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**CAPITAL'S DUTY TO THE
WAGE-EARNER**

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TO
THE WAGE-EARNER

**A MANUAL OF PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE ON
HANDLING THE HUMAN FACTORS IN INDUSTRY**

BY
JOHN CALDER

**MEM. AM. SOC. M.E. MEM. SOC. INDUSTRIAL ENGINEERS
CONSULTING ENGINEER
EDITOR OF "MODERN PRODUCTION METHODS"
AUTHOR OF "PREVENTION OF FACTORY ACCIDENTS," ETC.**

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MADE IN THE UNITED STATES

TO
HAROLD H. SWIFT

PREFACE

This book is a study of the major industrial problems based upon a continuous experience in industry extending over nearly forty years. It is a manual of principles and practice for employers and executives and for teachers and students of management and the public on the handling of the human factors in industry, to which much intelligent attention must be given henceforth. It appeals to the able organizers of our present material prosperity, to the financial supporters of industry, and to the employers of the United States, their executives of every rank, and those fitting themselves for management and social service to glimpse a worthier capitalism and to substitute statesmanship for skilful opportunism, economic strategy and militancy. It advocates the adoption of a true philosophy of labor relations and of a practice according with fact and with science which will be creditable to the genius and opportunities of the American people.

Justifiable intervention by government in disputes arising in the few essential and vital industrial services affected with a great public interest will not "solve" the labor relations of the private industrial and business enterprises — employing 37,000,000 unorganized people — which afford a living to nine-tenths of those gainfully employed in the United States. The labor problem, in fact, cannot be "solved"; it is a constantly changing complex of fact and of feeling which must be systematically studied and handled in the interests of society or "all-of-us," not any one section.

"There was a door to which I found no key," sang Omar. May it not be that the door has no key because it has no

lock; that all we have to do is to "open the door" and "keep it open"? Do not men make mysteries of matters that might yield to experimentation? Science wages a relentless war on mystery; she'll none of it. It is to her a perpetual challenge. Either she knows or she does not know and goes after the needful facts and then organizes them. Shall labor "push open" or capital "pull open" the lockless door which is so often held closed between them or shall both act simultaneously and co-operatively to open it, and keep it open, and, "within the law," to restrain the unruly and unsocial on either side of it without descending to the level of prosecuting or persecuting opinion?

Future administrators of labor must know both "why" and "how" and possess the ability to execute wise policies — a faculty not too plentiful, and makers of public opinion must inform their pronouncements about industry with a fuller and truer apperception. Only thus shall we be delivered from legislation and social action by "interests"; from "blocs" and their inevitable blockades. The author believes that if capital and industrial management will conscientiously separate in their own minds and in their agents' and the workers' minds, fact from fancy in regard to labor problems, we shall attain the mutual understanding which is now lacking; secure as fair a measure of reconciliation of interests and wishes as is possible and desirable in a progressive democracy, and maintain at the same time an entirely open-mind as to what may follow in the social and industrial evolution.

The united professional engineering societies — headed by Mr. Herbert Hoover — whose members furnish a large part of the managing talent in industry — have spoken with no uncertain voice on the waste which poor policy and inadequate ideals and practice in business cause of men and things and ideas. It is capitalism's move. The result is not "in the lap of the gods" as some claim or in the power of any

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section of government or "labor." It is mainly in the hands of those who decide what shall be done with the instruments of production. Many of the officers who carry out these decisions are already seeking "a way out" and need further education and support. With their foremen and most of the workers, they await from capital "the new word." This book is an attempt to outline what that "word" should be and to interpret it in the practical terms needed in industrial relations.

JOHN CALDER

Lexington, Mass.

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mediately after the first election but shall be eligible for renomination and re-election.

14. The provision in Section 13 shall apply only at the end of the first six months of the existence of the Assembly and is adopted in order to provide that at least half of the Employees' Representatives in the Assembly will always consist of members who have had previous experience in the work.

15. After the first election the Voting Divisions which retire their Representatives by lot in December shall continue to hold their elections annually in the first week of December, and the remaining half of the Voting Divisions shall hold their annual elections in the first week of June.

ARTICLE V

Appointment of and Changes in Management Representatives

Upon the election of Employee Representatives the Management will announce the appointment of the Management Representatives in the Assembly, whose number shall be the same as the number of Employees' Representatives. They may be chosen from any section of the Plant or Office help which has supervisory duties, and they may be changed or have vacancies filled at the discretion of the Management.

ARTICLE VI

Vacancies in Employees' Assembly Representatives

1. If any Employees' Representative leaves the service of the Plant or becomes ineligible for any of the reasons stated in ARTICLE III or is recalled by his Voting Division, as provided in ARTICLE VII, or is absent from five consecutive meetings of the Assembly without such absence being excused by the Assembly, his membership therein shall immediately cease.

2. All vacancies among the Employees' Representatives shall be promptly filled by special nomination and election conducted under the direction of the Assembly in the same manner as regular nominations and elections.

ular pay from their Employer for such time as they are actually and necessarily absent from work on this account.

3. The Assembly may prepare and distribute to the employees copies of its proceedings, and the expense thereof shall be borne by the Employer.

4. The Rules governing this Plan may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the Assembly and the approval of the Management, provided notice of such proposed amendment having been given at a previous meeting held not less than four weeks nor more than six weeks before amendment is voted upon.

ARTICLE IX

Committees of the Assembly — Their Organization and Powers

1. There shall be three Standing Committees of the Assembly:

- (a) On Assembly Procedure and Elections.
- (b) On Interpretations and for Adjustment of Disputed Plant Rulings.
- (c) On Changes in Working Conditions.

The Assembly may appoint such additional Committees, temporary or permanent, as it may deem necessary.

2. Each Assembly Committee shall consist of equal numbers of employees' and Management Representatives holding office for six months but eligible for reappointment.

3. Each Committee shall elect from its members a Chairman and Secretary who shall be allowed to vote and speak at all meetings.

4. Each Committee shall develop its own Rules and Procedure provided they are consistent with the general Rules of the Plan herein provided, but no vote shall be taken unless equal numbers of each class of Representatives are present.

5. The Assembly shall have power to recall any Committee member by a two-thirds vote.

6. All action by a Committee shall be based upon the unanimous vote of those present. Upon failure of a Committee to agree on any matter referred to it, the Secretary of the Committee shall prepare full statement of the facts and shall send it to the Secretary of the Assembly for review and decision.

Representatives concerning the mutual interests of employes and management, and the Assembly and its Committees may call for any desired information or evidence.

5. The Assembly may include in such matters all cases, references or appeals relating to wages, hours, safety, buildings, plant equipment, sanitation, restaurants, dressing rooms, and like matters.

6. When any decision of the Assembly, calling for action, obtains a two-thirds vote it shall be filed with the Management and shall have a binding effect upon both Employer and Employee, unless within fourteen days the Board of Directors of the Company or the Employees' Representatives request the Assembly to reopen the matter for further consideration.

7. When after such reconsideration in the Assembly it is deemed impossible to arrive at a collective agreement by joint conference on any one issue, the management and the employes are at liberty to take such action outside of the Plan as they may think desirable. But such action will not of itself terminate the general use of the Plan, which shall continue in full force so long as it is desired by Employer and Employee.

8. A majority of the Employees' Representatives, together with a majority of the Management Representatives, shall constitute a quorum; but at all meetings the voting power of the two shall be equal, and the Chairman of the Assembly shall see that the balance prescribed is maintained.

9. The Assembly shall hold regular meetings at times fixed by it. Special meetings may be called on the authority of the Chairman, who will give three days written notice of the same. A special meeting shall be called by the Chairman when requested in writing by any three members of the Assembly.

10. The Company shall provide at its expense suitable meeting places for the Assembly, its Committees and sub-committees.

11. Employees serving as members of the Assembly shall receive their regular pay from their Employer during such absence from work as this service actually requires.

12. Employees attending any meeting at the request of the Assembly or of any of its Committees or Sub-committees shall receive their

a decision to the Committee on Plant Rulings for their Section of the Plant, and failing a unanimous decision by the Sub-Committee, the case shall go to the Main Committee on Disputed Plant Rulings. A unanimous decision, if unanimous, shall be final; otherwise, the matter shall go to the Assembly for its action.

COMMITTEE ON CHANGES IN WORKING CONDITIONS.

1. After the regular plant authorities have been first approached, proposals to make any change in existing working conditions in the Plant, such as wages, hours, safety, sanitation, or involving buildings, equipment, facilities, or other conditions of interest to employees, shall be raised in the Assembly and shall then be referred to this Committee, and it shall be the duty of this Committee to investigate, discuss, and make recommendations on such matters as involve policies or plans affecting future working arrangements; but the Committee shall in no case pass upon individual cases or make binding decisions.

2. The Committee shall submit all of its recommendations and reports on its investigations to the Assembly for further discussion and for its approval or rejection, and it may have the subject referred to it at the discretion of the Assembly.

ARTICLE XI

Procedure for First Nominations and First Elections

1. In order to provide for first elections of Representatives the President of the Company shall appoint three Representatives of the Management, and the Plant Superintendent shall appoint three Representatives of the Employees to serve on a temporary Joint Committee for the above purpose. This Committee shall exercise all the powers and perform all the duties of the Standing Committee on Procedure and Elections until that Committee is appointed at the first meeting of the Assembly.

2. All Voting Divisions of the Plant shall hold the first election on a date to be selected and shall at that time elect the full number of Representatives provided for.

ARTICLE X

Rules for Using the Committees

A. COMMITTEE ON ASSEMBLY PROCEDURE AND ELECTIONS.

1. After the first nominations and elections herein otherwise provided for, the Standing Committee of the Assembly on Procedure and Elections shall handle all such matters, viz.: arranging details of nominations, supervising elections, providing tellers and certifying successful candidates to the Assembly and to the Management.

2. All questions of Procedure or Plan of Action not specifically outlined in these Rules shall be referred to this Committee for ruling and advice.

3. All complaints against Assembly members or Committee members, as such, shall be referred to this Committee for consideration, or the Committee may, on its own initiative, investigate and report to the Assembly.

B. COMMITTEE ON INTERPRETATIONS AND FOR ADJUSTMENT OF DISPUTED PLANT RULINGS.

1. The course to be followed in the settlement of any employee's complaint or that of any group of employees for which this Committee exists, shall be as follows:

In no case shall the Committee act until the regular plant authorities have been given an opportunity by the aggrieved party or parties to hear and adjust the issue.

2. Where satisfaction is not obtained through the regular plant authorities, the employe or employes concerned may take the matter up with their elected Voting Division Representative who shall consult with the appointed Management Representative for the Division, and these, though without power to render a decision at this stage, shall together seek to effect a settlement by mutual agreement of the parties.

3. Failing a settlement by mutual agreement at the first stage the joint Representatives for the Division concerned shall send the case

APPENDIX II

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1. Employees' Representatives selected by their side of the Assembly and two Management Representatives similarly selected, from the Assembly of each Plant involved, and these shall constitute a temporary General Assembly for consideration of the matter or matters in arrival at a decision in Joint Conference.

2. The Chairman of a General Assembly shall be the President of the Company or an officer of the company designated by him. The General Assembly shall develop its own Rules and Procedure, and it shall have all the privileges of a Plant Assembly in calling for information and evidence and in making investigations.

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3. The results shall be reported in writing by the temporary Joint Committee on Rules, Procedure and Elections to the Secretary of the Assembly meeting at which the report is adopted.

4. The purpose of this additional Section on Procedure is to adapt the provisions heretofore given in this Plan to the circumstances which attend the first election only.

ARTICLE XII

Independence of Action

Neither the Company nor the Employees shall discriminate against any Representative on account of any position taken in the free exercise of his own convictions while discharging his duties as such Representative.

ARTICLE XIII

No Discrimination

No favor or prejudice may be shown either by the Company or by the employes towards any employe in the matter of voting or in any other matter by reason of the employe's race, religious creed, political belief, membership or non-membership in any labor union or other organization.

ARTICLE XIV

Observance of Labor Laws

There shall be on the part of the Company and on the part of the Employees strict observance of the Federal and State Laws respecting Labor.

ARTICLE XV

General Assembly

1. When any matter is under consideration by a Plant Assembly or by Plant Assemblies which jointly concerns a number of the plants of the Company, the President may, at his discretion, call to Chicago or such other center as is deemed best, at the expense of the Company,

asking the Chairman of your Assembly for a copy of the Plan. Read it carefully. Then ask him for a copy of the Questions and Answers on the Plan. In this little pamphlet you will find the answers to most of the questions which will arise. If there are still things about the operation of the Plan which are not clear to you, ask the Chairman to explain them.

To Know the Feelings and Opinions of Those Whom You Represent.

As an employe you yourself have ideas and convictions. But you are more than an employe now; you are a Representative. This means that you must be prepared to say what others think. They have elected you to be their mouthpiece. You can only perform this service for them in case you know what their views are. Remember that those in your Voting Division who differ with your opinion are as much entitled to have their ideas considered as those who agree with you. You are the representative of them all. Get around among them whenever you can. Don't wait for them to come to you. There are many who will not express themselves unless you break the ice and encourage them to do so. Get started right and make it your business to get acquainted as widely as possible. Make it *easy* for everyone to find you and talk with you. Finally, if your work makes it impossible for you to get enough time to circulate among your fellow employes, go to your department head and ask him to help you find a way. You will find him interested in making it possible for you to get close to your people.

To See That Every Man Who Has a Grievance Gets a Hearing.

This is his right under the Plan. There is not much danger of your neglecting his case if you feel strongly that he is right. But suppose you are not convinced that he has a case or even feel sure that he is wrong? You are likely to take less interest unless you keep clearly in mind that you are his representative and are in duty bound to do the same by him as you would by anyone else. Don't be afraid, just because his position seems to you to be unreasonable, that you will get in bad by insisting that he get a full hearing. It is always your right to say that you disagree if you want to do so, but it is his right to insist that you present his views no matter how they seem to you.

APPENDIX

III

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE AN EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATIVE

You have been elected to represent the employes of the Company in one of the Voting Divisions of the plant in which you work. To have been so chosen by your fellow workers is an honor of which you may well be proud. It should mean something to you to know that their confidence in your judgment and fairness has led them to select you from all those in your Division to speak for them in the councils of the Assembly. But if their choice has brought you honor it has also placed upon you a new responsibility. You will be a *good* representative only in case you use intelligently and faithfully every means in your power to discharge your obligations to the best of your ability. The employes look to you to protect their interests and expect you to see that their ideas and opinions are given due weight; yet at the same time you should be careful not to embarrass both the Assembly and the Management by exceeding your authority or by creating false expectations in the minds of the employes and raising unnecessary issues. To accomplish this is no easy task. It requires first of all a clear understanding of your duties and privileges under the Plan of Employees' Representation. The most important of these are as follows:—

1. *To Understand the Plan.*

How is the Assembly composed? What are the various committees? Who are the other representatives? How are decisions reached? How should you go about getting a hearing? All these and many other matters must be understood by you before you can even start to serve successfully those whom you represent. Begin by

r committee works is that its decisions are only effective in case y are unanimous.

Now, people do not usually think alike on any subject when they begin to talk about it. If they did, there would never be any disagreements or disputes to be settled. As a rule their opinions differ partly because they do not all have the same knowledge of the facts and partly because we all see things from a different point of view. If an agreement is to be reached, it must be brought about by a painstaking effort to get at all the facts, followed by a frank expression of the way these facts appeal to everybody. You must be prepared, then, to tell what you know, to say what you think, and to mention all you can from the facts and views brought out by others. You will expect your opinions to be considered seriously by them. You must therefore show the same willingness to weigh carefully the ideas which they advance. Only by approaching all questions with an open mind can you form judgments that will be fair.

No matter on what committee you are first placed you may be transferred to either or both of the others before your term of service as a representative is completed. Consequently it is well for you to understand something about the nature of the work and the method and procedure of each of them.

The first committee is the one on Rules and Procedure. It has charge of all nominations and elections and may have referred to it any questions relating to the way matters are to be handled by the Assembly, especially when anything arises which is not provided for in the Plan or when the meaning of the Plan is not clear. It is evident that you cannot give acceptable service on this committee unless you are thoroughly posted on what the Plan says. For example, every time an election is held, questions arise regarding who are eligible to vote or to hold office. Usually those questions are not difficult to answer, but sometimes an exceptional case occurs where the opposite is true. It is your business, therefore, to be familiar with those sections of the Plan that cover such points and, in fact, with all sections that explain how the Plan operates.

The second committee handles all cases where a dispute arises over the ruling on the plant. It is this committee which is charged with the duty of seeing to it that everyone gets a square deal in the ordinary everyday relations between employes and their foremen. It

4. *To See That Every Case Which Is Started By You Is Carried Through to a Speedy Conclusion.*

Nothing is more unsatisfactory than to have a matter drag along without a decision or even be forgotten. The employe whose case you are handling is interested, perhaps even anxious. He wants to know *quickly* what the final result is going to be. It is your duty to keep his case moving as rapidly as possible. If delay is really necessary, as may sometimes happen, be sure to explain to him *why* it is necessary and let him see that you are not neglecting his interests.

These four things, then, are the foundation of success as an Employe Representative. Keep them clearly in mind from the start. It will take some time and effort on your part, but if you thoroughly understand the Plan, know the ideas and opinions of the voters in your Division, see to it energetically that all matters in which they are interested are brought up in the proper way for consideration, and carry them through to a *prompt* conclusion, you will both help the Plan to succeed and also win the confidence and approval of those who placed you in this position to act for them.

HOW AN EMPLOYE REPRESENTATIVE SERVES ON A COMMITTEE

One of your chief duties as a representative will be to serve on one of the three standing committees of the Assembly. To do this well you must understand how these committees are composed and the nature of the work which they have to do.

The Assembly decides upon which committee you shall serve. If you prefer to act upon a different committee from the one to which you are assigned, you may ask to be transferred. It then lies with the Assembly to act upon your request favorably or unfavorably as it sees fit. Naturally the Assembly will desire to have on each committee those who are specially interested in its work.

When this matter has been settled you will find yourself on a committee which is composed of a certain number of employe representatives and the same number of representatives appointed by the management. The first point for you to understand about the way

HOW AN EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATIVE HANDLES
A GRIEVANCE

Let us assume that an employe in your Voting Division by the name of Tom Brown, has been accused, perhaps on hearsay or suspicion merely, of some serious fault and discharged by his foreman. Tom claims that he is innocent, that he is the victim of a frame-up on the part of his fellow-workers, and that his foreman acted unfairly and without sufficient consideration of the evidence in discharging him. Of course he is sore clear through and so are his friends. The case comes to your attention because you are the employe representative from Tom's Voting Division on the plant. It is your business to take it up and see that there is a square deal all around. How shall you proceed? Whom must you see? What are the steps to be followed and in what order? When must you act? These are the questions which you are going to have to answer frequently while you are a representative. If you are slow or uncertain or make a wrong move altogether, the case will not receive the proper consideration and a great injustice may be done. Then a lot of people will hear and call attention to the failure of the Employees' Representation Plan to work. But the *real* fault will not be with the Plan but with *you*. So let us study this case from several angles and thus learn something of how you should discharge your duty in such instances.

To begin with, there are two ways in which you may get your first knowledge of the case. Tom Brown, either of his own accord or upon the advice of others, may come to you, tell you what has happened, and ask you to act for him. But this does not always happen. He may not have much faith in the Plan or in what you can do for him. He may be backward about approaching you. Maybe he does not know where to find you. He may have left the plant. Do any of these facts relieve you from the necessity of taking up his case? Not at all. When the news of his trouble has reached you and you have reason to believe that Tom is not satisfied that he is being treated fairly, it is your business to *offer* your services to him. The purpose of the Employees' Representation Plan is to bring about a satisfactory adjustment whenever and wherever a feeling exists that injustice has been

handles all individual cases of grievances that have not been satisfactorily settled by mutual agreement between the parties concerned. Whenever it is called into action it is because some employe feels that he is not being fairly treated, and it is the business of the committee to see that real justice is obtained and if the ruling is against the employe, to make him see for himself, if possible, where he was wrong.

If you are on this committee you are going to get into very close touch with the little — and sometimes big — problems of everyday living that naturally arise whenever any great number of people associate in work all day long, week in and week out. Sometimes real injustices occur. Very often they are only imaginary. It is your business to decide what is right in each instance after you have heard all the evidence. If you want to be fair, you must not be influenced by friendship or hostility toward either of the parties involved in the dispute. You must not be governed in your convictions by any consideration other than the desire to give a square deal to everybody.

The third committee is the one on Changes in Working Conditions. It does not handle individual cases of any kind but is concerned with the consideration of proposals to change existing working conditions such as wages, hours, safety, sanitation, or involving buildings, equipment, lunchrooms, dressing rooms, or any other matters affecting the interests of employes in their daily work. It is not the business of this committee to initiate new ideas but to pass upon proposals that have been referred to it by the Assembly. In other words, the only business which comes before the Committee on Changes in Working Conditions is that which the full Assembly hands over to it for special investigation and study. When such an investigation has been completed the committee reports its findings back to the Assembly for such action as may seem best. Its decisions are therefore never binding. They have, however, a powerful influence in helping the Assembly to reach a final conclusion.

In view of what has been said about the work of the three committees, you will see that the qualities most needed for successful service on them are, for the first one, ability to understand the details of the Plan and a good memory; for the second, an open mind and a keen sense of fairness; for the third, intelligent reasoning powers and good judgment. All of them require strict honesty and consideration for the rights of others, for without these it is useless to attempt to reach agreements that will be fair to all concerned.

ever, they cannot unanimously agree one way or the other, the case is not ended but must go to the full Committee No. 2. If there is a second hearing is held, just like the first one. If a unanimous agreement cannot be reached, the case is now taken before the full Assembly where Tom, as the complaining party, must secure a two-thirds vote in his favor or else his case is definitely lost. There will be no further appeal.

The point where you are most likely to fail in your duty is when you, your management representative, Tom, and the foreman first meet together on the case. If the evidence seems strong against Tom, the tendency is to let the case drop. This is all wrong and contrary to the spirit and intent of the Plan unless Tom is really satisfied that he is being treated fairly. That, and that alone, must be your test. If you are absolutely certain that he feels that he has received justice you must insist upon a committee hearing for him. If you do not, his friends will certainly say that you weakly allowed yourself to be over-awed by your bosses and that the Representation Plan is a failure as a means for securing fair treatment for employees.

HOW THE EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATIVE TAKES PART IN MEETINGS OF THE ASSEMBLY

If you are a member of the Assembly, an organization in whose interests lies in a large measure the peace, comfort and prosperity of everybody connected with the plant in which you work. You were not put there to be a spectator. The business of the Assembly will be to act in the interests of those whom you represent. They expect that you will take an active part in all that is done, not only by voting according to your convictions but also by presenting to the Assembly, clearly and forcibly as possible, their views on the subjects under consideration. To discharge your duties capably, therefore, you must vote intelligently, express yourself freely and search diligently for information. Let us see how you should go about doing each of these things.

Your vote is the source of your power as an employee representative. After all the talking is over it is the vote that really counts. Many

done. Therefore, whenever you find out that such a feeling does exist, it is your duty to start an investigation whether you are asked to do so or not.

The next step for you to take is to make certain that the foreman who is accused of acting unjustly has been given a fair chance to reconsider or modify his action. The machinery of the Employees' Representation Plan should not be brought into the case until the regular plant authorities have had a chance to straighten it out. Go to the management representative with whom you are paired, get Tom Brown to come along, and then all three of you go to the foreman and talk the matter over thoroughly. If your management representative is not available and not likely to be so within a reasonable time, go ahead without him. You and the management representative have no power to decide the case at this point. All you can do is to go over the situation and see if there is not some way in which you can get Tom and his foreman to come to some sort of an agreement satisfactory to both. If you can do so, the case is ended. But if either of them feel dissatisfied, the case must go to the committee on the Adjustment of Plant Rulings.

In the larger plants this committee is likely to be divided into subdivisions, each taking charge of cases that arise in certain sections of the plant. If your plant is one of these, you and the management representative with whom you are paired together report the case to the chairman of the sub-committee and ask for a hearing. You should insist upon the earliest possible date for this purpose. You may yourself happen to be a member of this sub-committee, but if you are not you may be called upon by the Committee, at its discretion, to be present along with the management representative, Tom Brown, and the foreman against whom the complaint is made, or you may be interviewed separately. At any hearing at which you are present, it is your duty to see that Tom gets a chance to tell his story and to produce any evidence in support of it which he may have. Unless you happen to be a member of this sub-committee you will, of course, have no vote. When the evidence is all in on both sides the sub-committee will discuss the case and try to reach a unanimous agreement. If they all vote that Tom was unjustly discharged, that settles the case and he goes back on the job. If all agree that the foreman was right, that also ends the case and Tom is through. If,

right and just, so far as you can see, before you try to win others' support.

But many a representative has had good ideas which ought to have gained support but did not because they were presented only or not at all. A representative is first of all a person who expresses opinions, both his own and those of his people. You have been elected to do just that.

There is no getting away from it. Failure and disappointment wait for you if you allow timidity or anything else to keep you silent in the Assembly.

It is not enough, however, that you should merely talk. Many people do a lot of talking but exert little real influence when it comes to getting anything done. The important thing is *what you say*, and the next most important thing is *the way you say it*. It is not necessary for you to be an orator or able to make a fine speech. Some practice is necessary however before you can do your best unless you have already had experience in speaking before a group. It will help you if you keep in mind a few simple rules. These are:

1. Always speak loudly enough for everyone to hear every word you say.
2. Don't speak too fast.
3. Don't let yourself get excited or angry. It is the cool, self-controlled speaker whose words have most effect.
4. Don't stop with a mere statement of where you stand on any question. Give your reasons. They are what will influence others.
5. Be brief. Audiences get tired of a long-winded speaker and lose interest in what he has to say.

You must search for information if you wish to be reliably informed. It is the man with exact knowledge that can put punch into his arguments. Rumors are seldom correct, but they may cause a lot of misunderstanding unless someone runs them down. That is part of your job. You must not expect that accurate information upon which you can safely base your judgments will somehow fall into your lap out of the sky. You will have to go after it. Let your fellow employees and the other members of the Assembly see that you are alert to find out all the facts of the business which bear

a motion is won or lost by a single vote. In the committees, where action must be unanimous, you can single handed prevent anything that looks to you like injustice, simply by casting your one vote against the proposition which is under consideration. Nothing can be accomplished without your consent. You have no excuse, then, to offer if you carelessly fail to protect the interests of your people.

In the Assembly, however, decisions are not made by unanimous vote but by a two-thirds majority. Nevertheless, your vote is a powerful factor in the result, for it may easily turn the scales one way or the other. In making up your mind how to vote, you should remember three things:

First, you cannot vote *intelligently* unless you know all the facts.

Second, you cannot vote *fairly* unless you have considered those facts with an earnest, unprejudiced effort to see what is right.

Third, you cannot vote *honestly* if you are influenced by jealousy, friendship, hatred, fear or anything else than the determination to give and to get a square deal.

If there is additional information which you need, refuse to vote until you get it. If there is an argument which you feel has been overlooked by others, refuse to vote until you have been given a chance to present it. If you have the slightest feeling that your vote, if known, may get you into trouble with anybody, insist upon a secret ballot. On this last point remember that the Company guarantees that your attitude on any question shall never be held against you by the Management. But bear in mind that so far as your fellow employes are concerned they will respect you more, as a rule, if you have the courage to vote openly according to your best judgment.

II. *Expression of your views in Assembly meetings is the means by which you can best influence the votes of others.* When you are interested in getting something accomplished you must have support from others in order to put it across. Your ability to win such support depends upon two things, namely, the soundness of your ideas, and the extent to which you make them clear to the other representatives. You must be careful, therefore, that your cause

tive in each division and where he may be found are of great help, but they are not enough. Make it your business to get acquainted with any new employes who have been hired. Tell them that you want to serve them, that you need to know their wishes and views, and that you will always be glad to talk with them on any subject. Try to learn the names and faces of as many of the older employes as possible. Keep circulating among them at the noon hour and try not to get into the habit of spending all your spare time in the company of the same little group every day. Keep your eyes and ears open and investigate anything you hear about that indicates dissatisfaction on the part of anybody.

Tell your people all about what the Assembly and its committees are doing. They have a right to know and you are the person who should naturally give them the information. Don't wait for them to ask you. If the minutes of the Assembly meetings are posted on bulletin boards in the plant, encourage everyone you see to read them and then try to find out what they think about whatever is being done. As soon as you come out of each meeting of the Assembly talk to everybody you can about it. When your fellow employes hear about things that are being discussed and cases that are being decided their interest will be aroused and they will suggest matters which they will want you to take up for them.

Once in a while call a meeting of all the employes in your voting division after working hours and talk to them all at once. To be sure there will be a great many of them who will not go to the trouble to attend. Some, however, will come, and after one such meeting has been held they will tell others about it. Explain to them what kind of matters are coming up for consideration from other divisions at the plant and ask for suggestions from those who are present. You don't have to make much of a speech. Just make them feel that you want to be of as much use as possible to them. Call on a few of those that you know best and see if they have any knowledge of cases that should be investigated or any suggestions to make about working conditions. If you get any response from these, others are pretty sure to come afterwards with additional ideas. Above

in any way upon the interests of the employes. Let them discover that you are always well posted, and you will soon find yourself looked up to with a respect that will give your words real weight.

HOW THE EMPLOYE REPRESENTATIVE CAN KNOW THE VIEWS OF THOSE WHOM HE REPRESENTS

To "represent" means to "re-present," that is, to "present over again." A representative is therefore one who "presents over again" to the committees or to the full Assembly, ideas which have already been presented to him by others. It is the very essence of his job that he shall be the mouthpiece of his people.

The discussion of this part of your duty has been left until last in order to leave the strongest possible impression of its importance upon your mind. *More representatives fail because they have not kept close enough to their people than from all other causes put together.* Such cases grow out of inability on the part of representatives to grasp the real idea of what representation means. Too often they think that they have done their full duty if they handle such cases as *come* to them and express their own *personal* views when a discussion is under way in the Assembly. Complete success requires, on the contrary, that you should interest yourself in your official capacity in every matter that arises within your voting division which involves discontent or any feeling of injustice, and that you should express to the Assembly the views of your people no matter how much you may personally disagree with them. This means that you must keep in close touch with all that is going on all of the time. How shall you do it? The following suggestions may be of some help to you:

1. Have some regular means of contact with all of your people and be sure that they know what it is.

It is probable that many employes who are in your voting division but outside of your department do not know you by sight and do not understand where you may be found. This is particularly likely to be true in the case of new employes. Notices on the bulletin boards telling who is the representa-

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all things, be sure to act promptly on every matter that is brought up.

4. It is a good idea to have one or two employes in each department of your voting division whose special business it shall be to keep you posted and bring new cases to your notice. Select for this purpose employes who are well known and likely to take a real interest. Get them all together and map out a plan by which your entire division will be canvassed regularly for information. This is probably the most effective of all methods which you can use. It is just a question of picking out the right men and then keeping after them frequently so that they will not lose interest. Keep in mind also that the Assembly wants instructive suggestions and does not desire to devote its time to mere gossip and topics with no practical bearing on relations arising out of employment.

Other ideas will occur to you from time to time. What works best in one place may fail in another. Don't get discouraged because things move slowly for a while. Keep persistently at it with the idea uppermost in your mind that you do not have things where you want them until you are certain that no case of ill feeling or complaint can exist very long without coming to your attention. In the end, the measure of your success will be shown by the cases satisfactorily settled and the constructive improvements in working conditions in whose adoption you, as a representative, have played a part.

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