

Paper makers, Int'l brotherhood of.

~~Black Ken~~
Pamphlet #84
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LABOR UNREST *and* DISSATISFACTION

*Report of the study made by
the special*
RESEARCH COMMITTEE

**INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD
OF PAPER MAKERS (AFL)**

June 15, 1944



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INSTITUTE OF
INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

LABOR UNREST

and

DISSATISFACTION

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INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD
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INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD
OF PAPER MAKERS

June 15, 1944

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INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF PAPER MAKERS

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

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In operation for half a century. (*Chartered under present name by A. F. of L. in 1902.*)

All officers elected each odd year, for two-year terms, by referendum vote.

Changes in the Constitution and By-Laws can be made only by referendum vote.

Dues of a local union are determined by vote of the people who pay them, the members of that local union, and may be changed at any time they desire.

Dues to headquarters of the International Union are determined by the people who pay them, the membership as a whole, and may be increased or decreased at any time by a referendum vote.

Salaries of the President and the Secretary-Treasurer are fixed by the Constitution.

No agreement can be signed with any employer without the approval of the local unions affected.

PREFACE

By CLAUDE PEPPER, *United States Senator from Florida*

IT HAS BEEN a source of deep gratification to note the splendid way in which organized labor has responded to the nation's need in the present struggle to rid the world of aggression and insure future world peace and prosperity.



By the unstinting and capable manner in which it has organized itself for full participation in this struggle, labor has fully justified the opinion of those of us who have long held that it should have a voice in the shaping of national policy.

The report of the Research Committee of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers is further evidence that organized labor is keenly aware of its responsibilities, and that it is determined to continue into the post-war period the kind of co-operation with employers and government that has been responsible for such a magnificent record in supplying our armies and those of our allies with the necessary implements of war.

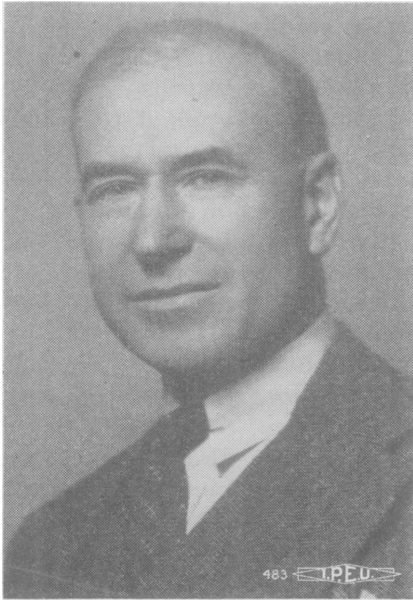
The healthy spirit of frankness, self-analysis, and self-criticism exhibited in the report cannot but contribute materially to the strengthening of the Union's inner organization and the effectiveness of its role in helping to solve the many complex problems which our country must face in reconverting to a peacetime economy.

Claude Pepper

FOREWORD

By MATTHEW J. BURNS, *President*

THE RESEARCH COMMITTEE, which compiled this report, had only a few months at its disposal to examine such facts as it was able to gather in this short space of time and to make its survey from the best vantage points in the paper industry in the United States and Canada.



It was difficult for the Committee to organize for its task. In the premise some questions came to the fore, such as: was it to employ trained economists to assemble the material adduced from the examination of the many witnesses who volunteered to give information and permit these economists to draft the report under the direction of the Committee; or, was the Committee to pursue its task and present its findings purely from the layman's point of view. These questions could not be resolved until it was determined what, chiefly, was the objective of the Committee—what did we hope to accomplish by this investigation and report?

The resolution proposed and adopted by the International Executive Board of the Paper Makers' Union said to appoint a committee to investigate the causes of confusion, dissatisfaction and unrest in the rank and file of the members of the Paper Makers' Union and to report its findings and recommendations to the Board. The undersigned had suggested the idea to the Board that such a committee be appointed.

The Committee then examined the writer to get his conception of the job it was to do. The members of the Committee explained to me that the more they searched for the key to the field they were to explore the more they stood in awe of the task that had been given them.

I explained to the Committee, vaguely, I admit, what was in my mind when I proposed to the Board that a committee be appointed and that it should make an investigation and report its findings and recommendations to the Board.

With the close of the year 1939 I retired from the office of president of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers. At this time our Government was preparing itself for the eventualities in World War No. 2. So, early in the year 1941 I went to Washington and joined the Office of Production Management when it was being organized and

staffed. I remained with this defense agency throughout all of its reorganizations. It settled down, finally, under the title "War Production Board." I held several different positions with the defense agencies during my almost three years in Washington. I learned volumes from the people from all walks of life—from the thousands who had new ideas to sell to the Government—from the thousands who had new inventions they wanted the Government to promote for them—from the thousands who wanted to borrow money from the Government to start new enterprises—from the thousands who pleaded with the Government for assistance in procuring critical materials—from the thousands who begged that critical materials be supplied to plants making purely civilian and non-essential goods—from those who wanted private enterprise and free industry but insisted that the Government build the factories, supply the transportation facilities, then turn it over to them and let them run their own business—from the thousands of news correspondents and publishers, who somehow were able to get the confidential information before it was released to Government itself—from the thousands of officers in the military service who were directing production for the military needs.

I learned much from those with whom I worked in Government, who had specialized knowledge of every industry, every craft, every trade, every profession and every science, including the military, that go to make the sum total of our great industrial, commercial, economic and social life—not only of this nation, but of the whole world. Every nation in the world, which is allied with us in this war, has its army of specialists in Washington.

In the effort of the Government to build an overall intelligence in the production scheme of things it had to give direction to our industries and to our commerce, it had to take control over industries essential and vital to the war needs. This brought to Washington industry advisers, labor advisers and professors of every science to assist our Government in promoting the all out total war effort. The confusion that followed the need to convert from a civilian economy to a war economy and the results of this conversion revealed to everyone who participated in the development of our Government's war program that a subconscious mind is at work in almost every individual in our country. Each is deeply concerned with the unknown and the unknowable of the future. Each individual, each group, each class and each segment in our national life feels it has a cause different from the cause of another segment of the people. The various ideologies and causes propagated are confusing and disturbing to each other. There is an alarming lack of unity of the people in our national life. There are open charges of bad faith against those whom the people have, by their suffrage, put in control of our Government. I have sat in councils with those from industry who feel that winning the war by Government control of industry means only the establishment of a dictator-

ship in this country. The overwhelming majority of industry leaders feel that a change in the political party which administers the affairs of Government will solve all of our problems of confusion and unrest.

Labor is not united on any program, due, of course, to the split in the labor movement of our country and the resulting rivalries and maneuvering for political power.

It is said that labor is concerned only with getting more wages and that industry and its management is concerned only with making money and that the political administration in Washington is concerned only with plans to perpetuate itself in office. While we have been building the great production machine for war purposes, we have been building a great fighting army made up of very young men from every walk of life—from high and low estate. Most of these boys were, four or five years ago, in the primary schools of our country. All of them willingly answered the call to defend our country, our form of government and our civilization. Many are daily giving their lives that our cause will survive and human liberty prevail. It is said that when these soldier boys return they will be resentful of the people on the home front who cared only for self and forgot the soldier boy who was holding the enemy at bay far from our shores. This is not pleasant to contemplate. We also have hundreds of thousands of girls and women who enlisted in the military services and are quietly making sacrifices for the cause of human freedom. None of our women have asked for anything by the way of reward. They, too, can grow resentful of the selfishness of the home front.

Whatever may be responsible for our lack of faith in each other will not, of course, be easily discovered or understood. That there is a subconscious mind at work in many individuals which prompts them to sow the seeds of distrust of others on the home front and against other nations of the world, which are allied with us in this war, cannot be easily explained. Should they be condemned for this, or should they be credited with foresight?

The founders of our American system of government did a marvelous job in setting up the mechanism of our government. However, when one stands and surveys the "Mall" in Washington and reflects upon the original design of the city it is clear that in the year 1800 A.D., no one of them could or did foresee that one hundred and forty years later that this city—the Capitol of the United States of America—would in reality be the Capitol of the world; that at this very hour the destiny of the civilized world, as we have known it, is being determined in the City of Washington.

Daniel Webster did, however, stand on a platform a short way from the Capitol in the City of Washington in the year of 1832 and delivered his eulogy on the Constitution. His subconscious mind seemed to have told him something beyond the experiences of his time.

What he said can be our guide anew in the days ahead. I quote from his address:

"Other misfortunes may be borne, or their effects overcome. If disastrous wars should sweep our commerce from the ocean, another generation may renew it; if we exhaust our treasury, future industry may replenish it; if it desolate and lay waste our fields, still under a new cultivation they will grow green again and ripen to future harvests. It were but a trifle even if the walls of yonder Capitol were to crumble, if its lofty pillars should fall, and its gorgeous decorations be all covered by the dust of the valley. All these may be rebuilt.

"But who shall reconstruct the fabric of demolished government?

"Who shall rear again the well proportioned columns of Constitutional liberty?

"Who shall frame together the skillful architecture which unites national sovereignty with individual security and public prosperity?"

The Committee decided, finally, to write its report and recommendations from the layman's point of view. The Committee is aware of the fact that complaints from the rank and file may not be serious in themselves. As the ancient philosopher pointed out: "We are born crying, live complaining and die disappointed."

It is concerned, however, with finding out by investigation what the workers in the paper industry are thinking about in regard to the future and how they propose to preserve and to promote the fundamental rights of men—the foundation of our system of government.

The paper industry is most important in our economy and in our social system. Our whole financial, educational and social systems are tied together by a ribbon of paper. The whole system of communications, without which free governments could not function, depend upon a plentiful supply of paper.

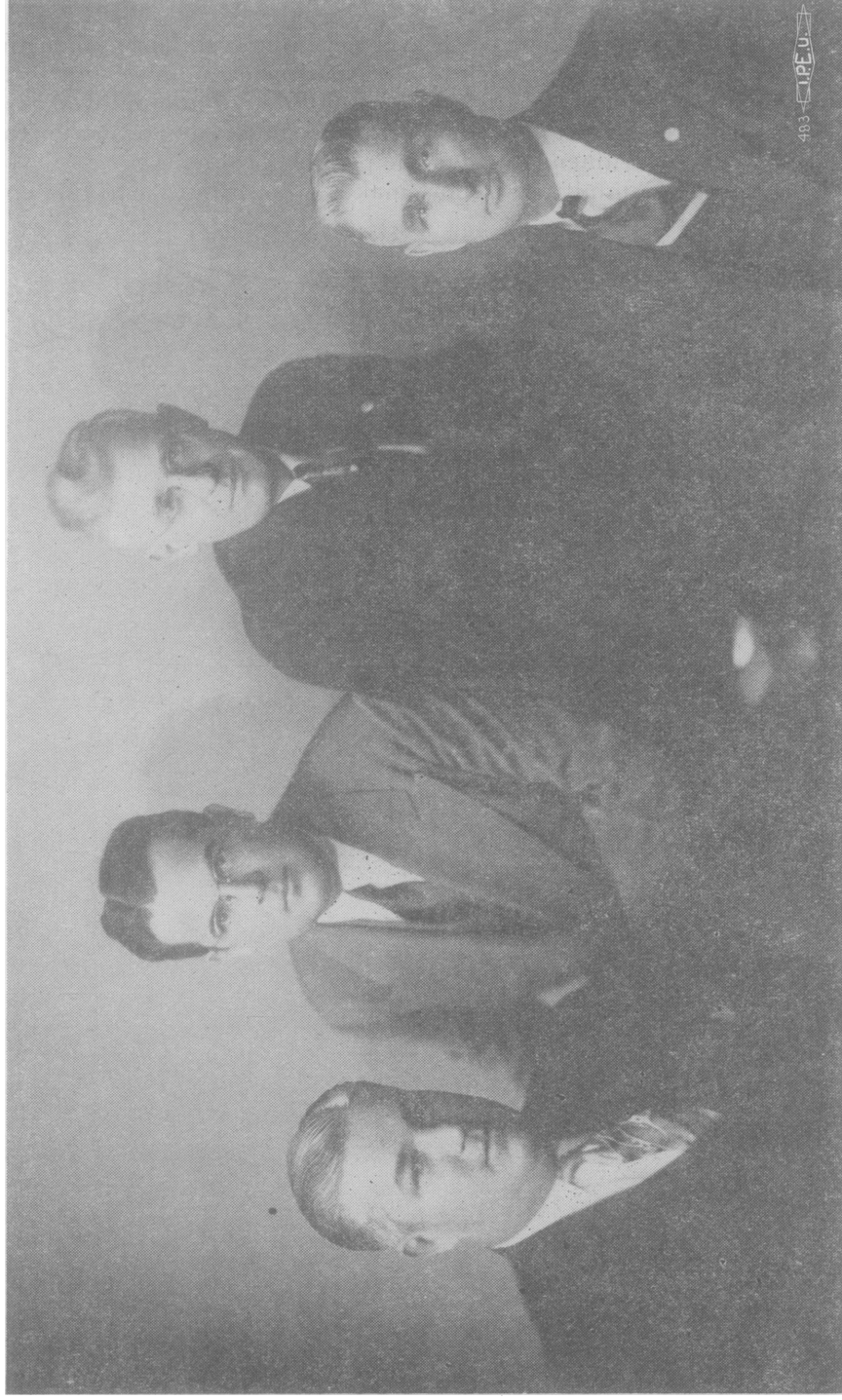
When the members of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers returned me to the office of president of their Organization on January first of this year, I found a very confused state of mind in the rank and file of the members. Many were breaking away from our Organization and joining with rival unions which are holding out false hopes to the workers in the paper industry. In spite of the fact that the paper industry is vital to our social system, it cannot exist independent of the rest of our industrial and economic order—it is just a segment of it—nevertheless, we are anxious that the paper industry make its contribution to the solution of the postwar problems and to help preserve, if possible, the great principles upon which free government must rest and from which all judgments for the preservation of rights of the individual must flow.

Can we, by preparation now, prevent economic collapse when the time comes for us to convert back to a peace time economy? Our form of government will not stand the strain of millions of unemployed men and women in peace time. Somehow, we must demonstrate the capacity of self-government to solve the peoples problems.

Whether the Committee's report makes a contribution to this end the reader must judge.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Matthew Burns". The script is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Matthew" written in a larger, more prominent hand than the last name "Burns".

PERSONNEL OF RESEARCH COMMITTEE



Left to right—MR. PAUL L. PHILLIPS, *First Vice-President, International Brotherhood of Paper Makers*; MR. J. GRIFFIN MCKIERNAN, *General Counsel, International Brotherhood of Paper Makers*; MR. CHESTER JORDAN, *Member of Quebec Local No. 250, Quebec City, P. Q.*, and MR. ROBERT CAPLE, *Member of International Falls Local No. 159, International Falls, Minnesota.*

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

TO THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF PAPER MAKERS:

DEAR SIRS AND BROTHERS:

The Research Committee herewith presents its report based on its investigation of the causes of unrest, dissatisfaction and confusion, currently prevailing within our ranks and submits therein a proposed program to guide our Organization during the present and postwar periods.

When the Committee started on its tour, there were mingled feelings as to the merits of the program and the benefits to be derived. In addition, it was felt the project in its entirety could be consummated within a very reasonable period of time.

It took but a few days, however, to impress one and all with the magnitude of the program and the unlimited benefits that could flow from a diligent and detailed inquiry into current conditions within the industry. As a result, the time expended vastly exceeded all original estimates. Certain difficulties were encountered by the Committee en-route. These were to be anticipated in times like these, when a nation at war is devoting much of its time and effort to house and transport those who are giving their all to the winning of the war.

In conclusion, we desire to thank the Executive Board for extending to the Committee the opportunity of making and completing this timely, interesting and instructive survey. It is our belief this was a pioneering project into hitherto unexplored fields. Our efforts merely constituted spade work. We have, in a sense, merely scratched the surface. We have sincere hopes, however, considerable good may flow from our efforts.

This form of project should not be abandoned. We respectfully suggest that at some future time a similar survey be made by an entirely new committee. To that survey, they would bring new faces, new minds, new ideas and an approach that undoubtedly would go far and beyond this study. During their survey they could ascertain what results will have come from our labors.

Fraternally submitted:

RESEARCH COMMITTEE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL
BROTHERHOOD OF PAPER MAKERS,

PAUL L. PHILLIPS,
Chairman.

CHESTER JORDAN.

ROBERT CAPLE.

J. GRIFFIN MCKIERNAN,
General Counsel.

Acknowledgments

IN OUR INITIAL APPROACH to representatives of management, we anticipated it might be with an attitude of reticence and reluctance they would enter into our discussions. We soon learned, however, they were most appreciative of our efforts to further improve the relationship between management and labor. As a result, we were most cordially received by the representatives of industry in every city we visited. To them we again express our most heartfelt thanks and appreciation for the manner in which we were received.

To the local unions who so kindly co-operated with us in making reply to our questionnaire, we extend full thanks. We desire to assure them the matters discussed in these replies were most enlightening and of immeasurable assistance in the compilation of our report. We wish to add further thanks to the officers and representatives of the various locals who took the time to meet with us enroute.

To the International Officers and Field Representatives who were most co-operative in facilitating arrangements for the Committee, we extend our gratitude.

Without specifying individuals, we gratefully acknowledge the contributions of government officials and educators with whom we met. Their suggestions and recommendations were very helpful in the final stages of our work.

Lastly, the Committee would indeed be remiss if it failed to set forth its complete appreciation for the co-operation, untiring efforts and adherence to many duties demonstrated by Miss Mary Hanley, who served as Secretary to our group.

To Marion Reid, Ann Buehler, Rose Wronoski, and Miss Hanley, we extend added expressions of grateful appreciation for their united, co-operative, effort in working long hours during all stages of the preparation of this final report.

INTRODUCTION

HISTORY HAS A PECULIAR HABIT of repeating itself. Therefore, at times there is wisdom in trying to anticipate that which may happen so that by constructive thought and down-to-earth effort, undesirable situations may be eliminated.

Individuals, organizations and governments may prosper for a period of time, even though their basic principles and general philosophy are unsound. The contribution they make toward the advancement of civilization, the service they render to society, as well as to any group to whom their services are dedicated, will determine the degree of their prosperity and may determine the period of their existence.

Sound basic principles do not alone guarantee future existence. These qualities must be supplemented by service. Policies must be adopted based on these principles and reasonable effort put forth to bring about beneficial results. From time to time an examination of policies, and the results of their applications, must be made. Future courses of action thus can be more accurately charted.

Let us consider for the moment the membership history of our Organization from the day of World War I. In 1917 we had approximately 6,000 members. The demands on the industry during those war years saw this membership triple by 1919.

There is no need for extended comment on the sad days of the early and middle '20s and the effects they had on our industry and our membership. Our ranks shrunk to some 3,500 members during the 1920's. It was not until the early '30s that we again started to grow. Today we are proud of a membership of some 45,000 in the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and Newfoundland. Pride in this membership, however, serves but to remind us that "Pride goeth before the fall." Therefore, with an eye to the history of the '20s and a thought to the chaos provoked within our industry by the current world conflict, our Organization through the Executive Board, elected to take affirmative steps to hold secure that which has been gained during the last ten years.

As a result of co-operative effort, constructive legislation, and labor-minded governments since 1933, labor in general and labor unions in particular, have achieved goals heretofore considered impossible to attain.

With these attainments came power. In general, this power was constructively applied. It was only in comparatively isolated incidents that this power produced a state of unwarranted intoxication. We appreciate, however, it is the isolated case rather than the situation as a whole that makes news, provokes comment and inflicts on labor an undeserving black eye. There is but one way to use such power and that is through an assumption by labor unions of responsibility pro-

portionate to its strength. All union men should realize the day of hatred for the boss is over. If labor unions are to survive they must assume their share of responsibility in keeping industry alive. Only through co-operative effort can this goal be attained.

Labor now enjoys the power it has sought for many years. Through its organizations this power is applied. Unless labor graciously assumes the full burden of the responsibility that accompanies power, society may decide there is no place in its makeup for labor organizations. Ours and other unions may be superseded by administrative agencies of government.

Ours has always been and always will be a highly skilled division of labor. Within the ranks of labor as a whole we enjoy an enviable place and a well-earned reputation. Qualities such as these are attained only after many years of hard and untiring effort. To destroy such attainments would work an irreparable harm not only on our Organization and our industry, but also on labor as a whole and all that it stands for.

With the advent of World War II, however, there infiltrated into the situation as a whole an attitude of indifference and neglect, on the part of a certain portion of our membership, that is most unhealthy. Local unions evidenced by their reports an attitude of indifference toward unionism as a whole, their International Organization and particularly, local activities. In certain instances charters were abandoned because such ills developed to proportions beyond the control of the loyal union-loving individuals. In other isolated instances, rival labor groups, taking advantage of existing situations, raided our ranks with little or no opposition.

It was soon apparent to the Committee, as it must have been to the Executive Board, that unless the situation as a whole was studied and a program that would serve as a remedy for existing ills was planned, the condition might grow progressively worse.

To some it seemed in the beginning as if the purpose of this group was so purely Utopian, little good, if any, might result from its efforts. It entered upon a campaign to ascertain the causes of unrest within our ranks. It sought to determine what must be done to improve the relationship between the individual member and his brother members, his local union, his International Union and his employer.

The Committee was instructed to ascertain with some degree of definiteness what contributions must be made by the individual, the local union and the International Union to the industry, the country and society, if as an organization we were to feel assured of continued existence.

Substantial sacrifices were made by those who undertook this far-reaching program. Individually and collectively, it is now conceded such sacrifices were well rewarded. The investigation of this group extended far and beyond that which was originally contemplated.

With the passage of time, the material compiled through contacts with local unions, employer representatives, statesmen, economists and educators made your Committee more zealous. Theirs was a pioneering venture into the heretofore unexplored field of union activities. Like the pioneers of old, they too found there were rewards for effort; and it is their sincere feeling that the material which follows demonstrates in part that good results have been obtained.

The report is our interpretation of the information gathered by sampling opinions in different sections of the United States, Canada, and Newfoundland. It reflects the collective opinions of local unions which were submitted by mail, and those presented orally by local union officers and members. It embodies many thoughts and suggestions of management representatives, government officials, educators and industrial relations experts.

Our efforts were directed not only toward seeking a cure for current ills, but also toward strengthening the mental and physical makeup of our Organization. It is our sincere hope that in the postwar era our union will be ready to meet, combat and defeat the problems of the times; that our labors may prove helpful in warding off a repetition of our sad experiences which followed World War I. History has a peculiar habit of repeating itself.

UNREST AND DISSATISFACTION

THE APPOINTMENT of a Special Committee "to investigate the causes of unrest, dissatisfaction and confusion prevalent in the rank and file of the members of this Union" might lead one to assume that our Executive Board had decided these conditions prevail among our members to a greater degree than is natural under present day circumstances. It might provoke a further assumption that the members of our International Union and its interests are plagued with these conditions to a greater extent than other International Unions or other organizations that go to make up our democratic form of society.

Our survey as a Committee and our observations as individuals have not convinced us that this is true. In fact, this Committee is convinced that there is no greater degree of unrest, dissatisfaction or confusion among our members than generally prevails throughout society as a whole. We find the public mind is confused. Apparently our governments are confused. The ranks of the numerous organizations made up of citizens with common interests, either industrial, professional or social, are confused and restless, and to no lesser extent than are the rank and file of our Organization.

Individuals, government officials, employers, professional people, economists, sociologists and church leaders are in a perturbed state of mind. Confusion breeds unrest and dissatisfaction. We certainly cannot expect fewer of these conditions to prevail among our members and leaders than prevails generally throughout all strata of society. Unrest and dissatisfaction are characteristic of the people of democratic countries. Because of these and a spirit of determination to find causes and remedies, our people are what they are today.

The rapid growth of our unions has created terrific problems of organization and education. The resulting confusion is but natural when we take human nature into consideration. The development of local leadership in the new local unions and the proper education for the new members during such rapid growth in the trade union movement is almost impossible. The sectional problems involved in the unnatural expansion of industry are also tremendous and are due to a great extent to the different wage rates paid in different sections and the necessity of transferring workers from one section to another. The influx of war work in sections where our industry is located, and the setting up of wage rates in these war industries that are higher for some classes of workers, has attracted men away from our industry. The comparatively high weekly wages in these war industries, earned by working long hours, has caused a degree of discontent. Many men from our industry have joined the armed forces of our countries and have been replaced by employees who have no interest in the future of the paper industry. Many of them assume their job is but temporary. Their principal interest, therefore, is to get as much out of it as they

can and give as little as possible in return. They create dissatisfaction among the older workers and present a tremendous problem in the establishing of confidence between management and labor. Confidence between those whose duties are to supervise and direct, and those who are the subjects of supervision and direction, must be the basis of all good industrial relations.

Perhaps at this point it would be well to point out the conflicting and contrasting positions and opinions demonstrated by our local unions in their efforts to analyze the causes of labor unrest.

It was with interest the Committee noted how many locals were directly opposed in their views. One local complained they were suffering from an *absence of* direction and supervision from Executive Headquarters. Another unhesitatingly stated their troubles arose from *too much* direction and supervision. One local attributed unrest to the number of non-union employees in their particular mill. Another local emphatically stated unrest was brought about by compelling men to join our Organization against their will.

One local union advised the Committee our Constitution should be changed so as to permit it to impose fines on members for non-attendance at meetings. Another made an emphatic demand that the procedure the local union had adopted, which imposed fines on members for non-attendance at meetings, be removed by the International Union. One local lamented what it deemed "laxness" on the part of the International in not enforcing its "no Sunday work" policy, while another demanded the right to work on any Sunday it desired.

Numerous locals requested more frequent visits from International representatives. They claimed that through such contacts they received beneficial information and advice. One local union requested that representatives be advised to stay away from their meetings, unless such representatives agreed to conform their thoughts and activities to the local's own peculiar ideas and program. Some locals set up a clamor for a blanket agreement covering all mills in their area, while others, operating under blanket agreements, demanded that they be released so as to permit a return to individual plant bargaining.

We cite these specific instances merely to point out that your Committee was compelled to conclude that at the moment there is a wide divergence of opinion among local unions regarding what policies should be followed, and probably a lack of schooling in or knowledge of the content of the current agreement with their employer, the provisions of the International Constitution and By-laws, the scope of the autonomy of their local unions, and possibly of unionism itself.

In many locals today there are members who have no knowledge whatsoever of the meaning of the word "union." They know not and care not a thing about the content of their current agreement with their employer. They fail to appreciate that their International is only

what they make it. The International serves but to represent the locals individually and collectively.

Due to the newness of many of our members, some of whom as yet are not real union men at heart, there exists an inability to appreciate the benefits, other than wage increases, that flow from union membership. They fail to appreciate their duties as workers and as union members, and the responsibilities that go with both. In many instances, management too is at fault, and labor unrest is brought about by a failure on the part of local unions and management to establish a cordial, co-operative program of operation.

Unrest and dissatisfaction are perhaps a natural consequence of any war-time period. The regular routine of life has been disrupted. The cost of living has increased. Restrictions have been placed upon our activities. Our food is rationed. Luxury items of former years cannot be bought, even though we may have the money with which to pay for them. The tragedy of war affects everyone. Lack of quality and quantity of manpower means harder work and longer hours. The anxiety and weariness of a high tension existence takes its toll of our health and undermines morale.

Like all other people, our members are tired, sick and irritable. Their normal, peaceful existence has disappeared. They are dissatisfied. It is a perfectly natural result for them to seek the reason for their dissatisfaction blindly, to desire a change—any sort of a change—in the hope it may improve their circumstances.

Thus is the door open to the propagandists. The field of labor organization today is alive with methods and theories whereby men may be induced to join some other form of labor union. Many organizers are unscrupulous in their methods. All they seek is assent on the part of the individual to whom they are trying to sell a program built on promises, not on facts. The insidiousness of this propaganda has been well established to the satisfaction of your Committee in the course of its travels. It is disheartening, indeed, to look upon those who have been victimized by these supersalesmen and who find themselves bound to some form of collective bargaining agreement that brings them nothing but disillusionment.

It is only reasonable to presume that for every cause that produces an effect, a cure can be found that will return the situation to a state approaching normal. We feel that by a reasonably complete program of education, most causes of unrest and dissatisfaction can be eliminated. As we shall more fully develop later, it is our sincere conclusion that, by formulating a program seeking a betterment of working conditions, by keeping facts, figures, comparative statistics, and the whole truth about rival unions before our members at all times, we can produce a state of mind of benefit to our members as a whole.

The job of the International Union is to work with its local membership and counsel them with sincerity and understanding. By pro-

moting a program of patience, understanding and tolerance between members and between the union and management, we may succeed in assisting our people to look forward to and prepare for the future when times of peace will produce a better world in which to live.

INTERNATIONAL UNION AND ITS OPERATIONS

THE STUDY made by the Committee has convinced us that the machinery for contact and general supervision of the local unions has not been developed rapidly enough in comparison with the rapid growth of the International Union. There are two practical methods by which the staff at Headquarters may keep in close contact with all the local unions—through communications and through the officers and representatives in the field.

With more than 250 local unions scattered over the entire North American Continent, it is physically impossible for either the President or the Secretary to visit any substantial number of local unions in person. In an organization as large as this, it should be unnecessary for either of these two officers to leave Headquarters. They should direct, through others, the Organization as a whole.

Some local unions, as well as some employers, occasionally assume the arbitrary position of demanding that the International President must come to their locality and personally do the job to be done. Granting that they are sincere, and their problem serious, the fact still remains that there are many serious problems confronting Headquarters every day. While the President is away, work accumulates. Reports of field men continue to flow in; questions from field men, local unions, employers, requiring his personal attention, remain unanswered; important decisions are not forthcoming; the pile of mail and telegrams on his desk mounts ever higher. The net result is that while the President is away from his office, handling one local problem, probably ten others are suffering from lack of attention.

The International President should be in a position to devote his time and talents to the overall picture, and not be required to negotiate agreements, settle controversies, organize new locals, handle local complaints, etc.

Any unnecessary delay in replying to communications from field men, local unions or others is very discouraging to the individuals concerned. There have been instances of communications remaining unanswered for an unreasonable length of time, leaving questions of vital importance hanging in the balance.

Should the International President gradually limit the number of times he personally visits "trouble spots," it is possible an occasional local union may be lost to the Organization. Your Committee feels, however, that if a decision must at any time be made between losing

one local and prolonging serious unrest and dissatisfaction in many other locals, there can be but one choice.

Your Committee further believes that even the one local involved would not request such personal attention if the members were fully aware of the magnitude of the President's duties.

One cause for dissatisfaction in the past has been the slowness with which an International representative has arrived in town in response to a request. An outstanding example is in the case of one mill which was shut down last year by a spontaneous strike of several days duration. It was some three days later before an International representative arrived in town.

Your Committee is unanimously in accord with the belief that we need more field men, and we note with satisfaction that several new appointments have been made since the first of the year. Others are contemplated. This should enable the President to keep in closer contact with the various local situations, and at the same time allow him more time to devote to his work at Headquarters.

Every effort should be made to keep the local unions promptly informed as to any change in policy of the International Union. Local unions and field men should be given, in brief form, a summary of the meetings of the Executive Board sessions. In these days of a changing world, the policies of the International Union must of necessity be flexible enough to permit changes, but such changes should immediately be communicated to the membership.

A problem with which we shall have to deal is the failure, for one reason or another, of some local unions to read and discuss the information which is sent to them. It is seemingly impossible to produce universal satisfaction. Any action taken, anything done, will be unsatisfactory to some members. No matter how sound the policy, there is certain to be criticism.

Rival organizations, of course, will immediately seize this opportunity to use dissatisfied members as the tools through which they hope to break our Organization. It is our belief they cannot succeed. The democratic processes of our Organization are somewhat slow and cumbersome—but they are sound. In making laws and electing officers; we are even more democratic than either the state, provincial or federal governments of our countries. Our Organization knows the industry forward, backward and sideways. No other organization in the world can possibly be in a position to do as much for the workers under our jurisdiction in the paper industry. Your Committee suggests that we keep the membership fully informed as to developments and accept the challenge of any rival group, whether it be coal diggers, toy makers, recalcitrant employers or what have you.

Employers, representatives and local unions have all at various times sought information from Headquarters in regard to the many government laws, orders and regulations affecting our people. Such

information has been sadly lacking, with the result that there have been many different ideas and interpretations. Headquarters should be in a position to answer promptly and accurately any questions on such matters. Complete information direct from those who are authorized to make interpretations should be available at all times.

Your Committee would like to suggest that Headquarters send to each of the field men a periodic—perhaps, semi-monthly—letter or news sheet, giving items of interest and possible value to them in their work. Each officer and field representative occasionally reads or hears bits of news or information which he considers helpful, while other material is constantly coming into Headquarters. If these items could be collected, condensed and immediately distributed to the men in the field, the efficiency of our field men should be improved. There is every reason to believe that such a plan, or a similar one, would eventually be extended to the local unions.

Although it was not a part of the Committee's assignment to study our bookkeeping system, we would like to make a brief observation here. It has become apparent that literally thousands of dollars are being lost through failure of financial secretaries to make proper, accurate accounting to the local unions and to the International Union. The Committee is not prepared to suggest a remedy, but does suggest that the International Union make a thorough study of the subject, on the theory that improvement is always possible.

Just thirty-five years ago, the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers and the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers signed a pact which brought to an end the bitter and costly war between these two organizations. Since that date these organizations have worked very closely together in a splendid degree of harmony, devoting all their energy to obtaining benefits for the workers rather than to fighting each other.

Unfortunately for both organizations, there are a handful of individuals who are still "feuding." Such instances are very rare, but together with a number of other factors, they constitute a continual source of annoyance which in some degree retards complete co-operation.

From time to time, petty jealousy develops. Locals of one organization refuse to transfer members to the other. Representatives occasionally bicker over jurisdiction. One group resents some gain made by the other, and unfriendly employers attempt to play both against the middle.

In thirty-five years, none of these problems has developed to alarming proportions, but it seems certain both organizations must suffer in some degree for each disagreement, no matter how small. If we are to have complete unity of thought and action between these two organizations, working as a synchronized machine, we must remove these grains of sand from the running gear.

The logical way to accomplish this is through frank, candid discussion of each problem by the two organizations. The Committee fully endorses the recent move in this direction which was announced by the President in the April issue of the Journal.

As a final observation on the matter of the Headquarters offices, your Committee desires to endorse the decision of the Executive Board to change the present location when more suitable space is available. We can easily understand the reasoning of one officer who said that upon entering the building for the first time, he immediately began looking around for the beater room. The dirt and soot, the constant rumble of machinery overhead and the tremors of the building are not conducive to efficient work by the Headquarters personnel.

INTERNATIONAL ELECTIONS

CAMPAIGN TACTICS used in elections of International Officers have contributed to the unrest and dissatisfaction of our membership. In the past it has been customary for candidates and their supporters to vilify and bespatter not only their opponents, but in addition to spray dirt and poison upon all and sundry who perchance were in their way. Many times the characterizations indulged in by the rival parties were unsound in fact.

Some members recognize these personal attacks upon the honesty, the sincerity and the character of candidates as campaign slush and accept them as such. Many thousands of members, however, accept these charges as being more or less true. In either case, after the election is over, these same men must advise and lead the local unions. Men who were a short time before reviling each other from the house-tops, now must work together in peace and harmony, or a reasonably accurate facsimile thereof. The uninformed member sees this and he is further disgusted with the obvious inconsistency of it all.

Post election tongue-in-cheek repentance, with the usual explanation "it was just campaign talk—nothing personal," does not erase from the minds of disgusted members the thought that there is something wrong with an organization which permits such tactics.

It is the recommendation of this Committee, therefore, that in the future the candidates for International Office give considerable thought to the effect cheap, political maneuvering, aimed at undermining an opponent, has on the morale of the membership as a whole. We sincerely urge that all candidates stand on their records. Records have a peculiar characteristic of speaking for themselves. To these, the candidates for office can add their ideas for the future welfare of the Organization that should normally entitle them to the confidence they seek on the part of the membership.

Obviously, any restrictions upon free speech would not be democratic. There should be, however, some practical method by which

the various candidates can be made known to the membership other than by campaign letters read at local meetings, or by conversations with "someone who knows someone" who knows the candidate in question. Many a man has been elected on hearsay. This is anything but an efficient or intelligent method. The Committee believes that a more understanding vote will be cast in all our elections, as well as a larger total vote, if each individual member has some means by which he can study the qualifications of all candidates. We, therefore, submit the following suggestions in regard to future elections:

1. Publish a special election issue of the Paper Makers Journal for the month of September in each election year, in time for it to be in the mails before the 15th of the month.
2. Allot each candidate for office a certain amount of space in which he may place his picture and any copy approved by him which relates to his record, proposed program and other points of merit, but nothing which can be construed as criticism of another, whether a candidate or not.
3. Except as provided in Section 2 above, and except for direct quotations from the Constitution, permit nothing to be printed in this issue of the Journal.

We believe it would not be practical to throw open the columns of the Journal for the indiscriminate printing of political letters, but the above suggestions undoubtedly will permit a certain amount of political discussion—discussion which is intelligent and constructive.

If this plan is adopted, it may eliminate to some degree the small-town political aspects of our elections, and perhaps elevate the election of International Officers to a higher and more respected plane.

We recommend the members adopt the attitude that the future of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, not the personal ambitions of the individual, be at all times the paramount issue.

If future candidates continue the unethical practices of the past, it is to be hoped that the general membership will demonstrate proper displeasure by upholding the stand of the candidate who lives by the rules.

INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES

THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF PAPER MAKERS is a business enterprise established to protect and promote the interests of a substantial membership on the North American Continent. The stockholders in this business are the individuals who designate the International as the medium through which they desire to bargain with their employers. The commodity the International has for sale is labor—highly skilled labor—in one of America's most important industries.

Like other business enterprises, the International sells its commodity through field men, known as International representatives. The International Union is most dependent upon these representatives because it is through their contacts with the local unions that the International is sustained.

These International representatives should be highly skilled salesmen. It is the duty of these men to work with local unions, helping them, advising them and passing on with clear interpretations the plans and policies of the International Union. A representative speaks for the International; he is, in fact, the International in the minds of both employers and the members of our locals. As he is judged, so is the International Union judged. Frankly, this should not be true, for judgment of any group or organization should not be based upon the words or deeds of an individual. We must deal with facts, however, and face the facts as they exist.

Thus do we see a tremendous responsibility resting at all times upon the shoulders of the man in the field. He must guide the activities of local unions through channels that will lead at all times to correct conclusions. Invariably, this must be done through the powers of persuasion everyone expects the man to possess.

The survey of the Committee conclusively established that, in general, the men in the field are so pressed for time their daily lives can be compared to that of a fireman. With so many local unions under their supervision, they seldom come onto a given scene until a fire has broken out and the alarm has been sounded. These men are then expected by one and all to speed to the conflagration, wave a magic wand and extinguish the flames without anyone being scorched. Such proceedings sometimes transpire, but it is the exception rather than the rule. No International representative is capable of being a fireman good enough to make this practice infallible.

To gain the confidence of local unions and to enjoy the type of influence over the members he should enjoy, a field representative should have or make the opportunity of visiting these locals at times when there is no fire. He should make these visits virtually a matter of routine and avail himself of these opportunities to carry new messages from the International that will inspire and assist the members in their local operations.

It is apparent there is a need at the moment for more uniformity in procedure among our representatives in the field. There are times when these men must stand firm in opposing local unions, when they believe them to be wrong. His cannot be a successful career if the representative functions merely as a rubber stamp to be used in approving the demands of local unions. To enjoy this right to oppose, however, he must be well known to the membership of the local. It is a recognized fact that no matter how right a man may be, if he remains virtually unknown or is seldom seen, except when he rushes

into town to oppose some local's idea, he soon stands in disrepute with the group he is authorized to represent.

Frequency of visits establishes the character and quality of a representative. When he has the opportunity to talk about matters other than controversial issues, he gets the opportunity of building his own reputation on which he can rely in times of trouble. Certain representatives are lacking in this quality. They are reluctant to oppose a local union when it is wrong. Ultimately this works against the local, as at times it is imperative they be guided by International principles and practices rather than opinions based wholly on local conditions.

Under the best conditions imaginable most representatives live in a troubled world. The Committee gave considerable thought to the idea of including in this report a detailed study of the trials and tribulations of the men in the field. It was felt that recognition of the problems of the field men would enable the membership as a whole to work more closely with them. To develop this subject, however, would require time and expense beyond the limitations of this report.

Conceding the lot of the field man to be a troublesome one, the Committee would like to add a few more to his present worries by setting forth herein some of the many suggestions which were offered by employees, employers, industrial relations specialists, and others. We do not offer a series of "do's and don'ts." We are not attempting in any way to look upon the activities of these men with a "view of alarm." Throughout the Committee's travels, however, one important question was addressed to almost everyone with whom we came in contact. That question was, "What qualities should a man possess to be a good field representative?"

We asked this because we were impressed with the importance of the subject. There was one outstanding answer which ranked in first place—"he must be honest." Everyone stressed there must be honesty with the local union, with the employer and with himself. There must be honesty born of character which permits the admission of error. There must be honesty in reporting to the members on his conferences with management. There must be honesty to play the game as hard as he likes but at all times to play it fair and aboveboard. He must have the honesty to approach all issues with an open mind. He must apply this honesty so that he will neither lull the local unions into a false sense of security nor agitate them unduly over inconsequential matters.

The representative who indulges in the use of wild promises is inviting the inevitable judgment that falls on his head, discrediting himself and the International Union. Promises should never be made without some hope of fulfillment. By promulgating unsound propaganda, a field representative succeeds in establishing but one thing: he is playing up to mob psychology and, in failing to produce, he places

our Organization on a par with many of our rivals who live entirely on the false promise. Tactics of this type cannot last, and all too soon workers wake up and recognize this method of procedure for what it really is—words, words, words. Words wholly unfounded in fact.

Some of the representatives of our rival organizations had to learn this truth the hard way. At the present time many paper mill workers who were lured away from our union with vivid promises, are streaming back into the democratic organization which we have built on truth.

A representative in the field beyond being honest, should be reliable, dependable and a gentleman at all times. His word should be his bond. No circumstance should ever warrant the betrayal of a confidence, for in the course of his work he is bound to receive valuable information in confidence which he cannot otherwise obtain.

Another suggested characteristic or trait that should be found in a good representative is "sincerity of purpose." He should constantly be seeking but one answer to every problem—the "right answer." The right answer may or may not be the most popular one, but he will be more respected in the long run if he has the courage of his convictions and stands his ground as long as he believes himself to be right, even though local unions may demand that he support them right or wrong.

Another quality that is desirable among men in the field, is the "ability at all times to exercise self-control." Time and again opponents may deliberately set out to goad a representative into losing control of his temper in hopes that some damaging slip may be made. On the other hand, some representatives seemingly believe that only by assuming an attitude of belligerency can they keep the membership on their side, and in so doing, bludgeon the employer into acceding to demands.

The life of the flag-waver is a short one. He who seeks to exist merely by making a play to the mob, finds that in time the mob is most fickle when results fail to materialize. We doubt the wisdom of the belligerent attitude in dealing with most employers, and it is certainly no compliment to the intelligence of our members for representatives to think they must follow such tactics in order to retain confidence.

One representative of management gave the Committee another thought-provoking prerequisite of a good representative. He stated that in his opinion, a representative should look upon his work as one looks upon religion. He should have faith in the gospels he is preaching. He should at all times seek that which is right and try to preserve it. He must be so enthusiastically and wholeheartedly sold on the principles of unionism himself that he is willing to undergo all hardships to establish the cause of the people for whom he is working. This thought came from an employer who is nationally known both inside and outside our industry.

After reviewing this man's thoughts, we were compelled to conclude that most of our representatives treat their work in a manner akin to religion. Without this love, without this belief, there would be little to attract good men to these jobs. The man in the mill works eight hours a day, six days a week, and the balance of his time is his own. All extra calls earn extra pay and Sunday work in many cases is performed for double pay. He works on an average of forty-eight hours a week and has one hundred and twenty hours of leisure time. As a mill employee, he enjoys seniority, scheduled vacations with pay, overtime pay and many other benefits. Most important, he has a future to contemplate. There is no limit to the heights to which it is possible for him to go.

Then he leaves the mill and goes on the road as a representative. His overtime, call time, scheduled vacations, even seniority are left behind. If at some future date he wants to return to mill work, he may get a job at or near the bottom of the ladder. While on the road, his duty is eternal. He is subject to call twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. If duty calls, there is not one hour he may call his own in a given week. With some degree of luck, he occasionally spends a day or two with his wife and family. The future he can contemplate is a future of eternal work dedicated to the improvement of the standards of his brother union members in the paper industry.

Let us contemplate comparative incomes. Very many of the men working in the mills, who are above the rank of fourth hand, are receiving a higher rate of pay than they, in turn, are paying their International representative. Some of the employers whom he meets, have a monthly salary greater than his yearly income. Notwithstanding these facts, he is expected to be smart enough to talk and maneuver on an equal footing with the employer. In most cases he proves equal to the task and is continually securing benefits for those whom he represents, although some of those receiving the benefits oftentimes forget or ignore these facts.

When all these things are considered, there can be but one conclusion:—our representatives *have* unswerving faith in and loyalty for their union organization, which to them, amounts to a "religion." This "religion" is not just "a job." It is a cause to which their lives are dedicated.

How are these field men chosen? First, it is decided that a certain member would make a good man on the road. He is offered the job and if he accepts, he is handed some expense money and he's on his own. In some cases he may work a few days with another representative, and he may be brought to Headquarters for a day or so. No special training is given him, however, and no money is spent to prepare him for the tough job ahead. He goes on the road and learns everything from the ground up through one school—the school of experience—more appropriately called the school of hard knocks.

The above procedure for choosing field men is deliberately exaggerated. In truth, a great deal of thought and discussion goes into the selection of representatives. They are carefully selected, but the fact the Committee is attempting to emphasize is that the newly appointed representative is put into the field without proper *training*. He is not properly fitted to meet present day conditions. This results in a lack of uniformity in procedure and practices. It reduces the efficiency of the staff. In the long run, it is costly to the membership in benefits and expensive in dollars and cents to the International Union.

The duties of the International representatives call for special and continuous training. Your Committee proposes that a definite program be formulated and adhered to in regard to the training of new field men. For example, we suggest that the following steps be given consideration in any contemplated program :

1. Have the newly appointed representative spend sufficient time at Headquarters to learn the functions of each and every department. He should have a thorough knowledge of the Secretary's department and the bookkeeping system.
2. He should have discussions each day with the President or some others of the Headquarters staff, on topics pertaining to policies and practices taken from a list which has been carefully prepared beforehand.
3. He should then be sent into the field to work with other field men for several weeks. He should not work with only one field man, but should spend a few days with each of several representatives. If his assignments are carefully chosen, he can be given a large variety of experiences. At the first opportunity, he should be enrolled in the School for Workers at the University of Wisconsin, or some similar school of training.

For this new representative, and also for all other representatives, we believe more thought should be given to their constant training. It is no reflection upon their ability to suggest this, for we simply believe that no one is so brilliant but that he can improve.

In the course of our study, we found many companies who are spending thousands of dollars in sending their crack personnel men, foremen, and others to some school or training center where they can get additional knowledge.

There are a number of schools who offer training for union representatives, with courses of varying lengths. We suggest that consideration be given all of these, and that over a period of time we try all of them which we consider practical for our purpose. The International Union has a large amount of money invested in the experience of each field man. Should their methods of procedure become obsolete,

our investment will become worthless. For the protection of this investment, the Committee believes additional money has to be spent by giving our field men opportunities to further improve their ability and their efficiency.

LOCAL UNIONS

INDIFFERENCE IS DEFINED as a state of being in which there is a lack of interest and concern in the importance of a given thing. We know that indifference leads to carelessness and carelessness can lead to complete destruction.

The indifference of many old time members in the local union makes it extremely difficult for the organization to function properly. These men have been in the industry for many years. They have some knowledge of what the unions have done and they know where the union has come *from*, over the years. Yet, they do not attend meetings, they will not accept an office or other responsibility and they make no effort to defend their own organization in whose success they have played so vital a role in the past years.

Primarily because of the war, thousands upon thousands of new employees have come into the industry. Many assume the attitude they are passing through only one small era of the industry, and that with the coming of the dawn of peace, they will go on to other and greater fields. Some are more interested in quantity of wages, rather than in quality of work performed. The fact that union members have always been the best workers in the plant concerns them not at all. They have no way of knowing, and the old timers neglect to tell them, the origin and history of the union. No consideration is given to the benefits which have accumulated over the years. All emphasis is directed toward the things which have not yet been accomplished. Their attitude is that we have not as yet reached that golden land of Utopia, therefore the union is "no good."

Many new employees hope to remain in the industry and if the history of the last war repeats itself, many will remain. These too, like the old timers, are permitting themselves to lose the vaunted, justifiable pride which Paper Makers once had for their work. They stay away from union meetings "in droves," and they are permitting their organization to become so weakened by irresponsible elements that there is great danger it may fail them altogether in the tough, competitive struggles of the postwar period. Every attempt must be made to awaken these members to a realization of this danger.

One significant fact was noted by the Committee. It appears that local unions with the highest percentage of attendance at meetings have the lowest amount of unrest, dissatisfaction and complaints. In locals where everyone attends the meetings, where all assume their share of the responsibility, where all members are working together to make the local active and on its toes, little or no trouble occurs.

Where attendance is poor, however, matters of the highest importance, such as the contract that defines the individual's rights and privileges, are approved and made effective by a minority portion of a local's membership. Many local unions look upon their collective bargaining agreement as a document that serves but to confine the activities of their employer. They seem to know that such agreements are executed by both parties but take the attitude that their responsibility terminates once the agreement is put into effect. In this they are in error. A contract must express mutuality of responsibility and such responsibility must not only be assumed, but must be carried out by both parties if the contract is to be a success. Therefore, all local unions must assume the responsibility of seeing to it that their agreements, once signed, are made to work. Unless both management and the members want it to work, it cannot be a success.

With the signing of the agreement, some few members immediately desire to take over the operation of the plant. On the other hand, some few foremen and supervisors still do not believe the company wants the union. The result is friction, suspicion, accusations.

The Committee found some local unions which have done much to improve these situations. They hold study classes on various subjects. Some have invited the foremen, superintendents, mill managers and other representatives of management, to attend an occasional meeting. These are not business meetings, but meetings at which a thorough discussion is had on such things as the provisions and interpretations of the current agreement, the various government laws and orders, safety of operations, production restrictions, and other topics of mutual interest.

These representatives of management are treated with all the respect and courtesy due them as gentlemen and guests of the local union. Discussions are frank but friendly; candid, but with proper consideration for the other fellow's opinions. The result is a better understanding all around.

Some members believe that if management is invited to meet with the membership as a whole, the members might be "sold a bill of goods" which they do not want. This opinion is also shared by a few organizers. Is this true? Local union officers who have tried it, say the answer is "No."

On the contrary, many employers have themselves been "sold a bill of goods" by the unions. Some employers sincerely believe in dealing with their employees as an equal bargaining group. They desire to help strengthen the local union in their plant. They frankly explained their reasoning—that a weak, irresponsible union, filled with dissatisfied members and torn by internal strife, has a bad effect upon production, while a strong organization of satisfied, well-paid members means better production.

In discussions with representatives of management, the Committee

was offered dozens of suggestions on how to improve the local unions. Some views did not agree with our own, and some did not agree with each other. This was not unexpected, but the Committee was impressed by the obvious sincerity of innumerable employers. The entire list of suggestions is too lengthy and too contradictory to include in this report, but we believe it may be enlightening and possibly astonishing to many of our members to list, without comment, sample suggestions which came from various employers in the industry:

1. Avoid aftermath of local union elections. Let the losing group work together with the winners for the benefit of all.
2. Educate members relative to union accomplishments, future aims, etc.
3. Devise some means for increasing and maintaining attendance at meetings. (*NOTE: This was the suggestion most frequently mentioned by employers.*)
4. Promote contests with prizes for the best essays on such subjects as "The Value Of Union Membership"; "Why It Is My Duty To Attend Meetings"; "Pro's and Con's Of Existing Seniority Procedures"; etc.
5. More prompt and rigid collection of dues.
6. Local officers should be educated in ways and means of doing their jobs.
7. Training program for financial secretaries who are unfamiliar with book and record keeping.
8. Establish a system of furnishing information to the night shift members on what transpires at meetings.
9. Contact new employees at once and inform them of the union organization.
10. Have company supply turn-over list daily to local unions so they can be advised of new employees to contact.
11. Establish a joint committee of local unions of Paper Makers and Pulp and Sulphite Workers to iron out squabbles between these local unions.
12. Endeavor to build an esprit de corps within the organization. Convince the members they have an organization worth fighting for. Impress upon them that their contract with their employer has been built up over a long period of years, and that the employer has the same right to look to them to carry it out as they have to look to him to carry out his responsibility under it. Minor obstacles placed in

their path and attempts to prevent them from carrying out their contract should be vigorously overcome.

A study of the above sample suggestions from employers should convince the reader that there are some employers who are willing to work with strong, successful local unions in their mills, and who are willing to co-operate toward this objective. No employer expressed any objection to the union attempting to gain as many benefits as it desired for its members. It may surprise some to know that the employers, as a whole, asked only that the union be honest in its demands. They do not demand that the union be *right*. They ask that it sincerely *believe* itself to be right to start with, and that it look at problems with an open mind, constantly seeking the *right* answer. There have been innumerable instances where employers have made concessions contrary to their own opinions, simply because they were convinced the unions were sincere in their requests. Confidence in the other fellow is a wonderful aid in handling the toughest of problems.

The Committee believes it would be unwise to spurn the idea of working closely in all matters where we are mutually agreed. Only by working with the management can the union hope to assume more and more responsibility in the operation of the plant. The union should seek and assume a large share of responsibility for a successful safety program, for successful fund raising drives by such agencies as Red Cross, Community Chest, War Bond rallies and the like.

Local unions should affiliate with and take active part in state and provincial labor bodies, Central Labor Unions and Trades and Labor Councils. The union should actively participate in civic affairs and in all phases of community life. Only by assuming a proper proportion of the responsibilities for things other than its own selfish interests, will the union justify its continued existence in the mind of society as a whole.

LOCAL UNION OFFICERS

A LARGE SHARE of the credit for the success, or lack of success, of the local union, must go to the local union officers. The officers, which group includes the members of the various committees, are the chosen leaders.

Officers should be elected who can and will command the respect of both the members and the mill management. In general, officers are chosen by their fellow members because of the ability they are believed to have, but occasionally officers are chosen because they make the loudest noise at the meetings. One case is on record in recent years when a local union was experiencing some difficulty in picking a good man for recording secretary, the officer who reads and answers correspondence, keeps the minutes, etc. In the middle of the discussion, one member arose and gave the company an awful blasting over some

recent incident. The superintendent and all the rest were so-and-sos, they should shut the mill down, etc., etc., etc. He was promptly elected secretary without opposition.

The story would have ended there but for one detail which was overlooked—the newly elected secretary could neither read nor write! Of course, this is one of those “once in a blue moon” cases, but it does serve to indicate how the judgment of the membership is at times influenced more by their emotions than by an intelligent appraisal of qualifications for the job. This is by no means peculiar to the Paper Makers, nor do unions as a whole have a monopoly upon this practice.

In public life, the politician seeks office, but our locals sometimes have trouble finding a member who will accept an office. There are many reasons why men decline nominations. They may be “too busy,” “live too far away,” “working wrong shift,” or any one of a dozen other alibis. They may suspect an office in the union will hurt their chances for promotion, or maybe they would rather be able to criticize the other fellow than have to take some of it themselves. A few sincerely believe they are not qualified.

Failure by the membership to choose those best qualified to hold office and guide the destiny of local affairs, creates conditions for which those elected should not be criticized. Mere membership in an organization, regardless of time, in no way qualifies a man for the many duties of any office. At the time a man is initiated into a local union, it is customary in most places to supply him with a copy of the Constitution, the By-laws of the local, the agreement then in effect with his employer, and oftentimes, the company mill rules.

It can be generally said it is not the custom even to attempt to explain these documents. As a result, in many cases a man might be a member of the organization for five years and never know the content of the International Constitution. If elected to office, this man assumes the burden of applying the Constitution to the operations of his local. Many times this absence of knowledge results in a misuse of its provisions. This creates a tendency in the mind of the man to indulge in unwarranted criticism of the International, due entirely to lack of knowledge.

In many instances, deficiency in knowledge of Parliamentary Procedure reduces the conduct of the local meetings to a state wherein there is little or no semblance of order, which usually results in a lack of accomplishments. Mismanagement of local meetings has a tendency to provoke a loss of attendance; and with an absence of members, lack of interest in union affairs is fostered—all of which tends to weaken the local as an entity.

In many local unions a very small percentage of the members vote for local officers. In any case, as soon as elected, they are expected to take over and do a perfect job right from the start, and without any help from the members, except perhaps from the old, reliable, faithful

few. The faithful few might well be augmented by a substantial number of new members if local officers were in a position to advise these men as to the meaning of unionism. If the officers were prepared to interpret the Constitution, explain the local By-laws, clearly outline the content and application of the current agreement with the employer, and point out the value and significance of company rules, these men might be inspired to a higher degree of loyalty to their local union and its affairs. To this extent your Committee feels it might be well if material were prepared at International Headquarters to assist local officers in the fulfillment of these tasks.

The new financial secretary may not have seen the books before, but he must take over and do the job right. He has to learn through the system of trial and error what he is to do. The auditors, if anyone can remember who they are, might get around to auditing the books in a month or so, if at all. Many members wait until the last minute to pay their dues, with no thought for the extra work on the shoulders of the secretary.

If the officers can get the co-operation of the members, their jobs will be much easier. More and more committees could be appointed to handle matters which arise. More responsibility shifted onto the members increases their interest in the welfare of the local union. Witness the experiences of some companies who turn over to the union the complete responsibility for War Bond, Red Cross, and other special drives. Invariably, they do an excellent job and yet some of these same local unions won't have a dozen members at a union meeting. The president should encourage the members to assume more and more responsibility for the successful operation of the local. A "one man local" is built on a foundation of sand and may blow away when the first stormy weather appears.

It is difficult for the president of the local to know all the answers. He needs help quite often. He is expected to know the International Constitution, the local By-laws, all provisions of the agreement, Parliamentary Procedure, and how to conduct an interesting meeting. Let it be said of the presidents that they try to be the supermen they are expected to be. Like the other officers, they accept their jobs not for pay, but because they are interested in the welfare of their union and its members. They want to help do the job. Too often their reward for a job well done is criticism, suspicion and condemnation. The president cannot have an opinion of his own, contrary to the members. If he does "he's a company man." If he goes along with them on an unsound idea, and gets no results, "he's too afraid of his job to push it." The financial secretary who reminds a member of his dues is insulted by the very people who elected him to collect the dues. Much fire and brimstone are heaped upon the heads of the officers, but never a bouquet, never words of praise or encouragement. These positions are deserving of respect, and the holders of these offices should not be sub-

jects of abuse and ridicule. In stormy weather, they many times have to fight the battles alone.

Some method must be devised to train and assist the new officers. Acting as chairman at meetings is only one of the jobs of the president. The local union should be willing to invest a substantial amount of money in the training of the officers to enable them to serve the local more intelligently and efficiently. They should be sent to conventions, to labor conferences, to take union training courses at schools such as the course given at the University of Wisconsin. Thought should be given to other means and methods of assisting newly elected officers in carrying out the duties of their positions. Your Committee recommends that some thought be given to arranging annual zone meetings for local officers in given areas to study and discuss matters pertaining to their duties.

The local officers in most cases are doing a splendid job. There are a few, however, who are either too weak or too lazy to make the local unions function properly. In any case, theirs is a thankless job. The good ones carry on in spite of all obstructions and handicaps. With the help of the loyal members of the locals, and especially the old timers who have allowed themselves to become careless or indifferent, and with more assistance from Headquarters, all officers can make their local unions function successfully.

ATTENDANCE AT MEETINGS

THE COMMITTEE in the course of all conferences, advised those in attendance it was seeking information on many topics. The people to whom we talked were also advised we sought criticism, adverse and constructive. We told them ours was a fact-finding tour, and requested that no punches be pulled. As a result, if requested to name the one thing about which we heard the most complaints, the answer would be given unhesitatingly "lack of attendance at meetings." From employers, local officers, outsiders, others, came this same complaint.

The Committee recognizes this as a serious problem and a difficult one to solve. We sincerely desire a solution, because one outstanding feature of this question is that in all instances where attendance is high, complaints are few. Where attendance is low, complaints, unrest and dissatisfaction predominate.

All local union business centers in the meeting hall. The meetings are the origin of all local activities. Information, advice, suggestions, reports—these and many other items of interest and value are passed on to the members at the meetings. The member who is absent does not and cannot have all information made available to the faithful few who attend meetings. Actions are taken by those present which prove to be unsatisfactory to the absent member. But, the absent member does not hear all the discussion and argument, for and against the pro-

posal on the floor. He knows nothing of the circumstances of the case or the reasoning back of the local union's decision, so he is dissatisfied with the result and starts complaining. If he had been there, he might have either influenced the decision or changed his opinion to favor the proposal himself.

Many complaints were received to the effect that By-laws had been amended, measures detrimental to the membership as a whole had been enacted and proceedings unsympathetic to the total membership indulged in by minority groups. We submit, however, the same minority groups were the only people with interest enough to attend the meeting. Complaints do not rest well when voiced by those who have no substantial foundation on which to stand, due to their own lack of interest or natural-born stubbornness.

As we have already indicated, lack of attendance at meetings is very discouraging to the officers. Indifference of a few breeds indifference on the part of others. The local union becomes weak, ineffectual and in danger of complete disintegration.

That organizations of all kinds are suffering from the same indifference on the part of their members is no consolation to us. In the opinion of the Committee, this problem indicates eventual disaster, unless the condition is improved. A strenuous effort must be made to show our members the importance of attending each and every meeting. Once this lesson is learned, we believe the real union members, those who believe in unionism, can be depended on to be in attendance.

There are innumerable causes and an equal number of remedies which might be suggested for lack of attendance. The Committee knows of no magic formula to solve this problem. The meetings themselves often discourage attendance. Business drags on and on until late hours. A few members argue every question repeatedly, while others sit silent. The chairman allows a speaker too much time or too many opportunities to be heard. Discussion is not limited within reason. No committees are appointed or make reports. Correspondence is left at home or passed over because it is "too long, and just a lot of hooey anyway." Outsiders are seldom invited and when one is present, it is so late by the time the program reaches him, the members wish he would make it short so they may go home. These are but a few of the conditions brought to our attention.

It is true that most of the blame for these conditions justly belongs to the chairman. However, he alone is not at fault. The individual member should be made to realize he could do a lot toward improving this situation if he were to try. Very few make any attempt to assist. They depend upon someone else. Some say they just can't talk on the floor. If the chairman desires to test their sincerity in wanting to do something to help, let him suggest they come down some day by themselves to wash the windows, paint the walls, hang a few slogans or pictures or do some manual work to improve the looks of the meeting hall.

Some of our meeting halls are dreary, cheerless, uninviting places. Other local unions have bright, cheerful meeting halls which seem to invite return visits. Let the reader take a good look at his own hall during the next meeting and still contend there is nothing he can do to help his own local union.

It was found that successful local meetings are brief and yet complete. Correspondence and other matters of interest and information are thoroughly discussed and digested. Individual complaints are kept off the floor until after the grievance committee has had an opportunity to act upon them. Each member has equal rights to the floor and each is allowed his say without rude interruptions from the others.

Officers of these locals advise that because they have a thorough discussion on all matters, there is some complaint from individuals to the effect that "all they do is argue," but that in the past, when they discouraged discussion, they heard more complaints of "steamroller tactics," "cliques running things," etc.

Some local unions get outside speakers from time to time. Others encourage the wives of members to come to the Labor Temple with their husbands. They provide various activities for the entertainment and education of the women while the men attend the union meeting.

Many methods have been tried by the local unions to induce members to attend meetings—refreshments, prizes, lotteries, fines, etc. In most cases, however, these ideas were only a partial success. There is one local union, however, which has been using the same plan for a very long time. This local is very enthusiastic over the plan used and reports it has resulted in an interested and wide-awake membership, high attendance at meetings and, as expected, few grievances. For whatever it may be worth, we pass information on this plan along to the reader.

Each member who does not attend at least one meeting a month is fined one dollar. There are certain exceptions, but in all cases the rules are scrupulously observed to see that no favoritism is shown.

Money from these fines is kept in a separate account by the treasurer. These funds cannot be used for any purpose other than entertainment. A committee, working with the president of the local, provides the entertainment. It may be an amateur show this month, a dance next month, or a home movie the next. Occasionally drinks and sandwiches may be served at a meeting, but the bulk of the funds goes for good, clean entertainment, rather than for food.

The Committee is convinced that lack of attendance at meetings is a serious menace to the welfare of the organization. We think it should be accepted as a challenge to our ingenuity. It may be advisable to employ a specialist for at least a temporary period for the purpose of designing and inaugurating a program to improve attendance at local union meetings.

LOCAL GRIEVANCES

OUR LABOR AGREEMENTS set up the machinery for handling grievances. There has been no complaint about the machinery. The complaints we have received are due to:

1. Local arrangements for setting the machinery in motion.
2. Delay by the members in reporting grievances.
3. Delay on the part of the local committees in their procedure.
4. Unjustified grievances.
5. Dissatisfaction of members because their particular grievances were not settled to their satisfaction.

Some of the grievances do not affect individuals solely, but are matters of general concern. Regardless of the nature of a grievance, it should be handled speedily. Otherwise, small matters assume large proportions. They become sore spots which tend to destroy the confidence of the members in their own organization and disrupt harmonious relations between the union and the employer.

The test that proves any method is whether or not it works satisfactorily. We would suggest that any method which has proved satisfactory, should be continued. We would like, however, to stress the necessity for prompt and efficient attention to all grievances.

As a suggestion to local unions who have no satisfactory procedure, we submit the following plan, based on our observations, for setting up local machinery to handle grievances:

1. Local unions should elect or appoint a shop steward on each shift in each department under its jurisdiction. In large departments more than one steward should be appointed where it is deemed desirable.
2. The shop stewards selected should organize as a committee and elect one of their number as chairman, one as secretary and one to act as chairman or secretary in the absence of either. These three, together with any others they or the committee may select from time to time as circumstances warrant, should act as representatives of the committee in contacting the management as provided in section 6 below.
3. When a complaint arises, the member involved should contact the steward on his shift and state the nature of his complaint. The steward should endeavor to get the facts and, if he thinks the complaint is justified and can be easily settled in the department, proceed to take the matter up with the proper authorities.

4. If the steward thinks the complaint is unjustified or if he thinks the complaint is of a nature to require the attention of the committee of stewards, he should notify the chairman at once. The chairman should then call a meeting of the shop stewards as soon as possible.
5. Before the meeting takes place, the chairman and the shop steward concerned should make a thorough investigation of the case in order to be able to present all pertinent facts to the meeting.
6. If the committee decides the case is justified, they should proceed at once to take it up with the proper authorities as provided in the labor agreement. Should the committee, at any stage of the proceedings, become convinced the case is unjustified, the committee should suspend further action, notify the complaining member, and report to the local union at its next meeting. The chairman or the shop steward first to receive the complaint should advise the complaining member of his right to appeal to the local union if he is dissatisfied with the action of the committee or the results obtained. The local union should carefully consider the facts and then either approve the report of the committee and drop the matter, or instruct the committee to proceed with the case through the machinery set up in the agreement.
7. No complaint should be discussed at a local union meeting until it has been investigated by the committee. This does not prevent complaints from being presented at a union meeting but suggests they be turned over to the committee for investigation and action before they are discussed.
8. It should be the duty of each shop steward to contact each new employee as soon as possible after he is hired, explain to him the union relationship with the company, and make the necessary arrangements for him to join the union. Shop stewards should be responsible for obtaining the new man's application at the proper time.
9. The committee should meet as soon as possible after selection to study and discuss the labor agreement, the International Constitution, the Local By-laws, and all releases on matters of general information issued from International Headquarters.
10. The committee should hold regular periodical meetings for the purpose of discussing their duties and make a general check on the progress of their work and the reports of

stewards as to conditions under their jurisdiction. The committee also should make periodical reports to the local union.

11. Where it is possible, the local union or the chairman of the committee, should arrange for instructional material and for oral instructions for the stewards to better acquaint them with the responsibilities of their job and the best ways to handle it.

WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS

THE WAGE "FREEZING" policies of our respective governments, the "Little Steel Formula" in the United States, and "Orders in Council" in the Dominion of Canada, have been a source of tremendous befuddlement to the workers in the two countries. Our governments have frozen wages on the assumption that the cost of living would be comparably frozen. In this we know they failed. In many cases wages that were unduly low when the above regulations were made effective, are still low in comparison with the general wage level and the all-too-important cost of living. This is true even though some allowances, fixed by government, have been approved.

At the time the so-called Little Steel Formula was announced, the unions affected hailed it as a great victory. Today these unions contend this "Formula" is in reality a millstone about their necks. Some of our people say it is also a millstone about the necks of the members of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers.

This is not because our members are opposed to the regulation of wages to prevent inflation. They do oppose the freezing of wages that were on a substandard level. Finally, a general feeling exists that the workers are being victimized while large profits are being made by industry. The cases where large profits are being made get publicity in the press from time to time and the workers feel all industry is making large profits. We are convinced the workers are ready to accept any and all sacrifices to further our war effort, provided they are convinced a fair distribution is made of the wealth they assist in creating and provided they are not being taxed or charged prices to pay unjustifiable profits to a few.

There is no need to discuss the Little Steel Formula here. Our Organization was not responsible for it. We had no part in its creation. Few, if any, of our people are in favor of it, and the International has opposed it in government hearings. Nevertheless, we are affected by it and we must deal with realities. In doing this, the Committee desires to make a few observations concerning the control of wages and prices in the United States and Canada—observations based upon our discussions and correspondence in this study.

Most of the union mills in this industry have granted increases amounting to more than the 15% fixed by the Little Steel Formula. Many of the mills have granted more than 20%. The major portion of these increases were secured through the efforts of our members in the period *before* the Little Steel Formula was adopted.

By peaceful means, long in advance of the time when other organizations had to resort to long, drawn out fights, our Organization attained results. We were bargaining collectively with employers in the paper industry long before the Wagner Act. As a result, our wage scale was well fixed and vacations with pay, call-time, holiday recognition, and other matters were part and parcel of our average working agreement, long before most other unions realized these benefits.

Wages in the paper industry as a whole have been comparatively high since it first became one of the *organized industries*. Although many believe our wage rates are not as high as they should be today, the paper industry is still a high wage industry. Average annual earnings rank high among all other industries on the North American Continent. Many professions, even in these wartimes, are not providing comparable earnings. There are today many millions of employees of other industries earning 40¢ an hour and less.

All this is not intended to mean we cannot hope to improve our rates. It is intended solely to give us some idea of what has already been accomplished. To say that wage rates cannot be revised upward would not be correct. The War Labor Board does permit wage increases under proper conditions. The refusals to grant increases, however, are many, as may be noted in the newspapers every day. Time, study, maturity of thought and justification are necessary, however, if local unions aspire to a revision of government formulae in the establishment of wage scales.

Let us suppose the Little Steel Formula was increased from 15% to 20%. What would that mean to our members? With probably a substantial majority of the union mills paying 20% and more above the base period fixed by the Little Steel Formula, could workers reasonably expect to have any better chance of getting an increase?

Assume for the moment all wages on a continental basis were increased by 5%. What control, if any, has the individual worker over the cost of living? Has he a guarantee it will not be increased to absorb his increased earnings? Has he any guarantee it will not be increased in excess of his normally increased earnings? Without this guarantee, general wage increases are dangerous, as the probability at all times exists that increased living costs will absorb all and more than the worker attains by way of increased earnings.

If all wages were advanced by 5%, does that mean the wage earner has 5% more money to spend? Definitely, no! Most of our union members pay income tax. Today this is based upon a 20% withholding tax at the source. Twenty per cent in simple arithmetic is one-

fifth. Therefore, every time the worker gains a 5% increase in earnings, he takes 4% for himself and automatically gives 1% to his government. On the other hand, should the cost of living be rolled back 5% while wages remain stationary, the purchasing power of the worker would be increased by the full 5%. For illustration let us use two contrasting suppositions:

1. Suppose the wages of a worker are increased \$5.00 a week. Of this increase he gives \$1.00 to the government, while the remaining \$4.00 will be his to spend.

Now, if the cost of living increases to the same extent of \$5.00 a week, it will simply mean that he must spend \$5.00 a week *more* to live, although he is actually receiving only \$4.00 in additional earnings.

2. On the other hand, suppose the cost of living is rolled back to the extent of \$5.00 a week. This will mean that the worker will have \$5.00 more money remaining in his pocket at the end of each week.

Thus, we can see that the question of securing increases has some possible complications. The whole subject of purchasing power is a serious problem for our people. It is a problem for which there should be a reasonable solution.

In general, it is the Committee's conclusion that it is to the best interests of the Continent as a whole, that current and postwar inflation be avoided wherever possible. Our government has approached the issue, however, from too one-sided a viewpoint. While they zealously freeze wages to prevent inflation, they fail to control prices to prevent deflation of purchasing power.

In the course of this Committee's travels, we had occasion to question local union representatives as to whether or not they appreciated their importance as an entity in the community where they live. Our members, together with the members of other labor organizations, represent a substantial cross-section of every community in the land. They are the people who possess the right through the power of the ballot to help establish all three branches of government. If they fail to exercise these privileges, then the judgment should justly fall on their own heads.

Your Committee, therefore, urges that the membership as a whole be advised to exercise its privileges as individuals, as locals, as a great International Union, to deluge our legislative representatives with demands that the costs of living be rolled back to a comparable level if we, the workers, are expected willingly to subscribe to a wage "freeze" based upon the Little Steel Formula.

Still another thought: When unions fight for wage increases, with a blare of trumpets, they are fighting for something for themselves

only. The public doubts it is going to benefit from the fight, and often is worried lest any increase will be passed on to them in the form of increased prices.

A reduction in the cost of living would benefit the public as well as the members of the union. Should unions put up a determined fight to get the cost of living down, they would have the public in their corner, cheering them on. If the unions win, the public wins also. Attempts of unions to fight increases in costs of living have been feeble, while fights to reduce the cost of living have been practically non-existent. Many of our locals suggested increases in wages but only one or two suggested bringing down the cost of living.

To fight for an increase in wages of 10% is a popular move for a union to keep its members satisfied that the union is doing something for them. It is spectacular. It stirs the imagination. We can almost hear the jingle of extra dollars. It is wonderful! But, again, it would not be as profitable to the workers in the mills as would be a 10% reduction in the cost of living.

If all unions had expended as much energy, time and money in fighting to reduce the cost of living as they have to increase their own wages, they would have had every housewife in the United States and Canada behind them, and some of the politicians would be riding the bandwagon rather than the necks of the unions.

We contend there is still time to do something to reduce the cost of living. Let us start a concerted drive in this direction. Let the voices of our thousands of members be heard by representatives in Congress and in Parliament.

We touch but briefly on the second portion of this major topic; namely, working conditions. That which we have to offer is limited in the extreme. We trust it will be appreciated that to render any intelligent analysis, we would have to thoroughly understand every condition that exists in every mill covered by contract with our Organization. This, on its face, is an impossibility. Our comments, therefore, must resolve themselves into generalities.

We do not propose for a moment to advise the membership as to the meaning of the term "working conditions." Most of the membership should know its meaning. Many of them, perhaps, have fought for working conditions in recent years. However, in a larger sense, the issue has remained dormant while nickels and dimes were added to wage rates. Today we have a wage freeze that may or may not be here to stay. Is it not reasonable, therefore, to suggest that our dollar-minded-brothers recognize this fact and strive to improve conditions in general within their place of employment that would add to their daily life and assist them and their families in a fuller enjoyment of this world?

We will not devote too much time or space to this subject. Chapters might be written about hospitalization insurance, pension plans

and other social benefits that fall under the guise of working conditions, which for too many years the membership has neglected. Suffice to say, we leave this portion of our discussion with this thought:—Our survey has established that much more can be done in the field of betterment of working conditions. To the local unions we would pass on the question—"Isn't it time more is done?"

SENIORITY

ARGUMENTS OVER SENIORITY began many years ago, before the advent of unions, and even today the mere mention of the word is enough to attract attention of everyone within hearing. The Committee discussed this topic with so many people, from all walks of life, that we think it wise to make mention of it here.

Apparently, most of our members agree that some men who come into the industry just do not fit and cannot go beyond a certain point. It might be because they are not able to grasp the intricacies of the trade. It might be because they cannot work in harmony with others. It might be because they are not physically fit or because of many other reasons. This is especially true at the present time when the employer must hire anyone he can get if he is to continue operations.

Thus, if it is to be admitted that some employees in the industry are capable of going only so far, then we must agree that ability has to be considered. The question then arises, "To what extent is ability to have precedence over length of service?"

If ability is to be considered, the whole question then seems to revolve around the point of who is to decide upon ability so that everyone can be sure of a square deal. Human nature being what it is, certainly no individual or group of individuals will be able to make the delicate decision on ability and not leave in the minds of some the belief that favoritism is being shown. Yet, such decisions must be made, and until we can work out a standard plan or a yardstick by which ability can be measured, we must continue with any plan which seems to give the least dissatisfaction.

The old method for making promotions was for the employer to promote anyone he cared to promote, with no questions asked. Under this system the man who got the job was often the boss's nephew, the banker's son or some other person in whom the employer had a special interest. The employer assumed no obligation toward his older employees beyond that prompted by charity.

That this old system was wrong, only the few most obstinate die-hards will deny. After the unions became entrenched in the plants they began to fight to correct this evil. It was, and still is in some industries, a long and bitter squabble. The employer felt he was giving up an inherent right, one which he had enjoyed since the beginning of industry.

In the last few years the unions in the paper industry are beginning to realize their dreams. They have seniority. They have seniority so firmly established that a vast majority of promotions are made on that basis alone. The battle is almost over, the victory practically complete.

With the clearing away of the smoke of battle, the local unions have had time to sit down and take counsel with themselves as to where they now stand. Calm deliberation has replaced the excitement of the struggle. With sober thought come questions:

What about the present system? Is it a sound one? There can be no doubt about it being better than the old system, but have we gone too far?

If employees are to be promoted when their time comes on the seniority roster, and not before, is there danger of destroying initiative? Is there any incentive for an employee to learn the higher job, if he knows he will get it anyway? In the post-war period, when we shall have to compete with tough, foreign competition, will our companies be able to survive and will our jobs be secure if our production is low? Does strict seniority tend to lower level of skill and efficiency to that of poorest man rather than raise standards of workmanship?

If the skilled jobs in our mill are manned by men who hold those jobs because of seniority rather than ability, will production be so low that our company will demand wage reductions and possibly be forced into receivership? If the senior backtender is set up and he produces over a thirty-day trial period say, twenty-five or fifty tons less than the second oldest backtender would have produced, what effect will that have on our company's financial statement, and what influence will it have on our being able to hold the wages we now have or in obtaining further increases? If the oldest man loses a wire and maybe a felt, what effect will we feel in the resulting cost of materials, labor expense, and loss in production? What will be the effect on the morale of the employee who is set back after a trial period?

What is the position of the union member at the top? What of the boss machine tender, the machine tender, the backtender and even the fourth hand? The beater engineer? The cook? The mechanic? Other skilled jobs? What happens to these people after all mills have rigid seniority, if their employment is terminated? Must they start anew at common labor in some other paper mill or find other work?

If they realize they must start anew at the bottom, once they leave the mill, will they retain their independence, or will the fear of what might happen cause them to be more careful lest they antagonize the boss?

These are real questions. They did not come from the employers, but from our members all over the country. Many had plenty to say in favor of strict seniority, arguments which are well known to all union members. These questions are mentioned here because the Committee was surprised to find so many members who are beginning to ask such questions. These questions were once the stock answers, so to speak, of employers against any form of seniority recognition.

One employer warned of what he believed to be dangers ahead for us on this subject. In order to avoid any suspicion in the minds of any reader as to this employer's attitude toward unions, we can tell you this: The local union in his plant will accept his word as confidently as a written statement. Through the union he has given his employees higher wages and more benefits than any comparable competitor. He works with and deals with the union, and it trusts him. With that background, here is, in effect, what he said:

In his mill, promotions are made according to seniority. In some cases, the oldest man is not the best man by any means but rather than fight about it with the local, the oldest man gets the job, especially in these times.

The system is wrong. From the extreme of the old days, we have gone to the opposite extreme. Under our present system, employees will be promoted very slowly, and up one vertical line of promotion. Employees cannot gain a wide knowledge of the operations. The company will not be able to wait for a man to reach the top within the jurisdiction of the union when they need executives. Labor turnover at the top is slow, and eventually will be much slower. If, when men arrive at the top through seniority promotion, they are too old or not qualified for executive positions, the company will be forced to look elsewhere for such executives.

We are building ever higher the wall between management and the employees. In the course of time, we shall find ourselves working under a two-class system of industry. On the one side the union will have jurisdiction up to a certain point, and after an employee reaches that point, he can go no higher, but must remain right there, if he continues working, until his mill becomes obsolete and closes down. Then he is on the street, for seniority bars him from other mills.

On the other side of the wall, is management. In order to get properly trained management personnel, the company must either go to another mill where seniority is not so rigid or they must train their own. To train their own, they must bring a man into the mill and train him in the various departments. This can be done without replacing any union member on any job. When he is properly trained, he steps in ahead of all the employees, many of whom may have outstanding ability, if they

had had the opportunity to advance in proportion to such ability.

Thus, shall we awaken one day to find a two-class system of industry, where the employees come up one route while management uses another—the short-cut system. This means, of course, that it will be the office boy rather than the broke hustler, who will some day be the mill manager.

Such are some of the various views and opinions regarding seniority. One employer grinned at us when he said that because of the seniority system we have established, we are doing more than the War Manpower Commission in preventing his top men from transferring to other mills.

One local union said its biggest complaint against the International Union is that the International Union has failed to solve the seniority problem. This criticism can apply to your Committee also, for we are frank to admit we don't know the answer. Possibly there is no answer, but let us live with the hope that some day, somehow, someone among our thousands of members will step forward with the perfect solution.

We suggest that the International Union attempt to solve this problem and that the local unions be encouraged to give thought to it. Any proposed solution will meet with plenty of opposition, but we are convinced the time is fast approaching when something must be done on this question.

EMPLOYERS

DURING THE COURSE of our survey, the Committee could not help but note the virtually unanimous willingness of management to co-operate with the principles of unionism for the purpose of bringing about more harmonious relations with employees. It appeared that in many respects they were more than anxious to continue their collective bargaining activities with our Organization.

Under interrogation, they stated their hope was that we would promulgate an intelligent program that would enable us to maintain within our locals strong, business-like organizations. Some of these employers were formerly anti-union in their attitudes, but now that their plants have been organized and we have demonstrated the benefits that flow to management as well as to the employees through intelligent collective bargaining, they are frank in admitting we have produced benefits for the industry as a whole.

Criticisms were invited. Many were received. In general, however, we were pleased to note they were constructive. Our concept of our mission as a Committee was to find out what is wrong with our Organization. For many years we have known and have told employers the nature of their faults. Consequently, the questions we asked were based on their conception of what a union's duty to management should be.

To aid us in our conclusions we also directed a questionnaire to each local union affiliated with the International. Most of the local unions replied and when we came to study these replies, we were convinced that the causes of unrest and confusion in some localities were partly due to the employers themselves. In many cases, however, the causes were not due to the policies of the companies, but rather to the lack of proper supervision by top management to insure the company's policies in respect to industrial relations and to see they were properly fulfilled.

Some of the local unions associated with the companies whose management representatives we met, complained vigorously about the treatment our members receive at the hands of certain foremen or superintendents. Inquiry disclosed, however, the labor relations policy of the company, generally, is excellent. Many, many times a man elevated to a position of supervisory authority develops a fanatical attitude toward management that is not well founded in fact. So true is this, an investigation will disclose his attitude is usually directly contrary to company policy.

Some foremen and superintendents believe the entire future welfare of the company depends on their holding a local union within their own concept of restraint. Without knowledge of top management they oftentimes destroy a policy of labor relations all parties desire. So vital is this situation, we believe our International Organization should assume the responsibility of seeing to it that all companies with whom we have contracts are advised of the danger of this situation.

It should be pointed out to the employers that if they wish harmony in their mills, it is as necessary for them to school their superintendents and foremen as it is for the International Union to school our representatives. As the International representative is the International Union to our members, so the supervisor is the company to the employees. Through the supervisory staff must filter the policies of the company. To the degree that matters are distorted or neutralized before they reach the employees, so will the company's policies be distorted and neutralized.

We, as a Committee, are recommending that a program of education be instituted by the International Union in order that we may have better representatives and better union men. We also recommend that each company be urged to institute a school of instruction for members of their supervisory staff. This course of instruction should include such subjects as the following:

1. An outline in detail of the company's labor relations policy.
2. The handling and treatment of men as human beings.
3. A complete and detailed study of the labor contract and full instructions on the proper interpretation thereof.

4. A study of government laws and regulations that effect management-labor relations.
5. Necessary instructions covering any clerical work they are required to do that affects the performances or pay of employees.

We are convinced that a thoughtful attempt to inaugurate and pursue such a program of instruction for supervisory staffs will subsequently contribute to better and more harmonious relations.

To make this section complete, we are listing below in brief some of our observations that may help the manufacturers in determining their industrial relations policy:

1. They should accept their part of the responsibility in building up a feeling of confidence between the company and their employees.
2. In proportion to the time devoted to developing the quality of their product, their selling program, and the treatment of their customers, employers should give their labor relations program comparable thought and study to make it equal to any other part of their basic program.
3. They should give sufficient thought and energy to making their labor relations program effective.
4. They should place more confidence in union committees. Have regular meetings with them. Seek their advice on matters affecting operations, plant or mill policy and matters of general concern. Discuss the union contract, government laws and regulations to determine whether or not there is any disagreement as to interpretations. Furnish employees with facts and figures, insofar as possible, concerning the company. Discuss with employee-union groups all changes in policy and important changes in practice before making such changes effective.
5. If management is interested in receiving suggestions to improve efficiency and reduce costs, we suggest a system be worked out that will not require the name of an employee to appear on his suggestion or before those who are to judge its merit. Give the union committee some responsibility in deciding merits and in making final disposition of all suggestions; in awarding prizes for the suggestions adopted and in giving reasons for rejection of the others.
6. Take a genuine interest in the welfare of the employees, eliminating all elements of paternalism.

One final thought in connection with our relations with management needs special mention:

The employers frequently call upon the unions for assistance in connection with some particular piece of legislation. Companies do not hesitate and rightfully so, to call upon us for help with the various government orders and the agencies administering them. Many, many times we have been able to help, and have helped in matters affecting our industry, often without being asked to do so. But, when enemies seek through laws or other restrictive measures to destroy unions, the employers may not give them actual aid—but neither do they give us any aid in combatting them.

Such excuses as, they must live with other employers, or they must remain neutral, or it is our fight and not theirs, are mere alibis. Is the employer so far into the stratosphere of noble neutrality that he must passively sit on the sidelines and watch enemies destroy an organization for whom he professes friendship?

The argument that a fight to keep the mills operating is the concern of both employers and employees, while a fight to keep the union operating is the concern of the employees only, is another alibi. To reverse the circumstances, should we help the employer only when there is danger to us also? Let our friends prove their friendship by defending us and assisting us against those who would cripple or destroy us.

As long as we have democracy, we will have some kind of labor unions. They are as much a part of any democratic system as industry itself. Unions and industry should develop and improve together. Unless they do, unless the reactionary forces who are trying to destroy unions are curbed, we will have a continuous revolution which in time may even undermine our belief in democracy as a system of government. It is logical then, that proper protection of both industry and labor unions should be a matter of mutual concern and effort.

THE JOURNAL

A JOURNAL IS A RECORD of news or events. This definition proved satisfactory for a number of years insofar as the PAPER MAKERS JOURNAL was concerned. Today, however, we feel our Journal should be more than a medium through which local columnists advise the membership as a whole on items of purely local interest.

In our discussion of International representatives, we advanced the thought that to be successful, these men must accept the promulgation of the doctrine of unionism as a "religion." No International representative, however, could ever hope to be a success in the field of religion without some text or gospel to follow. In many respects, therefore, your Committee feels the Journal of the future should carry at all times a message, a lesson, or an excerpt from the gospel of unionism that should prove to be of benefit to all whom it may reach.

The Committee in its travels heard many kind expressions about the changes that have taken place in recent months in the composition of the Paper Makers Journal. With all of these expressions your Committee was in wholehearted accord. We were told and fully realize, however, that further improvements are in order. For the duration of the war, proposed changes must take into consideration the limitation of paper allotted to our publication.

Considerable study has been afforded all suggestions received. Many of them are worthy of much merit. Others are so far-reaching as to leave us with the thought that in the postwar era they should be given further consideration. Further changes should be effected, but we do not recommend that the Journal be entirely remade. Instead, we are offering what we consider to be the most beneficial suggestions, without deleting that which now is most interesting to read.

The Paper Makers Journal should be an instrument for transmitting to our members current information about the industry and our union. Much has been said in this report about International representatives, local unions, local union officers and other topics.

In our analysis, of necessity we touched only on vital facts and issues. The Journal should be an instrument by which these topics and other matters of interest may be expanded and brought home to the membership as a whole. Through its pages comments may be made on current events concerning the internal operations of the International which should be a matter of common knowledge.

Every effort is being exerted today to bring matters to the attention of our local unions through memoranda from the President and in other communications. We realize, however, many of these are read by local officers but never reach the rank and file. If the Journal were used more fully as a medium for developing such topics, we feel a greater number of individuals could be reached.

Every month a financial statement is prepared with considerable diligence and mailed to each local in our Organization. Money received and the method and manner in which it is spent, are matters of vital importance to every member. We feel certain that in many locals the content of this report is never read. We know that some members would like it to be a definite part of the Journal; but this statement gives in great detail an account of all money transactions, from whom received, and to whom paid. It is quite lengthy and to publish it under current paper limitations, would use all available space to the exclusion of more timely topics. Therefore, articles showing in general how the money is collected and spent, would be interesting and educational to many of our members. We stress this point merely to illustrate the Journal should have a more educational purpose.

In times such as these, when laws are quickly made and administrative agencies are promiscuously handing down decisions that may

be in conflict with something decided a week or two before, it would be well to use the Journal as a medium of transmitting information to the members about laws and legislation governing our union and the industry.

Some criticism has been received for our Organization's failure to avail itself of the public press as a means of getting our good qualities before the public. For too many years we have been all to self-effacing. The time is ripe for a little bit of horn-blowing. If we are to fight fire with fire, defeat unsound propaganda with truth, we must keep ourselves before the public eye.

We need not wait for the press to carry our message to the public. We should use our Journal as a medium for bringing out the benefits we obtain for our members, with respect to wages, working conditions and new features in our agreements, showing the tremendous difference between organized mills and those unorganized.

Subsequent to all elections, the Journal should be devoted to introducing the officers who will carry out the International program during the term for which they were elected. The Journal should carry photographs of these men, a short sketch of their careers, giving the place of birth, education, where they worked, what they did, etc.

We should never lose sight of the fact that in our Journal we have a great medium for education. No matter what the subject may be, if in each issue there is some discussion on a topic of current interest, it stands to reason the members as a whole should derive a benefit therefrom. Let us use our Journal, therefore, as a medium of contact between the International Officers and the members.

Your Committee recommends that as time goes on, all local correspondents endeavor to make each contribution an article of universal interest. By so doing, considerable space may be saved heretofore devoted to comments only of interest to the members associated with the correspondents.

With no thought of disparagement towards those who pass away, we recommend that in lieu of individual obituaries, an "In Memoriam" page be used to publish the names of these deceased brothers.

The Journal is of no benefit to a member if it fails to reach him. In addition, Journals returned by the postal services are very expensive. Consequently, local secretaries should be urged to co-operate with the Editor of the Journal in keeping his mailing list up to date. In so doing, changes in addresses, transfer of members, etc., will be fully covered.

We further feel considerable thought should be given by local unions to their selection of a Journal correspondent. He should be one who not only has the interest of his own local at heart, but feels that through the medium of his contributions to the Journal, he is advancing the interests and the welfare of all members throughout the International Union.

Lastly, we feel all manufacturers with whom we enjoy contractual relations should be placed on our Journal mailing list. In the course of the Committee's travels, some employers expressed a desire to receive our publication. We sincerely feel that through its pages we may do a lot to bring about the solidarity we desire between management and labor.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

IN OUR SURVEY, we encountered much criticism of the International Union because it has not taken into consideration the need of selling unionism to the membership, or the need of educating the local unions in regard to their functions as business organizations.

There is much evidence to prove that some local unions do not function properly. We find poor attendance at the meetings, continuous strife, turmoil, friction among members, agreements violated, the Constitution ignored and complaints made about the functions of the International Union. In reality, the responsibility lies upon the local union. This is an indication of a lack of proper understanding as to the part the local unions should play; lack of proper leadership and lack of realization of what the union is and what it stands for.

The proof that local unions can function properly is the fact that some of them do. However, even in the better functioning locals, there is need for greater co-ordination between the International Union and the locals, more information for them and assistance to educate new members correctly.

There is a feeling in some quarters that the International Union has no clear-cut policies in connection with the many matters with which they have to deal. We believe this to be true in some cases, but there is evidence that our local union officers and members fail to understand the policy of the International Union on certain issues where the policy is clear. There is also a definite lack of knowledge on the part of the local union officers and members, of the problems confronting our International Union and its representatives.

We believe the International Union should take the lead in a program of education to correct the many misunderstandings that seem to prevail. Even where the members are at fault, the International Union should adopt standards and make suggestions to correct their faults.

The Committee, therefore, makes the recommendation that a Department of Education be set up at Headquarters. The duties of this department should be to form a bridge between the executive office and the local unions which will provide a closer contact and over which will flow the necessary information and instructional material to assist the local unions to function properly, to accept their responsibility in relation to the entire International Union setup and to become real business organizations.

It is the Committee's recommendation that the duties of this department include, but not be limited, to the following:

1. Gather information and statistics to be used by our International officers and representatives in the conduct of their work.
2. Set up a program of instructions for local union officers to guide them in the conduct of their duties.
3. Set up a program of instructions for local union members, particularly new members.
4. Set up a program of instructions for the guidance of grievance committees and shop stewards.
5. Draw up a list of suggestions for the guidance of local unions in the conduct of their relations with the International Union that will tend to bring about closer relations and greater harmony.
6. Use the Journal as a medium for carrying lessons, explanations of new procedures, and comments on timely topics that have an educational value.
7. Prepare a course to be conducted at Headquarters for the procedural instruction and education of new men selected to do field work.
8. Prepare, for the use of field men and local officers, a story in booklet form on unionism with its historical background, the evolution of the trade union movement, and the meaning and significance of unionism as it exists today.
9. Prepare a leaflet on the topic "Why I Should Join the Paper Makers Union" and arrange to have ample copies available for distributive purposes by local officers to new employees.
10. With due appreciation of the financial limitations of our local unions, it is suggested that wherever possible arrangements be made for an annual zone meeting of local officers from locals in given areas. These meetings will permit their being instructed in the duties of their offices. This should assist in making them more fully qualified to keep their particular locals active, businesslike groups.

The Committee urges that the International Union make every effort to promote the idea that the president of each local union, or some other active member, be sent to the two weeks' training course given by the School for Workers at the University of Wisconsin. An outline of the courses of study offered at this school is given below:

Special Union Problems

Labor Problems in Wartime.
 Collective Bargaining under WLB Directives.
 Trade Unionism, Its History, Structure and Functioning.
 Current Issues in the Fields of Labor and Industry.
 Union Administration.
 Civil Service and Government Employees.
 Union Bookkeeping and Finance.
 Recent State and National Labor Legislation.
 Time and Motion Study and Rate Determination.

General Economic and Social Questions

Our Changing Economic Order.
 Pressure Groups in American Society.
 Minority Groups in American Society.
 Current National and International Events.
 The Economics of Specific Industries.
 Education in the Democratic Society.
 The Industrial Community.
 Consumer Problems and Consumer Co-operatives.

Tool Subjects

Parliamentary Law and Public Speaking.
 Labor Journalism.
 Workers' Education Techniques.
 Writing of Union Minutes, Resolutions, Reports, Etc.

Entrance Requirements. There are none as to race, religion, economic or political belief. No educational qualifications are required—except that workers be old enough in years to understand the significance of present events, and young enough in mind to learn from the experience of others.

The Committee had the opportunity of visiting some of the buildings which are used to house the union men and women attending the school. They are of the very best type, in beautiful locations.

Any educational program of the International Union should also be expanded to the point where suggestions would be made to local unions on how to create more interest and enthusiasm. The department could advise and work with the local unions on such subjects as:

1. How to make local meetings more interesting:
 - (a) Suggest topics for discussion.
 - (b) Books and other material for reading.
 - (c) Short movie films to be shown.

2. Help in selecting short plays and skits, and offer suggestions to assist the locals using them.
3. Assist local union officers by outlining proposals looking to a study of labor management problems.

It is the Committee's opinion that if our local officers have a clearer understanding of the problems within their own organization and their own mill, a higher degree of relationship with management will result. It is well to know how the other fellow lives and thinks. Many times such knowledge assists in the solution of our own individual problems.

The above are merely a few suggestions, used for illustration to show the wide field of activities an Education Department could cover. One division of this Education Department could be devoted to public relations, publicity and the dissemination of news to our members. Such a division could be of tremendous assistance in the effort to get true facts and information to our members and the general public. That phase of the general educational program is considered important by the Committee, but we treat with it in a separate section later in this report.

PUBLIC RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

IN THE COURSE of the Committee's consideration of the recommendations it would make concerning a program of education, additional thought was devoted to the question of developing a public relations program. We are treating it as a separate entity in the report, though it naturally comes within the purview of any educational program.

The motive behind this should be most apparent. It is our sincere belief our suggested educational program should be given priority over other considerations. If it were to be involved with a question of establishing a Public Relations Department, the resulting expense might well defeat both programs. This is not our desire. Therefore, even though no immediate steps may be taken to create a public relations program, we feel it would be well to include the Committee's views on the subject.

The abusive discourses being fed to a confused and gullible public by the bigoted dogmatists of press and radio, are distorting the vision of the public. The practice of crushing minorities by force is being revived while public opinion is kept in a state of apathy by these fanatics.

Not having money with which to utilize the irresistible economic power of advertising contracts, unions have no influence upon the editorial policies of the press and radio. The workers buy the papers, it is true, but this income is so small that if advertising is shut off, the paper folds up. The radio commentator knows that no union is going

to sponsor his program. He is well aware of the fact that some employer is his only hope.

The idea of crushing minorities by force is not new and not confined to the American Continent. A certain paperhanger and many others all through history have adopted it as the perfect formula for unity. But, regardless of how wrong it is, unions are now faced with a program of this nature and are confronted with a serious effort on the part of anti-union parties to put their program across.

Like other organizations, ours is being vilified by the false charges of union-haters and union-baiters. These people delight in picking out and emphasizing the faults of isolated unions. They endeavor to spread these faults like a blanket over every union in existence and to hide their motives under flag-waving claims of patriotism.

For many years our Organization has taken justifiable pride in the peaceful, harmonious relations that existed between it and management as a whole. Year after year, collective bargaining agreements were negotiated and renewed in an atmosphere of complete harmony. Harmony, however, isn't news. It is only when the pot boils over, when a situation (ofttimes provoked by management) creates a strike or lockout, that such topics hit the headlines. As far as we are concerned, it is the exception to the established rule that constitutes news. How well this story illustrates it:

John Smith resided on Main Street for over thirty years. For twenty-eight years he had been married and was recognized by his few friends and neighbors as a peaceful, quiet gentleman who followed a daily routine insofar as his goings and comings from work were concerned. In all those thirty years, with the exception of the evening his marriage license was published, his name had never appeared in the public press. He was just a plain, ordinary run-of-the-mill citizen. To the village reporter or city editor there was no news in John Smith.

Then one day, in a moment of passion, he struck his wife. He was arrested and immediately became a subject for the front page. Thus is news created.

Since our "no strike" pledge was given, our International Union has missed the front page because of the manner in which it has conducted its affairs with management. We do not desire a slugging match with anyone, merely to provide means whereby our activities can become news. To be sure, we have had our fights in the past. Since our entry into the war, however, we have kept our pledge to our governments, often in spite of the fact that a few employers who hate our Organization, precipitated trouble by taking advantage of our pledge.

Wherever the attitude of the employers permitted, our organizing campaigns have always been most peaceful. This resulted in establishing harmonious relations with manufacturers at the very start. We cannot now change habits or policies to win the headlines. We regret

to say these facts alone are undoubtedly responsible for our failure to be constantly before the public eye.

It is not our desire that the mistakes and the unpatriotic conduct of some unions be condoned. Let the guilty suffer any penalties they have rightfully earned. In penalizing the guilty, however, let us demand that the public not stigmatize the labor movement as a whole. If labor unions such as ours fail to take immediate action to combat this insidious propaganda and place the true facts about our records before our own membership and society as a whole, the crushing weight of these aspersions and slander will be hard to withstand.

We fully appreciate our proposed educational program imposes a tremendous task on the one who will direct it. Certainly we have set forth a substantial number of recommendations we would like to see put into effect. We feel, however, that some effort should be directed toward finding ways of establishing our union's rightful place in the public mind and in the public eye. If we permit these propagandists to continue unchallenged, not only the public mind but the minds of our members may be poisoned.

To carry on an intelligent public relations program requires methods by which our union and other unions can get the true facts concerning the labor movement before the public.

It is the Committee's thought that in the beginning, one man will be sufficient to carry out our recommendations with respect to a program of education. In time, the effectiveness of this program should be most apparent. Certainly we shall be in a position to determine costs. It is our sincere hope that in the future, additional personnel can be secured to supplement the activities of the Director, so as to put over an effective public relations program.

We recommend also, that at an early date our International Union, in the furtherance of education and public relations, will begin publication of a newspaper of some form, but without paid advertising. This paper could be devoted to news of general interest concerning union activities not published in the public press. In its columns might be offered news and statistics concerning the paper industry and other industries. This paper could be sent to the homes of all our members and would undoubtedly assist our portion of the labor world in attaining real knowledge of the truth.

True, a paper such as this might have but little influence on the general public. It would serve, however, to counteract and destroy unwarranted suspicions we know are currently being built up in the minds of our members, thereby creating unrest and dissatisfaction. Such a paper would enable us to publish much more material than space in our Journal permits. Even though this publication went to press but once a month, we sincerely feel it would serve its purpose and be very worthwhile.

Any problem concerning public relations and any program pro-

posed as a solution of the problem, naturally, involves the question as to how we can reach our French-speaking members in the Province of Quebec. Many of these members cannot read or speak English. The influences they must combat are principally local and confined to the province in which they live. Racial and religious issues are involved which are not applicable to or of interest to the members in other portions of the Continent.

We must conclude with a thought that serious consideration must be given any program of public relations we might adopt, to the end that our French-speaking members in the Province of Quebec will receive equal consideration. It is our opinion that when the opportune moment arrives to formulate more clearly a program of public relations, arrangements can be made to care for our French-speaking members through our Montreal office.

PAPER MAKERS' CREED

EACH MEMBER of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers subscribed to a solemn pledge at the time he was initiated. Each member at that time held up his right hand and swore, among other things:

"I will not wrong a member or see him or her wronged if in my power to prevent."

To this and the other provisions in his obligation, he added these words:

"To all of which I pledge my most sacred honor."

Are there members of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers to whom sacred honor means little or nothing? There are. On this too, our Organization does not have a monopoly. Evidence indicates a substantial number of our members have forgotten this obligation in whole or in part. There are some who would ruthlessly use fair means or foul to gain advantages for themselves.

We believe there is nothing inherently wrong with any of our members, but that as human beings they become so engrossed in their own welfare they at times neglect to give proper consideration to the rights of their union brothers.

Unless we become cynical and lose our faith in humanity, we must assume that there is good in all men, and that these qualities can be brought to the surface. We believe this can be done and should be done.

We suggest that the Executive Board institute some plan to draw up a code of honor, a system of principles or rules of ethics, for the guidance of our members. Such a code of honor could be entitled the "*Paper Makers' Creed*," and when completed, it should be given the widest possible publicity among the membership.

The Committee attempted to draw up a "Paper Makers' Creed" to propose in this report. It was our first intention to cover only the part of the obligation mentioned above. After a great deal of thought, we reached the following conclusions:

1. The Creed should include all parts of the obligation, if possible.
2. It should be short and compact enough to be carried in the member's pocket.
3. All members everywhere should be encouraged to participate (possibly through a contest) in the writing of the Creed to get the best possible ideas into it.

As has been stated, the Committee drew up a rough draft of a proposal pertaining to the section which says, "I will not wrong a member or see him or her wronged if in my power to prevent." We are inserting below, this rough draft. No attempt has been made to condense or revise this. We realize that in its present form it is entirely too long and does not cover other important sections of the obligation. For the sake of provoking some thought as to the meaning of the section quoted, however, we submit the following:

I will not speak ill of a fellow member concerning his character or that of any member of his family.

I realize he or she has the same problems in the struggle to live that I have; sickness in the family, financial difficulties, family worries.

I realize that he or she is subject to the same weaknesses inherent to human nature. I realize that he or she is subject to the same temptations as I.

I realize that life is a game, that I am a competitor of my brother and sister members; competitor for recognition, for promotion, for production and efficiency. I realize that there are rules for every game, the game of life as well as sports.

I realize that all game rules are based on a sporting attitude; *i.e.*, no unfair advantages for anybody, giving to the other fellow the same privileges and advantages as I expect for myself.

I agree that I should help those of my fellow members who may be unable to compete in the game with the same vigor as I.

I agree that I should not knowingly place him or her at a disadvantage to gain advantage for myself.

I agree to give to my fellow members all the advantages to which he or she is entitled, and that I will adopt the sportsmanship attitude toward his or her earned advantages.

I agree not to be greedy or selfish, not to take advantage of opportunities to boost my own standing or reputation at the expense of a fellow member.

I will say no ill of a fellow member to a foreman or superintendent that I would not repeat to the fellow member concerned.

I will not spread rumors concerning a fellow member, nor will I condemn a fellow member or official of my union because of rumors.

I will not attack the honesty or integrity of a member or officer except through the proper channels set up under our laws.

I will not discriminate against a fellow member because of his religious beliefs or his nationality.

I will do my best to protect the principle freedoms, freedom of speech and thought, freedom of worship, to the advantage of my fellow members as well as to myself.

I believe jealousy, envy and base suspicions of others are unbecoming to a good union member.

In other words: I believe in the Golden Rule—"I will do unto others as I would have others do unto me."

POSTWAR PLANNING

PROGRAMS OF INSTRUCTION AND EDUCATION must be carried over into the postwar period. The reconversion of industry from wartime to peacetime operations will raise many problems and create more confusion. All our members must be kept abreast of the times.

Our industry cannot escape some of the inevitable consequences of this reconversion. While it may be comparatively simple for a paper machine to cease making paper for wrapping airplane parts and begin running paper for wrapping automobile parts, the plants so engaged may require weeks, possibly months, for reconversion.

Uses of paper, both old and new, will have to be encouraged. After years of effort on the part of the manufacturers to educate the consumer in the many uses of paper, the war has made it necessary to teach the consumer how *not* to use paper. The promotion plans which have cost millions of dollars must be repeated.

Out of the war will come many new uses of paper. Many of these will experience rapid development in the postwar period, while others will be retarded for various reasons. Costs, manufacturing problems, competition, will all be factors with which the industry must deal. For instance, plastics may become a competitor of ours on one side, while on the other side we may make a bid for business of other industries such as glass. Already, some are attempting by sheer force to hold back new ideas and new products. Witness the cities which have adopted laws prohibiting the delivery of milk in paperboard bottles.

Any attempt to retard progress will have no more effect than would an attempt to halt time by stopping the hands of the clock. Creative genius will not be denied. Its progress may be temporarily circumvented, but it is both unyielding and ruthless with those who

would stand in the way. Therefore, we must go along. We must keep in constant touch with the times and with our industry. We must move forward with it. Our Organization must become an integral part of the industry, assuming our proper place in the constant search for solutions of its many problems.

Everyone must agree that our earnings will be affected by the change back to a peacetime economy. With the return of peace, millions now in service will be coming back to former jobs. Other millions now in strictly war industries will be on the streets, looking for jobs. Hours will be shortened, overtime will be cut almost to the vanishing point.

If the Committee were to be called upon to offer a suggestion to our members in regard to present and postwar earnings, it would be the following:

1. Get completely free of all indebtedness and other financial obligations.
2. Avoid all spending for things which we merely "want," buying only things for which there is a definite need.
3. Put every dime possible into War Bonds or other form of savings.

In connection with Number 3, we pass on a suggestion given us. It was suggested that our people buy War Bonds with all overtime earnings, confining our standard of living to the earnings for a forty-hour week. Such a program would be hard to fulfill, and would call for sacrifices on the part of many of our members because of the high cost of living and the additional taxes we must pay.

No matter how painful this program might be, considerable thought should be given to the status of the individual who at the war's end, has no financial reserve. We must recognize the fact war came to us very suddenly. It is not beyond the realm of imagination to state it can end just as abruptly. A sudden ending of the war may force upon us abrupt reductions in weekly earnings. With no financial reserve to cushion this shock, our members may be in difficulties.

In addition to all other possibilities, there is always with us the possibility of being forced to submit to a cut in wage rates. Following the last war, our membership dropped to a low level, and wages and working conditions suffered to a corresponding degree. Our International Union and representatives are working now as never before, trying to organize the unorganized mills, standardizing their wage rates on a competitive basis and, in general, working toward the prevention of the first break in the wage structure after the close of the war.

Raids of rival unions struggling for power, indifference or neglect of our members to keep their local unions functioning smoothly so as

to have a good, solid organization ready when it is really needed, "trouble shooting," all require attention from the International representative which could more profitably be devoted to organizing unorganized mills and to postwar planning.

Many employers whom the Committee met were concerned about postwar wages. They expressed emphatic opposition to any reduction in wage rates. They desire to hold the rates on the highest possible level, not permitting a downward slump to occur. This may be rather difficult to do, especially if we are faced with cut-throat foreign competition, or if the nonunion mills put reductions into effect. The best answer to these problems is in the improved efficiency of our union mills.

We must work very closely with management in trying to lower production costs. Everything possible must be done to cut to a minimum the per ton cost of our product. On the other hand, to do this effectively, management must work more closely with its employees. They must be given more concrete information on the problems of management and more responsibility in connection with them. Management must cease assuming a mysterious air about its financial affairs, and talk cold facts for a change.

Some companies still carefully erase prices from machine orders before letting them out of the office. They are very secretive and evasive on all questions of costs. They give their employees no information whatever. They are deeply hurt and offended, however, if their assertions regarding the financial affairs of the company are questioned. The local union leaders must have something more than a belief in the honesty of the mill manager if they are to lead their locals in the right direction. Given concrete facts, the local unions will by a process of elimination, if by no other method, develop local union leaders who are capable of intelligently analyzing and passing on this information to the membership.

During the troubled months and years to come, we must continue our efforts to develop leaders in the International Union and the local unions who are of high intelligence; leaders with vision, imagination, integrity and courage.

Our leaders must have vision and imagination to plan sound policies for the future. They must have courage to carry them through to a successful conclusion, regardless of temporary set-backs and minor failures.

They must inspire our Organization as a whole with the courage and integrity to follow principles of right and justice insofar as we are able to determine them, refusing to give way to radical and unsound groups for the sake of expediency. We must preserve our democratic procedure not alone in our union, but must defend and protect it in our government against those elements which seek to destroy it or pervert it to their own selfish interests.

As a part of industry, we shall be partially responsible for the fate of democracy. We find on one side a group of radicals striving for control of this country. On the other side, we have a group of reactionaries striving equally hard for control. Both groups are doing everything in their power to gain this control and if either succeeds the results may lead to the crushing of the vanquished by the power and force of the victor, thus completing the destruction of democracy.

Employers and employees comprise a majority of the total population of our countries. The future of our democracies rests to a great extent upon the shoulders of these two groups. If the employers and the employees can and will work together, if they can and will settle their own differences and keep the wheels of industry running smoothly, they will have a steadying influence upon the balance of the population.

If they are able to do this, neither the radicals nor the reactionaries, nor any other group will be able to gain control.

If the employees and employers are not willing and able to sit down to work out plans, not solely for their own selfish interests, but for the benefit of the country as a whole, both will suffer. If we are not able to regulate ourselves and our industries, peacefully and intelligently, then we are certain to have regulations imposed upon us by bureaucratic dreamers who will give us little consideration.

SUMMARY

A FEW YEARS AGO, a certain paper mill suddenly closed down for an indefinite period. Shortly thereafter rumors began spreading to the effect that if the employees would dissolve their union, the mill would start up. The employees did this and in a few weeks, sure enough, the mill resumed operations. After running two months, it shut down again. Then rumors began that the mill would again start up if the union were revived. So, a movement was initiated to revive the local union. Shortly after the first union meeting, at which several employees joined the union, the mill again started production. The other employees promptly forgot about the union.

Several months went by. Then, one day a representative of the Paper Makers, working under orders from the International Union, came to town and picked up the charter. He visited the four remaining members and suggested to them that they transfer their membership to Headquarters. The representative also talked with many other employees, as well as with a large number of civic and business leaders not connected with the mill. He told all these what he had done, and suggested to them that if anything should happen in regard to operations it could not be attributed to the union, as there was no longer any union there.

Three weeks later, the mill shut down again!!! The rumor-

mongers were stumped. They had no scapegoat upon which to place the blame. The townspeople were forced to find some solution other than the dissolution of the union. Many employees and businessmen, some of whom had at one time formed a "committee" to chase the organizer out of town, now wrote letters to the International Union to ask that someone be sent to reorganize the union and "start the mill up again." It still had not occurred to these people that economics alone, and not the union or even the company, determined when and for how long the mill would operate.

This incident serves but to illustrate how the minds of men function. When things are not just right human beings are dissatisfied; and when they are dissatisfied, they seek some kind of change. There is unrest because something is wrong, although they know not what. National and International economics are difficult to understand. They are beyond the horizon of our vision. So, when things begin to go wrong we set out to make changes in things we can see, things over which we do have some measure of control.

Usually, the whole question is too big for us. The changes we bring about make no improvement whatever; in fact, oftentimes we only make matters worse by focusing attention on the wrong answer to the problem, rather than leave everyone free to search for the right solution. In the foregoing sections of this report we have shown that many of our members are dissatisfied, but in many instances they are diametrically opposed in their beliefs as to the causes. They are simply confused and are groping for a solution.

It is a difficult job for the union member to follow a sound course in his thinking. Employers, rival organizations, public hysteria and other factors, distract his attention and impair his capacity to view things in their true relations or relative importance.

He realizes employers as a group have not devoted enough attention to industrial relations. The superintendents and foremen are not properly schooled in the delicate art of handling and supervising human beings; the union member works *for*, not *with*, the superintendent. He knows the employer at times takes advantage of the union's no-strike pledge; the employer hides behind his own vague interpretations of government orders and laws, to force upon the employees ideas he would not dare to mention in normal times.

War Manpower Commission "job freeze" orders; favoritism in handling of deferment requests; increased work without increased pay; employers agreeing to increased pay, then moving Heaven and earth to prevent the War Labor Board approving it;—all these are some of the things which contribute to the employee's feeling of frustration and resentment.

Rival unions step into the picture. They paint rosy pictures of colorful promises. They tell him his union is no good; the company is no good; everyone is no good. They preach a doctrine of hate, inflame

passions of resentment against everyone outside their own little group.

The public has a bad case of jitters. Its thinking is governed by the psychology of the mob, by emotions rather than by calm reasoning. Politicians search for and go along with what they believe to be the largest crowd, with complete indifference as to where the crowd is going. Fear and suspicion of one member or one union has caused some normally sober-minded people to become intolerant of all unions. If one apple is bad, they would cut down the tree; if bad apples are found on several trees, they would destroy the orchard.

The union member encounters such things as those above every day. He is continually harassed. Someone is always trying to "push him around." His natural reaction is a legacy from his ancestors—to fight back. He knows that to fight back only makes the situation even worse, but the bitterness in his heart is at times irresistible.

Our International Headquarters must work with the local unions and the members closer now than ever before. A constant flow of information and advice must go to them. They must be kept up to date on all matters affecting them and their unions. The Journal, a newspaper, pamphlets, and other mediums could be used to good advantage in this respect.

New field men have been hired, and no doubt still others will be added to the staff. For these positions a high degree of skill is required. They must have many good characteristics, and must have a working knowledge of a tremendously large number of subjects. A great deal of money will have to be spent to train and educate them in order to keep errors and mistakes at a minimum.

The local unions also will have to take more interest in their union affairs if the union is to survive. Their officers must be carefully chosen, and the local unions will be compelled to invest a substantial sum of money in the training of officers, if the locals are to function at the peak of efficiency.

Indifference of the members, lack of attendance at meetings and similar problems must be squarely faced. The locals should be encouraged to improve their methods of handling grievances so that all complaints will be speedily and effectively adjudicated. Each local union should be impressed with the importance of discipline within its own ranks and the absolute necessity of equal treatment for all members.

We are only a small part of our national economy. Sure, we make paper, and we are entitled to consideration, but someone else makes our clothes, builds our homes, provides our food, supplies the thousand and one other things which contribute to the comfort and enjoyment of our existence. The fact that we who make paper are a necessary part of community life imposes upon us a share of the responsibility for maintaining that community life on a sound basis.

An Education Department is needed to help get across to the mem-

bers an expanded philosophy, one that appreciates the interrelation and interdependence of the many groups and classes of which national and world society is composed. Our people must be inspired to look beyond their own immediate desires.

In aviation, the pilot who keeps his eyes on the horizon, will lose altitude and may eventually crash. Through mechanical instruments and training, pilots are taught to look above and beyond the horizon.

In unions, the individual member who never looks beyond the horizon of payday, will lose altitude in his thinking. The local or International Union which confines its thoughts and deeds within a narrow, tight circle, never attempting to look above and beyond its own selfish interests, will most certainly lose altitude in its strength, and may eventually crash. True, for a time it may by sheer power, accelerate its speed and create more power for itself. So does the plane diving to its doom, and the resulting crash is that much more terrific.

We must broaden the scope of our activities. We must work for the common good of all the people. The time now has come when we must have proper consideration for the welfare of others. If the interests of the nation as a whole are promoted, we shall benefit from the general advancement of civilization.

Labor unions have a definite responsibility for the future welfare of democratic society. We cannot pass the buck to others. We have always been selfish in our interests as a class. We have always sought power without assuming responsibility. Now that we have power, we must assume the responsibility of underwriting that power—guaranteeing to the public that this power shall be used wisely, and that we as an Organization will be an asset, not a liability to society.

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