MAR 2 1 1946
LIBRARY

10c

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLET No. 117

YOUR STAKE IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

BY T. R. CARSKADON AND S. T. WILLIAMSON



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

YOUR STAKE IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

By THOMAS R. CARSKADON
and S. T. WILLIAMSON

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING touches the life of every one of us in America. We don't have to own a business or be members of a union. We don't have to be "management" or "labor." Just as citizens we find that collective bargaining affects the price of the clothes we wear, the food we eat, the prosperity and welfare of our country as a whole.

The Outlook

What are some of the long-term trends in collective bargaining? How do they affect us and our country? What should an intelligent citizen try to do about them?

A recent major survey by the Twentieth Century Fund tackled just such questions. This impartial research foundation first made a detailed study of sixteen large industries (with a briefer look at about a dozen more) and reported its results in *How Col-*

The factual findings, as well as portions of the text, of this pamphlet are based upon *Trends in Collective Bargaining: A Summary of Recent Experience* by S. T. Williamson and Herbert Harris and the Labor Committee of the Twentieth Century Fund (published by the Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1945).

Copyright, 1946, by the Public Affairs Committee, Incorporated
—A nonprofit, educational organization—

Digitized by Google

lective Bargaining Works. A later volume, *Trends in Collective Bargaining,* summarizes the main developments in the field.

Two to Make a Bargain

First, what is collective bargaining? It is hard to give an exact definition. But we do know that we must have workers and a union on one side, and an employer or group of employers on the other. The bargaining concerns wages, hours, and conditions of work. Although labor is not a commodity like a pound of butter or a ton of coal, a price has to be set for it. One price may be asked for labor; another price may be offered for it. Somewhere between the two a price may finally be agreed on.

If a worker acts alone, he sells his labor to an employer who may buy the work of many hands. If he won't accept the employer's terms, another workman may do so. The individual has little influence, because he is bargaining alone. To make this balance more even, and to give workers some bargaining power comparable to that of employers, workers form themselves into unions. If the organized workers refuse an employer's terms, it may be difficult to replace them. And if the union happens to include all who work at the same occupation, it may be impossible for an employer to hire others.

The Stakes

Collective bargaining is a process of give and take. The union has something to offer which the employer needs—labor. The employer has something to offer which the workers need—jobs. If union men do not get what they want, they may quit work. If the employer thinks that union demands are too high, he may refuse to meet them and thus withhold the jobs that the workers want. Each side has something to gain—and something to lose. Both sides know this. Both sides usually are under considerable pressure to reach some sort of agreement rather than resort to the final test of sheer force—the strike on the part of the union, or the lockout on the part of the employer.

About the Rest of Us

Larger issues that affect all of us also enter the picture. Any collective bargaining agreement will have some effect, however small or however large, upon the general level of business activity and the prosperity of the country as a whole. That is where

Digitized by Google

the average citizen comes in. As part of this picture, workers and employers should keep some of these broader factors in mind. Each side needs the other. A depressed working class means less demand for products and services that the employer is in business to provide. A depressed industry means fewer jobs for workers seeking employment. The well-being of both employers and working men depends upon the other's well-being.

The Local Union

How are workers organized? In this country we find many different types of labor unions. Sometimes we may be confused by the names applied to them.

Essentially, most unions are alike. The basic unit is usually the local union or lodge. It may cover a certain city, or one factory, or even a subdivision of a large plant. It elects its own officers, recruits new members, collects dues, handles individual grievances, and, where it has been certified as the collective bargaining representative of the workers, negotiates agreements with employers.

National and International Unions

Most locals are part of a national or international union. The larger organization may call itself a brotherhood, a league, an association, an order, an alliance, or other term, but it is still a union. If it has no locals or no membership outside the United States, it is known as a "national union." If it has locals or members in Canada, it is an "international union."

The title of the union usually indicates its coverage. For example, the International Union of United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America is an organization with local unions in the United States and Canada of working people who make automobiles, airplanes, and farm machinery. The National Maritime Union of America is made up of merchant seamen and has no locals outside the United States—actually all are on the East and Gulf Coasts.

Craft and Industrial Unions

Some unions are organized primarily on a craft basis. They include workers of certain occupations, such as plumbers, sheet metal workers, or pattern makers, who may be employed in a wide variety of industries. Other unions are organized on an

Digitized by Google

industrial basis. These include all the workers in a given industry, regardless of the specific type of job. A good example of the craft type of union is the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The United Steelworkers of America, an industrial union, includes many different occupations ranging from those who deal with molten metal to those who turn out finished products.

The American Federation of Labor is made up mostly of unions of the "craft" type. On the other hand, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, as its name suggests, favors the "industrial" type. Actually, both of these two great central labor organizations include unions of both types. It is becoming increasingly difficult nowadays to find a simon-pure union of either the "craft" or "industrial" type. Many craft unions have so extended their jurisdictions that they frequently overlap one another.

Union Membership

It is hard to get an exact figure as to how many workers in the United States are organized into unions. Some unions report as members only those who have paid their dues. Others include not only those with paid-up dues but employees who join, work with the union, and support its policies without paying dues regularly. Still other figures sometimes include workers who once were bona fide members but have since become delinquent. All told, the best estimates are that the number of union workers covered by collective bargaining contracts at the end of the war was more than twelve million, although some estimates run as high as fourteen million. This is usually estimated at somewhere between one-third and one-fourth of all American wage earners.

Effects of Rapid Growth of Unionism

Modern unionism made its great growth in a period of less than ten years. The post-World War I peak union membership of five million in 1920 declined to about three million by 1933. Then under the New Deal it shot dramatically upward to eleven million by 1942.

This rapid organizing affected the character of collective bargaining. Much of the bargaining was done by officials, both on

Digitized by Google

the management side and the union side, who had had but little experience in such matters. Likewise, boards of directors and stockholders of companies and rank and file members of unions didn't always accept the recommendations of their negotiators. The situation was further complicated by sharp rivalries between such groups as the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the United Mine Workers. Under such conditions the pressure was always to solve the immediate situation. Long-range policies and long-run effects of collective bargaining have not always received enough attention.

Fields Organized and Unorganized

Unions are well organized in some industries, and at least two—railroads and coal mining—are almost completely covered by collective bargaining agreements. Other large industries, such as automobiles, rubber, and steel, have contracts that cover the great majority of workers. In contrast, certain large fields are almost completely unorganized. Unions have made little attempt to organize domestic servants, white-collar workers, or the three million agricultural workers. Less than 10 per cent of the 10½ million persons engaged in wholesale and retail trades, personal service, clerical, technical, and professional occupations are unionized. Only a small number of unions have many Negro members although most are open to Negroes. And while few unions specifically bar women, some are none too friendly about admitting them.

Central Bodies

The two great central bodies of labor in the United States are, of course, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. In addition, there is an independent group of Railroad Brotherhoods, most of which are basically craft unions. The United Mine Workers has been affiliated at one time or another with both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. and for a time went its way as the country's largest "independent." In January, 1946, it was readmitted to the A. F. of L. There are also some large and strong independent unions. Some of these are outgrowths of former "company" unions. Under our present laws a union dominated, financed, or aided by the employer is forbidden, and many which started out in this fashion have now become completely independent.

Digitized by Google

Membership in the A. F. of L.

Slightly more than a hundred national or international unions are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. It also has a varying number of independent and federal locals. All told, the A. F. of L. group reported, in mid-1944, a dues-paying membership of more than 6,800,000 and an estimated 500,000 additional on a nondues-paying basis.

How the A. F. of L. Operates

The American Federation of Labor itself is not a union. It is a group of national and international unions, each of which controls its own internal affairs. An individual worker is not a member of the A. F. of L. He takes out a card in a local union whose national or international is affiliated with the A. F. of L. The Federation has no jurisdiction over him, unless he is one of the 300,000 in one of the independent or federal locals that are directly under A. F. of L. headquarters.

The American Federation of Labor may admit or, with some difficulty, expel affiliated unions. Beyond this, it has little power of discipline over them. In a sense, the affiliates have more power over the A. F. of L. than the Federation has over them. One of the real duties of the A. F. of L. is to define the jurisdictions of its member unions. But its awards are by no means always accepted or adhered to. In 1943 the International Association of Machinists, a semi-industrial group and one of the oldest and largest affiliates, broke away from the A. F. of L. The cause was a jurisdictional dispute with the carpenters' union as to which union should represent workers in plants making wooden airplanes.

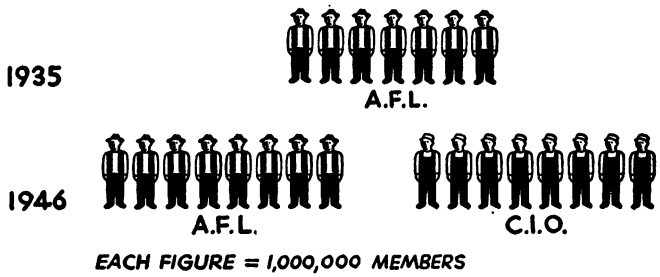
Beginnings of the C.I.O.

The C.I.O. was first started in 1935 as the Committee for Industrial Organization. It was designed to promote the formation of new unions within the A. F. of L. framework. It was directed primarily at the large mass-production industries, such as automobiles, rubber, steel, electrical manufacturing, shipbuilding, and textiles, which up to that time were largely unorganized. The New Deal and the National Industrial Recovery Act—with its famous Section 7-A—offered favorable circumstances for pushing a campaign for unionization.

Digitized by Google

The following year the committee was expelled from the A. F. of L. because of conflicts over jurisdiction, organizing methods, and philosophy—plus some personal conflicts as well. It promptly changed its name to the Congress of Industrial Organizations and embarked upon an energetic campaign of expansion.

A.F.L. AND C.I.O. MEMBERSHIP



C.I.O. Membership and Growth of Unionism

The C.I.O. reported a membership of six million at the end of 1944. The continued strength of both large central organizations has surprised many people. Prior to 1933 a wide split of this kind often meant that one or the other of the diverging groups lost members. But, despite the loss of a number of powerful unions to the C.I.O., the American Federation of Labor has many more members today than before the split. Likewise, the original C.I.O. unions not only added to their membership, but they have aided in extending unionization to many industries previously unorganized.

How the Labor Side Is Organized

In collective bargaining as it is carried on in America neither labor nor management presents an absolutely united front. On the labor side the two great sources of conflict are jurisdictional fights between overlapping unions and those between rival unions in the same field.

Digitized by Google

In spite of such conditions labor is probably better organized for collective bargaining than employers. All labor groups agree, at least, on the desirability of collective bargaining. They differ on how to go about it.

Employers are badly split. Not only are they divided over collective bargaining itself—but those who oppose it disagree over how it shall be fought, and those who are reconciled to it differ over the extent of its acceptance.

MANAGEMENT ATTITUDES AND ORGANIZATION

SOME employers are dead set against unionism. They would smash it. This group is now smaller than it was before passage of the National Labor Relations Act, which limits an employer's antiunion activity. A larger group of employers accepts collective bargaining as an inescapable fact but won't engage in it any more than it has to. A steadily increasing group believes that legally protected unionism is here to stay—and is trying to get along with it. Still another group of employers accepts unionism as an ally—that is, after their establishments have been unionized.

Employee Organizations in Britain and Sweden

Employers are better organized in some other countries than they are in the United States. This is notably true of Great Britain and Sweden. In both those countries collective bargaining is commonly conducted on an industry-wide basis, rather than on a plant and company basis as it is over here. Also, in Britain and Sweden the employers are represented by employer associations just as workers are represented by their union organizations.

In this country we have no exact counterpart of Britain's National Confederation of Employers' Associations. This Association acts as a central authority on labor questions. Commercial and economic matters are left to the Association of British Chambers of Commerce and the National Union of Manufacturers.

Lack of Employer Organization in America

In contrast, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and our National Association of Manufacturers consider broad interests of business groups as a whole and do not themselves di-

Digitized by Google

rectly engage in collective bargaining. They do not give to American management the national leadership in collective bargaining matters that labor unions get in the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. Also, the typical trade association in this country looks after a wide variety of interests of its member firms, but it seldom engages in collective bargaining.

American experience does show some instances of collective bargaining on what amounts to substantially an industry-wide basis. The Association of Railway Executives engages in direct parleys with the Railway Labor Executives' Association. Negotiations in the glass industry, in coal mining, and in several other industries cover most of their respective fields.

Employers' Unions and Industry-Wide Bargaining

Many labor unions, to the surprise of some observers, look favorably upon greater organization of employers. Some unions actively campaign for industry-wide agreements. They feel that strong employer organization for industry-wide collective bargaining makes more secure the whole process of collective bargaining. They say that employer leadership in such matters helps to bring into line some reluctant firms that might otherwise hang back from collective bargaining.

The most all-inclusive employers' association so far developed in this country is the San Francisco Employers' Council. This is not an organization of industries but a federation of city-wide employer associations in some two dozen industries. It resembles in structure San Francisco's Central Labor Union. Each group in the Employers' Council runs its own affairs, and each employer association deals separately with the unions in its field. This serves to substitute a master or industry-wide labor contract for individual and single-plant agreements.

THE QUESTION OF UNION SECURITY

ONE of labor's main goals always has been to establish the basic right of organizing unions and bargaining collectively. Seemingly that battle is now won. The law of the land protects workers in their right to organize in unions of their own choosing and compels employers to negotiate with these unions.

But the old struggles have left their mark. Unions today are still deeply concerned about the exact form of union recognition.

Digitized by Google

Times are changing, however, and the old terms "open shop" and "closed shop" have lost almost all their meaning.

Definitions of Union Status

We need to understand the new terms that are being used today. Only in this way can we get the real point of many industrial disputes. Perhaps the most useful way of classifying the various shades of union status and recognition is to group them under two headings:

1. *Compulsory shops*

a. Closed shop
b. Union shop
c. Maintenance-of-membership shop

2. *Noncompulsory shops*

a. Preferential shop
b. Exclusive bargaining shop
c. Bargaining for members only
d. Open shop

CLOSED SHOP (OPEN TO TRADE UNIONISTS)

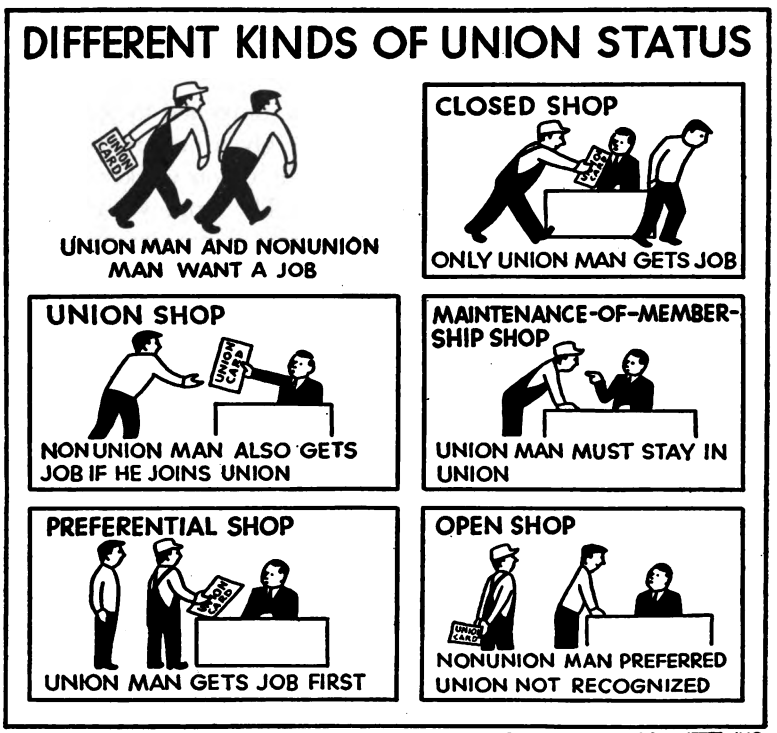
This is the strictest form of the "compulsory shop" type of union recognition. In the closed shop an employer may hire only members of the union and the employees must remain members in order to keep their jobs. There are two types of the closed shop. The first is the closed shop with the closed union. This is the more rare and more drastic arrangement under which the union limits its own membership and restricts entrance into its ranks. An example is the Chicago local of the motion picture machine operators. The other type is the closed shop with the open union. Here the union has no limitation on membership and no barriers against new members. This is typical of many craft unions, particularly in printing and building trades.

UNION SHOP

Under the union shop an employer may hire workers who are not members of the union, but after a certain period they must become members in order to keep their jobs. This gives an employer more freedom in his choice of workers. He is not restricted

Digitized by Google

to those already in the union but may select anyone he likes, provided that the worker is willing to join the union. A modification of the union shop is the percentage shop, in which an employer agrees that a certain percentage of his work force shall be union members in good standing.



MAINTENANCE-OF-MEMBERSHIP SHOP

This is an arrangement that was developed during the war. Under it no worker is required to join a union, but all workers who decide to stay in or go into the union must remain members in good standing in order to keep their jobs. The maintenance-of-membership shop was evolved as a compromise to break employer-union deadlocks over union recognition. One factor frequently overlooked is the "escape" clause. Usually a period of

Digitized by Google

about fifteen days has been allowed during which a worker was free to make up his mind. If he already was in the union, he was free during that period to resign. If he was not in any union, he was free to join. Once the period was up, however, a worker who decided to join the union had to stay with it, and any other workers who decided later to join the union also had to keep their membership in good standing in order to hold their jobs under the agreement.

PREFERENTIAL SHOP

Under this type of contract no one is compelled to join or remain in a union, but union members are given preference in hiring or layoff, or both. In other words, the union workers are the first to be hired and the last to be fired. The employer is not required to discharge workers who refuse to join a union and he may agree to urge employees to become union members. The formula was devised in 1910 by Louis D. Brandeis in the settlement of a prolonged strike in New York City's cloak and suit trade.

EXCLUSIVE BARGAINING SHOP

This kind of contract recognizes the right of the union to act as the exclusive bargaining agent for all employees, whether they are union members or not. This form fulfills the minimum requirements of the National Labor Relations Act, which makes an employer guilty of unfair labor practice if he fails to bargain collectively and "exclusively" with representatives chosen by a majority of his employees.

BARGAINING FOR MEMBERS ONLY

Here the union is recognized as bargaining agent solely for its own members. While this may fall short of collective bargaining as guaranteed under federal law, a union has been occasionally —and temporarily—willing to accept it. The union members tend to look upon the arrangement as giving them a foothold in the plant. The union has not gained exclusive bargaining rights, but it has achieved much the same result. Whatever wage increases an employer grants the union are generally applied throughout the plant regardless of union membership. If the union succeeds in improving working conditions, it builds up a strong case for inducing new workers to join.

Digitized by Google

OPEN SHOP (CLOSED TO TRADE UNIONS)

Collective bargaining does not exist in an open shop because there is no union nor any union recognition. This is the situation of about 70 per cent of all wage earners in the United States. In former years an employer might not only refuse to recognize a union but go beyond this and refuse to employ or keep on the job any worker who joined a union. Such discrimination against union membership is now forbidden by the National Labor Relations Act.

Workers in Closed and Union Shops

Figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics showed that as World War II ended, approximately six and one-half million workers were employed under closed shop and union shop conditions. These amounted to about 46 per cent of all the wage earners who were covered by collective bargaining agreements. No industry has a completely closed shop, but the closed shop or union shop arrangement covers most of the organized workers in the baking, brewery, women's and men's clothing, and printing and publishing industries. The union shop prevails in the coal mining industry, in which virtually all who work are members of the United Mine Workers.

Workers of Other Status

In January, 1945, maintenance-of-membership clauses applied to 27 per cent of all workers under union contract, particularly in electrical and farm equipment, nonferrous mining, and basic iron and steel. The preferential shop covered only about 2 per cent of those under union contract. The exclusive bargaining shop covered less than 20 per cent of all workers under agreements. Exclusive bargaining rights apply to a majority of unionized workers in the rayon-yarn industry.

The extent of union recognition appears to depend largely on the length of time collective bargaining has been practiced in an industry. Exclusive bargaining rights are found in the more recently organized industries. Closed and union shops prevail generally where unionism has long been recognized. The notable exception is railroads. In this almost totally unionized industry, the closed and union shops are prohibited by law and the brotherhoods and unions have exclusive bargaining rights.

Digitized by Google

THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AGREEMENT

WHEN collective bargaining succeeds, the two parties reach an agreement. Usually they put their agreement in writing. The result is a document that may have certain aspects of a treaty of peace, a code of conduct, and a business contract—all in one.

Most collective bargaining agreements cover the same fundamental points. These are well set forth in the preamble to a New York City carpenter-contractor agreement:

> To establish and maintain wages, hours, and working conditions for the work covered by this agreement;. . . . to prevent strikes and lockouts; to ensure the peaceable adjustment and settlement of any and all grievances, disputes, or differences that may arise.

What the Contract Covers

The usual agreement specifies the exact form of recognition that the employer gives the union—whether union shop, preferential shop, or whatever. It establishes wage rates, hours of labor, working conditions, and seniority. It sets forth in detail just what shall be done to handle grievances that may arise under the contract and whether disputes may be submitted to arbitration. It tells how long the contract is to run and what steps are to be taken to negotiate a new one.

The Union Membership and the Contract

In most cases an agreement has to be referred back to the membership for ratification. Thus, the members of a local have a chance to vote on the conditions under which they will work.

Some agreements are in standardized form prepared by the international union so that they establish more or less uniform conditions throughout the industry. But most agreements are as individual as fingerprints. Almost every item is a product of give-and-take negotiation and shows the results of varying pressure from the union side and the management side.

Why Arbitration Is Opposed

One thing about collective bargaining often mystifies laymen. Many persons find it hard to understand why both labor and management often reject arbitration when they are deadlocked

Digitized by Google

over the terms of an agreement. It seems logical that the deadlocked negotiators would be willing to entrust their differences to decision by neutral outsiders. In fact, people see arbitration working very well in some labor disputes and they wonder why it is not used more often.

The average citizen, however, may fail to catch a very basic difference in union-management attitudes when they are negotiating a new contract and when they are threshing out a difference arising under a contract already in force. If the parties resorted to arbitration in order to reach their first contract, the result would not be an agreement but a decree. Union and employer would begin their relationship under conditions imposed by an outside party. It would not be a compact freely negotiated between the two principals.

The "Law" of Collective Bargaining Contracts

Authorities differ on just how a collective bargaining contract is regarded legally. There is no comprehensive "law" of collective bargaining agreements. But old concepts of union-employer agreements as mere statements of intent seem to have been abandoned. A body of law about labor contracts is growing up which differs in many ways from the law of business contracts but which does often employ the same words and sometimes the same principles.

What the Courts Have Ruled

The courts now generally uphold collective bargaining agreements as "contracts." They reject the argument that an agreement obtained after a strike is not valid because it was obtained by force, or under "duress." The courts have held that a legally called and legally conducted strike does not constitute duress. The courts have now also rejected, both by common law and statute law, the contention that union-employer agreements violate antitrust laws.

Only a few agreements contain a clause which gives either party the right to go into court to enforce the contract.

Issues for the Future

Many important questions remain to be decided in the future. How responsible, for instance, are union members and officers for the acts of their colleagues? What is the dividing line between

Digitized by Google

discipline and democracy in determining the liability of the unions for acts of their members and officers? What legal remedies are there for unjust expulsion from a union? What are the rights of workers barred from unions and employment?

Wages—the Heart of the Contract

The hard core of a collective bargaining contract centers around money. How much wages will the worker receive? Figures on the causes of strikes throughout the nation have been kept for well over sixty years. During that time, wages have been the cause of more labor disputes than any other issue.

What effect has collective bargaining had on wage policy? This question is important for all of us because wages are the aspect of collective bargaining most likely to affect the public welfare.

Effects of Collective Bargaining

One can't say in sweeping terms that the effect of collective bargaining over wages has been entirely "good" or entirely "evil." One may sum up a few points, however, and say that it seems almost beyond question that collective bargaining has:

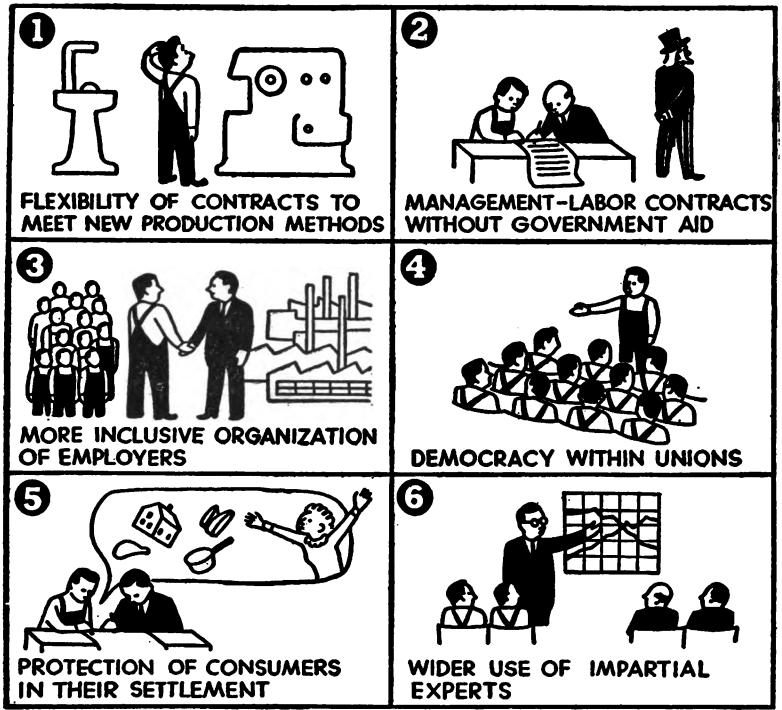
1. Promoted wage increases and retarded wage cuts;
2. Brought more standardized pay rates;
3. Obtained higher wages for union members than are paid for the same tasks in most nonunion shops;
4. Forced many a nonunion employer to raise his workers' pay;
5. Helped to raise the pay of unskilled union workers;
6. Forced the cutting of other production costs to allow for increased wages, thereby promoting greater managerial efficiency and improved production methods.

On the other hand, it is also true that in some instances collective bargaining has:

1. Increased prices for the consumer—as in the building trades;
2. Added to the burdens of depressed industries—as in the failure to make adjustments during lean days in coal and railroads;
3. Discouraged exceptional individual performance—as on some unionized jobs that pay straight time wages with no premium or incentive for high production.

Digitized by Google

BASIS OF SOUND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING



GRAPHIC ASSOCIATES FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, INC.

Wage Goals of Unions

Early in the present century, coal and the garment trades were low-wage industries. Their unions demanded "a living wage." The public tended to support that claim for all occupations. This attitude found expression in state minimum-wage laws and now is written into national law in the minimum-wage rates specified by the federal Fair Labor Standards Act. The next union wage goals were "a decent standard of living," then "an American standard of living," and, finally, "a saving wage." It must be remembered, moreover, that as prices rise, the unions have had to ask for greater weekly wages to meet these goals.

Wage Rates, the Unions, and the Public

Wage goals are not always simple. Setting about to get an increase in pay often raises questions that both the union and the public must face. For example, is a union's first goal to seek

Digitized by Google

high wages or a high rate of employment? That is, will a union seek to uphold high wage levels even though that may mean fewer jobs for its members—or will it try to keep all its members employed and sacrifice wage standards to accomplish this? Unions have to make decisions on such questions, and often these decisions have considerable effect on the business prosperity of the whole country.

The Guaranteed Annual Wage

Both labor and management have become more and more interested in the proposal of a guaranteed annual wage. This puts more emphasis on what a worker may earn during a whole year and less on what his hourly wage may be.

The plan needs a great deal of study. Some labor groups uphold it while others oppose it. The same division of opinion exists in management. The annual wage is receiving support from some of the larger labor unions. The C.I.O., in particular, has been pressing for it in certain industries, and it was suggested by an A. F. of L. union as long ago as 1934. It has been tried and is working successfully in a number of large industrial firms.

Pros and Cons of the Annual Wage

From labor's standpoint, the workers sometimes are willing to accept a lower hourly wage if they can be sure of enough days or weeks of employment during the year to give them some certainty about their total pay. Many employers endorse this principle but feel that the seasonal and cyclical ups and downs in their own business are such that they are unable to make any guarantee of annual employment, except at prohibitive cost.

Straight Time Versus Piece Work

Shall wages be paid by the hour or by the amount of work accomplished? This has long been an issue in many industries and among many unions.

Often the nature of the work itself determines the method of payment. An assembly line, for example, is geared to have each part move along at a certain definite speed and a worker's attempt either to speed it up or to slow it down would throw the whole system out. In that case, payment by the hour, or straight time, is often the only possible way of paying. Another

Digitized by Google

type of work, involving rapid handwork, may be very much a matter of individual skill and speed, so that pay is naturally on the basis of piece work.

When a choice exists, neither unions nor employers present an absolutely united front on the question of time rates versus piece work. Individuals on both sides sometimes assert that time wage-scales tend to protect the mediocre and hold down the ambitious. Employers complain that time wages are not adjusted to efficiency and that some workers are paid more and others are paid less than they are worth. Furthermore, many employers are interested in the "incentive" aspect of piece rates. They believe that such wages are an inducement to greater effort because they reward higher output with higher pay. But collective bargaining seems to have tended more toward uniformity than toward grading workers according to their effort.

Length of the Working Day

What should be the length of a day's toil? It once stretched from sunup to sundown. Nowadays we are a little appalled to learn that the first recorded strike in America, in Philadelphia in 1791, was staged by carpenters who worked from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. They struck because they wanted an hour off for breakfast and another hour off for dinner.

Since that time the length of the working day has gradually been reduced. At the close of the Civil War the twelve-hour day was still widespread and it was not until the turbulent years between 1886 and 1892 that the fight for the ten-hour day was finally won. The American Federation of Labor then came out for the eight-hour day. That goal was reached in the period following the close of World War I. A forty-hour week was established by the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938, and although longer hours prevailed during the war, most industry is now on this basis.

The Fair Labor Standards Act

Despite a widespread public impression to the contrary, the Fair Labor Standards Act, which applies only to industries whose products enter interstate commerce, does not limit the working week to forty hours. It simply says that after forty hours overtime rates shall be paid, and thus discourages overtime work by increasing labor costs.

Digitized by Google

"Spreading the Work"

In times of much unemployment, labor unions have often pressed for a short working week in order to "spread the work." This point of view often found support from sympathetic employers during the depression of the 30's. The view of some unionists that work is limited and that there is just so much work to go around is, however, challenged by many economists. Modern union leaders stress a more acceptable theory.

Wages as Purchasing Power

This new union approach holds that higher hourly wages and wider employment through shorter hours increase the buying power of workers and thus support business activity in general. This greater buying leads to greater industrial production and in turn creates more employment. This analysis which emphasizes wages as purchasing power gains a good deal of support from economists both in and out of the labor movement.

Wages as Cost of Production

Other economists point out that the theory does not give enough importance to the fact that wages are also a large element of cost. If wages are too high, the costs of production and selling prices are high. A concern may not be able to sell its product in a competitive market and may be forced out of business. This point of view stresses the fact that the only economically sound way to justify higher wages is through increased output per worker. This is usually obtained through the use of more machinery and the application of more efficient production methods.

Seniority and Merit

It is natural for any human being to be concerned about his future. Once a man has a job, he wants to know how long it will last. He wants to know whether, when he grows older, he will be kept on the working force and not displaced by a younger man. If it becomes necessary to cut down the company's operations and lay off some workers, who will be the first to go? Usually he believes that the last to be hired should be the first to be laid off. At all times, a worker wants protection against unjust discrimination and unjust discharge.

Digitized by Google

Most employers recognize such motives and in general tend to sympathize with them. Plant managers, however, find that sometimes questions of the security of workers will interfere with plant efficiency. They feel that merit as well as seniority should be taken into account.

Seniority Provisions in Contracts

Because these interests so frequently clash and because a sense of security is so vital to the individual worker, most unions insist on writing into a collective bargaining contract provisions dealing with seniority, promotion, layoff, and discharge. Often these provisions seem to be very detailed and technical. But they represent vital considerations to the workers and in today's collective bargaining, enlightened management and enlightened unions work out such provisions with great care.

CARRYING OUT THE CONTRACT

ANYONE with practical experience in collective bargaining will say that writing the contract is merely the first step. The real test comes in how the contract is carried out in practice. Workers are human beings. So are bosses. In the day-to-day workings of a collective bargaining agreement, both may think themselves unjustly "put upon." Because the seeds of so much industrial strife are sown in individual grievances, the average citizen—who is affected by this strife, whether he participates or not—should know something about them.

Settling Disputes

The overwhelming majority of grievances arise in disputes between foremen and individual workers. Most do not get beyond that stage. Students of modern collective bargaining agree that in handling such disputes, three principles are highly important. If it is in any way possible, a grievance should be settled (1) on the spot, (2) on its merits, and (3) on time.

Union-Management Collaboration

Unions and management don't always fight each other, by any manner of means. Past history shows many notable instances where the two have collaborated for the benefit of a company or of an industry.

Digitized by Google

An outstanding example is the way the railway brotherhoods have always stood side by side with the railroads in opposing or favoring bills in Congress or state legislatures that might affect the welfare of the railroad industry as a whole. Glass workers have been lobbyists in collaboration with employers for high tariffs against low-priced glass products from abroad.

Three Forms of Employer-Union Cooperation

Experience in World War II greatly increased cooperation between management and unions. In general, this type of cooperation has taken three forms:

1. *Production committees.* Worker representatives and management representatives meet together to go over suggestions for improved production methods that may come from individuals on either side. Examples are the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad shops, and the United Steelworkers of America.

2. *Joint research.* Independent experts work with management and union representatives to improve the plant output. Example: The Naumkeag Steam Cotton mills experiment in which unions and management jointly sponsored a study of ways to save working time and increase output.

3. *Unions as production advisers.* Here the unions, because of their intimate knowledge of the job, may advise an employer on how to arrange his shop most efficiently. Example: The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America frequently give this service to firms in the garment trades.

Conditions for Successful Cooperation

Considerable study of records of actual experience has led some observers to set down what they regard as the necessary conditions for successful cooperation between labor and management:

1. Harmonious collective bargaining relations already established, with the union given recognition as bargaining agent.

2. Fairly steady production and employment.

3. Abandonment by the union of restrictions on output.

4. Joint union-management participation in setting standards of output.

Digitized by Google

5. Sharing of gains resulting from lowered costs.

6. Full confidence of both union and management that results of their cooperation will not be used to the disadvantage of either.

Sometimes traditional attitudes and inherited prejudices get in the way of union-management cooperation. Many companies bow to the fact that they are required by law to bargain collectively, but they privately resent the growth of unionism. They sometimes charge organized labor with failure to appreciate that its welfare depends upon successful business enterprise. On the other hand, some union leaders, who may be eager for personal advancement, are always ready to charge management with anti-union discrimination. When both sides are bent upon destroying each other, cooperation is clearly impossible.

Lessons Learned in Wartime

The country's wartime needs called a halt to a lot of senseless antagonism of this kind. Labor-management production committees were actively encouraged by the War Production Board. This fact in itself may have done as much to promote union-management cooperation as the National Labor Relations Act did to promote the spread of collective bargaining. More than 5,000 production committees were in operation as the war ended.

Hopeful observers believe that wartime experience in cooperation has made both employers and unions more understanding and more responsible bargainers. For the future, they see collective bargaining gradually attaining a new level of effectiveness that will benefit unions, management, and the general public.

LABOR-SAVING MACHINERY— THE PUBLIC'S INTEREST

ONE of the most crucial questions that call for union-management cooperation is bringing in labor-saving machinery. Bringing in new materials and new methods of production also raise questions in which both management and unions have a big stake.

Here, too, the public's stake in collective bargaining is immediate and real. If a handmade article can be replaced by a machine process, that usually means greater output and lower prices for the general consumer. Therefore, we, the public, don't like to have new goods and cheaper goods kept back from us because of the failure of workers and management to agree in

Digitized by Google

collective bargaining. We know that under wartime pressure our scientists and engineers made enormous strides. They developed a world of new products and gadgets and new ways of making them. We want these new things and cheaper methods of making standard, familiar things.

What the Workers Think

But we have to remember the workers' viewpoint. An older process required many workers and many hours of labor to turn out a long, flat strip of steel. We may guess at the reaction of workers who see a plant putting in a machine that turns out a continuous strip of steel, completely automatically.

New improvements are always spectacular to watch, but often they result in displacing a considerable number of workers whose living depends upon older methods.

Can Workers and Employers Get Together?

Under such circumstances, the obvious thing to do is for labor and management to get together on the question of introducing new machinery and labor-saving methods. In this way, it is entirely possible that both sides may be saved from injury and the public will get better and cheaper goods.

The record of collective bargaining in America shows some striking instances of what can be done when unions cooperate intelligently on the question of labor-saving machinery. The glass industry, in two of its branches, illustrates well two opposing reactions and two different results. Unions in one branch of the industry resisted the introduction of automatic machinery, and unions in another branch cooperated with management in bringing about an orderly change-over to new processes.

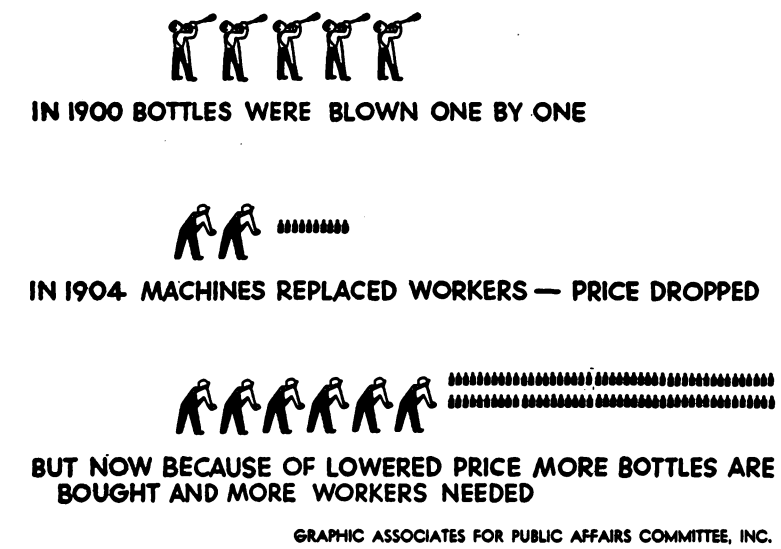
Workers Who Fought Machinery

The first attitude was shown by the National Window Glass Workers' Union. Making window glass formerly was a hand operation. New and automatic machinery was first introduced in the years before World War I. The union forbade its members to use the new automatic machinery or to work in any plant where the device was installed. The result was that by 1927 there were newer, more, and better machines for making glass, but the National Window Glass Workers' Union was no more. It had literally forbidden its members out of jobs.

Digitized by Google

Workers Who Cooperated

This contrasted with what happened in the section of the industry that makes glass bottles. Formerly, individual workers used their own lung power to blow these bottles. The first bottle-making machinery was introduced in 1904. This confronted the



Glass Bottle Blowers' Association with a tough decision. They finally decided to adjust to the machine rather than fight it.

This was not an easy thing to do. The decision of the workers meant the complete transformation of their occupation. They gave up experts' pay for factory-scale wages. They had to keep up with a production revolution in which the output of a worker, using the machine, increased 4,000 per cent and the labor cost per bottle fell 97 per cent. In thirty-five years between 1904 and 1939 the total value of all bottles turned out increased 600 per cent. Employment rose only 20 per cent—but it did rise.

Digitized by Google

Effects of Cooperation

These conditions were indeed hard for the workers, but fourteen years after the bottle blowers' union adopted this policy it was not only still in existence but manufacturers of the bottle-making machines were asking employers in plants using their machines to cooperate with the union.

Provisions in Recent Contracts

In more recent times, collective bargaining contracts show a tendency to recognize this problem of labor-saving machinery. They try to make arrangements for the peaceful introduction of new production processes. In some industries, the unions specifically agree not to oppose new machinery and methods. The first agreement that the United Automobile Workers negotiated with the Ford Motor Company recognized as "belonging solely to the company" the right to determine methods and processes of manufacture. In the garment industry, in which sometimes 250 workers are involved in the making of one man's suit, unions pledge not to oppose new machinery or to restrict output—provided they take part in planning the new techniques.

Employers Who Resist Improvements

We have to remember that not all the resistance to new methods and new products comes from the side of the workers. Employers, too, frequently go to great lengths to protect existing practices. A federal law, for instance, helps glass manufacturers by prohibiting the sale or refilling of empty liquor bottles. Manufacturers of almost all classes of goods at one time or another have sought tariffs to keep out foreign goods that might compete with them. Even the government itself has limited production, as it did when it supported prices of cotton and wheat and other crops by paying farmers to reduce their acreage.

Effects of Labor-Saving Machinery

A frequent pattern of development with labor-saving machinery is this. First, the machine is introduced, and its immediate effect is to replace a lot of workers. Then it may lower the cost of the final product so much that a great many more articles are bought. This buying, in turn, stimulates new production and the hiring of more workers. In the end, employ-

Digitized by Google

ment in a given industry may actually be greater after the introduction of machines than it was before they were adopted.

Machines and Production Rates

Some figures vividly illustrate the effect of machinery on industrial production. In the rubber industry, the 1936 output of automobile tires and tubes was 90 per cent of the 1929 yield. But owing to new machinery and new processes, it was turned out by 50 per cent fewer workers. In the steel industry, technical improvement was particularly rapid between 1935 and 1940. Major steel companies produced 10 per cent more steel with 7 per cent less labor in 1940 than in 1937. What happened to labor costs in this period is interesting. Wage rates in 1939 were 25 per cent higher than in 1936, but improved production methods kept the production cost of a given unit of steel at the same level.

One of the strangest results of new production methods came in the automobile industry. Labor-saving devices cut down employment, but new and improved gadgets were added which complicated the job of car making and called for additional labor. One influence apparently offset the other, for in the automobile industry the output per man-hour in 1938 was almost exactly the same as it had been in 1929.

"Make-Work" Provisions

When unions try to fight against machines they usually introduce restrictions on output or "make-work" provisions. They may specify the use of idle musicians in broadcasting, when a program is coming into a studio from a remote location. They may require that when an advertisement comes into a printing shop from an outside typesetting establishment, the newspapers' typesetters have to set up a similar advertisement, even though they simply tear it apart and never actually use it.

Results and Attitudes

Meanwhile, progress must go on. The Twentieth Century Fund's summary report on *Trends in Collective Bargaining* says: "The record of collective bargaining shows the futility and the short-range attitude of restricting improved methods of work. It also shows some beneficial results of union acceptance of labor-saving methods. . . . On the whole, unionism has not con-

Digitized by Google

vinced any large segment of management of its eagerness for technological advance. This may require a change in attitude on the part of organized labor as great as the one involved if employers in general should accept rather than oppose the spread of unionism."

THE LABOR COMMITTEE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND

ONE great contribution to present writing and thinking about collective bargaining was made by the Labor Committee of the Twentieth Century Fund. This committee supervised the entire investigation of collective bargaining practices and then drew up some recommendations for action. It is worth looking at some of their main conclusions in detail. The committee was completely impartial in its make-up. It was under the chairmanship of William H. Davis, formerly chairman of the War Labor Board, and on the Committee were officials of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O., a former president of the National Association of Manufacturers, leading economists, and representatives of the public. Their findings stress the stake that all of us have in the smooth working of collective bargaining in America.

The Need of Flexibility

The committee urges both management and labor to make room for necessary change in their methods of operation. The war is past, but its effects will be with us for some time to come. All kinds of new things to make and new ways of making them are being developed by American industries.

The committee urges that in such times of rapid change, collective bargaining contracts should be flexible. They should make provision for management and unions to discuss and review such questions as alterations in wage rates when the work on the job is modified or changed completely. Often it is necessary to reclassify jobs; and managements and unions should be willing to consider together and objectively the possible use of piecework rates, grading of workers by merit, and offering incentives for high production. Other questions that need this type of give-and-take consultation involve the re-employment of veterans, questions of seniority devices to spread the work, the computing of overtime, and similar matters.

Digitized by Google

Unions and Managements Must Settle Their Own Affairs

On one central principle the Fund's Labor Committee is very emphatic. Collective bargaining will never really come of age in this country until managements and unions are able to settle most of their own affairs between themselves without asking government to interfere.

Specifically, the committee says it "believes that collective bargaining aims are best achieved when government action on the myriad details of the management-union relationship has been reduced to a minimum. The more employers and employees depend upon bargaining by equal parties to achieve a practical compromise on wages, hours, and work conditions, the more firmly rooted become the self-discipline and the obligations to find the solutions among themselves rather than to ask for solutions ready made."

Greater Organization of Employers

One way to help the smooth working of collective bargaining, the committee believes, is to have a greater degree of organization among employers. The committee says flatly, "our bargaining is widely collective, with some notable exceptions, only on the part of one side—labor." Noting the example of Great Britain and Sweden, the committee recommends that in this country "employers within an industry associate themselves into organizations designed to negotiate with unions, not to combat them."

Industry-Wide Collective Bargaining

Following out this general approach, the committee recommends "that managements and unions together explore the advantages arising from a wider application of market-wide collective bargaining." The committee readily admits that this proposal carries some dangers. "It might well encourage excessive and rigid prices. Unless regional and industry-wide collective bargaining fosters lower unit costs and passes such savings along to the consumer, it could degenerate into a peculiarly vicious kind of protective tariff, safeguarding undue profits and undue wages at the expense of the rest of the community.

"Yet already this regional or industry-wide approach, whether in peace or war, has accomplished a great deal to bring stability to coal mining, the needle trades, to shipbuilding, and other in-

Digitized by Google

dustries. It provides management with predictables in labor cost. It protects the worker against the capricious wage slash, and enterprise in general against the unsettling effect of bidding up wages that accompanies a period of labor shortage with its scampings and pirating. It has often promoted the introduction of laborsaving devices in a sane, 'staggered' manner to cushion, or entirely offset, injurious social consequences of mass layoffs and discharges."

Democracy in Unions

Democracy is a process that works both ways. Unions frequently call upon management for more democratic willingness to engage in collective bargaining. Management, in turn, sometimes calls for more democracy in a union's own internal affairs.

Some unions, large and small, handle this side of their operations very ably. They make regular public reports on their finances, they hold regular elections, and conduct all their activities along democratic lines. Other unions fail to meet such standards. Abuses of power in this type of union cause many persons to condemn the union for such things as overlong tenure in office by some top officials, lack of democratic machinery for making the will of the membership felt, undue secrecy about union finances, and lack of adequate remedy for a union member who has been unjustly deprived of his economic or civil rights.

Remedies and Principles

Where such conditions exist, some members of the Fund's committee believe that the law should intervene to correct these abuses. Other members doubt either the workability or the justice of such controls when imposed on a union from the outside.

Speaking unanimously on matters of general principle, the members say: "The Committee well recognizes that no fiats, no courts, no laws, no external compulsions can be a substitute for genuine up-and-down membership participation, which is a change that must come within unionism itself."

Collective Bargaining and the General Welfare

Sometimes both employers and unions seek their own selfish advantage, to the point of forgetting about the welfare of the other party and of the general public. The Fund's committee condemns attempts at restriction or monopoly for selfish pur-

Digitized by Google

poses. "When management cuts production and lays off workers but maintains prices; when unions restrict output or oppose technological innovation; when management and unions together enter collusive understandings to fence off, as their very own, a particular economic territory, they may be promoting their own welfare while undermining the interests of the rest of the community. But in the long run they are menacing their own well-being, their own survival. . . .

"Hence, over and above the primary prerequisites of successful collective bargaining, to date, namely the recognition that managements and unions are mutually indispensable and functionally equal, must come this new recognition that to serve themselves best they must serve the common prosperity most."

The Public Is Present

It is in just such considerations that we, the average citizens, enter the picture. This is one of the great new notes being struck in modern collective bargaining—the realization that every agreement has some effect, big or little, on the welfare of the country as a whole.

The Fund's committee says that "when management and union get together to make a bargain, they should keep in the front of their minds that their arrangements will influence the price of the product which must be sold to a third party, the consumer. He doesn't sit down to approve the price; but he may reject it later when he does his own kind of 'bargaining.' He may refuse to buy, or perhaps won't buy as much as he would otherwise if the price were more favorable compared with other claims on his income.

"Both management and union must be aware of the danger of 'pricing themselves and their product out of the market.' In this connection, collective bargaining becomes a crucial instrument for sparking and stimulating the capacity of our materials, our machines, our manpower."

Use of Impartial Experts

Another promising trend in collective bargaining that helps to mark its coming of age is its willingness to employ impartial experts. This raises collective bargaining's possibilities for increasing the general welfare and protecting the public.

Digitized by Google

The committee suggests "the wider use of technical assistants, such as engineers, economists, and sociologists, by managements and unions alike. The committee recommends that both managements and unions weigh the advantages of invoking this kind of aid in moving toward their collective bargaining purposes. It is apparent that, in view of the delicate interrelatedness of our economy, fact finding and fact interpretation must be the handmaidens of a market analysis more detailed, scientific, and exhaustive than ever before. Both managements and unions need definitive data superior to that which they now usually possess."

The Creative Use of Collective Bargaining

Collective bargaining faces forward. Perhaps the most important thing about it is for all concerned—unions, management, and the general public—to realize that collective bargaining can be used constructively. It can be used not merely to settle disputes and create a working basis. It can go further and increase the total of the country's wealth and productive power.

As the Labor Committee of the Twentieth Century Fund so forcefully puts it: "Collective bargaining can be, and should increasingly become, a technique to help ensure a larger and more regular output of goods and services, to maintain high levels of purchasing power, to establish clear lines of communication between employer and worker, and to inspire and intensify their joint responsibility."

FOR FURTHER READING

Carskadon, T. R. *Workers and Bosses Are Human.* Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 76. 1943. 10¢

How Collective Bargaining Works: A factual survey of labor-management relations in sixteen major industries in the United States. New York, The Twentieth Century Fund. 1942. $4

Peterson, Florence. *American Labor Unions.* New York, Harpers. 1945. $3

Williamson, S. T., Harris, Herbert, and the Labor Committee of the Twentieth Century Fund. *Trends in Collective Bargaining: A Summary of Recent Experience.* New York, The Twentieth Century Fund. 1945. $2

Digitized by Google

THE publication of ***Public Affairs Pamphlets***—now in their tenth million—is one of the activities of the Public Affairs Committee, whose purpose as expressed in its Constitution is "to make available in summary and inexpensive form the results of research on economic and social problems to aid in the understanding and development of American policy. The sole purpose of the Committee is educational. It has no economic or social program of its own to promote." The members serve in a personal capacity and not as representatives of their respective organizations. Publication of a pamphlet does not necessarily imply the Committee's approval of the statements or views contained in it.

THE COMMITTEE

Ordway Tead, Chairman	J. Frederic Dewhurst	Frieda S. Miller
Harry D. Gideonse, Vice Chairman	William Trufant Foster	Frederick C. Mills
S. M. Keeny, Secretary	Luther Gulick	Walter R. Sharp
Erling M. Hunt, Acting Secretary	F. Ernest Johnson	Donald Slesinger
Beulah Amidon, Treasurer	Harry W. Laidler	George Soule
Eleanor C. Anderson	Robert P. Lane	Mark Starr
Earl Brown	Robert M. MacIver	William H. Wells
Robert E. Cushman	Francis P. Miller	Donald R. Young

Maxwell S. Stewart, Editor of the Pamphlet Series
Mabel C. Mount, Assistant Editor
Violet Edwards, Director of Education and Promotion
Gladys Gunnerson, Business Manager

All rights reserved. No part of this pamphlet may be reproduced without permission, except short passages of no more than 500 words in length which may be quoted by a reviewer or commentator, with full credit to the Committee. For permission to use longer excerpts, write to the Public Affairs Committee, Incorporated, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

First Edition, May, 1946

Printed in the United States of America

145

Postage Will Be Paid by Addressee

No Postage Stamp Necessary If Mailed in the United States

BUSINESS REPLY CARD

FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 27756, SEC. 510 P.L.&R. NEW YORK, N. Y.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, INC.

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA

NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

Digitized by Google

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS

1. INCOME AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS
5. CREDIT FOR CONSUMERS
6. THE SOUTH'S PLACE IN THE NATION
18. HOW WE SPEND OUR MONEY
23. INDUSTRIAL PRICE POLICIES
25. MACHINES AND TOMORROW'S WORLD
26. HOW GOOD ARE OUR COLLEGES?
27. WHO CAN AFFORD HEALTH?
32. COOPERATIVES IN THE U.S.
33. THIS PROBLEM OF FOOD
34. WHAT MAKES CRIME?
39. LOAN SHARKS AND THEIR VICTIMS
43. SAFEGUARDING OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES
44. 59¢ OF YOUR $1—
47. AMERICA'S CHILDREN
51. READ YOUR LABELS
53. WHAT IT TAKES TO MAKE GOOD IN COLLEGE
56. WHAT THE NEW CENSUS MEANS
61. INSTALMENT SELLING—PROS AND CONS
62. HOW TO BUY LIFE INSURANCE
65. PROSTITUTION AND THE WAR
66. HOMES TO LIVE IN
67. GOVERNMENT UNDER PRESSURE
69. VITAMINS FOR HEALTH
70. WHAT'S HAPPENING TO OUR CONSTITUTION?
73. AFTER THE WAR?
76. WORKERS AND BOSSES ARE HUMAN
78. THE AIRPLANE AND TOMORROW'S WORLD
79. THE BEVERIDGE PLAN
80. FREEDOM FROM WANT: A WORLD GOAL
83. WAR, BABIES, AND THE FUTURE
84. JOBS AND SECURITY FOR TOMORROW
85. THE RACES OF MANKIND
86. WHEN I GET OUT? WILL I FIND A JOB?
87. WHY RACE RIOTS?
89. HAVE WE FOOD ENOUGH FOR ALL?
90. THE AMERICAN WAY
91. WHAT ABOUT OUR JAPANESE-AMERICANS?
92. FACTS AND TIPS FOR SERVICE MEN AND WOMEN
93. FREEDOM OF THE AIR
94. RECONVERSION—THE JOB AHEAD
95. THE NEGRO IN AMERICA
96. HOUSES FOR TOMORROW
97. SOCIAL WORK AND THE JONESES
98. EPILEPSY—THE GHOST IS OUT OF THE CLOSET
99. WHAT FOREIGN TRADE MEANS TO YOU
100. SMALL FARM AND BIG FARM
101. THE STORY OF BLUE CROSS
102. VETERAN'S GUIDE
103. CARTELS OR FREE ENTERPRISE?
104. HEALTH CARE FOR AMERICANS
105. THERE CAN BE JOBS FOR ALL!
106. STRAIGHT TALK FOR DISABLED VETERANS
107. RACE RIOTS AREN'T NECESSARY
108. YOUTH AND YOUR COMMUNITY
109. GYPS AND SWINDLES
110. WILL NEGROES GET JOBS NOW?
111. THE REFUGEES ARE NOW AMERICANS
112. WE CAN HAVE BETTER SCHOOLS
113. BUILDING YOUR MARRIAGE
114. WINGS OVER AMERICA
115. WHAT SHALL WE DO ABOUT IMMIGRATION?
116. FOR A STRONGER CONGRESS
117. YOUR STAKE IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, Inc.

30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription for the next 12 Public Affairs Pamphlets for $1. (If you send payment with this card, we will send you 14 issues—2 extra pamphlets free.)

Please send me the following pamphlets at 10¢ each:.....

.....

.....

Name.....

Organization.....

Street.....

City and State.....

Digitized by Google