman, I move that we lay the motion on the table." This motion cannot be debated. No one can object. A vote must be taken at once, and if the majority vote "yes" the motion is then laid aside. This does not kill the motion. It merely postpones it. At the same meeting or at a later meeting anyone can arise and say: "I move that we reconsider the motion to..." If the majority vote "yes" the motion is reread and debate then proceeds.

However, if a person says: "I move that we lay the motion on the table for six months" or "I move we postpone for six months" the motion is subject to debate before vote.

Moving the Previous Question

A certain motion has been made and seconded. Debate is proceeding. In a disorderly meeting, members may start shouting: "Vote, vote, on with the vote. ..." In a small, informal meeting that may be okeh. But in a large meeting, a small minority may disrupt a meeting by shouting, "Vote, vote, we want a vote..."

The proper thing to do when you think there has been sufficient debate and want to have a vote is to get the attention of the chair and say: "Mr. Chairman, I move the previous question." If someone seconds the vote, the Chairman must call for a vote on the motion. There can be no debate. Anyone trying to argue against it is out of order.

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If the motion for the previous question (i.e. motion under consideration) is carried by a two-thirds vote of those present, debate is ended. There can be no further discussion of the motion. The chairman announces: "The previous question has been moved. We will now vote on the motion proposing...."

To Refer or Commit

Another method of closing debate on a motion is to say: "I move that this motion be referred to the ..... Committee." If seconded, the motion is debatable. If passed by the majority, the motion is then given to the Committee with instructions to report back at the next meeting.

To Postpone Indefinitely

After a motion has been made and seconded, someone may arise and say: "I move this motion be postponed indefinitely." If seconded, the motion can be debated. If adopted, the motion cannot be introduced again unless a new motion "to reconsider the original motion" is adopted.

Object to Consideration

Occasionally a union member will offer an amendment which is either frivolous or completely unrelated with the business of the union. Suppose a union member proposes: "I move that this local union buy a boat for the purpose of taking a trip around the world." At once an alert union member gets the floor and says: "I object to the consideration of this motion." No second is required. There can be no debate. If two-thirds of the persons present vote not to consider the motion, it is automatically lost and the meeting goes on to the next order of business.

Point of Order

Sometimes a chairman lets his mind go to sleep and the meeting gets away from the rules. Members may even get away from the subject. A speaker may start rambling along about something that has no reference to the subject under discussion. One way of pulling the meeting back to earth is to raise a point of order:

Brother Sato: "I rise to a point of order."

Chair: "State your point of order."

Brother Sato: "The speaker is not talking about the motion."

Chair: "The point of order is well taken. The speaker will confine himself to the question."

Orders of the Day

The secretary has a record of what should be the business of a given meeting (agenda). If the meeting is getting away from this, or a private discussion has begun, Brother Smith rises and says, "I move that we proceed to the next order of business." Discussion stops. It is as simple as that.

Privileged Motions

These motions generally deal with the physical comfort and well-being of the members. For example:

Brother Aichi: "I rise to a point of privilege."

Chair: "State your point."

Brother Aichi: "It is too cold in here; will you please close the doors?"

To Reconsider

Even later in any given meeting or at some subsequent meeting, a motion that has been passed, may be brought up again for a vote. Sato San who made the original motion, has changed his mind and rises to say, "Mr. Chairman, I move that we reconsider the vote on the motion to ....., etc."

This cannot be done immediately after a motion has been passed, only later in the same evening or at another meeting. But anyone who voted in favor of the original motion can move to reconsider it.

To Rescind

All men make errors. Sometimes a group changes its collective mind, or finds that a previous decision was based on misunderstanding or mis-statement of facts. Common sense requires that when error has been done, it be undone. If men agree that a resolution that has once been passed be denied or repealed, some member may move to rescind, i.e., to throw out a resolution. If two-thirds of the members approve, the motion or resolution is nullified.

Point of Information

Even though aimed at another member, all requests for information are addressed to the chair. Let us suppose that Brother Tani is talking, but that he is misstating facts, or that he is not making his position clear. The rules require that men act like gentlemen, so Brother Tanaka does not stand up and argue with Brother Tani across the floor. What he does is rise and say, "Mr. Chairman, I rise for a point of information." The chair says, "State your question." Brother Tanaka states the question to the chairman. Brother Tani addresses his answer to the chair. That is the way of asking a question through the chair.

Suspending the Rules

Efficiency or emergency sometimes dictates that rules be suspended. A particular kind of resolution may not ordinarily be introduced at a given time. But if a member feels that it is really important, he rises to say, "Mr. Chairman, I move that we suspend the rules to permit the introduction of a special resolution." The purpose of suspension must be formally stated.

Emergencies have a way of compelling change. In meetings, suspension of the rules is the method through which this fact is recognized. A two-thirds vote is required for passage.

To Adjourn

The last of all motions is the motion to adjourn:

Brother Sato: "I move that we adjourn."

Brother Hara: "I second the motion."

This motion cannot be debated and requires only simple majority vote.

Chairman: "It has been moved and seconded that we adjourn. Those in favor say 'aye'. Those opposed say 'no'. The 'ayes' have it and the motion is carried. You stand adjourned."

Elections

In order to stand for election, a member must first be nominated. After nominations are declared open by the chairman, anyone can nominate from the floor. Seconding of each nomination is required. After a number of nominations have been made, the chair may suggest that a motion to close nominations be in order:

Brother Onishi: "I move that nominations be closed."

Brother Kato: "I second the motion."

Chair: "It is moved and seconded that nominations be closed."

The motion is then voted on. If it is passed, the secretary then reads the names of the nominees in reverse order. Each nominee is given an opportunity to accept or decline. Election by secret ballot takes place at once or at the next meeting.

Resolutions

There are times when a local union wants to go on record by approving or condemning, let us say, some public policy. This is done through resolutions. The resolution is presented through a motion and passed by majority vote.

The resolution is divided into two parts: (1) the whereas clauses give the reasons for the resolution and (2) the resolve or resolves declaring the policy of the meeting. A sample resolution is given in the appendix.

Voting

Customarily only persons present at a union meeting can vote. Of course, on national election of union officials and other matters where there is a referendum vote of the entire membership, a mail vote may be used. But as Roberts says, "The idea of proxy voting is unknown to a strictly deliberative assembly and is in conflict with the idea of the equality of members...."

Persons at union meetings therefore only vote when they are physically present, one vote per person. Voting methods can vary. The usual method is "showing of hands" as when the chairman says: "All in favor raise your right hand." Another simple form is the voice vote; i.e., "All those in favor of this motion say 'yes'."

Voting for union officers or to authorize a strike is usually taken by secret written ballot.

On simple matters where the chairman is sure everyone agrees, the chair may say: "If everyone agrees, we will ask the secretary to send the letter to.."

However, there may be times during debate on motions when there is doubt as to exactly what the vote on a certain question is. Two types of voting are used to resolve such a difficulty: roll call vote and division of the house.

Division of the house occurs when the chairman says: "All those in favor rise in place." He then appoints two or three persons to count the number of persons. "All those opposed now stand." Those opposed are counted. The tellers (or vote counters) then report the vote, such as 25 for, 27 against, and so forth. At times, the chairman may ask that those "for" go to the right side of the room, and those "against" to the left side. This makes it easy for the tellers to make an accurate count of the vote.

The most formal method of taking a vote at the meeting is the roll call vote. This is used infrequently and only when the membership want to know exactly where everyone stands on a certain issue. Perhaps some political issue may be under discussion. The majority may feel that a small fraction is operating within the union, but they are not sure. Therefore a member rises and says: "I move that we have a roll call vote." If seconded, the question is put to a vote. A majority vote carries.

If the body so votes, the chairman then directs: "Secretary San, call the roll. Answer "YES" when your name is read if you support the motion under consideration. Answer "NO" if opposed ... Proceed!"

The secretary reads the name of every member of the union. Only those present constitute the vote. A teller stands at the blackboard and records the votes for and against. Members job down the vote -- who voted this way, who voted that way. At the conclusion of the vote, every member of the union knows exactly how every other member voted.

Conclusion

These are the more simple rules for the conduct of union meetings. These rules give you keys to unlock doors -- doors to democratic procedures. Orderly

meetings depend upon orderly members, and orderly members are informed members.

If a local union is new, it is essential to have a class on Parliamentary Procedure. Someone who knows the rules can help members as they try to conduct meetings according to the rules. It is only by learning these rules that one becomes informed. But it is only by practice that one becomes familiar with anything.

Knowledge of these rules not only helps to make good union members, but it helps also to develop good citizens, because in following these regulations, you are following the procedure that has been worked out by a thousand years of experience, developed in the practice of self-government.

This is why union meetings are democracy in action. They are, as Thomas Jefferson said of the American town meetings of the Tokugawa Era, "The schools of democracy." But whether or not they remain schools of democracy depends on the extent to which every single union member is interested and informed and competent to share in this group action, and in making group action deliberate and effective.

APPENDIX I

Sample Minutes

Regular monthly meeting called to order by Chairman, Watanabe San, on Monday evening, Showa 25, 10th February at 7:00 P.M. at union headquarters.

Agenda accepted as read.

Minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

Communications were read and ordered filed.

Brother Sato made a motion that the chairman appoint a committee to investigate local transportation problems. The motion was carried. The chairman appointed Brothers Watanabe, Goto and Sato. Brother Mito made a motion that a special meeting be held on March 5 for the showing of a labor cinema. The motion was carried.

The report of the committee investigating sanitary conditions at the factory cafeteria was accepted as read. Copy of report is on file.

The meeting adjourned at 9:30 P.M.

Mrs. Suzuki, Secretary

APPENDIX II

Classification of Motions

Some motions always precede other motions in importance. Any kind of motion takes precedence over the "main motion". Therefore, you must remember the main motion has the lowest rank. Above it is the "Subsidiary Motion", for example, the motion "to amend". Ranking higher still, as the Kacho outranks the Bucho, is the "Incidental Motion", for instance, the motion "to suspend the rules." The highest rank -- the king of motions -- is held by the "Privileged Motion".

They are listed here in their order of importance:

A. Privileged Motions:

1. Time for the next meeting.
2. Adjournment.
3. Recess.
4. Question of privilege.
5. Order of the day.

B. Incidental Motions:

1. Appeal to the Chair.
2. Point of order.
3. Objection to a consideration of the question.
4. Reading papers.
5. Withdrawal of a motion.
6. Suspension of rules.

C. Subsidiary Motions:

1. Lay on the table.
2. Stop debate (call for the previous question).
3. Limit or extend debate.
4. Postpone definitely (until a fixed time).
5. Refer, commit, or recommit.
6. Amend.
7. Postpone indefinitely.

D. Main Motions

1. Adopt a resolution.
2. Rescind or repeal a previous question.
3. Ratify or confirm an action taken.
4. Unfinished business and new business.

PARLIAMENTARY LAW DESK CHART

All of the Rules at a Glance

	Motion	Debatable	Amendable	Requires A Second	Vote Required	In Order When Another Is Speaking	Can be Reconsidered	Motions To Which It Applies	Motions Which Apply To It
PRIVILEGED MOTIONS	Time for Next Meeting (When Privileged)	No	Yes	Yes	Majority	No	No	None	Amend
	Adjourn	No	No	Yes	Majority	No	No	None	None
	Recess	No	Yes	Yes	Majority	No	No	None	None
	Question of Privilege (Treat as Main Motion)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority	Yes	Yes	None	All
	Orders of the Day	No	No	No	None; it takes 2/3 to postpone spec.order	Yes	No	Any Spec. Order	None;except to postpone orders
INCIDENTAL MOTIONS	Appeal	No	No	Yes	Majority	Yes	Yes	Any Decision of the chair	Lay on table Close debate Reconsider
	Point of Order	No	No	No	None; unless appealed;then majority	Yes	No	Any motion or act	None
	Objection to Consideration of Question	No	No	No	2/3	Yes	Yes	Main question and questions of privileges	Reconsider
	Reading Papers	No	No	Yes	Majority	No	Yes	None	None
	Withdrawal of Motion	No	No	No	Majority	No	Yes	Any motion	Reconsider
	Suspension of Rules	No	No	Yes	2/3	No	No	Any motion where needed	None

(Continued on Next Page)

	Motion	Debatable	Amendable	Requires A Second	Vote Required	In Order When Another Is Speaking	Can be Reconsidered	Motions To Which It Applies	Motions Which Apply To It
SUBSIDIARY MOTIONS	Lay on the Table	No	No	Yes	Majority	No	No	Main questions, appeals, ques. of privilege, reconsider	None
	Previous Question (close debate)	No	No	Yes	2/3	No	Yes	Any debatable motion	Reconsider
	Limits or Extended Limits of Debate	No	Yes	Yes	2/3	No	Yes	Any debatable motion	Reconsider
	Postpone to a Definite Time	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority	No	Yes	Main motion, ques. of privilege	Amend Reconsider Limit or Close Debate
	Refer or Commit	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority	No	Yes	Main motion, ques. of privilege	Amend, Reconsider, Limit or Close Debate
	Amend	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority	No	Yes	Main motion, limit, debate, refer, postpone, fix time of next meeting	Amend Reconsider Close Debate
	Postpone Indefinitely	Yes	No	Yes	Majority	No	Yes	Main motion, ques. of privilege	Limit or Close debate Reconsider
	MAIN MOTION	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority	No	Yes	None	All
	Reconsideration *	Yes, if motion to which it applies is debatable	No	Yes	Majority	Yes	No	Any motion except adjourn suspend rules lay on table	Limit debate Lay on table Postpone definitely
	Rescind *	Yes	Yes	Yes	2/3 of members present; majority when notice to rescind was given at previous meeting	No	Yes	Main motions, appeals, ques. of privilege	All

* These are treated as if they were main motions

APPENDIX III

Resolutions are generally prepared in order to (1) express union opinion on some specific matter, or (2) express union opinion and ask some action of somebody outside the local union.

Consider a few sample resolutions:

WHEREAS the recent advances in tha prices of daily commodities have made it impossible for workers to maintain their livelihood; and
WHEREAS if basic foods are received through rationing channels at fixed prices it will permit workers to maintain their livelihood on present wages; and
WHEREAS present inflationary tendencies threaten the life of the nation;
BE IT RESOLVED that local union .... ask the national officers of the union to at once present plans for a special convention of the union to consider price control and rationing; and
BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that members of the Diet from this Ken will be informed by letter of the opinion of this local, and
BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be sent to the Ken Federation of Labor with a request that other local unions consider the same action.

That is a request for action as well as a statement of opinion.

Another type of resolution may run like this:

WHEREAS on the night of Showa 24 10th March Jichiro Sato, a fireman at the Iidabashi Station went to the scene of a fire in the course of duty; and
WHEREAS he not only did his duty, but heroically saved the life of Mrs. Watanabe, a member of this local union; and
WHEREAS this union desires to publicly thank Jichiro Sato;

BE IT RESOLVED that local union .... will formally present a scroll of thanks to Fireman Jichiro Sato; and be it further
RESOLVED that this local union will present an honorary membership in this local union to Fireman Jichiro Sato, and be it further
RESOLVED that copies of this Resolution will be forwarded to the press, members of the Ken Diet, the Governor, and the Mayor.

DECLASSIFIED EO. 12958 SEC. 3(E) AND 3(B) OR (E) NARA 776015

GLOSSARY

Chairman - The person who is in charge of the meeting. He may be either a permanent chairman (such as the President of the union), or a person elected at the beginning of the meeting. Custom in western countries is for the chairman or president of the union to serve as chairman of all membership meetings.

Agenda -- A listing of the items to be discussed at a meeting to be held in the future. If adopted at the opening of the meeting, the agenda must be followed.

Constitution - The written document expressing the character, structure, rights, and privileges of an organization, its officers, and its membership. Basic rules of democracy are the major portion of the constitution.

By-Laws -- Minor rules of a secondary nature adopted by a local union or branch union to supplement the broad outline of democratic procedure outlined by the constitution of the union.

The Floor - Term used to refer to any and all persons present at a meeting other than the chairman or recording secretary.

The Chair - A term used to describe the person who has the authority of chairman, or person in charge of the conduct of a meeting.

Quorum -- The minimum number of persons who must be present before a meeting can be legally held.

Initiation - A ceremony at which new members pledge to abide by the rules of the union, and to guide and protect the traditions of the union which they are joining.

Unfinished Business - Any matter brought up at a previous meeting but not decided.

Good and Welfare - Matters which are not strictly union business but which may be for the good of the membership, or for their welfare.

Receive - To receive a report is to take it physically without any indication of approval or disapproval.

Accept - To accept a report means not only to take it physically but in addition to give approval to it by the act of 'acceptance'.

Motion - A proposal of action made in a formal manner. A motion is made when a person says: "I move that ....."

Second - A person who agrees with a motion made says, "I second" the motion. That is the same as saying: "I agree with this motion!"

Amendment - A proposed change in a motion or resolution which changes the degree of the motion but does not change the basic character of the motion.

Debate - The discussion which takes place when a democratic body examines the various aspects of a motion under consideration.

Filibuster - To delay or present action on a motion through the device of making an interminable speech. To use parliamentary procedure in a manner so as to sabotage rapid motion of a meeting.

Resolution - A formal statement of a problem followed by a statement of the policy of the union coupled, at times, with concrete measures which the union deems necessary for solution of the problem. It is also used as an expression of opinion, a method of commending action, and a method of indicating disapproval.

Previous Question - Reference to the original motion under debate.

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 11652 SEC. 3(E) AND 5(D) OR (E) NND 7 [illegible]

TOP UNION ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE

ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC SECTION

G. H. Q. S. C. A. P.

Tokyo 1948

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 11652 SEC. 3(E) AND 5(D) OR (E) NND 7 71015

Introduction

Union structure varies from country to country, but in the world democratic labour movement the same general structure obtains. Thus, the basic element is the local union, chapter, or guild: generally an association of men and women working for a wage or salary in a mine, mill, factory, railroad station, post office, school, or other place of work and labour. The structure and administration of such local units are outlined in the Constitution or By-Laws of each respective local union.

In a few cases, a strong local union has been able to solve its own problems without outside help, but historically local unions in all countries have federated in order to secure mutual aid, protection, and assistance. This pamphlet will present a synoptic view of the types of such federations.

Definitions

But let us first define our terms.

One type of federation existing in France, Britain, and America is the national union or international union. American national unions frequently use the term international union because their jurisdiction may include the continental United States, New Foundland Alaska, Canada, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii. The use of this term 'international' is at times confusing, for to some it may imply unions which include workers all over the world. That is of course not true.

Now the national union is the basic nation-wide federation of local unions operating within the same industry or craft. Thus you have an industrial national such as the Automobile Workers Union, and you have a craft union in the Carpenters' Union. Such national unions are formed for the mutual aid and protection of the several local unions working within the same craft or industry. Their solidarity is found in their vocational association and vocational or industrial interests.

The next higher organization is known as top federation-the Congress of Industrial Unions (CIO), or American Federation of Labour (AFL) in America. In Britain there is the British Trade Union Congress (TUC) and in France the General Confederation of Workers (CGT). In America there are other federations such as the Big Four Railroad Brotherhoods, and in France there are the Christian Workers Confederation and the Force Ouvriere.

These national congresses or federations are essentially the uniting of two or more national unions to form the highest type of union organization existing within the boundaries of any one specific country or nation. Again, such congresses or federations of national unions are formed for purposes of mutual aid, protection, assistance, and liaison.

Although not discussed in this pamphlet, the only higher type of organization is the truly international labour federation. Since the end of World War I, the International Labour Organization (I.L.O.) has served to give national labour federations representation and liaison with and through an international body. Since 1945, the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) has united certain national federations in the Soviet Union, China, America, Great Britain, France, and other countries. The Western Hemisphere national federations are now taking steps to form an Inter-American Federation of Trade Unions under the leadership of the American Federation of Labour, which is not a member of the WFTU.

Genesis

During the past one hundred years of trade union history in America and Great Britain--countries with the oldest trade unions in the world--the local union appeared first. Then appeared regional federations of local union, and finally national unions. The federation of national unions developed later, while the development of international federations

of labour are of recent occurrence.

The local union may be compared with the family system, and as such it is the basic unit of the labour movement. The basic rights and duties of labour, privileges and responsibility reside in the membership of such local unions. To be precise, the basic authority of the labour movement derives from the natural right of men and women to form free associations for their mutual aid and protection.

When men and women form a local union, their right to form free associations is expressed through the writing of a written constitution or by-laws which specify the organization, structure, and administration of such a local union. The creation of national unions further derives from this basic natural right, and the local unions specify the organization, structure, and administration of the national union. And so on.

This point is important for from it comes the idea of the autonomy of the local union, the granted powers of the national union, and the powers granted to the federation or congress by the member national unions.

Because the rank-and-file members authorize both their local union and their national union to act and speak for them, as a collective unity, they safeguard their union liberties by preparing a written constitution outlining the exact structure, administration, rights, and duties of the higher bodies.

Let us now turn first to a study of the national union.

National Union Constitutions

The specific nature of the national union constitution is very important for it determines the character of the democracy within the national union. If the grant of power to the national union is too great, the union members may lose control of their own unions. If the grant of power is too tiny, the national union may be unable to accomplish its purpose of mutual aid and protection for the member local unions.

Object of the Union

Every union constitution contains a basic statement as to the objects of the national union. In democratic countries, the primary object of a national union is to unite men and women wage earners within specific industrial or occupational groups for the purpose of conducting collective bargaining negotiations leading to the perfection of collective agreements, or labour contracts, which specifically enumerate the wages, hours, and various conditions of life and labour. These include safety, hygiene, vacations, and all other relations properly of concern to both employer and worker. Secondary activities, social or political, may also be contemplated.

The next clause logically defines eligibility of persons to join the union. Are they all to be steel workers, whether clerks or furnacemen? Are they all to be carpenters irrespective of where they work? Can management representatives join the union? Who cannot join the union? This clause is framed within the labour laws of the country and the desires of the rank-and-file membership of the national union.

A series of clauses in the constitution will then outline the precise structure of the national union, enumerating in detail the officers of the union, their rights, duties, and authority; and the eligibility of members to become duly elected officers. The membership of the executive board or the Central Executive Committee will be defined as to election, tenure of office, powers, rights, duties, and authority. Certain items may be specified as mandatory for the Committee; others may be specifically denied the members of the Committee.

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As the highest policy-making body of the national union is the union annual convention, the national union constitution will outline in detail the time for holding conventions and the election of delegates to such a convention. The agenda, the order of procedure, and all of the details surrounding the operation of the convention will be specified. If the officers and executive committee of the union is to be chosen at the convention, the precise method of nomination and election will be stated.

If the convention is to nominate only, followed by a rank-and-file referendum vote, the constitution will outline the rules for nomination, give precise instructions as to how the referendum vote will be conducted.

Another provision will outline the financial structure of the national union, such as the amount of dues to be charged members, the percentage of dues to be retained by local unions, the per contage, called per capita tax, to be sent to the national union. The constitution may provide for the maintenance of special funds such as a strike fund, an education fund, an organizational fund, and so forth. Some unions provide for health, medical, and death funds which furnish members financial benefits. Audits of the account books of both local unions and the national union will be provided, as will be the guaranteeing of the publication of regular financial reports by both local unions and the national union. The financial responsibility of union financial officers will be outlined, and often a special group of Trustees is outlined, their duties being to supervise the expenditure of monies and the safekeeping of funds on hand.

As the national union is the basic top organization of the labour movement, the national union constitution usually outlines in great detail the structure of local unions and their administration. The duties of local union officers and local union committee members may be specified. The conduct of local union business, the frequency of meetings, the holding of secret ballot elections is usually required. Local unions may add additional provisions, but the basic elements noted in this section must be in the By-Laws of every local union. New unions formed must observe the same local union constitutional provisions.

A constitution written in specific terms, with rights and duties clearly defined, is a guarantee to every local union affiliated with the national union that the national union will maintain a basic democratic structure. If any local union permits a dictatorship to develop, the national union is empowered to intervene and re-establish democratic procedures. If the national union officers of other persons act so as to exceed their constitutional powers, the local unions have procedures whereby they can bring such persons to trial and, if found guilty, remove them from office. The precise steps to be taken in the preparation of charges and the holding of a trial are of course specifically enumerated in the national union constitution. Such trial procedure usually leads up to final decision by a national convention of delegates from every local union. Likewise, the national union constitution frequently provides that if a local union expels a member, the member has the right to appeal for a reversal of the decision to the next regular annual convention of the national union.

Such trial procedures are important, for if any small group within either the national union or the local unions can expel members at will, the union rights of the members will suffer.

Many national unions make specific enumeration of the method to be used in calling a strike, often providing for a certain percentage of votes needed before a local union can consider a strike. In order to ensure trade union responsibility, it may be specified that even after a strike vote, no local union can go out on strike until it has sent a history of the dispute to the Executive Board and Officials of the national union. These officials consider the facts, and decide whether or not to send the local union authority to call the strike. When the national union authorizes a strike, it is then pledged to support the

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strikers with funds and other aid. Local unions calling wild-cat or un-authorized strikes are subject to discipline or even expulsion from the national union. Here again the provisions in the national union constitution protects the rank-and-file majority from possible irresponsibile acts by minority elements.

Frequently the national union constitution may prescribe for local unions how meetings will be conducted. This is a basic guarantee that every local union will hold democratic meetings of the entire rank-and-file permitting free and democratic expression of opinion followed by majority vote on all decisions of policy or action.

The national union constitution will also usually outline the various departments of the national union, such as the organization department, publication, education, legal, and research departments. Specification is made as to what type person will head each department, how they are hired, who approves their hiring, and what the precise duties of each department are. Again, the rights, duties, powers and responsibility of each department are specifically enumerated.

Summing up, the constitution of the national union is so basic and so vital that every local union member should know his national union constitution ffom beginning to end. Where union constitutions do not specifically enumerate rights and duties, powers and responsibility, the way is open to organizational confusion and possible abuse of power and authority.

National Unions in Operation

The policies and actions of the national union are not manufactured by the leadership or the executive committee. True, a good leader will develop new policies, but the essence of good leadership is the ability to develop sound union programs and persuade the rank-and-file to adopt them at national conventions. In a dictatorial union or a union run by a labour boss, the convention is but a democratic kami shibai. In a democratic union, the basic policies and programs of action are decided by rank-and-file delegates to union conventions, and the officers and executive board of the union follow such convention mandates to the letter.

Now the national union is essentially a service unit for the local unions affiliated with it. Just as the good housewife goes to Mitsukoshi's to purchase the various items needed for the operation of the household, so the national union exists to provide the various services needed by the local unions in order to promote sound collective bargaining, develop-good labour contracts, and promote practical trade union education.

Indeed, one might consider the situation by picturing the relation between Gotemba and Fujisan. High up on the top of Fujisan is the national office. It can see the various government agencies, it can see all of the local unions spread out from Kagoshima northward to Abashiri and Asahigawa. Down in the valley is a litule local union in Gotemba. In the distance are other local unions in Tokyo and Yokohama, Odawara and Chiba. Each local union has many problems, but because it is a local union it cannot always see the answer at once. Hence it sends a messenger up to Fujisan, where they maintain a view of all Japan. Help comes back in the form of a lawyer, an organizer, an educational specialist, some money, and so forth. Likewise, the officers up on Fujisan are over watchful. When they observe any trouble down in Gotemba, they dispatch a messenger to see if they can help. If they espy a corrupt labour leader in a local in Gotemba, they send a union official to correct the evil, re-establish democracy. But the relation is clear. The local union in Gotemba exists and serves its purpose, and is helped by the officers on Fujisan. But the officers have no function, no purpose unless they serve well the local union in Gotemba.

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Service

Consider the many services which a democratic and vigorous national union should offer its several local unions. One of its prime responsibilities is the organization of unorganized workers. The union has a department, called the Organizational Department, which has on its payroll a staff of experienced union members whose purpose it is to organize new local unions, to assist older local unions with their current problems.

Local unions may observe that in their machi there is a shop in the same industry or craft. The workers want to have a union, but they do not know what to do. The local union officers get the names of a few workers and send them to the national union organizational department. In a few weeks, a union organizer arrives, talks with the workers, and gives them advice on how to organize a local union, how to write their constitution and how to begin collective bargaining.

Again, local unions may often have certain difficulties during the collective bargaining. The employer is a Teidai man, the workers are all primary school boys. They cannot reach agreement. So they send a telegram to the national union, and soon a trained negotiator has been dispatched from national headquarters. He gives aid in negotiating and if necessary advice on preparing the case for mediation by the local Labour Relations Board. He may assist the local union bargaining committee in writing their proposed contract, for he has brought with him a bag full of contracts from other companies. His job is not to tell the local union what to do, but to place himself at their service, to give help, advice, and counsel. The trained negotiator may be from the organizational department. Or, if the local union is a union dealing with a large company, he may be a higher union official.

Again, a local union may have an excellent contract, but a man has been discharged by the company. The union members feel he was discharged because he was a good shop steward. The union members hold a meeting, take a strike vote, and telegraph to the national union that they intend to strike in order to enforce the contract. The national union replies by telegraph: "Do not strike yet. Mr. Sato is leaving by train tonight and will be in your union office by tomorrow morning."

The union official arrives, and at once goes to work. The discharged

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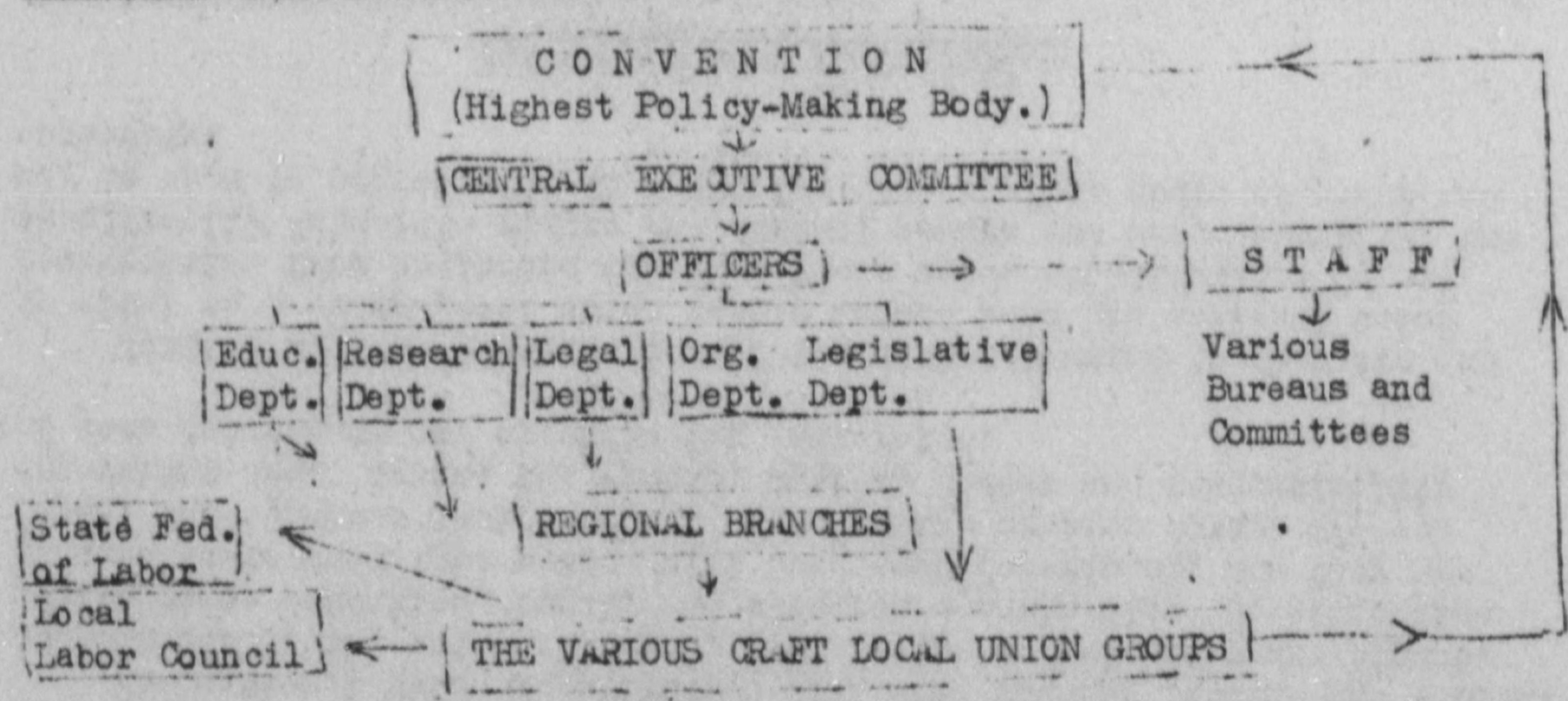
CRAFT NATIONAL UNION ORGANIZATION CHART:



The convention is the supreme authority for the establishment of policy. It elects or nominates candidates for election to the top offices and the Central Executive Committee. Staff bureaus and department furnish service to each and every local union. The regional offices give further service to the local unions. The local unions are directly affiliated with the national craft union. They are also affiliated with the State-wide Federation of Labor, and the Local Labour Council within each district or city.

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worker is called in and he gives the facts of the case. The trained man from union headquarters asks many questions, calls in other shop stewards in order to get as complete a picture as possible of what has happened. When he is fully informed, he and the union officers then visit the company officials and the matter is again discussed. Perhaps the persuasive force of the man from headquarters will settle the matter to all concerned. If the company still insists that the man was discharged for this, the union for that, the national union representative may counsel them: "Well, don't strike yet. This is clearly a violation of the Trade Union Act. Let us appeal to the Labour Relations Committee at once." The union leaders say they don't know what to do.

That night, after eating his bento of sweet potatoes and green peas, the union representative writes up a brief -- a legal document citing the facts of the case, the violation of the law, and a demand that the Labour Relations Committee re-instate the worker at once. After discussing this with the union officials next day, they all go to the Labour Relations Committee and formally file the charges of violation of the Trade Union Act. Through such aid and counsel, the union representative assists the local union in enforcing the contract without precipitate use of the strike weapon.

As the union representative gets on the late night train for Tokyo, the local union members call out to him: "Thank you very much for the help. Now we know why it is important to send money to our national union!"

Another service of the national union is its maintenance of a legislative department. This department makes analyses of labour laws, advises local unions of their rights and duties under such labour legislation. It maintains a close watch on the Diet, maintains liaison with Diet members. When a local union has a certain local political problem, it may send word to Tokyo for assistance. Perhaps a day later, a person representing the union legislative department visits the Diet member from that part of the country. He explains the problem, asks for immediate action. He may visit certain government agencies, tell them of the condition, request immediate action. He of course at once reports by telegraph to the local union as to what has been accomplished. Through study and constant liaison, the legislative department of the national union is able to keep the government informed of the wishes, the desires, and the requests of workers all over the country.

Likewise, when members of a certain local are confused over an interpretation of the Labour Standards Law, or the Unemployment Compensation Law, they send a request for information to the national office. The legislative department at once sends them the answer. If they do not know the answer, they visit the government agency concerned and get the answer at once. Again, the national union serves its member local unions.

Although normally every local union will take care of its own finances, there at times occurs a case where a dishonest officer of group of union officers may steal union funds unknown to the membership. The union headquarters maintains a staff of auditors sufficient to visit every local union once a year. This union auditor examines the books and other records of the local union. He makes sure that money said to be in the bank is actually in the bank. He makes sure that the local union is publishing actual and factual financial reports to the membership. If he discovers any financial irregularities, he reports the facts to the officers of the local union, and he also reports back to the national union office. If the local union does not adjust the situation at once, the national union will intervene in order to protect the membership of the local union from fraud or undemocratic conduct of finances of the union.

Further, a new local union may have a treasurer who does not know what to do. When the auditor arrives, he finds that there are no

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records of accounts. The new treasurer explains: "I keep a large jar at home. When I receive dues, I put it in the jar. When there are bills to be paid, I take money out of the jar. When I make a financial report, I bring the jar to the local union and let the President count the money."

The national union auditor replies: "Well, Sato San, that is one way of doing it. But in our modern labour movement we must be careful to keep an accurate record of accounts. You want such a record in order to protect both the membership and yourself..." He then explains the system of union account book keeping, and after a night with the Treasurer the new officer has his set of books prepared, and he very happy that he has received such service from the national union.

The national union education department is a very important service agency, for it must prepare educational programs for the consideration of the local unions. It gives advice to local unions, it sponsors summer schools, it tells local unions of new film strips, new kami shibai, and new labor books and pamphlets. The Director and staff of the department travel frequently, speak to the members of local unions, find out what they can do to be of more service to the rank and file. One local union suggests that they write a pamphlet on Union Finances, another local union says: "We don't know how to run our meetings. Won't you help us and send a pamphlet on how to run union meetings?"

The educational department maintains liaison with the universities and colleges, may often sponsor workers' summer schools at these colleges during the summer vacation months. The national union educational department has its tasks outlined in the mandate of the union convention. But it must be staffed with alert and untiring workers, eager always to serve the educational needs of the rank-and-file membership.

The national union may maintain many other departments, such as a department for women's problems, a legal department, a research department, and a recreation department. As with the departments outlined, their duties are defined in the constitution, their programs are outlined by the convention decisions, and their basic purpose is ever: "Service to the union membership."

A national union which collects per capita tax from the membership and gives little or no service in return is hardly worthy of the name.

Authority

Most unions vest day-to-day authority in the head of the union, be he called Chairman or President. His job is to supervise the work of the various departments, meet delegates from local unions who come to the national union with special problems, and at times assist in the collective bargaining negotiations of one or more local unions.

His rights and his duties are clearly outlined in the constitution. But the constitution usually provides that the Executive Board of Central Executive Committee, consisting of union members from all over the country, will meet perhaps every three months. Such a meeting will take up a few days, and during this time the President and his staff must report to the Executive Board on what actions they have taken, what actions they plan. Everything must be approved by the majority vote of the Executive Board, and nothing approved can violate the mandates of the last regular union convention. Usual custom in America and Great Britain is for the Executive Board to print in the union newspaper a full report of such meetings, so that the rank-and-file are kept informed about exactly what happens between conventions. The President of the union usually writes a column in the weekly union newspaper reporting what he has done during the past week. Through his public statements, through his reports, through his actions, the rank-and-file are able to decide whether he is a good or bad officer.

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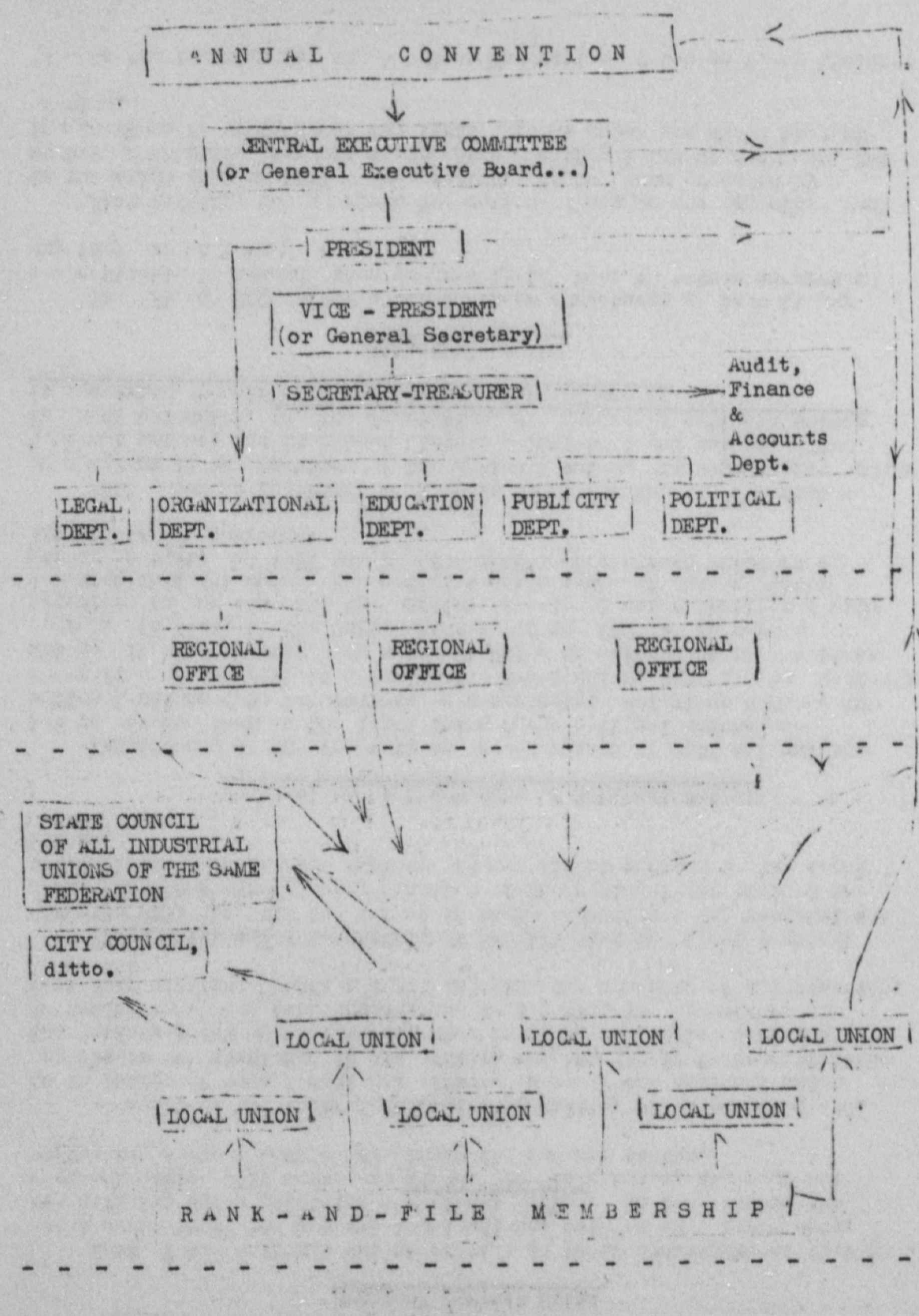
STRUCTURE OF A TYPICAL NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION:



This chart illustrates the relations between the local unions and their national industrial union. The national union is the product of the actions and decisions of the annual convention, representing delegates from every local union.

Elected officers carry on the day-to-day business of the national union and supervise the various departments of the national union, with periodic reports to the General Executive Committee. Regional offices, under the direction of one member of the General Executive Committee, give further and direct service to the local unions. The local unions maintain relations with the above groups, as well as with the state-wide and city-wide councils of all other unions belonging to the same national federation.

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The two top officers of American national unions are the President and the Secretary-Treasurer. The President is the Chief executive of the union, while the Secretary-Treasurer maintain correspondence, keeps the books of the national union under the supervision of the President. And both the officers are under the periodic review of the Executive Board. Finally, all are under the yearly review and examination of the national convention.

This is sometime called the system of checks-and-balances; i. e., the officers and department heads have their authority checked by the explicit delineation of their duties in the constitution. By dividing authority between the various officers and the Executive Board, a balance in authority is assured, the growth of union dictators is limited.

Regional Service Units

Most of the national unions provide in their constitutions that in areas where there are several local unions, such as in a large city, the national union maintains a regional office. In some cases, the regional office will serve one state. In other cases, the regional office may serve a larger area including several states.

A member of the Central Executive Committee, or Executive Board, is in charge of such a regional office. Some of the national union organizers are stationed in his office, and his job is to keep visiting the various local unions, to aid them in their collective bargaining, to assist them when called upon, and to see that the organizers are kept busy visiting plants not yet enjoying the benefits of unionization.

Frequently, union constitutions provide that the local regional director will also aid the unions in their educational and recreational work. In other words, every function of the regional director of the national union is to give further aid and direct service to the local unions.

Federations or Congresses of National Unions

Turning now to the federations or congresses of national unions, let us observe that as the local union forms national unions, so national unions form federations or congresses. Relations between the federation or congress is not with the local union, but with the national union. In other words, each national union is autonomous to a certain degree. In fact, in the United States, if the CIO or AFL were to interfere in any way with the affairs of a local union affiliated with a member national union, the national union would at once register a strong protest, and tell the top federation or congress officers to mind their own business.

This point is important to keep in mind, for the top federation or congress is the creature of the national union. It cannot give orders to local unions, and it cannot dictate policy to local unions. Like the national union, the top federation or congress of national unions is a service organization serving the national unions.

Structure of AFL

The AFL and CIO differ a bit in their structure, so that it may be profitable to examine them separately in order to better understand why they are what they are.

Historically, the American Federation of Labour was organized back in the Meiji Era, in 1881 to be precise. It had been preceded by a number of abortive attempts to organize a national labour movement, but the American Federation was the first attempt which has stood the test of time.

As the chart shows, the American Federation of Labour today includes

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some 103 national unions, 4 departments, over 1,500 directly affiliated local unions, and 49 State Federations of Labour. It also includes some 780 city central bodies.

Although the bulk of the membership of the AFL consists in its affiliated national and international unions, it does have direct connection with a number of local unions called Federal Labour Unions. Where there are only a small number of workers in a certain area who are occupied in various crafts, not one group of craft workers being large enough to form an independent craft local, the AFL forms them into an amalgamated union called a Federal Labour Union. Also, where there are a group of workers in a type of vocation for which there is no appropriate national or international union the AFL organizes them into Local Trade Unions. Both Federal Labour unions and Local Trade Unions are directly affiliated with the AFL. They are the only local unions so affiliated.

All other local unions are affiliated with national or international unions. Now there are a number of important distinctions to be made. A union such as the United Mine Workers, affiliated now and then with the AFL, is a purely industrial union. The Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is a pure craft union. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union is a union which is a mixture of craft union departments organized on an industrial basis. Thus the AFL includes craft national unions, industrial national unions, and mixtures of the two.

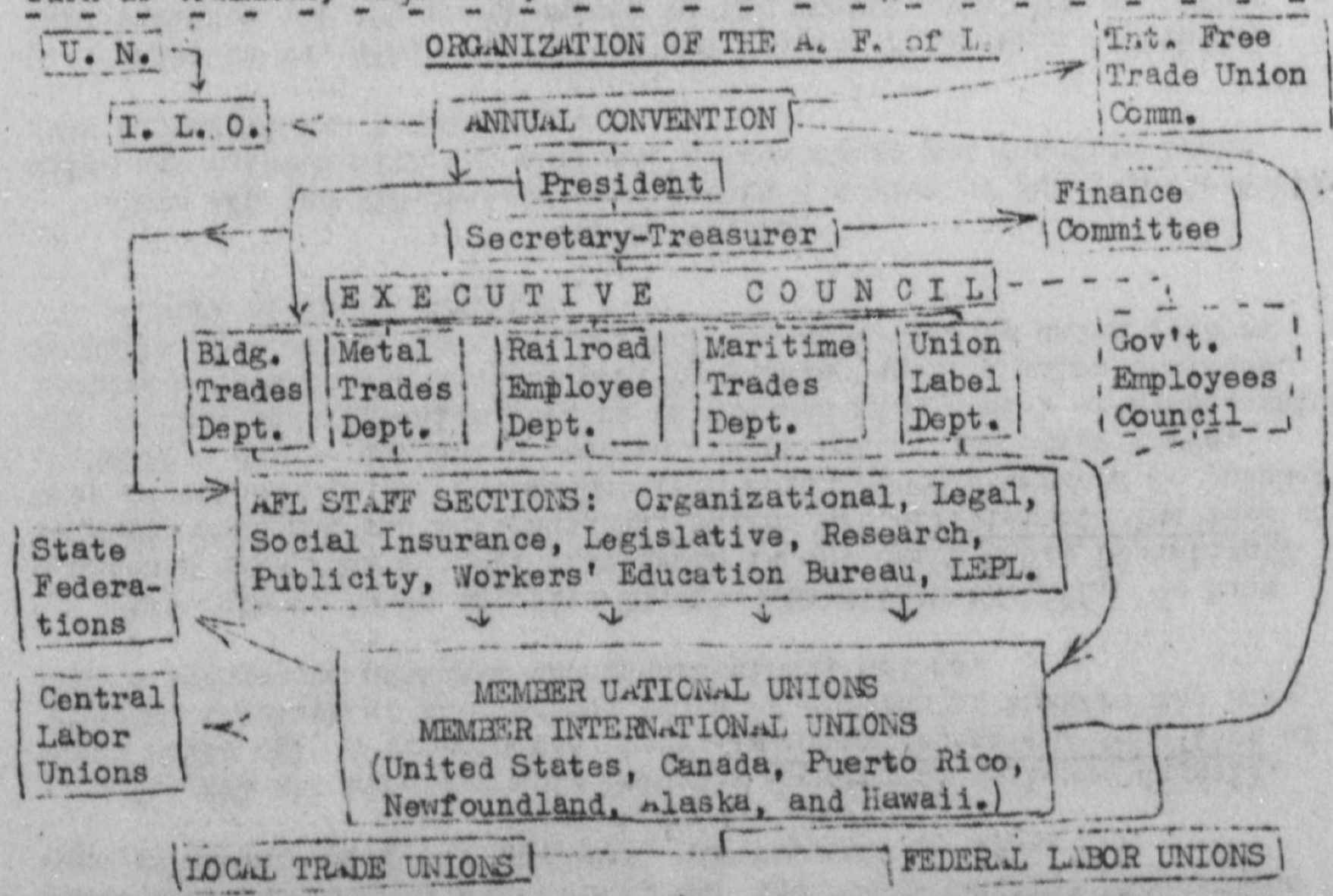
Departments

The various national and international unions are often not directly affiliated as to authority with the AFL, but rather with a subordinate department of the AFL. Every national and international unions pay per capita tax to the AFL, but many are segregated into vocational groups.

Thus there is a Building Trades Department which includes all of the unions involved in building and construction; i. e., carpenters and joiners, electricians, stone masons, and the like.

The Metal Trades Department includes the various types of union which include moulders, sheet metal workers, tin workers, and the like.

The Railway Shop Crafts Department includes the various national and international unions including the many types of railroad workers such as trainmen, engineers, conductors, switchmen, and so forth.



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And recently the AFL has formed the Maritime Trades Department which includes seamen, stevedores, and the other maritime occupations such as marine cooks and stewards, pilots, and the like.

The AFL has also recently formed a Government Employee Council, which while only a coordinating body, is nevertheless the same sort of grouping together of the various types of government workers who have formed autonomous national and international unions.

Altogether, there are five Departments within the AFL. We have mentioned only four so far. The fifth is the Union Label Department, to which national and international unions are affiliated. The work of this department is to promote the idea which pledges workers to purchase goods from day to day which bear the Union Label. In other words, any product made by union workers is stamped with a seal or symbol which testifies that it was made by workers working under a union contract. Products not bearing this union label are boycotted by union members and members of their families.

Sub-Divisions

Both AFL and CIO in America maintain a series of subordinate bodies which are related with the national headquarters yet function lower down closer to the local union.

Thus, in the AFL, every State has a State Federation of Labour. This includes all AFL local unions in the state, maintains an office in the central city of the State, publishes a newspaper, maintains legislative activity, and furnishes as much service and leadership as possible to the local unions. Its problems and its activities are mainly of a State-wide nature, such as the state legislature, the state educational system, and the holding of state meetings, state labour schools, and state-wide political rallies.

On the lower level, in the sai and machi, both AFL and CIO maintain city-wide Central Labour Unions, or City Industrial Councils. Again, the local unions of AFL and CIO respectively federate on city-wide basis to promote programs of a purely city-wide nature, such as the publication of a local newspaper, city political rallies, liaison with city governmental agencies, and so forth.

Authority

The AFL cannot call strikes. That is the function of the local unions and the autonomous national and international unions. The AFL in its constitution is defined as an organization to promote the welfare, mutual aid, and protection of its autonomous national and international unions, aid in increasing their economic strength, aid in implementing their social and political influence, and give aid, help, and counsel to the affiliated national and international unions, as well as to the Federal Labour Unions and Local Trade Unions.

The American Federation of Labour obeys the laws set down by the annual convention of the delegates from the national and international unions. This convention elects a President, Secretary-Treasurer, and members of an Executive Council.

The Executive Council meets every three months, and reviews the work of the officers and departments of the union. It also proposes actions to be taken within the framework of the policies of the union established by the previous annual convention.

As with national unions, the President is the chief executive of the AFL, the Secretary-Treasurer being under him and responsible for maintaining correspondence, books of account, and so forth. The duties and rights, the authority and privileges of the officers and the Executive Council are carefully and fully outlined in the constitution of the American Federation of Labour.

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Staff Sections

Attached to the Executive Officers of the AFL are a grouping of staff sections which include the Organizational Staff, the Legal Department, the Social Insurance Staff, the Legislative Staff, the Research Department, the Publicity Department, and the Workers' Education Bureau.

The functions of these various groups of workers is to furnish help, aid, and service to the national and international unions according to the duties outlined in the constitution of the AFL and the orders laid down by the last annual convention.

Other Services

The American Federation of Labour is a member of the International Labour Organization (ILO) and thus secures international labour representation within the United Nations (UN). It is also the sponsor of the Free Trade Union Committee which is active in such countries as Germany in aiding in the education of occupied country trade unionists. While this AFL Free Trade Union Committee maintains an office in the Western American Section of Occupied Germany, no office has yet been established in Japan.

Revenue

The large staff of the AFL is financed by per capita tax received from the national and international unions. National and international unions pay a monthly tax to the federation of from one to one-and-one-half cents per member.

Policies

The American Federation of Labour is based on the philosophy of voluntarism; i. e., the AFL depends upon gaining consent to its policies upon co-operation of unions, not compulsion from the top. The national and international unions are autonomous and self-governing. The AFL promotes peaceful collective bargaining whenever possible in order to secure sound and stable labour agreements, or labour contracts. This lack of compulsion within the AFL is furthered by the semi-autonomous Departments of the AFL which are also self-governing.

Finally, the AFL is opposed to communism, fascism, or any form of totalitarianism.

Structure of the CIO

The Congress of Industrial Organizations, originally formed in 1935 by men who had formerly been leaders in the AFL, is very much like that of the AFL except that is a more compact organization.

Essentially, the CIO consists of a top law-making body in the form of an annual convention of delegates from its affiliated national and international unions. This annual convention elects a President, a Secretary-Treasurer, and members of a General Executive Board representing the various national and international unions.

These officers function in the same manner as do the executives of the AFL.

However, there are no occupational departments within the CIO. The national and international unions are directly affiliated with CIO, an inevitable consequence of the fact that CIO unions are largely industrial unions or semi-industrial unions. However, as with AFL, the CIO national and international unions are self-governing and autonomous. The CIO cannot call strikes, nor can it forbid any national or international union, or any local unions thereof, from calling strikes.

Service

As with the AFL, the CIO maintains a large number of well-staffed departments which function within the framework of the CIO constitution and the orders of the last national convention. These departments include an Organizational Department, an Industrial Union Council Department, a Research and Education Department, a Publicity Department, a Legislative Department, an International Affairs Department, a Legal Department, a Political Action Committee, and an Anti-Discrimination Department.

Most of these departments render service to the national and international unions. They normally do not conduct relations with any local unions unless requested. Local unions are under the jurisdiction of the member national and international unions. However, the Industrial Union Council Department maintains direct relations with, and supervision over, the local councils of the CIO formed by local unions on the State-wide and City-wide level.

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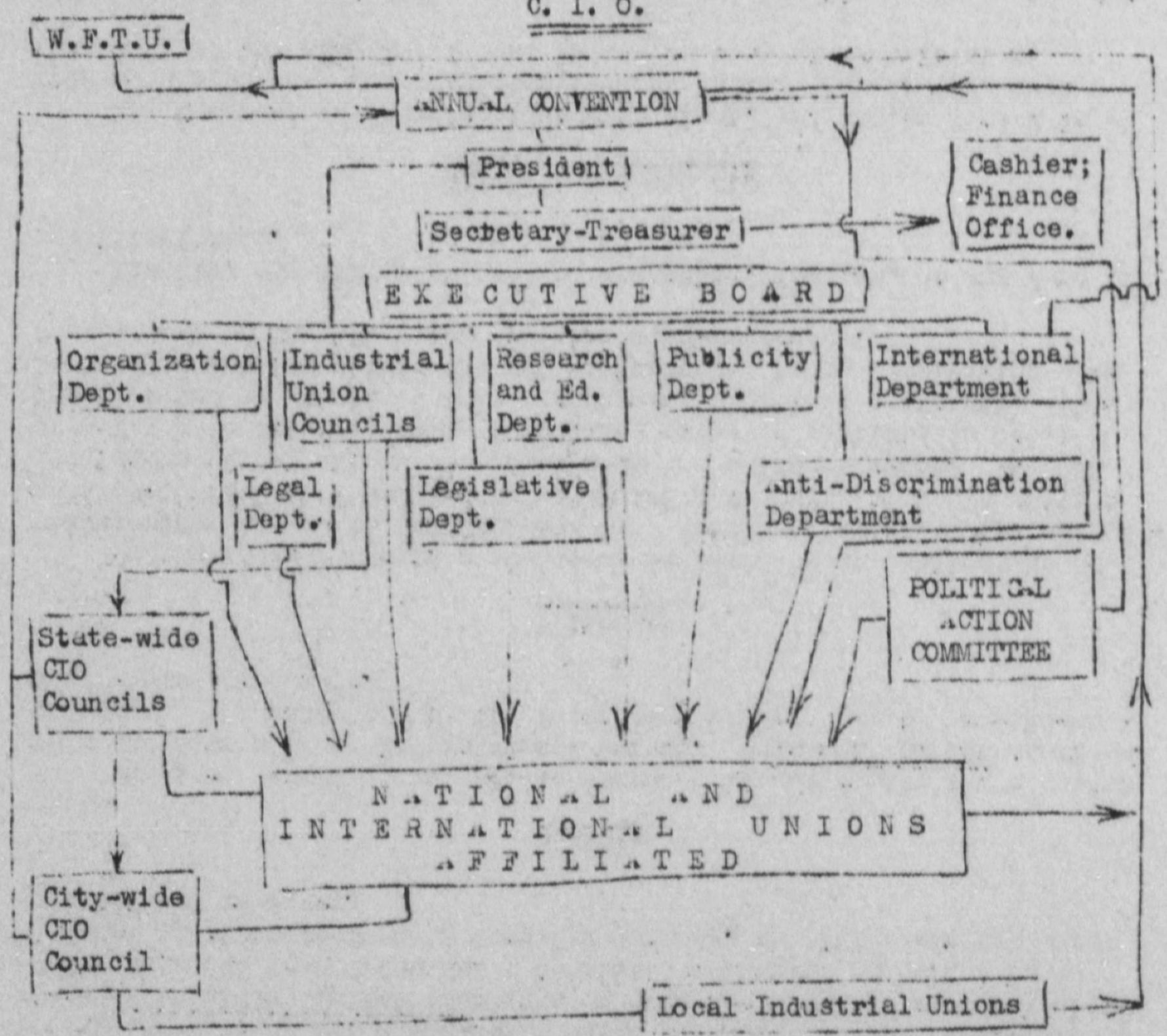

The structure is very much the same as with the AFL, but note that there are no semi-autonomous craft departments on the top level. The state-wide and city-wide organizations are the same as those of the AFL. The PAC (Political Action Committee) is a national organization operating under control of the CIO National Convention, but unlike the other service departments of the CIO, the PAC has unit organizations on a state-wide level. These state-wide organizations have separate conventions to handle state-wide political problems and are under the control of the unions within each state, subject of course to general CIO political action policy established by the national CIO convention and the national PAC conventions.

The CIO after several years of experience found that many of the State-wide and City-wide Councils were being exploited by Communist and other political fractions, and the activities of these bodies are limited by convention direction under the supervision of this Industrial Union Council Department.

The International Affairs Department maintains liaison with the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and other international relations. The Anti-Discrimination Department is concerned with problems of discrimination against minority worker groups such as the Negroes.

And, as with the AFL, the CIO maintains State-wide State CIO Councils which coordinate the work of all local unions within one state. It also maintains City-wide Councils which coordinate the work of the local unions in one city or county. These Councils, both on State and City level, cannot create new policy, nor can they conduct collective bargaining or call strikes of member local unions.

As with the AFL, the CIO also forms Local Industrial Unions of small groups of workers in one area who either are not large enough to form a local union of any one occupational group, or who work in an industry for which there is no appropriate CIO national or international union. These local industrial unions are the only local unions directly affiliated with the CIO.

Inter-Federation Relations

In addition to the AFL and CIO there are other national labour organizations such as the Railroad Brotherhoods and the International Association of Machinists, which are autonomous and independent organizations. Liaison between AFL, CIO, and other independent bodies is maintained, and often on such national issues as price control, housing, taxation, and so forth, the various groups join in a united drive when their policies happen to coincide. However, AFL, CIO, and the independent federations are jealous of their independence and do not confuse inter-union coordination with organic unity. They feel that it is possible to have unity of purpose on many issues without having to have organic unity, or realization of the dream of "one big union".

Summary

Returning to our original theme, the various upper organizations of labour are largely service organizations formed by lower units for the purpose of mutual aid and protection, coordination, and liaison.

Following the democratic principle of doing as much as possible on the local level, the local union does as much as it can for itself. When it needs help, it gets it from the national union. When the national union in turn has problems which it cannot serve, it then refers the problem to the top federation or congress of national and international unions.

But the principle of autonomy is maintained, with a guarantee of maximum freedom at the bottom and maximum efficiency at the top.

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References:

Japanese trade unionists are referred to the following Labour Ministry publications for further study of the organization of American Trade Unions:

AFL and CIO Constitutions.

Trade Union Primer, by Dr. Shichiro Matsui. Y 42.

THE STRUCTURE AND MANAGEMENT OF YOUR LOCAL UNION

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Economic and Scientific Section
Tokyo

- 1947 -

INTRODUCTION

The local union is the base of the labor movement. If the local unions federated into a national union are strong and vigorous, then the national union should be strong and vigorous. If the local unions are weak and the rank-and-file disinterested or uninterested in the affairs of their local union, the national union can be little more than a paper organization.

The famous "Sixteen Principles for Japanese Trade Unions" adopted by the Far Eastern Commission on 6 December 1946 contain many of the important principles needed for the guidance of strong local union structure. Outstanding of these is the principle which states that "Emphasis should be placed on the importance of a solid local basis for future trade union activity in Japan."

Far Eastern Commission principles also state that "The formation of trade unions should be a process of democratic self-expression and initiative, proceeding from the workers themselves."

Quite obviously the local union is one of the most important elements of the labor movement. It is the purpose of this pamphlet to give a broad picture of how local unions are organized and administered in democratic countries in order to present to Japanese trade unionists some ideas on structure and administration. It is of course not intended that this pamphlet should be used as a blue print by Japanese local unions. But we are sure that they will profit from a knowledge of what democratic trade unionists have done in other countries. These ideas plus the needs and experiences of Japanese workers in the post-war period may well serve in aiding in the construction of strong and vigorous local unions in Japan which are controlled by the rank-and-file who make up their membership.

The very essence of democracy is control by the people - the rule of the rank-and-file trade union membership.

LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Each local union, at the time of its formation, adopts a series of rules, decides upon the type and number of officers desired, and provides for meetings and the other details of both structure and administration of the local union. These rules grow from year to year, and they are changed from time to time to meet the needs of changing circumstances. Hence every local union should have a basic constitution or set of by-laws which clearly outline the relations between the local union and the membership, the duties and functions of the officers, procedures to be followed in elections, rules for expulsion of members, and so forth.

If the local union affiliates with a higher body, such as a national union or a national union federation, delegates of every local union so affiliating take part in the writing of a constitution for the higher body. I that constitution will be made provision for the exact relations between the national union and the local union. Democratic trade unions delegate certain powers to the national union. But they preserve their local union autonomy; i.e., independence from undue direction or control by the top organization.

Because both the local union and the national union govern the membership only with the consent of the governed, the local union membership must be fully acquainted with the constitution or by-laws of their local union as well as the constitution of their national union and other higher bodies. Rights can be implemented only when a person knows of their possession. Education of the rank-and-file as to their rights and duties within the local union and the national union is essential to democratic trade unionism. If local union officers, or top national unions or federations abuse the rights granted them through the constitutions, the membership know exactly what steps must be taken to correct the abuse or how otherwise to take action so as to preserve the democratic structure of their union.

CUT THE UNION TO ORDER

The nature of the industry as well as the size of the membership plays a basic part in determination of what kind of a local union you want. Further, the needs and wishes of the membership also condition the structure of the local union.

For instance, if there is a situation wherein the membership of the local union want to do nothing but negotiate a contract once a year, then the union needs few meetings, a few officers, and nothing else. If, on the other hand, the memberships wants a vigorous trade union, they will design the union so that there are many committees, a local union newspaper or wall newspaper, many officers, and so forth.

Again, a union may be formed at a place, say a coal mine, where there are branches in several contiguous geographical areas. In one case, they may desire to form all of the workers in all of the pits into one local union. Control must be decentralized for frequent meetings will be difficult. But where the membership desire vigorous and active unions controlled by the rank-and-file, they may decide to break down the unit, so that each pit has its own local union. They may conduct joint enterprises, but each local union has its own membership meetings and controls its own affairs.

In designing the local union, the membership also recognizes that there are different functions within the union. One function is administration of the general affairs of the union. Another function is enforcement of the union contract. In a small union, the same officers may take care of all functions. But in a larger union, the membership may plan to separate the functions, with one set of officers administering the affairs of the union, another set of officers, called shop stewards, enforcing the contract from day to day.

Unions will vary from industry to industry, from city to city. The important point is that the membership should carefully study their own situation and provide a union structure which will satisfy the rank-and-file and at the same time provide for a maximum of democratic control by the union's rank-and-file.

In craft unions, the general practice is to have one local union in a certain city, with a business agent whose duty is to visit the various places of employment, from day to day, in order to see that the contract and work rules are being enforced. This business agent is usually a member of the craft local union who has been elected by the rank-and-file. He is of course paid by the members of the local union. At the monthly general meeting of the entire membership meeting, the business agent reports on his activities and is subject to the control and directions of the Chairman of the union as advised by the rank-and-file.

SHOP STEWARDS

In industrial unions or large craft unions, the general practice is to have a separate set of officers from those who administer the general affairs of the union. These officers, called shop stewards, are elected by the workers in the various departments or sections of the mine, mill, or railroad station. They are men and women who work right on the job from day to day, and their duty is to adjust any differences arising between the company and the union under the union agreement. They generally meet with management as a group once or twice a week for a few hours in order to adjust grievances and differences of opinion. Matters which cannot be solved directly by the shop stewards are then referred to the union officers who follow the grievance procedure outlined in the union contract which may prescribe reference of the matter to an impartial umpire. In some unions, shop stewards are responsible for the collection of dues, for keeping union members in their department informed on union matters, and for seeing to it that all workers in their section or department attend every union meeting. Just as the shop stewards are elected by the rank-and-file of their own department, so too union constitutions usually provide that if the shop steward does not do a good job, the same rank-and-file membership can vote to recall him. That literally means he is removed

from his union job. A new shop steward is elected. As shop stewards spend most of their time working in the mine, mill, or railroad station, and only take a few hours a week for enforcement of the contract, their time spent on union business is paid by the company. They are not in the same category as full-time union officials.

CONTROL OF THE LOCAL UNION

Control of the union is exercised by the rank-and-file through monthly union meetings of the entire membership - youth, men, and women. Any matters of policy or action are put to a vote of the membership, and a majority vote (51% or more of the membership present) decides the issue. The officers of the union, whether they agree or not, must carry out the policies so decided.

Three basic principles govern the conduct of the union. One is that the local union must have a set of rules regarding the presenting of resolutions, voting, debate, and so forth. These rules are found in the standard handbook of parliamentary procedure, copies of which are available in Japanese in Japan.

Second, unions must decide a minimum number of persons who must be present before a meeting is legal. This is called a quorum (how many) and will vary from union to union.

Third, the union meeting must proceed according to a plan stated in the local union constitution. This plan is called the agenda. This is a sample agenda. The order of business will vary from local union to local union. However, whatever agenda is adopted by your local union, it should be included in the constitution or by-laws of the local union. It is also good practice to have it written on a large piece of paper, or a blackboard, so that during every meeting the members will know exactly what the agenda is.

1. Calling the meeting to order
2. Roll call of officers
3. Reading and approval of the minutes of the previous meeting
4. Applications for membership (if any) and initiation of new members.
5. Communication and bills
6. Reports of officers
7. Reports of Committees
8. Unfinished or old business
9. New business
10. Good and welfare
11. Adjournment

The agenda announces when and how certain matters will be discussed.

Agenda

Let us consider an agenda which includes the basic elements to be found in the union meeting of a democratic trade union.

The first item on the agenda is for the Chairman to call the meeting to order. The Chairman usually raps a wooden block on the table or floor and announces, "I now call this meeting to order. Everyone stop talking and pay attention to the meeting."

Second, the secretary of the union is directed to "Call the roll." The secretary of the union then reads the names of the union officers. If they

are not present, the secretary records their absence in a book called "Local Union minutes." In most local unions, any officer who does not attend monthly union meetings without due cause over a period of a few months may be removed from office.

The chairman then directs the secretary to "Read the minutes of the last meeting." This is a suggestion on the keeping of minutes of regular local union membership meetings. The Executive Board of the union frequently keeps its own minutes in the same fashion, as may the various committees of the local union. The purpose of keeping accurate and concise minutes is to provide a source of reference in case of future disputes about whether this or that was done at a union meeting.

The minutes of a meeting should include:

1. The kind of meeting (regular, special or executive board).

2. The name of the organization

3. The date, time, and place of the meeting

4. The name of the chairman and secretary, and where the by-laws require it, the roll call of officers

5. The action taken on the minutes of the previous meeting

6. Summaries of reports of committees and officers and the action taken on them.

7. The text of all motions made and seconded, the name of the maker and the action taken on the motion. When the vote is by show of hands, roll call, or secret ballot, the exact vote for and aginst the motion should be entered. It is not necessary to record the debate, although some secretaries include the main points made for and against the important motions

8. The time of adjournment

The minutes should be written in ink in a well bound book with strong covers. It is usually the practice for the secretary to make rough notes at a meeting and then copy them into the minute book later. This should be done as soon as possible so that the notes do not get "cold." The secretary then reads a brief description of exactly what took place at the last meetings. Members who were not there then know what happened. If the secretary has ommitted or changed the facts, a member will rise at the conclusion of the reading and so inform the chairman. If a majority vote agrees with this member, the secretary is then directed to amend the minutes.

The chairman then tells the secretary, "Read the correspondence." All letters, telegrams, or other communications received by the local union since the last meeting are then read. Notes from the national union, notes from fraternal bodies are read. If any of the letters require action, the Chairman asks for the opinion of the rank-and-file. By vote, they either take action or simply file the letter without further action.

The Chairman then directs the various officers to make a report on their activities since the last meeting. The treasurer will make a report on dues collections and advise the local union of their bank balance. He will present any bills requiring payment, or suggest expenditures of funds proposed by the union. Again, by rank-and-file majority vote, the decision is made or the financial report is accepted.

The Chairman then directs, "The Business Agent or Chief Shop Steward will make a report." A brief report is made on grievances, enforcement of the contract, and other matters which the Business Agent or shop stewards wish to call to the attention of the rank-and-file membership.

The Chairman then calls out: "Are there any new members?" If there are any men or women who are joining the union, they raise their hand, are called

to the front of the meeting hall. A copy of the local union constitution may be handed to them, and the Chairman will frequently ask them to promise before the entire membership to "obey the union rules and do everything possible to promote the good of the union according to the decisions of the rank-and-file."

The really important part of the meeting has now arrived, for the Chairman calls for reports from the various committees of the union. The Chairman of each committee is given the speakers' table, and they report briefly. They report on their activities, and may introduce a resolution, or propose some activity for the local union. At the conclusion of each committee report, the Chairman of the committee says: "I move the adoption of this report," The Chairman, says to the membership: "What do you want to do?" The union membership may discuss the report, agree or disagree, change or amend the report, and finally a vote is taken. The Committee then has authority and direction from the rank-and-file membership.

The entertainment, cultural, womens', youth, education, cost-of-living, political action, and other committees report one by one. Every action of every committee is subject to the approval of the rank-and-file.

Following the committee reports, the Chairman asks the secretary: "Is there any unfinished business?". This refers to any matters discussed at a previous meeting but not decided upon. If so, the secretary reads the problem and the membership decide to take action or to suspend the matter.

The Chairman then asks the membership: "Is there any new business?" This is an invitation to any member to raise any issue he may so desire before the general membership. Action suggestions are made in the form of a "motion". These suggestions on the making of motions at a membership meeting of your local union may be of assistance to you. The suggestions on procedures in introducing a resolution or motion, and speaking in favor of your own resolution, should also be of use to rank-and-file union members.

1. Get the floor - Stand - Be recognized by the Chairman.

2. How to introduce a subject for discussion.

   a. Explain to your conferees a need.

   b. Explain the cause of that need.

   c. Explain what you believe to be the remedy for that need - a remedy which your conferees should accept.

   d. Offer the remedy to your conferees in a resolution which is stated in a manner to make it possible of accomplishment by your union.

3. Offer your remedy in a motion, (a suggestion of action).

4. To make the motion be:

   a. Single in your statement. Say: "I move that...."

   b. Be brief

   c. Be informed

   d. Be logical

      (1) Have ample evidence. Be sure your sample is large enough and typical

      (2) Avoid error of assigning cause on the basis of mere preceding relationships. For example, X happens immediately before Y but this does not necessarily make X the cause of Y.

e. Again, be tactful - Take issue when you must, impersonally, conservatively, in a calm voice.

B. How to Speak on a Motion.

1. Be relevant

2. Be brief

3. Bank on one key issue - be specific

4. Here is a plan

Step One: Decide on one specific reason why you are for or against the pending resolution or motion.

Step Two: Condense the specific reason selected for your conference comment into one unforgettable sentence.

Step Three: Use your key-issue sentence as your opening sentence.

Step Four: Support your key-issue sentence with "for instances" that follow a straight line of relevance.

Step Five: Repeat your key-issue sentence as your closing sentence.

They are usually union matters which have come up since the last regular membership meeting. Again, any matters raised are debated after presentation by the rank-and-file and a vote decides what is to be done .. or not done.

Finally, the union Chairman says: "Any matters for the good or welfare of our local union?"

Members may then bring up matters which generally require no union action. Usually it will consist in announcement of picnics, parties, dances, sports meetings, or other activities being held by other unions or other fraternal bodies. The union membership may or may not desire to attend. This portion of the meeting is purely informational.

When no further matters are brought up, the Chairman then says: "The local union has transacted the business according to the agenda. I now declare this meeting adjourned until (he then names the date and place of the next regular meeting), and I hope you will all be here on time. Sayonara."

Of course, if any union member begins to make a long speech at the end of the meeting, and the membership desire go home, anyone can interrupt the speaker and say: "I move we adjourn the meeting at this time." If the rank-and-file so vote, the Chairman then adjourns the meeting. The speaker is welcome to speak all night, but the membership is not obliged to remain and listen to him.

RULES OF CONDUCT

Regarding meetings, one important principle to remember is that if meetings are opened exactly at the time announced and if the Chairman is a good traffic manager and keeps the meeting moving swiftly, the membership will generally come to every meeting. Sometimes union officers complain that the rank-and-file won't attend meetings. Frequently it is because the Chairman is a poor chairman and cannot run a good union meeting. In any typical local union, the conduct of a good monthly union meeting should not take more than 2 hours, or 3 hours at the most.

In democratic countries, meetings are usually held in the evening or else on a Sunday or holiday, not on the time of the employer. They are usually held in some public place, such as a public hall, theatre, primary school, middle school, or union hall. What goes on at the meeting is not the business of the employer.

There will be times when political fractions will try to disrupt a local union meeting. For this purpose, unions usually appoint or elect one member a Sergeant-of-the-union. If any union member refuses to abide by parliamentary procedure, or if any union member acts in a riotous manner (say, as if he had been drinking too much beeru or sake), the Chairman will declare the person "out of order" and the Sergeant-of-the-Union is told to usher him out of the local union meeting.

In order to be sure that only members of the union are present, the union usually gives a small union card to all members who pay their dues. This same Sergeant sits at the door of the meeting and permits only card-carrying union members to enter the hall. Sometimes, of course, the union may invite a guest speaker, who must produce the written invitation before being permitted to enter. Many unions also provide that persons who do not attend union meetings will be fined a certain amount for each meeting they miss - say from ¥ 10 to ¥ 50.

But meetings which are run according to parliamentary procedure and a good agenda usually do not need financial sanctions for non-attendance.

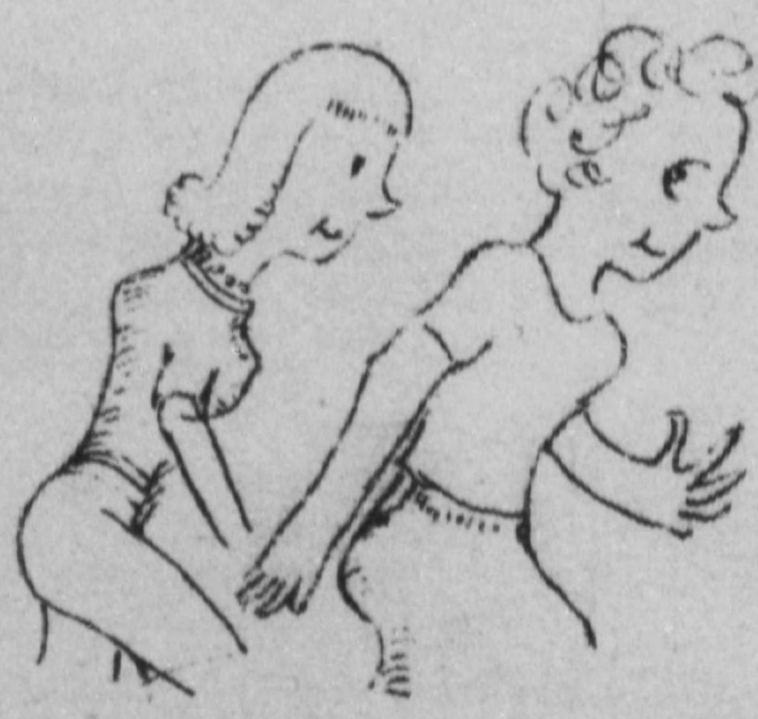
SCHOOL OF DEMOCRACY

Through monthly union meetings operated in this fashion, the entire membership is able to control the union. Men, women, and youth make speeches. They carry on debate. They agree and disagree with each other. Through such frequent meetings in which the entire membership takes a part, the local union meeting is not only serving the purpose of promoting democratic control, but it also is training the membership in democratic procedures. No wonder that democratic trade unionists refer to the local union as the School of Democracy.

Note carefully that the actions of the officers are subject to rank-and-file vote. Not one cent of union funds can be spent without rank-and-file permission. No policy action can be taken without rank-and-file vote.

These illustrations show some of the more important activities which should take place within every local union in the country!

Holds regular meetings



Organizes new members

Reacts to issues

Is alert on grievances

Fights for bargaining gains

Trains new leader

Members of an undemocratic local union permit a small executive committee and the officers to operate the union from month to month. Democratic trade unionists insist on frequent meetings at which time they take an active part in the governance of the local union.

Referring to Far Eastern Commission principles, it can be seen that frequent meetings of the entire membership promote that "solid local basis" so necessary for a vigorous, strong, and intelligent labor union movement.

OFFICERS OF THE UNION

The local union must decide what officers are needed to carry on the business of the union. In a very large union, the local membership may decide that they want one or more full-time officers. They may decide that they need a clerk to keep an office open, to type up a newspaper, and to take care of the local union library.

As no democratic trade union would think of asking any outsider to pay for the affairs of the union, so the union must either charge sufficient dues or otherwise raise sufficient funds to pay the salary and expenses of their officers and office, if they have such. The union belongs to the rank-and-file, and the rank-and-file must expect to pay all of the expenses of their union. If you ask the company to pay your officers, you might just as well ask the company to elect your officers. One is as irrational as the other.

The constitution or by-laws of the local union will describe in detail the powers and duties of the various officers and committees it decides to have. It should be emphasized that full-time officers are not absolutely necessary. In democratic countries, most of the local union officials are not paid but carry on union affairs during their spare time - at night, on holidays, and on Sundays. They consider it an honor to so serve the union.

THE PRESIDENT OR CHAIRMAN

The President or Chairman of the local union is the highest officer. He is chairman of all meetings held by the union, and it is his business to see that every meeting is conducted according to the agenda and to the rules of parliamentary law.

If a specified number of union members give him a petition asking for the calling of a special meeting, he is then required to order such a meeting, giving the membership advance warning. He is usually empowered to sit in on any committee meetings during the month if he so desires.

If the Chairman is absent, ill, or dies, it is usually provided that the Vice-Chairman will take his place.

He is empowered to enforce the constitution or by-laws of the local union in case any member or other officer violates them.

VICE-CHAIRMAN

The Vice-Chairman performs the duties of the Chairman when the chairman is absent or otherwise unable to attend meetings. He also performs such other duties as the Chairman of the local may direct.

SECRETARY

The secretary of the local union keeps a record of all meetings of the union in the book called the "Minutes of the Meetings of ..... Local Union." The secretary also handles incoming and outgoing correspondence as directed by local union meetings, keeps all other non-financial records.

TREASURER

The treasurer of the local union has charge of the funds of the union. He maintains a complete record of dues payments, is in charge of the bank account, if any, and pays all money owed by the union after the rank-and-file have ordered the money paid. The treasurer also is responsible for paying per capita tax to the national union, and must keep his account books in order for examination by the Trustees at any time. He is also required to keep on file receipts for money spent by the union, and submits a financial report to every regular union meeting.

SERGEANT-OF-THE-UNION

This man or women is the official peace officer of the local union. He controls entry of members to union meetings, admitting persons who have union cards and no others. He stands at the door of every meeting and obeys the orders of the Chairman if someone is disturbing the meeting and is ordered to leave.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Far Eastern Commission principles state that: "Trade union officials and standing committees should be elected by the workers concerned by secret ballot and democratic methods." This of course refers to the various officers of the union and the Executive Board or Central Executive Committee.

Democratic trade unions normally separate the function of nomination (or naming) of officers from that of election of officers. Persons to be subject to election are nominated at one meeting, and a month hence the election is held.

NOMINATION OF OFFICERS

Suppose that a certain local union constitution provides that officers will be nominated at the September meeting, elected at the October meeting each year.

When the Chairman reaches the agenda for "New Business" he announces: "According to our constitution, we must nominate officers tonight for the various offices and executive board of the union. Nomination are now open for chairman."

One member arises and says, "I nominate Sato San to be chairman of this local union. He is a wise and good man." Another member rises at once and says: "I, too, nominate Sato San." General procedure requires that one person nominate and a second repeat the nomination. If no one repeats the nomination, the name is dropped.

Another person arises and says: "I nominate Mrs Watanabe. Her excellent work on the bargaining committee qualifies her to our chairman." This nomination may be repeated.

A third member arises and states: "I nominate Suzuki San. He has served as an excellent member of our education committee." This nomination is also repeated.

Rank-and-file unionists as well as the Chairman should be careful to give adequate time for nominations. Where a political fraction is active, the fraction members may attempt to close nominations before all of the rank-and-file have spoken, thus making it more possible for a minority group to elect its own political members. Before nominations are closed, the Chairman should repeat once or twice: "Are there any more nominations? Dozo! Any more nominations?"

No more members make nominations, so the Chairman announces: "The Secretary will read the names in reverse order to see if the persons nominated will accept the nomination."

The secretary reads: "Suzuki San?"

Suzuki replies that he is much too busy on the education committee and does not want to stand for nomination. His name is therefore dropped as no person can be nominated against his will.

The secretary reads: "Watanabe San?" She accepts. Sato San also accepts.

The Chairman then announces: "Watanabe and Sato will stand for election as Chairman. The nominations for Vice-Chairman are now in order."

Thus, in order, the Chairman secures nominations from the rank-and-file for Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, Trustees, and members of the Executive Board. In most cases, at least twice as many people are nominated as can be elected in order to provide a democratic choice. In many cases, one person is so outstanding in the local union that when nominations are called for someone may rise and say: "I move that we unanimously nominate Tanabe." If someone repeats this, the Chairman then calls for a vote. If the majority of the members so desire, Tanabe only is nominated, which is the same as being elected. This is, of course, unusual in a strong and vigorous trade union where everyone is anxious to serve as an officer of the union.

After the meeting has adjourned, the Secretary of the local union posts a notice on the factory bulletin board giving the various offices, the names of the various nominees, and a short description may be given of their activities in the union, where they work, and their home address.

LOOK AT THE RECORD

During the following month, the entire rank-and-file have time to talk about the various candidates. Persons who do not know them may visit them in their place or work or at their home. They ask questions about what they will do if elected.

At the same time, the Chairman of the union appointed a committee to supervise the election. This committee consists of youth, men, and women union members. They secure paper and prepare secret ballots - sufficient for one per union member. They prepare a ballot box from strong paper an hibachi or an old apple box. The exact election procedure to be followed by the election committee is usually prescribed in the local union constitution. Some of the members of the committee are to stand at the door of the meeting hall to see that only union members enter on the night of the election. Another group are to count the votes. A third group are to watch the counters and see that the vote count is honest and exact.

ELECTION MEETING

At the time for the election, each union member must have paid his dues up to date in order to vote. If union cards are used, the union card is marked when the ballot is handed to the union member in order to prevent any dishonest person from voting twice or more.

Each member marks his ballot in secret, folds it, and places it in the ballot box, and the election committee checks his name off a list of the union members to counter-check the honesty of the vote. When everyone has voted, the election committee than opens the box and the votes are counted, one by one. Some members stand at the blackboard to record the vote while others read the ballot. Thus within the sight of every union member the secret ballot election provides a democratic procedure for the election of every officer and every member of the executive committee.

If the vote is not secret, some members may be afraid to voice their true desire. When the vote is secret, no one knows how anyone else voted. Secret ballot election conducted in this fashion is one of the best guarantees of rank-and-file control of the local union.

EXPULSION OF MEMBERS

When it is believed that an officer or union member has violated the constitution of the union, democratic procedures require that someone in the local union file with the Chairman a written statement of the precise violation with proof stated. If the Chairman is accused, then the statement is given to the Vice-Chairman.

As stated by the local union constitution, the Chairman (or his Vice-Chairman) must either appoint a trial board of several local union members, or he asks the membership to elect a trial board. This trial board of men and women call in the accused and read the charges. He is given an opportunity to make explanations. The accuser is permitted to ask the accused questions in order to prove guilt. The accused is permitted to ask the accuser questions in order to establish innocence. Either may call in witness to prove certain points.

After the trial board is satisfied that neither accused nor accused have more to say, they take a secret ballot vote on the guilt or innocence of the person involved. The facts of the case and their finding of guilt or innocence is announced at the next regular membership meeting. The rank-and-file may discuss the matter further, but the matter must be resolved by a rank-and-file vote. The union membership votes to sustain the decision of the trial board, to deny it, or to refer it back for further trial. If the member is found guilty by the rank-and-file, he is expelled from the union.

Many unions, in their national constitutions, provide that ever after the local union has expelled a person, he or she can appeal to the convention of the national union. If the national convention reverses the decision, then the local union must re-admit the person previously expelled.

Careful procedures providing for full protection of the democratic rights of all union members must be in local union constitutions in order to guard against unfair or dishonest expulsions from the local union.

SUBORDINATE ADMINISTRATIVE BODIES

There are generally two subordinate bodies which are of an executive nature and assist the officers. They are the Executive Board or Central Executive Committee, and the Trustees.

The Trustees consits of a small group of men and women, usually three or four, elected to inspect the books of account of the union once a month. They watch the bank account, they watch dues payments, and they make sure that the Treasurer actually pays bills ordered to be paid. If any irregularities occur,

the trustees are responsible for an immediate report to the President or Chairman, and another report at the next regular membership meeting.

The Executive Board or Central Executive Committee consists of a larger group of persons, usually ten or fifteen men and women who are empowered by the local union to act for the union during the period between regular membership meetings. When the board or committee meets, usually once a week, the officers of the union are part of the meeting. The Chairman of the union brings up any matter requiring immediate attention. They may vote to take care of the matter, or they may decide to wait for the next membership meeting. The Board or Committee can only act on matters which require urgent attention. At the regular membership meeting, the Executive Committee must report its decisions to the rank-and-file for their approval or disapproval. In larger unions where the Chairman of the union is given the power to appoint or hire staff members, the Executive Board is given the power to vote on the selection, with majority vote deciding.

The function of the Executive Committee is often misunderstood, for some unionists think it is the committee's business to run the union. That is not true.

The Executive Board assists the officers in making emergency decisions between regular meetings. At all times, the rank-and-file membership meeting is the final authority. The Executive Board is a representative body of the rank-and-file. Another function is to study union policy and union procedure, and presents reports or suggestions to regular membership meetings for discussion and possible action by the rank-and-file membership.

When an executive board begins to run the union, that can mean but one of two things. Either the executive board is trying to establish a dicatorship of the local union membership is lazy and not interested in the operation of their local union. In either case, democratic trade unionism is on the wane.

COMMITTEES

Now the typical Japanese trade union has from 300 to 400 union members. Some are very young men. Some are young ladies. Many are men and women, some older than others. But all are union members, joined together in a common purpose but with special interests.

The union should therefore be constructed in such a fashion that everyone has something to do in the operation and carrying forward of the labor movement. The union must be organized in such a fashion that there are union activities which appeal to each and every member.

To provide for maximum rank-and-file participation in the operation of the trade union, democratic trade unions usually make use of the committee system. If a union has 300 members, the local may decide to form some 20 committees, with 12 to 14 members each. In some cases, a person may belong to one committee and also be an officer or shop steward of the union. But the important thing in democratic trade unionism is to have every member busy on at least one part of union business - be he a trustee, executive board member, officer, shop steward, or committee member.

LEADERSHIP

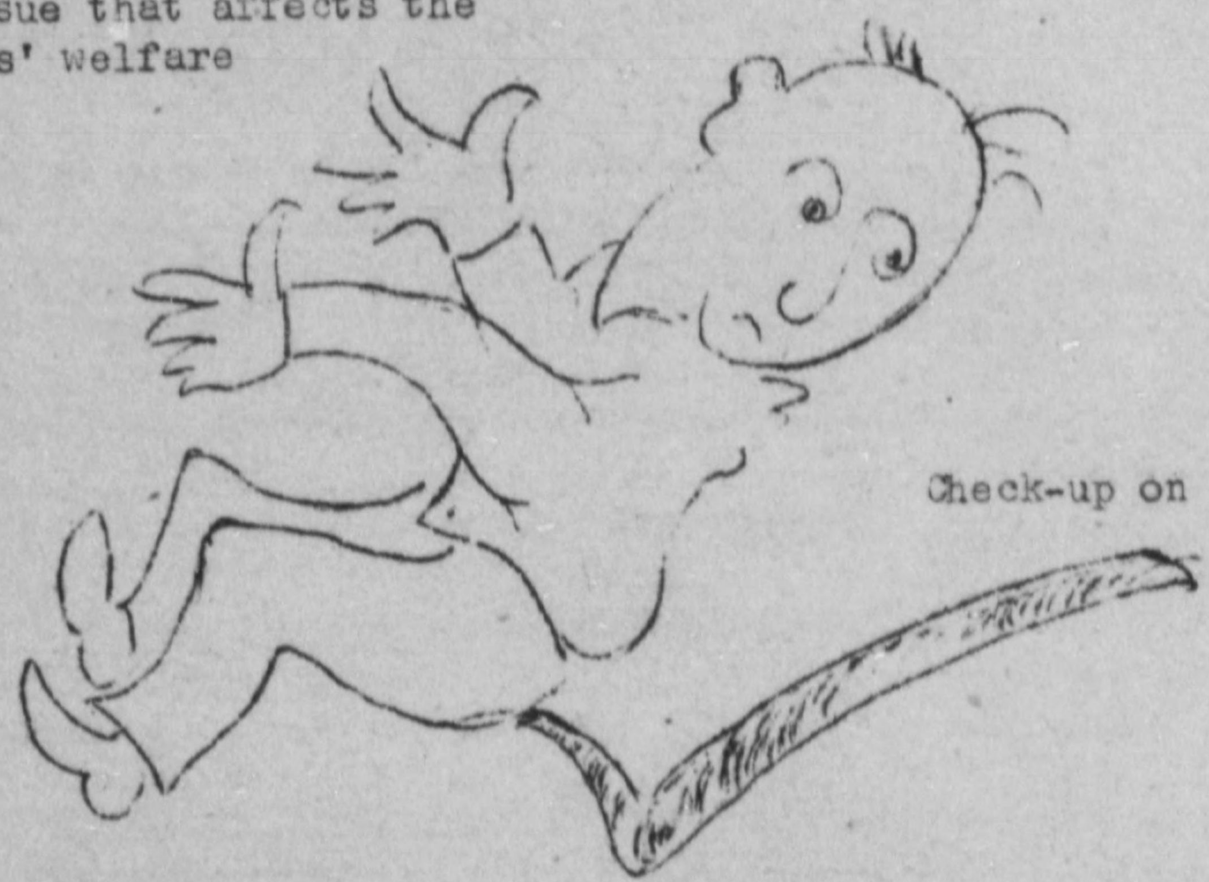
In a few rare cases, leaders are born. But in a democratic society, leaders are more often the product of education and experience.

To put it another way, a man or woman becomes a skillful union chairman by attending dozens of union meetings. At first, the man or women may be afraid to say anything, but will simply sit and listen. But gradually, as he or she becomes conscious of union problems, the member says to himself: "Suto San just made a good speech, but it is entirely too theoretical. I have an idea.." At this point he or she raises a hand, the Chairman says: "Dozo"... and a union member who never said anything suddenly discovers that it is easy to make a short speech.

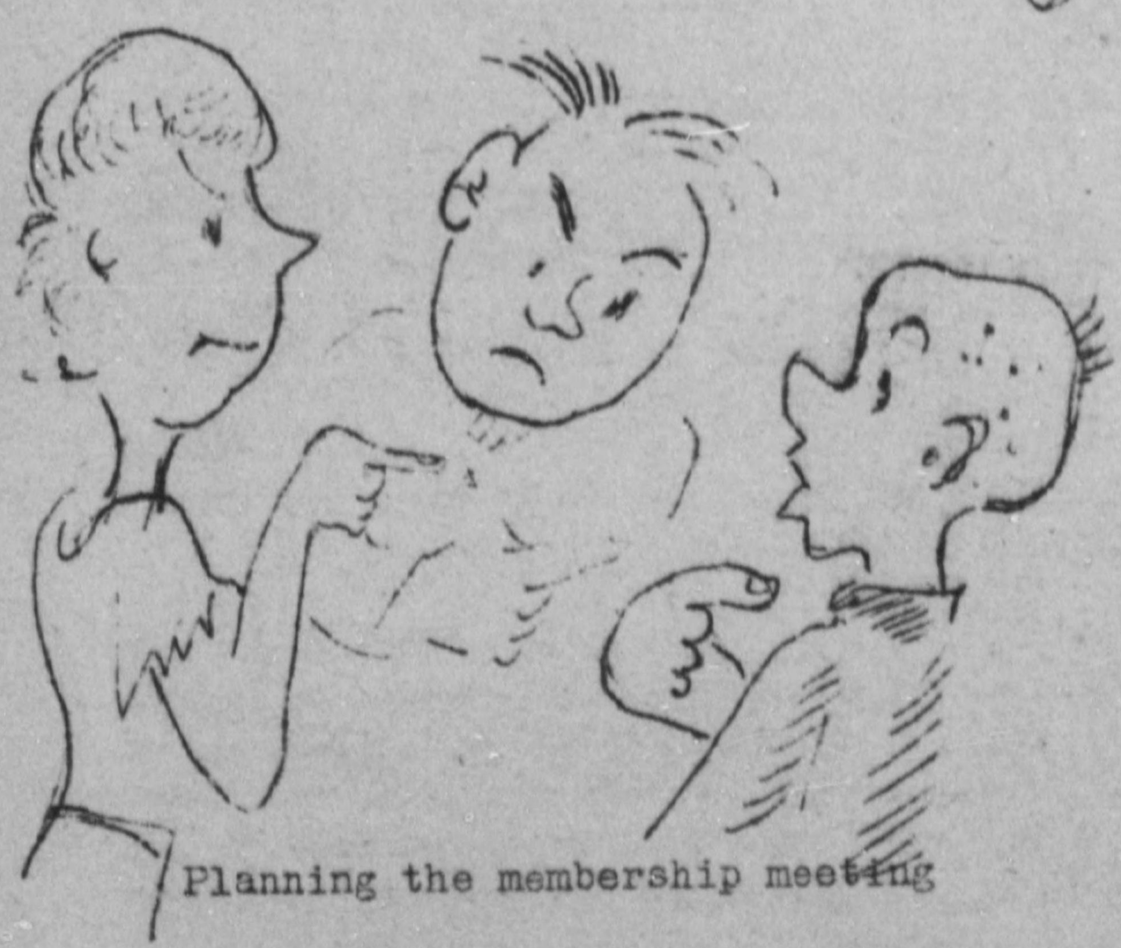
Take stock

Committee reports

On grievances, negotiations, any issue that affects the members' welfare



Check-up on previous plans



Planning the membership meeting

In an active and strong local union, the officers must keep quite busy in keeping up with the rank-and-file. These charts show some of the vital activities of union leaders in a strong local union

This continues from week to week. Union members meet and exchange ideas. They argue, they agree, they disagree. All of this is gradually raising their consciousness as to their part in the union. Gradually the union develops leaders where there were no leaders before.

If the union chairman is an excellent chairman, he will probably be re-elected. If he is a poor chairman, it will not be long before rank-and-fil members decide they will elect a new and better chairman.

TYPES OF COMMITTEES

The types of committees depend upon the needs, wishes, and desires of the local union membership. At one time, many committees may be needed; at another time, only a few are necessary. No committee should be created unless it is actually needed or unless it can perform an actual service for the local union.

Perhaps one of the most fundamental committees is the bargaining committee, to which are elected the most experienced men and women in the local union. Before the time has come to renew a labor agreement, the bargaining committee will hold many meetings to discuss with the shop stewards the items which should go into the next contract. They will call in the research committee and obtain facts and figures on wages, hours, and so forth. They will obtain copies of other Japanese union agreements, as well as union agreements from other countries, in order to make their new contract demands as perfect as possible. The bargaining committee reports to the membership well before the time for negotiation and presents the draft contract for rank-and-file discussion, change, amendment, and so forth. When the committee has secured agreement of the local union membership meeting, it is ready to visit the employer, with the local union officers, in order to carry on the work of negotiating a new and better contract. The committee represents the local union, but it can make no basic decision until it refers the matter back to a membership meeting of the local union.

Next in importance is the education committee, which may be elected by the membership or appointed by the Chairman. This committee formulates plans for labor education within the local union, and its final plan is submitted to the rank-and-file for criticism and final approval. Once it has its program approved, the education committee is then responsible for education within the local union, making use of wall newspapers, posters, kami shibai, chasses, and so forth, in order to elevate the union consciousness of the entire union membership.

The research committee is responsible for the collection of data on wages and hours within the industry in which the local union is active. Is also studies economic reports, economic magazines, and makes regular reports to the membership on the trends in economic conditions.

The cost-of-living committee may visit the local black markets from week to week to check on prices of goods purchased by workers. The members will devise cost-of-living budgets, and have some union members keep careful account of actual monthly expenses. In this way, the cost-of-living committee is able to advise the membership meeting from month to month about the actual conditions of family income and family expenditures.

The political action committees keeps in touch with the national union political action committee. It maintains a survey of all new bills introduced in the Diet. It keeps records of local Diet members and how they are voting. It keeps a record on the various government and local agencies which can and should serve labor. Before a Diet or national election, the political action committee may visit every local person standing for election in order to question them on their attitudes on union problems and labor legislation. This committee reports to the membership in such fashion that the entire membership are kept informed on political developments of concern to labor.

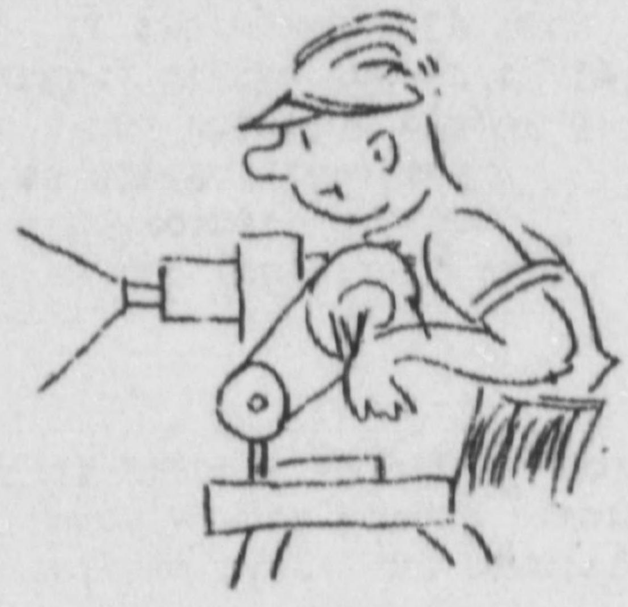
A co-operative committee may spend much of its time making a study of consumers' co-operatives and credit unions in such democratic countries as Norway, Sweden, Holland, China, England, France and the United States. They may make recommendations to the membership as to action to be taken by the local union in setting up or expanding consumer' cooperative stores, banks, or exchanges.

A youth committee will study the problems of youth, and prepare plans to encourage youth education and activities within the union. They will carry on activities especially designed for youth within the local union, but of course all such activities must first be approved by the entire rank-and-file membership.

The education committee of the local union can carry on many important activities which contribute to the health and vitality of the local union. These cartoons dramatize some of the more important activities which may be carried on by the average local union education committee.

Forums and panels

Discussion groups



Movies or broadcasts also film strips

Labor drama and skits

Quiz programs

Literature

Classes for officers and rank-and-file

Exhibits

Songs

The Women's Section where it exists or the womens' committee does the same thing for the female members of the union. They may conduct special classes for women in order to develop good public speakers. They may carry on special group meetings on the problems of women, and their proper place in union activities. But here again the womens' Committee acts within the framework of the local union. If of course will keep in touch with the Womens' Department of the national union in order to receive any literature and other aids published by that department.

The shop stewards committee meets with management from time to time in order to discuss enforcement of the contract. It will devise ways and means of carrying on grievance work within the plant as efficiently as possible. It may request the education committee to conduct special classes for the shop stewards in order to train them more thoroughly in labor law, collective bargaining procedures and so forth.

The members of the shop steward committee are normally elected directly by the workers concerned. Thus the shop steward in each section or division of the plant, mine, or mill is directly elected by the workers he serves. The shop stewards thus elected in turn elect amongst themselves their own Chief Shop Steward.

The recreation committee has the job of suggesting programs to the rank-and-file membership which provide opportunities for sports meetings, social dances, teas, picnics, hiking expeditions to a local mountain, and so forth. Once approved by the local union membership, the recreation committee is then responsible for carrying out the activity. A well-run recreation committee can be very useful in holding parties, dances, and so forth in order to raise funds to be put into the union treasury.

A transportation committee may busy itself with a study of the local transportation system in order to make suggestions to the membership as to appropriate political action needed to improve transportation conditions. A housing committee will make a study of housing conditions. It may make an extended study of co-operative housing projects in other democratic countries in order to promote better low-cost housing in the community. A committee on food and rationing will carry on a continuous study of the local distribution points in order to keep the membership informed as to what they should be receiving and what prices they should pay. Often, they may ask the union to seek representation on the local rationing board in order to protect the membership from dishonest or blackmarketeering disposal of food intended for sale at official prices.

Thus, the local union forms these various committees in order to expedite the work of the local union. Each union needs many hands and feet. It finds these hands and feet among its own membership.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Experience has demonstrated that democratic trade union committees do their work best when small groups of committee members meet in their own homes over a cup of tea. They may discuss a book one night. They may spend another evening writing a report for the local union. They may direct a few members to spend Sunday visiting the black markets in order to check prices. But the main point is that they carry on their work not from month to month, but from day to day. In some cases, the committee may meet only once a week. In other cases, they may meet twice a week.

Thus as the months go by, through monthly membership meetings and committee meetings every person in the local - youth, men, and women - must get up before their fellow members and speak. It may be brief, but it gives them experience.

COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS

Frequently, after a committee has studies a problem for some time, the committee feels that a certain action must be taken. The committee then drafts a short statement, called a resolution, which is divided into two parts. Part one states the problem and part two states the solution proposed by the committee. At the next regular membership meeting, at the end of their report, the committee then introduces the resolution. If the membership vote to take the action, it is accomplished. Hard working committees which are conscious of their duty to the local union membership and the labor movement will continually initiate action in this fashion.

COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP

Committee membership should be as broad as possible. The men may learn much more about women and democracy if they are forced to spend a night a week working with the women on a special project.

In the same manner, the youth committee should include at least one older man and a women in order to give balance to the committee. As men and women work together on committees, they find it much easier to sit down in a monthly meeting and openly discuss problems without becoming embarrassed.

The broad membership of the various committees is vital to the success of the democracy of the local union. Unionists will soon discover that if there is a political fraction at work within their local, the fraction will use the key committees in order to influence or control the local union. The Bargaining Committee and the Education Committee should be watched especially to prevent their exploitation by a political fraction.

RELATIONS WITH LOCAL COUNCILS

In many areas, local unions often join to form a District Council or Non Federation of Labor for purposes of coordinating policy and programs. In such cases, the local union usually elects one or two persons to attend such council or federation meetings. They report to each general membership meeting what happened at such council meetings, and they are often instructed by the rank-and-file as to how to vote. When a local union has some problem which it cannot itself solve, it will frequently prepare a resolution which this delegate to the council or federation will then push.

RELATIONS WITH NATIONAL UNIONS

In many local unions in other democratic countries, no officer or representative of a national union can even enter a local union meeting until the rank-and-file have voted to so admit them. This emphasizes quite dramatically that the local union is very much its own master.

Of course, the local union has delegated certain powers to the national union, and usually the national union has the right and duty to audit the books of every local union, to authorize strikes which are to be called by any local union, and to make sure that every local union complies with the basic requirements for union democracy contained in the national union constitution.

Prior to every national union convention, each local union is required to elect one or more delegates to the national union convention, and each local union usually sends a series of resolutions to the national union expressing the majority opinion of the delegates on the various problems and issues confronting the national union and the labor movement in general.

SERVICE FUNCTION OF THE NATIONAL UNIONS

However, one of the most important features of the national union is its service functions. Any national union worthy of the name should have several departments well-staffed with experts and other competent persons. Normally a national union will have an organization department, research department, legal department, education department, publication department, political action department, and a womens' department. The function of these departments is not to create policy but to serve the local unions.

When a local union knows of a factory nearby which is not yet unionized, it sends word to the national union organization department, which in turn dispatches a representative to the unorganized factory in order to hold meetings with the workers, persuade them to form a union.

When a local union is entering collective bargaining negotiations, it will often demand that the national union research department send complete facts and figures on profits in the industry, wage rates, contract clauses in other unions, and so forth.

The business of the publication department is to publish a union organ such as a newspaper or magazine which will keep the rank-and-file members of the union informed on union affairs and national trends.

The function of the education department is to write pamphlets and booklets which will be of service to the local union education committee in carrying on labor education. Film strips, kami shibai, pamphlets, and posters will be prepared on the national level in order to give service to the local unions.

The political action department sends regular information to the local unions regarding current proposed legislation of interest to labor. It also reports to the member local unions how members of the Diet have voted on certain bills. It reports on liaison with various government agencies, and keeps the membership informed on what these government agencies are doing in the field of labor.

The legal department makes a continual study of the work of the labor relations committees and sends digest reports to all local unions. When a local union needs help in preparing a case for the labor relations committee, the legal department must send such help.

SERVICE FUNCTION

The work of the various departments of the national union is, or should be, clearly outlined in the constitution of the national union. The specific policies of each department should be outlined in a comprehensive resolution adopted by majority vote at national union conventions. The function of the various departments of the national union is to service the local unions as they so request, not to carry on propaganda or political activities.

SERVICE FUNCTION OF KEN COUNCILS

In the same fashion, the Ken Federation of Labor or Ken labor Council exists in order to furnish service to the local unions and to carry out the wishes of the local unions.

Ken organizations may sponsor labor education schools, carry on political action campaigns, promote research on regional problems, and so forth. Again, the Ken Council or Federation functions under directives given it by the member local unions.

SMALL LOCAL UNIONS

Many small local unions complain that because of their size and lack of finances they cannot carry on the functions of education, publication, and so on. In many cases, local unions in a certain machi or mura may federate in order to carry on joint activities. Three small local unions may be unable individually to do a certain activity, but if they join hands and work out a common policy, they are able to accomplish the desired activity.

SUMMARY

In a word, the local union should be so designed that it encourages active participation on the part of the membership. It should be so organized that it furnishes the greatest amount of service to every member as is possible.

Unions which permit themselves to be dominated by national unions or top federations are permitting union totalitarianism to develop. Unions which do not provide for membership participation in the affairs of the union are defeating their basic purpose.

Democratic trade unionism grows from the bottom upwards. If the local unions have frequent meetings, follow procedures in their meetings, elect their officers by secret ballot, and insist on doing as much for themselves as they can before asking for help from higher bodies .. such unions are playing their full part in the development in Japan of strong, solid, free, and independent democratic trade unionism.

Active and vigorous local unions are the one sure guarantee of a well-organized and democratic labor movement.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Economic and Scientific Section

APO 500
14 January 1948

319.1 (14 Jan 48) ESS/LA

SUBJECT: Transmittal of Labor Background Material

TO: Military Government Team Labor Officers

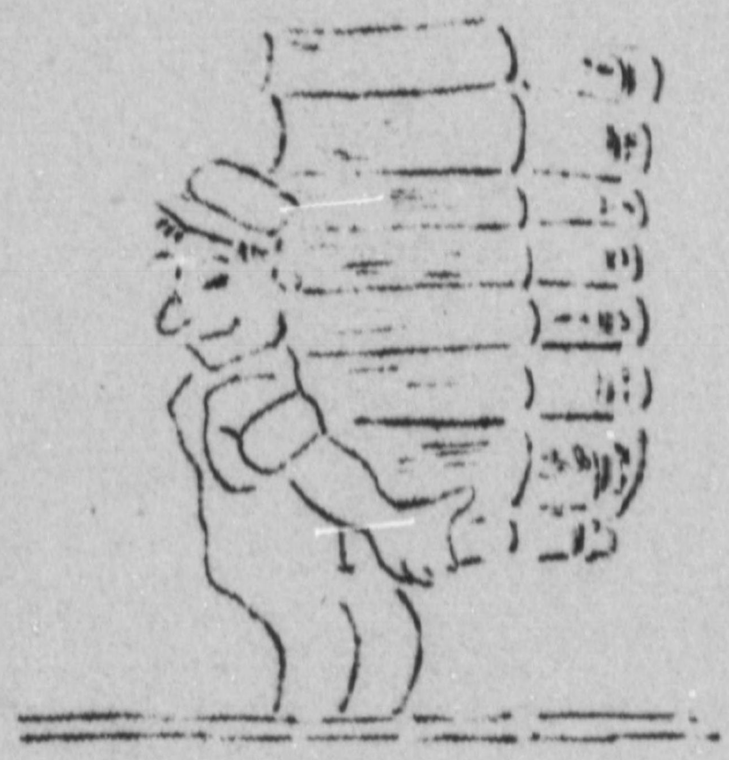
1. Inclosure 1, Economic and Scientific Section pamphlet "The Structure and Management of Your Local Union" is a detailed outline of the functioning of local unions in the field. It includes explanation of the conduct of union meetings, describes the duties of officers, and indicates the value of widespread committee activity on the local level. This pamphlet has been written to answer questions received from rank-and-file workers, and will be useful to Military Government Labor Officers in lectures to and discussions with local union members. Reproduction in the Japanese language by local union groups, local labor administration section, and local labor relations committees is encouraged. Reprinting of the pamphlet in local union or other local newspapers or magazines is encouraged wherever possible.

2. Inclosure 2 is a graphic representation of the number of slave laborers reported inside the Soviet Union. Inclosure 3, an American Federation of Labor report, is timely background material for the Military Government Labor Officer. Inclosure 4, the December 1947 edition of the International Free Trade Union News contains two items: (a) Cominform and the World Federation of Trade Unions; and (b) ESS/LA Chief James S. Killen's report to the 1947 American Federation of Labor Convention at San Francisco, and the AFL Resolution on Japanese workers adopted in November 1947. Inclosure 5 is a working handbook on labor relations problems as handled by a labor relations agency. It is worthy of translation on the part of the local labor relations committee so that both committee members and staff can secure additional information. Inclosure 6 is the best type of literature in the field. Copies can be procured in the Japanese language directly from the Central Labor College, Shiba Park, Minato Ku, Tokyo. Both local labor and local management may be encouraged to reproduce this pamphlet in Japanese on the local level. Inclosure 7 will be useful when labor schools are inaugurated in the local ken. Japanese conceptions of how to teach collective bargaining often include nothing but a one-hour lecture by a college professor. This comprehensive study outline will aid in giving criticism of such telescoped conceptions, aid in outlining legitimate courses dealing with collective bargaining and the problems of industrial relations.

W. F. Marquat
W. F. MARQUAT
Brigadier General, U.S. Army
Chief, ESS

7 Incls
1. Pamphlet, subject: "The Structure and Management of Your Local Union."
2. May, Gulag - Slavery, Inc."
3. Book, Subject: "Towards Democracy in Germany."
4. Newspaper, International Free Trade Unions News, dtd Dec 1947.
5. Book, Guide to NLRA
6. Book, "Arbitration of Grievances."
7. Pamphlet, subject: "Collective Bargaining."

ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE OF TRADE UNION MOVEMENTS



GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Economic and Scientific Section
-1948-

Introduction

A trade union is an association of men and women who work for a wage. The men and women form a union in order to carry on collective bargaining with their employer. The object of their bargaining is to conclude a collective agreement with the employers outlining the rights and duties of management, the rights and duties of the workers, and specifically enumerating all of the details of wages, hours, and working conditions which are of common concern to employer and employee.

The immediate object of the trade union is the securing of a good labor contract and its enforcement. The long range goal of the local trade union is the gradual elevation of the condition of life and labor of these workers in their place of work.

This has been described by the Far Eastern Commission in its "Sixteen Principles for Japanese Trade Unions" dated 6 December 1946:

> "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 the workers, including organized participation in building up a peaceful and democratic Japan."

School of Democracy

Notice carefully that the FEC mentions "organized participation in building up a peaceful and democratic Japan". Certainly one of the functions of the trade union movement in Japan is, as it has proven to be in other countries, to serve as a training school for youth, men, and women. If the trade union is operated in a democratic manner, if it serves the entire membership, every member of the trade union will, through participation in the trade union, learn to think, to speak, and to act in a democratic manner.

The purpose of this pamphlet is to analyze the forms of trade union organization and the internal organization of trade unions within the form.

When we mention "form" we refer to the type of union. The oldest type of trade union is the craft union, which consists of all the members of a certain skilled trade or craft, such as carpenters, plumbers, electricians, paper makers, cooks, and so forth. In a craft union, no matter where the craft worker may be employed, he belongs to a union which represents or includes only persons in the same craft or skilled trade. For this reason, this type of union has been called the horizontal union.

Another type of union is the industrial union. This union is based on the fact that in mass production industries most of the workers are semi- or unskilled. They all do similar routine operations in the same plant and have the same industrial interests. Because of the identity of interests, the industrial union organizes every worker in the industry into one big union. Thus in many countries you find industrial unions of automobile workers, rubber workers, steel workers, coal miners, brewery workers, or textile workers.

A modification of the industrial union form has developed since the advent of industrial unionism, and this may be termed the departmentalized industrial union. Thus, for instance, in the automobile industry in some countries, you will find that there has taken place a separation of workers based on the comparative skill of the workers. For example, within an industrial union of automobile workers you may find the Tool and Die Department, the Foundry Department, and so forth. Although the industrial type union began as a pure and simple organization of all workers within a single industry, experience has indicated that laborers in the shipping department do not have the same interests as the highly skilled tool and die workers. The clerks in the office of the company frequently do not have the same vocational interests as the coal miner working at the face of the mine. Hence the slow development of departments within industrial unions.

Due to the rise of modern industrialism, craft unions have also undergone certain modifications which approach the modifications of industrial union. Thus in the garment trades, you may have one union including all garment workers, but this union is actually a federation of a group of craft unions. All of the craft unions are within the one industry. You may have the cutters' union, the button-makers' union, the sewers' union, and so forth. But although each skilled craft within the industry has its individual craft union, the entire group federate to form one big industrial union. This may be termed the industrially-federated craft union.

Another type of federation is found in the newspaper industry. The editorial workers are highly trained and specialized professional workers. The typesetters represent a highly skilled trade. The men who wrap and ship the newspapers are unskilled or semi-skilled laborers. In many cases, each semi-skilled section of the newspaper forms its own union; each skilled craft within the newspaper forms its own craft union. And the reporters and editorial writers may form a professional-type trade union. But the various craft, semi-skilled, and professional unions may unite as a group in order to conduct joint collective bargaining with the employer. Each union is autonomous, but they may all belong to a General Council which coordinates their bargaining and contractual activities. This type of organization may be termed the Allied Trades Council form of organization.

Tailoring the Union

The form of union organization depends not on ideological conceptions but on the nature of the industry. For instance, in one industry, several distinct crafts may be engaged in the building of boats. While it may be of great theoretical or control value to form one big industrial union of all the workers, the workers may determine that the carpenters have few problems in common with the electricians.

Likewise, the clerks in the offices of the shipbuilding companies may find little in common with the common laborers who work in the shipyards. One solution is to form craft unions of the various unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled, and professional workers. They can exist separately. Or they can be federated into a Shipbuilders Allied Trades Council. Or they may be put into one big industrial union which has various departments -- one for clerks, one for common laborers and so forth.

In another industry, say construction of houses, the tile setters have one set of interests and problems while the carpenters have a different set of problems. In this case, the workers may decide that the type of union organization which will be best is the independent craft union.

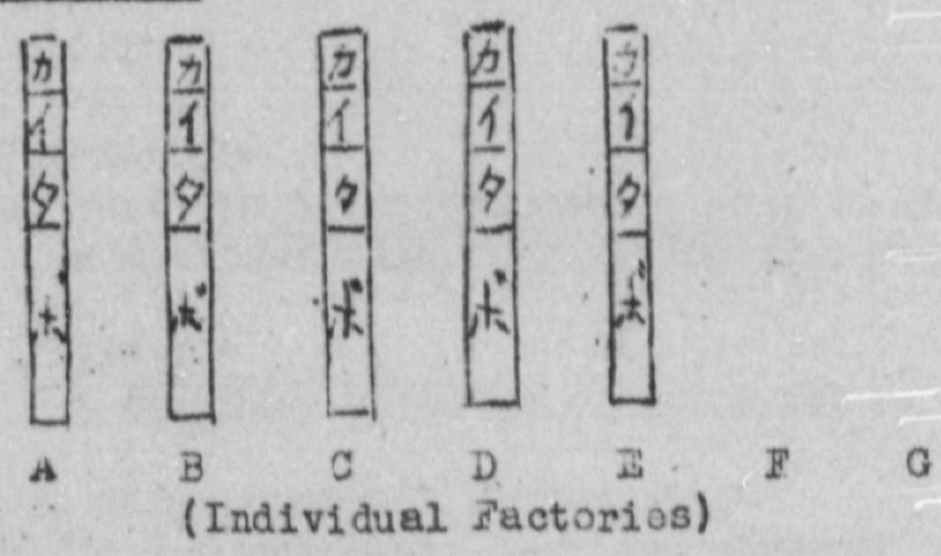
Again, in another industry, railroad workers may decide to form one big railroad workers' union with a locomotive engineers' department, a firemen's department, a maintenance-of-way department, a conductors' department, and a clerks' department. They may form additional departments for communications workers, for telegraphers, and for switchmen.

Again, in the newspaper industry, the workers may decide upon the mixed industrial-craft type of organization. They may form several professional, craft, and semi-skilled unions, and then federate them into an Allied Trades Council. Or they may prefer to organize the several craft unions into one overall industrial union of newspaper workers.

The fact of the matter is that just as a kimono is fashioned by a skillful tailor to fit the woman perfectly, so too the union form is fashioned to answer two questions: (1) What will best serve the workers' interests; and (2) what will work best within the industry or trade being organized.

Forming unions of an industrial type purely on ideological grounds is closing eyes to the facts of economics, industrial structure, and the vocational interests of workers. To form unions on a craft basis for sentimental or ideological grounds is to commit the same mistake. Unions should be tailored to fit.

CRAFT UNION



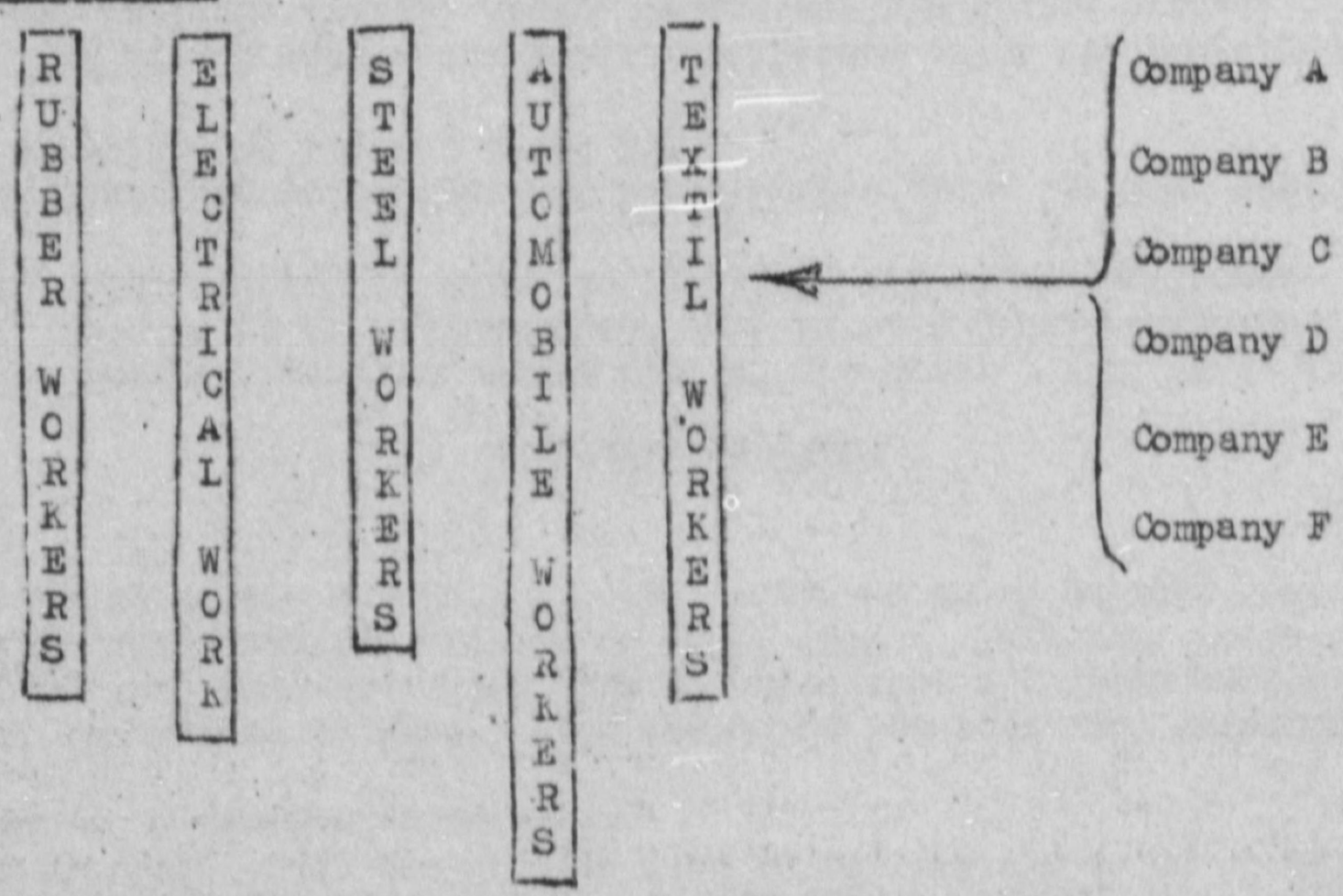
Carpenters' Union

Electricians' Union

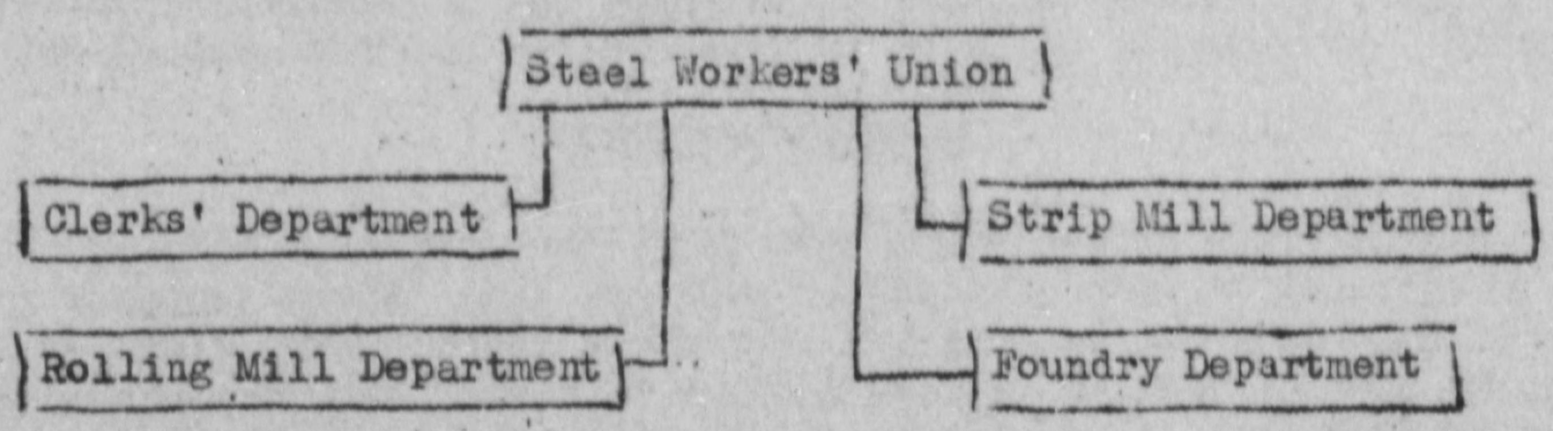
Tile Setters' Union

Boilermakers' Union

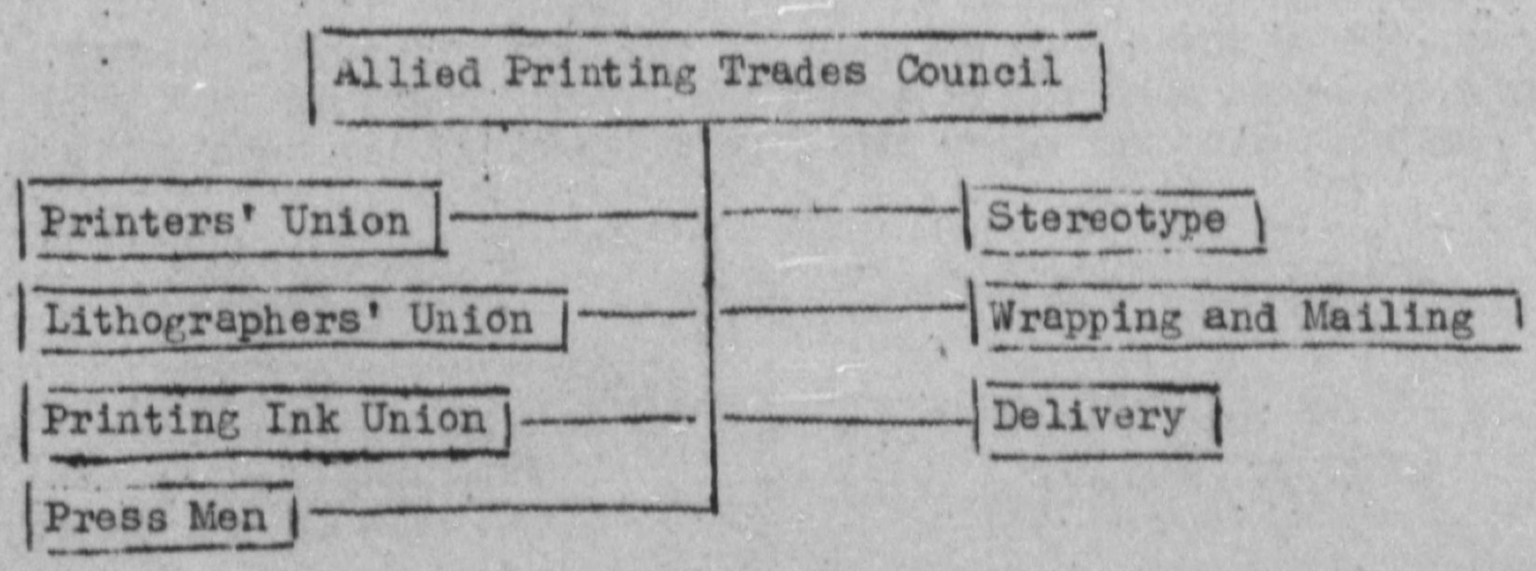
INDUSTRIAL UNION



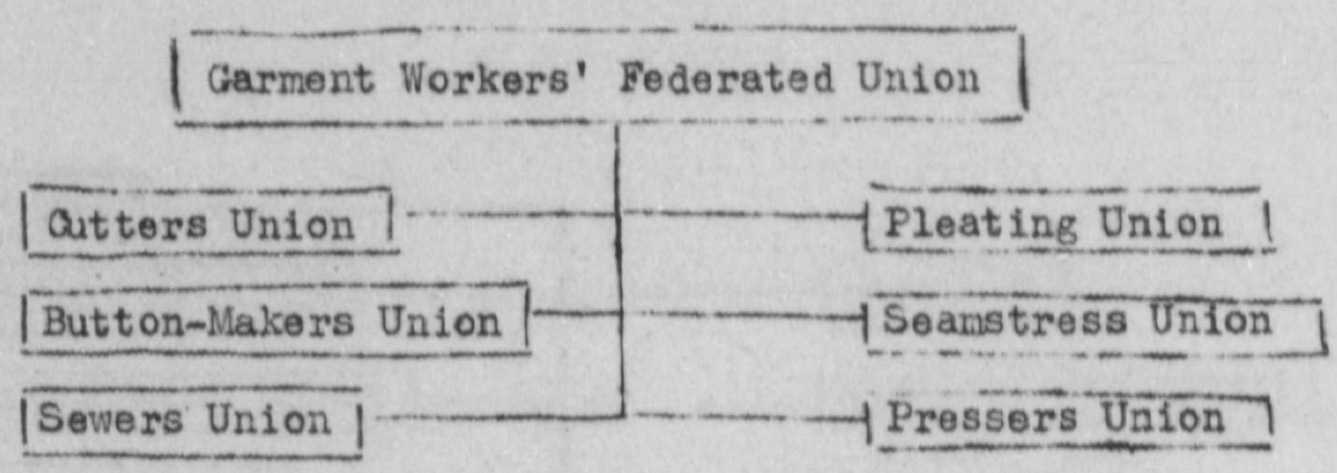
DEPARTMENTALIZED INDUSTRIAL UNION



ALLIED TRADES COUNCIL



INDUSTRIALLY-FEDERATED CRAFT UNION



If a union form is chosen which does not serve the best interests of the workers, time will tell the story. The union may develop internal struggles between different types of workers. In an industrial union of all movie workers, the highly professional directors may begin to quarrel with the people who move the stage settings. The cameramen may quarrel with the electricians. The result may be internal quarreling, and finally a split within the union. Because of the importance of tailoring the union to fit the needs of the workers and the nature of the industry, workers must be careful to make an exhaustive study of their union, their needs, and the type of industry. On the basis of such a rational study, they are then equipped to make an intelligent decision as to what type of union they think will work best in their industry or trade.

Essential Purpose

The general purpose of the union is to serve the workers. Specifically, the essential purpose of the union is to carry on successful collective bargaining, and at the same time advance the cause of democracy.

The type of union form chosen must meet the test. Is stable collective bargaining promoted by the form of union organization chosen? Are the members active in their union and do they find in it ways and means of solving their problems in a democratic manner?

If the answer is "yes", then the union has been well tailored. If the answer is "no" then the union form is preventing the union membership from achieving the essential purpose of their union. They must begin discussions as to how to change the form of their union so as to promote their best interests.

Union Organization

The primary question is the form of the union. Will it be industrial or craft? Will it be an Allied Trades Council or a Departmentalized industrial union? This decision is basic and precedes all other questions.

But once the union form has been decided upon, the next question is -- how do we organize the type of union form?

First let us make a few basic definitions which are roughly common to unions in England, France, Italy, Sweden and the United States.

A local union, in general, is a union formed in one certain place of work, either a mine, mill, railroad station, school, ship, or whatever the industrial or craft unit may happen to be.

A national union is a federation of local unions within the same craft or industry.

A national union federation is a grouping of national unions which so desire into one top federation. This is the highest type of nation-wide union organization.

A district council may be a federation of craft or industrial local union of the same national union federation affiliation within a city, machi, mura, or other small area.

A state or prefectural council is the grouping of all unions of the same national union federation affiliation into a state-wide organization.

An allied trades council is a grouping of different craft or trade unions which all operate within a certain specific industry on a local, state or prefectural, or national basis. Allied trades councils are formed on all three levels if the membership so desire.

Fundamental Principle

In the constitution of any democratic state, the fundamental principle is that the ultimate power rests with the people. The people, acting either directly or through their representatives, write and approve a constitution which gives certain powers to higher organizations.

Thus, in America, the people of the United States have written and approved a basic constitution which grants certain rights to the government of the United States.

This principle is an important concept for it underlies the entire theory of democratic government. In every case, the people have granted powers to their government in order to promote domestic tranquillity, ensure the common defense, promote the general welfare of all the people, promote a more perfect union of the peoples, establish justice for all, and secure the blessings of liberty for the people and their posterity.

The constitution of every democratic state provides that the people can, according to established procedure, alter, modify, amend, or change the constitution of their government. In other words, the government is a creature of the people ... not the people the creature of government as in totalitarian states.

Because government rests upon constitutional grants of power on the part of the people, government is and should be the servant of the people.

A second and correlative principle of democratic government is that in general no lower group grants power to a higher group when it can take care of the problem itself. In other words, the people do as much for themselves as is practicable and grant powers to their government where it is in the interests of the common good of all the people. Obviously, if the people were to refuse to grant the power of law enforcement to their government, and instead insisted that each and every citizen enforce the laws himself, a state of anarchy and disorder would prevail.

The granting of power to higher bodies then requires a careful weighing of whether or not the higher power can carry out the function, whether the people can do it better themselves, and whther the people want the function carried out.

The test of democracy lies in these delegations of powers. When sweeping powers are unnecessarily given to a national government, the road to totalitarian or dictatorial government is being provided. Where the citizens refuse to delegate sufficient power to their government, the road to anarchy may be built. Democracy lies in finding the golden mean between the two.

Trade Union Democracy

These same principles apply to fundamental trade union democracy. The basic unit of the trade union movement is the local union. It corresponds to the family in domestic life. The local union grants certain powers to higher union bodies, but it retains as much of its own powers as will serve its membership. The grants of power are made through written constitutions which may be changed as the membership so desire through established procedures.

Further, the local union membership does as much for itself as it possibly can, but authorizes higher bodies to act on matters which it cannot itself adequately solve.

Thus, as in the case of government, the national union and the federation of national unions are the servants of the local union. They are formed to serve the local unions and promote the interests of the several local unions which make up their membership. When national unions or national union federations dominate the local unions, they have lost their usefulness as servants of the membership and are on the road to totalitarianism and union dictatorship.

Local Union Autonomy

Trade unions in democratic countries therefore insist upon carefully written constitutions which protect the rights and privileges of the entire trade union membership. The constitution of the local trade union is a document which reflects the desires and needs of the majority of the membership.

A local union constitution should outline the purposes of the union, the rights and duties of the membership, the type and duties of the various officers, the types and duties of the local union committees, the financing of the local union, and the order of business to be followed at trade union membership meetings.

A local union constitution should outline in detail the procedure to be followed in the removal of officers thought to be unsatisfactory or dishonest. It should also outline the procedure for the democratic trial of members who break union rules. The local union constitution should constitute a guarantee of the liberties and democratic rights of its several officers and members.

Democratic local unions will always do as much for themselves as they possibly can. They carry on the basic function of collective bargaining, except in the case of national agreements, and they write their own contract with the employer if they possibly can. They carry on their own internal activities with a minimum of interference on the part of higher union bodies.

This principle is called the principle of autonomy, or self movement. When the local union does as much for itself as it possibly can, it is acting as a responsible and integral democratic association.

A Relative Principle

The principle of autonomy is relative, not absolute. If it were absolute, any unit higher than the local union would be a contradiction. By way of explanation, the principle of autonomy means that the local union is autonomous in its proper spheres of activity. If it has delegated certain powers to the national union, then it is not autonomous in that regard. Thus the national union may have the power to audit local union books. The local union cannot prevent such audits and in this respect is not autonomous.

In the same way, the nature of a certain industry may be such that local collective bargaining is both impractical and not to be desired. In such a case, the national union may carry on industry-wide bargaining. In this respect, again, the local union is not autonomous. Industry-wide bargaining is indicated where the proper agent for bargaining is a national agency. One of the best illustrations of this in Japan is to be found in either the Transportation or the Communications' Ministry. Here the very nature of the industry dictates industry-wide bargaining at the top by the national union on wages and other national issues, and perhaps local autonomy on bargaining for local working rules and possibly regional wage differentials.

Local Union Officers

Local union officers should be persons elected through secret ballot by the entire membership. Once elected, they serve until the conclusion of their term unless removed through impeachment according to the provisions of the local union constitution. The function of the local union officers is to carry out

the wishes of the rank-and-file as determined by majority vote at regular membership meetings of the entire membership - men, women, and youth. Although the local union officers may disagree with the rank-and-file from time to time, once the rank-and-file have voted, the officers must obey. They are not masters of the rank-and-file but rather the elected servants of the rank-and-file.

Local Union Activities

In democratic trade unions, the various activities of the local union are not carried on by a few master-minds. Democracy insists that every person must take a part in the organizations to which he or she belongs. Democratic trade unions therefore organize the union membership into a series of committees which carry on the research work, educational activities, and other functions of the local union. The duties and powers of these committees should be clearly defined in the constitution of the local union.

By having several union members on each committee, everyone in the union is responsible for some part in the conduct of the union. The committees elect their own chairman, and at every regular membership meeting of the union, usually held once a month, the chairman reports to the entire membership. Reports submitted by the officers and committees, if accepted by the membership, are then official union action or policy.

In democratic trade unions, the number of committees depends upon the activities of the union. The contract committee is responsible for preparing the draft of demands prior to the expiration of the labor contract. The education committees carries on educational activities. The research committee studies wage rates in other plants and carries on studies of general economic trends in the industry or nation at large. The food and rationing committee will keep an eye on the rationing system and keep the membership informed on delays in rationing, dishonest rationing, or other difficulties. The cost-of-living committee makes a weekly check on local free market and official prices in order to determine the actual cost of living for the average worker. The cultural committee carries on social events and other cultural activities. The womens' committee may conduct special classes for training women as good union members. The political action committee will keep in touch with local, prefectural, and national politics in order to keep the membership informed on political trends, and recommend action.

In other words, the local union establishes as many committees as it has problems and activities which need attention. The committee membership is broad enough so that on every committee you have youth, men, and women.

The committee system rests upon the principle that the local union is the property of the rank-and-file, not of the leadership. Since the local union belongs to the rank-and-file, they must do the major share of the actual work. The various committees meet in each others' homes between meetings, but at the regular monthly meeting the committee attends the meeting as union members, they listen to the various reports of all the committees, and democratic votes decide what will be done or what will not be done.

Unieldy Local Union

Fundamental to the autonomy of the democratic local union is the principle that it should not be so large that it can ot be controlled by its own membership. Unscrupulous persons have at times tried to form one local union of various units in various cities or small units in one area which meet separately. As they cannot meet together, the sections of the local union must elect delegates who control the union. If all the delegates faithfully do a good job it may work. But in a democratic society you do not take this chance. No local union should be so divided geographically or otherwise in such fashion that its membership cannot meet together frequently in order to discuss common problems and decide policy to be followed by the officers of the local union. If a local union has been so formed, it might be rearranged into several local union units so that it can be controlled democratically.

FEC Principles for Japanese Trade Unions state that "Emphasis should be placed on the importance of a solid local basis for future trade union activity in Japan."

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THE DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION

Monthly Union Meeting of the entire rank-and-file. Men, women, and youth meet together to discuss problems, vote on what is to be done. Periodically, officers are first nominated, later elected.

— Meet Monthly

CHAIRMAN OF THE LOCAL
Regulates meetings.
Obeys orders.

— Full-time, part-time, or on own time.

EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE LOCAL
Regulate the affairs of the union between meetings.
Report all actions to the general monthly meeting.

— Meet weekly at night or on Sunday.

THE VARIOUS COMMITTEES OF THE LOCAL UNION

- Education Committee
- Bargaining Committee
- Cultural Committee
- Political Action Committee
- Cost-of-Living Committee
- Co-operative Committee
- Housing Committee
- Women's Committee
- Research Committee
- Recreation Committee

— Carry on their work during month in their own homes or in other places. Carry out research or activities as authorized by the membership meeting. Report once a month to the membership meeting on findings and accomplishments.

No matter what may be the national achievements of unions, no matter how grandiose may be international labor cooperation, if the local union is not rooted in a solid local basic involving every member in some union activity, the trade union movement is not fulfilling one of its basic union functions in a democratic society, and that is to serve as the school of democracy wherein each and every member learns to think, to act, and to speak in a democratic manner.

Local Union Finances

As the local union is the property of the rank-and-file, it is natural that the membership should pay the expenses of the union. To ask the employer - private or governmental - to pay the expenses of the union is unsound, illogical, and feudalistic. Independent trade unions stand on their own feet and pay their own expenses. In small local unions, the officers carry on their union functions on their own time - either at night or on weekends. If they must carry on negotiations with the company or carry on other union activities during working hours, the local union membership should pay sufficient dues to pay the part-time salaries of such officers, as well as their expenses. In larger local unions, where the officers may have many union duties, the unions should be prepared to pay the full-time salaries and expenses of their officers when occupied with union business.

It is axiomatic that people take a personal interest in those things which they finance with their own money. If the company - private or governmental - finances the unions, the membership may not be too interested in the affairs of their union. Both membership and officers may become irresponsible. When they must furnish sufficient money to pay all of the expenses of the union, then the officers work hard for the worker-employers, and the membership take a keener interest in the operation of their union.

FEC Principles bluntly state that employers will not finance unions. And it is a fact that in no democratic country in the world do trade unions demand that employers finance the unions.

Monthly Local Meetings

Democratic trade unions meet frequently on their own time in order to control the affairs of the union. Usually, democratic trade unions meet once a month. If meetings are properly operated, monthly meetings should suffice. If an emergency meeting is necessary, the topic is usually announced a week or so in advance, and the meeting is held for only that specific purpose.

The conduct of the monthly meeting is based on an order of business (agenda) found in the constitution of the local union. Union meetings should be operated according to established procedures as rapidly as possible. Democratic trade unions often specify a closing time in order to prevent minority groups from delaying the proceedings and taking votes after most of the membership have gone home.

During the meeting, all discussion which takes place is carried on according to parliamentary law, and any person who refuses to abide by the rules of parliamentary law may be ejected from the meeting for infractions. This prevents small groups from shouting or otherwise disturbing the union meeting. It also protects the membership from the actions of a fraction or secret caucus within the local union. If union meetings are operated according to the agenda, and if they follow parliamentary procedure, union business can be conducted very quickly. If union meetings require more than 2 hours, it is entirely possible that the chairman and members should begin to study parliamentary law and democratic procedure.

Local Union Democracy

In the conduct of the local union meetings, the chairman serves as a traffic policeman. He sees to it that the agenda is followed. When anyone fails to observe parliamentary procedure, he tells them they are out of order. A good chairman may speak from time to time on his own thoughts on various matters, but his primary task is to operate the meeting so that the membership all have equal and ample opportunity to voice their opinion. If the chairman dominates

the meeting with long speeches, it is probably time to correct him ... and if he doesn't mend his ways, elect a new chairman at the next regular election.

Enforcement of Contract

The monthly union membership meeting takes care of union business except handling grievances on the local level. For this purpose, unions in France, England, and America have a separate body of officers called shop stewards. These men and women are elected by the groups of workers within the respective departments or sections of the mine, mill, or factory, and their duty is to see that the contract is enforced from day to day. They usually meet with the manager of the factory a few hours a day, a few days a week, and they discuss with the manager any grievances, suggestions, or reported contract violations within their department or section. As they meet within the factory, and meet for a short period of time each week, they are paid by the company, for the major portion of their time is spent on regular work for the company. Problems which cannot be solved by these shop stewards are then referred to higher officials through the grievance machinery established in the contract between the company and the union.

Thus, through the democratically elected officers of the union and the committees of the union, through the shop steward system, through the monthly membership meeting of the local union, the entire membership play a part in the operation of their union. A union so operated that every member is active from week to week has strong roots, a solid basis, real union solidarity.

Higher Organization

Now when two or more local unions in the same craft or industry are organized, they find very shortly that they have common problems which are best solved by joining forces. They need the services of a labor lawyer or a trained organizer. They need educational material prepared to serve their membership. They need certain economic research to aid them in their collective bargaining. They need a higher agency to coordinate the political action programs of the local unions.

National Union Organization

This need for coordination and service for several local unions in the same craft or industry then gives birth to the national union. The national union, as with the local union, is a product of the rank-and-file. It is formed to serve them. Powers given to the national union derive from the rank-and-file membership in the local unions which make up its membership.

The powers of the national union should be clearly defined in the constitution approved for the union. It outlines clearly and in detail the duties and rights of the officers of the national union; it describes the persons who may affiliate with the union; it describes the duties, salaries, and election of the officers and members of the executive committee, it describes when conventions will be held, how they will be held, and the agenda for conventions; it outlines procedures to be followed in the trial of officers, and democratic procedure for their expulsion. In a word, the national union guarantees the autonomy of the local unions while at the same time granting certain powers to the national union. Thus, the union officers are empowered to act for the entire membership, but at the same time limits are placed on their actions.

National Conventions

Democratic national unions usually hold a convention once a year to which come democratically elected delegates from every local union. The purpose of the convention is to pass on reports of the officers, amend the union constitutions adopt basic policy resolutions for the coming year, and take such other actions as the delegates deem necessary for the proper governance of the national union. In some cases, the delegates may have the right to elect or re-elect officers of the national union. In other cases, the delegates only have the right to nominate candidates. The question of election of national union officers may then be referred to a referendum vote by the entire membership - every youth, man, and women in the local unions the country over.

The basic policies of the union adopted by the convention through majority vote are the orders and policies for the new officers. They cannot deviate or change those basic policies without the calling of a special convention. If they make statements or commit actions contrary to the established policies of the convention, they may be removed from office through trial and expulsion procedures.

National Union Departments

Because the national unions head a group of craft or industrial local unions in a specific industry or trade, they represent one of the strongest elements in the entire union movement. So too, because of their special nature, they are required to furnish the greatest possible service to the local unions.

Conventions usually specify what departments will be created and outline in detail what the departments will do.

Most unions have an organization department, which sends men and women to plants not yet unionized. An education department prepares books, pamphlets, posters, kami shibai, cinema, and other material useful to the local unions. It may sponsor summer schools, labor colleges, and schools for local union officers and shop stewards. A research department makes continual studies of economic trends in the industry, general economic trends, and assists the local unions in developing better labor contracts. A legal department assists local unions in labor disputes, proposes the language of the contract, analyzes new labor laws, and takes care of all legal work for the national union and the several local unions. A political action department keeps a record of how all members of the Diet vote, transmits local union opinion to the legislature, and prepares manuals, posters, and other material for the use of local unions at the time of elections. A women's department studies the special problems of women and suggests activities for the local union women's committees.

Here again the service function should be emphasized. The various departments of the national union exist to serve the local union. They do not issue orders. They do not carry on propaganda activities foreign to the desires of the rank-and-file. The heads of each department must report to each and every convention, and if they fail to carry out the instructions of the rank-and-file, they may be discharged from their position.

The national union is granted broad powers in order to promote the solidity and expansion of the trade union movement. But through carefully written constitutions and specific convention resolutions, the officers and departments of the national union are subject to the control of the rank-and-file.

National unions are financed by the local unions. Each local union usually sends to the national union a specific sum of money each month, called per capita tax, based on the number of local union members. In foreign unions, the sum may range from 25 to 75% of the local union dues. Customary practice in America is for the local union to retain the larger share of the dues, remitting an average of about 40% to the national union for its financing.

Collective Bargaining Problems

Following the principle of local union autonomy, the local unions often carry on collective bargaining on the local level. They conclude their own contracts. When a strike is called, the local union members make the decision, through a strike vote of the majority. In no democratic country does the head of the national union have the right to call a strike. If the national union is involved, it is to authorize the strike and send funds and assistance to the strikers.

However there are some industries where collective bargaining on the local level is not possible or desired. Frequently in the case of well-integrated or national enterprises, the local unions bargain as a joint unit in what is called industry-wide bargaining. But here again the principle of local union autonomy is followed. The national union bargaining committee representing all of the workers carries on bargaining only on the items which are not local, such as wages, general hours of work, grievance machinery, and other general contract provisions. This industry-wide contract is usually termed the master agreement.

Each local union may then bargain locally for the details of working conditions and for other specific conditions which the local union membership think is necessary for further protection. These agreements concluded on the local level are termed supplementary agreements. Together, the two agreements form the basic combined labor agreement for each and every local union.

If the top negotiations cannot reach a peaceful solution, the bargaining committee, after having used every possible method of solution including mediation and conciliation, may then issue a complete statement of the state of the negotiations to the membership. Each local union then conducts a secret ballot written strike vote. If a majority of the membership of the national union vote "yes" for a strike, then the national leadership is authorized to threaten a strike and, if necessary, call one. But again, the top leaders cannot take act on without prior consent and approval on the part of the rank-and-file in the local unions.

National Union Federations

We now come to the top unit found in the national labor movement of democratic countries - the national union federations such as the AFL and CIO in America, the BTUC in Great Britain, and the CGT or Force Cuvriere in France.

The top federation is formed of national unions which desire to act in concert. It is notable that in most democratic countries the top federation is mainly a coordinating agency. Its finances are usually smaller than that of the national unions, and its service functions are not as intensive as those of the national unions.

The top federation derives its powers from the national unions and from their respective membership, granted through a written constitution which clearly outlines the structure, rights, duties, and obligations of the top federation. The top federation is formed to carry on the matters which the individual national unions cannot do for themselves.

The national unions usually have their conventions in advance of the top federation, so that when the delegates to the national union federation meet they have already received from their rank-and-file a new set of orders and policies for the coming year. The top federation cannot order or authorize any action which is not granted to it either in its constitution or by its convention resolutions. In fact, just as the local union insists on its proper autonomy, so to the national unions maintain their proper autonomy. The burden of the trade union work is carried by the national unions, which are usually strong, well-staffed, and vigorous service organizations. The top federation officials carry on the function of research, publish newspapers and journals of general information, carry on political action as directed by the national unions, and devote themselves to the service of the national unions. Where a new industry is being organized, or where a certain geographical area is to be organized, the top federation may be directed to organize special campaigns.

In the matter of collective bargaining, that is usually handled either by the local union or the national union. Top federation officials intervene only when asked, and their function is to lend the prestige and power of the entire federation to certain negotiations or disputes as they arise. In no case are top federation officials authorized to make new policy on their own, nor are they permitted to call strikes or otherwise direct the rank-and-file of the local unions.

In the case of disputes between national unions, the top federation officials usually act as conciliators or mediators, but again their function is advisory in nature and moral in force.

The national conventions of the top federations are useful in establishing joint policies of the national unions on political action programs, on national problems, and on international problems. The officers are elected by direct secret ballot vote by the national union delegates.

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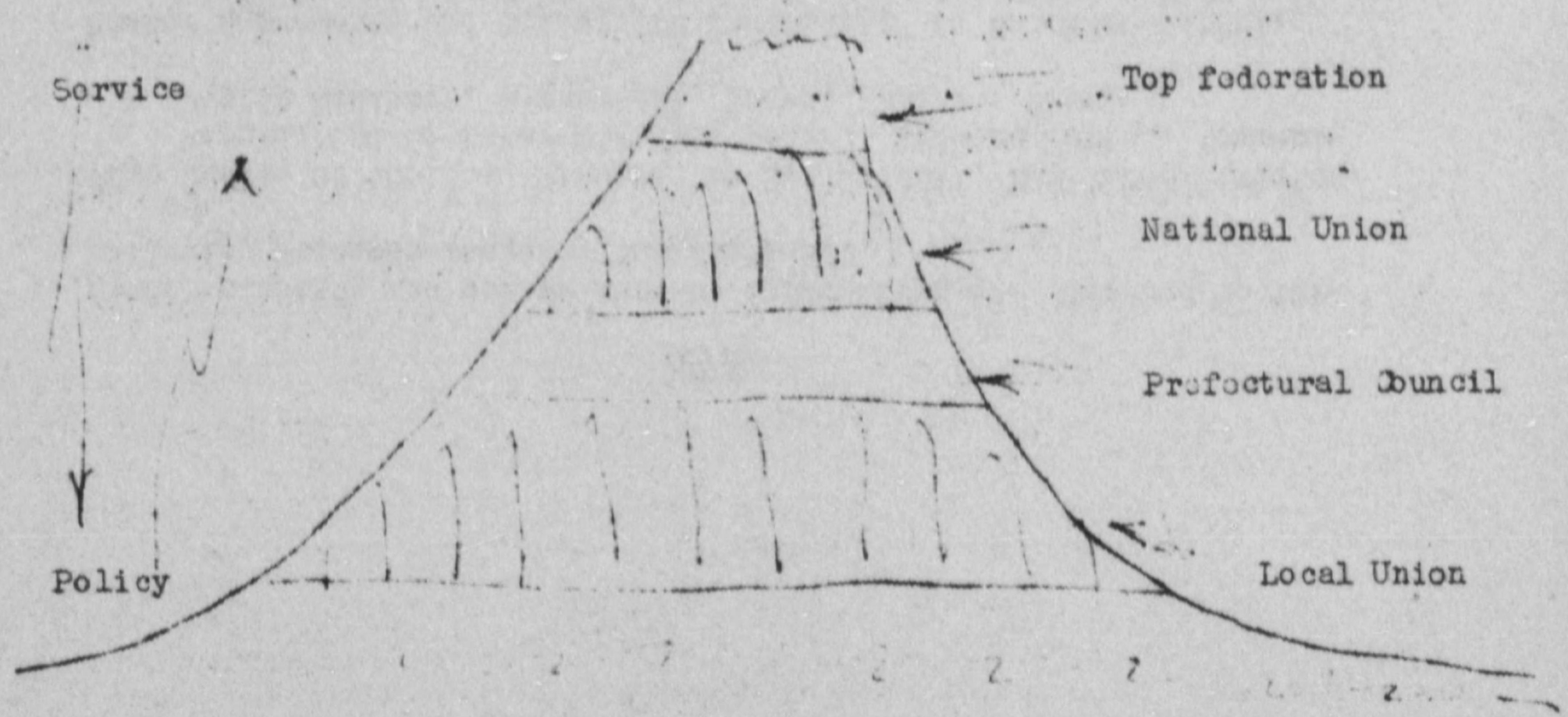
State or Prefectural Councils

Within each national union federation, state or prefectural councils are formed of all local unions within the State or prefecture of the similiarly affliated unions. The powers of the prefectural councils are limited to that of being an advisor, or carrying on service functions for the local unions, such as political action programs, in carrying on educational activities, and in acting as the spokesmen for the local unions on state-wide matters. The prefectural councils usually meet once a month, delegates from every local union affiliated attend, and the officers are told what to do and what to say through majority vote of the delegates.

As most of the problems of the trade union movement are cared for either by the local union itself, or by the national union concerned, the prefectural council serves mainly as a coordinating body. It cannot call strikes, it cannot manufacture policy differing from that of the local unions, and its officers are there to serve the local union membership of the prefecture.

The Democratic Pyramid

As in a democratic government, the construction of the trade union movement may be likened to that of a pyramid. At the very bottom is the local union, constituting the basic authority of the trade union movement and carrying on most of the day-by-day functions of the trade union movement. Serving the local unions are the prefectural or state councils. Serving the local unions and the prefectural councils, and with carefully defined powers, are the national unions. And at the top of the trade union movement, with carefully defined powers, are the top federations, or national union federations.



All trade union action, fundamentally, initiates from the bottom. The local union does as much for itself as it can and only passes on work to the higher bodies when it cannot do the work itself. The top bodies only act when they have been specifically authorized by the lower bodies.

If local union members are to preserve the trade union movement free and democratic, this order, this relation must be maintained. In the hierarchy of the totalitarian order, the top is the complete master. All lower units must obey the will of the master. All lower units merely exist in order to serve the top leadership.

In the democratic order, the higher units exist to serve the rank-and-file members of the local union.

The democratic trade union structure can only be maintained when the local unions are strong and vigorous, when the membership are continually taking part in the control of their union, when workers' education is both active and intelligent. As informed rank-and-file union membership controls

the labor movement. An uninformed and inactive rank-and-file union membership presents an army of men and women ready to serve the orders and wishes of any powerful self-appointed leader.

International Federation

Outside the nation-wide types and forms of organization, there have existed for many years the so-called international organizations of labor. The older organizations are the IFTU (International Federation of Trade Unions) and the ILO (International Labor Organization). The IFTU consists of several craft or industrial secretariats, with which national unions or national federations may affitiate, such as the International Federation of Transportation Workers. The ILO restricts its membership to one major union federation from each country, and is an official part of the UN (United Nations). A more recent organization is the WFTU (World Federation of Trade Unions), formed in 1945, which generally restricts itself to one union federation per country.

NOTE

Trade Unionists who desire further information are directed to the following Japanese-language publications:

"The Duties of the Shop Steward" by R. Deverall, ESS Labor Division. Republished by Labor Section, General Affairs Bureau, Communication Ministry, Marunouchi, Tokyo. 1947. Free.

"Labor Agreements and Collective Bargaining" by Shichiro Matsui. Ganshodo, No. 2, 2-chome, Jimbo Cho, Kanda, Tokyo. Y 25.

"Short History of the American CIO and AFL." Published by the Central Labor College, No. 6, Shiba Park, Minato Ku, Tokyo. Y 10.

"The American Labor Movement," by Rev. Francis J. Haas. Don Bosco Press, Suginami Ku, Hachinari cho, 90, Tokyo. Y 4 per copy.

"Trade Union Primer" by Shichiro Matsui. Published by Labor Ministry, Tokyo. Y 42 per copy.

"Democratic Trade Unionism" by R. Deverall, ESS Labor Division. Published by Labor Democratic Association, No. 3, 2-chome, Surugadai, Kanda Ku, Chiyoda, Tokyo. Y 5 per copy.

Constitutions of the American AFL and CIO, Published by Research Sect., Labor Administration Bureau, Labor Ministry, Tokyo. Y 20 per copy.

"American National Union Constitutions," UAW-CIO and ILGWU-AFL. Published by Labor Ministry, Tokyo, Y 65 per copy.

"Democratic Trade Union Principles and Trade Union Schools," two pamphlets in one by R. Deverall, ESS Labor Division. Published by Social Education Federation, Education Kaikan, Kanda, Tokyo. Y 7 per copy.

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File

THE STRUGGLE FOR TRADE UNION DEMOCRACY

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Economic and Scientific Section

TOKYO
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DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958 SEC. 3(E) AND 3(B) OR (E) NARA 11015

Preface

The struggle of trade union members to establish trade union democracy is not accomplished when a convention has been held, a constitution has been written, and the delegates return to their local union to report on the proceedings.

On the contrary, the experience of trade unions the world over has clearly shown that trade union democracy is a process of growth. It is the result of action to establish democracy, and counter-action to preserve that democracy. It is the story of trial and occasional success. It never ends, for the minute that trade union members rest from their labors and proclaim "Now we have a perfectly democratic union" other forces begin their work to dismantle the democracy so perfected.

In a democratic country, every new generation must defend democracy and win it anew. Once established, there is no guarantee of its uninterrupted continuance.

It is axiomatic that the heart of the democratic trade union movement is found in the experience and intelligent understanding of the trade union rank-and-file membership. The finest and most democratic trade union constitution cannot of itself guarantee perfect democracy.

Democratic trade unionism grows as the rank-and-file union member , through daily experience and continued workers' education, learn to control and operate their trade union as they want it conducted.

Thus the Eastern Commission "Sixteen Principles for Japanese Trade Unions" state in part that "The formation of trade unions should be a process of democratic self-expression and initiative, proceeding from the workers themselves. Employers should not be allowed to take part in the organization or conduct of unions or to finance them." In addition, the principles state that "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 ensure that all officials have been democratically elected at regular stated intervals and that all their activities are democratically conducted."

In the same declaration of principles, the FEC stated that in Japan there should be permitted "no new workers organization with militaristic, ultra-nationalistic, Fascist, or other totalitarian aims..."

The purpose of this pamphlet is to first analyze the types of totalitarian influences which have been at work within democratic trade unions the world over, and then suggest to the rank-and-file trade unionist the remedies to be used in defeating the assault upon democratic trade unionism made by totalitarianism in whatever guise it may assume.

For Good or for Ill...

The rank-and-file members of trade unions must understand that their trade union movement can be a powerful instrument for social betterment and social good ....or a lethal weapon to destroy democracy and establish brutal dictatorship and labor bossism. Properly used, the trade union movement can be a positive good for economic betterment. If abused by totalitarian and selfish interests, it can play a major part in plunging the economy into ruin and bring about the collapse of nations.

Generally speaking, there are two major abuses which must be clearly understood by the rank-and-file if they are to be defeated. And it is well to note that what is said derives from the experience of the French labor movement, the American labor movement, the British labor movement, and the democratic trade union movements of other countries. In every case, such abuses have arisen in the face of widespread rank-and-file ignorance and lack of interest in the management of trade unions.

Both of the abuses are types of labor racketeering, a slang expression for the exploitation of a good thing for bad purposes.

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958 SEC. 3(E) AND 3(B) OR (E) NNDI 770015

Both types of labor racketeering live by use of undemocratic procedures, fraud, character assination, deceit, and secret manipulation.

One type is labor-racketeering-for-money.

The other is labor-ranketeering-for-power.

One is as great an evil as the other.

Labor-Racketeering-for-Money

Consider the formation of a labor union in a plant employing one thousand workers. Most of the workers are not aware of the meaning of trade unionism, but they are interested in improving their working conditions.

Suppose, for the sake of example, that there is a man, or a small group of men, who see in the union a type of black market ... a way to make money without having to work very hard.

When the union is formed, these men attend the initial meetings and find out what it is all about.

One of the men perhaps is a black marketeer or oyakata. He calls in his friends one night and tells them: "This new union is a very good idea. If we can become the officers of the union. I think we can make a very large sum of money for ourselves. But the union unfortunately has just elected an honest man as President. We must first plan how to get rid of this president and stop all this talk about rank-and-file democracy.'

The Caucus

The labor racketeer group then begins to meet secretly in order to develop a program. This private meeting of a small group is called a 'caucus', or meeting of the leaders of a faction. The caucus meets prior to union meetings. A conspiracy is developed. Each member of the caucus is given a specific mission.

Perhaps the caucus decides to attack the integrity of the President of the union at the next union meeting. Member A of the caucus has one task, Member B another, and so on.

"Railroading" the Membership

When the meeting is held, the rank-and-file have met in order to discuss routine union matters. They have no plans, and they do not know of the caucus conspiracy.

After a short time, Member A arises and make a short speech on the qualities of a true union leader. Member B arises and states that their President is immoral or dishonest. Member C rises immediately and makes another speech along the same lines. By this time the rank-and-file are whispering to each other ... and the union President is wondering what it is all about.

Member D, the head of the group, then rises and shouts for a vote on whether or not to remove the President.

Rank-and-file members say to one another: "Ah so! Something is rotten here. I did not know the President was such a dishonest and immoral man..."

Like fish biting on the hook, the uninformed and politically naive rank-and-file may swallow the story of the caucus hook, line and sinker.

Trade unionists call this 'railroading' the membership. The caucus lays the tracks and runs the membership down their secretly-laid rails. Often, such use of this simple device can result in the downfall of an honest and good union leader. The men who brought about the downfall of the leader then take over, saying it is in the interests of democracy. Henceforth the union is under their domination.

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Gangsters

If they cannot railroad the rank-and-file, the next device they may try is the use of gangster tactics. One way to destroy the leadership of the local union is to hire gangsters or youthful direct-actionists, who wait until a dark night, waylay the President of the union in a lonely part of town, and beat him so severely that he is put in the hospital. During his enforced absence, the racketeers take over.

Another method is for the racketeers to visit the president of the union at his home and try to convince him that he should go along with the group. Several gangsters come with the labor racketeers. If the President does not give in, he is threatened with a beating on the spot.

Still another method is to have gangsters visit meetings of the local union. Member A of the caucus will start an argument, and then Member B may provoke a physical fight with the chairman of the local union meeting. The gangsters at the meeting then start a general fight. The union meeting ends in a grand uproar and utter confusion.

The rank-and-file, not knowing that a caucus is operating, say to one another: "This is frightful. I do not want to go to any more union meetings like that."

Again, by the use of physical force and terror or by daily caucus-controlled gangster intimidation of leaders, the labor racketeer element is able to use gangsters to destroy trade union democracy.

Making Money

Once the racketeers have seized power over a local union, they begin to find ways and means of exploiting the union membership for their profit. They may approach the head of the company at the time of negotiations and say: "The workers will strike unless they receive an allowance of so many yen per month. However, if you will give us twenty thousand yen for ourselves, we can settle the allowance dispute for half the amount. There will be no strike if you care to settle with us privately."

A dishonest employer may give in to such pressure, pay the money, and the union membership is betrayed by their racketeering leaders ... who depart for the hot springs with their dishonest yen.

Another racket based on abuse of the strike is the sale of "strike insurance. The labor racketeers visit the employer and advise him: "It is very difficult to control the rank-and-file. They may strike at any time. If we are given the use of a motor car, a special ration of food and sake, and other special favors, we will try very hard to control the workers. In fact, if you will also give us ten thousand yen a month, we can guarantee that there will be no strikes in your plant." The employer may agree. The workers, naturally, have no knowledge of these negotiations and in fact may not even be talking about a strike.

Another racket is to raise the union initiation fee to a high level, and refuse employment to new workers unless they pay the high fee. Because racketeering union leaders publish no adequate financial statements, they can pocket most of this extra money.

If racketeering leaders can secure control over larger bodies of workers, they can extort larger and larger sums of money. They can levy fines, initiation fees, and increased dues ... and if any member protests, he is quietly visited some night by the rankoteer's gangsters, who threaten or beat him.

Union Bosses

Racketeering on the higher level develops into union bossism under which the leader actually is working for the companies. Such dishonest leaders will openly speak long and loud about democracy. But if any union member raises the question of an election, or the publication of a financial statement, he is soon rubbing his head and wishing he had kept his mouth shut.

When an employer is afraid that an independent union will be formed in his plant, he may secretly visit such a labor boss and tell him he will sign a contract. Without the rank-and-file in the plant knowing what is going on, such a labor boss will sign a poor contract. The membership later learns that they belong to a union.

They must pay the initiation fee. They must pay the dues. And they must obey the orders and commands of the union boss. If they don't the union boss sends in his gangsters to enforce his brand of "democracy." Such a secretly-concluded contract is called a "backdoor agreement" because it is signed without the knowledge of the workers whom it covers.

Perversion of Unionism

The exploitation of the trade union by labor racketeers and union bosses is the very perversion of trade unionism. The union serves the purpose of only one man, or a small group of men - and the purpose is yen, more yen, and still more yen for the union racketeers. If the rank-and-file accept, or are forced to accept, such conditions, this can go on for years. No democratic meetings are held, no democratic votes are taken, and the union does not function in the interest of the workers who pay the dues.

Once established, racketeering and bossism are difficult to destroy. But if the rank-and-file in such an oppressed union immediately band together, demand public financial reports, and demand regular secret elections, they can probably expel such racketeers and union bosses.

The greatest weapon in fighting labor racketeers and union bosses is a knowledge of what they are and how they operate. Once a large group of workers understands how their union democracy has been perverted or destroyed, it is usually not very long before they recapture their union and democracy lives once more.

Racketeering-for-Power

The abuse of labor-racketeering-for-power, in many democratic countries, has usually involved small political parties which seize control of local or national unions in order to extend their own political power.

In order to understand the purposes and methods of this type of labor racketeering, which seeks to control the trade unions in order to use their power, let us make a few general observations.

The typical trade union contains persons of many differing social and political views. In a democratic trade union, any movement or direction which is proposed for the union is proposed at an open membership meeting; it is discussed freely by the rank-and-file; and it is voted upon. The final decision represents the will of the majority.

We have pointed out that a democratic organization is particularly subject to abuse because it is often easy for a small group to caucus outside of union meetings, develop a secret plan of action, and they manipulate union meetings by such prearrangement. This is particularly easy when the rank-and-file are completely unaware of the existence of a caucus and its conspiracies.

Boring From Within

Consider an example. A certain political party has an ideological program. If it approaches the workers in a trade union and asks them to support the ideological program, the majority of the workers may object. The party may then try to find some undemocratic method of boring into the union and making it move in a certain direction despite the expressed will of the rank-and-file.

The party forms a small caucus, or cell, of loyal and faithful political workers inside the plant. They begin to hold private meetings, or caucuses. Before each union meeting, they arrange who will say what, they agree on what actions are to be proposed, and they agree on the tactics to be employed.

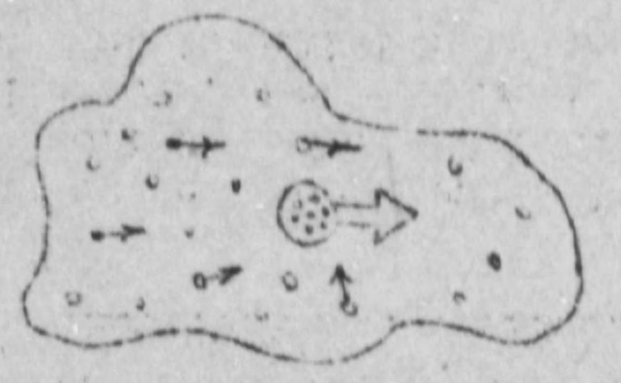
When the union meeting opens, the average member has come to take part in democratic trade union discussion. But the members of the small cell or fraction having met previously and laid a plan of action, will rise, speak, and take over the union meeting without anyone suspecting that a political machine is at work inside the trade union.

One member of the cell may make a speech. Another will praise it. A third member of the cell will make a motion based on the speech of the other two. And another member of the cell will call for a vote on the question.

By moving quickly, by having a disciplined group working according to plan, the cell operates like a machine inside the union and the meeting is often captured.

Let us present the situation graphically.

Each dot represents a rank-and-file member. At each meeting, the rank-and-file discuss issues on their merits and move without any prearrangement or conspiracy. This is democratic trade unionism.



In this type of meeting, the cell has both purpose and direction. By operating as a machine, they guide the meeting, and the membership is led by the cell. This is machine-dominated trade unionism.

In the first diagram, there is no outside caucus operating. Every issue is upon the table, people speak their mind freely, there is free and open discussion, and the final vote on each issue represents the intelligent, considered vote of the trade union membership.

In the second, a cell is operating. It has both direction and preplanned purpose. By moving quickly with machine-like precision such a cell group can sweep the membership along.

That is how the political party seeking to dominate the union first begins its efforts to capture the union.

Sabotage

The next move is often the sabotage of union meetings. If too many union members come to union meetings, there may be too much union democracy - and a cell group cannot capture unions if there is "too much democracy."

At a caucus, the cell may therefore conspire to sabotage the next membership meeting.

At the meeting, each cell member makes a long speech on some relatively unimportant problem. If any other union member speaks, a cell member follows him and repeats everything he has said, agreeing or disagreeing. The purpose of the cell members is to waste time.

The union members sit for hours while the speeches and the arguments proceed. Members yawn. Finally some of the rank-and-file leave the meeting and go home.

After five or six hours of wrangling speeches, the meeting finally comes to an end. Some of the members say to each other: "Another stupid meeting like that and I will stay at home nights."

The cell does the same thing at the next meeting, and again at succeeding meetings. Finally the honest and unsuspecting trade union members become disgusted with the length and stupidity of their union meetings. Not realizing that a political machine is trying to capture the union, they cease attending union meetings. By the time of the next election, practically the only persons attending union meetings are persons who belong to the cell, or persons friendly to the cell membership. This small group can then nominate and elect itself.

Once they have captured the union, the cell can then vote donations of union funds to the political organization which they represent, and the small party is able to amass sums of money in an apparently democratic manner. The cell takes over the union newspaper and soon the paper is nothing but the tinkling bell of the political party. Slowly but surely the trade union becomes the concubine of the political party.

The cell has won control by destroying democracy. Totalitarian control over the union has been established by a small group who are now dictating policy to the entire rank-and-file.

Tot litarian Domination

This cell controls their union in the same manner as the labor racketeers who are running a union for their own selfish purposes. If any union member protests that the union is being run by dictators, he may be stopped on his way home and be severely beaten by cell youth attack members. Perhaps he will be thrown into the river. Other union members see and hear of such things and decide that it is better to keep their mouths shut.

Members who attend union meetings attempting to vote against the cell are vilified in the shop. The cell group spreads stories about them and causes other workers to believe that they are anti-union or friends of goyo kumiai. They are termed "political degenerates," "reactionaries," and other terms as may serve the undemocratic purposes of the cell or political fraction.

Like the puppet at a marionette show, the union becomes the creature of the political cell or fraction. Strikes may be called, not because a strike is needed to win just demands for the workers but because the cell has decided (or been told) that it is necessary in order to promote the political aims of the cell's political leadership.

Again, when a strike is needed or necessary in order to promote the just needs and demands of the workers, the cell leadership may refuse to permit such a strike because the current political line of the cell is opposed to the calling of strikes at that time.

Centralized Control

It is serious enough to have an undemocratic minority boring into one local union. Such cell action becomes more serious and significant when it takes place concurrently in several local unions, or several national unions.

In this case, the policy of the national union or the group of local unions is not being decided by the rank-and-file of the respective unions, but by a political leadership which is not a major part of the union membership.

Under such an undemocratic system of totalitarian control, a central political leadership develops the ideology of the political party and works out plans and programs for the trade union movement which will promote the aims and current objectives of the political party.

These plans and programs are transmitted to the cell or fraction leaders in the national unions and local unions, and in a short time the cell leaders and cell members are appearing at union board meetings and union membership meetings in order to persuade the rank-and-file to adopt certain policies and programs.

The plans and programs are not presented as having come from a central source. Rather they are presented "spontaneously" as plans and programs which will advance trade unionism and increase "freedom," "peace," and "democracy."

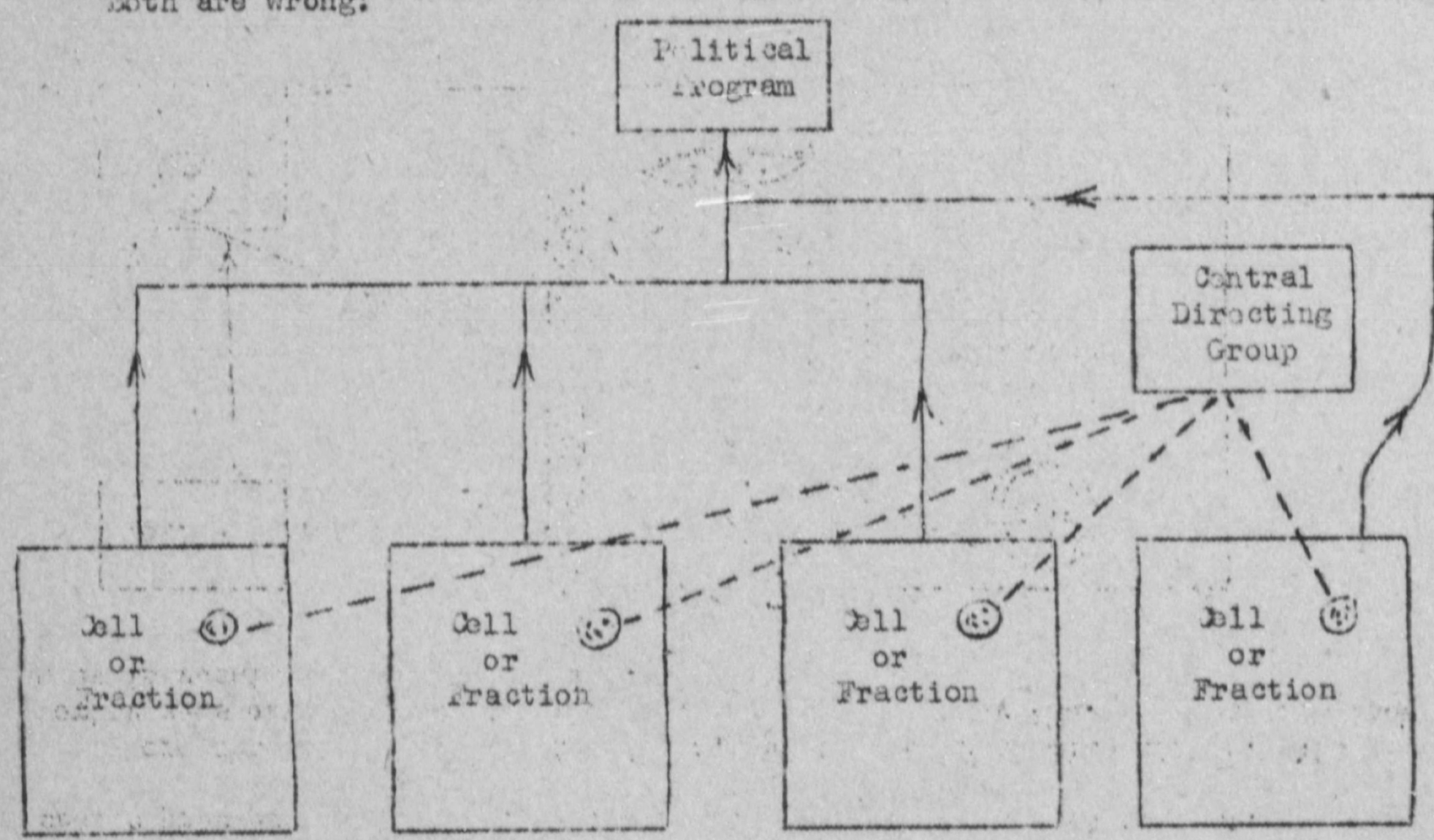
Through such central control and through the iron discipline imposed from above on each cell or fraction, some trade unions in foreign countries have from time to time been guided by outside political organizations whose purposes were contrary to the purposes and interests of the rank-and-file trade unionists. Wherever such efforts to bore into the labor unions succeeded, trade union democracy was destroyed and a well-organized minority was able to direct the unions toward their own peculiar political ends. Thus the rank-and-file in some unions lost control of their unions temporarily because trade union principles were displaced by political direction from outside the trade union movement.

Control Methods

There are many methods used in controlling trade unions by these antidemocratic minority racketeer cells. One method is first to insert in the constitution of the union a clause under which the leadership of the union can expel any person who "violates the peace and order of the union, or disrupts union meetings." Without a fair trial, and without any chance of appeal to higher trade union authority, democratic trade unionists who oppose totalitarian control have often been expelled from such unions and lost their jobs by dishonest use of such clauses by undemocratic minority elements.

In some cases, anti-Communist labor racketeers have unjustly expelled a Communist trade union member. In other cases, Communist labor racketeers have unjustly expelled anti-Communist members.

Both are wrong!



Here a central group directs the activities of the several cells. Through prearrangement and clever manipulation of the local unions, the unions apparently adopt programs which are in line with the program of the political group. Of course, the rank-and-file are not aware that they are being directed by an organization outside the labor movement.

Transmission Belt

Another method of controlling or heavily influencing the trade union movement from outside the unions is the use of the transmission belt technique.

Consider an electric motor driving a large machine, which for the sake of example we will call the union machine. The motor receives its power from a certain source; it turns; the belt connecting the motor to the union moves; the union machine rotates.

If we are able to see the source of power, the motor, and the belt, we can understand what is moving the union machine.

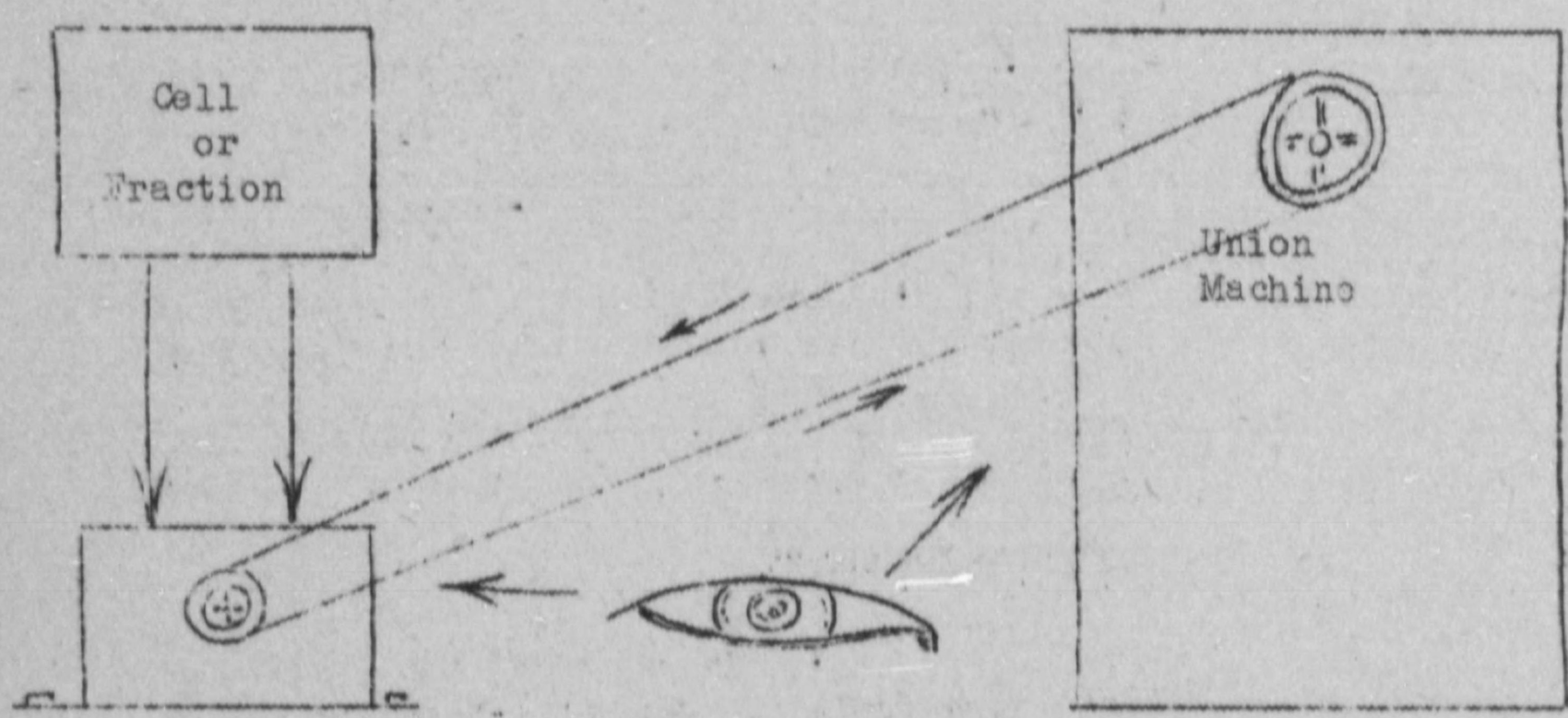
However, if the source of power is in one place and the motor in another place, we can see only the belt and the union machine. We are unaware of the source of power and the type of motor. For all we know, it can be an electric motor, a windmill, a gasoline engine, a charcoal burner, or a water wheel.

If the cell or fraction finds that it cannot bore directly into the union, it may often devise a transmission belt technique to control or otherwise move the union.

In the American labor movement, the transmission belt is usually some small organization set up by a political group or special interest group with the pur-

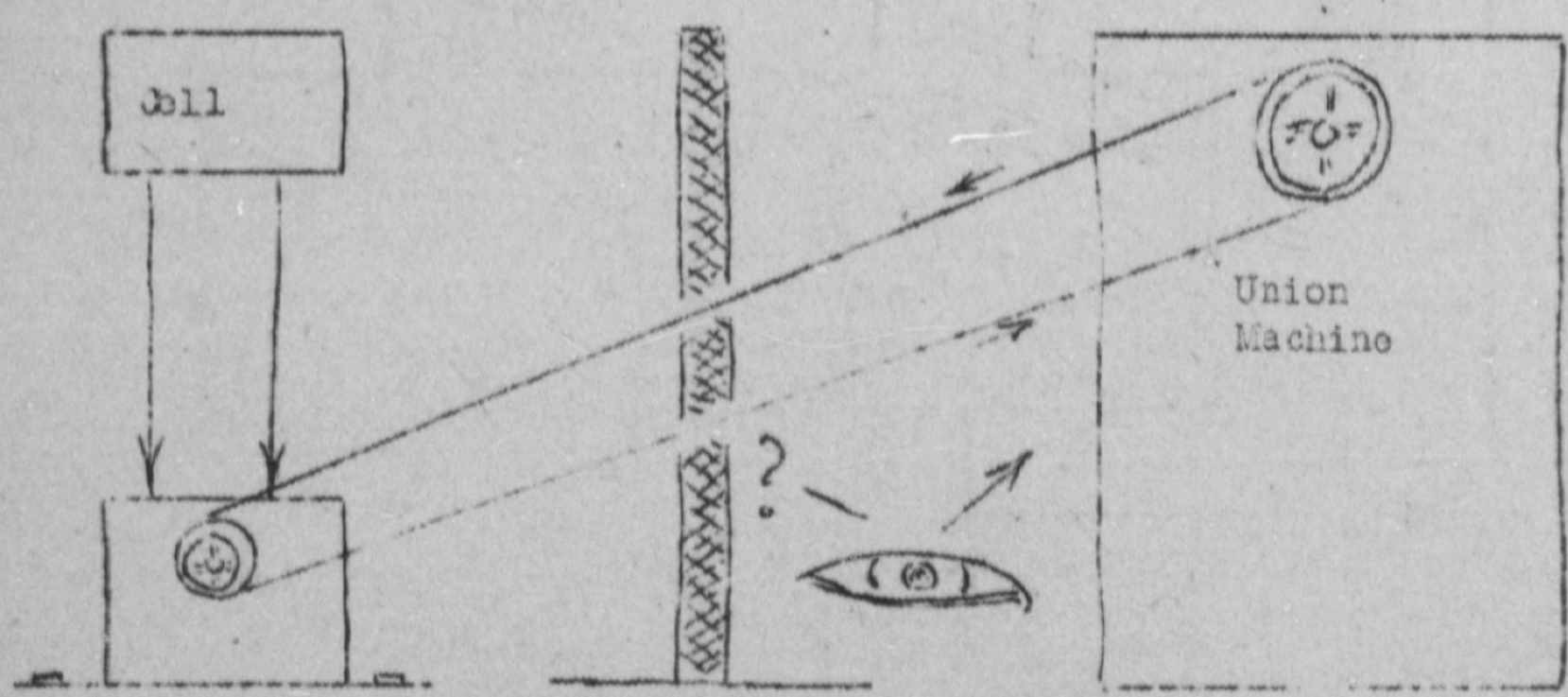
pose of exploiting the labor movement. The transmission belt organization will often be given a very high sounding title, such as the "Labor Liberation Society," or "League for Free Rice, Free Rent, Peace, Anti-War, Freedom, and Democracy." It may publish a newspaper, express great interest in the unions, support strikes, and otherwise aid every move the union makes.

The union members are deluged with propaganda from this transmission belt organization. They read the propaganda and exclaim: "Ah, so desu ka! This organization is a friend of our labor union. That is very good. We must all support it."



Here the worker is able to see the source of power, the motor, the belt, and the union machine. In this case the cell is composed of trade union principles, the motor is the needs and desires of the worker, the belt consists of the democratic procedures of the union ... and the worker knows what is what.

Here the political cell is hidden, and the motor is also hidden. The worker sees only one part of the belt and the union machine. He does not know what is running the union machine.



The only thing wrong with such an arrangement is that the cell organization never tells the trade union members that it is being operated by a secret political cell or fraction and a secret motor.

When the political cell has determined upon a certain political policy, the transmission belt organization then goes to work and contacts the unions seeking their support for the program. Donations of gon may be requested, and soon many unsuspecting unions are giving money and support to the "friendly" organization although they never know who is actually receiving the money.

In the same manner, such transmission belt organizations often sponsor labor schools with the announced purpose of helping the labor unions. They supply teachers, classrooms, books, and charge the union small fees for their help and assistance.

Naturally the unions have sometimes welcomed this support and aid. They have even advised their members to attend those schools. But slowly, undercover, the school mixes trade unionism with political doctrines and it is not long before the union members have unsuspectingly switched their allegiance from the trade union to the transmission belt organization. Once sufficient union members have been captured, the political cell or fraction can come out into the open and capture the union.

The point of all this is that such hidden transmission belt organizations are fundamentally dishonest. They say one thing but mean another. They have but one purpose: to capture and control trade unions by the use of undemocratic methods. As soon as such organizations are exposed, experience indicates, they are often dissolved by their own members because through the exposure they have lost their political usefulness. A few of the original members and some new "neutral" members (called fellow travellers) form a new organization at a new address. This time it may be the "League for Culture, Peace, Freedom, Democracy, and Free Food for Babies."

Wise and sophisticated trade unionists know that it is the same old organization with a new front. It is the same transmission belt organization trying to drive or influence the trade union with the same hidden political cell's motor.

It is almost needless to say that the political party is careful to phrase its program in terms which sound very much like those which are used by workers. The polititcal party proclaims itself to be the "true friend of the working class," and by these appeals to self-interest of the workers, the party is able to use what may be justified objectives as a further vehicle for its own camouflaged revolutionary political program. When trade unions or trade union members permit infiltration of political parties under the guise of "friendly bodies" they are actually in danger of serving not the trade union but the political party.

Control Points

American experience has been especially bitter with regard to the Communist Party of the United States. Members of the party who are operating as cell or fraction members within the trade union movement will regularly deny that they are members of the Communist Party. At times, American Communists have publicly denounced the Communist Party in order to deceive the rank-and-file.

Seldom will American Communists aspire to the presidency of a national union for they find it much easier and more convenient to control the union through other means.

American experience has shown that the anti-democratic Communist racketeering minority will select some well-intentioned but misinformed union leader as its "dummy." The cell members go to work and tell everyone what a great and wonderful rank-and-file leader this "dummy" is. If they can get their "dummy" elected, all they ask in return is a reward of a few control points. These control points are appointments on the union staff such as Education Director, Publicity Director, Political Action Director, or Director of the Legal Department.

Once the cell has a few of its members on the union payroll, it can then exert great pressure on union officials and guide them according to the policy of the cell or fraction. Further, if they can secure control of the union newspaper and the union education system, they can systematically develop cell political propaganda and, under the guise of progressive trade unionism, slowly pervert the union into being nothing but an agent for the political ideology which the cell or fraction represents. Thus it has occured in America that there have been some unions with a majority of non-Communist rank-and-file members which nevertheless had a national headquarters operated and controlled by Communist Party members, few of whom were ever elected by the rank-and-file.

On the local union level, the undemocratic political cell racketeers rarely seek to become shop stewards or union presidents. Rather they seek the post of Secretary of the local union, or ask to be put in charge of educational work or to operate the union newspaper or bulletin board. Once again it is their purpose to influence the leader of the union and to propagandize the union membership <u>using the funds of the union to accomplish this purpose</u>.

There are some persons who are sincere Communists who are not members of the Communist Party. But those persons who are allied with the Communist Party know well the brand of fascism which is practiced under the highly-illusory name of "centristic democracy". Under this perversion of democracy, a small group at the top of the party dictate the policies and programs of the party. Members are bound by an iron discipline to do as they are ordered. When party members deviate from the party line, they are purged just as Hitler and the other fascist purged persons whom they felt were not "good" Nazis. This in a sense is a type of political militarism, for it involves not only dictatorial control of persons for revolutionary purposes, but imposes a dictatorial control of the intellect of men ... a dictatorial control which is repugnant to democratic men, and an utter violation of every basic principle of democracy.

Thus, Mr. Clement Attlee, Labor Prime Minister of Great Britain, in addressing the British Trade Union Congress in 1946, stated in part: "...democracy is becoming a much abused word. It is often used by those who have never understood or practised democratic principles to mean the achievement of power by hook, or more often by crook, by the Communist Party, while freedom means the denial of liberty to all those who refuse to accept the Communist philosophy. Everyone who does not take his orders from the Communists is described as a Fascist..."

Red-Baiting-

The American trade union movement has had wide and bitter experience with "red-baiting." Red-baiting, simply, is calling a person a Communist when he is not a Communist. It is branding a program as Communistic when the program or policy is not Communistic. Many employers, in order to frighten or intimidate their employees, have frequently charged that the workers' leaders were Communists. The workers, knowing that their leaders were not Communists, resented this and termed it "red-baiting." American trade unionists as a rule detest any form of "red-baiting."

Where the Communists have operated within the trade union movement, they have put this foolish and dishonest practice to their own use. When a Communist is exposed as a Communist, he usually denies the charge and accuses the other person of being a "red-baiter." By confusing the issue, and by hiding behind something which the worker feels is unfair and undemocratic, the Communist is able to protect himself from exposure. By making liberal use of the charge of "red-baiting" many actual Communists have been able to protect themselves and remain in control of trade unions.

General Tactics

In America, the political cells or fractions have followed various policies from time to time. At one time, the Communists in America refused to join the American Federation of Labor because they knew they could not control it. Instead, they set up rival unions and tried to enlist the support of American workers. Failing in the attempt to build Communist unions, the Communists dismantled the rival unions and pursued the more successful policy of boring into established trade unions or boring into newly established labor unions, knocking down opposition with the cry! "Labor unity - unify the labor front."

The changes in tactics, the changes in the political line, and the struggle to bore into unions has resulted in turmoil and confusion in segments of the American labor movement for many years. Much trade union strength in America has been utterly wasted because democratic trade unionists have had to fight anti-democratic minority groups with time and effort that could have been more usefully employed in building a strong and stable trade union movement.

With respect to American trade unions, the political labor racketeers have developed three methods of operations:

a. If possible, the cell or fraction will secure control and dominate the trade union openly. That has never happened in any major labor organization in America.

b. Or the cell will support certain persons who are either uninformed or opportunistic. They are used as "dummies" behind which the cell can control or influence the labor unions.

c. Or, if they are extremely weak, the cell will promote "unity" and "popular front" programs, securing as many jobs as possible on union payrolls for its members. The cell hopes to expolit union job opportunities and thus create a greater opportunity to capture the union at a later date.

Summary of Cell Activity

Returning to the original theme, the cell or fraction operates as an undemocratic and anti-democratic minority seeking to foist its program upon the rank-and-file through labor-racketeering-for-power. The purposes of the cell are many:

a. The cell proposes politically-dictated resolutions to the trade union, which in turn aids in influencing the policy of the union to correspond with the political aims of the cell.

b. The cell tries at every opportunity to use union funds and union facilities for its own purposes - propaganda or otherwise.

c. The cell endeavors to marshal the voting strength of labor to support the candidates of the political party the cell represents.

d. The cell group makes use of the strike and other labor weapons as part of its political program. At one time, it may advocate strikes in order to sharpen class warfare. A year later, it may foster "no strike" pledges in order to promote class collaboration. In each case, trade union weapons are prostituted for political purposes.

e. The cell uses paid union positions to reward cell members for their loyalty. Such positions can also give the cell members increased opportunities for political activity.

f. The cell advances union leaders who will follow its policy, or will accept support opportunistically. Leaders representing true rank-and-file democracy are broken if possible.

g. The cell develops to a high point the art of name-calling. Its friends are "great leaders." Its enemies or people whom it cannot use are "reactionary" or "political degenerates."

h. Undemocratic union structure is used whenever possible.

Rival Racketeers

The experience of the labor movement is replete with examples of how differing political factions and cells have struggled for control of various labor unions. Instead of building strong and responsible trade unions, these quarreling cells or fractions often disrupted union meetings, bungled or lost strikes, crippled union democracy, and misled the trade unions to such an extent that the rank-and-file became disgusted with trade unionism and even refused to attend union meetings.

One great American union was captured by such a cell directed from outside the labor movement early in 1939. A situation developed wherein rival political fractions were battling for control of the national union. The rank-and-file became disgusted with the turbulent political struggles inside the union. The leadership of the union was split by the factional fight. Union membership dropped from 400,000 to less than 40,000 persons within six months.

Within a year, a good section of the remnant of the national union had driven the political cells out of the union and slowly the membership returned to the union and began paying dues again. But the political factionalism had cost the union membership hundreds of thousands of dollars in wasted funds and many rank-and-file members were disillusioned.

By late 1942, this national union had regained its membership and increased it to one million members. The disruptive political cell had consisted of approximately one hundred persons. They had wrecked the union for a short time. The membership of the union had been ignorant of totalitarian politics until that time. They are now well aware of the dangers of minority control, for the body of their union still carries scars from the factional fight.

Many other trade unions have been torn up and disrupted by such internal fighting between political cells trying to force minority control on the majority. Indeed, in America today the average American trade unionist not only understands the role of the political cell or fraction within the union, but he also has a thorough dislike for such activities. The American rank-and-file union members insist on running their own unions.

Information and Education

Because many rank-and-file union members did not have sufficient information and education on such racketeering, the world labor movement suffered some severe setbacks, saw members beaten or shot down by minority groups, and saw democracy trampled underfoot by minority labor racketeers who chanted aloud: "We believe in democracy." Democratic trade unionists have seen the people who so often ardently shout "democracy" hard at work choking the life out of democracy through labor racketeering, minority control, and undemocratic procedures.

Democratic trade unionism has too much to do in building strong unions. It cannot waste much time in quarreling with or battling racketeering elements who seek to establish totalitarian control.

The primary guarantee against racketeering of any kind in the labor movement will be found in a knowledge of such racketeering on the part of the rank-and-file. Forewarned is forearmed!

Another guarantee against racketeering will be found in well-written democratic constitutions which are written and approved by the rank-and-file. The dangers of racketeering can be minimized by including in such democratic trade union constitutions specific provisions for regular monthly (or more frequent) membership meetings in the local union, for a union structure which requires secret election of all union officials and officers by the rank-and-file, for votes by the rank-and-file nomination and election of officers.

Some American trade unions broke totalitarian control by subjecting all elections of top national union official to a rank-and-file referendum vote conducted by public accountants with no interest in inter-union politics.

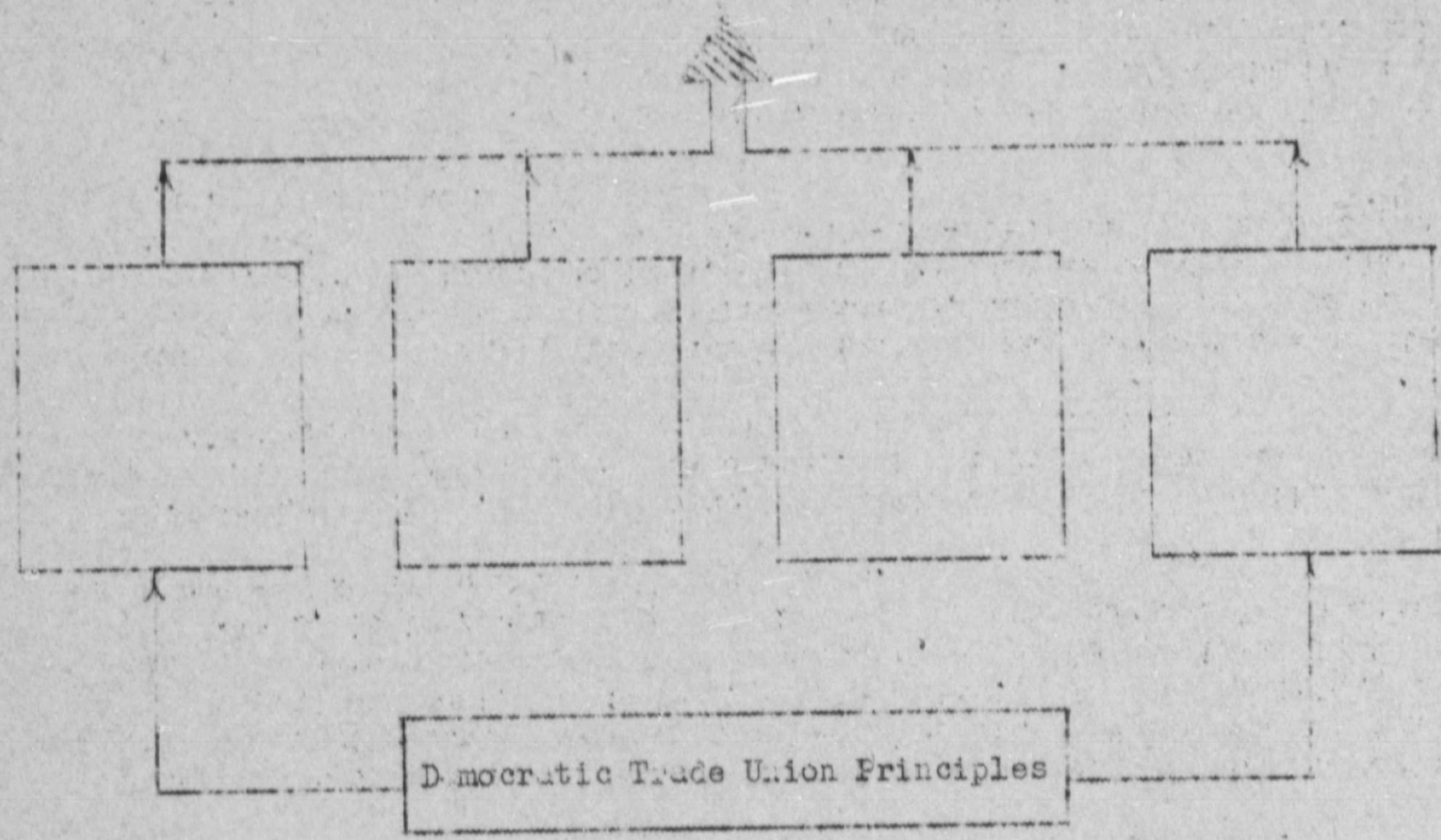
Such democratic trade union constitutions will also provide for regular trial procedures for the expulsion of members and for appeals to higher union authority. The union constitutions should also provide for regular financial reports, and other controls over the use of union funds. The regular calling of general conventions of the union, with rank-and-file control over the delegates, should also be assured.

The American unions have also found that union meetings should follow a regular order of business, open and close at specified hours, and be regulated by rules of procedure clearly established and known by the entire membership (Parliamentary Procedure).

Above all, the guarantee of free and independent trade unionism will be found in the intelligent and enthusiastic interest of the rank-and-file in the operation of both their local union and their national union. Democratic trade unionism flourishes where there are broad workers' education programs, where democratic procedures are used on every level on union activity, where there are frequent local union meetings with high attendance of the rank-and-file, and where there is intelligent interest on the part of the rank-and-file.

This diagram represents four trade unions which are operated according to democratic trade union procedures, founded on democratic trade union principles. On a specific trade union issue, each union makes its own decision and may move

in a variety of directions in developing its policy. The rank-and-file of each union, employing trade union principles, make their own policy determination.



Preventive Measures

There are certain specific measures which must be taken. The "Sixteen Principles for Japanese Trade Unions" adopted by the Far Eastern Commission on 6 December 1946 contain practically every such preventive measure. They are a MUST for each and every Japanese trade union.

Other additional measures may be taken which derive from the world-wide experience of trade unions in France, Italy, Germany, England, America, and other democratic countries.

Frequent Meetings

FEC Principles emphasize that "Emphasis should be placed on the importance of a solid local basis for future trade union activity in Japan." Local trade-unions (i.e., unions formed in an individual factory, mill, mine, or other place of work) should be so operated that they are controlled by their membership. In most democratic countries, it has become a tradition for local unions to meet once a month. Each and every member attends the meeting; it is conducted in a democratic manner, and every policy question is decided by the rank-and-file through vote.

FEC Principles continue: "The formation of trade unions should be a process of democratic self-expression and initiative, proceeding from the workers themselves..."

In democratic countries, this has meant that each local union is so organized that the various problems of the workers are classified, and a committee of rank-and-file workers is created to deal with each specific problem. These committees submit a report to the entire membership at each monthly meeting, and their respective work is the basis for either further study or for action.

But the important fact is that the membership makes the determination of policy. The men, women, and youths in the local union decide what will and what will not be done. The President or Chairman of the local may disagree, but once a majority vote has been taken, the President must obey the will of the local union. Likewise, at monthly meetings, the Executive Board of the union must report its actions to the membership. Whatever the membership decides, the Board must do.

Without frequently meeting, it is impossible for the trade union to develop solidly on the local union front. Without frequent meetings, it is impossible for the rank-and-file to discuss problems, and make known their wishes on policy and union decisions.

At times, a local union consists of members in various places, either within the same city or in several cities. In such cases, the union may provide for delegates from each section meeting periodically in order to govern the union. Such a practice invites top control and minority manipulation. When a local union is so large or spread over such a large area that the membership cannot hold regular monthly mass meetings, it would seem to be in the interests of democracy to divide the membership into two or more local unions so that democratic control can prevail.

Secret Ballot Elections

The officers of the union, be they local union officers or national union officers, must represent the people they speak for. If officers are appointed or receive their office through some devious devices, the basic principles of democracy are being violated.

FEC Principles clearly state: "Trade union officials and standing committee should be elected by the workers concerned by secret ballot and democratic methods." Election of union officials usually takes place on two levels - the local union, and the national union.

Local Union Elections

Elections are a very important part of trade union democracy, and careful procedures must be established in order to safeguard democracy.

The usual procedure in democratic countries is to hold a full membership meeting of every member of the union one month before the date of the election. The purpose of this meeting is to nominate or name persons who are to be candidates for the various union offices. Persons now serving may be renamed along with new nominees.

The usual procedure is for the Chairman of the union to declare at the appropriate time, "We will now nominate officers and committee members for the next regular election, which will take place in this hall one month hence. What is your pleasure?"

One union member raises his hand and, after being recognized, states 'I nominate Sato San." Another union member says, "I second the nomination" (which means, in effect, "I agree"). Other union members arise and name various candidates for the post of Chairman. When no further names are mentioned, the Chairman then reads off the names in reverse order and asks each person named if he desires to stand for election. Those who accept are formally nominated for the post of Chairman. This is repeated for every other union office and for committee members (Executive Committee and the Trustees).

Sometimes the local union may elect to make use of the written nomination. A petition is circulated within the union which states "We the undersigned nominate Jichiro Sato to be Chairman of our Union." If such petitions are signed by a certain minimum number of persons, a number specified in the local union by-laws, it is received by the Chairman and the person, if he accepts, is announced as having been formally nominated.

After the meeting, the Secretary of the local then posts a list of all persons who have accepted for each office. The list is posted at every possible point where union members can be reminded of the candidates.

It is often the custom for each candidate to make a short statement in the union newspaper, or on the union wall newspaper, as to his past record, his attitude on current union problems, and his promises as to what he will do if elected. During the month, the entire rank-and-file then has ample opportunity to analyze each person.

At the next meeting, a month hence, small paper ballots have been prepared which list the office and the names of the candidates. Rank-and-file union members, respresenting all factions within the union (men, women, youth, and so forth) are either elected or appointed to act as the vote counters. Each member is given one ballot, he marks his choices secretly, and presents the folded ballot to the vote counters along with his union card. The union card is marked in ink to indicate he has voted. This is done to prevent possible fraud.

When everyone has voted, one vote counter begins to open the ballots. Another vote counter stands at a blackboard. A third and fourth vote counter look over the shoulders of the other members to make sure that they are counting correctly. They go through the ballots one by one - "One vote for Sato San, one vote for Suzuki, one vote for Watanabe..." and so forth. At the end of the count, everyone knows exactly who has been elected for what office. And the person elected, truly represents the rank-and-file. Of course, a person must receive a majority vote. If three persons run for president and none receive a majority, the person with the least number of votes is dropped, and the membership again votes by secret ballot for the remaining parties. This is called a run-off election.

National Union Elections

National unions consist of a variety of local unions from all over the country. Sometimes they will conduct their vote at a convention, using the same procedures as above, but doing it all within a few days - nominations by convention delegates on one day, with the election a few days later in order to give everyone time to talk it over.

But in many American and British unions the procedures of referendum voting are used to ensure absolute rank-and-file democracy. The convention merely has the right of nominating many persons for each office. After the convention has adjourned, the procedure of taking the vote is handed over to a pre-arranged third party - a firm of lawyers, accountants, or a labor relations committee.

The third party uses double post cards. One postcard is mailed to every paid-up union member. It instructs him to mark his vote and mail it back to the third party at once. The other half of the post-card contains the ballot. Each member receives the ballot in his home, marks his vote, and mails it back to the third party. Within a month, or some reasonable period, the third party then announces the results, and returns the completed ballots to the union in case anyone doubts their honesty.

Unions with as many as 500,000 members use this method of election of top union officials because they have learned through positive experience that unless the rank-and-file make the choice, there is always the danger of minority group manipulation at conventions.

Duties of Officers

Trade Union constitutions should provide clearly for the precise nature of the duties of the several officers of the local and/or national union. The constitution should also provide for ways and means for the impeachment and possible removal of officers who fail to discharge their duties to the union.

If officers of a union are forced to resign by a small group of noisy persons, or if they are subjected to character assassination, rumors, and campaigns of vilification, democratic trade unionism cannot for long exist. If a group of members in a union do not like their leaders, they should institute regular proceedings, have a trial according to the constitution, and call a special convention of the entire union to voice its decision. Of course if they do not like the leaders, they must remain content to wait for the next regular election of officers.

Any union officer or officers who permit a small group to force them out of office, through resignation, without the use of procedure and without waiting for re-election are derelict in their duty to the rank-and-file members of the union. To permit minority elements to force resignation is to turn the union over to tiny groups, paving the way for totalitarian control.

Trade Union Finances

ILO Principles flatly state that employers (private or governmental) "should not be allowed" to finance unions.

There are many reasons for this prohibition of union financing on the part of employers. One is that if the employer finances the union, there is always the possibility of employer influence of union officials. But more important,

when the rank-and-file do not have to pay the expenses of their union, they do not take an interest in it. Trade union members must force themselves to pay the entire expenses of their own union. If they do so, they will watch their union, attend meetings, and take an interest in the type of officers selected for top union positions. In no democratic country in the world are trade union officials or trade unions financed in whole or in part by the employer - either private or public.

Accounting

Another FEC Principles states that "The balance sheet and table of income and expenditure of each trade union showing also the source of large contributions should be available for public inspection. Safeguards such as annual audit by a professionally competent auditor appointed by the members should be taken to ensure the accuracy of the statements.

On both the local union level and on the national union level, rank-and-file trade unionists should insist on this practice. It is their only possible protection from racketeering, mis-use of union funds, and unauthorized union expenditures.

Workers' Education

Fundamental to all of the above is workers' education - the training of each and every worker - men, women, and youth - in a thorough understanding of trade unionism, collective bargaining, labor law, political action, and so forth.

FEC Principles state that "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."

Where the membership remains ignorant, small minorities can play with the union as if it were their personal property. Small political fractions can manipulate the union as they will, for the membership does not know what it is all about. Workers' education is indeed the basic guarantee of true democratic trade unionism.

Summary

Each and every trade union member may well sit down and compare his national union and his local union with the following list of questions:

Check List

1. Does my local union have a regular monthly membership of all the members: youth, men, and women?

2. Do the local union members decide the policies of the union to be followed by the Chairman and Executive Committee?

3. Does my union use secret ballot election for the election of all officers and executive committee members? Do we have ample time to determine the qualifications of nominees?

4. Does my union publish a regular financial report?

5. Do the officers and Executive Committee members submit a complete report on their actions to a regular membership meeting which criticizes and votes on such reports?

6. Is my union free of secret caucus meetings, fraction activity, or coll infil tration?

7. Does my union carry on practical trade union education for every member of the union : youth, men, and women?

8. Is my union financed by the union membership? Is my union free of any financing by private or public employers?

9. Do I play a part in the election of the officials of top national unions and top union federations of national unions?

10. Does my union constitution guarantee trial of members before explusion? Does the rank-and-file have a final vote on any proposed expulsions from the union? Can a member so expelled appeal to the convention of the next higher union unit?

11. Does your regular local union meeting follow an agenda known to every member? Does the local union follow the procedures of parliamentary procedure?

12. Are the rank-and-file members of the union active from month-to-month, week-to-week in union affairs?

13. Is my union free from control of domination by any political party?

14. Does my union have a written contract with the employer which specifies wages, hours, and working conditions, and includes provision for the peaceful settlement of grievances through an impartial umpire or arbitration?

If the answer is "yes" to the majority of these questions, then you probably belong to a democratic trade union.

If the answer is "no" to the majority of these questions, then you are probably a member of a union controlled by politicians or racketeers.

And if the answer is "no" you owe it to yourself, your union, and your country to take immediate democratic action to see to it that you run your own union.

Trade unionists!

The trade union movement belongs to you. See that your union serves you and your fellow trade union members, as well as your country!

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LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS - INFORMATION CONFERENCE
SENDAI, 21-22 JANUARY 1947

"PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONISM"
Delivered by Richard L. G. Deverall,
Chief, Education Branch, Labor
Division, ESS, GHQ, SCAP

Most of us have come to Japan from America with a well-developed set of ideas and convictions with regard to labor organizations. Some of us may think this of the American CIO. Others may think that of the American AFL. Some may have very definite convictions and prejudices about the entire American labor movement.

But now we are in Japan, operating under a very different set of circumstances. We operate under directives from higher authority. Our actions in Japan with regard to Japanese labor unions are therefore based on the expressed policies which have been enunciated by higher authority.

It is difficult at times to deal with Japanese labor unions and not subconsciously reflect in our attitudes and reactions the ideas we have about American labor unions. In order to clarify the problem, and to aid in as objective an approach to Japanese trade unions as is possible, it might be wise to consider the basic conception of democratic trade unionism and apply the Principles of American trade unionism to the Japanese trade unions.

WHAT IS DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONISM?

The Worker observes that he is not only a member of a family and a local political group, but through his employment he is a member of a social and economic group. By himself, as an individual, he cannot appreciably better his position through individual bargaining with the employer. But he discovers that if he unites himself with the group, if he becomes a member of an association of other men and women in the same plant or industry - he finds that they can secure through united action what they cannot possibly do through individual action.

That is the basis of democratic trade unionism.

The social and economic necessities of man can be taken care of by a dictatorship or a fascist economy. They will take care of everything, to a certain degree. As a price for such social and economic service, a fascist dictatorship will rob the men and women of their liberty. They become slaves of the state.

Democracy comes from the ancient Greek words, Demos and Kratos. Demos means people. Kratos means rule. Democracy, then, simply means the rule of the people.

Under democracy, every person has the human and the legal right to form an association with his fellow workers in order to promote their social and economic aspirations. Such an association is a labor union - in Japanese, a Rodo Kumiai.

Because the group will find that a large number of persons cannot discuss everything with everyone, representatives are elected to represent the union members. The representatives are leaders, in that they propose action to the membership. They are also servants of the membership. Whenever the association has had a democratic meeting, and decided upon a certain course of action by majority vote, then the representatives of the group MUST carry out the expressed will of the membership. Likewise, once the decision has been made by a majority vote, the people who opposed the measure are then bound to support the decision, whether or not they agreed with it. This is what we call "solidarity" - that sticking-together of people that makes them into a solid group: united, indissoluble, and vigorous.

The bases of democractic trade unionism rest upon the appreciation by every member of the union that he or she is a member of a group which is working for the social and economic betterment of every member of the group. Leaders are selected to represent all the members. Decisions are made by all the members, and once majority vote has prevailed, united action of the group is obtained under the leadership through the solidarity and support of the rank-and-file.

The labor union is an economic and social instrument of, by, and for the people who freely join it. In every industrial

country, wage-earners have set up free labor unions as both a defensive measure, and as an instrument to advance the common good.

It should be noted that the employers follow the same course of reasoning. The Chamber of Commerce and the associations of employers are protective associations of employers. They are employers' unions.

EMPLOYERS

Trade unions bar from membership persons who are employers, or who represent the interests of the employer. Generally speaking, democratic trade unions the world over bar from membership in trade unions those persons who are heads of companies, stockholders of the company, managers, supervisors, or any other person, or persons, who have the right to hire and fire. That is the basic distinction of free and independent trade union membership.

If the union is controlled or heavily influenced by the employer, it is not possible for the employer to bargain with himself. Such a union is called a company union and is merely an association of workers under the leadership of the employer. It is NOT a labor union.

The worker has no desire to join the employers' Chamber of Commerce. Likewise, the employer and his representatives have no desire to join the organization of the employees.

They are two separate organizations and have separate purposes.

A healthy union exists only when it is completely divorced from management with regard to its internal affairs and its decisions. That is also democratic, for then each side of the production picture - labor and management - is well represented and can speak for itself. Each group honestly represents its side in the collective bargaining conference.

GOVERNMENT

During the recent war, the government of that time found it

convenient to liquidate the legitimate trade union movement in Japan, and in its place set up the Sangyo Hokoku Kai - or Sampo. Sampo was a so-called patriotic industrial organization formed to increase war production at any cost in the interest of the vicious militarists and selfish zaibatsu. Sampo had no interest in higher wages, shorter working hours, or better working conditions. On the contrary, Sampo operated against the better interests of the Japanese workers who were the involuntary members.

Just as the Chamber of Commerce would object if the government tried to run it, so a union rightfully protests when the government tries to run the labor movement. If a union violates the law, that is one thing. But other than that, the government must refrain from any meddling in the internal affairs of the unions.

Under the democractic form of government, the basic principle is that no higher group should do for the people what the people can do for themselves. If a union can take care of the social and economic needs of a group of workers, there is no cause for intervention by the government. If the union finds it is impossible to better conditions, then, and only then, does the government step in to right the wrong.

POLITICAL PARTIES

A political party, by definition, is an association of persons and groups, based on the acceptance of certain political principles and policies, who wish to secure the acceptance of their proposals by the government - or else the political party itself wishes to become the government by securing a majority vote in the Diet.

Politics is the science of governing people and administering the community. A labor union is a social and economic association of men and women who desire to improve their economic and social conditions in a given industry or plant. Membership in a labor union is not based upon the acceptance of any certain political or religious beliefs.