

1999 HOUSE INDUSTRY, BUSINESS AND LABOR

HB 1464

1999 HOUSE STANDING COMMITTEE MINUTES

BILL/RESOLUTION NO. 1464

House Industry, Business and Labor Committee

Conference Committee

Hearing Date February 1, 1999

Tape Number	Side A	Side B	Meter #
3		x	0-end
Committee Clerk Signature <i>Lisa Horner</i>			

Minutes:

A bill for an act to create and enact a new section to chapter 16.1-08.1 of the North Dakota Century Code, relating to political activities by labor organizations; to amend and reenact section 16.1-08.1-01 of the North Dakota Century Code, relating to the definition of a labor organization; and to provide a penalty.

CHAIRMAN BERG called the hearing for HB 1464 to order with all members present.

3B: 0.0 REP. TOM BRUSEGAARD, sponsor of the bill, introduced and explained the bill. He said that the bill is an attempt to ensure that their dollars are not wasted on vague political agendas or to make union leaders look good in advertising.

3B: 4.3 REP. EKSTROM said that dues are solicited and money is being used for political use, and asked why unions are being singled out. Rep. Brusegaard said that unions perform such a unique purpose in our state. Any political solicitation of funds should be separate from dues.

3B: 4.9 REP. KLEIN asked for an update on other states with this policy. Rep. Brusegaard said that there has been success in Oregon and Wyoming, and that if failed by vote of the people in California.

3B: 6.0 DAVID KEMNITZ, President of ND AFL-CIO, testified in opposition of the bill. (See attached testimony.)

3B: 8.7 CORY FONG, Elections Director for Secretary of State's Office, presented an amendment. His testimony was neutral. He explained that he found much duplication with current law.

3B: 12.2 JOSEPH WESTBY, ND Education Association, testified that he opposed the original bill, but he would support it with the proposed amendment. (See attached testimony.)

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House Industry, Business and Labor Committee

Bill/Resolution Number 1464

Hearing Date February 1, 1999

3B: 14.7 REP. MARTINSON asked how this bill would specifically affect NDEA. Mr. Westby said that they are particularly concerned with page 3, line 26 of the bill, which would require them to set up a separate administrative cost. This would be an unfair financial hardship.

3B: 17.4 ACTION ON AMENDMENT Rep. Keiser made a motion to adopt the amendment. The motion was seconded by Rep. Lemieux. The motion passed by voice vote and the amendment was adopted.

3B: 20.5 JIM COATS, Mandan, testified that he supports the amended bill.

3B: 21.6 ALBERT WOLF, ND Trial Lawyers Association, testified in opposition of the bill.

3B: 23.0 REP. KEISER said that he does not like that the amendment change just adds the terminology "and organizations"

3B: 35.6 ACTION ON BILL Rep. Glassheim made a motion for a Do Not Pass as amended. The motion was seconded by Rep. Keiser. A roll call vote was taken. The motion passed and Rep. Klein will carry the bill to the floor.

CHAIRMAN BERG adjourned the hearing on HB 1464.

Date: 2-1-99
 Roll Call Vote #: r

1999 HOUSE STANDING COMMITTEE ROLL CALL VOTES
BILL/RESOLUTION NO. 1464

House Industry, Business and Labor Committee

Subcommittee on _____
 or
 Conference Committee

Legislative Council Amendment Number _____

Action Taken Do not pass as amended

Motion Made By Glassheim Seconded By Keiser

Representatives	Yes	No	Representatives	Yes	No
Chair - Berg	X		Rep. Thorpe	X	
Vice Chair - Kempenich	X				
Rep. Brekke	X				
Rep. Eckstrom	X				
Rep. Froseth	X				
Rep. Glassheim	X				
Rep. Johnson	X				
Rep. Keiser	X				
Rep. Klein	X				
Rep. Koppang	X				
Rep. Lemieux	X				
Rep. Martinson	X				
Rep. Severson	X				
Rep. Stefonowicz	X				

Total (Yes) 15 No 0

Absent _____

Floor Assignment Klein

If the vote is on an amendment, briefly indicate intent:

REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE

HB 1464: Industry, Business and Labor Committee (Rep. Berg, Chairman) recommends **AMENDMENTS AS FOLLOWS** and when so amended, recommends **DO NOT PASS** (15 YEAS, 0 NAYS, 0 ABSENT AND NOT VOTING). HB 1464 was placed on the Sixth order on the calendar.

Page 1, line 1, remove "to create and enact a new section to chapter 16.1-08.1 of the North Dakota"

Page 1, line 2, remove "Century Code, relating to political activities by labor organizations;" and after "reenact" insert "subsection 1 of"

Page 1, line 4, remove "; and to provide a penalty"

Page 1, line 6, replace "Section" with "Subsection 1 of section"

Page 1, remove lines 8 and 9

Page 1, line 11, after "unions" insert "and organizations"

Page 1, remove lines 17 through 24

Page 2, remove lines 1 through 30

Page 3, remove lines 1 through 31

Page 4, remove lines 1 through 4

Renumber accordingly

1999 TESTIMONY

HB 1464

TESTIMONY ON HB 1464
House Industry, Business and Labor Committee
Joseph A. Westby, NDEA
February 1, 1999

Chairman Berg and members of the committee, my name is Joe Westby, Executive Director of the North Dakota Education Association. I testify in opposition to House Bill 1464.

In 1981, this legislature enacted legislation to regulate the political action of organizations including labor unions. The sponsors of the original Bill indicated "that the Bill was to prevent labor unions, organizations or whatever from using dues money for campaign purposes or to support a candidate." (Testimony of Senator Tennefos January 14, 1981.) During the initial hearings, there was a great deal of opposition from labor unions and other organizations that this legislation would unduly hamper their political activities. As the Bill passed to the House side, Senator Tennefos noted that the Bill had been amended in an effort to keep everyone on a "equal basis." (Testimony of Senator Tennefos March 3, 1981.) This legislation was eventually enacted by the 1981 legislature and has remained untouched during the 18 years since that time. However, Senate Bill 1464 changes the original sponsor's intent of treating everyone "equal" by singling out labor organizations and treating them differently than any other group, association, corporation, or organization currently covered by the political action committee statutes.

In order to fully understand my objections, the committee must first understand the current status of the law and who and what is covered by that law. Under the current statute, it is unlawful for a corporation, cooperative corporation, limited liability company or association to make a direct contribution to a political party, political committee or candidate.

However, the law does not prohibit the establishment and administration and



solicitation of contributions to a separate and segregated fund to be utilized for political purposes by those entities. The law currently prohibits persons controlling the political action fund from utilizing dues or fees to pay for political activity. It also prohibits the solicitation of money as a condition of membership in the association or a condition of employment. The law requires persons administering the fund to inform the employee or member of the political purposes of the fund at the time of the solicitation and the general political philosophy intended to be advanced by the committee. It also requires the fund to inform the employee or member of their right to refuse to contribute without any type of reprisal. **N.D.C.C. Ch. 16.1-08.1**. The law also recognizes that many of these associations who desire to participate in political activities cannot afford to hire a person to separately administer the separate and segregated funds of their political action committee. In that regard, the legislature, since 1981, has allowed entities who establish political action committees to pay for the administration of those committees from funds regularly collected by the entity.

The prohibitions and duties which I have set forth above apply to corporations, cooperative corporations, limited liability companies, and associations. From the inception of the law, the organization which I represent, the NDEA, has been covered by these statutes. It is my opinion that many of the organizations similar to ours which take an active role in improving working conditions and pay for our members are covered by this statute.

It is clear that in the last 18 years the statute originally passed in 1981 has worked very well. It is my understanding that there has never been a complaint or a criminal charge assessed against anyone administering a political action committee in North Dakota. For reasons for which I cannot explain, House Bill 1464 is being proposed to further tighten regulations on organizations such as

the one I represent with no real documented need for more regulation. In addition, most of the provisions of HB 1464 are currently found in the law.

HB 1464 is specifically aimed at labor organizations. As I have already stated in my testimony, labor organizations are already covered by the existing statute. Secondly, HB 1464 purports to make it unlawful to use dues of members for political action. This provision is already in the law. HB 1464 requires independent solicitations and segregation of funds if they are collected. Those provisions are already in the law. Fourthly, HB 1464 purports to require that persons who are solicited for contributions receive a clear and unambiguous explanation of the solicitation and are informed of their employee or member's right to refuse to contribute without fear of reprisal or loss of membership in the labor organization. Those requirements are already in the law. HB 1464 also purports to insure that contributions to political committees were not secured by physical force, job discrimination, member discrimination, economic reprisals or threat of force. Those provisions are already in the law.

The most significant change that HB 1464 will make to political action in the state of North Dakota as conducted by labor organizations is to prohibit the use of corporate funds to pay for the administration of the political action fund. First of all, this is a fundamentally unfair process. HB 1464 treats labor organizations differently than any other organization in the state of North Dakota, which is currently conducting political action. There has been no documented case of abuse on the part of labor organizations in administering their political action committees or funds, and therefore there is no basis to treat labor organizations differently. For example, the North Dakota Medical Association, the North Dakota Banker's Association, the North Dakota Trial Lawyer's Association,

can all conduct political action through a political action committee and use corporate funds to pay for the administration of their political action committees. Labor organizations, under HB 1464 cannot. Secondly, HB 1464 may require the hiring of administrative staff to administer a small political action committee fund, which in essence will either: (1) require that the political action committee cease to exist on a cost basis, or (2) greatly inhibit the amount of political action which can be carried on by the entity since most if not all of its funds are spent on administration. Once again, other associations, corporations, or cooperative associations will be treated differently than labor organizations. Their political action committees can continue to function on funds used or raised by their corporate entities. Lastly, to coin the old phrase, "If it ain't broke, don't fix it." There has been no basis presented to this committee to change the current status of the law to single out labor organizations from any other organization which is currently complying with the law and segregating its political action funds in a segregated fund. I would ask that you take my comments under consideration and vote a "Do Not Pass" on House Bill 1464.

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ALVIN A. JAEGER
SECRETARY OF STATE
STATE OF NORTH DAKOTA
600 E BOULEVARD AVE DEPT 108
BISMARCK ND 58505-0500

E-MAIL sos@state.nd.us
HOME PAGE <http://www.state.nd.us/sec>



BUSINESS DIVISION (701) 328-4284
CENTRAL INDEXING DIVISION (701) 328-3662
ELECTIONS DIVISION (701) 328-4146
LICENSING DIVISION (701) 328-3665

GENERAL INFORMATION (701) 328-2900
ND TOLL FREE 1-800-352-0867
FAX (701) 328-2992

SECRETARY OF STATE

February 1, 1999

TO: Representative Rick Berg and Members of the House Business, Industry and Labor Committee

FR: Cory G. Fong, Elections Director

RE: HB 1464 – Definition of Labor Organizations – Proposed Amendments

Per my discussions with Representative Brusegaard, the following draft amendments are for your consideration.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO HOUSE BILL 1464

Page 1, line 11, immediately after "unions" insert "and organizations"

Page 2, line 19, remove "Labor organization" means an association of employees and any association in"

Page 2, remove lines 20 through 22

Page 2, line 23, remove "7."

Page 2, line 25, remove the overstrike over "~~7.~~" and remove "8."

Page 2, line 28, remove the overstrike over "~~8.~~" and remove "9."

Page 3, line 1, remove the overstrike over "~~9.~~" and remove "10."

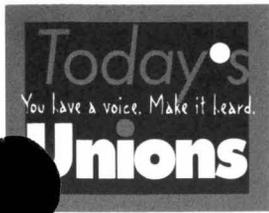
Page 3, line 6, remove the overstrike over "~~10.~~" and remove "11."

Page 3, line 11, remove the overstrike over "~~11.~~" And remove "12."

Page 3, remove lines 13 through 31

Page 4, remove lines 1 through 4

Renumber accordingly



NORTH DAKOTA AFL-CIO

1323 E. Front Ave., Suite 1 • Bismarck, ND 58504-6097
(701) 223-0784 • FAX (701) 223-9387



David L. Kennitz
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HB 1464

February 01, 1999

HOUSE I,B&L

This bill attempts to single out labor organizations in our election processes. This bill on its surface appears to politicize our states election rules and laws at the expense of workers and their organizations. No other organization is mistreated in this manner!

A labor organization appears to be further restricted in its free speech rights concerning its attempts to alert the public of that organizations position in aiding or opposing the circulation or passage of a statewide initiative or referendum petition or measure. The point here is that any other organization or corporation will not have to expend PAC dollars to solicit contributions or administrate its PAC fund.

A constitutional question is raised concerning equal treatment under the law. In that The North Dakota Century Code Section 16.1-08.1-01 Definitions. (see page 1, line8) defines unions and other like organizations which assess dues and membership fees. Today the law apparently applies equal treatment when the definition of associations is combined with other defined organizations (such as corporations) in NDCC 16.1-08.1-03.3 which prohibits direct contributions but "Moneys from fees, dues, treasury funds, or money obtained in a commercial transaction may, however, be used to pay costs of administration of the fund."

The unfair and unneeded HB 1464 is easily dispatched by North Dakota union realities.

- 1. North Dakota union membership is on a voluntary basis now. See NDCC 34-01-14.**
- 2. Union members look for and expect union political information and union political activity.**
- 3. The purpose of a labor union (including its level of political activity) is defined by its members - not by unwarranted outside influence.**
- 4. Local unions are governments that elect leaders, write by-laws, ratify contracts, determine positions on issues and candidates for public office and protect their members interests by majority rule and in a democratic fashion. See attachment--**

An explanation of "What Unions Do" and "The Many Faces of Union Organizations" will help explain what our local union members already know!

Attached are pages taken from "Union Government and Organization in the United States" by James Wallihan.

Sincerely

David L. Kennitz, President

Article 2

Objects

To improve the working conditions, advance, maintain and protect the interests of the workers organized on an industrial basis-.

To educate our membership on the history of the American labor movement and to develop and maintain an intelligent and dignified membership; to vote and work for the passage of improved legislation in the interest of all labor; to work for the repeal of those laws which are unjust to labor; to work for legislation having as its objects the establishment of real social and unemployment insurance-.

Article 4

Powers of Administration

Local #7566 shall be governed by its membership in the following manner.

Section 1

The highest tribunal shall be the membership, assembled at all authorized meetings.

Section 2

The Executive Board shall be empowered to represent the Local Union when urgent business requires prompt and decisive action. In no case, however, shall the Board transact any business that may affect the vital interests of the Local Union until approval of the membership is secured.

Section 3

Between meetings of the Local Executive Board, the highest authority in the Local Union shall be vested in the President, whose actions are subject to the approval or ratification of the Executive Board or the membership at their next regular meeting.

IBEW
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
AFL-CIO CLC
OBJECTS

To organize all workers in the entire electrical industry-.

To promote reasonable methods of work,

To assist each other in sickness or distress,

To secure employment,

To secure adequate pay for our work,

To seek a higher and higher standard of living,

To seek security for the individual,

And by legal and proper means to elevate the moral, intellectual and social conditions of our members, their families and dependents, in the interest of a higher standard of citizenship.

APWU
American Postal Workers Union
AFL-CIO

MEMBERS BILL OF RIGHTS

1. Every member has the right to be respected as a human being.
2. Every member has the right to be respected as a brother or sister of this Union.
3. Every member has the right to freedom of speech and the right to be heard.
4. Every member has the right to the freedom to listen.
5. Every member has the right to the freedom of the press.
6. Every member has the right to participate in the activities of this union.
7. Members shall not be denied the right to seek any office or the right to vote in this Union because of race, color, creed, sex, sexual orientation, nationality, handicap, political affiliation, age, or religion.
8. Every member has the right to support the candidate of his/her choice and to participate in that right with others.
9. Every member has the right to a fair trial, to be represented by an individual of his or her choice and to proper appeal procedures.
10. Every member has the right to be secure in his or her basic rights without fear of political, economic, physical or psychological intimidation.

UNION GOVERNMENT AND ORGANIZATION in the United States

James Wallihan
Indiana University



The term working conditions encompasses all features of the workplace that affect the worker: how much of what work is done by whom (workload, job assignment), when it is done (scheduling), and the circumstances in which the work is performed (health, safety, cleanliness). Working conditions narrowly defined exclude a related and important element, *control in the workplace*. Unions strive to limit employer's ability to make arbitrary judgments in job assignment, promotion, lay-off and recall, discipline and discharge, and a host of other decisions important to workers. For example, industrial unions seek a measure of control over workplace decisions through the application of seniority and grievance procedures. Control can extend to worker and union representation on management decision-making bodies, such as boards of directors, and to worker ownership.

What Unions Do

Unions carry on many different activities. Most visible to the average member are those which produce direct benefit—negotiations, grievance handling, community service, and in certain trades, job referral. Another type of activity arises from the internal politics of the union. It consists of elections, meetings, conventions, and similar forums in which members participate in governing the union. But to be effective a union must build and maintain itself as an organization. This entails bringing in members through organizing and keeping the union running smoothly through union administration and effective internal communications. Several distinct union activities are observable.

Organizing. Organizing new members, and sometimes new work opportunities, is the lifeblood of any union. The union is first brought into being through organizing. Once established it faces a task similar to that of keeping a barrel with a hole in it full of water, because the union loses members through retirement, death, plant closings, and technological change. The union that fails to deal with severe membership losses faces decline and stagnation, often becoming incapable of performing its most elemental functions. The next chapter will go into more detail on this subject.

Collective Bargaining. The main activity of unions, collective bargaining, is conventionally divided into two phases: (1) *contract negotiation* to determine the terms of an agreement and (2) *contract administration* to interpret and apply the terms of the negotiated

agreement. Overlapping but broader than contract administration is *grievance representation* in which unions seek to redress worker complaints in order to obtain justice in the workplace. Collective bargaining, then, is a system of joint governance in the workplace, a means of rule making, rule interpretation, and rule enforcement.

Jurisdiction Maintenance. Lines of work demarcation are especially important where two or more unions share a job site, as in the building trades or within a manufacturing plant. Two unions may both claim a certain kind of work. Disputes also arise when employers attempt to move jobs out of the unit covered by the negotiated agreement. Policing one's jurisdiction, identifying trouble spots, and resolving conflicts without jeopardizing jobs are all part of holding a jurisdiction. A parallel situation exists when workers from different trades within a plant, all of whom belong to the same union, follow lines of demarcation assigning certain work to certain trades.

Union Administration and Governance. Administration, as used here, refers to the many routine tasks required to maintain the organization: the operation of an office (in some unions), financial record keeping, conducting correspondence, maintaining membership files, and administering benefit programs. Union governance refers to tasks such as electing officers and conducting meetings that are necessary to set policy and maintain democratic control in an organization.

Political and Community Action. The phrase "What is won at the bargaining table can be lost in the Congress" suggests one reason that political action and lobbying are integral functions of unions. In addition to this "bread and butter" incentive, many unionists participate in political and community affairs out of commitment to the "general welfare."

Organization Building. Intertwined throughout the above union activities are several processes that serve to build the effectiveness of the union as an organization. *Education* and *communications* are the vehicles for equipping members and leaders with the information and skills necessary to accomplish union tasks. These two processes also build commitment to the union and its goals and maintain cohesiveness, known in the labor movement as *solidarity*. The external application of these processes is *public relations* designed to present the union favorably to persons outside the organization who may be in a position to enhance or impede its ability to reach its goals.

A second dimension of organization building is *leadership recruitment and development*. To maintain and build its strength, a union, like any organization, must have members able and willing to move into various leadership roles. Ideally these roles form a progression of responsibilities ranging from those requiring minimal time and commitment to those with overall direction of union affairs. Future leaders require experience in different roles and, increasingly, education and training about the complex environment in which a union operates and the elements of organizational leadership.

The thread linking these varied activities is probably best described by the word *representation*. Representing worker interests and concerns in the workplace and the society is, at the core, what unions are all about.

The Many Faces of Union Organizations

Organizations can be classified according to their primary goals and activities. Thus schools are educational institutions; business and trade associations are termed economic organizations; clubs and fraternal societies are social organizations; and parties are political organizations.

These are simplistic designations because all viable organizations display features of more than one type, appealing to members on more than a single interest. Unions, for instance, are conventionally termed economic organizations. But unions also perform social functions for many of their members, the education function described earlier, and the political function necessary in today's society to realize economic and social goals.

We return to the notion of the perspectives from which something is viewed. For one whose concern is strictly wages and benefits the union may be purely an economic organization. But from the perspective of one whose family has been helped through union counseling and referral to a service agency, the union may be viewed as a social service organization. And the politician seeking to build an electoral coalition with union support may view unions as essentially political organizations. The labor movement as a whole displays all of these dimensions.

The conventional description of unions as economic organizations comes perhaps from the early interest of economists in unions as a major subject of labor economics. This designation should not

obscure the many differences between unions and other organizations, such as businesses and trade associations, assigned to the same category. For in the long list of economic organizations unions seem unique.

First, unlike businesses, unions are in most respects *voluntary organizations*. They exist at the will of their members and depend largely on the uncompensated activity of members and leaders to accomplish their goals. At the opposite extreme, prisons rely on coercive sanctions to accomplish their missions. Businesses rely primarily on financial compensation to bring people into their organizations and to support ongoing activities.

The second distinction between unions and most other economic organizations is seen in the relationship between the union and the employer. While the employer cannot operate without employees, it can and often prefers to exist without a union representing the employees. The union as we have defined it does not exist without one or more employers, whose presence defines the union's membership and the main motive for joining. As Tannenbaum has noted, "the relationship of dependency and conflict with management is at the core of union action."¹² Union action is typically a response to an employer initiative.

A third distinction can be noted very simply at this point. Unions are built on the democratic model, with control from the bottom up. Businesses, on the other hand, are premised on an authoritarian model, with control exercised from the top down.

Other "faces" of unions as organizations can be summarized briefly:

Mutual Aid, Benefit, or Protective Societies. Many unions began as mutual aid societies, associations of workers with shared economic and occupational interests. Printing trades chapels (workplace organizations) date back to at least 17th century England where, much like the medieval guilds, they enforced the recognized customs of the trade, provided aid for members in need, and "promoted good fellowship."¹³ Many mutual aid associations maintain death benefit funds and share trade information. Words such as "fraternal," "benevolent," and "order" suggest the social or fraternal aspects (and sometimes the Masonic origins) of certain contemporary unions.

¹²Arnold S. Tannenbaum, "Unions," in *HANDBOOK OF ORGANIZATIONS*, ed. James G. March (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), p. 710.

¹³A. J. M. Sykes, "Trade-Union Workshop Organization in the Printing Industry—The Chapel," *Human Relations* 13, no. 1 (February 1960), pp. 50-1.

Service Organizations. Unions, as service organizations, provide aid to their members and others. Many service-oriented members view their union much like an insurance agency to which they pay premiums with the expectation of returns and a guarantee of service should the need arise. In this connotation the union is seen as a separate, nonparticipatory body providing services for a passive membership. In another usage "service" is likened to "representation," as when a higher official "services" a local. In yet another sense, unions often function as service organizations when they aid the broader community.

As a *political interest group*, organized labor does more than represent the immediate interests of its members. It is the primary institutional voice for working people and an important one for consumers. Labor's activity extends from political education to candidate endorsement, electioneering and poll work, and lobbying activity at all levels of government.

Unions are governments, or, more accurately, two governments in one. The first is the government of the collective bargaining relationship with the contract as its "constitution." The second is the internal government of the union itself, whose relevant body of law is the union constitution and by-laws. Understanding this *dual government* and its variations among unions is essential to understanding the structure and operation of a union.¹⁴ Particularly at the local level, leadership positions tend to be associated with one government or the other, with some officers having duties in both.

Finally, the labor movement is the major institution representing the *working class* in the United States. One can loosely define working class as all nonelite wage and salaried employees (including the unemployed) who produce goods and services. Or one can define working class by its relationship to authority, as the takers of orders. By any of these definitions, union membership remains greatest in the blue-collar and wage-labor sectors and is still less dense in the white-collar, salaried segment. In either case, the labor movement is the major force representing employees in their capacity as *employees*.

Conclusion

This chapter opened with a look at some of the more common myths and misconceptions about unions. While many of these views

¹⁴Alice H. Cook, "Dual Government in Unions: A Tool for Analysis," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 15 (April 1962), pp. 323-49. This concept is elaborated in Chapter 5.

can be traced to sources hostile to labor, some have other origins, such as vantage point or perspective, the "news needs" of the media, and the lack of adequate or accurate coverage in educational institutions. To understand unions, more information and a more complex perspective are needed.

Subsequent discussion began with a definition of the term "union," noting that some "professional associations" are unions in all but name since they do the same things. A preliminary sketch of the organization of the labor movement was followed by a discussion of union goals and the range of union activities. Taken together, these features distinguish trade unions from other organizations but reveal a number of ways in which they display "faces" similar to other institutions in society.

This chapter has of necessity provided a somewhat simplistic picture of American unions. In real life their histories, their forms, and their functions are as diverse as the circumstances and needs which give rise to them. Some, like the printing trades, have long traditions. Others, like the recently formed unit of players in the North American Soccer League, have virtually no traditions yet. Some unions number their members in the dozens, while a few local unions have more members than most internationals. Organizational structures and practices are even more diverse.

Yet there is a logic to all this diversity. One element of that logic—what unions and members share in goals and activities—was touched on in this chapter. Future chapters will add depth and detail to the picture painted thus far.

Review and Discussion Questions

1. Identify three stereotypes of workers or unions that you have encountered in the media or among acquaintances.
2. Can you identify any "perspectives" or other reasons contributing to these stereotypes?
3. What is the potential for, and what are the limits on, labor's ability to project an accurate image of itself?
4. What do you consider to be the three most important tasks of your union or a union with which you are acquainted? How do these tasks relate to each other and to other primary activities?
5. Chapter 1 provides an overview of union organization and action. List what in your opinion are five significant unanswered questions about the structure and operation of American unions (omitting collective bargaining activities). Consider this list a tentative agenda for the rest of the book.