

NEWS FROM THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND

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CONFIDENTIAL UNTIL

August 10, 1942

NOTE TO EDITOR

Presented below is a news summary of the highlights of the latest Twentieth Century Fund survey, How Collective Bargaining Works. This report analyzes actual methods and procedures of collective bargaining in sixteen major industries; points out successes, failures, and lessons to be drawn; and contains a great deal of factual matter on the day to day workings of collective bargaining in America.

The Foreword by Evans Clark, Executive Director of the Fund, says: "Like other surveys of The Twentieth Century Fund this one is the joint product of three parties: The Fund Trustees, who have chosen the subject and financed the undertaking; a special committee appointed by the Trustees, which has had general supervision of the project; and a special research staff under the directorship of Harry A. Millis, which has provided the factual findings. This volume contains the full text of the reports of the members of the research staff, each of whom has accepted full responsibility for his own text. The Committee, however, reviewed the first drafts of the manuscripts of these reports and gave the authors the benefit of their advice and criticism."

The Fund's Labor Committee

William H. Davis, now Chairman of the National War Labor Board, has been Chairman of the Fund's special Labor Committee. The other Committee members are: William L. Chenery, Editor, *Collier's Weekly*; Howard Coonley, Chairman of the Board, Walworth Company, Inc., Chairman, Finance Committee and formerly President, National Association of Manufacturers; Clinton S. Golden, Assistant to the President, United Steelworkers of America, affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations; William M. Leiserson, member, National Labor Relations Board, formerly Chairman, National Mediation Board; Frazier MacIver, Vice President, Phoenix Hosiery Company; Sumner H. Slichter, Lamont University Professor, Harvard University; Robert J. Watt, International Representative, American Federation of Labor; and Edwin E. Witte, Professor and Chairman, Department of Economics, University of Wisconsin, former member, Wisconsin Labor Relations Board.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND, an institute for scientific research in current economic problems, was founded in 1919 and endowed by the late Edward A. Filene. The Fund's income, administered as a public trust by a Board of Trustees, is devoted entirely to its own research activities.

Research

Most of the research work was done under the direct supervision of Dr. Harry A. Millis, who selected the staff, outlined the assignments, and edited the findings until his departure for Washington in November 1940 to become Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board. Natalie Pannes, his assistant, took on much of the responsibility of seeing the volume through its final stages. She also rewrote or revised some of the manuscripts to bring them up to date. Dr. J. Frederic Dewhurst, the Fund's Economist, reviewed the manuscripts in all their stages of development, and gave the staff the benefit of his advice and criticism. Louise Field assisted him in reviewing the manuscripts and prepared them for publication.

On the basis of the information in the research findings, and of such other knowledge as they may have, the members of the Committee will prepare a report which will contain the Committee's analysis of the problems of collective bargaining and a program of action to deal with them. It is hoped that this second volume will suggest policies useful both for the war effort and for the hardly less prodigious task of postwar reconstruction.

The following news summary begins with some of the general findings. Next is a somewhat detailed treatment of three of the main industries covered: steel, automobiles, and railroads. Final portions contain very brief excerpts from the findings of other industries treated in the survey. A brief table of contents is given below for quick reference.

Because of the timely interest in the material, we offer this summary for your editorial information or for any use you may care to make of it in the columns of your publication.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND

HOW COLLECTIVE BARGAINING WORKS--A survey of experience in leading American industries. Factual findings by the research staff; Harry A. Millis, Director. 1014 pages, cloth; \$4.

INDEX

General Conclusions		Specific Industries (continued)	
Union Membership	page 4	Bituminous Coal	page 20
Percentage of Unionization	page 5	Anthracite	page 22
Industry-Wide Bargaining	page 6	Daily Newspapers	page 23
Definitions of Union Status	page 7	Book and Job Printing	page 26
Problem of Union Security	page 8	Glass	page 27
Federal and State Laws	page 9	Men's Clothing	page 29
Specific Industries		Hosiery	page 32
Steel	page 10	Building Construction	page 33
Automobiles	page 12	Electrical Products	page 34
Rubber	page 15	Chicago Service Trades	page 35
Railroads	page 17	Other Industries	page 37

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

With more than one quarter of this country's nearly 40 million workers covered by collective bargaining contracts and with trade-union membership now at an all-time high of around 11 million, recent developments show a tendency toward regional and national coverage in collective bargaining contracts, greater organization of employers, and ultimate evolution of industry-wide collective bargaining.

These are central findings of the new survey, How Collective Bargaining Works, published by The Twentieth Century Fund. The survey describes collective bargaining methods in sixteen major American industries, ranging from long-unionized industries, such as railroads, through more turbulent, newly-organized ones, such as automobiles, rubber and steel.

William H. Davis, now Chairman of the National War Labor Board, has been Chairman of the special Labor Committee of the Fund which helped to outline the scope of the survey and supervised the work of the research staff. The Committee, however, bears no responsibility for the findings themselves.

Statement by William H. Davis

"Industry-wide collective bargaining seems a logical next development," said Chairman Davis in a special statement issued in connection with publication of the survey. "It makes for greater stability throughout an industry, more responsible unions, and puts management on a more fair and equitable competitive basis so far as wage costs are concerned.

"It seems to me that what we principally need now is more organization among employer and management groups. Such organization would do much to promote an equality of bargaining power between management and labor. As this Twentieth Century Fund survey abundantly shows, collective bargaining in America is coming

of age. We can gain much by examining methods and practices, industry by industry, to see what practices have failed here, what methods have succeeded there, and using this experience to build a sound and mature structure of collective bargaining in this country."

Foreword

In a Foreword to the survey, Evans Clark, Executive Director of The Twentieth Century Fund, says: "Since this report was written the United States has been catapulted into the most gigantic war of all history. Collective bargaining is likely to change its form and procedure under the pressure of war, but the experience of the last war, at least, indicates that the basic problems of industrial relations remain after the end of hostilities. It also showed that during the conflict sound labor policies are essential elements of victory. . . ."

Recent Growth of Union Membership

Some measure of the growth of trade-union membership since 1933 is given in an opening chapter which discusses the increase in unionization of workers under the New Deal. "Between 1933 and 1938 total trade-union membership rose from an annual average of slightly less than 5 million to about 8 million. With business revival in 1939, following the recession of 1937-1938, it continued to expand. By early 1940, between 8.5 and 9 million workers in the United States and Canada were attached to the AF of L, the CIO, or unaffiliated 'outside' unions. The following year total membership approached 11 million." These figures are given by Philip Taft, of the Economics Department of Brown University, who wrote this chapter.

Membership in Older Unions

A very few of the older unions have actually lost membership since 1933. Among these have been the Wood Carvers, the Metal Engravers, the Sleeping Car Conductors, the Rural Letter Carriers, the Plasterers, and the Stonecutters.

For the most part the membership curve has run upward. "Membership in such old and strongly entrenched organizations as the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, the Photo Engravers' and Pressmen's unions increased rather slowly--from 10 to 30 per cent from 1933 to 1941. The same was true of the International Typographical Union, the Sheet Metal Workers' Union and the National Federation of Post Office Clerks."

Rise of Newer Unions

"But unions in coal mining, clothing, baking and other industries grew by leaps and bounds. Between 1933 and 1941 the United Mine Workers' membership rose from 300,000 to 600,000, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers from 125,000 to 275,000, and the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers from 94,000 to 201,000. The Machinists more than tripled--from 65,000 to 222,000. The Bakery Workers, with some 84,000 members in 1941, showed about a fivefold increase, and the Teamsters, with over 400,000, almost a sixfold increase."

The report stresses spectacular gains "in hitherto unorganized, or practically unorganized, trades and industries." For example, the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (now the United Steelworkers of America) claimed in 1941 a total of 600,000 members--perhaps 400,000 of them in the basic iron and steel industry, which employs about 500,000 workers eligible for union membership; the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers, 600,000; and the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, around 300,000. Additional thousands of union members were in the rubber, aluminum and flat glass industries. Other fields of economic activity, such as office and professional work, agriculture and canning, and editorial and commercial work on newspapers, have also been reached by the organized labor movement.

Percentage of Unionization

In terms of percentage of coverage, the report says: "In 1940 only two

giant American industries were almost 100 per cent covered by union agreements-- the railroads, with about a million employees, and coal mining, with half a million. But about three fourths of the 500,000 auto workers were under contract; so were over three fifths both of the steel workers and the 400,000 employees in electrical manufacturing together with well over half of the nearly two million in construction.

"The addition of such industries as rubber, private shipbuilding, men's and women's clothing and meat packing, each employing over a hundred thousand and from half to almost 100 per cent covered by labor agreements, makes clear the vital role that collective bargaining plays in the United States."

Workers Still Unorganized

On the other side of the picture, the report says: "Yet in spite of this rapid progress since 1933, nearly three quarters of American wage and salary workers are not members of trade-unions or covered by collective agreements. Collective bargaining has made little headway among the 6.5 million wholesale and retail trade employees, the more than 4 million in the financial and service trades, the 4 million government employees or the 3 million agricultural workers. In addition, hundreds of thousands in textiles, in chemicals and in other important industries are without union agreements."

Industrial Unions and Industry-Wide Bargaining

Surveying the entire field of collective bargaining, as revealed in a detailed study of practices in sixteen industries, the report says: "The rise of industrial unionism . . . was partly, if not largely, responsible for the extension of collective bargaining. Today industrial or semi-industrial unions provide the dominant organizational and bargaining patterns."

Looking ahead, the report notes a strong "tendency for agreements to cover a wider geographical area . . . regional and national agreements are increas-

ing. They are found, for example, in stoves, hosiery, coal, shipping, paper and pulp, clothing, glass containers and pottery.

"Such agreements usually result in standardization of labor conditions over wider areas--often an important contribution to the stability of collective bargaining. In the face of large wage differences, the standards in any one firm or plant may be subject to severe pressure, and the union's position jeopardized. During the last decade such pressure was intensified; unions were forced to give greater attention to the relationship between wage rates in different plants; and, except in such cases as the building trades and cleaning and dyeing, where the market is local, they have increasingly sought industry-wide agreements or industry-wide uniformity of agreements."

Definitions of Union Status

A basic finding of the survey is that union status varies throughout American industry largely according to the length of time collective bargaining has been practiced in each industry. Union status takes one or more of the following forms, and it is important to keep the distinctions between these forms clearly in mind:

Closed Shop: Only union members can be hired and workers must remain union members to retain employment.

Union Shop: Non-members may be hired, but to retain employment must become union members after a certain period.

Preferential Shop: Union members are given preference in hiring or layoff, or both.

Maintenance of Membership Shop: No one is forced to join the union, but all present or future members must remain in good standing as a condition of employment.

Exclusive Bargaining Shop: The union is recognized as the exclusive bargaining agent for all employees, whether union members or not.

Bargaining for Members Only: The union is recognized as the bargaining agent only for its own members.

Number of Workers in Closed or Union Shop

In ten of the largest industries covered by The Twentieth Century Fund's collective bargaining survey, about 34 per cent, or more than a third of the employees work in closed or union shops. According to the latest comparable figures, these ten industries employ nearly 6,000,000 workers (almost one sixth of all wage earners in the country). Some 4,000,000 are union members, who comprise about 40 per cent of the total union membership in the United States. None of these industries is completely closed shop, but this status is dominant in printing (245,000 employees; 140,000 union members); clothing (368,000 employees; 329,000 union members). It is common in boots and shoes (220,000 employees; 80,000 union members) and construction (almost 2,000,000 employees, and over 1,000,000 union members). The union shop prevails in the coal mining industry, covering nearly 100 per cent of all workers.

Exclusive Bargaining Rights

Exclusive bargaining rights prevail in the five remaining big industries which are covered by the survey. They are: automobiles (500,000 workers; more than 450,000 union members); rubber (120,000 workers; 64,000 union members); electrical manufacturing (400,000 workers; 218,000 union members); iron and steel (500,000 workers; 400,000 union members); and railroads (1,000,000 workers; 900,000 union members).

The Problem of Union Security

It may be observed from these figures that closed and union shops prevail in industries where unionism has been long accepted, such as printing, building construction and coal mining. Railways, another veteran among unionized industry, is, however, the outstanding exception. In recent years the trend has been to substitute the exclusive bargaining shop for initial agreements calling for bargaining for members only--and once this step has been gained to press for preferential, union and closed shops.

Most unions seek closed, union or preferential shops, chiefly to strengthen the organization, prevent discrimination, aid in enforcement of standards and gain greater control over their membership. They hold that since all employees share benefits won by collective bargaining, all should contribute. They also hold that closed shops make unions more responsible bargaining agents, eliminate friction between union and nonunion employees, and protect both employers and recognized unions against rival unions.

Employers opposed to closed and union shops maintain that their choice of workers is limited and that they are required to discharge those who have resigned or have been expelled from unions, yet whose work has been satisfactory. They further claim that some of their workers do not wish to join unions; and that since employers are forbidden by law to prevent their workers from joining unions, they should not be forced to compel workers to do so. Some employers hold that closed shops are in effect monopolies, whereas they themselves are forbidden by antitrust laws to engage in monopolistic practices.

Federal and State Laws

An analysis of the attitude of government shows that federal statutes both uphold and outlaw the closed shop. The National Labor Relations Act (the Wagner Act) specifically allows agreements with closed-or union-shop clauses. The Railway Labor Act disallows the closed shop by forbidding the carriers to compel their employees to join unions. State courts have both upheld and outlawed strikes for the closed shop. Strikes for this purpose have been upheld by court decisions in California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Maryland, Missouri, Montana, New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, Rhode Island and Wisconsin. They have been declared illegal in courts of Delaware, Georgia, Maine, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Hampshire, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas and Vermont.

S P E C I F I C I N D U S T R I E S

STEEL

Behind recent wage controversies in the steel industry is a record of steadily rising output per worker, so that in 1939 the labor cost of producing a given amount of steel was approximately the same as in 1936, even though hourly wage rates rose nearly 25 per cent during that period. Improved production methods are largely responsible for the increased output per worker.

These findings regarding the steel industry are set forth in a chapter written by Frederick H. Harbison, of the Economics Department of the University of Chicago, who is now on duty with the War Production Board in Washington.

Technological Advances

Setting forth some of the important technical developments that affect wage negotiations, past and present, the report says: "Recent managerial and technological advances have enabled the steel industry to offset higher wage rates by economies in the use of labor. In 1940, the major steel companies produced a 10 per cent larger tonnage than in 1937, yet the total number of man hours worked was 7 per cent less. Total pay rolls were 3 per cent less. In 1939 the labor cost of producing steel was approximately the same (for comparable periods of operations) as it was in 1936, although wage rates were nearly 25 per cent higher."

Management and Production Methods

On the business management side, "less spectacular, though equally important, are far-reaching improvements in industrial management, just beginning to bear fruit. Industrial engineering departments have studied and recommended better production methods which have eliminated the need for one or two workers here and there over a wide range of operations. Job analysis and classification have proceeded at a rapid rate in recent years. Personnel departments have been developing more careful procedures of selection and training of employees. To what extent

savings in labor are attributable to these measures is problematical, but steel executives apparently agree that such managerial improvements have perhaps been as important as technological changes."

The Union's Attitude

Labor has been "alarmed by the extent of technological unemployment. . . . Yet the union never attempted to press its demands through collective bargaining. On the contrary, Philip Murray made it clear that 'in the absence of universal collective bargaining, Congressional regulation of the introduction of large technological changes is necessary.' . . . The defense boom had since made the issue of technological unemployment a 'dead letter' for the time being."

Present Conditions

At the present time, the steel workers' union "bargains with each steel company separately. At the outset, its aim was to establish collective bargaining on an industry-wide basis, for the major economic problems in steel are common to the industry as a whole and beyond the scope of the existing type of collective bargaining." The report stresses the fact that the union still hopes to achieve industry-wide collective bargaining at some time in the future.

"Wages have been raised, hours reduced, qualified seniority rights recognized, and grievance machinery established. . . ." The union has tended to look upon a collective bargaining contract as "'a letter of introduction' or opening wedge for broadening the scope of the relationship;" whereas the company regards "a union contract as fixing the bounds of collective bargaining. . . . To the large steel companies, in short, collective bargaining revolves mainly about the settlement of grievances."

AUTOMOBILES

More than half a million automobile workers are now members of trade-unions and this once turbulent industry, at present 100 per cent converted to war production, has reached relatively stable labor-management relations. Almost the entire growth of trade-union membership has taken place within the past ten years.

In the automobile industry, says the report: "The rapid evolution of unionism has been accompanied by equally striking change in the attitudes and tactics of both management and union. Auto managers, long known for their uncompromising resistance to labor organization, are now for the most part sincerely attempting to develop working relationships with the union, while union policy, which was sharply belligerent three years ago, is now marked by a more definite acceptance of responsibility."

The automobile report was written by William H. McPherson, who is on the staff of the Committee on Social Security of the Social Science Research Council, assisted by Anthony Luchek, member of the staff of the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University.

Early Opposition to Unionization

"During its first three decades the auto industry granted almost no formal recognition to unionism. Management strongly opposed labor organization, and wage earners showed little interest in it. Managers were technical experts concerned chiefly with meeting production schedules to satisfy an ever-expanding market. They paid relatively high wages to attract sufficient workers, and set their production rates high enough to get their money's worth."

"As for employees wages were high enough to compensate for seasonal layoffs. Since the auto centers were boom towns, the worker who lost or disliked his job had little difficulty in finding another."

Rise of the UAW--and the Split in Its Ranks

This condition was rudely shattered by the depression which set in after 1929. Management was faced with a sharply declining market, and workers found jobs becoming harder and harder to get. These conditions fostered the growth of unionism, which got its first big impetus when the NRA was established in 1933. The authors trace the turbulent years of union organization, the gradual emergence of the United Automobile Workers as the dominant union, leading up to the climactic quarrel in 1939 between factions led by R. J. Thomas and by Homer Martin.

"The UAW was now irrevocably split. At the two conventions held early in 1939, each group established a complete union organization. The anti-Martin group was officially recognized by the CIO, while Martin's group in June joined the AF of L." The UAW-AF of L claimed a total membership of 26,100 in 1941.

Present Strength of the UAW-CIO

Since the split the UAW-CIO has conducted a strong organizing campaign and has had marked success in the numerous Labor Board elections. The union now estimates its total membership at 600,000. In August 1941 the union changed its name to International Union, United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, but retained its old initials.

Current Problems of the UAW-CIO

"The union's outstanding problem of wider organization has now been almost solved by recognition in all Ford plants. This gain without a serious strike is a tribute to the influence of the National Labor Relations Act on industrial peace and evidence of the benefits accruing under the Act to unions which have the patience to await its orderly procedures."

"Avoidance of factional strife is a problem still facing the union. Although the chief source of internal dissension has been eliminated with the

separation of the UAW into two groups, the CIO branch is so large that it still contains many divergent elements."

"Another major union problem is maintenance of the internal discipline essential to the enforcement of union responsibility;" and a further problem confronting the UAW-CIO is that of avoiding jurisdictional disputes with the UAW-AF of L and other unions.

Management Problems

On the other side of the equation, "management has a problem in its lesser officials. In general, top executives have made a more rapid adjustment to unionized conditions than their subordinates, who are more directly involved in the disputes. The union claims, with some justification, that many of the unauthorized stoppages of 1937 and 1938 resulted from the provocative actions of foremen. Managers with the most successful records in labor relations are those who gave the most attention to educating foremen in this field.

"Another outstanding problem of management is maintenance of labor efficiency. Several of the changes introduced at the insistence of the union--seniority, reduced use of piece rates, lower differentials between skilled and unskilled, uniformity of wage rates on any particular job in a plant, and control of discharge--have increased the security of the wage earners at the expense of efficiency incentives. . . .

"Many employers report that they no longer get such exceptional production from their outstanding employees as they did before the advent of union contracts. Some state that they now find it impossible to get average standard output from their labor force, while others say that they have restored production which fell below normal in any department by using time studies to persuade employees of the reasonableness of the standard. This diversity of experience leads to the conclusion that labor efficiency depends not only upon the method of wage payment and other specific incentives, but also upon the effect of local labor relations on

employee morale."

Joint Responsibility and Grievance Procedure

"All knotty points in industrial relations are . . . 'joint' problems. . . . Sound labor relations and high morale can be maintained only when grievances are . . . promptly handled. Auto agreements detail elaborate procedures, but their success depends not only on the machinery but also on the spirit of those who jointly operate it. More and more, managers are expediting grievance settlement and union officials are preventing direct action as a substitute for the grievance procedure."

In the handling of grievances, the General Motors agreement since 1940 has provided for arbitration of unsettled grievances, under a permanent umpire. "The outcome of this experiment remains to be seen, but . . . if the step succeeds, other companies and their local unions may adopt it. In that case a few years may see the grievance machinery of all the vehicle plants headed by a single umpire, with another arbitrator for the parts manufacturers and their unions."

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RUBBER

In the chapter on the rubber industry, Donald Anthony of the Economics Department of Kent State University, describes the situation in which unionism is new and in which efforts at organization have been accompanied by bitter strikes and turbulent industrial struggles. In summarizing his findings, the author says: "It is plain that collective bargaining is still in its initial stage in the rubber industry and that the future is not yet clear. Management is adjusting itself to the reality of the union, foremen are learning how to deal with or fight against an organized labor force, new industrial relations departments are springing up, hiring procedures and disciplinary policies are gradually being reworked. On the union side, there is the arduous task of consolidation and expansion, of developing skilled and mature leaders, of training the membership to be content with slow gains,

of clarifying ideas and policies. Owing to the strong spirit of local autonomy, these tasks of the union have been attacked with varying success in different plants."

Problem of Adjustment

"In plants where collective bargaining has gained a foothold, management and union now face a fundamental problem of learning to live together, whether they like each other or not. That would not be an easy problem even if management fully accepted unionism. Considerable adjustment is necessary on both sides. As long as the union is uncertain of its position and distrusts employers' intentions, however, management cannot expect it to adopt a cooperative attitude. The failure of management representatives to give speedy answers to grievances is always a source of future trouble. In refusing to discuss a new policy or an important step with the union leaders before putting it into effect, management has often made for difficult situations. Unwillingness to yield on minor issues, such as union use of the company bulletin board, has made for unnecessary friction.

"On the other hand, where the union has gained a strong hold and is no longer fighting for its life, it is evident that it cannot expect endless concessions from the company without contributing something in return. The union has often taken an unduly rigid position on seniority, fearing to give way on an occasional exception or demanding a wider application than is desirable for the plant. Disposal of trivial membership grievances is also a delicate problem for union leaders to solve. The indispensable first step in satisfactory collective bargaining is unqualified recognition of unionism by management and then a willingness on both sides to 'play ball' under fair rules."

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RAILROADS

Railroads as a whole have one of the best records for industrial peace of any of the major industries in the United States. The findings show that there has been no major railroad strike since the shopmen's strike of 1922.

Upon some nineteen occasions since the passage of the Railway Labor Act in 1926, existing disputes were sufficiently serious to warrant the appointment of emergency boards of investigation. With two exceptions, the recommendations of the boards were accepted by both sides and the disputes ended, although acceptance is in no sense mandatory.

The strike record shows that in ten of the fifteen years since the enactment of the Railway Labor Act there have been no strikes at all. In each of three years, 1928, 1929 and 1936, there was one small strike. In 1937 there was one small strike, one that was somewhat more serious and two minor stoppages. The years 1938 and 1939 were entirely free from strikes and stoppages.

Reasons for the Peaceful Record

In these findings, Harry D. Wolf of the University of North Carolina, author of the research report on the railroad industry, cites many reasons for the peaceful record. "Because all sections of the country depend on railroad service, any interruption immediately comes to public attention. And since both the roads and the employees are almost continuously seeking legislative favors from Congress and from the states, they are particularly sensitive to public opinion. The maturity of the industry and that of the organizations also are factors. Like the railroad industry itself, many of its labor organizations are among the oldest in the country. Collective bargaining for them has passed through its period of 'growing pains.' The two sides have long lived together, and each understands and respects the other pretty thoroughly."

On the railroads a "suspension of operations ordinarily affects the public

more directly and to a greater degree than do similar interruptions in most other industries." Because of this both management and labor are under great and constant public pressure to settle industrial disputes peaceably and maintain service. Another factor making for peace is, of course, that railroads are public utilities engaged in interstate commerce and hence subject to regulations and legislation that affect all phases of operations, including methods and conditions of collective bargaining.

Business Difficulties of the Railroads

The peace record of the railroads was made during a period of "drastic decline in the demand for rail transportation." The year 1938 was one of the worst in railroad history. Operations improved substantially in 1939 and 1940, but revenue carloadings of 36 million last year were still far below the figure of 46 million in 1930. Revenue passenger miles reached their peak of 46.8 billion in 1920, contrasting with the 1940 figure which was just short of 24 billion.

"The decline in the volume of railroad business has been accompanied by an even greater decline in employment. Railroad employment reached a peak of slightly over 2 million in 1920. The number of employees fell sharply to about 1.6 million in 1921, and remained fairly constant until 1930, when it further declined to about 1.4 million. It fell below a million in 1933 and has fluctuated narrowly around that figure since. Thus the railroads in 1940 had only half the employees of two decades ago."

Broadening the Scope of Collective Bargaining

In recent decades, the railway labor unions have been forced to go beyond their traditional concern with wages, hours and working conditions and give increasing attention to the problem of unemployment. "As jobs continued to decline, the unemployment situation forced itself into the foreground. The financial plight of

many of the carriers, brought about by the same forces that were eliminating jobs, compelled the organizations to broaden both their objectives and their methods. Collective bargaining along traditional lines was not enough. To safeguard jobs, wages, hours and working conditions, something more had to be done. And any program which failed to include measures to improve the position of the roads could scarcely hope to succeed."

Working Rules

An example of still unsolved problems in the railroad industry to which both management and labor must give consideration if the position of railroads in general is to improve, is the question of uniform working rules on all roads. "Appropriate once, some of them are almost certainly obsolete now. There is little doubt that some of them are 'make work' devices. They fall in the same category with much of the train-length and full-crew legislation, and are not conducive to economy nor always necessary for efficient operation. A thoroughgoing revision and modernization of agreements, which would eliminate all uneconomical and obsolete rules, and bring others into line with technical developments in the industry, is a joint responsibility of both management and employees."

Present Status of Collective Bargaining

"Management and employees have repeatedly and consistently demonstrated their willingness and ability to work together. Joint negotiations have been successfully extended to many problems common to the whole industry. The legislation recently passed by Congress, embodying, in part, the findings and recommendations of the Committee of Six, a joint committee representing the carriers and the organizations, is an outstanding example of cooperative effort to rehabilitate the industry. But that will not be sufficient in itself. Maturity of the railroad industry has brought with it problems which are absent or of less importance in young and expanding industries. If the railroads are to be genuinely rehabilitated,

both management and employees will have to make some readjustments and some sacrifices. Collective bargaining has accomplished a great deal on the railroads. Much remains to be done."

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BITUMINOUS COAL

"The history of labor relations in bituminous coal shows the utter helplessness of the individual employee and employer in the face of economic forces and conditions arising from an overdeveloped industry. Particularly where the establishments are many, widely decentralized and supply the same markets, collective bargaining under capable leadership is necessary not only to protect workers and maintain decent standards of living but also to safeguard employers' investments." This was one of the many conclusions reached by Waldo E. Fisher, of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania, in his survey of labor relations in this basic industry.

Need for Wider Union Coverage

"Bituminous coal labor relations also support the contention of labor economists that successful collective bargaining must embrace substantially all producing fields serving common markets. The failure of the Central Competitive Field Compact must be laid largely to union inability to organize the southern fields. No system of collective bargaining can long work if one group of employers must pay rigid wage scales and meet union standards of employment while another group conducts its business under flexible wage scales and working conditions arrived at through individual bargaining. Under such conditions nonunion operators control both costs and prices and can therefore dominate markets."

Attitude of Operators

"Even in union areas the attitude of the two parties towards collective

bargaining has left much to be desired. The cooperation of the operators has been characterized by reluctance and confined in the main to the making and enforcement of wage contracts. Undue stress has been placed on the shortcomings of the union and on enforcing the letter of the agreement. The operators have been concerned with curbing the abuses of the union--not with helping its leaders to deal more intelligently with the difficult tasks which confronted them. The union has been recognized as an agency for collective bargaining but has not been regarded altogether as a constructive force in the industry, nor has its aid been sought in solving the many economic conditions which disrupted the mining and delivery of bituminous coal."

Attitude of the Union

"The union leaders have frequently been uncompromising and at times unduly arrogant in dealing with union operators. Until the collapse of the interstate movement in 1927 they concentrated chiefly upon building up their organization, improving their bargaining position, and gaining objectives even at the expense of the economic well-being of the operators with whom they had been dealing for many years. More recently they have widened their field of activity and have concerned themselves greatly with governmental regulation of coal, social legislation and the extension of industrial unionism to the mass production industries. The union's theory of bargaining has been based largely on force and on the retention of gains no matter what the cost. Strikes in violation of wage contracts and general suspensions when agreements expired have been of too common occurrence. Arbitration has been unacceptable--the resort of the 'underdog.'"

Earnings of Miners

"In defense of militant unionism its apologists point to the economic conditions of the industry and the attitudes of the operators toward unionism and collective bargaining. The lot of the wage earners who have jobs has been greatly

improved under collective bargaining, especially since 1933. . . . The miners' daily earnings averaged \$6.16 in 1940 and their standard working hours now stand at seven per day and thirty-five per week. Moreover, union contracts protect the miners in their jobs, guarantee them improved working conditions, and insure them greater personal freedom--all notable achievements."

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ANTHRACITE

In addition to his chapter on the bituminous coal industry, Dr. Fisher surveys labor organization and collective bargaining experience in the anthracite industry--an experience dating back to the 1860's.

Bargaining Power Based on Economic Conditions

"Collective bargaining in this industry suggests that equality of bargaining power is not attained merely by giving workers the right to organize. . . . How bargaining power will be distributed between the union and the employers in a given industry will be determined by general business conditions, the leadership of both sides, the type and degree of organization of the employees, the attitude of the public and of government agencies towards unionism, and particularly by the economic conditions prevailing in the industry. These in turn depend on such factors as the demand for the product, that is, whether elastic or inelastic, the relation of capacity to demand, the presence or absence of competition between producers or from substitute products, and the relative importance of labor costs."

"The experience in anthracite substantiates economists' contentions that wage and hour levels must be related to labor productivity, and that attempts to force demands which place too heavy a burden upon the industry or the consumer will ultimately result in lower production, employment and pay rolls."

Effect of Unequal Bargaining Power

"Experience in anthracite shows that a preponderance of bargaining power on either side does not make for satisfactory industrial relations. Under these conditions the party in power tends to forget that rights also carry responsibilities. As a result it is prone to disregard legitimate interests of the other side and not infrequently of the public. Both operators and unions have abused their power. If collective bargaining is to work in the interest of all concerned, rules of the game must be established that will govern the actions of both labor and capital."

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DAILY NEWSPAPERS

Robert K. Burns, Co-Director of Science Research Associates, contributes a chapter discussing unionization and collective bargaining in the daily newspaper industry--both in the mechanical departments and in the relatively newly-organized editorial and commercial departments.

His conclusion regarding collective bargaining experience as it has worked out in the pressrooms and other mechanical departments of daily newspapers is that it "has contributed to industrial peace. Conciliation and arbitration methods which have been developed are of exemplary significance. Many groups--employers, unions and government--have drawn lessons from the industry's experience."

Workers' Gains

"Under collective bargaining one of the most important gains for workers in the newspaper trades has been the establishment of definite democratic rights in industry. The former arbitrary management of labor relations has been replaced by representative management. In part this has been limited by arbitrary application of certain union laws. On the whole, however, the working environment and relationships have both improved. Moreover, the responsibility of participating

in self-government in industry has important implications for self-government in a democracy.

"The standard of living of the craftsmen in the industry has unquestionably been improved through collective bargaining. Wage rates have risen and annual earnings have increased. Hours have declined to a point where in many instances union members themselves oppose further reductions. Working conditions also have been improved. Health and accident hazards are no longer a serious problem. Job security has been safeguarded to an extent unapproached in most other industries. Through the closed shop and the operation of union rules, workers are protected against discrimination and favoritism in hiring and discharge."

Evaluation of Publishers' Gains

"Publishers have enjoyed relative freedom from strikes and other interruptions to production. Recognition of the closed shop guarantees the publishers an adequate supply of trained and efficient workers, except in their photoengraving departments. Pressmen, with their engineering service and technical trade school, and photoengravers, with their technical bureau, have made special efforts to raise efficiency; and all unions have contributed to efficiency through their regulation and training of apprentices. In addition, union policies on hiring and discharge have reduced costs of labor turnover. The unions have also assumed responsibility for certain supervisory and disciplinary duties in their departments, the burden of which management would otherwise bear. Finally, through orderly collective bargaining the publishers have won employee good will and a more favorable public opinion."

"Publishers have not gained these advantages without paying a price. In the depression years from 1930 to 1940, union organization and wage policies not only blocked wage reductions but brought increases in hourly rates, both of which caused hardships and severe readjustments for some newspapers. In many localities

the enforcement of certain union rules has raised costs and prevented needed economies."

Organization of Editorial and Commercial Employees

"The years since 1933 have witnessed one of the most interesting developments in the history of the American labor movement--the first widespread unionization of white collar workers in a major industry.

"In a little more than seven years, the American Newspaper Guild has organized . . . more than 40 per cent of the employees in editorial departments, and . . . about one ninth of those employed in the commercial departments of daily papers."

"In the few years of its existence the Guild has achieved a rather remarkable success for a white collar union. If organization is extended in the future it will probably be chiefly in the smaller cities and in commercial departments. It is possible that diverse interests of members in the editorial and commercial departments, and of higher and lower paid workers, may become problems. At present there is a deep organization cleavage in the membership between those who favor a strict trade-union program and those who support Guild declarations and action on the nation's domestic and foreign policies. As a consequence, growth in membership and effectiveness in collective bargaining have been checked.

"Despite its short history, the Guild has helped to raise wages in news and commercial departments and has introduced new issues for collective bargaining in the industry. It has forged a chain of new demands such as sick leave and vacations with pay, guaranteed employment and dismissal compensation. Because many of its members by their very training have a broad grasp of social, economic and political affairs, the Guild, if ably led, may have an important influence on organized labor and collective bargaining in America."

BOOK AND JOB PRINTING

Collective bargaining experience in the book and job printing industry is analyzed by Emily C. Brown, of the Economics Department at Vassar College. In summarizing the chapter she says that "union-employer relationships in this industry, with their long experience and their well-established traditions, are a guide post either to point the way or to warn of danger spots."

Results for Labor

"To labor the system means a clearly established status in the industry, protection of individual rights, adjustment of differences by peaceful means, and participation in a democratic process through which matters of vital concern are decided. Workers gain a considerable measure of security through protection of their jobs, as well as through union financial benefits and improvements in their wages, hours and working conditions."

For Employing-Printers

"To employing-printers collective bargaining means a well-established, functioning system for the adjustment of differences, which promotes a self-respecting, friendly relationship between workers and management. It gives security against interruption of operations, and stability of labor costs for definite periods. By equalizing labor conditions in the local market, it promotes a sound basis for competition in a highly competitive industry. . . . Further, the unions make available to employers a supply of skilled labor, and make it unnecessary for the plant to maintain its own labor reserve. The union apprenticeship systems contribute to the replenishment of this supply. Finally, union pressure, which forces employers to become more efficient, is a salutary if not an entirely welcome influence in the industry."

Problems Still Resisting Solution

"But there are serious problems for both groups in the industry, which in

spite of long experience, collective bargaining has as yet been unable to solve. The first set comprises unemployment and individual insecurity, arising from depression, geographical shifts of the industry and, for some groups, technological change. Union efforts to deal with these problems lead at times to such uneconomic action as unduly rigid application of the priority law and excessive complements of men. Increased costs, competitive inequalities, loss of business and increased local unemployment are inevitable results. Only an expansion of volume in the industry could solve this problem of insecurity. No method of joint attack upon this basic problem has been found.

"A second set of problems affects relations among the workers. Traditional craft unionism which binds the common interests of one group, has not solved the problems of how to insure harmony and cooperation between different crafts, or of how to extend the protection of unionism to less skilled workers. Where there are large groups of the unskilled without organization, the situation is unstable.

"Finally, there are questions as to the effect of collective bargaining on the economic position of the industry as a whole--on costs, prices, the volume of production and employment, and the incomes of employers and wage earners. There is some basis for charges of economic irresponsibility in the maintenance of union standards in the larger cities far above those in competing areas while work continued to leave these cities. A disproportionate unemployment burden in New York, for instance, is connected with such policies."

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GLASS

In summarizing a report on the glass industry, Milton Derber, now a Trial Examiner for the National Labor Relations Board, says: "The history of labor relations in the glass industry clearly shows that the settlement of grievances is

chiefly a matter of personality and attitude rather than of formal procedure or written rules. It is the 'will to peace' that counts, but this 'will' must be mutual and cannot be one-sided. A strong conviction exists throughout the industry that no problem need remain unsettled and that no outsider settles it as well as those intimately connected with the industry."

"The unique system of union president arbitration in the container industry is merely a reflection of the trust and responsibility on both sides. The system of conciliation or joint conference, which has worked so effectively in the flint glass industry and which is becoming increasingly successful in the newly organized flat glass industry, is further evidence that these factors are fundamental. It is obvious, however, that unionism and collective bargaining must be sincerely accepted and recognized by management."

Union Attitude on Technological Changes

"The experience of glass shows that unionism can be a positive force of value to the industry as well as to its worker-members. It can stabilize or help to stabilize competitive conditions; it can eliminate strife and lessen discontent; it can be a valuable political agent. Those unions in the window glass branch which opposed technological changes without qualification eventually succumbed. The unions which survived, the American Flint Glass Workers' Union and the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, did not fight mechanization but they did try, with considerable success, to cushion the blow for their membership. The cooperation of management was of great importance here. Moreover, the unions have been willing to accept wage reductions when really needed, and both parties always understood that any reductions were to be restored as soon as practicable. The fair application of this policy has cemented the relationship."

Experience with Industry-Wide Collective Bargaining

"The value of collective bargaining on an industry-wide scale is also

shown by experience in the glass trades. The annual wage conferences have enabled the best talent and brains in the industry to focus their attention upon union-management problems. The less intelligent company and union leaders are guided by the wiser; men new to the system are acclimated by the experienced. At the same time, young blood has prevented stagnation. By centralizing collective bargaining, a plentiful exchange of ideas and practices has been attained, allowing the more backward plants to benefit from the more advanced.

"Industry-wide collective bargaining has been significant on the economic front as well. One of unionism's major goals is uniform labor standards throughout the competitive market--with due exceptions, of course, for peculiar local conditions. In this way standards are not undermined by competitive undercutting. The joint industry conferences have supplied this uniformity far more effectively than would be possible through local or company negotiations. They have also made collective bargaining more open, honest and efficient. Both sides can marshal and present all of the facts at their command; neither side can easily play one member of the opposition off against another; there is little likelihood of important points being omitted or overlooked. The primary danger in the system is that individual concerns or local unions may be inadvertently injured in the concentration upon industry policy. This appears, however, to have been overcome satisfactorily by the fact that all manufacturers attend the meetings to defend their cases and that, likewise, union delegates are present from almost every company either as spokesmen or as watchers."

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MEN'S CLOTHING

In a chapter on the men's clothing industry, the authors, Robert J. Myers and Joseph W. Bloch, present a striking picture of an industry in which the union is the dominant factor at all stages of operation. "The dominant factor in

collective bargaining has been the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Far surpassing the employers, whose inability to form a strong national organization has limited their effectiveness, the union now determines the industry's major policies. Its chief adversary is the stubborn nature of the trade. Under other circumstances, it might be seriously questioned whether a union's possession of such power is consistent with wise public policy.

"The secret of the Amalgamated's strength, however, lies in the moderation, impartiality and good judgment with which it has been used. The employers have, to a large extent, voluntarily accepted the Amalgamated's control because they are convinced of its prudence. It is almost unthinkable that this competitive and mobile industry could be so controlled by a union which, unlike the Amalgamated, was arbitrary and oppressive."

What Collective Bargaining Has Meant to the Worker

"Considering the strength of his union, the gains of the clothing worker under collective bargaining have been surprisingly moderate. Moreover, the most notable of them are of the intangible quality which an accountant calls 'good will.'

"Probably his greatest achievement of all is increased security. The clothing worker need fear neither discrimination nor arbitrary discharge. He is protected against loss of time through strikes and lockouts. If he works for a contractor, a manufacturer guarantees the payment of his wages. If new machinery reduces employment in his shop, he knows that the loss will be shared by all workers and that he is unlikely to be displaced."

What Collective Bargaining Has Meant to the Employer

"To the employer, collective bargaining has meant many gains and few losses. Among the important gains is freedom from strikes, for the union has been remarkably successful in holding its members to their agreements. The orderly

control of wages has also been especially helpful, because the manufacturer can determine his labor costs accurately and with confidence that they will not be abruptly changed.

"Collective bargaining has brought no serious restriction of output or interference with improved equipment or methods. The union has cooperated in the extension of the piece payment system and application of production standards. In consequence, the relative importance of labor as a cost item has not increased appreciably over a quarter of a century, in spite of the rise of hourly earnings. Moreover, collective bargaining has made possible real savings in items other than direct labor--particularly in supervision, recruitment and labor training.

"Employer dissatisfaction frequently results from suspicion of discrimination or persecution. Some employers regret the loss of their former dictatorial power. Some dislike collective bargaining because they have lost personal contact with their employees, and because the union rather than the company is the object of workers' loyalty. Most employers, nevertheless, strongly support collective bargaining and would not willingly return to the old methods of industrial conflict."

Public Gains

"The public has probably gained as much from the industry's collective bargaining as either the worker or employer.

"Great cities have been rid of the industrial warfare which once raged periodically in their streets. . . .The industry's unusual efforts to safeguard the welfare of its workers, moreover, have lightened considerably the problems of public and private welfare organizations. Improvement of working conditions has removed a public health hazard. The consumer has benefited from efficient production. For an equal proportion of his income he can buy a better suit today than in 1910 or 1914."

HOSIERY

The full-fashioned hosiery industry is an example of how collective bargaining can be keyed to meet changing conditions. George W. Taylor, now Vice-Chairman of the National War Labor Board, describes the joint effort by the union and management to work out a rehabilitation program for the hosiery industry.

Rehabilitation Program

"By 1938 inventive efforts of the past decade had created marked improvements in knitting equipment. If this equipment were installed only in the South, then the days of the North as an important producing area were numbered. But if new capital could be attracted to union mills, then high wages could be compatible with low labor costs. The American Federation of Hosiery Workers and the manufacturers' association were equally anxious to induce the installation of the newest machines in union plants.

"After long negotiations, the manufacturers' group was ready to install new machines if the Federation would revise rates on the older equipment to a competitive basis until the rehabilitation program had been completed. This meant, in some plants, acceptance of hourly earnings on a par with, or even below, those of southern mills paying 'good' wages for that district."

A Factual Approach to Collective Bargaining

"Collective bargaining has finally centered about the task of establishing economically sound wage rates that will provide employment, profits and a flow of new and modern equipment to union mills. A 'factual approach to collective bargaining' is now taken by the parties as their guide. Negotiations for a new agreement have become more and more a joint appraisal of a host of facts bearing upon the state of the industry and the wages that can be paid. In recent years, this approach has narrowed the differences between the parties enough to bring either mutual understanding or agreement to arbitrate."

BUILDING CONSTRUCTION

This chapter was written by William Haber, Chief of the Planning and Progress Reports Division of the War Manpower Commission, Robert Winters assisted him as field agent. It discusses some of the problems of an industry beset by fluctuating demand; high building costs to the consumer, combined with great risk to management and investors; chronic insecurity to workers; and often high hourly rates contrasted with low annual wages.

For the industry as a whole, the authors say: "Wage rates are only one factor responsible for high costs. General labor efficiency and working rules are additional factors, but finance charges and particularly material prices, when pegged by monopolistic practices, are also elements of excessive costs. These considerations not only suggest the difficulties in solving the construction industry's unemployment problem but also indicate that a joint effort by all elements in the industry, as well as the general public, is required for a successful attack on the problem."

Interunion Conflicts

"Jurisdictional disputes and failure of unions to adjust such differences peacefully are major causes of unstable industrial relations in the building trades. Employers and the public are, in the main, innocent bystanders. As these struggles involve the right of a craft to perform a specific type of work, they are apt to become long and bitter.

"A solution of the problem has been sought vainly for more than half a century. Until key unions subordinate their interests to the good of the industry, these controversies are likely to continue and even multiply with more technological change."

Joint Problems

"Obviously the unions alone can do very little to improve the methods in

the industry and to provide more stable conditions. Contractors, materials producers and distributors, finance companies and agencies, also are responsible. Moreover, labor organizations would not relax many of their rules or cut their rates of pay without some guarantee against the hazards and insecurity faced by the workers in the industry."

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ELECTRICAL PRODUCTS

Effects of the economic depression are set forth in a chapter on the electrical products industry written by Milton Derber. Speaking of one of the largest manufacturers, the author says: "Although management accepted unionism without reservation at the start and the union was firmly established, the system broke down at the first economic depression. The breakdown was partly due to the union's unwillingness to lower its standards even temporarily. Also it came partly from the company's failure to recognize labor as worthy of equal attention with production and sales. But perhaps most of all it was due to the inexperience of both sides in the art of collective bargaining and a failure to recognize that it is a two-sided, give-and-take process."

Management Adjustment

"Management in newly organized industries faces problems of readjustment as complex as those of its employees. The question is not simply, as is commonly thought, a matter of top management's being willing to sit down at the table with union representatives, though this is an indispensable first step. In one plant the manager could not adjust himself to the new conditions and had to be removed. In two other plants labor experts were called in to restore peace after violent conflict had disrupted production. In three of the five plants discussed in the survey the companies found it essential to set up new industrial relations departments. Labor became a plant-wide problem rather than a subject of purely depart-

mental concern. The industrial relations director became an important figure in the plant."

Importance of Personalities

"The experience of the five plants indicates clearly that the method of adjusting grievances is relatively secondary; the personalities involved determine in the end whether many grievances will arise and how serious they will become. An accumulation of minor complaints may create as much difficulty as some of the so-called major issues. The main problem has been the training of foremen and shop stewards in the techniques of grievance settlement. Slow progress in this has led to increased centralization of responsibility and authority. Thus far, top union and company officials spend too much time on minor cases. All agree that men in the departments should solve as many of their own problems as possible. Although the agreements contain arbitration provisions, outside parties are almost never called in."

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CHICAGO SERVICE TRADES

A chapter by C. Lawrence Christenson, formerly of the Economics Department of Indiana University, discusses three service trades in the City of Chicago: cleaning and dyeing, motion picture machine operators, and musicians. The record of these unions contains much of violence, but the author tries to evaluate impartially the principles of unionism involved. In his summary he says: "This review of the collective determination of labor standards for three groups of Chicago's workers thrusts into sharp relief an observation made years ago by an early student of trade unionism: 'there is unionism and unionism.' All three of the groups examined in this chapter are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. There are some similarities in their policies; yet their control devices are distinctly different."

"For all three groups practices and activities appear in the nature of adjustments to the specific economic and industrial forces surrounding them. Any rational recommendations concerning a public program for regulation of collective bargaining, therefore, ought to begin with an appreciation of trade-union action as a product of the market and industry in which it is found."

Cleaning and Dyeing

"Union organization in the Chicago cleaning and dyeing industry is set up along mixed industrial and craft lines; one union claims all employees inside the plants, while the other asserts control over a single occupation, collection and delivery service. . . . Standards have often been enforced by violence, but resort to force in the cleaning industry has rarely been instigated by workers alone. Rather it has been a joint instrument of employers and unions in attempts to guarantee stability in a highly competitive market. . . . The dominant characteristic of collective bargaining in the cleaning and dyeing industry is clearly 'joint price control.'"

Motion Picture Operators

"Contrasted with the cleaners and dyers, the motion picture machine operators are a small group of technicians organized strictly along craft lines in an industry of comparatively high overhead costs. The strategy of their union is to limit the number of eligible workers and take full advantage of the employers' necessity for continuous operation. There is almost no element of joint price control."

Musicians

"Collective bargaining procedure for the highly specialized craft of musicians has some elements in common with each of the other two and some distinctive features of its own. . . . Limited job opportunities serve to maintain an unduly large reserve of musical talent. Here the musicians' union goes beyond the

cleaners and dyers, for it requires union membership of the contractors, who are subemployers, and thus retains control over the jobs of the individual musicians. But from another angle, musicians' union policy parallels the projectionists' in seeking to segregate the locations, such as radio studios, where employers' demand for musical service is relatively inelastic. Here it achieves its most impressive effects. Then by more detailed job classification and by selective protection at different levels, it seeks to minimize the weakness which the economic force of excess numbers imposes upon it."

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OTHER INDUSTRIES

In addition to the industries already mentioned in this news summary, the Fund's survey of How Collective Bargaining Works includes two appendices in which Philip Taft traces the history of collective bargaining before the New Deal and in which he gives thumbnail comments on thirteen other industries in such fields as: clay, chemical and allied industries; clothing; food and liquor; hotels and restaurants; lumber, pulp and paper; machinist and related trades; maritime industry; mercantile establishments; metal mining, smelting and fabrication; office work; petroleum production; public utilities; and textiles. Another appendix gives tables of trade-union membership, as of 1941, in American Federation of Labor Unions, Congress of Industrial Organizations Unions, and Unaffiliated Nationals and Internationals.