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

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

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

Sato san will give an answer.

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

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

MECHANICS

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

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

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

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

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

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

SCHOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

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

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

INSTITUTES

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

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

EDUCATION DIRECTOR INSTITUTES

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

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

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

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

NEW MEMBER SCHOOLS

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

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

SHOP STEWARD SCHOOL

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

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

SPECIAL INSTITUTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOTE

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

end

File

TRADE UNION CONVENTIONS : THE VOICE

OF THE RANK-AND-FILE

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

TOKYO

- 1948 -

Introduction

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

Does he?

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

Do they?

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

Well, yes and no.

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

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

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

Conventions

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

1. Receive and examine reports from the national union officers in order to criticize them, make suggestions, and use them for convention discussion.

2. Formulate basic over-all policies of the union for the coming year.

3. Check on the state of union finances and adopt a budget for the coming year.

4. Examine and improve the constitution of the union.

5. Adjust disputes between local unions, or between a member and his local union.

6. Elect top officers and committeemen for the coming year.

7. Receive reports on the past work of the various departments of the union, and adopt programs for these departments for the coming year.

Pre-Convention Activities

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

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

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

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

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

Procedures

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

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

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

The Committee System

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

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

Basic Committees

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Convention

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

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

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

The voting procedures regarding resolutions and committee reports

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

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

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

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

Debates

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

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

Democracy and Debate

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

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

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

Finances

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

Mandates

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

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

Election of Officers

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

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

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

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

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

The importance of direct election cannot be overemphasized.

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

Summary

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

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

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

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

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

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

Model Draft for a Union Constitution

File Labor Education

There must be a definite expression of desire to form a union by you, the workers concerned.

Your union will be a local union. As such you should prepare your own Constitution and by-laws. Many elements (political and industrial) will learn of your intentions. These people will beseige you with offers of aid. Some of these people may be sincere but other's motives may be open to doubt, so do not take a chance with your newly found industrial freedom. Surely, for the privilege of forming your own laws, everyone will be not only willing but also eager to devote time and energy to the establishment of a strong and efficient Union. Without your wholehearted support and cooperation, you will get a Union which is nothing else but one of the following:

1. A political tool - operated by some Political Party for the benefit of that party, enslaving you and your fellow members and providing no economic, political or cultural gains for you, the Japanese workers.

2. A Labor-Boss tool - operated by a gumi, either directly or through the "false face" front of a Benevolent Association, for the benefit of the employer despite the few grams of rice he may offer you as a sign of paternalism. Ask him, and you will probably find, if he tells a truthful answer, that your Government provided the rice ration originally and this boss merely distributes it "at a small extra cost to you."

Now that you have decided the type of organization that you desire, you will begin to build your Union. After notifying your employer through your own spokesman, you will prepare your Constitution. Every worker who is to be in your Union should have a part in forming the laws which will govern him. You can easily imagine the confusion and difficulties which would arise were all the members to attempt to actively participate in the business of drafting the Constitution. There is, however, a way to insure the democratic establishment of your constitution.

First elect a Planning Committee to draft a proposed constitution. Then in a General Membership Committee, vote on the ratification of each separate clause of the constitution as proposed by the Planning Committee and finally, on the constitution in its entirety.

How will you elect this Planning Committee? So as to preserve the friendliest relations with your employer, hold your elections during the lunch hour and rest periods with the complete knowledge and consent of your employer. Do not hold meeting during the Company's time or on the Company's grounds without the consent of your employer.

Distribute the prepared ballots at the entrance to your place of employment in the morning and provide sealed ballot boxes through out the

company. Close the election at lunch time and count the votes in full view of all the assembled membership. For these elections, do not have a list of nominations. A worker may vote for any five fellow workers in order of preference. The qualifications for the position of the Planning Committee should be limited, but must include those:

1. He must be currently employed by the company and have been employed there for a length of time not less than 1/3 of the average length of time of all the employees.

2. He must not be a member of the managerial staff nor related or indebted to any member of the managerial staff.

A PROPOSED CONSTITUTION

PREAMBLE

We the employees _____Co. do acknowledge this as our doctrine. Our Union will be a free, self-governing and responsible organization of working men and women which will use its collective bargaining power and influence for the advancement of wages, working conditions and living standards, and for the protection of a free people.

CHAPTER I

Article 1

. This Union shall be known as the _____and shall have its office situated at _____.

Article 2

Membership in this Union shall be available to all workers of _____Company (or companies) who are in no way associated with, or indebted to management.

CHAPTER 2

Article 3

The following will be the organization of the _____Union.

1. Legislative body
   General Membership Meeting

2. Executive Body
   Excutive Committee

3. Judiciary Body
   The sub-committee for membership discipline, of the Membership Activities Committee.

Article 4
The General Membership Meeting shall be a stated meeting held on ____day of every month, and at such other time as might be deemed necessary by the Executive Committee.

Article 5
Fifty percent (50%) of the registered membership will constitute a legal quorum.

Article 6
The General Membership Meeting shall be closed to all persons who are not members of the local Union. Officials of Management, other Union and/or Federation Officials, Government Officials, and any person having business with the General Membership Meeting may be admitted only with consent of the General Membership Meeting expressed by a majority vote.

Article 7
Notification of the Meeting shall be given in sufficient time (at least 24 hours) before each meeting to all members so as to assure complete knowledge of the meetings existance on the part of every member. In the case of an extraordinary meeting of the General Membership, 48 hours notification must be given to all members.

Article 8
A. The General Membership Meeting shall decide upon any and all business of the Union which deals with any organization or person other than itself; e.g. management of the subject Company (or companies), other Unions (either local or Federations), Government agencies (Prefectural or National).

B. There may be this exception: The General Membership Meeting may delegate action concerning such business to the Executive Committee or the specific committee concerned. A 2/3 vote of the General Membership Meeting will be necessary to grant such powers to the designated Committees. In such cases a complete report of any action proposed by these committees will be submitted, orally and in writing, before the assembled membership - this proposed action shall be voted on (simple majority) without discussion. An after action report will be delivered to the General Membership Meeting by the Committee at the earliest possible date.

Article 9
A simple majority vote of the General Membership Meeting will be necessary to pass all normal legislation. Exceptions will be noted as in Article 8 Section B.

Article 10.
The Executive Committee will consist of a Chairman and _____ (specify a definite even number) members. The Chairman shall be elected (as such) in a General Election and each member will be elected in a similar manner. The term of office will be one year.

Article 11

The duties of the Executive Committee shall include:

1. To execute business decided upon by the General Membership Meeting.

2. To carry out such business of the Union which is not normally handled by the General Membership Meeting as set forth in Article 8, viz; finances policymaking.

Article 12

There shall be an executive Secretary who is an employee of the union and not the Company and shall be hired by the Union to perform the routine work of the Committee.

Article 13

The members of the Executive Committee will elect a Vice Chairman and such sub committees as may be necessary to carry out their business.

Article 14

These elections will be held in a manner prescribed by the committee..

Article 15

At no time will the Executive Committee seek to usurp the powers of the General Membership Meeting or the duties of such other committees which may be established by the General Membership Meeting and/or this constitution.

Article 16

There shall be a Committee for Membership Activities.

Article 17

The Committee for Membership Activities will consist of a chairman and _____ (specify a definite even number). The chairman shall be elected (as such) in a General election, and each member will be elected in a similar manner for a term of one year.

Article 18

The Committee for a Membership Activities shall have the following primary duties:

1. Promotion of a democratic attitude among the union members by:
   a. Education of members.
   b. Urging full membership attendance of the General Membership meeting. It shall be the duty of the Committee for membership activities to notify all members of the general membership meeting as set forth in Article 7.

2. A sub-committee for Membership Discipline shall be formed.
   a. This shall be a standing committee elected by the Committee for Membership Activities.
   b. The Committee for Membership Discipline shall elect it's own chairman.

c. The Committee for Membership Discipline shall hear complaints concerning Union Members from other members and management.

d. The Committee shall investigate these complaints.

e. The Committee for Membership Discipline shall report their findings before the General Membership Meeting.

f. The General Membership Meeting shall vote without discussion (simple majority) to ratify these findings. In all case the decision of the General Membership Meeting will be final.

3. Any other duties which shall be inposed upon it by the General Membership Meeting in accordance with Article 8 Section B.

Article 19

There shall be Committees formed by election of the General Membership Meeting for Activities such as:

1. Grievance Committee
2. Political Action
3. Womens Activities
4. Health and Welfare
5. Young Peoples Activities
6. Entertainment, etc.

Article 20

Article 19 in no way provides for the existance of the Committee (mentioned as examples). These committees shall exist only through the will of the General Membership Meeting which will elect the members for a term of one year.

Article 21

Membership on committees shall be available to every member of the Union. No member shall be on more than two committees with this exception:

1. If there are not enough members of either sex to provide that there shall be members of both sexes on every committee.

2. In the above case, which ever group in deficient will be allowed compensating privileges so as to assure at least one member of both sexes on every committee.

Article 22

The Members of the Executive committee and Committee for Membership Activities shall not be allowed to hold membership on any other committee.

CHAPTER III

FINANCES

Article 23

This Union shall be self-sustaining. All funds shall be obtained by direct taxation of members. No gifts either of currency, credit or real property shall be accepted from any persons or organization.

Article 24
Funds shall be collected through dues from all members. Dues will be collected monthly. All members will pay the same amount of dues.

Article 25
Further taxation may be requested by the Executive Committee when ever it is necessary. The request and amount must be approved by a two thirds vote of the General Membership Meeting.

Article 26
There shall be a Treasurer elected by the General Membership Meeting for a term of one year.

Article 27
The Treasurer shall be a (non-voting) member of the Executive Committee ex officio.

Article 28
The Treasurer shall (among his duties) see that the financial condition of the Union is made known to all members in the form of a Financial Statement by publishing this statement monthly and by orally delivering this statement at the General Membership Meeting.

Article 29
No member of the Union shall receive a salary from the Union.

Article 30
No member of the Union shall accept a gift from any political or employer or Union source.

Article 31
If at any time a member of the Union is found to have received any gift, this action shall be investigated by the Sub-Committee for Membership Discipline and if the member can not satisfactory defend his activities he shall be subject to disciplinary action of a fine, suspension, or both. (This action subject to Article 18 Par. 2-f)

Article 32
The salary of the Secretary of the Executive Committee shall be determined by the Executive Committee and shall be approved by a vote (simple majority) of the General Membership Meeting.

Article 33
The Treasurer shall employ the services of an auditor once a month to audit his books.

Article 34
The Executive Committee shall determine the fee to be payed for the monthly audit of books. This action shall be approved by a vote (simple majority) of the General Membership Meeting.

Article 35
All normal expenditures other than those mentioned shall be determined by the Executive Committee and shall be reviewed monthly by the General Membership Meeting during the publication of the financial statement.

Article 36
Extraordinary expeditures exceeding ¥ ___ shall be submitted for approval of the General Membership Meeting.

Article 37
Future Membership in this Union is available to all workers of _____ Company (or companies) with the approval of the General Membership Meeting.

Article 38
Membership will not be denied a member who is newly employed in _____ company while not a Union member, but who shows an earnest desire to become one.

Article 39
Membership is confined to the category mentioned in Article 11. There will be no honorary memberships or honorary officials. To be considered under Article 37 a person must work a minimum of 30 hours a week during at least 5 days a week.

Article 40
A member may resign and/or with draw from this Union at anytime without showing cause. He shall forfeit all privileges due him as a Union member and shall be subject to normal procedure should he desire to return to the Union.

Article 41
No worker shall be denied his political freedom nor his civil rights in the General Membership Meeting.

Article 42
Whenever dues are not paid for 3 consecutive months Membership will be automatically suspended unless member can show justifiable cause for such action.

Article 43
No worker shall be expelled from the Union solely for Political reasons and any disciplinary action shall be subject to Article 18 Par. 2.

Article 44
The General Merbership Meeting shall include all workers of the Union and there shall be no departmentalizing of women, youths, etc.

Article 45
At no time will committees meet during the General Membership meeting.

Article 46

Any changes or additions to this Constitution must be made with the approval of a Special General Membership Meeting by a two-thirds vote of that Body. The legal quorum for this special General Membership Meeting shall be two-thirds of the registered membership.

Article 47

This Constitution shall come into effect as of _____.

2.

May 1947

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Division of Labor Standards

UNION GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

COURSE OUTLINE

This course outline is designed as one suggested way, among many, of organizing the relevant material in the field. It is, of course, no substitute for a reasonably intimate knowledge of the subject matter on the part of the teacher.

The use of this course outline is subject to three important qualifications.

(1) The students taking the course should have had some experience as union officers of one kind or another.

(2) The content of the course outline is confined to the non-collective bargaining aspects of union administration.

(3) The material in this outline should not be used indiscriminately, but should be carefully adapted to the special characteristics and problems of the students and the unions from which they come.

The course of which this outline is a part is seen as having the following objectives:

(1) To familiarize the student with the essential facts of the government and administration of the trade union movement in the United States.

(2) To suggest a method of organizing the material with respect to the government and administration of particular international and local unions.

(3) To stimulate thinking about the problems of efficient administration of union business.

(4) To stimulate thinking about ways of securing cooperative human relationships in union administration.

SESSION I

The Local Union and Its Responsibilities

(Outline should be adapted to specific local union situation)

A. The Local as the focal point of the union's contact with the rank-and-file membership.

B. What does the average member expect from his union?

1. Fair, effective and efficient representation of his interests to management.

2. Voice, vote, and an opportunity for participation, in carrying on the union's activities.

3. Honesty and efficiency on the part of the union officers.

4. Place of esteem in the community and the nation.

5. Protection and advancement of the worker's interests in matters of public and governmental policy.

C. What general relationships with other groups and bodies does the local union need to maintain in order to carry out the responsibilities outlined in "B" above?

1. How the local is set up to carry out responsibilities.

2. The role of the district council, joint board, etc.

3. The role of the city central and state central labor bodies.

4. The role of the international union.

5. The role of the national federations, i.e. the AFL and CIO.

D. A brief historical review of the evolution of the labor movement.

1. Origins of local unions.

2. Organizing of city central bodies by locals.

3. Organizing of national and international unions by groups of locals.

4. Organizing of federations by the national and international unions.

E. Questions for discussion:

1. Would it be possible for your local to function adequately without some relationship to a district council, city and state labor body, international union and national federation? Why or why not?

SESSION II

The Local Union and its Government

(Outline should be adapted to specific local union situation)

A. What is the highest authority in the local?

1. The local meeting.

2. The local executive board.

B. Duties and responsibilities of local officers.

1. President.

2. Financial Secretary.

3. Recording Secretary.

C. Duties and responsibilities of local committees.

1. Organizing.

2. Educational .

3. Legislative.

4. Political.

5. Social.

6. Bargaining

D. Maintaining union discipline.

1. How and on what grounds may charges against union members be filed?

2. Hearing procedures.

3. Rights and sequence of appeal.

a. To international president.

b. To international executive board.

c. To convention.

d. To special appeals body.

E. Affiliates of the local union.

1. Joint boards, district councils, etc.

2. City and central labor bodies.

3. State labor bodies.

F. Questions for discussion:

1. What standards do you think should be used to determine whether the local is functioning well?

2. Which local committees are functioning well? Why?

G. Readings:

Illustrative union publications:

Your Trade Union, The IBEW, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, 1200-15th St., N.W., Washington 5, D.C.

Local Union Secretary Guide and Manual, Oil Workers International Union, CIO, Lodger Building, Fort Worth 2, Texas

SESSION III

The International Union

(Outline should be adapted to the facts which hold for the specific international union)

A. How does the international help the local fulfill its responsibilities?

1. Organization of new members.

2. Assistance in negotiations.

3. Assistance in the advanced stages of grievance procedure.

4. Protection of standards throughout the country.

5. Representation before government bodies.

6. Auditing local books of account.

7. Guidance in educational activities.

B. What body is the supreme authority in the international?

1. Convention? How constituted?

2. Referendum? How taken?

3. Combination of both?

C. Where is the highest administrative authority vested?

1. Executive body? How elected and constituted?

2. President or other chief executive officer?

3. Limitations and checks on administrative authority?

D. Duties and responsibilities of international executive officers.

1. President.

2. Secretary.

3. Secretary-Treasurer.

4. Vice-Presidents.

E. What are the subordinate groups which make up the international? What is the authority of the international over those subordinate groups?

1. Departments or divisions.

2. Regional offices.

3. Locals.

F. Historical development of international unions.

G. Questions for discussion:

1. How did the conditions which led to the development of international unions generally, compare with the beginnings of your own international?

H. Readings:

Students should become familiar with the constitution and by-laws of their own international union.

Florence Peterson, American Labor Unions, Chapter IV.

Illustrative union publications:

Structure and Functioning, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, AFL, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, New York.

So You're Now a Member of OWIU, Oil Workers International Union, CIO Ledger Building, Fort Worth 2, Texas.

What Is Your Union, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, AFL, 1018 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington 5, D.C.

The NFTW - Your Union, National Federation of Telephone Workers, 917 G Place, N.W., Washington 1, D.C.

TWUA, How it Works, Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, 15 Union Square, New York 3, New York.

Structure and Administration, Upholsterers' International Union of N.A. AFL, 1500 N. Broad Street, Philadelphia 21, Pennsylvania.

Your Union, International Woodworkers of America, CIO, 314 S.W. Ninth Avenue, Portland 5, Oregon

SESSION IV

The AFL and CIO

A. American Federation of Labor

1. The AFL is basically a federation of autonomous national and international unions.

2. In addition, there are federal labor unions, city central bodies and state federations, which are not autonomous but operate under the direct control of the AFL executive council.

3. There are also five subordinate departments, whose purpose is to coordinate the interests of particular international unions in the fields indicated by the name of the department.

a. Metal Trades.

b. Building Trades.

c. Railway Employees.

d. Union Label.

e. Maritime Trades.

4. Staff activities of the AFL also include the following:

   a. Organization.

   b. Legislation.

   c. Social Insurance Activities

   d. Legal.

   e. Research.

   f. Publicity.

   g. Educational activities of the AFL are carried on by by the Workers' Education Bureau of America.

5. AFL government

   a. The highest authority is the annual convention.

   b. Between conventions, the Executive Council elected by the Convention, administers the affairs of the AFL.

   c. The President and the Secretary-Treasurer are the permanent, full-time officers, elected by the convention.

B. The Congress of Industrial Organizations.

1. The CIO is basically an organization of autonomous national and international unions.

2. In addition there are local industrial unions directly controlled by the CIO, and subordinate city and state industrial union councils.

3. Staff activities of the CIO include the following:

   a. Industrial Union Councils.

   b. Organization.

   c. Research and Education.

   d. Publicity.

   e. International Affairs.

   f. Anti-Discrimination.

   g. Legal.

h. Legislative.

i. Political action.

4. CIO government

a. The highest authority is the annual convention.

b. Between conventions, the Executive Board, made up of the officers and representatives from each of the affiliated unions, administers the affairs of the CIO.

c. The President and the Secretary-Treasurer are the permanent, full-time officers, elected by the convention.

C. Non-affiliated unions.

1. The operating railroad brotherhoods.

2. International Association of Machinists.

3. National Federation of Telephone Workers.

D. Historical basis for the federation-type structure characteristic of the AFL and CIO.

E. Questions for discussion:

1. Why have the international unions normally found it necessary to be affiliated with a broader organization like the AFL or CIO?

2. Does the relationship between the AFL or CIO and their affiliated international unions bear any resemblance to the relationship between the Federal Government and the States?

F. Readings:

Harry Millis and Royal Montgomery, Organized Labor, Chapters I, III, IV, and VI.

Florence Peterson, American Labor Unions, Chapters I, II, III. (Appendices contain verbatim AFL and CIO constitutions.)

SESSION V

The Local Union Meeting

A. Problems of the chairman at the local union meeting.

1. Keeping discussion on the motion.

2. Using parliamentary law to run the meeting more efficiently rather than permitting meeting to be bogged down by "parliamentary lawyers."

3. Allowing a fair hearing for every point of view and avoiding the extremes of no discussion or discussion which repeats interminably points already made.

4. Sensing when certain discussions (particularly those involving minor items of detail) can more profitably be handled by a smaller committee meeting than in a large membership meeting.

5. Knowing the appropriate time for the expression of the chairman's views on a given subject.

6. Discouraging distracting activities at the meeting.

B. Problems of the recording secretary.

1. Recording the minutes to show:

a. Who made the motion.

b. Who seconded the motion.

c. Precise wording of the motion.

d. A brief summary of the pros and cons.

e. Exact vote on the motion.

2. Knowing what communications should and should not be read to the meeting.

3. Reading the minutes audibly.

C. Problems of the committee chairman.

1. Outlining the report in advance.

2. Indicating clearly the committee recommendations which require further action by the membership.

3. Summarizing the committee discussion which led to the recommendations.

D. The major problems of the financial secretary are making the financial report understandable and minimizing the use of financial jargon.

E. Problems of the executive board.

1. Planning the meeting in advance.

2. Making available to membership, in mineographed form, reports and statements which require detailed understanding.

3. Devising plans to improve attendance at local meetings.

   a. Streamlined conduct of union business at local meeting.

   b. Educational programs.

   c. Social activities after meeting.

   d. Setting a feasible time and time-limits for meeting.

   e. Fines for non-attendance.

F. Questions for discussion:

   1. What are the reasons for absenteeism at local meetings?

   2. Plan a local meeting which would attract and hold the interest of the membership.

G. Readings:

Students should bring to class the constitution and by-laws of their own local unions.

Florence Peterson, American Labor Unions, Chapter IV.

Illustrative union publications:

How to Conduct a Union Meeting; All of the Rules at a Glance, United Automobile Workers, CIO, 28 W. Warren, Detroit 1, Michigan.

ABC of Parliamentary Law, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, New York, by August Classens and Rebecca E. Jarvis.

How to Conduct a Union Meeting on Ship and Shore, Seafarers' International Union, AFL, 51 Beaver Street, New York.

Parliamentary Guide, National Federation of Telephone Workers' Educational Department, 917 G Place, Washington 1, D.C.

Rules for Union Meetings, Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, 15 Union Square, New York 3, New York.

How To Conduct a U.I.U. Local Meeting, Upholsterers International Union of North America, 1500 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, 32, Pennsylvania.

SESSION VI

Union Finances

(The outline should be adapted to the details of the specific union's financial system)

A. What are the common complaints about union financial affairs? What can and should be done to meet these complaints?

B. Allocation of dues.

1. International per-capita.

2. Retained by local.

3. Per capita payments to city and state labor bodies.

4. Other per capita obligations.

C. How dues dollar is spent locally.

1. Central Office administration.

2. Organization.

3. Education.

4. Research.

5. Publications.

6. Welfare activities.

7. Defense.

8. Reserve funds.

D. Understanding the books of account.

1. Individual receipt book.

2. Day book.

3. Membership ledger.

4. Voucher book for disbursements.

5. Treasurer's account book records of income and disbursements.

6. Auditing procedures.

   a. By international auditors.

   b. By committee of members.

E. Analysis of latest financial reports of international and local.

F. Methods of making financial information understandable.

   1. A "simplified" annual report.

   2. Use of pictorial methods such as "pie-charts" to show what happens to the members' dues.

G. Questions for discussion:

   1. A group of prospective union members ask you, "What does the union do with its dues?" Outline a simple and authoritative answer.

H. Readings:

   Peterson, American Labor Unions, Chapter VIII

   Millis and Montgomery, Organized Labor, pps. 26 and 270

   Illustrative union publications

   The Big Nickel; Your Dues Dollar-Where It Goes, What You Get For It, United Automobile Workers, CIO, 28 W. Warren, Detroit 1, Michigan.

   Keeping Financial Records; Union Finance at a Glance, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, AFL, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.

   The Check Off, National Maritime Union, CIO, 346 W. 17th Street, New York 11, New York.

   Financial System of U.I.U. Unions, Upholsterers' International Union of North America, 1500 N. Broad Street, Philadelphia 32, Pennsylvania

SESSION VII

Educational Activities in the Local Union

A. Purposes of an educational program.

   1. To make the administration of the union's business more efficient and effective by training union officers and committeemen.

   2. To give members a feeling for the broad purposes and traditions of the American labor movement.

3. To equip members with the knowledge necessary to make intelligent decisions as citizens of the community and of the union.

4. To inform the community at large of union objectives.

B. Programs are administered by educational director or committee.

C. Possible educational activities. (This is only a checklist: No union could effectively carry on <u>all</u> of these activities.)

1. Classes.

2. One-day, weekend, and full-week institutes or conferences.

3. Integration of the educational program into routine shop and local meetings.

4. Book and pamphlet library.

5. Poster and chart exhibits.

6. Recreational programs.

a. Dramatic and choral groups.

b. Bowling and other athletic activities.

7. Local or shop paper.

8. Educational "minute men" for word-of-mouth transmission of union policies and objectives.

9. Forums and discussion groups.

10. Pamphlets and leaflets.

D. Content of educational programs.

1. History of labor.

2. Labor economics.

3. Economics of particular industry in which union is organized.

4. Collective bargaining.

5. Steward training.

6. "Know Your Union" for new members.

7. Consumer problems.

8. Labor legislation.

9. Administration of unions.

10. Psychology.

11. Labor journalism.

E. Sources of assistance in setting up educational programs.

1. International union.

2. Workers' Education Bureau (AFL).

3. CIO Department of Research and Education.

4. American Labor Education Service.

5. U.S. Department of Labor, Division of Labor Standards.

6. University labor education services in the area.

F. Problems in administering educational program.

1. Recruitment of students.

2. Selection of teachers.

3. Cooperation with outside educational agencies.

4. How much "leg work" is needed to stimulate interest?

G. Questions for discussion:

1. What success have you had with educational activities? How do you explain the success or lack of success of the activities?

2. Draw up a leaflet announcing an educational activity for the local.

H. Readings:

Theodore Brameld, editor, Workers Education in the United States.

Mark Starr, Workers Education Today, League for Industrial Democracy.

SESSION VIII

The Union and the Community

A. Why should the union be concerned with community affairs?

1. As citizens, union members have a stake in making the community a decent place to live in.

2. At various points, the union and the community organizations are trying to achieve the same objectives.

3. It is important to stimulate an intelligent understanding of union objectives on as broad a basis as possible.

B. Community groups and agencies which have cooperated with unions. (This is only a check-list: no one union could possibly do all of these)

1. Public schools - Organized labor has been one of the important pioneers in campaigning for free public education.

2. Libraries - Perhaps the local library will provide a sub-branch collection of books at the union headquarters. Call attention to books on labor which may be in the library.

3. Social agencies - A knowledge of these facilities will enable unions to refer members for assistance.

4. Health services - Are they adequate? Cooperation with a program of health education for the membership.

5. Veterans groups - What can the union do to ease the veteran's employment problem, particularly disabled veterans?

6. Consumer organizations - Credit unions, housing and buying coops, etc.

7. Farm organizations - Exchange of viewpoints.

8.. Minority groups - The problem in the union and in the community.

9. Churches - Talks by ministers to union groups and by union people at church meetings.

C. Methods in community and public relations.

1. Getting newsworthy union events reported in newspapers.

2. Putting the union viewpoint on the radio.

3. Union publications aimed at telling the community what the union stands for.

D. Problems of union-community relations.

1. What responsibility do union members have for constructive participation in community affairs?

2. How can the union maintain a sensible balance of activities in this field?

E. Questions for discussion:

1. What has been your experience with community activity of the kind outlined in this section? What factors explain its success or lack of success?

2. Plan a speech or leaflet on a topic like, "The Community's Stake in the Union and the Union's Stake in the Community."

F. Readings:

Virginia Hart, Union Community Handbook, University of Wisconsin School for Workers. (The outline is adapted from this pamphlet.)

SESSION IX

Problems in Union Administration

(The starting point for this section of the course should be a specific situation, preferably out of the experience of the local union. The problems listed below are merely designed to suggest some of the broader considerations which may develop after an analysis of the specific situation has been made.)

A. The importance of formulating generally the purpose and objectives of an activity.

B. Doing first things first. The relationship of an activity to union objectives.

C. Measuring a proposed activity against capacity and resources needed to undertake the activity.

D. How much should an activity be planned in advance and how much should be left for spot decisions as problems arise?

E. The need for a periodic check-up on activities to determine if objectives are being kept in mind.

F. Developing ways of getting at response of members to an activity.

G. When and when not to delegate authority.

H. How much leeway should be involved in delegating authority?

I. Jobs for which individual responsibility is more appropriate than committee responsibility, and vice versa.

J. Keeping track of assignments.

K. Respecting lines of authority and responsibility.

L. Letting well enough alone when taking proposed remedial action may make matters worse.

M. Arguing opinions but finding out the facts.

N. Testing the usefulness of record-keeping against the practical uses of the records.

O. Questions for discussion and readings:

(See Session X)

SESSION X

Getting Along with People in the Union

(See note in Session IX)

A. In order to get people to do things, they must be intelligently motivated.

B. Possible motivations for union activity.

1. Historical accomplishments of labor movement.

2. Loyalty to the union as a socially worthwhile institution.

3. Advancement within the union.

4. Recognition by union membership and community for a job well done.

5. Providing an opportunity for doing a creative job.

6. Setting goals for activities which can be realized and which will not frustrate participants by their inability to attain goals.

7. Giving everybody an opportunity to contribute to a decision even if it takes a little longer to arrive at a decision.

C. Problems in union group relationships.

1. Getting at the real reason for a complaint rather than the stated reason.

2. Controlling the "prima donna" and the "disrupter."

3. "Listening a man out" instead of arguing.

4. Leading a conference or discussion.

5. Respecting every honest and sincere disagreement.

D. Questions for discussion:

The points made in the body of the outline for Sessions IX and X are actually discussion questions. Therefore, no special discussion section is appended.

E. Readings (For Sessions IX and X)

U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. Bulletins D3, D4 IDN and 2DN. A series of bulletins dealing with the use of the discussion method.

Schuyler Dorn Hoslett, editor, Human Factors in Management, Park College Press, Parksville, Mo. (See particularly the articles on "The Development of Leadership Power" and "Motives for Union Membership.")

Illustrative union publications:

Handbook of Trade Union Methods, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, AFL, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, New York.

Labor Unrest and Dissatisfaction, International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, AFL, 30 Sheridan Ave., Albany 1, New York.

3.

Labor Education

COURSE OUTLINE

. . . Collective Bargaining

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR ⁂ DIVISION OF LABOR STANDARDS

JANUARY 1947

THE LABOR EDUCATION SERVICE

The Labor Education Service was made possible by the U. S. Department of Labor's 1947 Appropriations Act. In the words of the House of Representatives Appropriations Committee, this is the purpose of the new Service:

> "...to aid in the development and extension of labor education standards in cooperation with unions, universities, schools, civic groups and other agencies engaged in labor educational activities; to establish a clearing house for successful experiences and methods; and to render technical assistance upon request to public and private educational institutions, unions, community programs and others..."

Address correspondence and requests for services to:

U. S. Department of Labor
Division of Labor Standards
Washington 25, D. C.

NOTE TO TEACHERS: A course in collective bargaining does not differ from any other course—it must be taught by a teacher and not by note from a text or outline. This course outline, like any teaching aid, contains no more than suggestions to be adapted for use by a teacher. Therefore, the content should not be considered the expression of an official point of view by the U. S. Department of Labor.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

INTRODUCTORY

Many requests have come to the U. S. Department of Labor from universities, unions, and other groups interested in labor education for course outlines in collective bargaining. The following outline represents tested experience which is presented as one, but by no means the only or best possible organization of such a course. It should not be used as a substitute for thoughtful analysis of teaching needs. Perhaps its chief value lies in its suggested organization of material and methods for getting that material across to students. Criticism and comment as a result of its use are most welcome.

This course outline contains:

(1) Outline of Content.

(2) Suggested Questions for Discussion.

(3) Suggested Teaching Aids and Methods.

(4) A List of Background Reading for Instructor and Students.

The outline is an outcome of teaching experience with union personnel in the mass production industries on the bargaining committee-shop steward level who have some responsibility for collective bargaining. It is concerned with the "why" of the agreement rather than with the detailed wording of clauses. It is not primarily an outline on grievance handling--that will be the subject matter of another outline--although the implications of specific sections of the agreement in terms of the kinds of grievances which they may cause are frequently indicated.

Objectives

The objectives of the course may be described as follows:

1. To develop an understanding of the significant provisions of the collective agreement in general practice and in relation to particular situations.

2. To improve the student's competence in drafting provisions of collectiv bargaining agreements.

3. To develop the idea that there is no such thing as a "perfect" agreement, since the provisions of any agreement depend on a variety of circumstances.

4. To point up the notion that collective bargaining is not concerned exclusively with the provisions of agreements, but also with personal relationships in the plant and in the union hall.

5. To familiarize the student with the available sources and the use of factual information relevant to the sections of the collective agreement.

Duration of Course

On the whole there is probably more material here than can be covered in any feasible period of time. This means that the instructor will have to "pick and choose" with the cooperation of the class. Question 2 in the introductory session may serve as a method of delimiting the content of the course.

Supplementary Material

The references applicable to particular sessions are listed under the outline for that session. The references generally applicable to the whole course are listed on p. 12. Special note should be taken of the Bureau of Labor Statistics publication Union Agreement Provisions and the resources of the Industrial Relations Branch of BLS, both of which are indispensable aids to the conduct of the course. These are described in greater detail on p. 12 of this outline.

COURSE CONTENT

I. Introductory

A. The union agreement reflects the reasons why workers join unions.

1. Freedom from discrimination or favoritism with respect to hiring, firing, promotions, wages, and working conditions.

2. Opportunity for a decent livelihood.

3. The desire to be treated like a "human being" by supervision and management.

4. Economic security.

B. How does collective bargaining lend itself to the achievement of these basic aims?

1. Collective bargaining is based on the condition that both parties are free agents.

2. Can individual bargaining give real meaning to these basic drives?

3. A brief review of collective bargaining before and after the enactment of the National Labor Relations Act in 1935.

C. Questions for discussion.

1. Describe the specific circumstances which motivated you to join the union.

2. If you could have only one provision in your agreement, which would you choose as the most important? Why?

D. Supplementary material. 1/

For the Teacher

E. Wight Bakke, Why Workers Join Unions. "Personnel," Vol. 22, No. 1, American Management Ass'n., New York

Clinton S. Golden and Harold Ruttenberg, Dynamics of Industrial Democracy, Ch. I.

1/ See general list of supplementary materials on p. 12 .

For the Student

T. R. Carskadon and S. T. Williamson, Your Stake in Collective Bargaining. Public Affairs Pamphlet #117 (pamphlet)

Elsie Gluck, Introduction to American Trade Unionism, American Labor Education Service, N. Y., 1937

Theresa Wolfson and Joseph Glazer, Forward March of American Labor League for Industrial Democracy, New York, 1944 (pamphlet)

II. Wage and Hour Provisions of the Agreement

A. What do workers expect from the agreement?

1. Sufficient earnings to afford a decent livelihood.

2. Equal pay for equal work.

3. Maintenance of uniform standards in competitive areas.

a. Local--service industries.

b. Regional.

c. National--mass production industries.

4. Opportunity for leisure.

5. Maintenance of relative position in job structure.

B. What are the elements affecting wage and hour provisions?

1. Skill content of job.

2. The need for maintaining equitable relationships between jobs in the same plant, between plants, and within the area.

3. The relationship of wages to the cost of living and standards of living.

4. Geographical differential based on regional differences in cost of living.

5. The employer's ability to pay and to maintain a profitable enterprise.

6. Overtime premium as a way to spread work.

7. Economics of the industry as effecting wages and hours--seasonality, split shift, etc.

C. Questions for discussion.

a. Do you think that the job status which a worker holds in relation to other jobs in the plant is as important as the pay which he receives for his job?

b. Why are there differences in wages for the same work in different sections of the country?

2/

D. Workshop on drafting Related Contract Provisions or on understanding a financial statement.

For the Teacher

Z. Clark Dickinson, Collective Wage Determination, N. Y., 1941.

For the Teacher and Student

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, How to Read Corporation Balance Sheets, Washington, D. C.

U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics:

Wage Analysis Branch for wage studies of particular industries, areas and occupations.

Employment and Occupational Outlook Branch for monthly data on factory employment, pay rolls, and turn-over.

Prices and Cost of Living Branch for wholesale and retail prices, and cost of living data.

III. Technical Methods of Wage Determination

A. What are they?

1. Job evaluation.

2. Time and motion study.

3. Wage incentives.

B. Union attitudes toward these systems.

1. Outright ban on union participation in any form.

2. Union participation in reviewing the results.

3. Union participation in total process.

C. To what extent do judgment and opinion enter into the final results, and how significant is this?

2/ See discussion of workshop technique on p. 13 .

Course Content

For example:

1. Job evaluation - selection and weighing of factors.

2. Time study - inherent limitations of timing devices and of sampling of workers to be timed.

3. Wage incentives - setting of production standards and point at which incentives begin to operate.

D. Aids in handling these problems.

1. Consultative services of Technical Branch, U. S. Conciliation Service.

2. Steward training.

E. Questions for discussion.

1. How do workers on the job react to incentives? to job evaluation?

2. What is the major factor which accounts for the success or failure of these methods in your plant?

F. Supplementary material.

For the Teacher

Charles Walter Lytle, Wage Incentive Methods, 1942, Job Evaluation, 1946

Van Dusen Kennedy, Union Policy and Wage Incentive Methods, 1945

For the Teacher and Student

For representative union points of view see the articles by William Gomberg, Director Management Engineering Department, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, New York, and by Solomon Barkin, Research Director, Textile Workers Union of America, New York.

IV. Seniority

A. Seniority is the only automatic nondiscriminatory basis for determining changes in employment status.

B. Management frequently opposes seniority on the grounds that it penalizes competent workers.

C. Kinds of seniority (no automatic seniority formula will apply in all cases).

1. Company-wide

2. Plant-wide

3. Departmental.

4. Occupational.

5. Combinations to meet special circumstances.

D. Special seniority for union officers and stewards.

E. Administrative problems in enforcing seniority provisions.

1. Defining "ability to do the job" as a qualifying factor in seniority.

2. What aspects of employment status are affected by seniority?

a. Rehiring.

b. Lay-off.

c. Promotion.

d. Priority in the use of new equipment.

F. Workshop[3] in Drafting Seniority Provisions

G. Questions for discussion.

a. What should the union's reaction be to employers who want to modify the effect of seniority by such considerations as "ability to do the job"?

b. How do younger men in the plant feel about seniority?

H. Supplementary material

For the Teacher and the Student

Frederick Harbison, Seniority Policies and Procedures as Developed Through Collective Bargaining, 1941.

V. Union Security

A. The demand for union security is rooted in the historical insecurity of labor organizations in the United States.

B. Kinds of union security.

1. Closed shop.

2. Union shop.

3. Maintenance of membership.

4. Preferential shop.

5. Check-off.

3/ See discussion of workshop technique on p. 13.

C. The problems of running a union <u>with</u> union security provisions.

D. The problems of running a union <u>without</u> union security provisions.

E. Management objections to union security.

F. Workshop 4/ in Drafting Appropriate Union Security Provisions.

G. Questions for discussion.

a. What effect does union security have on the participation of workers in the affairs of the union? Does the fact that workers are <u>required</u> to join the union as a condition of holding their jobs minimize their interest in the union? If so, what should union leadership do about it?

b. Why should management be in favor of union security provisions?

H. Supplementary material.

<u>For the Teacher and the Student</u>

Jerome L. Toner, The Closed Shop in America, 1941.

VI. <u>Health - Benefit Plans</u>

A. Inclusion in collective agreement is relatively recent.

B. Illustrative plans.

1. Administered by insurance companies.

a. Textile Workers (CIO including Hosiery Workers and Dyers Federations).

b. Hotel and Restaurant Employees Alliance (AFL).

2. Union administered.

a. International Ladies' Garment Workers (AFL).

b. Laundry Workers (CIO) in New York City.

3. Jointly administered.

a. United Mine Workers (AFL).

b. Amalgamated Clothing Workers (CIO).

4/ See discussion of workshop technique on p. 13.

C. Special problems.

1. Responsibility for administration - insurance companies, unions, union and management.

2. Financing - by employer or by joint contribution of worker and employer.

3. Types of benefits included - sickness, disability, and hospitalization benefits. Duration, amount, family coverage.

4. Actuarial soundness.

5. What employees shall be covered?

6. What happens when employee is separated from covered employment?

D. This aspect of the collective agreement involves highly specialized information, and the need for expert assistance in working out plans should be emphasized.

E. Questions for discussion.

1. If there is a choice between a direct wage increase equivalent to the employer's outlay for the Plan, and the Health Benefit Plan, what should the union's choice be?

2. Do these plans have any advantages for management? Why?

F. Supplementary material.

For the Teacher and Student

Health - Benefit Programs Established Through Collective Bargaining, "Monthly Labor Review," August 1946; also available separately as Bulletin 841, U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

VII. Grievance Procedure Problems

A. What do workers expect from a grievance procedure?

B. The grievance procedure as the critical process in making an agreement work.

C. The particular form which the grievance procedure assumes is less important than the quality of the relationship between the union and management.

D. The test of an effective grievance machinery is the proportion of grievances settled at the lower stages of the process.

E. "Mock" 5/ Grievance Hearing Based on a Problem Drawn From the Class.

5/ See discussion of workshop technique on p. 13.

F. Questions for discussion.

1. Discussions may be based on points developed at mock session.

2. How many think their grievance machinery is functioning well? Why?

3. How many think their machinery is working badly? Why?

G. Supplementary material.

For the Teacher and Student

U. S. Department of Labor, Division of Labor Standards, Settling Plant Grievances, 1943, Bulletin Number 60.

Preparing a Stewards Manual, 1943, Bulletin Number 59.

For the Teacher

Benjamin Selekman, Handling Shop Grievances, "Harvard Business Review," Summer 1945.

VIII. Arbitration

A. Arbitration is the final step in collective bargaining when the parties are unable to come to an agreement themselves.

B. Arbitration to settle disputes arising out of the interpretations of an agreement.

C. Arbitrating the terms of the agreement.

D. The importance of defining accurately what is arbitrable.

E. Arbitration under an agreement is effective only if a small proportion of the total grievances reach the arbitration stage.

F. Mock arbitration hearing. 6/

G. Questions for discussion.

1. Discussion based on mock session.

2. What kinds of people make the best arbitrators?

H. Supplementary material.

For the Teacher and Student

William Simkin and Van Dusen Kennedy, Arbitration of Grievances, U. S. Department of Labor, Division of Labor Standards, Bulletin Number 82.

6/ See discussion of workshop technique on p. 13.

IX. Collective Bargaining and the Government

A. The National Labor Relations Act and its interpretations.

B. State labor relations acts.

C. The Fair Labor Standards Act.

D. Services of the U. S. Department of Labor.

E. The Norris LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act.

F. Proposed legislation to regulate collective bargaining.

1. Ball Bill.

2. Case Bill.

G. Questions for discussion.

1. Are there any problems in the union's preparation for an NLRB election?

2. What effect does minimum wage legislation have on the union's collective bargaining effort? Does it hurt? help? why?

H. Supplementary material.

For the Teacher

Prentice-Hall Labor Course 1946-1947, Prentice-Hall, New York.
A loose-leaf summary, kept current, of the provisions and background of labor legislation.

Joseph Rosenfarb, The National Labor Policy and How it Works, 1940.

For The Student

Louis Silverberg, A Guide to the National Labor Relations Act, U. S. Department of Labor, Division of Labor Standards, Bulletin Number 81.

U. S. Department of Labor, Division of Labor Standards, Federal Labor Laws and Agencies, Bulletin Number 79.

X. Human Problems in Collective Bargaining

A. Getting rank and file participation in formulating the collective bargaining demands.

B. Discussing the grievance with the aggrieved worker.

C. Going "over the head" of the foreman.

D. Issuing an "ultimatum" to management.

E. Bargaining through a committee or through a single spokesman.

F. Bargaining over general principles and specific--for example, "management prerogatives" vs. union security.

G. Gripes that the steward is not forceful enough or too forceful in dealing with management.

H. The conduct of the union committee in conference with management.

I. Questions for discussion.

a. Does it sometimes happen that a "bad approach" hurts the union's case in dealing with management? What are some of these "bad approaches"?

b. What do you think constitutes "collective bargaining in good faith"--for the union as well as for management?

J. Supplementary material.

For the Teacher

Benjamin Selekman, a series of articles in the "Harvard Business Review": Resistance to Shop Changes, Autumn 1945; Handling Shop Grievances, Summer 1945; Wanted Mature Managers, Winter 1946; Wanted Mature Labor Leaders, Summer 1946. Aimed primarily at management but nevertheless an effective treatment of psychological problems in labor-management relations with valuable insights for labor people, too.

XI. Review of Factors Affecting Collective Bargaining in Individual Situations

A. Strength of the union.

B. Strength of the employer.

C. Background of labor relations in the industry.

D. Attitude and policies of government.

E. Temperament of union and management leadership.

F. Economics of the industry.

G. Prosperity or depression.

H. War and postwar.

I. Questions for discussion.

The discussion can be built around illustrations of these various factors developed during the course and clinching the point made in item 3 under objectives (p. 1).

J. Supplementary material.

For the Teacher

S. T. Williamson and Herbert Harris: Trends in Collective Bargaining, 1945.

GENERAL BACKGROUND REFERENCES FOR THE INSTRUCTOR

The following list of supplementary reading material can provide the illustrative material to give substance to the points made in the outline. Each one of the works listed is useful in connection with practically every major section of the outline.

U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Union Agreement Provisions, Bulletin 686, 1942. A collection of illustrative clauses for every major section of the agreement. This is now being revised and the revisions are being issued section by section in mimeographed form. Indispensable for both the studen and teacher. Could very well serve as the basic text of the course.

Millis, Harry A., Editor, How Collective Bargaining Works, 20th Century Fund, New York, 1942. $4.00. Collective bargaining in practice in several industries: steel, rubber, construction, clothing, service trades, printing, coal, railroads, hosiery, automobiles, glass, electrical products.

Millis, Harry A. and Montgomery Royal, Economics of Labor v. 3 Organized Labor, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1945. $6.00. An extraordinarily useful book on all aspects of the labor movement.

Slichter, Sumner H., Union Policies and Industrial Management, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 1941. An analysis of union participation through collective bargaining in determining employment and production policies and work rules. Most of the illustrative material is somewhat dated, but this is still the most valuable study of its kind.

Taft, Philip, Economics and Problems of Labor, Stackpole, Harrisburg, 1942, $4.00. One of the best of the general text books in labor problems. Useful discussions on wages and hours, unemployment, industrial hazards as well as union problems.

U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Monthly Labor Review, annual subscription $3.50, U. S. Government Printing Office. Valuable for special articles in the field of labor and for publication of significant statistical series such as wholesale and retail prices, index of consumer prices, building construction, labor force, employment and pay rolls, trends of earnings, hours, and labor turn-over.

Leonard J. Smith, Collective Bargaining, Prentice-Hall, 1946. Contains a discussion of the various sections of the agreement together with an exhaustive check list of the major issues under each section of the agreement which should be considered. A good bibliography too.

Note:

The Industrial Relations Branch of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington D. C., is the single most valuable source of information on the extent and content of specified union agreement provisions. The Branch will handle individual inquiries from unions.

For union pamphlets on the subject matter of course, see U. S. Department of Labor, Division of Labor Standards, Washington, A list of Manuals Published by American Trade Unions Dealing with Collective Bargaining and Union Administration, March 1945 (now in process of revision).

SUGGESTED METHODS OF PRESENTING THE COURSE

The students should be requested to bring their own collective agreements to class.

The following teaching devices are suggested:

1. Lecture on points in which the element of fact is fundamental, such as the extent of union agreements with union security provisions or the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act. The lecture method is also useful in introducing the subject, appraising its importance, and in presenting to the class live case material to illustrate major points.

2. Discussion to bring the individual experience of the members of the class into the general pool of information. Care should be exercised to see that such discussion does not degenerate into a "brag and bore" session. This can be avoided in part at least, if the instructor points up the relevance of the student's contribution to the general discussion. Considerable advance thought should be given to working up questions. Suggested questions for each section are appended.

3. Workshop for practice sessions in drafting particular provisions of agreements. Some of this work may be assigned as "home work," but it is rarely feasible. Class should be encouraged to make constructive comment on individual student's contributions. Try to avoid an atmopshere in which criticism is made simply for the sake of criticism. Quibbling should be discouraged.

4. Dramatization of mock grievances and arbitrations if used, should be carefully planned to develop a rounded situation. The planning can be done in one of two ways depending on the group. The simplest method is for the instructor to have on hand a custom made "situation," based on an actual case, if possible. A more fruitful (but more difficult) technique is to use the committee method, letting the class members agree on a locale and set of issues among themselves. It is also possible to use a "before and after" technique, that is, two dramatizations, first the "wrong way" and then the "right way." Interest is heightened in the mock arbitration if an experienced arbitrator actually presides over the proceedings and arrives at a decision. The mock dramatization should not last more than 15 or 20 minutes, after which the class should comment on the good and bad features of the proceedings. In choosing the situation it is frequently advisable to illustrate one major point--for example, the importance of relating a grievance to a specific section of the collective agreement or of "using witnesses" at an arbitration hearing instead of relying on hearsay.

5. Blackboard Work-Summarize the major conclusions of the lecture discussion, or demonstration on the blackboard. If feasible, give the students a mimeographed outline at the end of the course.

TRADE UNION EDUCATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RULE OF THE RANK-AND-FILE

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

YOUR PROBLEM

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

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

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

* A few hundred top leaders of federations, congresses, and national labor unions.

* From forty to sixty thousand local union presidents and other local union officers.

* Approximately sixty thousand shop stewards.

* Five and one-half million trade union members, most of whom were never in a trade union before.

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

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

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

TYPES OF SCHOOLS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

EDUCATION DIRECTORS

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

WHAT CAN BE DONE TODAY?

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

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

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

Let us consider these two problems.

LEADERSHIP EDUCATION

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

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

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

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

THE TEACHERS

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

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

PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS

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

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

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

TECHNIOUS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sato san will give an answer.

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

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

MECHANICS

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

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

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

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

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

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

SCHOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

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

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

INSTITUTES

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

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

EDUCATION DIRECTOR INSTITUTES

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

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

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

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

NEW MEMBER SCHOOLS

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

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

SHOP STEWARD SCHOOL

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

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

SPECIAL INSTITUTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOTE

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

end

TRADE UNION RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

Study for the Conference of
Education Directors of Japanese
National Unions held on 9 October
1946 at Radio Tokyo

For Discussion only

by
Richard L.G. Deverall
1st Lt., CMP
Chief
Education Branch

ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC SECTION
LABOR DIVISION
TOKYO

RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

National unions in Great Britain and the United States have two major basic activity departments: the Education Department, and the Research Department. In many cases, the duties are combined and they will have a Director of Education and Research.

Just as the national union has an education and research director, the local union will have an education committee, among whose duties will be some research. The local union committee is both a source of information to the national research department, and an outlet for the published findings of the research department on the national level.

Coordination

The Research and Educational activities of the national union are so intertwined that if they are not combined under one person, they will work very closely. For example, if the Education Director is going to prepare a course of lectures on collective bargaining, he will find a need for sample union contracts, sample grievance procedure clauses in such contracts, decisions of Rodo Iin Kai, and so forth. In every case, the Research Department of the union, if it is working well, will have this necessary information.

In the same manner, after the research department has made a study of the industry in which the union operates, it will then be the function of the Education Department to take the facts and figures, put them into an easily understandable form, and issue the report as a well-written pamphlet, filled with illustration, which will attract the interest and attention of the workers out in the plants.

Thus, on a hundred and one things, the research department of the union will find that it works very closely with the education department.

In the beginning of the trade union movement, the research work of the union is not very important, apparently, but it is not long before the leaders and education director of the union discover that someone has to get busy, make trips to the library, and begin assembling facts on the cost of living, wages in the industry, profits of the companies, and a hundred and one other items.

It is for this reason that the large unions of the United States and Great Britain and other democratic countries have set up elaborate research departments in the national headquarters. For instance, the constitution of one of the largest national unions in the United States states:

"Research Department"

"Section 1: The National Executive Board shall create a Research Department for the National Union.

"Section 2: The President of the National Union shall appoint a director for the Research Department who shall be selected from the National Union if possible, and who is competent and qualified by previous experience and training to do such work; but such appointment shall not be considered final until it is approved by the

Executive Board at their next meeting. It shall be mandatory that the National Research Department shall be kept informed of changes in rates, working standards, and so forth, by all local unions.

"Section 3: It shall gather and keep on file information on wages, hours, and other conditions of employment, and any general information about the [illegible]rdustry).

"Section 4: It shall gather and keep on file any other information which the National Executive Board, Regional Directors, Local Unions, Wage-Hour Councils, or any other subdivision of the Union may require from time to time.

"Section 5: It shall send to all National Executive Board Members, National Representatives, Local Unions, and Wage-Hour Councils, a monthly bulletin on problems of general interest to the members of the Union.

"Section 6: It shall submit to the National Executive Board meetings, a regular report on general conditions in the ... industry which are of importance to the National Union.

"Section 7: It shall submit a complete and thorough report to the conventions of the National Union on the ... industry and the National Union.

"Section 8: It shall supply Wage-Hour Councils with financial reports of parts plants in their industry and such other material as they may request..."

It will thus be seen that the research department of a national union has a very important role to play. For not only does the research department collect and study material of use to the education department; not only does the research department take part in preparing public statements of the officers of the union; but it plays a very vital role in the collective bargaining process by supplying basic economic information to the local unions which will assist them in improving their contracts as to wages, hours, and conditions of labor.

Surveys

Applying this constitutional provision for research work noted above, it would seem that a research department in a national Japanese trade union would start several projects as soon as organized, among the first of which would be a complete survey of the industry - whether or not they had organized all of the plants. The research department wants to know the names of all the factories, their location, the number and type of workers employed, the product, wages for all classifications, hours of work, and all other details. Such a study is invaluable to the union for it gives the union officers a complete picture of the industry, shows them which plants remain unorganized. It also supplies them with the basic economic and social information needed in order to prepare just and reasonable demands on the industry. It is very easy for a group of workers to ask for a wage increase. But before they ask for the wage increase, it is their duty as responsible trade unionists to know as much about company finances as possible in order that their demands be just and fair.

Joint Action

A study would then be made of all plants organized by the union to date with a view to finding out about their relations with management, the contract they work under, and the details of present grievance procedure in the plant. If contracts are very poor, that would then be the time for the research director to meet with the education director and plan for the issuance of educational material to the local union showing them sample contracts, and explaining the mechanics of contract writing.

This survey may reveal that many local union heads have no conception of collective bargaining procedure and contract negotiation. Again, the research director will meet with the educational director and initiate a program to educate the membership along those lines. And, finally, the research director may find that many of the local unions have no machinery for settling day-to-day grievances. The education director will then be asked to prepare a pamphlet on the shop steward system, or whatever system it is felt will fit the situation.

General Information

As the union begins to grow strong, and the membership get to know more about working conditions, hours of labor, wages, and the procedure of collective bargaining, the research department then continues to supply them with broad economic information not only on their own particular union and industry, but on Japanese trade unionism in general and contractual relations of other unions.

For instance, the research director will read all reports and decisions of the Rodo Iin Kai, digest important decisions, and pass them along to the local union heads in order to keep them informed on the latest developments in the field. The Research Director will study all new contracts in his industry. If they contain a very good clause or two, he will see that all other local unions find out about it. Perhaps they will want the same clause in their own contract.

The Research Department also has an important service function to perform for the local union bargaining council. For instance, a small union in Hokkaido is bargaining with the company for higher wages. The company says that it is paying a high wage in the plant and refuses to grant any further increase. The bargaining council will write the research division and ask for complete wage information on plants similar to their own. They may find out that their company is paying wages much lower than, say, the same kind of a plant in Tokyo or Nagoya. This then gives them factual information to take back to the company, and will further support their demands. If the company refuses to install certain safety devices, the research department will find out what similar companies have done, and the local union bargaining council can use this information in pressing for increased safety devices in its own plant.

Of course, one of the first steps in regularizing the dissemination of economic information will be the establishment of a monthly "SURVEY OF THE ... INDUSTRY." This publication, which will probably be a small mimeographed affair in the beginning, will be mailed to all local union officers and all local union educational committees. It will include basic information on the industry, Rodo Iin Kai decisions, and other material resulting from research work. As new contracts are developed in the industry, such a bulletin would summarize the contracts and in this fashion spread around background information which would prove to be invaluable to local union officers and the shop stewards.

In a word, then, the Education Department supplies information on how to do things, and what to do. And the Research Department digs out the facts and the figures and lets everyone in the union know what it is all about. You can't have education without research. And you can't have research without education.

Union Publication

If the union newspaper is published regularly, it is general practice for the research director to publish a short, simple article in every issue which will discuss current Japanese economic trends in terms of the industry serviced by his union. New laws passed by the Diet may be very important to the workers in terms of new economic conditions, and it will be the duty of the research director to study the laws, and write a simple explanation of it for the workers - this especially with regard to tax laws, labor laws and other economic measures.

He will study unemployment inflation, price controls, and other economic matters, and be able to furnish the average worker with complete information about the economic society. He will work with Japanese government agencies in securing information on the cost-of-living in order to supply local union stewards and officers with accurate figures on the amount of money needed by workers in order to maintain themselves and their families in dignity and frugal comfort

Educational Qualifications

Any worker with common sense and a willingness to work can begin the necessary research work for a trade union. A college education will aid in the job. But if a research worker begins to work in an orderly manner, applies himself, he will grow with his job. Through the job he will receive an education. In this fashion, by growing with the job, the union adds to its leadership.

- end -

TRADE UNION PRESS AND PUBLICATIONS

Presented for discussion to
a conference of Education
Directors of Japanese Nation-
al Trade Unions held at Radio
Tokyo at 1330 hours on 15
January 1947.

by
Richard L-G Deverall
Chief, Labor Education Branch

ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC SECTION
LABOR DIVISION
GHQ, SCAP
TOKYO

##

INTRODUCTION

Human society is composed of the persons who live in it. Society consists not only of individual members, but of the groups into which these persons are born or organized. The basic unit is the family. The essential purpose of the family in society is to provide for the reproduction and protection of its several members. The family provides for the reproduction and care of the young, provides for their education and nutriment during early life, and by the time adulthood has been reached the family group has achieved its essential purpose: reproduction, rearing, education, and cultural training of another generation.

There are other social groups not based on blood relations or sexual reproduction which are also significant. These are the groupings of people by the type of work they do, sometimes referred to as a vocational or occupational grouping. Speaking broadly, farmers constitute such a group. Construction workers are another group. Workers employed in chemical plants are still another group.

Each vocational or occupational group, through its work, finds certain group pleasures, faces certain daily problems, endures common hardships or dangers. Hence, doctors like to discuss medical problems with doctors. Farmers like to discuss crops and fertilizer problems with other farmers. And carpenters like to compare their craftsmanship with the work of other carpenters.

As society has evolved, the persons in each vocational group often join together formally, yielding the agricultural associations, the medical associations, the trade unions, the employers' associations, and the other multifarious organizations which are part of the warp and woof of modern democratic society.

Each group has its own interests and its own peculiar problems and needs. Yet, as a member of the larger human society, the same group has interests common to all other groups and persons.

Public Information

Human civilization has developed the press as one method of providing information and education to everyone. The purpose of the press is to inform and to provide accurate, truthful, timely information regarding the general and special problems of the several members of society.

From the foregoing we can draw a few conclusions.

The trade union movement, as one of many groups, has many interests which are peculiar to it alone. It also has interests which are of general concern to the public at large. The trade union group, as an organized group, has the right to voice its views on any matter affecting it, as well as any other matter it cares to talk about.

The trade union movement can expect that the free press will print truthful news about the trade unions which is of general interest to the entire community. The daily press will often print the opinion of other groups regarding the labor movement. As a public service, the daily press should provide the people with fair and impartial news coverage.

Union Information and Education

A doctors' association would not expect the daily press to print a long technical story regarding the development of a new surgical treatment. The daily press would probably print a very short story, if it mentioned the item at all. But the doctors would probably print the complete story in their own medical journal.

Likewise, on specific technical trade union matters, problems, and educational developments, the trade unions handle much of their own informational and educational material in their own trade union journals and newspapers.

Briefly, matters of public concern and of interest to several or all groups of society will normally be mentioned in the daily free press and given general treatment. Items of greater specific interest to one group will usually be handled in a more complete manner in the press and publications of the group itself.

Thus, the labor press is not intended to supplant the daily press. Rather, it is intended to supplement the daily press, to provide further information and education, and to make available to trade union members information, education, and union policy not otherwise obtainable by trade union members.

Public Relations

Each group within the social order has hopes, grievances, aspirations, proposals, and programs for action. Each group in itself constitutes a minority. As a minority, it cannot force its peculiar ideas on other groups. Information, education, and persuasion should be employed to secure joint action.

In a democratic social order, the various groups present their ideas and programs to the general public through the press and other media in order to win wider public support or general approval.

For instance, if a certain group wants to have a certain legislative measure promulgated, the group must explain the need and purpose for the remedial legislation. This is accomplished by a series of acts called public relations.

Suppose a group goes to the public and states: "We want this legislation. Anyone who is opposed to it is reactionary and stupid. Give us your support!" They will not meet with much success because they have not explained their purpose, nor have they appealed to the self-interest of the public. Everyone is interested in himself. This basic principle of appealing to the self-interest of the public is the key to public relations.

Instead of the approach mentioned above, the trade union may base its argument to the public in terms of the self-interest of the public at large. This is the second principle of public relations, and consists of identifying the desires of the trade union with the self-interest of the public. Once the general public has identified itself with the program of the trade union there may be developed sufficient support to secure majority acceptance.

In developing public opinion, it is a good practice to invite newspaper reporters to important union functions, plays, labor schools, and other union events in order to secure favorable stories about the union in the daily press. One great American union became nationally famous because it produced a Broadway stage play ... and it knew how to tell the American people about it!

A group which has good public relations is a group which explains its program and policies to the general public in such fashion that the general public identifies itself with the purposes and program of the group, and vice versa. The general public is friendly to the group and will help promote their program.

A group with poor public relations has failed to explain its program and policies in terms of the self-interest of the public. The public is hostile to the group. It reads and hears about the group with suspicion. It distrusts the motives of the group. The general public is unfriendly and will oppose the group as various issues arise.

Trade unions, like any other group, represent but one of many social forces. As a minority, the trade union should develop good public relations if the labor movement is to meet with any reasonable measure of success.

Much could be written about public relations, but it can be summarized in a few lines: Every labor union has a story to tell, and it will not be told unless the union informs the press.

Trade Union Public Relations

Many of the American trade unions have established Public Relations or Publicity Departments, which are staffed with a few expert and experienced newspapermen. This Department, usually attached to the national union headquarters, has a dual function.

One is to edit and public a periodical national union newspaper. The other is to maintain relations with the daily press and the public. Let us consider the public relations function first.

Tasks

The Public Relations or Publicity Department must keep itself informed as to what the daily newspapers are saying about the labor movement. The daily press, employer publications, and government publications are watched from day to day. Articles in these sources dealing with labor in any way are clipped. These dead news items are filed by subject in what newspapermen call a 'morgue'. Obviously this morgue is useful for later reference. Many Japanese trade unions have assembled clippings about wage demands and labor disputes in which a specific union was involved. This forms the basis for development of an invaluable trade union morgue.

Second, whenever an untrue statement is made regarding the union or its purposes or programs by any non-union source the public relations department at once contacts the source and the medium which presented it and corrects the statement. Often, a union official may make a brief

statement calling attention to the error and giving the facts. Likewise, when an outside source carries a good story about the union, it is wise to let them know that the union appreciates such cooperation.

Third, the public relations department maintains close liaison with all union activities. Any union development, any move, any occurence which may be of interest to the public is at once prepared in story form and copies are distributed to all newspapers which may find the story worth printing.

Fourth, as public matters and issues which affect the trade union are raised in the daily press, the publicity department will often arrange to have a top officer of the union make a statement on the matter, indicating the considered policy of the union. Naturally the statement should carefully reflect the democratically adopted policy of the trade union and not be the personal view of the official concerned.

Press Releases

Many American trade unions have found that the public press did not print much about the unions because the unions did not give them the information. Consequently the unions have developed use of the press release -- a mimeographed statement which presents the announcement or story of the union in brief, factual form. Certain Japanese trade unions have already done this quite effectively.

In preparing a press release, tell the newspapers who issued the release, give the date of the release, and give a short title which summarizes the story. Then, in the first paragraph, summarize the facts of the story, developing it in detail in later paragraphs.

Newspaper editors are very busy men. They cannot and usually will not read five pages of ideographs to find out what you want to say. One glance at the top of the first sheet will usually result in their either using the story or throwing it away.

Therefore, there are two ways to prepare press releases. Here is a poor method:

N O T I C E T O T H E P R E S S

> In order to carry out the Potsdam Declaration and ensure the creation of a peaceful new Japan, the recently elected President of the United Cap Workers Union, who lives at 1.2 cho, chome _____, said he thought it would be a good idea to begin a labor school. He says the school....

The well-prepared release would possibly be written in the following fashion:

PRESS RELEASE FROM: The United Cap Workers Union, Tokyo
Telephone: 123
FOR RELEASE: 21 November 1978

LABOR SCHOOL ANNOUNCED

"A trade union school for the workers of the United Cap Workers Union was announced today. It will be held at Koku Kaikan, Tokyo, from the 1st to 10th of December.

"President Sato of the Union stated: 'We have organized this school....'

"The school is open to all trade union members. Tuition fee has been set at ¥10 per person."

Each of these stories makes the same announcement. After the newspaper editor has received the poor press release, he will probably throw it away after reading the first few lines.

But if he receives the second, he knows who sent it, what it is about, and when he can use it. He knows where the school will be, and he knows who can attend. If he wants more information, he calls the telephone number listed.

If you plan your press releases carefully you will discover that your union will receive greater attention in the daily press.

The union cannot expect the public to know what it is trying to achieve unless the union tells the public in an intelligent and intelligible manner!

Collective Bargaining

During the development of a labor dispute, the public relations department has almost as important a role to play as the negotiating committee.

When the union is ready to present contract demands, the first press release deals with the fact that the union has asked the company to discuss conditions of work, wages, and hours.

When the demands are formally presented, another press release advises the public regarding the specific demands of the workers.

As bargaining conferences develop, the public relations department may issue dope stories from time to time explaining with facts and figures why the union is demanding this, why they are demanding that. If the dispute goes to mediation or arbitration, the public relations department tells this story, and perhaps carries a statement by the head of the union declaring that the union is trying to bargain fiarly and is exhausting all possible peaceful methods of settling the dispute.

Public Support

If a strike or other work stoppage develops later, the public has been informed, they know the issues, and a public opinion based on knowledge of the facts has resulted. Many of the American unions have developed the practice of releasing photographs to the newspapers which picture the life of the workers involved, their housing problems, and other factors which may be at the roots of the dispute. These aid further in dramatizing the dispute and informing the public.

Certainly it is a sensible notion to state that you cannot expect public support on any issue unless you make every effort to inform and educate the public through the daily press and all other possible media.

Reporting or Propaganda?

One thing should be observed. In writing union newspapers there is often an inclination to mix fact and opinion.

> A <u>fact</u> is some act or condition which exists or has really happened.
>
> An <u>opinion</u> is your mental impression or belief as to what has happened, what exists, or what you believe to be true.

Consider an example.

A union newspaper may run a story about the statement of a certain official. It says:

> "Sato San, the rapacious, fat, and grafting so-and-so, yesterday said the people should starve. He said, 'If they have no rice cakes, let them eat suki yaki....'."

Perhaps Sato San did make that statement. But when you write a story in that fashion, you are mixing your opinions as to who and what Sato is with what Sato said. When you present your opinions as if they were facts, it is called propaganda.

It is better reporting to state:

> "Yesterday Sato San, the so-and-so official, declared: 'If they have no rice cakes, let them eat suki yaki.'"

That is an entirely different story.

State the facts. If you want to state your own opinion, give it in an editorial. The reader is then permitted to draw his own conclusions. Never write propaganda and try to call it newspaper reporting.

Internal Information and Education

The national trade union has many departments and many fields of activity: research, education, legal work, organizational work, consumer problems, inflation, women's problems, and so forth.

In order to inform the membership, the trade unions in America have developed the national union newspaper. This is usually either a weekly or bi-weekly publication. Typical American union newspapers are from 4 or 8 pages to 12 pages, tabloid size.

The purpose of the national union newspaper is to inform the general trade union membership on union policy, and explain with facts and figures why the union is doing this or that. It also presents developments which are mentioned in the daily press, such as legislative acts, but it may go into greater detail in explaining why certain acts or proposed bills are of especial value or importance to the trade union membership.

A study of many American trade union national newspapers reveals that as a group they usually feature the following type material:

LABOR NEWS: Stories of the labor movement, of national federation activities, national union activities and policies, and all matters which affect labor in general. These stories are usually the page one stories are are of current interest and importance.

LOCAL UNION NEWS: Stories regarding new contracts, activities of various local unions, summaries of important speeches, reports on disputes in progress, and other items about specific local unions. It tells trade unionists what members in other locals are saying, thinking, and doing.

POLITICAL ACTION: Reports on legislation in progress, what government departments have said or are doing, what activities are current in the political field, and related legislative information and education.

LEGAL ACTION: Reports on mediation, arbitration, and conciliation; details on cases before Labor Relations Committee, and other stories on new legal developments.

EDITORIALS: Each issue usually contains a brief, concise statement of opinion on some problem facing the union or the labor movement. The essence of the editorial is to pose a problem, analyze it, and recommend a solution. The editorial is employed to make people think.

COMMUNITY NEWS: Brief items about community activities, public and private welfare activities, food problems, and so forth.

LETTERS FROM UNION MEMBERS: This section of the union newspaper is used in order to permit any member to write a letter about anything he desires. Such letters are printed impartially, with letters expressing opinions on all sides of union policy.

WOMEN: Usually a feature column prepared by the Women's Section which discusses current problems of women.

EDUCATION: An invaluable feature in any labor newspaper prepared by the education director of the national union. Through this column, the education director presents educational matter, announces new schools, and outlines programs for the local unions.

RESEARCH: Frequent reports from the national union Research Department regarding wages, hours, and working conditions of union members. It often presents factual stories on employer profits, general economic trends, and other facts and figures of use to union leaders, bargaining committees, and local union members.

HEALTH AND SAFETY: Matters on health and personal hygiene and occupational hazards are presented in order to assist the membership to protect life and limb, and to promote good health.

BOOK REVIEWS: short announcements describing new books and pamphlets of interest to labor are carried, giving the name of the item, its author, the price, and where it can be purchased.

SPORTS: Reports of union sports events, recreation, and cultural matters in general.

There are many other items to be found in American trade union newspapers, but this listing and description will give you a general idea of what is in an American national union publication.

Democratic Controls

Now, every man writes stories as he sees things. Generally speaking, an old man will write from the viewpoint of the old; a young man will write from the viewpoint of the young. Likewise, two reporters who belong to different political parties may take the same set of facts and turn out stories which are entirely different.

The American trade unions usually organize the Public Relations or Publicity Department under the control and direction of the President of the Union and its Executive Board. Before an issue is sent to the printer, the President goes over it in order to make sure that every story is not only factual, but that all opinion and comment expresses the democratically established policies of the union. If anything is said in the newspaper which is contrary to union policy, the President of the union is responsible to the rank-and-file for it.

Likewise at the frequent meetings of the Executive Board, the members of the Board will comment on any irregularities in the union newspaper and direct the President of the union to correct them in the future. And at the General Meeting of the national union, the Public Relations Committee of the Meeting usually reports to the rank-and-file of the union delegates on the conduct of the newspaper during the past year, makes suggestions for improvement, and outlines the general policy to be followed for the coming year.

This report is presented to the rank-and-file delegates, and, after discussion and possible changes, it is adopted by majority vote and represents the orders of the rank-and-file to the Public Relations Department for the coming year.

Further, the person in charge of the Public Relations Department is normally appointed by the President of the Union with the advice and majority vote of the Executive Board.

Through these controls, the rank-and-file are able to control what type of newspaper they have. The newspaper is maintained as a service to the rank-and-file, and is not permitted to become either a footstool for the leaders in power or the sounding board for any political ideology.

Finances

In order to guarantee the maintenance of a national union newspaper, many of the American unions' rank-and-file have inserted in their constitution a clause which outlines the type and nature of newspaper they want. Frequently, a certain amount of the per capita tax sent to the national union is constitutionally ear-marked for the Public Relations Department, just as funds are ear-marked for the Education Department. For instance, in one American union, the national union receives a per capita tax from the local unions of forty (40) cents per member per month. Five cents of this amount MUST be spent each month for the Public Relations Department.

Distribution

As the newspaper is edited and published at the national headquarters, it is usually sent out to the local unions in bundle lots, where it is distributed free of charge to the entire membership -- either on their way home from work, or else it is distributed at the regular monthly meetings of the local union. In some cases, the American unions mail the newspaper directly to the home of each individual member, but they have found this both difficult and expensive.

Make-Up

Authorizing a newspaper and hiring an editor are relatively simple matters compared with editing and publishing such a newspaper. For editing and publishing implies that much careful work and effort will go into the selection of every article.

The physical make-up of the national union newspaper has much to do with whether or not the rank-and-file read it. The editors of the American labor newspapers spend hours in writing good headlines, arranging their stories, selecting cartoons and photographs, and otherwise planning the paper in order to relieve the solid masses of type and give the newspaper an attractive appearance.

Many of the articles for each issue will be prepared by the various national union section chiefs, such as the Education Director, Research Director, Organization Director, and the like. These are usually merely

checked. But many other stories have to be prepared and written by the Public Relations Department itself and must be developed in a simple, logical style.

Every issue of the union newspaper should be regarded by the editor not only as a good sample of factual reporting and the intelligent presentation of information and education to the rank-and-file, but he should also strive to make each one a work of art -- the best edition of the newspaper ever printed.

The collection of the material for an issue may take quite a bit of time but a good editor will spend even more time in physical make-up, layout, and arrangement of the stories. If possible, every headline and every article should be prepared in such a fashion that the union rank-and-file member will feel it is to his interest to read it.

Shop Papers

There are many items of interest to local union members which are newsworthy but they are not of sufficient interest to the entire membership of the national union. The American unions have therefore developed <u>local union</u> or <u>shop newspapers</u>.

The shop paper is usually mimeographed, or perhaps printed. But where the local union is small, neither can be accomplished. The same purpose can be served if the local union education committee prepares a handwritten or typewritten newspaper for weekly posting on the bulletin board in the shop.

Such a shop paper follows the format of the national union newspaper, but it reports on local union activities, classes, sports, and local union problems. It will usually include reports on the activities of the shop stewards, relating progress of the negotiation committee, and perhaps repeat important announcements from the national headquarters.

The American trade union shop papers are made very personal by the addition of gossip columns which tell who has had a baby, who is sick, and so forth. The use of the personal touch in the shop paper arouses interest. Everyone likes to see his or her name mentioned in the paper in a favorable manner.

The shop paper usually includes 'want advertisements'. If one member wants to get a certain object, and another member another object, the American unions run short want announcements so that union members can be of assistance to each other in a personal way.

Whether you print, mimeograph, or write only one copy of your shop paper, American union experience has shown that it can be an invaluable medium for carrying on educational and informational activities. Further, by having a few members devote their spare time to this activity, it adds further to the development of secondary leadership in the local union. Many an important American trade union editor began by editing a small mimeographed newspaper or writing a local union newspaper on the shop blackboard once a week.

Chain Newspapers

Some of the American trade unions have developed use of the chain newspaper. The chain newspaper is developed by the simple process of having the national union prepare its newspaper on 2/3 or 3/4 or 1/2 of the newsprint. The remaining section is left blank. The partially printed national newspapers are then shipped to the local union, where local news and local items are printed in to fill up the newspaper. When given to the member, the chain newspaper is a combination shop paper and national newspaper.

The difficulties are obvious. Experience has shown that this is a very difficult type of publication even when transportation is excellent and printing facilities are widespread. The unions in America which have used the chain newspaper with the most success are those unions with large local union membership -- say from 5,000 to 20,000 persons per local union.

National Federation Newspapers

The top labor federations in America print periodical newspapers but those publications are generally not as popular as the national or local union newspapers. Federation newspapers usually include a little news about many items. News of nearly every national union must be included. For this reason, the rank-and-file generally do not read the top federation newspapers.

The top federation newspaper in America is nevertheless useful in presenting articles and reports from the heads of the various departments of the federation. Such reporting services all trade union officials both on the national and local level.

Press Service

The national federations in America also maintain press services which feed news and comment and feature stories to the national unions. These services have proved valuable and have solved many of the problems of the national union newspaper editors.

For instance, when a bill is introduced into the Congress in America, the federation press service will prepare an analysis of the bill in mimeographed form. It will also procure printed copies of the new bill. Copies of both items are then mailed to every national union. The press service also studies the newspapers of the various national unions. Any story in one union newspaper which is of general interest is mimeographed and sent to the other national union publications.

By preparing feature stories on federation policies, by reporting the important official speeches and other actions of top federation officials and department heads, and by providing basic economic, social, and political information in the form of regular releases to the national unions, the federation's Public Relations Department performs a real service for the national unions.

Labor Press Services

The great American newspaper press services such as AP (Associated Press), INS (International News Service), and UP (United Press) furnish to the daily newspapers of America complete and continuous telegraphic coverage of the news of the world.

Obviously the union newspapers cannot afford to purchase or need such a comprehensive news service. Most of the news furnished by such a press service appears in the daily press and is of no use for the union newspapers.

There are many stories about the labor movement which are not handled in the daily press simply because they are not of sufficient interest to the general public. But labor is interested.

To meet this need for special, detailed reporting, various trade union newspaper men in America have formed private labor press services which parallel AP, UP, and INS on a small scale. Instead of using the telegraph, these private labor press services rely upon use of the Air Mail. Instead of hundreds of paid reporters scattered about the entire world, the labor press services rely heavily upon part-time or volunteer services of labor reporters in the key industrial areas of the nation.

Although operating within the strictures of small budget and limited staff, such American labor press services have proved to be of real value. Along with a reporting of the daily news, they often furnish feature stories, union comics, photographs of union events, cartoons, and other services.

Reporting Only

A labor press service, to be successful, must be strictly a news reporting agency. As it is not under direct union control it has no business trying to develop or create trade union policy. It may pick and choose stories which will play up this or that union leader. But the American experience has shown that when a labor press service confuses politics with news reporting the news suffers.

In a democracy, the press should be of assistance in providing basic factual information and education. Any reporting which tries to propagandize the rank-and-file, any reporting which presents the news in a pre-digested form is hardly worthy of the name.

Finances

The labor press service is usually financed by charging the unions on a 1-month, 3-month, or 6-month subscription basis. The labor press service charges a certain amount for spot labor news (current news); another sum for a cartoon or photograph service; another fee for a weekly comic strip; and so forth. The larger unions can pick and choose what they will. Often the smaller unions will take only spot news and the cartoon service.

The subscription is renewable from time to time. This provides for union rank-and-file control. If the labor press service is slanting the news or trying to mix propaganda with facts, the labor unions have the right at any time to cancel their subscriptions and purchase news from another labor press service.

Dope Stories

One of the important services for the rank-and-file rendered by the national union newspapers and the press services is the preparation of dope stories.

In the manufacture of some articles, a process is used whereby cotton or silk is stretched over a frame and then a type of shellac is painted over the fabric. When it dries, the fabric is firm and needs no support.

The American slang word for such a shellac is 'dope.'

A 'dope story' is a story which not only relates and describes a recent news event, but also includes a complete historical account of developments leading up to the event. Dope stories are based upon careful use of the union's morgue.

Consider a few examples.

A man is nominated for an important government post which will be of interest to labor. The press association or union editor at once begins research on his early training, background, education, career, previous public statements, and so forth. By knitting pertinent items together, the fabric of his life is spun. By relating one event to another, by relating the nomination to his possible influence on labor, the editor or press association paints his life fabric with dope. The final product is a 'dope story' through which the trade union receives enough information about the man to appraise his importance.

There are many events in the life of a union which, if reported by themselves, have little significance. But if they are released in the form of 'dope stories' they may give the long story of development, struggle, and final success which give the single event its possibly tremendous dramatic value.

The dope story often involves the use of a current labor event to present background on a particular person or group. It informs, it aids in education, and it assists the rank-and-file to reach decisions.

Labor Press Conferences

As with education directors, American union newspaper editors and public relations directors of the national unions hold frequent conferences to exchange information, get new ideas, and plan future public relations campaigns.

Often through such conferences, the American unions have been able to plan short schools of labor journalism, held in various parts of the country, where veteran union newspapermen and local shop newspaper editors meet to learn from each other. When such schools are opened to all interested union members, the rank-and-file are able to receive expert teaching on the techniques and methods of labor journalism and the know-how of union newspaper editing and publishing.

Magazines

Publication of periodical magazines and bulletins by the American unions goes hand in hand with the labor press and shop newspapers. The American Federation of Labor, for instance, publishes a slick color magazine, THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, which is sold both to the membership of the AFL and to the general public. This magazine, illustrated and written in a popular manner, presents labor articles of national and general interest to trade unionists and their friends. A good portion of each issue is occupied with discussion and explanation of political trends. And every issue contains a page for the union children: Junior Union Page.

Other federations and national unions publish excellent magazines each month. The CIO's Auto Workers publish AMMUNITION, a well-written publication issued by the Education Department once a month. Each issue is packed with articles of educational value telling local union members how to carry on certain activities: how to start consumer cooperatives, shop steward's classes, summer schools, housing programs, and the like. Copies of this important educational magazine are mailed monthly to the officers of all local unions, to every shop steward, and to every local union library. Additional copies of AMMUNITION are sold to union members and to the general public.

The Research Departments of both AFL and CIO publish monthly bulletins which discuss economic matters, analyze wage structure in relation to prices, and present pertinent basic economic information. This is used by union officers and shop stewards, is often reprinted in national union and shop papers, and is a further service to the rank-and-file.

The obvious function of these magazines and bulletins is to provide well-illustrated, worthwhile feature articles furnishing technical information on trade union subjects to both the rank-and-file and the general public.

Coordination

The labor press service, the top federation, and the national union Public Relations Departments are watching the news and the local newspapers from day to day. Someone may notice that a small local union has just concluded a labor agreement with management that contains some new-type contract clause. Further information is obtained and the labor press can then tell the entire labor movement about the new development. The research departments may then pick up the story and make further use of it. Finally, the education departments will secure even further information, and the new clause from the small local union contract finally ends up being included in a course on collective bargaining given in a national union labor school.

Information and Education

This type of coordination and interchange of information is vital to the successful functioning of democratic trade unionism.

As we know, the Japanese militarists were careful to muzzle or otherwise control the Japanese press during the long years after the China Incident. They manufactured news stories, they suppressed news stories, and they eliminated the people who dared oppose their campaign of militaristic propaganda.

As the Japanese people now know, much of what went on in the world during the past ten to fifteen years was never know by the average Japanese worker because of this government and militaristic control of the press and press services.

With a strength of four millions of workers, scores of national unions, and an estimated fifteen thousand local unions, the Japanese labor movement may well plan for the continued development of a Japanese labor press which will aid in the great work of labor information and education.

Step by Step

As with all education, it cannot be done overnight. But if the trade unions will encourage shop papers in the local union level, that will in turn inspire national union newspapers. From that will develop the needs which may aid in creating a national labor press service. And from all of these developments, the Japanese rank-and-file will be able to develop further their information and education as to the purpose and function of their trade union in building the new democratic Japan.

Note: Copies of American labor union newspapers, bulletins, and monthly magazines are on file in the C. I. and E. Library opposite the Hibiya Theatre in Tokyo. This well-equipped library serves Japanese only. Use it!

APPENDIX

The following is a sample clause from the constitution of an American CIO National union regarding Public Relations:

> "There shall be published at least once a month by the National Union a publication designed to educate the membership and to acquaint the membership with the activities of this National Union. The title of said publication shall be The _____ Worker...
>
> "The _____ Worker shall be under the supervision of the National Executive Board who shall select a Publication Committee consisting of the National President and two other members of the National Executive Board. The Publications Committee shall be directly responsible to the National Executive Board in carrying out the task of publishing The _____ Worker. The Editor of The _____ Worker shall be appointed by the National President subject to the approval of the National Executive Board.
>
> "The National Secretary-Treasurer shall allocate out of each forty (40) cents per capita tax five (5) cents per month for a special fund for The _____ Worker.
>
> "This publication is to be sent through the United States Mail to each member in good standing.
>
> "Local publications shall conform with the policies of the National Union."

A large AFL national union covers the matters in its constitution in the following clause:

> "The Press Committee shall consist of five (5) members of the Board to include the President, General Secretary Treasurer, and three additional members. This Committee shall have general supervision over the publications of the Union and direct the policies of such publications. The editor of the union's papers shall be subject to the direction of the Committee in all matters. The Committee shall report about the condition of our publications to the quarterly meetings of the General Executive Board. It shall be the duty of this Committee to see to it that the cost of the publication does not exceed the amount allowed for this purpose by conventions or by the General Executive Board."

Press Code for Japan
19 September 1945

1. News must adhere strictly to the truth.

2. Nothing shall be printed which might, directly or by inference, disturb the public tranquility.

3. There shall be no false or destructive criticism of the Allied Powers.

4. There shall be no destructive criticism of the Allied Forces of Occupation and nothing which might invite mistrust or resentment of those troops.

5. There shall be no mention or discussion of Allied troop movements unless such movements have been officially released.

6. News stories must be factually written and completely devoid of editorial opinion.

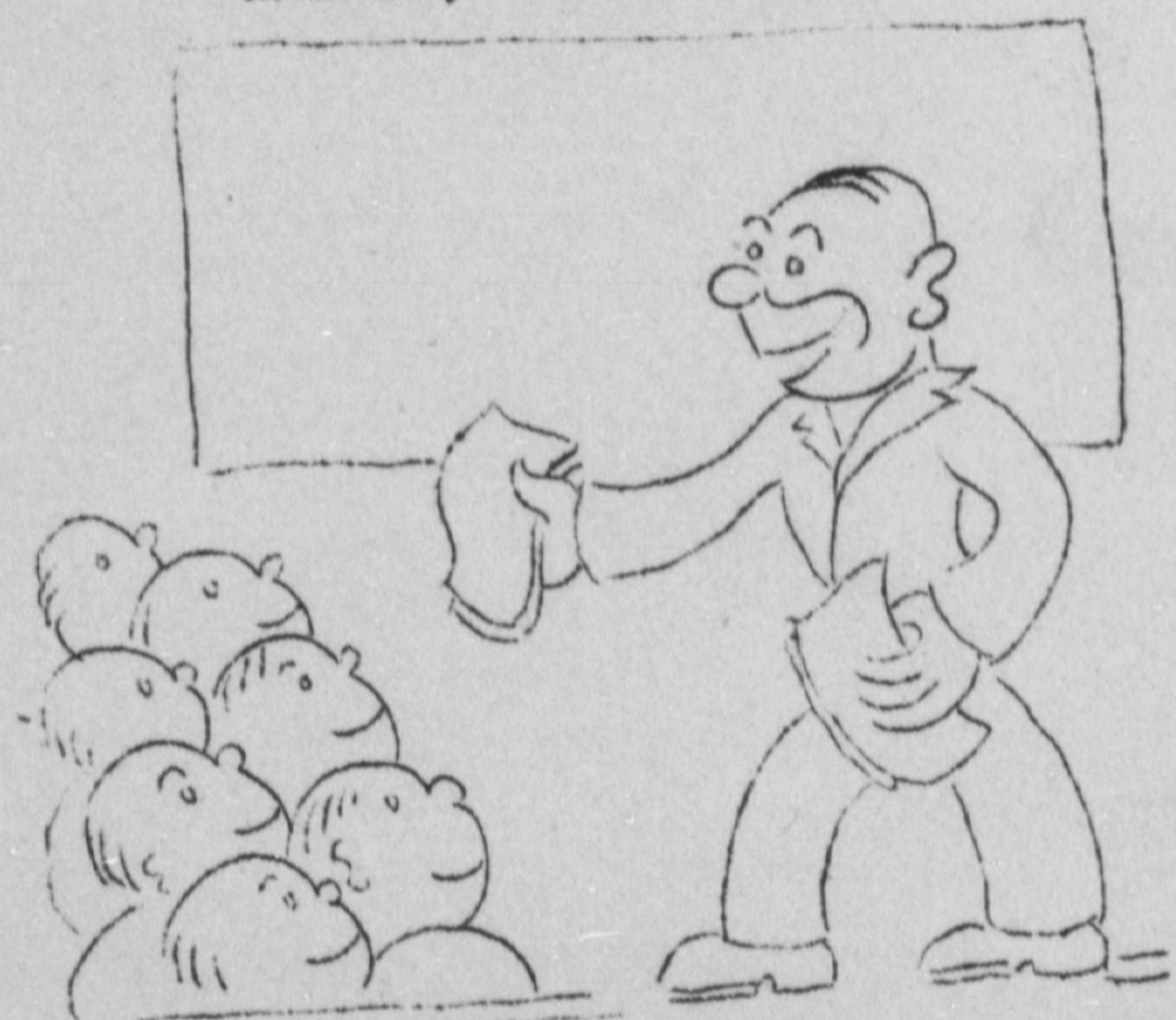
7. News stories shall not be colored to conform with any propaganda line.

8. Minor details of a news story must not be over-emphasized to stress or develop any propaganda line.

9. No news story shall be distorted by the omission of pertinent facts or details.

10. In the make-up of the newspaper no news story shall be given undue prominence for the purpose of establishing or developing any propaganda line.

Information conference with the
Education Directors of Japanese
National Trade Unions held at
Radio Tokyo on 20 November 1946



by
Richard L-G Deverall
Chief, Labor Education Branch

ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC SECTION
LABOR DIVISION
G. H. Q.
TOKYO

INTRODUCTION

Media — Trade unions use leaflets and pamphlets in order to inform large numbers of trade unionists, prospective trade unionists, and the general public. The purpose of this discussion is to outline the use of leaflets and pamphlets, give a few hints on their preparation, and advise on their distribution.

Because of the current paper shortage, the Japanese trade unions find it very difficult to prepare and issue pamphlets and leaflets. Because of this shortage, that makes it all the more important that such pamphlets and leaflets as are issued will be the best possible pamphlets and leaflets.

Leaflets — First of all, what is a leaflet? A leaflet is usually a single sheet of paper, printed on one or both sides, or else a single sheet folded into a convenient size. The leaflet is used to present <u>one thought</u>. It is used to give information to trade union members on a special problem or matter, or to inform the general public. No matter how pressing the need may be for a leaflet at a certain time, it is imperative that there be careful preparation.

Pamphlets — A pamphlet is a little book of from eight to ten pages to several dozen pages. It usually presents one or more ideas, is quite extended, and is used as a technique of teaching as well as one of general information for the trade union membership, union officers, and the general public.

Choice of Media — The Education Director of the national union or the national Federation is usually the issuing agent of pamphlets and leaflets, for, as they are printed in quantity, the local union alone cannot usually afford the expense. By centralizing the printing of pamphlets and leaflets, the national union can aid in the development of trade union literature without asking any one local union for too much money.

As a trade union education director travels from local union to local union, he is usually besieged with questions from the officers and members of the local union.

One officer says: "How is the national headquarters organized?"

Another officer says: "What happens to the money which we send to Tokyo -- our per capita tax?"

A union member asks: "What is the purpose of the trade union?"

Another union member asks: "What are the policies of our national headquarters? What does our union stand for?"

He will also meet with shop stewards, who will tell him: "We have heard about labor contracts and grievance machinery, but we do not know what all these new developments are. Can you furnish a book of instruction which will help us?"

Again, a local union education committee will complain: "We have organized an education committee. We are anxious to do educational work. But what do we do? Where do we get some books for our guidance? What will we teach the membership?"

ANALYSIS

The education director of the national union, if he is a careful man and keeps notes, will soon have a note book filled with questions, problems, and outlines of pamphlets and leaflets to be written.

First of all, he must decide which materials are absolutely essential. Which must be written and published right now? Which can be put off a few months? Which must wait research and study before they can be written?

After he has worked over the problem and consulted with other trade union education directors, he may work up a short list of titles and subjects which must be clarified and explained immediately.

Having arrived at titles and subjects, he must then decide which types can be handled with leaflets, which types with pamphlets.

Let us put ourselves in the place of a national union education director. We have studied the problem for some time, and finally decide that the following subjects must be dealt with as soon as possible:

What is a labor union?

Why should I be a member of a labor union?

What are the duties of union officers?

What is grievance machinery?

Why must the union have money?

What does the local union do for the membership?

How does the local union go about securing a contract?

What does the education committee of the local union do?

These subjects are just a few -- you will think of many more as you continue to visit local unions and discuss problems with the membership and the officers.

But consider just these few. You could write a book on what a labor union is, but you feel that a short, brief leaflet will do the job. You want something small, but with enough written material to give the rank-and-file a good idea of the purposes and objectives of the labor union. You have just one idea to get across ... and the leaflet appears to be the best way to do it.

Going down the list, you decide that "Why Should I be a Member of a Labor Union?" and "Why Must the Union have Money?" should be leaflets, as each presents a single idea.

That further indicates that you have decided to write pamphlets on the other subjects -- Duties of Union Officers, Grievance Machinery, Union Contracts, and The Duties and Functions of a Local Union Education Committee.

The first step is to decide what you will discuss. But of equal importance is what you will do once you have made the decision. How will you treat the subject? What will you say? And how will you say it?

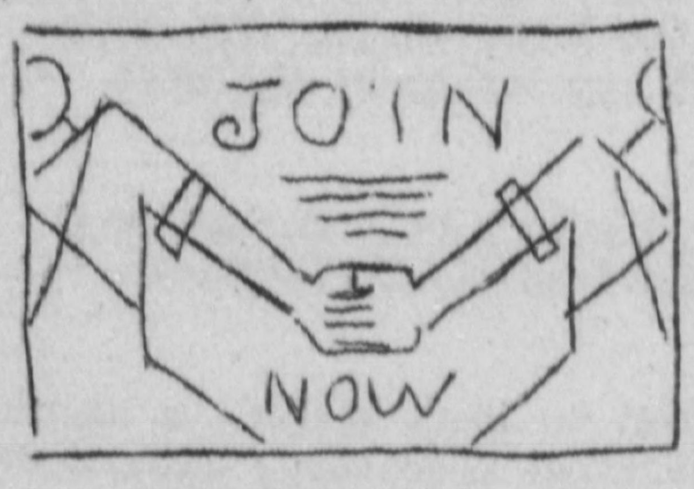
PRINCIPLES

There are a few basic principles regarding leaflet and pamphlet psychology which should be discussed before we go into the mechanics of writing.

First and foremost, remember that in all your writing, you must state the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Name-calling, half-truths, and misstatements serve only to discredit the union you represent. By stating facts, through logical thought development, and by adhering to the truth your leaflets may not only win the respect and support of the membership, but also of the general public. Your union needs the support of both!

Next thing to remember is that when you write a leaflet, do not preach! Never write with the attitude, "The membership of our union is very ignorant. I, an expert, must tell them what they should know and think." No matter how ignorant people may be, they do not like to be treated as if they are dull-witted. Write simply, state your facts, but prepare your material in such a fashion that Sato San listens to you. If you preach, your reader will become angry and throw down your pamphlet.

In addition, everything you say must be stated in terms of the needs, desires, and aspirations of the rank-and-file. What you want to say is not very important. The question is: "What is Sato San thinking about? How can I present my pamphlet in such a fashion that Sato San will read it in order to help solve his problems?" In other words, always write in terms of what the rank-and-file talk about, what they are interested in, and what they want to know.



Again, do not clutter up the leaflet or pamphlet with closely-printed pages and poor illustrations. When a person picks up a leaflet or a pamphlet, he will either be attracted to it ... or he will throw it away. If the leaflet or pamphlet is a printed mass of ideographs, and appears to be very difficult to read, it will probably be thrown into the benjo. If it looks easy to read, and has several clever illustrations and charts, the membership will be more inclined to read it.

Finally, whatever the leaflet or pamphlet says must be short, well-thought out, and expressed in simple language. You might want to use very high-sounding words in order to show that you are an educated man. An educated man who does not know how to write in the language of the rodosha is a very un-educated man. You must learn to write in such simple form, and with such logic, that the simplest rodosha can read the pamphlet, enjoy it, find stimulating new ideas ... and then pass the pamphlet on to a friend.

Summing up, the principles you must observe it you want to produce leaflets and pamphlets which will be read and passed on to other persons, are:

Stick to facts ... Give them the truth!

Write in terms of the reader ... Talk in terms of <u>his</u> problems, <u>his</u> needs!

Use clever illustrations and good typographical arrangement!

Be simple! Be logical! Be brief!

<u>SAMPLE LEAFLET</u>

In order to illustrate the problem, let us consider a sample leaflet and two methods of treating it.

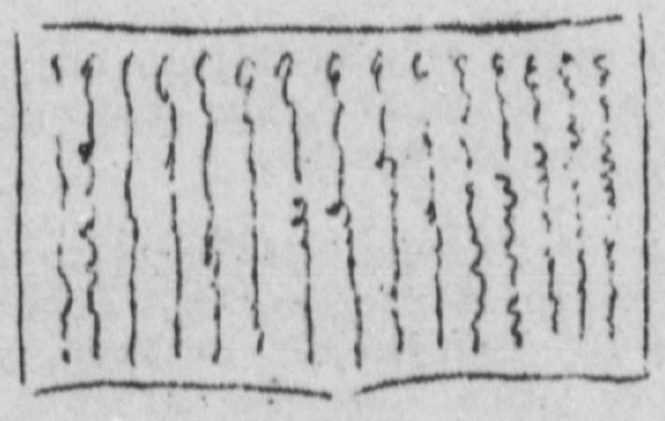
Let us suppose that you intend to write a leaflet on "What is a Labor Union."

There are many ways to handle this, but let us consider a very poor way, and a very good way, in order to illustrate the principles which we have just discussed.

One way is to write the leaflet in this fashion:

THE PURPOSE, OBJESTIVES, PHILOSOPHY, AND ULTIMATE PURPOSES OF THE CONTEMPORARY JAPANESE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT
by
Onishi San, Education Director
All Japan Allied Bath House Employees Union

And then will follow four solid pages of type which would look something like this.....



When our typical Japanese worker, Sato San, looks at such a leaflet he will say: "My, what a lot of characters. It looks very difficult to read. Ah, so..! What do I care about the philosophy and ultimate purposes of the trade union... I want another daikon!" Sato San then proceeds to throw the leaflet to the ground. Your message is as flat as a rice cake.

The other approach is sensible. You appeal to the self-interest of Sato San. You ask him a question through your pamphlet which will cause him to say, "Yes, I wonder. Maybe this leaflet will be of use to me." How would you do that?

Obviously, you must use the first page of the leaflet for but one purpose -- to attract Sato San's attention by asking him a question or stating a thought which will arouse his self-interest. He will then read the leaflet if you arouse his personal interest. Look at this treatment of a first page. It does but one thing. And it uses large type and an illustration.

As you can see, when Sato San looks at that leaflet, he will probably say, "Ah, so desu ka... Can my rodo kumiai help me? I must read this at once and find out." He then opens up the little leaflet and finds a first page which looks like this:

As you can see, the first page is written in terms of Sato San... It says: "You have joined a union in order to take part in securing a better life for your wife, yourself, and your children. You want to take part in the building of democracy and the New Japan..."

Then the leaflet explains that the purpose of the rodo kumiai is to form an

association of workers who, through collective bargaining and mutual assistance can improve their economic and social conditions. It mentions wages, hours, and working conditions. It mentions trade union education and a few other important subjects. But each and every page is brief... it is well illustrated... and it discusses but one subject: "Your Union - Your Friend!"

You can be sure that after Sato San has read such a well-prepared leaflet he will probably take it to a friend and say, "Ano ne! This is very interesting. I did not realize that the union was a part of democracy! I did not realize that it can help not only myself but my family. Read this and then give it to someone else..."

Thus by stating facts, stating the truth, using illustrations, and writing the leaflet in terms of Sato San, you can transmit trade union ideas. And Sato San will help you to, in turn, spread them to others.

It sounds very easy, but it is difficult. It is very difficult to plan that front page -- to make it so interesting and so attractive that Sato San will want to read the leaflet. You will write and rewrite the leaflet, you will take it to friends, and you will show it to union members. After a few days, you will begin to see it develop. Write it, and then rewrite it. Plan the final leaflet, and have many persons look it over. After a week of work, you will finally develop a leaflet worth publishing. Get good illustrations, and you are then ready to see the printer.

Leaflets on which you spend much time and effort will repay you, for they will be well read.

One final point. It is often inadvisable to place the name of the union on the front page. Sometimes a person will not read the leaflet because of a long name and address on the cover. It is usually wiser to put the union label and name of the union publisher on the last page of the pamphlet, so that when the person has read it, he can then get an answer to his question: "I wonder who wrote this excellent leaflet? It is very good!"

Now this applies to mimeographed leaflets as well as to printed leaflets. In fact, with mimeographed leaflets, it is even more important, for mimeographed material does not look too good even if well done. You should plan a personal question, a good title ... and use an illustration to drive home the question. A well-prepared mimeographed leaflet will be read. One which merely rambles on and has no illustrations will soon find its way to the benjo.

PAMPHLETS

Turning now to the problem of the pamphlet, let us consider as an illustration preparation of a pamphlet on collective bargaining. Before you even begin to think about planning the subject, the first thing is to consider the needs of the shop stewards, the local union officers, and the people who will be responsible in the local union for conducting collective bargaining.

As you think it through logically, you list a series of ideas:

(1) What is Collective Bargaining?

(2) How is it practiced in other Countries?

(3) Development of Collective Bargaining in Japan

(4) Legal framework for Collective Bargaining

(5) Election of the Negotiation Committee

(6) Preparatory work of the Negotiation Committee -- Research and Statistics.

(7) Formulation of the Demands -- Presenting them to the Membership for Discussion and Adoption

(8) Preparation of the draft contract or agreement

(9) Meeting with Management -- Techniques -- Public Relations

(10) What to do Should Collective Bargaining break down or reach a Stalemate

(11) Signing and Ratification of the Contract

(12) Legal Aids to Enforce Collective Bargaining

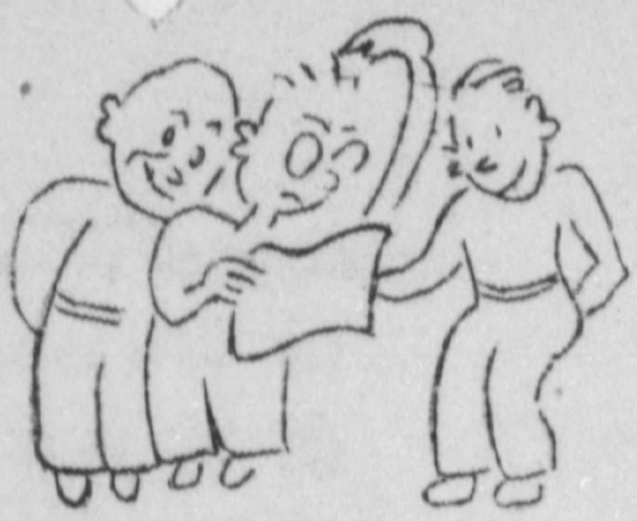
(13) Enforcement of the Contract through the Shop Steward System

(14) Education of Membership to use Collective Bargaining. Use of Grievance Machinery.

(15) Education of Shop Stewards

No two education directors will develop the same sort of a pamphlet. Each union has its own specific needs. Some unions will handle collective bargaining procedures in one manner, another union in a different manner.

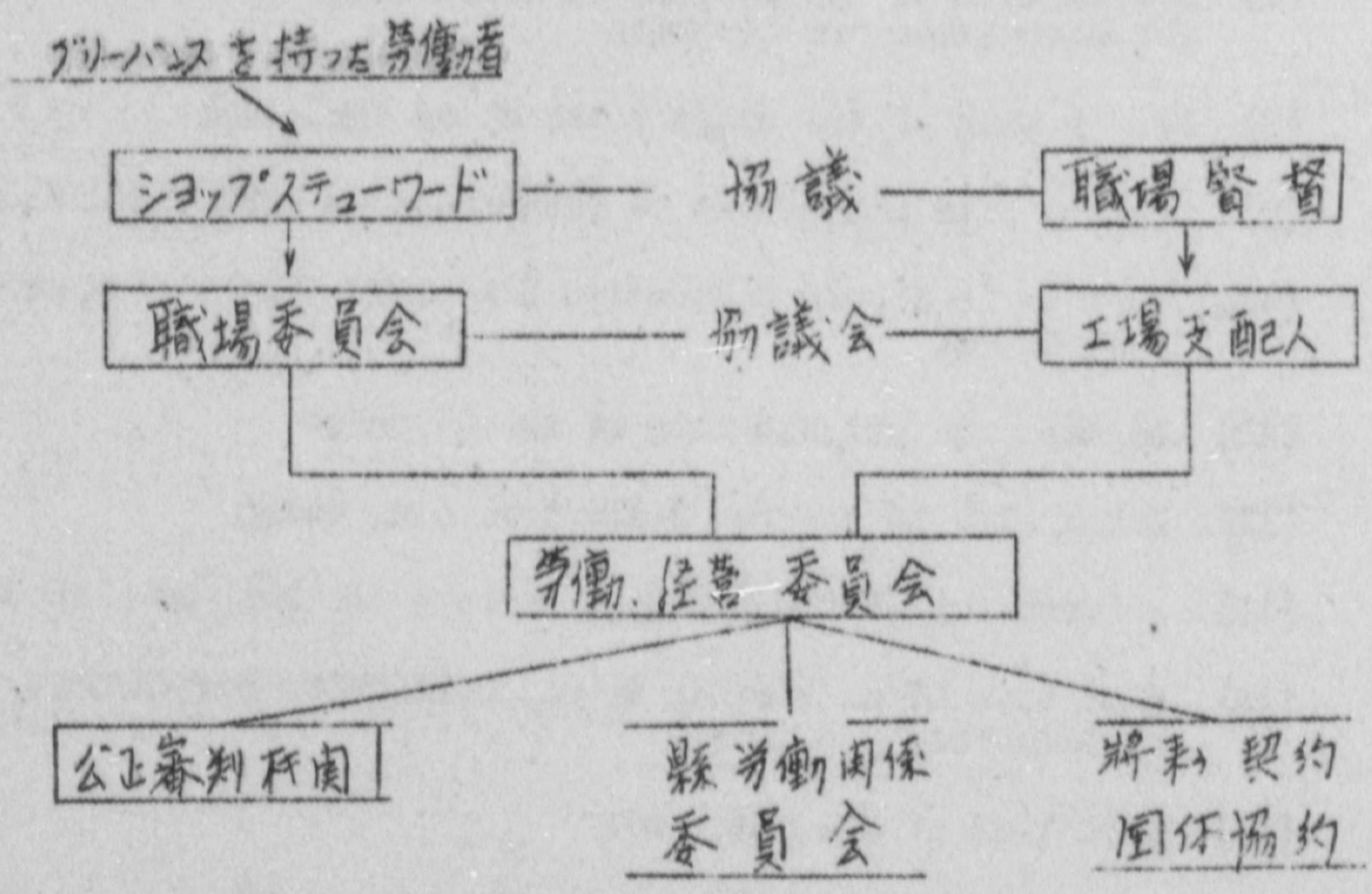
But after you have outlined everything which your membership wants to know, your next job is to carry on the research work necessary to secure the basic information. You may consult with other trade union education directors, with local authorities, and perhaps you visit the Tokyo C. I. & E. Library (for Japanese only) in order to study books on collective bargaining procedures in America and other countries.



As in the case of the leaflet, you should then write a draft of the pamphlet, section by section. Write it in simple and clear language. Wherever possible, use illustrations so that the reader of the pamphlet will get the idea and fully understand what you are trying to say. As you complete each chapter, give it to friends, have them criticize it, and then rewrite it.

All of this is essential. For instance, when you are writing about collective bargaining, it is useful to employ a few sketches illustrating the collective bargaining process from the time that the worker has a grievance until the grievance has been settled.

グリーバンス手續の圖解



And if you are talking about grievance slips, show them what such a slip may look like:

グリーバンス傳票

性名 _____ 職番_____ 日附 _____

クリーバンスの内容 _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

契約違反の事実 _____

_____

_____

要求処置 _____

_____

_____

You may decide that it is important not only to quote the law on the subject, but to include at the end of your pamphlet important quotations from the Trade Union Law, the Labor Relations Adjustment Law, and other pertinent labor laws. Some unions may find it pertienent to include a model contract to aid local union negotiation committees in drawing up their own contract forms.

As the pamphlet takes form, continue to consult with advisers, get criticism, and PLAN, PLAN, PLAN. Do not rush the job. One well-written pamphlet is worth a hundred poor pamphlets. One pamphlet written in simple language and filled with practical suggestions can be of tremendous aid in the development of sound collective bargaining procedures in your national union.

After you have taken the pamphlet apart, rewritten it, and drawn new sketches until you have something which is as near perfect as possible, then - and only then - is it time to mimeograph the pamphlet, or take it to the printer.

PRICE

Remember that people pay more attention to pamphlets and leaflets when they have to pay for them. It is a wise practice to sell the pamphlets at the actual cost - just a few sen or a few yen - but enough to pay for the preparation and printing. The practice with American unions is for the local union to purchase the leaflets and pamphlets from the national union at cost, and then either re-sell or give them to the membership.

Never give anything away! It will be valued only if you value it yourself by putting a price on it!

DISTRIBUTION

The next important step, once you have prepared the pamphlet, is to decide on distribution. Put a small notice in your rodo kumiai shimbun describing the leaflet or pamphlet, outlining its contents, give the price, and indicate exactly how it can be purchased.

Then write a letter to every local union education committee, send them a sample copy of the pamphlet, tell them how they can use it in their local union, and invite their order.

But that is the internal distribution scheme.

There is another distribution which is just as important. Consider the nature of your leaflet or pamphlet and work up a list of persons who should be given a copy. One pamphlet may be of such basic interest that a copy should be sent to Diet Members, to Labor Administration Officials, or to the Prefectural Labor Relations Committee. Remember, if they receive copies of your pamphlet, they will often be grateful for the work you have done, and will make use of your pamphlet in their daily work.

Send a copy of the pamphlet to your local newspaper, describe it, and ask the newspaper to tell the general public so all persons may know that the union has just published a new leaflet or pamphlet.

In a word, when you think of distribution of your pamphlet, plan distribution not only for your own membership, but also for all private and public agencies and persons who may find it of use. The wider the distribution, the more good will and intelligent understanding you may win for your union.

Too often, very fine pamphlets are written and printed, but <u>because the education director does not make intelligent use of distribution methods, few persons ever read the pamphlet</u>.

PRACTICAL HINTS

Distribution methods and procedures are so vital to the successful use of leaflets and pamphlets that a few practical remarks may be of help. After the national headquarters has sent a new leaflet or pamphlet to the local unions, it is a wise practice for the local union education director to study the publication, write a few notes which briefly summarize it, and then at the next meeting of officers and members, describe briefly the leaflet and tell the membership where they can purchase copies. This arouses rank-and-file interest. Also, put a short description of the new publication either on the shop bulletin board or in the local union newspaper or mimeographed bulletin.

The American unions often post a notice in the shop which says: "Are you an expert on collective bargaining? Do you know all of the answers? If not, read the new pamphlet issued by the national headquarters, 'COLLECTIVE BARGAINING,' which can be obtained at the union office for two yen per copy..."

Again, when distributing pamphlets or leaflets to local persons not in the union, such as school teachers or university professors, it is wiser to visit them in person rather than just mail the publication. You can describe the new publication, and explain how they may find it useful. After you have left, they will be much more inclined to read the publication.

Another technique used to stimulate reading of the pamphlet is to hold a question-and-answer meeting based on the factual material in a new trade union publication. The local union announces that on a certain date a public question-and-answer meeting will be held. The person answering the largest number of questions correctly will be awarded, say, a prize -- a pack of cigarettes, some shoyu sauce, a book, or some other valued trophy. The members are told that if they want to take part in the contest, they must read a certain new trade union pamphlet. Give them the price and tell

them where and how they can obtain the pamphlet. For example, suppose you are planning a question-and-answer meeting based on a pamphlet, "HOW TO CONDUCT A UNION MEETING" ...

The education director then goes through the pamphlet and writes out a few hundred questions based on the pamphlet -- every possible sort of question the answer to which is found in the pamphlet.

When the meeting is held, all persons who think they have mastered the pamphlet are seated in front of the membership of the local. All of the questions are written on small slips of paper and placed in a large jar. One by one, in turn, the education director asks the contestants the questions. As soon as one person cannot answer correctly, he or she is ruled out of the contest and becomes a spectator. Finally there are only two persons left ... and questions continue until one of them is ruled out of the contest.

The winner receives the prize, yes! But the entire membership has listened carefully to the questions and answers, has heard the rulings of the education director, and by the time they leave the meeting place ALL have received a good education on the subject matter.

This type of question-and-answer meeting can well be staged in the primary school on a Sunday afternoon. Everyone loves a contest of brains -- and if Papasan brings the family with him to the meeting, his wife and children will also receive a little education about rodo kumiai.

Notices of new pamphlets and publications can frequently be placed on the bulletin board at the gates of the factory, in the public bath house, on the dormitory bulletin board, or perhaps even written in chalk on the walls of the benjo.

All of this is mentioned to focus the attention of the Japanese trade union director on one of his major problems: to get the widest distribution and circulation of trade union literature possible with a minimum of effort.

MASS INFORMATION

During times of negotiation or possible labor disputes, always be careful to prepare well-documented leaflets which present the case of the union. Give nothing but FACTS -- plenty of FACTS. Describe the wages, hours, and working conditions of the workers. Tell precisely what the union is demanding and why they should receive it. Avoid name-calling. Stick to facts.

One well-prepared leaflet which states the union position and tells why it is in the interest of the public that the union should win its demands can aid the bargaining committee in its negotiations. Through such well-timed leaflets and pamphlets explaining the union position, you can use mass distribution not only to inform the workers accurately, but also to inform the public.

For, you see, the education director of the union is not only interested in educating the membership. He is equally interested in educating the general public, public officials, and other persons, so that they may understand the position of the trade union.

That is one excellent way to build up a "sound public opinion"; that is, informing the public to such an extent that they sympathetically approve the demands of the trade union. Then if a dispute should arise, the public has been informed in advance, they know the issues, and they will probably support the trade union.

LIBRARY

The Japanese trade unions are growing with very little printed material on the trade union movement available. Millions of workers all over Japan have heard about the trade union over the radio and through their daily newspaper, but as you know, <u>they are hungry for information</u>. The various leaflets and pamphlets needed to inform and educate them cannot be developed in one day. But if the national trade union education directors will publish a few good leaflets and one well-written pamphlet before the end of this year, they will have taken one important step forward. First come leaflets... then pamphlets, and finally, as the literature and as knowledge and experience develop, then will come books.

With the leaflets will come discussion.

With the pamphlets will come classes and courses of instruction.

Then as books on the labor movement develop, schools can begin to function, labor colleges will have sufficient texts to conduct regular classes ... and a real workers' education movement will be under way in Japan.

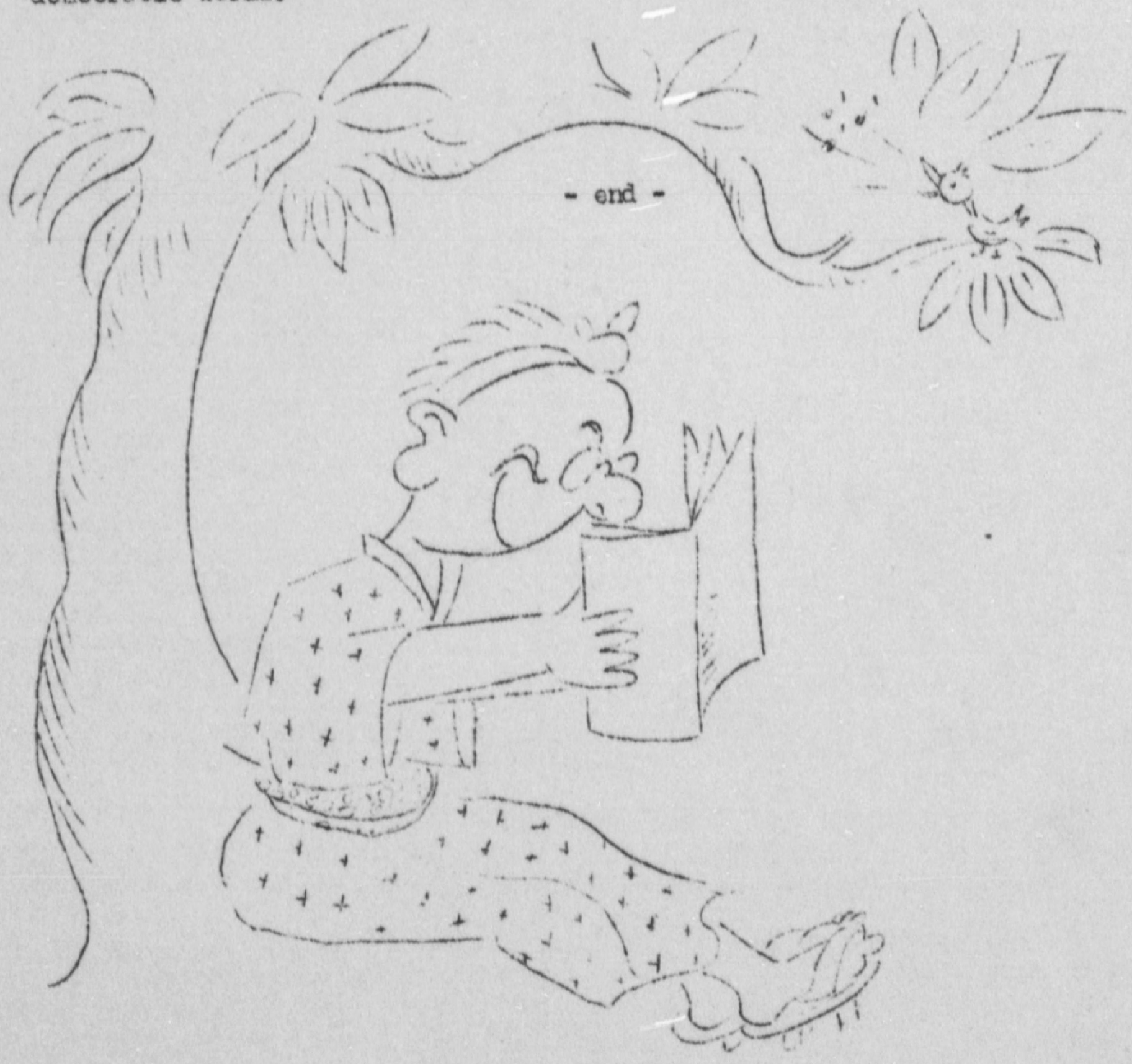
As with all things, it must of necessity proceed from very small beginnings. The little leaflets may seem very unimportant, but they are beginnings of Japanese trade union literature.

The mighty trees which line the road to Nikko were once tiny seeds.

So too, in America and Great Britain, the beginnings of workers' education were found in tiny pamphlets and leaflets.

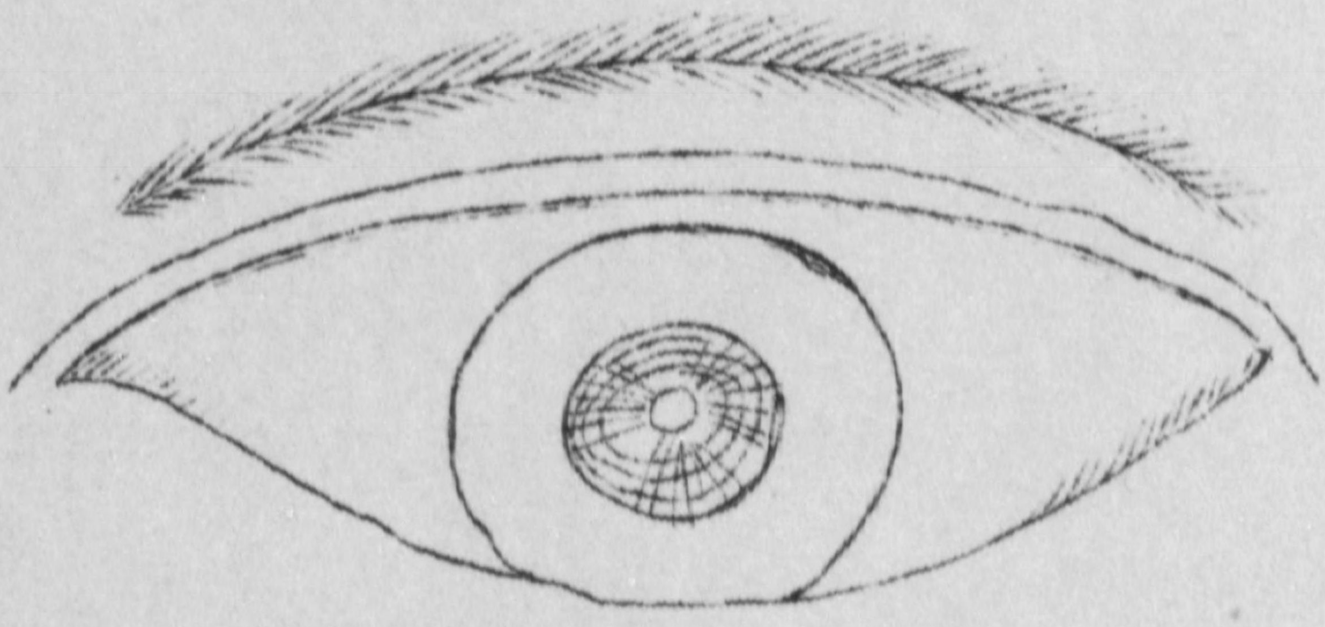
Have you begun to plant the seeds of trade unionism in your union? Are you planning for the mighty trade union trees of tomorrow which will grow along the path which trade unionism is building toward a better, free, democratic world?

- end -



TRADE UNION USE OF VISUAL AIDS

Presented for discussion to
a conference of Education
Directors of National Japan-
ese Trade Unions held at
Radio Tokyo on 4 December
1946.

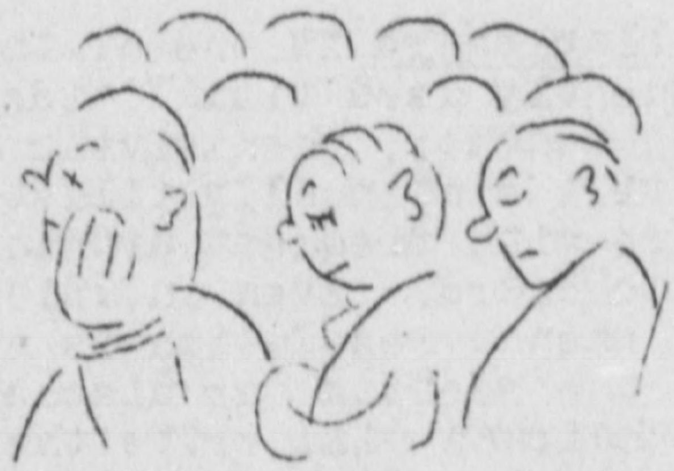


by
Richard L-G Deverall
Chief, Labor Education Branch

ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC SECTION
LABOR DIVISION
G. H. Q.
TOKYO

INTRODUCTION

When you discuss workers' education, the first items that come to mind are classroom lectures, schools, books, and pamphlets. However, the workers well know from experience that often students lose their interest in the classroom. Sometimes the teacher does not know the subject, and the students fall asleep.



Often the teacher will employ language which is difficult to understand. Or, in explaining a complicated subject, the teacher will take up so much time in discussing a certain idea that the students are unable to follow the explanation.

In all of these cases, the technique of teaching employed uses only one sense -- the sense of hearing.

Lectures, classroom teaching, and schools as a whole are usually confined to the use of this one sense. The teacher talks to the students, the students ask questions, and the discussion which follows is all based on learning through hearing. If the students do not understand some of the words being used, they are unable to grasp the fundamental ideas being presented.

Books and pamphlets, if they are well-prepared, not only present the subject matter by use of ideographs, but they use pictures, charts, graphs and other devices which give the student a picture of the ideas being presented by ideographs. Thus the student not only studies the idea through the ideographs, but he also can scan a sketch, cartoon, chart, or other device which presents the same idea in a graphic manner.

VISUAL AIDS

We therefore arrive at the conception of visual aids. Visual aids are any device used in conjunction with teaching or reading material which, by use of pictures, charts, graphs, or other visual media, can convey the same idea to the student in an easily understandable manner.

Visual aids, such as posters, do not in themselves teach fundamental ideas. But by presenting ideas they stimulate thought. That is why we call all of these devices visual aids. They are aids to teaching. They help to make ideas graphic and easily understandable. They do not replace lectures and classroom teaching. They supplement the formal methods of presenting ideas and factual material.