

pointment of a Public Information Officer. It may be noted that the British Government's Committee on Publicity for Local Government have recently reached the same conclusion.

Such an officer would act as the "information booth" of City Hall, the medium through which all information is funnelled to the public. His would be the job of managing tours, giving speeches, supervising exhibits, writing pamphlets, arranging radio talks, organizing adult education forums, taking opinion polls, etc., and, last but not least, planning and editing an annual report on civic affairs. He would, of course, require assistants, and would need the full co-operation of each Department.

The qualifications for such an officer would naturally have to be very high. The first one would be imaginative organizing and executive ability. A second would be a wide knowledge of educational and publicity methods, including the techniques of direct contact as well as the use of radio and the press.

To organize and edit the annual report, publishing experience would be invaluable but not essential provided he had competent assistance. His main job would be to stimulate the public rather than to produce technically "slick" publications. An officer with these responsibilities would have to be paid a good salary, and a certain amount of authority should accompany his position.

That some such guiding hand in public education is needed for most municipal governments is proved by the high incidence of non-voting in elections. In most civic elections less than half of those listed vote. Studies in the United States show that lack of interest and general indifference account for almost a third of non-voting. Hence a system of public education and reporting is needed to stimulate not only *interest* in civic government but also *active participation*. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the cure for a sleepy public is a wide awake program of public education.

The New Synthesis

M. H. HEDGES

CONSIDER for a moment the trend in Europe to-day in respect to labour-management relations. The democratic countries seem to be reaching for a new synthesis, a new principle for contact and co-operation. It has been reported that Norway has hundreds of labour-management committees. It is apparent also that this trend is prompted by a stern economic condition that demands ever-increasing production to secure an ever-increasing standard of living.

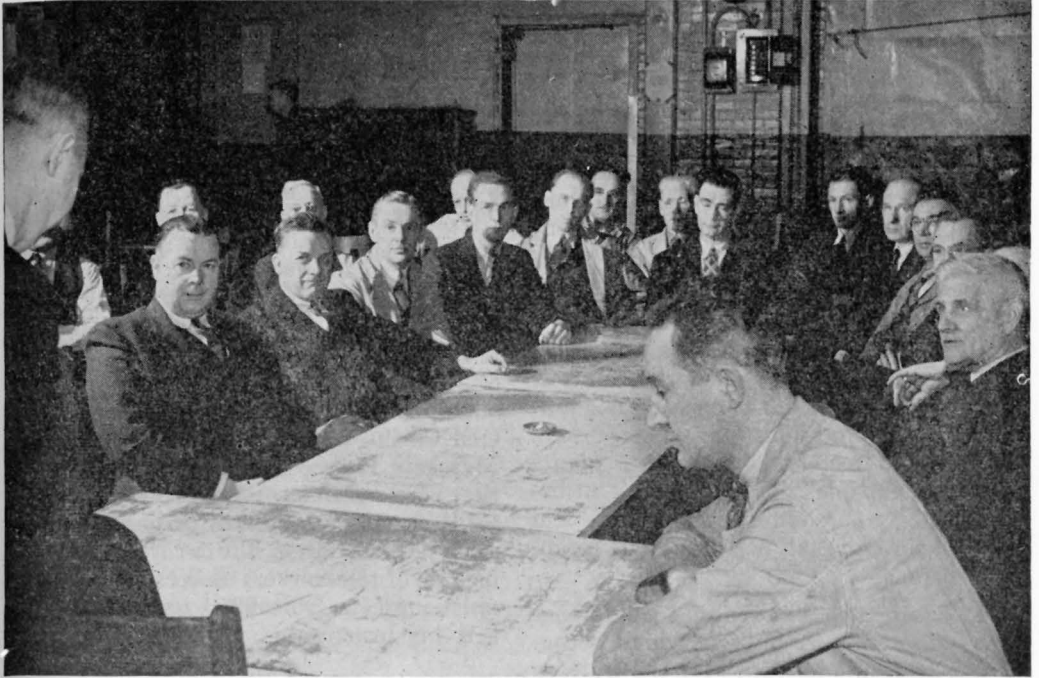
War is a great leveller. It reduces economies to simple elementary conditions. Europe is turning to production as the key to European recovery. All the countries of western Europe have

increased production beyond the 1938 levels. This is not enough to take up the backlog of capital needs and not enough to give the standard of living which the populations desire. It is apparent also that these nations realize that unsound relations between labour and management are a costly tax on the economy of each country. Nations with a small margin cannot afford the luxury of a constant war between labour and management. Just such a conclusion as this was reached in the United States during the depression and during the World War. More than four thousand labour-management committees were set up during the war and earnestly tried to reduce to a minimum strikes resulting

from maladjustments between capital and labour.

A vision seems to capture the imagination of all the countries of western Europe looking toward a new high-productivity record that will raise the standard of living for all of the people. This fact has repercussions in politics and ideologies. Production has always been the forte of capitalism. The emphasis of socialist countries has been on

followed by an inspection of British industrial plants by American members. As a result of this conference, 525 British guests will arrive in the United States in 1949 to inspect American industries. There will be 37 teams of 15 each, divided equally as between labour and management. In 1950, a similar exchange is expected with a total of 100 teams from Great Britain. This is a program of exchange of ideas of an unprecedented



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distribution. If socialist countries in Europe now turn to production as a solution, it is a distinguished tribute to capitalism and to the American way of life.

One of the primary indications of this newly aroused interest in Europe is indicated by the establishment last autumn of the Anglo-American Council on Productivity. Set up at the instigation of Great Britain, the Council had its first meeting in London in October,

scale and will of necessity have influence on each nation.

Increasing Productivity

Engineers will readily recognize that the problem of increasing productivity is not alone a problem of bettering skills or individual output. It depends upon increasing industrial power and upon new methods and techniques. It is interesting to note the reaction of British labour to these proposals. The British Trade

Union Congress has listed four main subjects that must be discussed in the direction of increased productivity:

1. **Waste of Manpower**—The TUC General Council told the union executives that “uneconomic and wasteful use of labour” was impeding maximum production in certain industries, because jobs and workers were not always in the same place. The Council urged union leaders, in such cases, to face the unpleasant prospect of transferring workers, if necessary, in the interest of maximum production.
2. **Restrictive Practices**—The TUC stated that so-called “restrictive practices” were a problem for both sides of industry and called on both union executives and management to examine the matter carefully “from the standpoint of its impact upon productivity.”
3. **Joint Consultation**—The TUC report suggested a more vigorous development of the existing machinery for joint consultation of workers and managers in individual plants to help boost production by utilizing “the combined experience and initiative of all persons in the establishment.”
4. **Training**—The special conference adopted a resolution which recognized “the necessity for the training of trade unionists in the technique of management, workshop administration, productive processes and in trade union functions.”

As we move along in our approach to this problem of increased production, it is apparent that we enter into an area familiar to readers of Public Affairs, namely, the area of labour-management relations.¹ The so-called class war between labour and management is a

costly deterrent to production and one that cannot be tolerated in a situation such as exists now in Europe. I cannot stress too greatly the fact that one of the novel and attractive facts about the United States is our success in resolving this age-old strife between those who own and manage industry and those who work in the mills. Happily, too, I can report that Europe is responding to this new urge for rational relationships between labour and management, as compared with emotional and theoretical strife.

Take Norway, for example. The United States has just had a visitation of seven trade union leaders from that country. Haakon Lie, the leader of the delegation, said that there has been only one strike in Norway since 1945, and they now have 1,000 labour-management committees in that small country. At the same time, Norway is turning with zeal toward a policy of expansion of its productive capacity and modernization of its overall productive plant. A new standard of production is emerging. OEEC, the directive agency for the 16 Marshall Plan countries, has estimated that production has increased 45%. Paul G. Hoffman, Administrator of ECA, has said publicly that the average annual income of the workers of Western Europe must increase from \$350 to \$500. This is a big order.

The Causes of Industrial Peace

Early in the development of economic aid to Europe, the ECA Administrator and his associates realized that the mere granting of financial assistance would not be enough. If aid to Europe was to be successful and permanent in its results, then ideas and techniques must be loaned together with money. Fortunately too, the United States had succeeded in building up a system of successful labour-management relations, not altogether appreciated by Americans themselves. Most of my readers, I hope, have seen

1. For a Canadian study on this topic see “Incentives for Increased Production,” by Philip Stuchen, *Public Affairs*, December, 1948, pp. 243-249.

“Causes of Industrial Peace under Collective Bargaining.” This is a series of field studies—not academic studies—instituted by the National Planning Association under the immediate direction of Clinton S. Golden, one of the Labour Advisers of ECA. Each of the 15 case studies will survey labour-management relations in a different industry. Let me present the conclusions of the first study,² which set the framework for the series.

A mutually acceptable sharing of power and rights has been worked out by the parties:

1. From the beginning, management was liberally inclined, and it accepted wholeheartedly the principle of unionization of its employees.
 2. The unions fully supported private ownership and operation of industry. They were industry-conscious, rather than craft- or class-conscious.
 3. Thus, the parties were no basic threat to each other. There was no real fear of insecurity and thus no undue concentration on the means for assuring security. Without this mutual acceptance, a more intense need for defining “rights” and “prerogatives” would have existed. Insecurity breeds concern for security.
 4. The parties got off to a good start. Experienced men guided the negotiations on both sides and avoided mistakes commonly made by novices. No grudges were harboured because of an initial bitter quarrel.
 5. Without being unduly solicitous about the preservation of its rights, management has retained those rights which are essential to the efficient operation of the enterprise
- and to its survival and expansion—basic control over hiring, firing, promoting, directing the labour force, supervising and making improvements.
6. The unions, at the same time, have obtained basic institutional protection through the check-off, the maintenance-of-membership clause, management encouragement of union membership, and region-wide bargaining which has discouraged rival unions; and, beginning in June, 1948, the union shop.
 7. Thus, the efficient operation of the enterprise has been permitted and the security of the unions achieved. The line of demarcation between what belonged to management and what belonged to the unions could be drawn and was drawn without undue offense to either party.
 8. This happy state of affairs was not automatically guaranteed. It could have been destroyed by at least several eventualities: if the craft unions had asserted effective jurisdiction, if region-wide bargaining had failed to keep out rival unionism, if management had changed its attitude towards union acceptance, or if the unions had rejected management’s right to manage.

It may be laid down as a principle that, before we can secure any kind of objective approach to the industrial relations problem, management must fulfil certain requirements and labour must fulfil certain requirements.

Lessons for International Application

Franz Olah, an Austrian labour leader, told American labour leaders that ECA represents the first return, since the end of the war, to a policy of reason. This remark throws into sharp contrast the state of the world to-day, which is characterized by activation of mass popula-

2. Clark Kerr and Roger Randall, *Crown Zellerbach and the Pacific Coast Pulp and Paper Industry*, Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1948; pp. xviii, 75.

tions by distorted statements and propaganda. It makes the struggle appear to be one in which the pawn is the integrity of the human mind. Let anyone go back 10 year or longer to some great period of conflict and read the history of that period. He will be aware that the strife may have been avoided if reason, not passion, had been applied to the situation. It can be said that if the problem of relations between labour and management cannot be solved, it is useless to hope that the question of the relations between the nations in the larger international area can be solved. Every time that labour and management agree to a policy of reason and ordered relations, a victory for peace can be recorded.

Slowly there is emerging a clear visualization of the principles underlying the relations between labour and management:

1. Prior to collective bargaining negotiations, there must be a period of genuine self searching by labour and management culminating in clear resolution that sound relationships shall be set up. This is a *sine qua non*. This period of self analysis and new resolution is usually overlooked and neglected.

2. There must be an establishment of the conference method, with clear communication between labour and management in all essential matters.
3. Collective bargaining must be an honest give-and-take across the conference table, and not a one-sided affair. It must go beyond mere legalism.
4. Collective bargaining must not be merely an annual wage conference: it must underlie relationships throughout the year. It must be placed on a fair-minded basis, and the use of technical committees in which labour can participate in the processes of production are the best tools of encouragement.
5. The guiding principle in all these relationships is the welfare of the industry or the shop, and behind this—the welfare of the nation itself.

It is patent to the casual observer that the world is moving into a new era of international relations. This can be forwarded more rapidly and with more intelligence if the principles of sound relationships, learned in the industrial field, are applied in this wider area.

Workers' Education: A Review

G. A. McALLISTER

THOUGH the movement for workers' education has so far failed to attract even interest labour en masse, the numerous articles which have dealt with the subject in previous issues of PUBLIC AFFAIRS disclaim dissolutionment. They record that the movement has spread to all democratic countries, and describe the snail-pace of growth beyond the landmark institutions established in the first quarter of the century; they point to a new era for workers' educa-

tion—to a new confidence and a new drive in the movement. The present paper reviews, in a summary manner, what is common to institutions in the Anglo-Canadian-American sections of the movement; the endeavours towards national unified administration; and some of the compelling considerations which affect the future.

I—Common Aspects

Aspirations—Nothing is more common to the movement than statements